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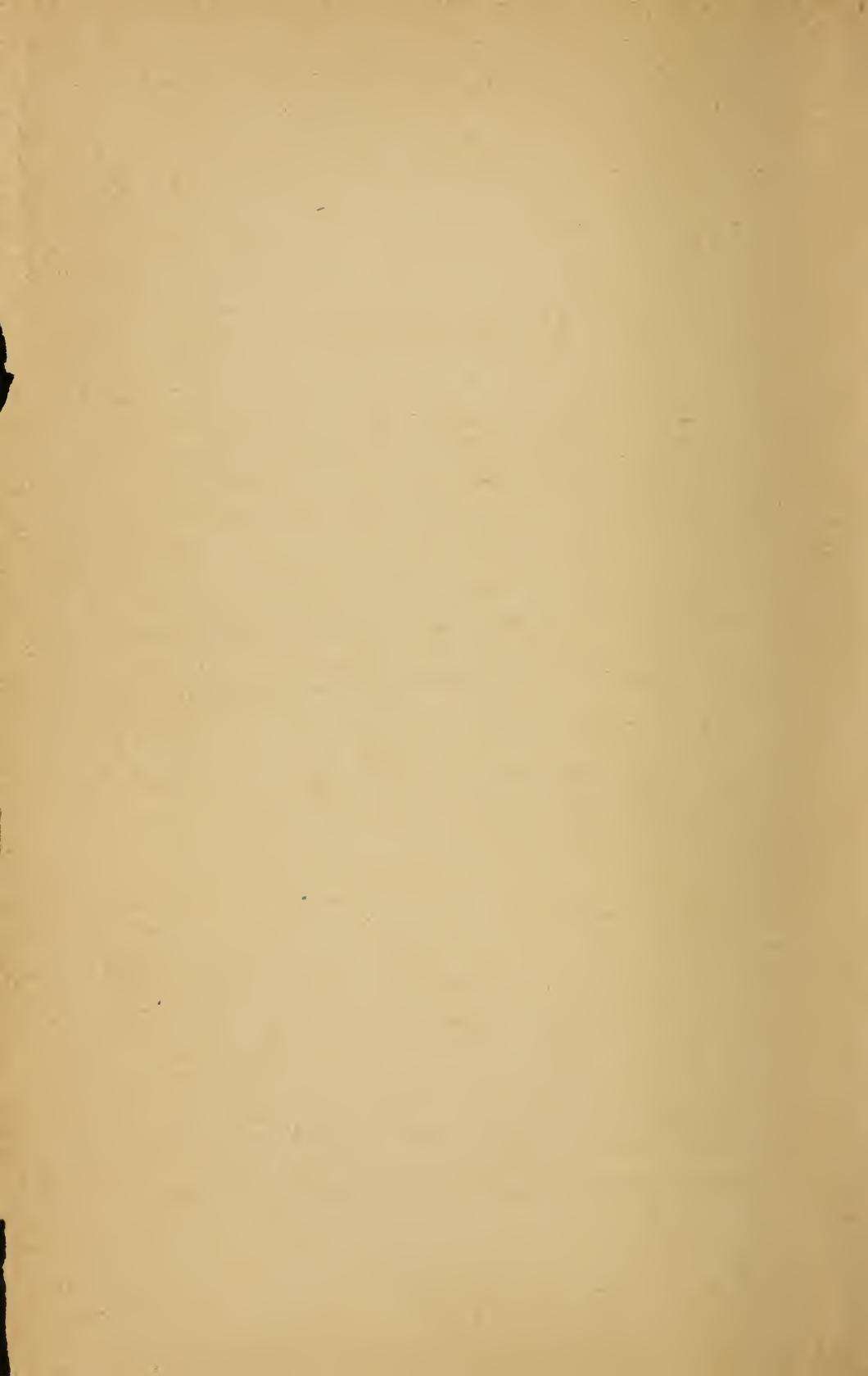
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1890

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For the utterances recorded in the following pages, the individual speakers are alone responsible.



PREFACE.

THE National Temperance Congress grew out of a belief in many minds that there was a vast amount of Temperance sentiment in the country which failed of power because it failed of unity. It was believed that there was a great host of Temperance people, differing on many points, indeed, but so conscientious that they must respect one another, and so candid that they might learn from one another. Since it would require the union of all these to overthrow the entrenched Liquor Traffic of the nation, it seemed worth an earnest endeavor to see whether any common ground could be found on which to fight the common enemy.

No one hoped to strike out a scheme of union at a blow. Hence, it was provided that the Congress should pass no resolutions. But it was believed that if the leading workers on different lines could hear each other's reasons and each other's objections and difficulties at first hand, all might find something to revise and something to add. It seemed that even looking in each other's faces and hearing each other's voices would create a better mutual understanding and kindlier feeling, from which future concerted action might spring.

How well these hopes were realized this volume tells. The necessary study involved in preparing this mass of material for the press has convinced us of its exceeding value. The statement of what Prohibition has done all the way from pioneer Maine to new Dakota ; the need of

something more than Prohibition for our cities, where the crowded tenement-houses cry to heaven and get their only visible answer from hell ; the necessity of improved dwellings for the poor, of coffee-houses and " come-in-rooms," are eloquently told. The political discussions, though sometimes intense, are remarkably strong, kind, and fair. The stories of Amendment defeats are full of instruction for new battles. Temperance Education the Duty of the Church, as presented by such leaders as Mrs. Hunt and President McCosh, Dr. Buckley and Joseph Cook, will be found full of interest. Restriction without License, as " The Line on which all Enemies of the Saloon may Unitedly do Battle," draws a line to which it would seem all Restrictionists without sacrifice of conscience may come, and where Prohibitionists without sacrifice of conscience may meet them. Worthy of especial mention is the remarkable paper on " Alcohol a Poison," by Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, so full, clear, and complete, and yet so wonderfully compact. If its uncontroverted teachings were but once accepted and acted on by the medical profession and the public, the Temperance battle would be won.

The reasons for the indifference and hostility of many laboring men alike toward Prohibition and Restriction, as stated by Samuel Gompers and T. B. Wakeman, are matters that must be thought of, and somehow dealt with. No one can write the history of the Temperance Reform in this closing century without considering the phases of thought here presented, and no one can be both a strong and wise worker in the present without giving them careful consideration. Statements so clear and vigorous as these, even if of views opposed to our own, are always suggestive. They serve more clearly to define our own thought, and commonly indicate some ways in which our own position or statement may be

improved. They give the great advantage, both for ourselves and our cause, of being able to state an opponent's position with perfect fairness, because we take it at first hand. Whenever all that is good in these various views shall be combined, the combination will be irresistible.

The publication has been inevitably delayed in consequence of waiting for manuscripts, returning proof to authors at long distances, and of the extensive correspondence required to verify names, addresses, etc., of individuals and societies, many of which were imperfectly given. In these we believe we have now attained substantial accuracy, which will be appreciated by all who desire a faithful record of this great meeting.

The notation of "Applause" which occurs frequently in the stenographic reports, is necessarily wanting in the manuscript addresses, and hence all mention of the approval or disapproval of the audience has been uniformly omitted, except where some reference in the addresses required its insertion.

The speeches are all given either from the corrected manuscripts of the authors or from the stenographic reports furnished expressly for this volume by the eminent stenographer and law reporter, Arthur B. Cook, of New York City. Hence those who were not present at the meetings can rely upon having in this volume a most faithful account of all that was said and done.

The delegates and visitors parted with the earnest hope that another Temperance Congress might be held at an early day.

JAMES C. FERNALD.

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A Call for a National Temperance Congress.

WE, the undersigned, representing almost every shade of Anti-Liquor Views, believe that the time has come for representative Temperance people throughout the country to assemble together in Convention, to look into one another's face, to compare views frankly, to learn the whole ground of our agreement, and to enlarge that ground, if possible, by candid and friendly discussion. The Saloon is still here. The fight is still on. The Liquor Traffic, if anything, is more aggressive, more destructive than ever.

We believe that the holding of such a helpful Convention is practicable. Hence we ask all local, State and National Temperance Societies (regardless of sex or politics), and all churches and Sunday-schools, and other associations which hate the Saloon, to send representatives to a National Temperance Congress, to be held in New York City, June 11th and 12th, 1890, in the Broadway Tabernacle, junction of Broadway, Sixth Avenue and 34th Street. Mass-meetings will be held in the evening and conferences will be held during the day sessions.

We urge friends everywhere to take steps immediately to see that every section of the country is fully represented. Let this be both a National Conference and a National Mass-meeting for the overthrow of the Liquor Traffic. We would be glad to have Canada also represented.

Every person opposed to the Saloon who will present himself at the Congress will be welcomed as a member. Credentials, though convenient for use of committees, will not be insisted upon. Address

JOSEPH A. BOGARDUS, Sec.,

167 Chambers St., New York,

xviii CALL FOR A TEMPERANCE CONGRESS.

(Signed), CHARLES F. DEEMS, }
ALBERT GRIFFIN, }
I. K. FUNK, }
T. B. WAKEMAN, } *Committee.*
J. A. BOGARDUS, }
MARY T. BURT, }
ALEX. S. BACON. }

Noah Davis,
H. K. Carroll,
John N. Stearns,
A. M. Powell,
Theodore L. Cuyler,
Frances E. Willard,
P. M. Arthur,
Ellen J. Phinney,
H. M. Turner,
H. L. Wayland,
Geo. E. Reed,
Joseph Cook,
Elizabeth S. Tobey,
John H. Vincent,
D. H. Mann,
Samuel Dickie,
Wager Swayne,
Clinton B. Fisk,
R. S. MacArthur,
W. F. Crafts,
D. DeLeon,
Wm. T. Wardwell,
Wm. J. Groo,
Francis Crawford,
John Lloyd Thomas,
R. S. Cheves,
Charles E. Manierre,
Edwin P. Ide,
A. B. Leonard,
Mary H. Hunt,
Father Mahoney,
Mary T. Lathrap,
Ira D. Sankey,
James M. King,
George Duffield,
Neal Dow,
Cyrus D. Foss,
Edward G. Andrews,
William Daniel,

William C. Wilkinson,
Louise Vanderhoef,
Fred. F. Wheeler,
H. Clay Bascom,
N. F. Woodbury,
James W. Williams,
Tallie Morgan,
James Black,
Josiah Strong,
Edward Duffield,
A. A. DeLoach,
J. B. Gambrell,
Horace Geiger,
J. B. Smith,
John Hipp,
W. Larrabee,
Henry B. Hudson,
Edwin V. Wright,
Horace Waters,
James B. Simmons,
B. F. Parker,
Walter T. Mills,
E. J. Wheeler,
Samuel B. Forbes,
Cornelia Forbes,
Morris Sharp,
J. C. Allen,
S. B. Halliday,
J. W. Bashford,
Marshall H. Bright,
Isaac W. Joyce,
W. X. Ninde,
W. P. Thirkield,
Nelson Williams, Jr.,
Edward H. East,
J. L. Palmer,
Samuel Fallows,
F. W. Conrad,
V. L. Conrad,

C. S. Woodruff,
 Robert Graham,
 R. Alder Temple,
 J. M. Walden,
 W. J. Demorest,
 S. M. Merrill,
 Mary A. Livermore,
 D. W. Wood,
 John D. Rockefeller,
 Herrick Johnson,
 R. S. Foster,
 James McCosh,
 Thomas Dixon, Jr.,
 J. A. Van Fleet,
 Willard F. Mallalieu,
 J. M. Buckley,
 John Russell,
 Benson J. Lossing,
 C. H. Payne,
 Geo. W. Bain,
 Eugene H. Clapp,
 Edward P. Ingersoll,
 W. T. Dixon,
 T. C. Cronin,
 D. C. Eddy,
 A. J. Church,
 George T. Chester,
 W. Martin Jones,
 R. D. Munger,
 Henry H. Faxon,
 Elijah A. Morse,
 Allen B. Lincoln,
 Henry B. Metcalf,
 Sarah J. C. Downs,
 Z. K. Pangborn,
 J. C. Fernald,
 Amos Briggs,
 A. J. Kynett,
 A. A. Stevens,
 J. C. Price,
 J. W. Lee,
 W. C. Stiles,
 J. R. Miller,
 John H. Stiness,

Jos. P. Egan,
 Mary A. Woodbridge,
 A. G. Wolfenbarger,
 A. B. Nettleton,
 Daniel Agnew,
 Lyman Abbott,
 John A. Brooks,
 Joshua L. Baily,
 W. K. Brown,
 M. McLellan Brown,
 John Bascom,
 Edward Braislin,
 J. B. Cranfill,
 S. H. Cranmer,
 Samuel F. Cary,
 T. R. Carskadon,
 James H. Darlington,
 E. L. Dohoney,
 Arthur Edwards,
 O. P. Gifford,
 A. J. Gordon,
 J. B. Graw,
 J. B. Gibbs,
 Walter B. Hill,
 E. R. Hutchins,
 J. B. Helwig,
 H. W. Hardy,
 W. T. Hornaday,
 Edward Everett Hale,
 A. J. Jutkins,
 Thomas L. James,
 Theo. D. Kanouse,
 H. B. Moulton,
 Francis Murphy,
 A. A. Miner,
 T. J. Morgan,
 R. H. McDonald,
 John O'Donnell,
 Robert C. Pitman,
 Eli F. Ritter,
 Geo. R. Scott,
 Green Clay Smith,
 H. A. Scomp,
 W. Stronge.

PROGRAMME.

The National Temperance Congress

TO BE HELD IN THE

BROADWAY TABERNACLE, NEW YORK,

(Corner Broadway and Thirty-fourth St.,)

For Two Days, beginning at 9.30 o'clock A.M., June 11.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JUNE 11.

- 9.30—Temperance Songs by the Silver Lake Quartette.
10.00—Colonel Alexander S. Bacon will call the meeting to order.
Organization—Prayer.
10.30—Topic: Is State and National Prohibition Desirable and Feasible?
Discussion opened by General Neal Dow and Robert Graham.
11.30—Topic: Alcohol a Poison—Never to be Used for Beverage Purposes.
N. S. Davis, M.D., of Chicago.
12.00—Topic: The Battle at Omaha.
Professor A. R. Cornwall.
12.30—Adjournment.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 11.

- 1.45—Singing and Prayer.
2.00—Topic: The Line on Which all Enemies of the Saloon May Unitedly do Battle Whether They be Believers in Restrictive Measures or in Radical Prohibition.
Discussion opened by I. K. Funk, D.D., W. R. Huntington, D.D., General A. B. Nettleton, of Minneapolis, A. J. Kynett, D.D., of Philadelphia.
3.30—The Systematic Prosecution of the Total Abstinence Work Essential to the Overthrow of the Liquor Power.
Discussion opened by Albert Griffin, of Kansas.
4.00—Topic: How May the Churches Aid Most Effectively in the Destruction of the Liquor Traffic?

Discussion opened by James M. Buckley, D.D.,
Joseph Cook.

5.00—Topic : The Coffee-House and other Substitutes for
the Saloon.

Discussion opened by Joshua L. Bailey, S. H. Hilliard,
L. A. Maynard.

6.00—Adjournment.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JUNE 11.

8.00—Mass Meeting : Singing and Prayer.

General Wager Swayne presides.

Topic : The Bearing on the Temperance Reform of
the Unbroken Package Decision of the Supreme
Court.

Addresses by Judge C. C. Bonney of Chicago, Judge
William H. Arnoux, of New York, Hon. Walter
B. Hill of Georgia.

The National Aspect of the Liquor Traffic.

General Samuel F. Cary of Ohio.

Topic : Is High License to be Regarded as a Remedy ?

Addresses by A. A. Miner, D.D., Howard Crosby, D.D.

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 12.

9.45—Singing and Prayer.

10.00—Should there be a Political Party whose Dominant
Idea is the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic ?

Discussion opened by H. K. Carroll, LL.D., ex-President
John Bascom, D.D., late of Wisconsin University.

11.00—Topic : The Relation between Temperance Reform
and Improved Dwellings.

Discussion opened by R. Fulton Cutting.

11.30—The Canadian Experiment in Prohibition.

Hon. George E. Foster, Minister of Finance,
Canada.

12.00—The Temperance Reform in Great Britain.

Robert Rae, Secretary of the National Tem-
perance League of Great Britain.

12.30—Adjournment.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 12.

1.45—Singing and Prayer.

2.00—Topic : To what Causes is to be Attributed the Failure
of the Prohibition Amendments in the Late Con-
tests in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Rhode
Island ?

Discussion opened by H. H. Faxon, of Massachusetts, General Palmer, of Pennsylvania, Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island.

3.30—Topic: The Attitude of the Labor Men toward the Liquor Traffic.

Discussion opened by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, T. B. Wakeman, of New York.

4.30—Topic: Law and Order Societies.

Discussion opened by Mary A. Woodbridge.

5.00—Temperance Work Among the Young.

Discussion opened by Mary H. Hunt, of Boston, ex-President James McCosh, D.D., of Princeton, Rev. James H. Darlington.

6.00—Adjournment.

THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 12.

8.00—Mass Meeting: Singing and Prayer.

General Neal Dow presides.

A Concert of Song by the Silver Lake Quartette.

Addresses on the following topics:

The Nebraska Amendment.

Mrs. Mary A. Hitchcock, President of the Nebraska W. C. T. U.

The Appeal to Philip Sober.

Joseph Cook.

The Liquor Traffic and the Negro.

Bishop H. M. Turner, late of Atlanta, Ga.

No Sectionalism in the Temperance Work.

General Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky.

RULES.

1. Fifteen minutes to be allotted to each opening address.
2. The "Talks" following the opening of each discussion to be limited to five minutes.
3. The chair is to "call time" promptly.
4. The Congress shall be wholly for conference; hence all resolutions are to be ruled out of order.

 All persons participating in the discussions are expected to write out carefully, for publication, their speeches or "talks," and send the same to the Secretary within ten days after the adjournment of the Conference. These addresses will be published in book form, cloth bound, and sent, postage paid, to subscribers at \$1.00. Orders should be given to the Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL TEMPERANCE CONGRESS,
HELD IN THE
BROADWAY TABERNACLE, NEW YORK,
JUNE 11TH AND 12TH, 1890.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

AFTER Temperance songs by the Silver Lake Quartette, the Congress was called to order by Colonel Alexander S. Bacon, who nominated for President the Rev. Charles F. Deems, D.D., LL.D.

Upon motion of Colonel Bacon, Mr. Joseph A. Bogardus was appointed Secretary of the Congress, and Messrs. A. R. Heath and Stephen M. Wright, Assistants.

Upon taking the Chair, Dr. Deems said :

The American custom, I think, is to expect something of an inaugural from every elected president, no matter how he has managed to be elected. I follow the grand American precedent in a very ungrand way. I wish to detain you only a few minutes, ladies and gentlemen, to tell you something of the genesis of this Congress.

A few gentlemen, months ago, were assembled in a room, not very large, in this city, to take an outlook upon the whole Temperance movement in America. It so happened that, while that assembly was not large, it was very representative. There was scarcely any phase of Temperance sentiment which did not have a representative man there. The result of that conference was so pleasant, we managed to become so sweet, in accordance with the hymn which has just been sung, that at the close it was thought best to have another meeting, and another. We had found that men could differ and yet agree, could have strong convictions and strong affections ; and so it was agreed that there should be a committee appointed, in the city of New York, to take any further steps in regard to this movement. That committee also was made very representative. I don't think you could find five or six men more utterly unlike than the five or six who were put upon that committee. In my absence they made me Chairman, and necessarily expected me to do a very great deal of work. I cannot tell you why they did that, unless it was on account of my sex, my age, and my previous condition of servitude. I suppose it was on account of my youthfulness, on account of my always being ready to work for the Temperance cause whenever called upon in any way. At any rate, it was so, that I was put to the front in that fashion. And so they have come to nominate me as the President of this Congress. That they did in my absence. I could wish some gentleman not engaged with so large a parish as I have in this city could have this place. But as you have chosen to elect me, I want to say a few words.

I have watched the progress of this movement with the utmost carefulness. I have been present at every business meeting of the committee. I have looked into every man's eye carefully. I have sought to discover

whether there was any "colored gentleman in the fence," whether there was any "feline creature in the meal," whether there was any intent to carry out any partisan or personal motive. And now I stand before you to give you my word of honor as a gentleman that in all our most secret and confidential conversations I have become perfectly satisfied that the motives of all those gentlemen were entirely unselfish. (Applause.) Yes, you may clap that, because I think that is an important fact to clap. It was pretty hard for us all to be honest about the thing now. There were only six or seven of us, but every man was a man of strong convictions; and as my little girl said, one day, to her nurse, looking up into her face (the dear little darling), "If you think it's easy to be good a whole day at a time, you never were more mistaken since you were born." Now, if you think it was easy for us all to sit in these meetings, in striving to make arrangements that everything should be impartial and fairly represented in this conference, you are mistaken. It was not easy, but it was done. The committee have given way, each man giving way, and that is the reason we have had peace. And so we close our labors.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have come together in just that spirit. We issued a call, saying, "We, the undersigned, representing *almost*"—we put that in out of modesty; we believed it was "altogether," but we thought there might be some shade of anti-liquor views that we hadn't got; they are very occult, you know—"representing almost every shade of anti-liquor views, believe that the time has come for representative Temperance people throughout the country to assemble together in convention, to look into one another's face, to compare views frankly, to learn the whole ground of our agreement, and to enlarge that ground, if possible, by

candid and friendly discussion." Now, I know what that means, for I wrote that sentence myself, though I didn't write the rest of the call. Now that is my spirit, the spirit of the man who has been made your President. If there is any man who comes into this convention and undertakes to speak or act who does not hate the saloon, he is an interloper. If there is a gentleman or a lady here to-day who does not hate the saloon, it is the decent thing to rise and leave now. The only one thing we hate now is the saloon. The only cry we have now is, "Down with the saloon." We have all come together to see if we cannot burn up or drown or otherwise annihilate the saloon. We have come in from the whole camp and all the army everywhere, just to try to take that one fort, and nothing else. That is all we are here for. And so every speech ought to be resonant with that sentiment; and as that old Roman senator used to conclude every speech on every subject, "*Carthago delenda est*" so every speech here ought to close with, "*Caupona delenda est*"—"The grog-shop must be put down"—provided that is good Latin. If any man can tell me if there is any word better Latin for the grog-shop, the nasty little tavern, than "*caupona*," then I would like to know.

A lady: The English is good enough.

The President: Then, let us come back to the English, and say, "Down with the saloon!"

Chorus: "Down with the saloon!"

The President: Well now keep sweet. We haven't come together particularly to define our views. If any of you don't know where I stand to-day, after all the time I have spent in Temperance, you never will know at all. If any of you don't know where Neal Dow stands, or Robert Graham, or Howard Crosby, or Albert Griffin, where our friends from all over this country stand, what is the use of trying to tell you? So we are

not going to waste time in telling what we believe. Don't we know what the Prohibitionists want, and what the High License people want? What are we here for? It is not to see what we can get from one another, but what we can give to each other. It is for the Prohibitionists to tell us, "I am willing to go so far to meet the emergency, provided we can put down the saloons." It is for the High License men to say how far they will go to put down the saloon. It is for the Anti-Saloon Republicans to say how far they will go to put down the saloon. It is for the Anti-Saloon Democrats, if any there be, to say how far they will go to put down the saloon.

A voice : They are pretty scarce.

The President : And, therefore, all the more precious. If there is one Anti-Saloon Democrat, let him rise, that we may cheer him.

One rose, and was cheered.

A voice : Mr. President, what does the saloon want?

The President : I don't care, brother, what the saloon wants. I want to kill it. When I am hunting tigers, I don't want to know what the beast wants. I want to kill it; that's all. Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are going to work. We have come together in a peaceable way, to be as sweet as possible to one another. Let us avoid all offensiveness. Let us avoid all partisanship or personalities. You see, they rely upon this. They are watching. The grog-seller over there at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street is watching to find some Prohibitionist giving a dig at a High License man, and some High License man gouging some Prohibitionist. They long to have it so. They long to have us very bitter, and they want to see us fight. Is this an arena? If it is, I don't accept the presidency. Is this a free fight? Is this a mob? If it is, ladies and gentlemen, I decline

the presidency. But if you have come together in the spirit of our holy faith, to see what we can all do together, then I feel that it is a very great honor to be made President of the first of a series of congresses which will be held every year down to the coming of the kingdom, and down to the death of the saloon. For, you see, ladies and gentlemen, while we need conventions to make platforms, to pass resolutions, to bind men together, to be the bond of action, we also need congresses that shall talk lovingly together and lay plans for the convention. Just as in the Church they have a church congress. A church congress does not pass resolutions or make platforms, but a church congress does ventilate the views of the leading thinkers of that particular church, so that when the convention, or the synod, or the conference come together, they shall be able to legislate understanding what the sentiment of the church is. If I understand, that is this Congress. Am I right? For if I am not, I don't want to undertake the presidency. Am I right? Will you all stand by me in that?

Voices : Yes.

The President : Very few of you said Yes.

Mr. Faxon, of Quincy, Mass. : I believe, Mr. President, there are occasions and times when you want to fight.

The President : Yes ; but I tell you when the time is not. The time is not when the generals have met in a tent to consider the set of the field and lay out the plans. That is not the time to fight. Fools fight then. Heroes fight when the campaign is laid out and when the charge is, "Up, guards, and at them!" But we have not come here to fight. If anybody has come here to fight, he ought to leave. It isn't right. I tell you, in view of this call, we don't want to fight now. You needn't talk to me about fighting. I am sufficiently pugnacious, anyway. Don't talk about fighting now. Let us have two

days of sweet reasonableness. They know we will fight at the right time. Let us show the world now that we are people of sweet reasonableness, and we shall accomplish a great deal of good.

Now, one other thing before we proceed. The committee drew up certain rules, and before I accept the presidency I want to read them to you. (The President read the rules.)

Well, ladies and gentlemen, if you are willing that I should be your President, following those rules strictly, I accept the honor with great thankfulness. I have been a Temperance worker ever since I was ten years old, and that makes me now sixty years in the fight. I have belonged to every organization that has risen. I join them all. I go for everything that will put down the saloon. And so I accept this honor at your hands, and will strive to discharge this duty, hoping that you will help me. You will help me very much if, when you rise, if I do not see you at the moment, you will be good enough just to call your name. Say, "Mr. A. B., from C.," and then blaze ahead. It will save time.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, editor of *Zion's Herald*, Boston.

The first subject on the programme was,

IS STATE AND NATIONAL PROHIBITION DESIRABLE AND
FEASIBLE ?

The President : The first speaker will be an object lesson—a man over eighty-six years of age, coming from far off-New England, away down in the State of Maine ; a man whom we have all known from our childhood. It is a good thing that the first utterance in the regular discussions of this Congress should be by the Hon. Neal Dow, whom I have the pleasure of presenting to you. (Great applause.)

The President : That, sir, is not a circumstance to what we will do when you are a hundred years old.

General Dow's address was as follows :

I am expected to give my opinion upon this question within the limit of fifteen minutes. I know of no mode of condensation by which I can do that ; but in a few minutes I can show that Prohibition is both desirable and feasible, by relating what the experience of Maine has been in obtaining Prohibition and maintaining it for nearly forty years.

There was probably no State in the Union the people of which were less likely than those of Maine to adopt the policy of Prohibition, at the time when the agitation in that direction was commenced. There were none anywhere among whom the use of intoxicating drinks was more general, where the drink habit seemed to be more fixed and ineradicable. They were consuming in strong drink the entire value of all the property of the State in every period of twenty years, as the people of the United States are now doing in every period of thirty-five years. There were but two great and leading industries in the State at that time—the lumber trade and the fisheries, both on a large scale. The products of these were mostly sent to the West Indies, the returns for them being largely in rum, and in molasses to be converted into New England Rum, at the numerous distilleries then existing in the State. All this immense quantity of rum was for home consumption, besides a quantity of potato-whiskey and cider-brandy, to the production of which some of the distilleries were devoted. The State of Maine was never a dollar the richer through these great industries, because their products were largely consumed by the people in the shape of rum.

The people of Maine were poor in those days ; the State was the poorest in the Union ; evidences of unthrift and

dilapidation were everywhere seen. All this was to be traced to the drink habits of the people, through which the wages of labor were wasted, and the people themselves disinclined to steady industry, and speedily unfitted for it. Every grocer's shop and country trader's shop was a rum shop; and, with the rum taverns throughout the State, they afforded facilities for drinking and held out temptations to intemperance in every neighborhood. At every cross-road there were rum shops; there was no hamlet in the State so remote or so insignificant that the Liquor Traffic did not find it and establish a grog-shop there.

All this poverty and unthrift came from the Drink Traffic; this was established by law, and the law was supposed to represent the public opinion of the time when it was enacted. The men who set themselves earnestly at work to change all this began upon public opinion as the first step in the endeavor to overthrow the policy of license to the grog-shops, and to substitute for it the policy of Prohibition and suppression. We saw that Prohibition was desirable, and were resolved to find out if it were feasible. Missionary work, continuous, methodical, and persistent was undertaken on a large scale. The missionaries were volunteers, working without pay, and furnishing themselves all the expenses of their innumerable pilgrimages through the State, in the cold and severe winters as well as in the milder seasons. Their work was to show that the drink habit was all bad, inevitably leading to poverty, pauperism, and crime, and that no change in all this was possible so long as the grog-shops should be permitted to hold out temptation to intemperance everywhere.

In every little country church and town house, and in every roadside school-house, we met the farmers and workingmen, with their wives and children, and laid

out before them the intimate and inevitable relation of the Liquor Traffic to the poverty, pauperism, suffering, and crime so common in the State. Our purpose was to fire the hearts of the people with a burning indignation against the grog-shops which infested every part of the State. This agitation was continued without intermission in every part of Maine until public opinion was so far enlightened and aroused that, in 1851, the Maine Law passed the Legislature through all its stages, and was enacted in one and the same day by a majority of 86 to 40 in the House and 18 to 10 in the Senate, and took effect by a special provision on its approval by the Governor.

All intoxicating liquors in the State intended for sale were by this law liable to be seized, confiscated, and destroyed. The law came down upon the liquor-dealers suddenly, without notice or warning ; they were taken by surprise, with large stocks of liquors on hand as retailers and as wholesalers. The municipal authorities issued notice to these that a reasonable time would be conceded to them for the sending away their liquors to other States and countries, where their sale was permitted by law ; but liquors retained in the State would be considered as intended for sale, and would be seized and dealt with according to law.

The immediate result of this was that the draymen of the cities and large towns were very busy for some days in transporting these contraband liquors to the railway stations and steamboat landings on their way to Boston and New York. These drays sometimes formed long processions, engaged in this wonderful work of reclaiming Maine from this fruitful source of misery, wretchedness, and ruin. Suddenly the open sale of liquor ceased throughout the State. Every man of decent character engaged in the traffic abandoned it ; it was continued on

the sly, in a very secret way and on a small scale only, by the lowest part of our population, mostly foreigners. The larger part of these were speedily brought to justice and driven out of the trade. The law was well and promptly enforced in the cities and large towns, as well as in the rural districts and villages.

The immediate result of this faithful administration of the law was that within six months the jails in the counties of Penobscot, Kennebec, Franklin, Oxford, and York were empty. Cumberland County was older and more populous than any other in the State. Its jail was habitually overcrowded, and was so at the time of the enactment of the law ; but within four months there were but five prisoners in it, three of whom were liquor-sellers sentenced there for violation of the law. The House of Correction for Cumberland County was generally crowded with prisoners ; within four months it was empty. The Workhouse for Portland was a very large establishment, and was overcrowded ; within four months its inmates were so much reduced in number that it could accommodate a city four times larger than Portland without grog-shops. The same thing was true of the workhouses throughout the State. House to house begging for " cold victuals " was universal before the law, but soon after its enactment this unfailing sign of poverty and desperate want ceased entirely, and has never since been seen in Maine.

The effect of the law has been that, in more than three fourths of our territory, containing more than three fourths of our population, the Liquor Traffic is practically unknown, so that an entire generation has grown up there never having seen a grog-shop nor the results of such an institution. There were many distilleries in Maine—large ones—seven of which, and two breweries, were in Portland ; but now there is no brewery or distil-

lery in the State, nor has there been one for many years. At the same time large quantities of West India rum were imported ; this was brought to us by the cargo, many large cargoes every year. Now not a puncheon of rum is imported, and there has not been one for many years. The liquors introduced into the State are in small packages, generally smuggled in, concealed in flour barrels or sugar barrels or dry-goods boxes.

The volume of the Liquor Traffic now in Maine is not one twentieth as large as it was in the old rum time, or as it would be under any form of License. The annual saving to our people, direct and indirect, from Prohibition is more than twenty-four million dollars, which, under any form of License, would be spent, lost, and wasted in drink. The result of this great saving is that Maine is now one of the most prosperous States in the Union, having been the poorest in ante-Prohibition days. In 1884, after an experience of more than thirty-three years of the results of Prohibition, our people put it into the Constitution by a majority of 47,000, the affirmative vote being three times larger than the negative.

The wretched condition in which Maine was before the advent of Prohibition, contrasted with its results upon the moral and material interests of the people, show conclusively, beyond all possibility of denial or doubt, that such a policy was desirable ; and the readiness and enthusiasm with which it was adopted by the Legislature and subsequently approved and affirmed by the people clearly demonstrates that Prohibition is feasible. What I have said of the results of Prohibition in Maine will apply, with little if any modification, to Kansas and Iowa ; in less degree, perhaps, to Vermont and New Hampshire, the prohibitory statutes in the latter States being defective in important points, while those of the three former States are not yet well suited to making

speedy and thorough work of the complete suppression of the Liquor Traffic.

In the New York *Independent* of June 5th of this year Albert W. Paine says, his figures being taken from official sources, "The revenue from the liquor trade in the whole United States is \$1.95 per inhabitant: in New York, \$2.30; in Pennsylvania, \$1.49; in New Jersey, \$2.95; in Massachusetts, \$1.02; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, 65 cents; in New Hampshire, 85 cents; in Maine, *three and two thirds cents* per inhabitant, which is about the same as Vermont."

The most formidable obstacle now in the way of the speedy adoption of Prohibition throughout the country is the High License craze, which was invented and urged by politicians as the only possible defence of the saloons against the rapidly rising indignation of the people. The leading political papers of the country urged upon the saloonists the acceptance of this policy as their only hope of safety from the Prohibitionists. At the same time it was urged upon the country at large as a good thing for Temperance, because it would regulate and restrict the Liquor Traffic, while Prohibition was practically Free Rum—because that policy was a failure everywhere. Such was from the first and is now the platform of the High License Party.

Now, there is not a word of truth in that. May I speak plainly here, just what I think?

The President: Oh, yes; frankly but kindly.

Mr. Dow: Very well. That's a lie. There's not a word of truth in it. Now there is no public man in this country better informed in relation to public affairs than the late Thurlow Weed, a man of very high character. Not very long before his death, in the New York *Tribune* he had an article entitled "Wine a Remedy for Intemperance," and in it he said, "Prohibition having failed

everywhere, it is very important now that thoughtful men should turn their attention to some way to remedy the tremendous evils coming from intemperance." And he said, "Even Neal Dow acknowledges that Prohibition is a failure in Maine and everywhere." So, taking him up in the columns of the *New York Tribune*, I said, "Mr. Thurlow Weed, where did you get it, that Neal Dow said anything like that?" Well, he said he got it from the papers. I said, "Very well, Mr. Thurlow Weed; you have had all your life such connections with the papers that you ought to understand that you should believe very little that is said there."

Now I never said that—"Prohibition having failed everywhere." You will find that in the most reputable papers in the country, even in the religious papers—"Prohibition has failed everywhere," and that it is practically "Free Rum."

I wish to speak of this matter freely and frankly, because it is of the utmost importance to the progress of Prohibition that all honest and sincere friends of Temperance should understand it, there being many such now in the High License Party.

I say, then, with no hesitation or reserve, that there is not a true word in that platform, except so far as the interests of the saloonists are concerned.

It is certainly true that High License is their chief if not their only defence against Prohibition. It is not true that License of whatever name ever did or ever can regulate and restrict the Liquor Traffic. Under that policy the volume of the Liquor Traffic and the evils coming from it have never been diminished, and never can be reduced. Under that policy the demand for liquor, whatever it may have been, has always been fully supplied, and always must be so. High License or License of any name is practically Free Rum, and always has

been so, because under that policy everybody who wants liquor and has the money to pay for it has always been and always will be supplied. There is no intelligent man who dare endanger his reputation for common honesty by denying this to be entirely true without any qualification. High License is, in fact, Free Rum.

It will be seen, then, that this part of the High License platform is founded upon a statement not one word of which is true. It is a cheat and a fraud. I do not say that all the High Licensists know this ; I prefer to believe that they know very little of the matter. There are many of them who are led to believe that License "regulates and restricts the saloons, and diminishes the volume of the Liquor Traffic." There are no statistics which justify that opinion, while authorities abound which show conclusively that it has no foundation in truth. England is a High License country and has been so for many years, and in no other country is there more if so much abounding and dreadful intemperance. In no other country are the people more occupied by the endeavor to devise some expedient to diminish the fearful evil. The present Parliament has now before it some ten or twelve distinct projects relating to this question, but the Government is at this moment engaged in a fearful struggle with a powerful minority in the endeavor to fasten the Liquor Traffic upon the nation through all time by urging a measure creating a vested interest in the grog-shops, and giving immense indemnities to every one of them that may be closed.

There are but two points in the High License platform :

"Prohibition is everywhere a failure ; and

,"High License regulates and restricts the Liquor Traffic, therefore it is the only remedy for intemperance."

There is not one word of that true ; it is false from

the first word to the last. The party opposes Prohibition vehemently and (professedly) only on that ground. I say, then, without hesitation, that the platform of the High License Party, in its entirety, is a falsehood, a cheat, and a fraud.

Prohibition is now in active operation in many hundreds of localities in this country and in the old world, and has never been a failure anywhere ; it has been a success everywhere—that is, it has diminished the volume of the Liquor Traffic everywhere, in many places sweeping it entirely away ; in some places greatly reducing it ; in other places reducing it to a larger or smaller extent. Those who pose before the country as Temperance men ought to know what the facts really are in relation to the results of Prohibition ; this is easily ascertained by any one who honestly desires to find out what the truth is. Failing to inform themselves on this point, they may justly be stigmatized as spreading an untruth wilfully when they declare Prohibition to be a failure everywhere.

These men quote Portland and Bangor, in Maine, as cases in point to prove their assertion that Prohibition is a failure. Liquors are sold in both those cities in violation of law on a very small scale, and generally on the sly ; but it is within the truth to say that in Portland the quantity sold is not one hundredth part so much and in Bangor not one fiftieth part so much as it was in the old rum time, or as it would be now under any form of License. These men wilfully and perversely ignore the vast benefits coming from Prohibition, and sneeringly point to isolated cases of violation and evasion of the law.

These men complain of us because we treat them with scant courtesy, hardly recognizing them, if at all, as honest friends of Temperance, in the interests of which

they profess to be working. We are justified in judging them by their surroundings, their associations, their affiliations ; and we find a large part of these among the worst and lowest classes of the people, all harmoniously working together, heartily co-operating with each other for the accomplishment of the same object—the defeat of Prohibition and establishment of the Liquor Traffic by law, and handing it down to future generations.

These men seem to think the Temperance movement a mere dress parade, where gentlemen can display their feathers and epaulettes. They seem to have no consciousness that it is war—real war—war *à l'outrance*, with no quarter ; a war of extermination to the grog-shop, on the one hand, or ruin to the country on the other. A “ war between heaven and hell,” as an eminent member of the British Parliament called it, in which there is and can be no neutrality ; the Lord’s side and the devil’s side ; there is no other side, and no between those sides. On which side is the High License Party found ? I make no reply to this, but the answer is obvious and infallible.

Look carefully at the formidable front of this great High License Party. With field-glasses examine its long line drawn up in battle array. What do we see ? A great many of the foremost men of the country, both clerical and lay, famous in Church and State ; but these are not numerous enough to withstand the onward march of Prohibition. Look again ; what do we see ? All the brewers, distillers, and rumsellers of the country are in that line ; the masters of splendid drink shops and the keepers of the lowest and vilest rum dens—they are all there ; all of them so graphically described by John Wesley when he said :

“ Oh, ye dealers in strong drink, ye are poisoners-general ; ye drive His Majesty’s subjects to hell like sheep ;

neither does your eye pity nor spare ; your gain is the blood of the people. Blood is upon the foundation of your houses, upon the walls of them, upon the furniture of them, upon the roof of them. Oh, ye men of blood, do ye think to hand down your gorgeous palaces and your great estates to your children's children ? Nay, verily, the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you ; your name shall be blotted out ; you shall have no place."

All the blasphemers and Sabbath-breakers are in that line ; all the rogues, roughs, and rascals ; the thieves, gamblers, robbers, burglars, wife-beaters, incendiaries, men of violence and blood—all are there working together earnestly, harmoniously, fraternally for one common end—viz., the overthrow of Prohibition and the establishment by law of the men who " drive the people to hell like sheep." That is the answer, the infallible answer to the question, " On which side is the High License Party found ?" This is not my answer, but that of the facts in the case.

The Voice, the organ of the National Prohibition Party, has an uncomfortable way sometimes of driving people into a corner or putting them into a hole, and smilingly leaving them there. In the issue of May 22d it gives an amusing account of an interview with many High License men on the matter of the Louisiana Lottery, which is now offering \$1,000,000 a year to any State that will give it a license. These High License gentlemen, every one of them, were vehemently opposed to licensing the lottery, but at the same time are earnest friends of License to the Liquor Traffic. Why object to the lottery ? Because it is inconsistent with the public good ; it demoralizes the people. Not for \$40,000,000 a year would the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst grant a license to the Louisiana Lottery, but the grog-shops stand on a very different footing !

Yes, that is true, for they are a thousand times more mischievous every way to nation and State, and a thousand times more demoralizing to the people than the lottery could possibly be. Will the leaders of the High License party, clerical or lay, please tell us why they object to licensing a lottery, but earnestly favor license to the grog-shop? There are some things that we don't understand, we Prohibitionists, and that is one of them.

Now, there is not one of these intelligent men who does not know that a grog-shop cannot be established without destroying people, body and soul, making hundreds of thousands of homes miserable and wretched, which, but for the grog-shops, would be peaceful, prosperous, and happy. They know all that, and yet how can intelligent men, calling themselves Christian men, give warrant of law to that devilish trade? I call it devilish, as I am justified in doing, for the reason that its tendency is to drive out from the people everything that is good, and to substitute for it everything that is bad.

Now, in working up this matter of the Maine Law in Maine, fifty years ago, we had a great advantage in the help of all the clergymen, and especially the Methodist clergymen. I suppose it is not news to you that Methodist ministers are not afraid of anybody when they are going for the right. They went up and down through the State of Maine denouncing License. We struck at the License first, down in Maine. We would have none of that. We would give no legal standing to that infernal trade, the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a drink. And those Methodist ministers came out against the Liquor Traffic as "the gigantic crime of crimes," and denounced License as a compromise with sin and a league with the devil.

And now the most extraordinary thing about this

whole matter is this : that high-minded, intelligent men—as much so as we can claim to be ; good men—as good as we can claim to be—go with all their heart to Albany to labor with those boodle men up there in order to get them to establish grog-shops here. Hand in hand with men who are “ poisoners-general,” “ driving the people to hell like sheep,” earnestly pleading with the Legislature to establish the saloons by law. And they have what they call a reason for it. And what is it ? That Prohibition has failed everywhere. Well, excuse me for repeating. That’s a lie, whoever said it. I don’t mean to say that they know it to be a lie, but it is a lie for all that. That’s the only foundation that they have. They pretend that they don’t like the grog-shops. That’s what they say. And yet they go for them with all their might, and they are very bitter against us who won’t go with them to give legal standing in the community to that trade which inflicts more mischief and misery upon the people than all other sources of misery combined. Now our friends (if they call themselves our friends) who are in favor of High License, who are advocating High License, let me tell you this : it is you, and only you, who stand between Prohibition and the grog-shops. Whether you think and mean it or not, that is the fact. It is you who stand between Prohibition and the grog-shops. But for you Prohibition would come down upon the grog-shops like an extinguisher upon a candle.

General Dow’s time having expired, there were calls of “ Go on.”

The President : No, no extension of time. The moment you break the rule, gentlemen, you must have another President.

The President continued :

There is a gentleman to whom both England and America are indebted for earnest, wise, persevering work

in the Temperance cause. He has done so much to organize not only men, but boys, of which I hope he will tell you, that I have very great pleasure in presenting to you a gentleman who represents the Church movement in this matter—our friend, Robert Graham, Esq., who will address you.

Mr. Graham spoke as follows :

I am one of the men whom General Neal Dow characterized as men who recognize a lie. I am one of the men to whom he referred when a gentleman on that platform called out Amen. I beg to say—"Sweetness and strength," the President reminds me, and therefore I will change my line. I would have been tempted to say something more than that.

Allow me to say first, then, that I came to this meeting with one intention, and only one ; I came to this meeting with one desire, and only one ; I came to this meeting with the determined intention to express my own honest opinions as far as I knew them ; I came here determined that no single man or any body of men should frighten me down in the expression of those opinions ; I came here determined that I would cast no aspersions ; I came here determined that I would never use the word "lic," and determined that I would never characterize any man as a liar provided he was an honest man, and one guided by the light of his own conscience. Now, I take this position, and I will state it frankly at the very opening of my address.

Is National and State Prohibition desirable and feasible ? I answer the question frankly, and I answer it fully. General Neal Dow left out two words of that sentence. He left out "National" and "State." I put in the two words "National" and "State," and I say frankly and firmly, and I give reasons for the opinion that I offer, that National and State Prohibition is neither

desirable nor feasible. The reason is as follows : I know that I am speaking to an audience that is to an extent antagonistic, but I have been accustomed to meet enemies, and I never feared enemies, and I am not going to fear them now.

The President : There are no enemies here ; all friends.

Mr. Graham : Then, friends, I ask you to listen. (Applause.) I hope you will be able to see, before I am through what I have got to state, that my speech is not sullied with aspersions, that it is a fair attempt at argument.

Now, what is National and State Prohibition ? It is well, at the very commencement, that we should understand just what is the meaning of the words that flow trippingly from our tongues. What is National and State Prohibition ? It means this : That there shall be an entire prohibition of the manufacture or sale, and therefore of the use, of all liquors, distilled or fermented. It puts in precisely the same category whiskey and beer. It puts in precisely the same category brandy and wine. I hold, then, that that is a law that is very deep and searching and extreme. Even General Neal Dow will allow that a law applied not only to every individual State of these United States, but also to the whole country as well, by which all manufacture or sale and all use of fermented and distilled liquors is prohibited under pains and penalties is an exceedingly extreme law. I am not necessarily averse to the passage of an extreme law, but I hold that a man who propagates an extreme law like that, needs to consider two things. He needs, first, to consider that the basis of such a law must be of an almost impregnable character. He has got to believe, practically, that that law, where it has been applied, has been in all essential particulars an effective law, and has been and can be enforced.

Now, first, what is the basis on which Prohibition stands? I hold, sir, that that basis is an unscriptural basis. I read my Bible, I hope, with some degree of care and attention. I never read, in any part of Holy Writ, a command which says, "Thou shalt not drink!" I read a large number of injunctions which say, "Thou shalt not be drunken." I ask General Neal Dow and those (the great majority of this meeting) who believe with him, by what authority you add an eleventh commandment to the decalogue?

Let me come to the next point. I read there, in the life of your Lord and Master, and mine, that He used that which you denounce in such unsparing terms. I pass on to the greatest of his disciples, John the Baptist. He was a total abstainer from, as our Lord was a user of wine. I draw my conclusions from these two practical cases, to the following effect: that Total Abstinence, or a temperate use of wine, is a matter that belongs to the man's own individual conscience, and should be acted upon by his own volition.

Let me give a word of explanation here. General Neal Dow, when he was dealing with this question of Prohibition in Maine, which I will touch upon in a few moments, spoke severely of the High License men. I don't remember exactly the words that he used, but it was to the effect that they squirmed under the success of Prohibition in Maine. Let me say to you here, only by way of interjection, that I have never touched intoxicating liquors since I was twenty-one. I have been a Total Abstainer and a worker for Temperance reform during the whole of these forty-one years of my life; and at the same time I am a High License man because I believe in its effectiveness. Now, we have to deal with the case upon a practical basis. Is it an effective law, or is it not? I will leave over that little offensive word of three

letters ; but I will tell you that I am one of the twelve who did visit Maine, and can speak of what I saw with my own eyes ; and I make this statement in General Dow's presence, that when I was in the city of Portland, Me. (and remember that that is a little city of perhaps 30,000 population—it will go inside of one of the wards of the great city of New York), I was at a hotel where I saw liquor on the table of one of the guests ; and furthermore, within one week, when I was at the city of Portland, there were thirty-three men and women brought up there and fined or imprisoned, or both, for drunkenness—and that in a place where it is not supposed to be possible to obtain liquor.

Go now to Bangor. When I mentioned the fact that liquor was openly sold in the city of Bangor, I was scouted at and frowned down, and told that a man who wanted to find rum would always find it. But the fact was true, and has been proved true within two months past. And when, after long sleep, the men of Bangor woke up and wanted the law to put its nippers upon the men who had been selling rum for all these years, it was astonishing what a procession of trucks was carting out this liquor, which had all the time been domiciled in the city of Bangor, when the Prohibitionists were all the time speaking of the impossibility of obtaining liquor there !

I hold, then, that Prohibition has not been quite the success in Maine that General Dow says it has.

I don't know how long Vermont and New Hampshire have been under a prohibitory law, but I know that in these two States that law is simply a dead letter. In the town of Dover, with something like 13,000 souls, under a stern prohibitory law, with a nuisance clause attached, there were to be found saloons openly selling liquor.

Now come on to Providence, R. I. There also I

speaking of what I observed. I went to Providence during the time that the prohibitory law was operative there, and found there a larger number of places selling liquor under a prohibitory law than had existed under a license law.

Pass on further still. Take the great State of Iowa. Is there any single man on this platform or in the hall (here a gentleman in the audience rose and stated that he came from Iowa)—is there any single man or woman in this hall, the gentleman from Iowa included, who will venture to say that to-day, in the city of Burlington, in the city of Davenport, in the city of Council Bluffs, the liquor saloons are not as open and as openly selling as ever they did at any time when they acted under a High License or any other law?

I hold that Prohibition may be and is an effective thing in places where the population is sparse and scattered. My objection to Prohibition, in its National and State aspect, is that, applied to these large areas, you have to consider its feasibility in a city with 1,800,000 souls, where the problem is more vast than anything General Neal Dow has been called upon to cope with. You have not touched New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Chicago, St. Louis. You have not touched New Orleans. All the great cities of the United States are a sealed book, as far as the Prohibition Party and as far as the Prohibition law is concerned. Hence I believe this, that the difficulties of any repressive, restrictive, or prohibitory law increase in the inverse ratio of the population in that particular city. So I hold that while Prohibition has been a success in the smaller districts and in areas sparsely populated, yet as soon as it comes to be applied to the great cities, of which the city of New York is an example, it will be a gigantic and enormous failure. And because I never

propose to put my hand to any law that I know beforehand will be a paper law and not an effective law, for that reason, and for that reason only, am I a determined opponent of that Prohibition law.

Now there is another point I want to touch upon. I have been fighting for a restrictive law in this State for a great many years. The men who have always and uniformly prevented the passage of any such law have been the Prohibition Party, especially the third party of the Prohibition Party. I will tell you why I aimed at the passage of that law. In looking at the conditions of this great State of New York, I want to offer a word of advice, and this was prompted by the words that fell from the President in his opening address. He said, "We have here Prohibitionists, High License men, Anti-Saloon Republicans and Anti-Saloon Democrats—if there are such ;" but he never said a single word of the greatest factor of all in this great work of temperance reform—not the men who are going for law, but the men who are working for Gospel—the men who are working in God's name, holding out their hands and trying to take hold of that drunken man that you don't touch even with a pair of tongs. The one thing that I want to impress upon these gentlemen, here and now, is this : I think the time has come when we should go back to the older lines upon which they worked before the craze for Prohibition stirred up the enthusiasm of all the people, and put before them that grand question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and lead them to answer, "Yes." A few days ago I received a letter from a lawyer, who was evidently a keen, smart man. He said, "Do you know if there is a single Temperance society in the whole city of New York that will take hold of the family of a man or woman that has been brought to poverty through drink? I have been inquiring through this whole city, and can't

find any such organization. What can you do?" I answered this, "If there was an organization in the city of New York whose duty and business it was to take hold of all the families that had been brought to poverty through drink, they would have on hand a larger contract than any voluntarily supported organization could carry out. But if you will let me know the name, the place, and the circumstances of the man who has come down to poverty, I think I know of one man and one society who will take hold of that man, as a man, who will administer the pledge to him in a solemn, serious way, and who will keep hold of that man's hand until he is able to stand on his own feet." Brethren, I believe that, while we may be antagonistic on the question of a restrictive law and a prohibitory law, there is one broad platform on which we can all stand, and that is, that we do not any longer repeat the lines,

" Rattle his bones over the stones,
He's only a drunkard that nobody owns."

We want to go back to the rescue work for the drunkard—work that characterized, in a beneficent way, all the early workers of this faith.

Judge Moulton, of Washington City, spoke as follows :

The discussion turns upon this proposition : Is State and National Prohibition desirable and feasible? Two distinct propositions. First, is it desirable? I answer in the affirmative, Yes. Prohibition is desirable. It is desirable because it prohibits the saloon and the liquor power from debauching the fathers of the Republic. It is desirable because it prevents the saloon from making the father and the head of the family a drunkard. It is desirable because it prohibits the power of the saloon from making the boy, the moment he has left home, a drunkard. It is desirable because Prohibition prevents the saloon from striking down the Christian Sabbath in

America. Prohibition is desirable because it prevents the waste of the toil and the industry and the money of the laboring men of the Republic ; because it prohibits the saloon from making about seven-tenths of the criminals of the Republic. It is desirable because it prevents the saloon from making three-fourths of all the paupers of the Republic. In other words, I might run on in this category, and say it is desirable because it prevents the saloon from debauching everything that is good and pure and noble in American citizenship. I don't want to use all my five minutes. I don't want to be called down. I will take up the second proposition : Is it feasible ? Why, from my earliest childhood I have learned that neither man nor the Divine Being above can make any law that will absolutely prohibit anything. I suppose that when God was giving the laws away up on the top of Mount Sinai, as I have heard some of these good brothers say, there were lots of men saying, " What's the use of making a prohibitory law, saying that you sha'n't worship these gods ? You ain't prohibiting it." I expect, all over this Republic, there are men saying, " Why, the prohibitory law don't prohibit. Don't you see the drunkard there in the street ?" Yes, and if you will come down to Washington, the capital of the nation, I will show you a prohibitory law on our statute books saying that a man sha'n't steal, and I will take you to the Criminal Court and show you the records of the violation of this law during every month in our city. There is not a law on the statute books of this State that is not violated every week. Who is he that will dare to stand up here to-day and say, " Those laws don't prohibit crime ; therefore repeal them." Prohibition will prohibit everywhere. Beyond that, fellow-citizens, Prohibition does prohibit wherever it is thoroughly tried.

Mr. Edwin C. Pierce, of Rhode Island, spoke as follows :

Is Prohibition desirable? Yes. We cannot, without it, abolish the slavery of intemperance, we cannot solve the social problem, we cannot have a triumphant democracy.

Is it feasible? Yes. Yet when enacted and long remaining on the statute book, it has not been as effective as its friends had hoped. I want to state here one of the great reasons why Prohibition has failed to suppress the Liquor Traffic, and if I came from Rhode Island only to say this one thing, I should value the opportunity. I am a lawyer, and I am somewhat familiar with the administration of the criminal law. A serious, a most hurtful mistake has been made in the enactment of prohibitory laws, in this, that the penalties have been wholly inadequate. The mistake has lasted for now more than a generation. *I pray you to examine as to this, to recognize the fact, everywhere offer the explanation, and in future legislation repair the error.* Another thing is desirable to make Prohibition successful. Amend the jury system so as to permit a verdict in all criminal cases to be rendered by less than a unanimous finding. In all but two or three States constitutional amendment is requisite to modify the unanimity rule of the common law in jury trials.

Is National Prohibition desirable? Yes. Without it the Rum Power cannot be crushed. That power must be extirpated, torn up by the roots. Do not, however, seek to amend the constitution by laying a mandate for prohibition upon Congress. It is a very difficult thing to amend the National Constitution. Let us be thankful that it *is* a National Constitution. Instead of amending the Constitution, *apply* it, construing it beneficially. Its powers are enumerated rather than defined. Under the

Constitution as it is—under the power to regulate commerce—the manufacture, the importation, and the traffic in intoxicants can be sufficiently, radically dealt with.

Again, the power to tax involves the power to destroy. When the issues of State banks were taxed ten *percentum*, the purpose was to destroy such issues. The power to regulate commerce is, however, ample for the suppression of the Liquor Traffic.

Is it impossible to secure Prohibition in many States and in the nation at an early day? I think not. Constitutional amendment in States is not, however, the easy nor the sure way to it. Statutory Prohibition is, in the nature of American politics, fully as permanent, as effective, and easier to secure in the long run. In order to get State or National Prohibition, it must be made a leading issue in American politics. I do not say an exclusive issue, for it cannot be, but a leading issue.

Has the time come when this question can be made such an issue? Yes. It is easy to do it now. The tariff is soon to be removed from serious controversy. It has been with us as an exigent subject of controversy for sixty years, save when put aside by the struggle for the Union. We are about to have a long rest. The revision of 1890 will stand. It will be judged, some years hence, by its fruits. Let the Temperance forces of America welcome the opportunity to gain the right of way for their great issue. I voted for Hayes, for Garfield, for Blaine, and for Harrison. I would recall none of those votes. But new occasions make new duties, the serious problems of American society summon patriots to consider the duty of political readjustment. Prohibition must be nationalized. I think it will require political reorganization.

Mrs. Ada M. Bittenbender, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman : I believe State and National Prohibition to be desirable and feasible. As to National Prohibition, to be effective I believe it must come through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

An Amendment for National Constitutional Prohibition has been pending in every Congress since the Forty-fourth—nearly fourteen years—without reaching a vote in either body. During this time petitions representing more than ten millions of American citizens have been presented in Congress asking for the proposal to the States of such an amendment.

The amendment was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, and a minority report in its favor was returned by the House Committee on the Judiciary in the Fiftieth Congress. Its original form was not generally supported by Temperance organizations because of the discrimination concerning fermented liquors. The present form has the approval of all organizations of the country which advocate National Prohibition. It was first introduced in the Fiftieth Congress, and provides :

“SECTION 1. The manufacture, inportation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be, and hereby is, forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

“Sec. 2. Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.”

The question has been, how to secure the concurrence of two thirds of each House of Congress to its proposal, and its ratification by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States. This has been answered in the “National Prohibitory Amendment Guide,” a non-parti-

san manual issued last November by the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association.

The Plan of Canvass contained in the manual has received the endorsement of the National Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the General Officers and Superintendents of Legislation and Petitions of nearly all State and Territorial Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, and the General Officers of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars, the Supreme Council Royal Templars of Temperance, and other national Temperance societies, who will represent their respective organizations at the joint Congressional Hearing on the Amendment, June 14th, in furtherance of this plan. The plan has received the endorsement also of Hon. Henry W. Blair, United States Senator from New Hampshire, the author of the National Prohibitory Amendment, and who has it in charge in the Senate.

A *résumé* of the canvass is given in the manual, which I will read :

RÉSUMÉ OF THE CANVASS.

“ The object of the canvass is to obtain an Amendment to the National Constitution, forever prohibiting in the United States, and in every place subject to their jurisdiction, the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

“ The plan of canvass is contained in the ‘ National Prohibitory Amendment Guide.’ Its main feature is to register National Constitutional Prohibitionists and to proclaim their number from time to time, as the work progresses, to the law-makers and people in general. At present there is no way of determining their numerical strength.

“ It is hoped that the footings of this register, in the near future, will indicate that one half of the adult peo-

ple of the United States have enlisted in the war for the extermination of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and desire that the Constitution shall express the National will on the subject. When this is so shown, it is believed that the Amendment will be proposed and ratified.

“The canvassing is to be carried on by three classes of National Prohibitory Amendment committees, composed of representatives of the various Prohibition organizations of the United States, viz.:

“1. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for local work.

“2. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for Congressional work.

“3. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for State legislative work.

“The representatives on the two last-named committees are to consist of the General Officers of the National or State Prohibition societies, the General Officers of the National or State Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party, and the National or State W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

“The local canvassing is to be carried on in canvassing districts, each consisting of one school district, except in large cities, where the school district may be divided into several canvassing districts.

“The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union having made this Amendment a special line of work; having county and district, as well as local and State organizations through which to carry it on; and having a suitable department—that of Legislation and Petitions—ready to do its bidding, the initiatory steps for the organization of these committees and the responsibility for executing a part of the system of official reporting are committed to its care.

“The canvass is to be carried on simultaneously throughout the entire country.

“Committee work is classed under two general heads, viz.:

“*First.* Before proposal of the Amendment.

“*Second.* After proposal of the Amendment.

“Under the first general head the work is subdivided into seven distinct branches, the first six to be carried on

by local committees and the seventh by the National Committee, viz.:

“ 1. Registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists.

“ 2. Congressional petition work.

“ 3. Public discussions.

“ 4. Press work.

“ 5. Distribution of literature.

“ 6. Reporting local work to Prohibition organizations.

“ 7. Congressional canvassing and reports.

“ Under the second general head the work is subdivided into two distinct branches, the first to be carried on by the local committees and the second by the State committee, the former local work as far as applicable being continued, viz.:

“ 1. State legislative petition work.

“ 2. State legislative canvassing.

“ The expenses of N. P. A. committees for local work are to be met by contributions to the committees from the Prohibition organizations represented on them, by contributions from other sources, and by the efforts of committees put forth in various ways. In similar ways the expenses of the other committees are to be borne. Prohibition work already being done is not to be duplicated.

“ Under ‘Public Discussions,’ the plan is not to engage speakers and arrange for meetings, as that work is being done by the several Prohibition organizations represented on committees, but to request each speaker on Prohibition to *dwell* on the National phase, to ask clergymen for frequent reference, and to keep a record of sermons and addresses which advocate, and of those which oppose this phase. The meeting beginning the canvass is under the auspices of the committee of the canvassing district.

“ Under ‘Press Work,’ facts of general interest growing out of the canvass are to be gleaned and published from week to week, the part of meetings and sermons advocating National Prohibition to be specially reported. The plan includes also the securing inserted in the local press of pointed paragraphs and articles on National Prohibition.

“ National Prohibitory Amendment leaflets, covering the various reasons for and answering common objections.

against this method of outlawing the poisonous drink traffic, are to be distributed freely.

“The system of official reporting provides for monthly and semi-annual reports from N. P. A. committees for local work, and for annual reports from the N. P. A. committee for Congressional work. It also provides for reports of the progress of the canvass, after proposal of the Amendment, from N. P. A. committees for State legislative work. These reports are to be made to the several Prohibition organizations represented on the respective committees. The press is to be furnished with a *résumé* of each report.

“In registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists, all are to subscribe to a pledge declaring themselves in favor of the Amendment, and that they will petition for its proposal by Congress and ratification by their respective State Legislatures. At the time of this registration the petitions to Congress are to be signed. Adults and minors over sixteen are to be enrolled. Names of voters and non-voters are to be kept separate. The one registration is to answer for the entire campaign—deaths, removals from the canvassing district, and withdrawal of names, being duly noted. No name is to appear on petitions to Congress not first appearing subscribed in a canvassing register, for retention by the committee.”

Copies of the Guide and directions for organizing National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for local work have been sent to the local Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of nearly all the States and Territories—all from which the general officers wrote to the author endorsing the plan—and the others will be furnished with copies as soon as the desired endorsement is obtained. Organization of the National Prohibitory Amendment Committee for Congressional Work will take place June 13th, the day preceding the Congressional Hearing. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for State Legislative Work will be organized immediately following proposal of the Amendment.

The call under which we have met here to-day invites a frank comparison of views for the overthrow of the Liquor Traffic. I have presented the plan agreed upon for securing its overthrow through amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Mr. W. Jennings Demorest, of New York, read the following paper :

At no time in the history of the world has heroic moral courage been so indispensable for the uplifting of humanity, and attended with so many and such formidable obstructions, as in the attitude of the Liquor Traffic to-day. And notwithstanding the obstacles of appetite, interest, and custom are stupendous, the logic of the times proclaims that Prohibition is coming right along. Nearly all the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, together with numerous decisions from our lower courts, and all the tendency of religious, moral, and political agitations in the community have some bearing on this great question, and also serve to illustrate the foundation principles that underlie the whole question of the right and duty of the State and nation to prohibit this murderous business of liquor selling. The Supreme Court's last decision in reference to the right of Interstate commerce and its application to the traffic when in original packages is now constitutional law, and is made especially applicable to alcoholic liquors. This proves how desirable and essential it is that we should have some more definite method of dealing with poisonous alcoholic beverages, which have become such an alluring, fascinating curse to debauch and destroy our civilization. The question of Prohibition, therefore, has taken on a more national character, and must now be settled by national authority through national political action.

Besides, the traffic is found so thoroughly entrenched

in national politics, and so effectively combined and barricaded with national authority and toleration, that national Prohibition has become an imperative necessity, and every new phase of the liquor question offers some additional encouragement for the confident expectation that we are to soon see the end of this vile business of liquor selling secured through national constitutional amendments by the votes of the nation.

The progress of Prohibition thus far has been almost phenomenal, partly because of the magnitude of the evil and partly because it is found that it must become a national question for national security. Prohibition is, therefore, on its high tidal wave of success, both in State and nation. The whole tendency of public opinion and the logic of events fully justifies this expectation, so that it has become only a question of time, and, judging from the rapid accumulation of these favoring circumstances and the terrible aggravation of the evils attending the traffic itself, it will not be long before this monster of crime, misery, and degradation will be among the relics of history. To strangle a venomous serpent, especially when he wriggles, may cost some determined effort, but the more it wriggles the more determined we are to destroy its vitality, and all opposition to reforms have to go through this wriggling process.

But as reforms of any kind cannot come from those who are benefited by the continued existence of the evil, so we cannot have any hope or encouragement from those who are in sympathy with the liquor-dealers, as they will only cajole and mislead the people by artful subterfuges to fortify and perpetuate the traffic. The Liquor Traffic, therefore, can only be overcome by a combination of those who are opposed to it and free from all compromises or complications with parties whose only object is to betray the cause of entire Prohibition. Nor

can we have any permanent success without the most determined, effective and radical measures.

We must have Prohibition pure and simple, with no qualifications or concessions of a compromising character, either social or political. The selfish criminal conspiracy of those who would justify and tolerate these liquor fiends by compromises must be met with positive and determined opposition, and that means work ; not sympathy only, but active, energetic effort in every way that will secure entire Prohibition. Prohibition must therefore be aggressively radical, not relying on good intentions or concessions of any kind, but a zealous, effective co-operation of the people for its entire success, using the most effective means that we can employ, especially in co-operation with active and conscientious minds, who are to be inspired with high aspirations and devoted zeal in the cause, and for those who can be aroused to a patriotic devotion and earnest, determined effort to secure the entire destruction of this piratical business through political action. Parties which are influenced by either habit, interest, passion, or prejudice will not and cannot give this question an impartial hearing, or offer any effective opposition.

The destruction of the Liquor Traffic is, of all other questions, the most dependent on moral support and the conscientious convictions of the people. And as the people are becoming more and more alive to the exercise of conscience on all public questions, the moral sense of the people is to be the essential element of success. This is the reason why the cause of Prohibition is destined to move rapidly forward and must succeed.

Our cause is just, and commands the respect of all unprejudiced, conscientious minds, and history has never furnished so grand a field for moral power through human effort, nor so strong an appeal to every good impulse of

our nature, as the demand for Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Besides, the best interests of our whole civilization are now in jeopardy from this vile traffic and must have relief, and this relief must come through political action. Every section of our own country and nearly every other nation is now making some effort to either restrain or destroy this formidable enemy of our race ; and the onward tide of moral conviction and determined action will soon make the demand for entire Prohibition paramount to all other considerations of a political character ; this is just as sure to come as God reigns and the sun shines. Let each person put to himself this question, " On which side ought I to be found when the opportunity for voting the liquor traffic out of existence is offered ?"

The Amendment for the Constitutional Prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic beverages in this State is now before the people and demands our most serious and zealous co-operation, and upon our action depends in a large measure the destiny of our future civilization both in State and nation ; and each individual voter is now to be held to a rigid responsibility for the result of his ballot on this momentous question.

Mr. C. A. Hammond, of Syracuse, spoke as follows :

Mr. President : I came here with no set speech, but the remarks of our venerable friends who opened this discussion led me to think there is a misunderstanding here. I respect our friend Robert Graham. I don't want him to think that he is in the midst of enemies, or that there is any enemy of his here. I respect and honor our friend Neal Dow, as we all do. There is no man living in America to-day that I honor more than Neal Dow. I think, Mr. President, he was misunderstood by our friend Robert Graham. General Dow did not mean

to say that everybody who says Prohibition is a failure means to lie. It is not a lie unless a man means to tell a falsehood. If a man utters that which is false, but believes it to be true, it is not proper to call it a lie. Now General Neal Dow meant to say that many of those that declare it to be a failure and know better—that it is a lie in their mouths ; but it is not therefore a lie in the mouths of people who believe it to be true. I think also that our friend Mr. Graham misunderstood the object of the Prohibitionists when he said, as I understood him to say, that we proposed to prohibit entirely the manufacture and sale of alcohol for any purpose whatever. I understood him to say that that was our programme. It is not. We don't propose to prohibit it for use in the arts. We don't propose to prohibit it for medical purposes. We only propose to prohibit its manufacture and sale as a beverage.

Now, Mr. President, if our friend Mr. Graham goes into the police court of New York and finds there men arrested every morning for stealing, for this offence and that, he would not come here and say that the law against stealing is a failure ; that prohibition of stealing is a failure because the law is violated. Not a bit of it. But the question is, if we licensed stealing, would there be more stealing or less than there is now ? Does Prohibition prohibit to a certain extent ? Does it lessen the volume of intemperance more than a License law ? If so, Prohibition is the practical method of treating the Liquor Traffic. It is not a question of absolute suppression ; but does Prohibition do more to suppress than a License law ? Now, let us get the question before us and discuss it, and avoid all personal reflections.

Professor W. C. Wilkinson said :

We have come here, Mr. President, to agree and not to differ ; and it has occurred to me, sir, that there might be a

distinction drawn that would bring us together. We are discussing here the subject of Prohibition, but the statement of the topic does not say prohibition of what. Now I propose to supply that omission, and I think we shall thereby find a platform on which we can all stand together, Mr. Graham and the Hon. Neal Dow, and one and all of us. Is, then, State and National Prohibition desirable and feasible—of what? Of the saloon. Now, I would call on Mr. Graham; does he question that? Can't we there all agree, that whether we touch or not the manufacture and the sale in various ways, we may still abolish the saloon? I, for my part, am a full-fledged, through-and-through Prohibitionist, and I take it that is the predominant sentiment of this audience. But, on the other hand, I am capable, as you are all capable, of being fair. I know, for instance, personally, I honor and I love Dr. Howard Crosby. I think that he would go with us there. He would put the heavy hand of the law upon the saloon and blot it out. Let us, then, come to this understanding, that we are all agreed in desiring and endeavoring to stamp the saloon out of existence. I, for my part, think that Prohibition will never have a fair chance to test itself until it is made a national thing. (Applause.) I remember a very stirring sentence that I used to read in my Virgil. It was this: "They were able, because they believed themselves to be able." Apply that. That is good Latin put into English. We are able, if we can only persuade ourselves that we are able. (Applause.) We should not have to wait until to-morrow to bring the thing to a focus all over this land, if we could only agree together and feel sure that we were able, as we are. Now, in order to be able we need to come together and mass ourselves in one solid, impenetrable Macedonian phalanx, shield to shield, against this tremendous iniquity, and crush it into the earth

and under the earth, and into hell, from which it came.

The next topic which was taken up for discussion, according to the programme, was,

ALCOHOL A POISON — NEVER TO BE USED FOR BEVERAGE PURPOSES.

A paper upon this subject by Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, was read by Mr. T. B. Wakeman. Before reading the paper, Mr. Wakeman said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Very many good, grand, and noble things will be said at this Congress. That is evident. Very many most important considerations will be laid before the country through these discussions. But it seems to me that nothing can be more important than this calm, masterly, scientific paper which I hold in my hand, for it places the future of the Temperance or Total Abstinence movement firmly upon the impregnable corner-stone of science ; and that movement, thus resting, may proceed by restrictions, in one form or other, step by step, until it reaches the practical if not the absolute abolition of the whole business of alcohol poisoning. That is the point to which we are all directing our eyes—the new abolition party, the new abolition movement, which means the total extinction of alcohol poison as a beverage, and in all practical and social use. You will recognize Mr. Davis not only as M.D., but as LL.D., and with as many titles as you choose to add ; for he stands in the forefront of the profession in this country, and is so recognized the world over. Any word from him is of the utmost importance, because it is the verdict of science.

The paper of Dr. Davis was as follows :

Although alcohol is everywhere recognized by educated and scientific men as an active poison, capable, when

taken into the human system in considerable doses, of producing speedy death, yet when diluted with water and various flavoring materials, as in the different varieties of beer, wine, and distilled liquors, large numbers of people still regard it as a beverage capable of promoting strength, and protective against many of the ills and accidents incident to human life. This opinion is entertained not only by large numbers of the less educated, but also by many reputed eminent in literary circles, and who constantly inculcate the same through the newspaper press and many popular magazines. Thus, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1890, in an article on "Sumptuary Laws and their Social Influence," the well-known writer uses such expressions as the following: "One chief difficulty with such laws is that if thoroughly enforced they do harm to those who never under any circumstances drink intoxicating liquors to excess, and yet *who are benefited by their moderate use.*" Again, "The poor man, to whom a glass of beer or of wine taken decently and in order might not only do no harm, but might *supply a positive want of his system,*" etc.

It is just such assumptions as these, that people are "*benefited by the moderate use*" of alcoholic drinks, and that these are capable of "supplying some positive want of the system," daily reiterated in the columns of the public press by a class of flippant writers, that do much to encourage and perpetuate drinking habits in all classes of society. What the *benefits* of moderate use are, or what possible *want* of the *system* these drinks can supply, the writers alluded to never stop to explain. It may not be amiss, therefore, to seriously consider the question whether any form of alcoholic liquors, used as a beverage, can supply any real *want* or need of the human system, or prove *beneficial* in any of the ordinary relations and conditions of life. To decide this question

correctly we must know as accurately as possible what changes or effects alcohol produces when taken into the living system. When drunk in the form of either fermented or distilled liquors it is rapidly absorbed from the stomach and carried into the blood, and with the blood into all the structures of the body, as shown many times by reliable chemists and physiologists in different countries. While in the blood it so modifies the corpuscles and hæmoglobin of that fluid as to lessen their oxygenation, or reception of oxygen from the air-cells of the lungs, and the liberation of the waste carbonic acid ; thereby directly diminishing the efficiency of the respiratory process. This has been shown, with the aid of the microscope and the spectroscope, by Drs. B. W. Richardson and George Harley, of London, MM. Lepine and Porteret, of France, and Dr. J. D. Kales, of Chicago. By its strong affinity for the albuminous elements of the tissues, its presence retards the natural metabolic or molecular changes constituting nutrition and secretion, thereby favoring fatty degenerations and the retention of waste and morbid matters in the system. This is shown by the well-established fact that while alcohol is present in the system, less carbon dioxide is exhaled from the lungs, less urea, urates, sulphates, and phosphates from the kidneys, and, in fact, a diminution of the sum total of all eliminations from the system with a lowering of temperature, as demonstrated long since by Dr. Böker, of Germany, and Dr. Hammond of this country, and by many others in recent years. Still further, while alcohol is present in the blood and circulating through the brain and nervous structures, the nerve sensibility and action is diminished in proportion to the quantity present, constituting it an anæsthetic in the same sense as is ether and chloroform. Consequently, when taken in moderate doses, it diminishes the indi-

vidual's consciousness of cold or heat, weariness or pain, thereby inducing him to think it warms him in winter, cools him in summer, and strengthens him when weak or weary, while in truth it does neither, but simply lessens his ability to judge correctly. And he only needs to have the dose increased to suspend his consciousness altogether, and render him incapable of either mental or physical action of any kind. Then, what possible *benefit* can an individual in ordinary health derive from the use, however *moderate*, of an agent that directly impairs the most important function of his blood corpuscles, lessens the natural and necessary changes in his tissues, and notably diminishes his nerve sensibility and muscular force? Or what possible "want of the system" can such an agent supply? If it is said in reply that, by diminishing the nerve sensibility and removing temporarily the consciousness of weariness of body or mind, it adds to the individual's comfort, and therefore benefits him, the question recurs, Is the temporary *comfort* gained by not only diminished nerve sensibility, but also by coincident impairment of the natural changes in the blood and tissues of the body, a real benefit or an important injury, leaving the individual weaker than before and more liable to attacks of sickness from all ordinary causes? That the latter is the actual result is proved not only by the most varied and rigid investigations of scientific men, but by the results of actual experience in every relation of human life.

Many years since there appeared in the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* an elaborate statement of the results of labor in the extensive brick-yards of England, in which the actual amount of each man's labor had been recorded, and the time lost on account of any kind of sickness for a series of years. A considerable number of the laborers were Total Abstiners from all

alcoholic drinks, while the rest drank the regular allotment of *beer* permitted by the general regulations. The figures showed a large percentage more of labor done per man by the total abstainers, and a corresponding less loss of time from any kind of sickness or disability, than by the *beer* drinkers. Dr. Thornley, of England, states that in 1876 there were residing in Blackburn, Bolton, and Manchester 3400 Rechabites. In Blackburn the same year there were 3500 Odd Fellows. The Rechabites were most rigid abstainers, and they lost only 46 by death during the year, and had 16 cases of sickness per hundred. The Odd Fellows, composed of the most respectable and orderly class of citizens, were for the most part non-abstainers or moderate drinkers, and they lost 76 by death and suffered 20 attacks of sickness per hundred. During another season, when typhoid fever was prevailing in the same district, the Rechabites lost by death 18 per thousand; the Odd Fellows, 31 per thousand, and the liquor-dealers, 150 per thousand. The reports of the Register-General of the British armies, and reports from some portions of our armies, show similar differences in the ratio of sickness and mortality wherever total abstainers are placed side by side with non-abstainers in any country or climate. Every life insurance company that has been in operation ten years or more, and has issued policies on the same terms to total abstainers and the most moderate and occasional drinkers, and kept a record of each, has proved clearly that the ratio of deaths in the latter always exceeds by a considerable degree that of the former. It is entirely safe to say that there is not an occupation or condition in human society in which those who use any variety of fermented or distilled liquors, even in the most "*decent and orderly manner,*" do not furnish more cases of sickness and more deaths annually than are furnished by an equal number occupy-

ing the same conditions, but totally abstaining from all such drinks.

Indeed, there is not a greater or more destructive error existing in human society, yet one constantly fostered by a large class of popular writers, than the belief that beer and wine and even distilled spirits do no harm if used in moderation, and may even supply some "want of the system." The often-repeated maxim that "it is not the *temperate use*, but the *abuse* of alcoholic drinks that does harm," embodies the error that is still inducing tens of thousands of honest citizens to rob themselves of an average of ten or fifteen years of life, through the agency of chronic diseases produced by the *moderate* use of alcohol. As I have said elsewhere, no more true or important remark was made in the noted discussion on the subject of Chronic Alcoholism in the London Pathological Society, than the one by Dr. George Harley when he said "that for every drunkard there were *fifty* others who suffered from the effects of alcohol in one form or other, among whom were persons who had never been intoxicated in their lives."

As alcohol, while present in the system, directly diminishes nerve sensibility and muscular force, and retards the natural molecular changes in the blood and tissues in proportion to the quantity taken, there is no conceivable "*want*" that it can supply. It does not relieve the individual from cold by warming him, nor from heat by cooling him, nor from weakness and exhaustion by nourishing his tissues, nor yet from affliction by increasing nerve power, but by simply diminishing the sensibility of the brain and nerves, and thereby lessening his consciousness of impressions whether from cold or heat, weariness or pain. In other words, it has in no degree lessened the effects of the evils to which he was exposed, but only lessened his consciousness of their existence;

and thereby impaired his judgment concerning their effects upon him.

While the direct anæsthetic effect of alcohol upon the nerve structures is thus deceiving the mind, its influence in retarding the oxygenation of the blood and the metabolic or nutritive and secretive changes in the tissues, if repeated from time to time, favors and finally develops such degenerative changes as constitute tubercular, caseous, and fatty deposits in the lungs, liver, kidneys, heart, arteries, and brain, by which health is stealthily destroyed and life much shortened. If it could be conceded that an *arch deceiver* is one of the real *needs* of man, mentally and physically, then surely alcohol, as it exists in beer, wine, and distilled spirits is exactly the agent to "supply *that want*," and no other.

Professor Edwin V. Wright, of New York, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I wish to voice briefly this highly interesting and scientific paper just read by Mr. Wakeman. No greater truth was ever told than that by Oliver Wendell Holmes when he spoke of alcohol as a remedial agent in this sense. He says, "If all of the intoxicating preparations in the shape of decoctions and infusions were gathered together and emptied into the sea, the sick and diseased would never suffer from that loss. But," he said further, "I could not vouch for the welfare of the fishes." Now it is a well-known fact that alcohol (and I speak by experience, somewhat as a chemist) is a purely and unmistakably devitalized element, containing nothing that makes any portion of the elements that enter into the human structure. The fact, Mr. President, that the mild and more delicate forms of animal and vegetable life die almost immediately under its baneful influence tells the story. It is well known by every physician who is a chemist that alcohol has a wonderful affinity for water, and that when taken into

the system it absorbs rapidly that essential element ; that it has, as the paper has stated, a wonderful affinity for the albuminous substances that enter into our food. That it coagulates and hardens and renders such elements indigestible, there can be no mistake. One of the saddest things that I have to reflect upon in the past, and especially in connection with the medical profession of the present day, is their utter ignorance, comparatively speaking, regarding the use of this poison as a remedy. They have been in the past and are to-day responsible to a wonderful degree—much more so than the great mass of good people think they are responsible—for the drunkards, and for a thousand and one diseases that I have not time to enumerate here this morning. That fearful phrase, used so commonly by physicians who don't know what they are talking about, "heart failure," is traceable to this demoniacal curse. The nervous diseases that afflict the human family to-day are traceable to the stealthy poison that alcohol is carrying on, in its devilish work in the human system. When the medical profession go to work and revise their text-books and introduce this question in their curriculum, they will do much toward making the systems of medicine worthy of the name of science. I hope that ere long there will be a great revival among medical men. I hope that such men as Mr. Davis will throw forth an inspiration that shall reach our leaders in the great colleges and other institutions of learning, and thereby pave the way for the rising generation to escape the curses that have damned us in every age of the world's past history. I am thoroughly and unmistakably in sympathy with the objects and purposes of this meeting. It seems good to be here, and it seems to be an inspiration that means a better future for the American people ; and not only for the American people, but for the people of every nation who are

capable of drinking in the inspiration from this gathering.

Dr. Robert Boocock, of Flatbush, N. Y., said :

I believe it was Dr. McCulloch who gave expression to this sentiment in the World's Temperance Convention of 1862, that the last ditch in which the Temperance fight has to be fought is the scientific ditch, the medical ditch. As a practising physician for a number of years, I endorse all that has been said. There is one point I wish to emphasize, and only one point, by my rising this morning. It is the mistake of the popular mind that alcohol will arrest the waste of tissue, will arrest the metamorphosis of the tissue under labor. That was the error of our medical men years ago. It is their mistake of to-day. It is the popular mistake. It has no power to arrest. I tell you what it does. It arrests the power of the body to throw out the waste parts of the system. Those waste parts remain. They load down the blood, the kidney, the liver. All the vital organs are loaded down by the waste tissues that ought, under natural law, to be thoroughly eliminated and thrown out. Now is the time when you read of sunstrokes. I don't remember reading, in all the records, of a total abstainer being struck by the sun in the city of New York. It is those men that go and take the iced brandies and spirits that go out in the street and are struck down with the sun, it is said. It is the whiskey that is taking hold of the vital forces of the system and arresting the power of nature to throw out those waste parts that have become waste by the heat, by the exertion, by the nervous energies of the day. What we want to do is just what our friend has said so forcibly. We want a change in our programme. We want the educational system in our public schools enforced to-day. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union never did a grander work for poster-

ity than they accomplished when they got that educational law compelling the boards of education to teach the pernicious influences of alcohol and narcotics. But to-day you are robbed of the power because the liquor men grab the educational boards and strangle this effort in its birth.

Dr. T. S. Lambert, of New York City, spoke as follows :

Ladies and Gentlemen: I was required by the committee to come before you and occupy five minutes at twelve o'clock to-day, to discuss what would require at least three days to discuss with any degree of satisfaction. But I was handed the three topics ; I will read them, and you will have the opportunity of receiving a copy at the door. They are not technically constructed, and you can read them as you go along and understand them. But you will want to reflect upon them at your home.

Topic 1 is this,

THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF ALCOHOL AND ALCOHOLICS, in a conspicuous way showing them to be inimical to life, especially to the cells and tissues, and particularly the most important, the gray nervous cells of the nervous centres of the human system.

Topic 2 :

THE ACTION OF ALCOHOL IS NOT, IN THE HUMAN SYSTEM, NUTRIENT OR CALORIFIC, BUT IS AN IRRITANT NARCOTIC POISON

always, yet not having any known place as a proper medicine, but used as such is an evil continually.

Topic 3, which was given to me to speak upon, is this :

EXPERIMENTS MADE BY THE BEST MEDICAL MEN LIVING PROVE THE INJURIOUS CHARACTER OF ALL ALCOHOLICS.

I am averse to the use of alcoholics as a medical—what shall I call it?

A Voice: Agent.

Dr. Lambert: I can't call it an agent. It is not an agent. I cannot call it a medicine consistently and conscientiously. When Dr. N. S. Davis, whose admirable paper you have heard this morning, who is at the head of the medical profession in this country without a doubt—and most claim at the head of the medical profession of the world—when he says that, during thirty years (and you can find it in an essay of his for sale by Brother Stearns—read it), he used, in the first ten years, about twenty gallons, and during the last twenty years he has not used a drop of alcoholic drinks in the form of medicine, I can follow in the steps of this glorious predecessor whom I have just mentioned, and say the same thing, I think with equal honor to myself. And I have never seen a man die who has been under my treatment, and no man ever received any kind of alcoholic drink of one sort or another through my advice. But I do not practice for a living. I only practice occasionally. All told, I suppose I have never had under my charge more than twelve or fifteen hundred people, and of those perhaps many of them were not very near dying. But I have had over a hundred cases in which I have been called to advise with the doctors, mostly in this city, with regard to persons who were supposed by those doctors to be dying of pneumonia, and not a soul of them died. Why not? Because I advised that they should let the alcohol alone, and they did let it alone, and they got well.

Dr. Bull, the chief surgeon—now that Sands is gone—

in New York City, down at the hospital, told the students who were attending his clinical lecture that in the hospital there were sixty-five per cent. of deaths from pneumonia, and that they had thought that it was time that there should be a change of treatment ; and having found that in the Temperance hospital of London there were only five per cent. of deaths from pneumonia, they thought they would try the experiment ; and the reason why he spoke thus was that he brought in the fifth who had been treated without alcohol, to show the students what a good recovery had been made with the fifth one. The first one who was treated died ; but he was dying, as they thought, when he was brought in. Three others got well and had been sent out, and this one went out the next day—four in succession cured of pneumonia without any alcoholic drinks, when the average of sixty-five per cent. has prevailed for years ! How is that in favor of Total Abstinence against the use of alcohol in medicine ? Why, you would better use it in beverages than in medicine. Jacob Huyler, the old iceman, was forced by a doctor who loved alcoholic drinks to take a lot of brandy in one single night—a whole quart bottleful—to swallow it down between the hours of ten at night and seven in the morning ; and the next day he was dead.

A delegate stated that the great Catholic University just being established in Washington proposes to establish a Temperance Chair, and will call it the Father Mathew Chair.

The next topic was,

THE BATTLE AT OMAHA.

Upon this subject Professor A. R. Cornwall spoke as follows :

Ladies and Gentlemen : I am most happy to recognize

the fact that right here in New York, scarcely a mile from Tammany, under your President, Prohibition prohibits. When God is about to do a great work and overthrow a great evil among men, He chooses His time ; and His time is when that evil can be overthrown. He is the chief of politicians. He waited patiently for Harriet Beecher Stowe in the great moral battle. He always has a platform with unmistakable declarations ; and in it and in His politics—the Decalogue, the Golden Rule—He never wearies. Somehow, when this world steps ahead and goes higher, it is when men have got on to His platform. Now keep in mind, friends, we must all fight under God. The three Hebrew children said, “ We will not bow down to thee, O king.” They went into the fire, but they came out in good company. The beautiful queen said, “ I will go to that government, I will remonstrate against this wickedness, and if I perish, I perish.” No one perishes there. She was on God’s platform. You remember when our fathers were about to start this Government, men were weak-kneed then, as they are now. You remember a young patriot said, “ Let others do as they may—hug the delusive phantom of hope ; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.” This mighty nation of ours was born right there. You remember, in that slavery struggle we talked of colonization, and it didn’t work. We hadn’t got on to God’s platform. We talked of gradual emancipation. It didn’t work. We drew a line across the country—“ Over there slavery is right, and here it is a sin.” Local Option. It wouldn’t work. We drew a red line around a portion of the country, and said to the world, “ Over there slavery shall be sustained by the Stripes and Stars ; you sha’n’t put any on this side, over here.” It didn’t work, friends. We elected a President on it. We went into war. We were defeated. The cry of “ Peace”

ran over the land. I called on my Congressman, "Why, in Heaven's name, don't you call on Lincoln to free the slaves?" "Why, you know," he replied, "he couldn't if he would and wouldn't if he could, simply because we elected him to stand on that ground." War came, and we were whipped. That Hundred-day proclamation came. The last battle we fought under it was a defeat. The Hundred days rolled away. Then that man of God (oh, picture in the book of time!) stood in the nation's gateway, on God's platform, put the trumpet to his lips, crying, "Forever free!" God heard it. Angels clapped their wings of gold. The north winds told it to the pines, the wild ducks to the sea. The slaves turned from their rice fields stealthily to hear it. And the very next battle we fought was a victory. We went on, on to victory; got on God's platform.

Now this world goes on, friends, through revolutions to higher grounds. Moral epochs have characters of their own. You do not determine their periods, you cannot hinder their coming. They have strange characters. They never go backward. They come one at a time. In them there is a leading thought. It is not the only idea there. In the great army there is one Commander-in-Chief that makes the forces of mankind into friends and foes, and we are all of us on one side or the other. There is no escaping that.

Now we have passed through two of these moral revolutions in this country—when our fathers began it, when we freed the slaves. Now, friends, we are in another; and, as it has been said this morning, the slavery problem—that awful question—was a local and tame one compared with this problem that has called you together here to-day. That one cost us more than 300,000 sweet lives. Was not that enough? Since the war, my brother, in this same country the saloon, the accursed

saloon alone, has cost us more than a million and a half of lives. If there is a man or a woman here thirty-three years old, since you were born we have picked up two million boys and hurled them right into this monster's jaws. You could no more keep up the saloons in this country without training your boys for it, than you can grind out flour without wheat, my brethren.

Now we say God chooses His time. He has chosen the battle-field. The battle rages. The hosts of heaven are interested. That field to-day, friends, is in Nebraska. Now there is a strange state of things there. I have just come from that State. The children of this world, it is said, are wiser in their generation than the children of light. What does that mean? All the whiskey powers on earth, from the infernal regions to the Omaha *Bee*, are all combining, putting their men there, travelling the country all over, putting their money there, their literature there, sowing the country knee deep. Friends, they see the points at stake.

Now carry Nebraska, add that State to the 250,000 square miles of Prohibition territory, and we are a mighty power in the Northwest—a free people; and I affirm, without any sense of pride, that nowhere in the civilized world is there a freer, grander, more intelligent people than in that empire, unless it shall be in this hall this morning, friends. Now, if you let us be defeated in that battle, then what? We have got to fight our battles over in the Dakotas, and Dakota will be in danger. The enemy sees it. He told me boldly at my hotel, "If we conquer in Nebraska, we will have you in two years in the Dakotas." You just let us conquer, friends, in this fight (and we can do it), and in two years we will have Minnesota, and you will begin to feel the warm breezes of a free Northwest, friends.

Now the battle rages, and by the arrangement of that

whole State the city of Omaha has been put under special charge of the Gospel Temperance Union. A mighty work is going on there, friends. God is stirring the waters. They have rented a large opera hall for the entire campaign. The work is advancing everywhere. A great deal has been said about Omaha and Council Bluffs. There is a strange state of things there. So the State sent me over there. The *Bee* said that every Sunday morning the city of Omaha got up and put on her clean clothes and went over and spent Sunday at Council Bluffs in a state of revelry. I have been over there, friends. You can find more drunkenness and debauchery in one hour—from twelve o'clock to one—in Omaha under High License saloons, than you will find in Council Bluffs if you hunt with a policeman three days. The High License saloon of Omaha is popular, gorgeous. It is attractive. It is the most dazzling place in that city. Men, and young men, go there in continual stream, just as unblushingly as you would go to your bank, friends, or to your churches, friends. It is constantly full. Over in the Bluffs the saloon is an old rookery. Even a hog-pen has been used for a saloon. They are in back alleys. Nobody is near them or around them, nobody going into them, that you will see. Yet there is drunkenness there.

There has been a great deal said about Iowa. I am as direct from Iowa as the train could bring me. I found there a strange state of things. I have been into about twelve county seats. There is not a prisoner in one of the jails. (Applause.) A district judge told me that more than sixty of their jails were entirely empty. One county began Prohibition with \$72,000 debt. She would send a baker's dozen of prisoners to the State's prison in a batch at a single session of court. Her arrests were from twenty-four to thirty-eight every month there in that one county seat. To-day what do you find? The

arrests for all crimes there are not three a month. She does not send one to State's prison oftener than once in two years for the past four years, friends. Then, you take that State generally. Oh, my brother, the gentle dews of heaven have come down upon it through the blessings of Prohibition. The loafer is not in the village. There is great prosperity. You subtract every debt claim against that State, and its treasury has \$157,000 left. The Hon. Frank Jackson, Secretary of State of Iowa (and who is better authority than he?), says, "Prohibition in Iowa is a wonderful success. It has lessened crime, and, with a few exceptions in river towns, is as well enforced as any criminal law on our statute books."

Now, friends, Omaha must have help. You must help Omaha. There is a Spartan band there. That city will turn the scales, *pro or con*. We can take the city. We must have help from you. You must contribute of your means. We must be encouraged there, and we are going to carry this war, going to conquer, friends. We will not surrender, we will not compromise. We will not give up our arms. We will push on until we have driven the lion home to his lair, and ripped off his brindled hide in his very den. (Applause.)

Mr. Lorenzo Waugh, of California, said :

I was born in Virginia, August 28th, 1808. I saw my father start to the War of 1812, and remember it very well ; and I have in my possession the military title of my grandfather, James Wall, here in this city, issued in 1799. I never drank whiskey, never felt the effects of intoxication in my life. I have been a sober boy all my life, and never used tobacco. I have been among the Indian tribes and all around, and I am very happy to-day, and I wanted to come up to stand beside this man here a moment (General Dow). He is four years my senior. Of course I take my hat off to Neal Dow.

Now I want to make an apology for my brother Graham. They bore down a little on him. The power of education is a wonderful thing, and I am sensible that it is his early education that drew him into the statements that he made to us boys to-day in reference to the necessity of having whiskey to drink. Saul of Tarsus was a good boy, and he stood to hold the clothes of those that threw stones to kill good old Stephen ; and all Saul of Tarsus needed then was conversion. That is all my dear brother needs, and he will be all right, and a noble advocate of Prohibition.

Mr. Graham : That is a very modest old man.

The President : There is an English name familiar to workers in the Temperance cause in America—the name of a gentleman I have never had the pleasure of meeting until this morning, and I asked him to come to the platform to give me the pleasure of shaking his hand. You will remember who it is that brought out Dr. Richardson so firmly on the right side. You remember who it is that brought Cardinal Manning and Canon Farrar and men of that kind to the right platform. And I have great pleasure in asking you to salute, for the moment, Mr. Robert Rae, who is upon the platform. (Applause.)

Mr. Rae, in response to the greeting of the audience, said :

I am very sorry to detain you even for one minute, at the close of your conference, to say a single word. But I wish to thank you very cordially for your very kind reception, and to say how much I have enjoyed the proceedings of this morning. I have met old friends, and have heard the paper of Dr. Davis, of Chicago, whom I met in England some three or four years ago, when he came over to us to represent the American Medical Association, of which he was then, and I suppose still is, the President. And my old friend, General Neal Dow, I met

in Scotland somewhere between thirty and forty years ago—1857 ; thirty-three years since I had the honor of joining in the welcome to Neal Dow in the city of Glasgow. Since that time I have been much engaged, as some of you are aware, in the Temperance work in England, and I hope, at the close of to-morrow morning's sitting, to say a little upon the Temperance movement in Great Britain. In the mean time, I have to thank you very cordially for your very kind reception.

The meeting adjourned until 1.45 P.M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The session was opened with singing, and prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Tyler, of New York.

The first topic taken up was :

THE LINE ON WHICH ALL ENEMIES OF THE SALOON MAY UNITEDLY DO BATTLE, WHETHER THEY BE BELIEVERS IN RESTRICTIVE MEASURES OR IN RADICAL PROHIBITION.

Rev. Dr. I. K. Funk, of New York, opened the discussion, as follows :

The time has come when every man hostile to the saloon will have his fidelity to the truth and his courage tested to the utmost, and, for one, I am glad of it. Let every one who hates the Liquor Traffic adopt for his motto the words which William Lloyd Garrison nailed to the mast-head of his paper, "I am in earnest ; I will not equivocate ; I will be heard." Let us face the future bravely ; let us not hesitate to turn our backs, whenever it may be necessary, upon the opinions and policies of the past. Why should we longer permit our way to be blocked by dead men's bones ?

To-day more liquor is consumed *per capita* in the United States than when Lyman Beecher, Father Mathew, John B. Gough, and William E. Dodge—grand, good men all—began their crusades. The editor of the New York *Tribune*—and he is no fanatic, he is no crank, of this I take pleasure to assure those of our friends who are here from a distance—this editor said in last Sunday's issue of his paper, "In spite of all these motives and much appeal to them, the consumption of liquor increases. . . . The actual consumption of liquor has not decreased, nor has it diminished in proportion to population." Forgetting the things that are past, breaking the bands when necessary wherewith we are bound through veneration for methods that carry gray hairs, casting aside every weight that hinders, let us press forward in this race against the awful, infernal liquor power of America.

Certainly, there should be a union of effort, a massing of forces hostile to the saloon, as far as this is practicable *without violation of principle*. If as yet there is not sufficient education in temperance principles through agitation and controversy to secure this massing of forces without a compromise of principles, in Heaven's name, let the agitation go forward and the massing of forces be postponed.

Lord Nelson, just before the naval battle of Trafalgar, said, "Few orders will be issued, but no man will do wrong who places his ship close alongside the ship of an enemy." In this awful battle, into the hottest of which we are soon to enter, this decisive battle, I trust, against those powers of darkness that make up the liquor forces, no man will do wrong who trains his batteries upon the saloon. He may not do this in my way or your way, but if his guns rake the saloon fore and aft, God bless him!

Is it practicable at this stage of the battle, on any part of the battle-field, to mass the Temperance forces of America? Surely, if practicable, nothing could be more desirable. As Matthew Arnold would put it, the first thing necessary, in order to unite, is to see clearly and think straight. Never was there a time when it was more necessary to see clearly and think straight on Temperance than this day and hour, and right here.

Is there a line on which all the enemies of the saloon may unitedly do battle, whether they are friends or foes of absolute Prohibition? If there is such a line, our problem is to find it.

Let us look at the situation. Please note carefully these three propositions :

I. A great majority of the voters of this country are in favor of the Restriction of the Liquor Traffic, so far, at least, as the forbidding of sales on Sunday, on election days, and after midnight, and sales to drunkards and to minors. No one, I think, will question that proposition.

II. A large proportion of this great majority of the voters of the United States are ready to go so far as to forbid wholly the sale of *distilled liquors* as a beverage, and the sale of *alcoholic liquors of any kind to be drunk on the premises*. This class includes such restrictionists as Dr. Howard Crosby and Leonard W. Bacon.

III. A large proportion of this great majority of voters who favor Restriction (probably two thirds of the entire number) believe in the *total suppression of the sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes*, and some hundreds of thousands of this large proportion believe that, to suppress effectually the evils of the traffic, it is necessary to have "*Prohibition, State and National, and a party that believes in it behind it.*" The other and larger portion believe in Prohibition, but are not ready as yet to favor

the organization of a political party in its behalf. This portion we shall call *Non-Partisan Prohibitionists*; the other, *Partisan Prohibitionists*.

Then the situation is this : a great majority of all the voters of the country are agreed in their opposition to the saloon so far as to honestly, heartily favor its prohibition on Sundays, on election days, after midnight, and the prohibition of sales to minors and drunkards ; but this majority is divided into three classes, broadly speaking : (1) Those who believe in Restriction, but do not believe in absolute Prohibition ; (2) the Non-Partisan Prohibitionists ; (3) the Partisan Prohibitionists.

Now the first division of this great majority of voters, while honestly favoring the prohibitive and restrictive measures mentioned, are not ready to accept as common ground for harmonious action the *dictum* of Division No. 3, "Prohibition, State and National, and a Party behind It," nor the *dictum* of Division No. 2, "The Total Suppression of the Sales of Alcoholic Liquors for Beverage Purposes." On the other hand, a large part of Division No. 2 and all of Division No. 3, which includes a large proportion of the most active Temperance workers in the country, as nearly all the Good Templars and the Sons of Temperance, and the voters influenced by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, are conscientiously opposed to restriction through the License system. They believe that "License, High or Low, is Sinful." Of the truth of this they are inflexibly persuaded. The problem is how to get these two general divisions of this majority of voters to act together in securing and enforcing restrictive laws up to the level of the education of the public mind. United, they would be resistless ; divided, all efforts along restrictive lines are crippled. Evidently there can be no *united* action as yet on the platform "Prohibition, and

a Party behind It," or on the platform of Non-Partisan Prohibition ; and equally evident is it that there can be no united action on the platform " Restriction through License."

Both of these general divisions of this majority of voters favor restriction, but one division says, " Restriction and License," and the other division says, " Restriction and Prohibition." The one division will never accept License, the other division is not ready to accept absolute Prohibition, but both divisions oppose liquor selling on Sunday, on election days, after midnight, and to drunkards and to minors. Now it is manifest that if it were possible for agreement upon a basis for that portion of the Temperance work which we call restrictive—a basis that will leave out *License* on one side and *Prohibition absolute* on the other—this great majority of voters who believe in Restriction can work harmoniously up to *whatever may be the level* of the Temperance education of the public mind. Can such a basis be framed and accepted without a compromise of principle? Any basis that requires a compromise of principle is wholly out of the question. It could not be accepted for a moment.

Such a basis of agreement would read something like the following :

I. Abrogation of all License Laws.

II. The immediate adoption of prohibitive, restrictive laws that shall say : *Any person who sells liquor on Sunday, on election days, after midnight, or to drunkards or to minors, shall be fined or imprisoned, or both. Any person who opens a saloon in an election district against the written protest of a majority of the voters residing therein shall be fined or imprisoned, or both.*

Then, as the public mind ripens, additional laws could be enacted, as : Any person who sells liquor after sundown shall be fined or imprisoned, or both. Any person

who sells liquor to be drunk on the premises shall be fined or imprisoned, or both. Any person who sells distilled liquors shall be fined or imprisoned, or both ; and so on toward absolute Prohibition.

This basis would give, it seems to me, as effective restrictive laws as we have now, but in a different way. It never once says "permit ;" it never once says, " Any person who pays for the privilege shall have the right to sell *except* on Sunday, and to a drunkard," etc. It also eliminates the *revenue* part of the problem, and this will be a great gain ; for Restriction will not then mean an entrenchment of the traffic behind the cupidity of the tax-payer, and the demoralizing spectacle of a great government securing a revenue from the vices of its citizens will cease.

Such a basis would leave the Prohibitionist free, as now, to advocate and push " Prohibition Absolute," and " Prohibition, State and National, with a Party behind It." As far as the Restrictionist is ready to go, from time to time, the Prohibitionist joins hands with him, and helps him in his measure ; and when he stops, the Prohibitionist goes on alone, as now.

On this basis, in my judgment, the three divisions of the enemies of the saloon, those who believe in prohibitive restriction, and who constitute a great majority of all the voters in this country, could work harmoniously. The restriction that they would favor would be Prohibition every time. It would be Prohibition by slices and by crumbs, but it would be every time genuine Prohibition bread—bread that has in it none of the poison of legal sanction. This basis will not unite these three divisions on absolute Prohibition. For this further harmony, time, experience, education are essential. But with the abrogation of all License laws we will all be moving along the same road. The difference between

us will then be the different distances we have moved ; not as now, when we move on *divergent* roads. To unite on a road along which all honest opponents of the saloon can travel *slowly* or *rapidly*, as they choose, *will be an immense gain.*

But now consider several objections :

I. The repeal of all License laws will mean FREE RUM. Will it necessarily mean that ? I cannot see that it will. Just as fast as the people are ready for a new positive restrictive law, they can have it as easily as now. WHY, to forbid saloon selling on Sunday, need you give *legal sanction* to its sale on MONDAY ? Why, to stop selling on Sunday or to a minor, need you say, " Any person shall have the *right* to sell liquor *except* on Sundays or to a minor " ? In what single respect would your restrictive law be less effective if it simply said, " Any person who sells liquor on Sunday or to a minor shall be sentenced to jail " ? The former gives legal sanction, the latter does not. The former runs counter to the conscience of all Prohibitionists who believe License *vicious in principle*, and hence divides the majority opposed to the saloon. And if we have a law that makes it a *jail* offence for any person to conduct a saloon against the protest of a majority of voters in the vicinage, there will be FAR LESS FREE RUM than now.

II. Again. It is objected that to prohibit only *in part* is to give *legal* assent to the part that remains. To this I reply, the silence of the law is not the same as its SANCTION. Toleration is one thing, sanction is another. John Brown says, " The wise teacher is he *who knows when not to see.* He ignores many a wrong—does not *seem* to see it." Every parent does that. It would be radically different did the parent or teacher *recognize* and *endorse the wrong.* The Apostle tells us that in times past God winked at certain evils—that is, ignored or simply

tolerated them. That was not sanctioning or endorsing these evils on the part of God. The law in many States *tolerates* profanity—that is, says nothing about it. If the law says, Any man who opens a saloon in any election district against the protest of a majority of the voters in that district shall be sentenced to jail, and should further add, *This law shall not be so interpreted as to give any legal sanction to the opening of any saloon, or to abridge in any way the rights of the people to proceed under the common law against a saloon as a nuisance*—now, how would such a law give sanction? As far as it goes, it speaks in the language of Prohibition. That is a slice of Prohibition after which I, for one, hunger.

III. But it is urged that such a basis of harmony would require a *union* of voters, *regardless of party*, for the election of at least legislative candidates who are ready to enact such restrictive laws, and this would carry with it the endorsement of a party that believes in License. This does not necessarily follow. I am conscientiously opposed to voting for the candidates of any political party which favors, directly or indirectly, License, high or low. It is far more important what the PARTY believes than what its candidates believe. Then, if we do not unite for the election of candidates, what is the benefit of this basis? Much, in many ways :

(1) It gets rid of *License*, the mightiest of the obstacles in the way of absolute Prohibition.

(2) It destroys the revenue argument, so strong with many tax-payers.

(3) It enables all hostile to the saloon to agitate all along the *same line*, and such agitation would always be along the line of Prohibition—Prohibition that differs in degrees, but *Prohibition*. This is also an immense gain.

(4) There will be avoided the necessity, scandalous to many, that exists now of Prohibitionists, who believe

License a sin, fighting the legislative plans of such honest High License Restrictionists as Howard Crosby and Judge Noah Davis. Every step these Restrictionists take along the line of this proposed basis will be a step toward the advance ground of absolute Prohibition, not as now, as I honestly believe, under the High License programme, a step *away* from Prohibition.

Finally, should this basis of agreement be adopted, the party Prohibitionist will stand just where he now stands. It will be as true then as now that the only solution of the liquor problem is *State and National Prohibition, and a Party behind it*. There will be no slacking of effort along this line, not one iota. But a rock of offence, a bone of most bitter contention between the Prohibitionists and Restrictionists will be removed by this change of basis for restrictive work—the change from permissive restriction to prohibitive restriction.

Rev. W. R. Huntingdon, D.D., of Grace Church, New York, spoke as follows :

A civil system like that under which we Americans live has its great and preponderating advantages ; but it has this disadvantage, that no matter how wholesome or desirable a law may be, it will not be efficiently executed unless there lie behind it a strong force of public opinion favorable to its execution. This is a corollary to the doctrine of universal suffrage. We may try to shut our eyes to it, but it is like shutting one's eyes to the lightning ; we see it all the same.

Were it not for this fact I should personally feel much attracted by the scheme for united action so ably and persuasively set before us by the editor of *The Voice*.

If by such simple concessions as he has asked for—namely, the disuse of a word which is obnoxious to those whom he represents, and the relinquishment of the revenue derived from the issue of licenses ; if, I say, by such

inconsiderable concessions as these on the part of Restrictionists such results as he has pictured could be brought to pass, I, for one, would most gladly and thankfully take up with his propositions; for I can perfectly well understand how a man who holds that to quench thirst by any liquid that contains an appreciable percentage of alcohol is an act wrong in itself and hateful in the sight of God—I can perfectly well understand why such a man should vehemently resent the State's saying to even a single one of its citizens desirous of selling liquor, "*Licet*. It is lawful." I do not share the conviction which lies behind that feeling. To my mind, perhaps because of a year passed in a chemical laboratory, alcohol has its place in the scheme of nature just as really as dynamite has its place there. And as we very properly hedge the manufacture and sale of the one with all manner of restriction, so I think may we with equal propriety recognize, but at the same time limit by restrictions sharper still the manufacture and sale of the other.

But I can, I repeat, quite enter into the feelings of the friend who dissents utterly from this view of the matter, and I should be more than ready to avoid the use of a word that gives his conscience offence.

The question is, "Would the concession accomplish anything in the way of practical results?" I doubt it. Instead of being better off, we should, I gravely fear, be far worse off than before, for we should find ourselves more scandalized than ever by the spectacle of unexecuted law. The Government of Russia has been wittily described as "Absolute Monarchy, tempered by assassination." I am tempted to characterize the scheme of Dr. Funk as "Free Rum, tempered by fine and imprisonment." If we could only depend on the fine and imprisonment with the same degree of certainty with which we can

count upon the Free Rum, it might be well enough ; but when you look at the state of the docket in our municipal courts to-day ; when you consider the difficulty of enforcing restrictive law as things are, with the number of the saloons limited, with what sort of courage or hopefulness can you look forward to enforcing restrictive law with the number of the saloons unlimited ?

Mr. President, I turn to more encouraging fields of thought and of endeavor. Let me persuade you to forget for a little season the fascinations of politics, and to consider methods personal and social.

Suffer me to mention a few homely and unexciting, but, as I believe, efficacious methods of opposing the spread of drunkenness :

1. *Personal influence.*—This was the main dependence of the brave hearts who started the Temperance movement in this country ; why should we turn our backs on it and say, “ If we cannot reform drunkards by wholesale legislation, we will give up the effort at reforming them altogether ? ” I confess to very little faith in salvation by statute, but to unbounded faith in the power of personal influence ; for, after all, the drunkards of the United States are a definite number of individuals. It is a number we cannot ascertain, but still it is a definite number, which, if known, could be written out in Arabic numerals. Now, who doubts that if every separate soul in this great company of the intemperate were to become a centre upon which converging rays of influence from, say, a dozen friendly and neighborly souls met—who doubts that by that grace of God which is never so efficaciously ministered as through personal channels, we should see wonders accomplished, lives purified, lost reputations retrieved, homes made happy ?

2. *A Sound Public Opinion.*—Be we Prohibitionists or Restrictionists, we can all do something toward the

formation of a public opinion unfavorable to the drinking usages that now prevail. I am sanguine enough to believe that public opinion is improving. In social circles, where formerly intoxication was looked upon as venial, it is now scouted as disreputable. I am far from regarding the clubs of New York as good schools of temperance, but I am credibly informed that they are much less frequently schools of intemperance than they used to be. But whether public opinion be improving or not, improved it must be if we are to maintain ourselves as a sober people among the nations of the earth.

3. *A Substitute for the Saloon.*—Man is a gregarious creature. It is the love of talk almost as much as the love of drink that carries men into saloons. You may shout yourselves hoarse repeating, “The saloon must go!” “Go,” it will not, until something *comes* to take its place. And this blessed result cannot be brought to pass by well-meant but feeble efforts made on *churchly* and philanthropic lines. You cannot wean men from the saloon by hiring a room, running up a blue window shade inscribed “Temperance drinks,” and garnishing the walls with Scripture texts. Greater than Ericsson, greater than Edison, will be the Heaven-sent man who shall invent an effective and *bona fide* substitute for the saloon.

4. *Improved Dwellings for the Poor*—in efforts for which we may all work together. Dismal homes are caused by drunkenness, but so also is drunkenness caused by dismal homes. The great need of the United States is a revival of the home idea, the reinstatement of the family in its old place of honor. But what sort of family life is possible in many portions of our great cities? My adjective “dismal” is not half strong enough; “hellish” would be none too strong.

5. Again, we may all work together in promoting the

introduction of the useful knowledge of cooking into the common schools. When the normal demands of hunger are not properly met, the abnormal demands of thirst assert themselves. For the most part, bad cooking is a sin of ignorance. We hear much of the need of technical instruction for our boys ; let us also, while we are about it, provide training for our girls in the *technique* of the kitchen. It is better that a girl shall be able to bake a loaf of bread that will digest than that she should know the longitude of Peking.

6. Finally, coming back to law, I believe we might unite in a common warfare against the four distilled spirits that are answerable for the most of our drunkenness. I am persuaded that public opinion is ripe for Prohibition to this extent, and that even in our great cities it might be enforced, at least over large areas.

In France, if you want to buy tea, you go to a druggist's—that is, because coffee is the national drink. If we can only succeed in relegating distilled spirits to the same shelf with chloral and laudanum, we shall not indeed have put an end to man's indulgence in them, but we shall have made the non-medicinal use of strong stimulants as disreputable as the non-medicinal use of strong narcotics already is.

“ Whiskey, brandy, rum, and gin,
Against these four let war begin.”

Mr. President, these six suggestions of mine have nothing at all startling or original about them. I throw them out for what they are worth. If there is common sense behind them, they will appear to the common sense of those to whom they are addressed.

The next speaker was General A. B. Nettleton, of Minneapolis, who read the following paper :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : While the views to be expressed at this Temperance Congress should and

will have just as much of weight as they have of practical sense and reason in them, yet it sometimes tends to clear the atmosphere if it is known beforehand what relation a speaker on any one phase of a many-sided question maintains toward that question as a whole. For this reason, only, I preface what I have to say on the special topic assigned me with this brief confession of present faith.

I believe, with Drs. Davis and Richardson, that physiologically alcohol has no proper place in the healthy human system. I believe its social use as a luxury or as a symbol and means of hospitality and comradeship is senseless and an unspeakable curse to the human race; and I believe its sale as a beverage—especially as represented by the saloon system—because incompatible with the public safety—ought to be prevented by enforced laws having the approval of a strong majority of the people. Until this final policy can be installed, I believe we ought to come as near to it as popular suffrage will permit.

The liquor power is unscrupulous, united, aggressive, effective. The Temperance forces have thus far been divided, cowardly, inefficient. As a result, the saloon is to-day almost everywhere on top. Can this be changed? If not, then has the hope of the world set in darkness. If there is to be no turning back of this tide of drink, if the Rum Propaganda is to meet no adequate check, then will life on this planet shortly lose all value for decent and reasonable people.

But the situation *can be changed*. God has not forgotten the world, and the stars in their courses are ready now as ever to fight for people who have a righteous cause wedded to common sense on their own part. The situation *can be changed*; and if the beginning of that change does not appear before we are half a year older,

it will be largely the fault of the men and women who are within these walls to-day.

No one person is wise enough to name the line on which all enemies of the saloon can best unite their efforts. The co-operation of many minds is necessary to this very task of pointing out the way to co-operation. A cut-and-dried programme, assuming to embody ultimate wisdom, would justly bring suspicion upon itself. This is an hour for modesty. Before tendering my contribution to the common fund of suggestion, I wish to give expression to a number of truisms which may have a bearing on the main subject.

1. A reform which depends for success on laws, to be enacted and enforced by majorities under universal suffrage, must be conducted in view of this fundamental condition, else the battle is lost before it begins. The reformer in this field is at liberty to choose his mode of attack. He may rely solely on educational methods and moral suasion, being content with remote and conjectural results, in which case he is independent of majorities ; but the moment he undertakes the present betterment of the situation, and attempts to use a popular majority vote as a chief agency for promoting his movement, he is bound to consider the limitations of the instrument he employs. Before the persimmon can be brought to the ground the length of the selected pole must be consulted.

2. On the other hand, the reformer who starts out by diluting his reform to the point of worthlessness for the sake of quickly getting a majority to endorse it, is more fool than reformer. Amid all temptations to the contrary, it is necessary to remember that the reform is the end, while majorities are only the means.

3. No citizen should be asked, for the sake of harmony on the Temperance question, to ignore the outcry of his

own conscience ; but it is perfectly fair to ask an *unreasonable* saint whether it is not possible that he has honestly mistaken self-conceit buttressed with obstinacy for an advanced conscience.

4. One prime condition of the desired co-operation must be mutual respect and resulting courtesy of speech and conduct on the part of those undertaking to work together. Hitherto about one shot in four fired from Temperance batteries has been aimed at the common enemy, the other three at our friends.

5. In any such compromise arrangement it must needs be that some excellent people will be left out, at either end of the line, simply because an attempt to stretch the union movement sufficiently to take in their extreme positions would split the movement without benefiting them. This disparages no one, it simply marks the limitations of human co-operation.

6. In this matter it is vastly more important that there be some plan of effectual co-operation, than that the best possible plan be discovered at the outset. If the movement is started in a right spirit, not attempting to cover too much ground at first, it will grow, and experience will quickly correct errors and point out the natural limits of the union.

Since a difficulty clearly stated is half removed, it may be helpful to classify roughly the enemies of the saloon in accordance with their characteristic views, in order to see whether any plan of campaign is possible in which all may honorably unite. No two persons would make just the same classification ; no such classification can pretend to accuracy ; lines of difference are often obscure ; one element overlaps and shades into its neighbor ; with added or diminished light and resulting change of opinion individuals are constantly passing forward or backward from one class to another. And out-

side of all classes is a great mass of citizens of both sexes who could not be said to have any definite opinions or position on this question. Under the stimulus of discussion and agitation great numbers of these may safely be counted on the right side at critical junctures, because they love their homes and their children, and have an inherited instinct of good citizenship.

As they present themselves to my mind, those who may fairly be styled enemies of the American saloon naturally fall into the following groups :

The left wing : Orderly, reputable, and sometimes Christian people, who hold that wine and kindred beverages, used in moderation, are a permissible luxury if not a positive good—at least for adult males who like them ; but that public drinking places tend to undue temptation, excess, and crime, and therefore ought to be restricted in many ways, if not wholly suppressed.

The left centre : Persons who, while vigorous opponents of the open saloon, and themselves abstainers and believers in the general hurtfulness of alcoholic beverages, yet deny or doubt the logical and moral right of a voting majority to prevent by law all access to such beverages on the part of the minority—at least until the sacramental use of alcohol has been distinctly abandoned by the Christian Church.

The right centre : Citizens who believe that the drink habit as it exists in America is an intolerable curse ; that the drink traffic as aggressively conducted is a prime cause and not a result of the drink habit and its resulting ruin ; that, being a form of trade destructive of the public welfare, the Liquor Traffic may rightfully be suppressed by the State in the reasonable exercise of its police powers ; and that until strong majorities are ready to enact *and enforce* entire suppression the policy should be one of sharp legal repression through restrictive tax-

ation or any other measures that experience proves to be better.

The right wing: Largely consisting of persons who hate the drink habit and the allied drink traffic with a perfect hatred ; who believe that, as for them, the only righteous and statesmanlike course is to insist upon complete financial divorce between the Liquor Traffic and the Government, National, State, and local, and upon the immediate suppression of the traffic itself, root and branch. But while steadily and openly working to this end, and until their reform can command the necessary majority vote, the members of this group are honestly willing to co-operate with other good citizens in applying to the Liquor Traffic such forms of Restriction as in their view do not involve complicity in the wrong.

The very extreme right: The members of this small but active group do not remain in one place long enough to be classified as to their belief, but at latest accounts, and just before they last disappeared over the horizon in front, they held about as follows : that in the legal treatment of the Liquor Traffic anything less than Prohibition, instant, absolute, and universal is a compromise with sin, and hence impossible to the conscientious citizen ; that any form of Restriction is at best only a palliative, tending to ease the agony of society over its own deadly wrong, and thus to postpone the day of heroic and final measures ; that Local Option is immoral, because it assumes the right of the majority in a community to preserve or establish rum shops among them if they choose to do so ; that probably State Prohibition is a delusion because subject to the concentrated resistance of the liquor power of the whole nation, to the crippling effect of national control over interstate commerce, to the proximity of open saloons just over the border on four sides, to the passions and fluctuations of State poli-

tics, and to the contempt of the average liquor seller for *State* laws and local officials ; that Prohibition for the whole country by act of Congress would be open to the fatal contingency of early repeal by a subsequent Congress, and hence that the only measure worth working for is National Prohibition for all the States by amendment to the Federal Constitution. How soon this group will again move "forward" and demand nothing short of Prohibition for the planet through a "federation of the world," coupled with an intimation that the next advance movement will embrace the solar system, nobody knows.

My suggestion, then, is this : That there be formed at once an American Union Temperance Alliance under such name as shall be wisely chosen, with State and county branches as early as these can be progressively organized, and that membership in the Association be subject to no partisan or religious tests. Let the Alliance have for its central and permanent work the waging of a ceaseless warfare for the legal and actual suppression of the open saloon—that warfare to be pushed mainly along these three lines :

First, the enforcement of such anti-liquor laws as we have.

Second, the enactment of better laws, National, State and municipal, as rapidly as this can be accomplished.

Third, the steady cultivation of a public sentiment which shall decree that the open saloon and Christian civilization cannot co-exist on the American continent.

This is the barest outline of the objects and activities of such an organization. The details would adjust themselves.

Such an Alliance of anti-saloon workers would not be a political party. It would be something better. It would be a voice and a right arm of power within and

above all parties, prepared to uphold and reward fidelity to the noblest cause on earth, and able to crush any combination between partisan ambition and the powers that stand behind the Liquor Traffic.

No suspicion of a rose-water policy should for an instant attach to such a movement. While catholic of spirit and tolerant of honest differences within reasonable lines, its hand of steel should not even be concealed by the velvet glove of conciliation toward a colossal wrong. The man who never shows his teeth except to smile is pretty sure to be devoured by the Philistines ; so with reform movements.

I have purposely placed at the head of the column the work and duty of enforcing such anti-liquor laws as society has already enacted.

Here is the central weakness of our cause to-day—the non-enforcement of the best laws we have been able to get. Here is the sufficient reason for recent reverses, for the apparent turning backward of the hand upon the dial. Without pretending to special knowledge of localities, I venture the assertion that saloon suppression could be carried in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and a dozen other States in 1890 but for the belief of hundreds of thousands of anti-saloon citizens that at present and to a great extent State Prohibition on paper would mean Free Rum on the street.

The thing has been fully tested, and American communities are not going to permit anti-liquor legislation very much to outrun law enforcement, and this is right. If you and I, and those who at heart think with us, had for ten years past spent a tenth of the time, courage, and money in helping to enforce anti-liquor laws that we have spent in efforts to enact new and more drastic statutes, the Temperance element could to-day almost dictate the liquor legislation of the country. Imagine a general

in charge of a great military campaign moving triumphantly forward through the enemy's country, winning battles, capturing forts and entire armies, but systematically turning loose his prisoners with arms in their hands, and abandoning the captured fortresses in his rear, with their armed and hostile garrisons. Let us not wince at this picture, for a first step toward that victory whose coming is as sure as the hills of God is an honest recognition of our blunders in the past. Law and Order Leagues have done much, but they would have done infinitely more if you and I had upheld their hands. Let the coming Alliance, then, be, among other things, a law-enforcement league.

As to new and better laws, what principles shall govern in forming them? My answer would be, let new laws provide for saloon suppression where enforcement is practicable; elsewhere apply saloon restriction. No union is possible, and none is likely to be proposed, based on the theory that the restriction or curtailment of an evil involves a sinful compromise with that evil.

On the other hand, all will concede that there are possible forms of restriction to which no good citizen could give assent. Then let the line of union include only such methods of restriction or repression as persons who are both reasonable and conscientious can approve. In Minnesota, I helped to secure the enactment of a high restrictive tax, misleadingly named a High License law. It has closed and kept closed more than fifty per cent of the saloons in the State, and in my judgment has greatly diminished drinking; but I would rather lose my right arm than accept taxation or License, high or low, as a final or ultimate policy. What is more, I do not believe it is possible to secure a really strong union of Temperance forces on a plan of campaign which permanently includes the License feature in any form. Rightly or

wrongly, reasonably or unreasonably, the term License, with the idea for which it stands, has fallen into hopeless disrepute with a great host of Temperance people of both sexes whose co-operation cannot be dispensed with. But the name and the thing can easily be dropped. There are dozens of tested and untested forms of saloon restriction which do not involve the License element, and the best of these can be adopted—some in one community, others in others.

Among the very best of these, permit me to mention in passing what is locally known as the *Patrol Limit System*, which has been in force in my own town of Minneapolis for five years past. In a word, its legal justification is the theory that, inasmuch as saloons are notorious centres of disorder, any municipality having a police system has a common-law right to say that no saloons shall exist except within such geographical limits as can be actively patrolled and thus protected by policemen. Accordingly our city council passed an ordinance which has since been sustained by the Supreme Court and embodied in the State law, drawing a dead line a few blocks back from the river on either side, and including a close section of the business centre. Inside this dead line the Liquor Traffic falls under whatever laws the State may have provided—in our case a tax of \$1000 ; but outside the narrow limit absolute Prohibition exists *and is enforced* over eleven twelfths of the area of our city of 200,000 people.

Among the obvious results of the Patrol Limit System are these : the saloons in the city are less in number by one half than they would otherwise be ; our churches, our schools, and the homes of our people are freed from the proximity and blight of these dens of vice ; the temptation to those workingmen who drink at all to spend their earnings and their evenings at rum-shops is

reduced to a minimum by simple distance. The force of *inertia* is thus enlisted on the side of Temperance. Drinking and drunkenness are thus largely reduced, and public sentiment is solidified about the new order of things.

At the present stage of progress and of public opinion no Temperance movement, union or other, can in my judgment afford to dispense with the feature of Local Option by counties, in States where saloons are not suppressed by law. With all its drawbacks, it is capable of producing the best results, and, supplemented by the new spirit of law enforcement, it can work marvels of reform. At least three quarters of the territory of nearly every State can be wholly freed and kept free from saloons under county option backed by that persistent courage which is indispensable to success under *any* system.

Fixing a limit to the number of saloons in any given area, and prohibiting the maintenance of a drinking place in any precinct against the protest of a majority of householders or within a specified distance of any school or church, are among the minor measures of repression to which no reasonable friend of Temperance can object.

I need not say that one first step in the way of national legislation must be the enactment of a measure which lifts the heel of the Federal Government from the neck of the State in the matter of "original package" sales of liquor in violation of State statutes. And while this Temperance Congress is not to adopt resolutions, and while it is reasonably certain that Congress will hasten to complete the correction of this monstrous blunder, there ought to go from this gathering to Washington such an expression on this subject that he who runs (for office) may read.

But this is only a passing episode. Our Union movement should have for a leading task the duty of seeing

to it that, as a matter of permanent policy, the National Government shall not hinder any effort of the State to deal with the Liquor Traffic as it deserves.

Wherever the National Government has jurisdiction, it should be progressively urged to suppress the open sale of intoxicants ; but, with due respect to those who think differently, I believe a Union movement which should propose even to agitate for National Prohibition for the several States would be wrecked before it left the harbor. If there is one principle which goes down to the bottom of our American system of balanced government, it is the principle that within their own boundaries the several States, and not the nation, ought to exercise the police power. I believe that, after they understood the subject, not one-tenth of our people could, in a hundred years, be converted to the opposite theory, with the tremendous revolution it would involve. If our reform is, in the slightest degree, to depend for its progress or ultimate triumph on the general acceptance of the new doctrine of Federal control of liquor and police legislation within the States, then the road ahead of us is quite as long as even the National Brewers' Association could wish !

Finally, the field of education and agitation is without a limit. A few only of the lines of most importance can be mentioned in a paragraph :

Woman's tremendous interest in and influence over this subject ought to be utilized to the utmost extent. And here let me say, that while I should be sorry to see woman burdened with the added responsibility of the ballot, if the time shall come when her vote will bring a success to the Temperance Reform, which cannot come without it, then to that extent at least I shall be an advocate of Woman Suffrage.

In all proper ways there should be hearty co-operation

between any Union movement and the two great societies of temperance women already in the field. The educational work now so widely useful in common schools ought to be pushed everywhere, and especially into our colleges and universities.

The Sunday-school, the natural field for Temperance instruction, where it has not been wholly neglected has not been half cultivated. Agitation in favor of Total Abstinence as a rule of life, for the safety of self and as a help to others, should form a staple part of the Union work. Without this the attempt to suppress the saloon is an attempt to gather where we have not sown.

Without regard to other differences, we can all cooperate in bracing up the American pulpit to a more virile and courageous attitude on this burning theme, including a prayerful consideration of the question whether other narcotics than alcohol, which sometimes invade the sacred study, are not, with the attending weight of high example, a part of that evil net which entraps our children's feet! And of that other question, whether the Christianity and common sense of this, our day, are not equal to the task of banishing forever the cruel and bewildering paradox which makes alcohol salutary and sacred on the Communion Table, but poisonous and sinful on the sideboard.

Rev. A. J. Kynett, D.D., of Philadelphia, spoke as follows :

“The line on which all enemies of the saloon may unitedly do battle” is a line of BATTLE.

The topic before us is happily stated in military terms and implies *variety of service and a place for all*, “whether they be believers in restrictive measures or in radical Prohibition.” Veterans would tell us that we must first know the position of the enemy, the topography and general relations of the field of conflict.

1. OUR ENEMY, THE SALOON, IS ENTRENCHED. First of all, in his original position behind the strong fortress of avarice and appetite. His line of communication with his base of supplies—the distillery and brewery—is amply protected ; besides, he has seized and now holds as outposts *the caucus* and *the Central Committee*, and puts our party politicians at work building earthworks and policing his camp, while all stragglers are conscripted for all forms of menial service.

2. OUR FORCES ARE SCATTERED. They are found in all political parties—not only the Prohibition Party, but in the Republican and Democratic, whose platforms emphasize other and less important issues, and in all of which are prejudices more powerful than intelligent perception of living issues. They are in all religious sects, Catholic and Protestant, with their endless variety of doctrinal and ecclesiastical differences and social and religious ties holding them severally together. They are in all business relations and pursuits—manufacturing, mercantile, agricultural, mechanical — capitalists and wage-workers. Each has been subject to the laws of heredity, and all bring to the duties and responsibilities of mature years ancestral prejudices and forms of thought and feeling descending from past generations. They are as various as the leaves of the forest or the flowers of the field. All questions strike them at every possible angle, and the reflected light proceeds not upon straight lines, but is diffused more or less dimly or clearly through the surrounding atmosphere of popular sentiment. Besides this,

3. THE ENEMY IS NOT EVERYWHERE OPEN TO THE SAME LINE OF ATTACK. In Maine, Kansas, and the two Dakotas, his position is commanded by the heavy siege-guns of Constitutional Prohibition. Recently, under orders, the Central Committee has sent out skirmishers to feel this

position. The result has not been encouraging. From the platform of this National Congress I proclaim that these guns will never be dismantled or spiked! The fire of those batteries has utterly demolished the sources of supply—the distilleries and breweries in all these States. Not one is left, nor is there an open saloon. A few demoralized and tattered soldiers may be dimly seen creeping through underground passages and dark places supposed to be out of range, but an occasional shell makes sad havoc in these. To maintain successful warfare in these States is a comparatively easy task, and yet eternal vigilance is indispensable.

In Iowa the siege-gun of Constitutional Prohibition was declared by the Supreme Court of the State not to have been cast quite right, and so it has been silent; but the heavy artillery of Statutory Prohibition has rendered almost equally effective service. The stale statement that Prohibition does not prohibit, has been repeated on this platform, and the example of Davenport and Dubuque, with a few other Iowa towns, has been cited as proof. No word of mine shall be construed as implying personal unkindness toward any; but why did not our friend point to the eighty-four counties of Iowa out of the total number—ninety-nine—where not a distillery or brewery or open saloon can be found? The exceptions referred to—Davenport and other places—are exceptions because the local authorities, with a large alien and un-American population behind them, are opposed to Prohibition. If we were seeking to know the value of street-car service in any city, I should insist upon it that we should take a city where the service is normal, and not a city where a mob has seized the cars and refuses to allow them to run.

In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and other High License States the situation is very different, and *rather*

mixed. The principal saloons are *licensed* and under protection of the flag, and unlawful places nestle under their shadow. How to form a line of battle against them is a difficult problem. How to train our guns upon licensed saloons is not yet apparent. If we should make an assault, we should certainly be repelled—if not by the saloon power, by the strong arm of the State pledged to their protection. Something, however, may be accomplished through Law and Order societies by a sort of bush-whacking campaign against the “speak-easies” and other violators of law.

In Local Option States the situation again differs. Prohibition counties have in some measure the advantages of Prohibition States, with the difference that always exists between a large fortress beyond the enemy’s guns, and small ones scattered over the field of battle.

To form one line of battle under such conditions is a difficult problem, and yet we must accept the situation as it is and wage war as best we can. We dare not—we must not—surrender the field to this great and terrible enemy.

My suggestions are so like those of General Nettleton that we might be supposed to have conferred together. I accept every suggestion made upon this platform. Let us use personal influence, but constantly toward a definite end. Let us cultivate public opinion, but up toward some definite standard. Let us substitute coffee-houses, but close the saloon. Let us improve the homes of the people, but destroy this arch-enemy of their homes. Let us educate the children, but protect them while we educate. I am prepared for the suggestion of Dr. Funk—repeal the *permissive features* of all License laws and multiply their restrictive features. Let the State dissolve partnership with the saloon, and refuse all revenues from the traffic. For my part, I commend the Penn-

sylvania experiment. During and following our campaign for Constitutional Prohibition we organized "The Union Prohibitory League of Pennsylvania." In a short time, with scarcely any public effort, we secured the enrolment of some 30,000 voters. About two thirds of the number were and still are Republicans; the remaining third, pretty equally divided between Democrats and party Prohibitionists. We declared, "Our object is the suppression of the saloon. In order to do this we unite to secure :

"1. The strict enforcement of the prohibitory measures of existing laws relating to the Liquor Traffic." Can we not all accept this?

"2. The early enactment of more stringent and prohibitory statutes, with adequate penalties." Are we not ready for this also?

"3. The final adoption of Constitutional Prohibition for the State and Nation." Some may falter here, but will come to it by and by.

"We solemnly declare :

"1. That we owe primary allegiance to God and humanity, to our country and commonwealth, and will hold all party affiliations subordinate to these higher claims.

"2. That, retaining our personal liberty to choose our political associations as to us shall seem best, we proclaim that we are and will forever be free from the dominion of the liquor power, and demand that all political connection between the saloon and the State, through whatever political party, shall be forever totally dissolved.

We invited (and still invite) "our fellow-citizens of all parties and creeds to unite with us in this declaration, and for the end sought—the suppression of the saloon—to form such organizations in their respective States, counties, cities, wards, townships, and fraternal associa-

tions as they shall deem wise, with a view to delegated conventions to perfect strong and permanent organizations throughout the nation that shall continue until this great end shall be accomplished."

I propose this Pennsylvania plan as "The Line on which all Enemies of the Saloon may Unitedly do Battle, whether they be Believers in Restrictive Measures or in Radical Prohibition," and if any cannot occupy the central position on the line, let them occupy and hold such as they can.

So I am prepared to accept the suggestion of my friend Dr. Funk, and cut loose from all revenues from this traffic, and, if we cannot prohibit absolutely and universally, go as far as we can on that line, holding the goal in view, and get to it as quickly as possible.

Rev. N. B. Randall, D.D., of Long Island City, said :
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I stand here to-day as a worker for Prohibition. I have been nearly through with the contest in Pennsylvania, which has terminated so disastrously for Constitutional Prohibition ; and I believe that the ultimate end and aim of every opponent of the saloon ought to be along that line. But it is only necessary for us, sir, to face facts, and not fancies. The status of this audience to-day, of Temperance men and women picked from all this country, if we were to go no further than these walls, testifies to me that we are not ready yet for Prohibition, either by statute or by constitutional amendment, either in the States or in the Nation. But we want to go as far and as fast as we can. I believe that to be the end in view. And yet, in order that I might be exact, I have written a thought or two which I wish to present to you to-day. And I am glad, for my sake, that it is written, lest you should think that I had copied after what Dr. Funk has said ; for we are thinking along the same line.

Temperance advocates have been fighting one another for years. Our line of battle has been too extended. The right wing of political Prohibition has fired into the centre of High License, and the centre has returned the fire. Then both have trained their guns against the left wing of Moral Suasion, and nearly swept it from the field. Our foes, wiser than we, waste no ammunition on each other. It is time for us to re-form our line of battle. Very modestly (as becomes one who has been on the field long enough to recognize the difficulties of the situation) I venture to drop a seed-thought or two in the friendly soil around me.

1. Can we not agree in demanding the abolition of the License system? (a) That system is wrong *per se*. Let us wash our hands of it. (b) It protects our foe, the Liquor Traffic, with the shield of legality. It teaches the people that rum-selling is a reputable business, conducted by men whose "respectable character" has been endorsed by influential petitioners and affirmed by the court. The larger the number of endorsers required, the stronger it makes the endorsement of the man's respectability. (c) The License system is a hindrance to Prohibition. It appeals to the avarice of the people, like the Louisiana Lottery Company, in offering to bear their burdens of taxation; and the higher the License, the greater is the bribe and the greater the peril. Let us unite for the repeal of all License laws. *What then?* Shall the country have "free whiskey"? No; but remember, as was once said about slavery, that

"Sin, for want of legislation,
Is not quite like sin by law."

Let us first cease to "sin by law." Then let us have:

2. *Restrictive Legislation.* Don't let us say when and how men *can* sell liquor. Let us ask our laws to say

when and how they *cannot* sell it. The law should (a) prohibit the sale of all *adulterated* liquors, and provide for a vigilant governmental inspection, with the destruction of all that is found to be impure. This alone would revolutionize the business and prevent two thirds of the crimes and physical ruin now caused by the traffic. (b) The law should prohibit all sales to habitual drunkards, to minors and to others needing special protection, as well as on Sundays, election days, legal holidays, and between 11 P.M. and 6 A.M. of every day, and in the saloon at any time. (c) The law should punish the violator of these provisions by a fine on the first conviction, by imprisonment in the county jail on the second, and by imprisonment in the State's prison on every subsequent conviction. I believe that all friends of Temperance—yes, all who love their fellow-men—could unite along these lines ; that such legislation might be enacted and could be enforced everywhere, and that it would educate public opinion along the line of still greater Restriction up to the final overthrow of the entire Liquor Traffic.

Rev. Henry B. Hudson, of New York, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In considering "methods of work upon which all may agree," etc., it seems to me that the OBJECT for working at all must be clearly understood as a first essential to the intelligent choice of any "method." To this end permit me to offer a pertinent correction. All the speakers, from our worthy President on, have constantly urged the shibboleth, "the saloon must go ;" and already this has led to needless error and difference of opinion in the Congress during the discussion of "methods." In illustration of this, General Dow and Dr. Kynett have both made the unchallenged statement that one result of Prohibition as a "method" has been the complete deliverance of Maine,

Kansas, and the two Dakotas from the shame of being manufacturing centres and producers of the nefarious beverages. Their distilleries and breweries are gone, and their places are taken by legitimate and beneficent industries. Yet with the tune struck on the key "the saloon must go," this fact, unapproached by the results of any other method ever tried, almost fails to place Prohibition on an equality with High License, even regarding each only as a method of RESTRICTION. And this in face of the well-known fact that in this city many hundreds of "saloons" have been foisted upon the community by the brewers fitting up the place on mortgages just to make a market for their beer.

No, friends, the objective point of intelligent Temperance forces is not the destruction of the saloon. The "saloon" is only one incident of many in the whole evil. Destroy it absolutely to-day, and the Liquor Traffic will be with us still. Hotels, restaurants, drug-shops, club-houses, and the rum grocery would afford ample opportunity for marketing the product of the unchecked distilleries and breweries. Our purpose is the DESTRUCTION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC, ROOT AND BRANCH, and we strike equally at the root, which is the manufacture, and the branch, which is the market, whether it be the rum grocery, club-house or saloon. Down with the Liquor Traffic! This being our object, it is self-evident that Prohibition, which destroys ALL THE MANUFACTORIES and abolishes ten saloons where the highest License disturbs one, must be given the first place among the "methods" upon which all may unite for the complete destruction of the Liquor Traffic. One other point, Mr. President: in considering the relative merits of License and Prohibition as methods upon which we may unite, let it not be forgotten, whenever the discussion shifts to the ground of law enforcement, that the argument is in

favor of Prohibition as five to one. Every restrictive measure by License first PERMITS and then proceeds with five or more prohibitive clauses, such as, no sale on Sunday, nor between 1 and 5 A.M., nor to drunkards, to minors, on election days, etc., the enforcement of any one of which requires the same machinery of constabulary and justice as is required to enforce ONE statute of complete Prohibition. And it is to be observed when considering the influence of the two methods in engendering contempt for law, with the consequent resort to subterfuges for its avoidance, the argument for Prohibition still holds in the same ratio ; for every License system yet devised presents the spectacle of not less than five minor prohibitive features, ALL of which are openly and shamelessly violated, while EACH is the constant incentive for resorting to cunning and wicked devices to bring the entire restrictive phases into general contempt. Therefore, every word of argument urged against the feasibility of Prohibition, based upon the non-enforcement of law, lies with equal or greater force against the License system ; for of the two, License laws are more generally and openly violated in their every restrictive clause than is Prohibition. In conclusion, Mr. President, it is eminently clear to most minds not burdened with some favorite theory that all wise efforts to unite should be directed toward uniting upon that "method of work" which in its weakest estate includes the OUTLAWRY of the traffic, and even when imperfectly enforced is the most effective RESTRICTIVE measure yet devised ; and which, when honestly enforced, works the practical abolition of the entire business. That "method" is everywhere known by the one name of PROHIBITION.

Mr. John T. Tanner, of Alabama, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am not here for the purpose of making a speech. For the first time

in my life I have heard High License advocated to-day, and also the saloon side of the question. I have been engaged in this business now for the last eight or ten years, and I have never heard a gentleman until to-day rise in open congress or convention and advocate, as I consider, the whiskey side of this question. I say it respectfully to the gentlemen. I live in the little village of Athens, Ala. We have carried Prohibition there five times out of seven consecutive elections. Each time I had the honor of being the successful candidate, and I carried the question five times out of seven. I want to say to this audience that we have tried, in Alabama, High License and Low License. We have tried everything in Alabama, and we find that High License whiskey will make a man drunk just as quick as Low License whiskey; and in the city of Montgomery, a few months ago, after testing all these various remedies, we in convention there resolved that nothing short of absolute National Prohibition would do for Alabama. I had the honor, just a few weeks ago, of being at a State convention in Texas. I met the Hon. John P. St. John there and afterward at Fort Worth, and at Dallas. I have Governor St. John's word for it (and I believe every word he says) that in the State of Kansas there is not an open saloon nor a distillery. I travelled through Kansas some few years ago myself, and I didn't see a drunken man nor an open saloon in that State, and I know that Prohibition does prohibit. In Athens, as I said just now, we tried High and Low License. We had one saloon at \$250, and we declared we would tax it out of existence. We put the license up to \$1000, and two men took out licenses. We then concluded it would not do to rely upon License of any kind, and we have resolved from this day forward to know nothing but Prohibition—National Prohibition.

Major Marshall B. Bright, editor of the *Christian at Work*, New York, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I did not expect to say a single word to you to-day, because I did not know that I could say that which would be in harmony with the feeling and sentiments of the people here assembled. There has been a great deal said here to-day about putting the saloon down, about the evils of drink, and of the methods we should use for remedying it all. I confess, sir, I should like to see something in the way of putting the saloon down. I have had my Republican friends come to me and talk about putting the saloon down. I have had Democrats, who voted the straight Democratic ticket ever since they were twenty-one years of age, come to me with the same thing. And a little observation gives me the impression that the difference between the politicians in the two parties is that one says to the saloon-keeper, standing at the front door, "You are my friend," and the other one passes him by, like the Levite, and does not say a word, but goes around and takes his hand at the rear door.

Now we are never going to get along while we trust to the politicians or the political newspapers. They have capitals and italics for all the sentiments in the country, and for all the moralities, and for all the decalogues that could be invented. And what good do they do ?

Now, sir, I should like to see the saloon put down. And it seems to me, without assuming to be at all wiser than anybody else, that we do not observe a distinction which ought to be made. What do we find ? As has been told here to-day, as Dr. Huntington told us, we have a united enemy, and we have a divided army in front of it. The circumstances ought to be reversed.

There should be a united Temperance army, and we should have penetrated between the wings of the Liquor army. How can we do that? We speak about saloons, but we speak without discriminating. We don't discriminate between the ale and the beer, with their three to five per cent. of alcohol, and the light wines, with their fifteen, and the four distilled liquors, with their fifty per cent. of alcohol. Why don't we do it? Oughtn't we to use our heads a little more, and do a little more thinking along that line? It seems to me we should, sir. Now, sir, there is not a man here that is not opposed to the drinking of the four distilled liquors as a beverage. Could not this assembly, could not the people of this State, could not the people of the whole country, unite in one effort and say, not, "We will have these saloons open free, and not have any License or Restriction," but, "We won't have a single saloon at all"?

And then we come to one other point. As has been said by one of the speakers, if you take this away, you must have something in its place. Now the trouble is not in the matter of the drinking. The trouble is not that you drink. But the trouble is the appetite that is behind it; and where the appetite is for the distilled liquors, it leads to crime, to our jails and prisons and penitentiaries. Why not draw the differentiating line right here? Why not make your first aggressive movement against the sale of the four distilled liquors at all? In Germany and in some of the other countries where they drink their light wines and light beers, there is far less intemperance and far less crime than where the four distilled liquors are drunk.

Now, Mr. President, I am not making a plea for ale, wine, beer, or anything of the kind. I think those things make their own plea, and don't need me to speak for them. But I do believe this: if we would concentrate

our efforts upon the suppression of the four distilled liquors, and suppress those first, we should pierce the enemy. We should separate the German beer-drinkers from the distilled-liquor-drinkers, and we should have an aggressive army to move on to the front. Now, sir, it has been my pleasure often to find myself in a minority. I find myself in a minority to-day ; but I am glad that the minority is surrounded by such a majority as it is.

Rev. William Fielder, of South Dakota, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : We of South Dakota, we of the wild and woolly West, we of the progressive West, if you please, believe in Prohibition. For a few years we tried Restriction by License. It was a failure. It was a total failure. For two years we tried Local Option. It was unsatisfactory to our people. And then we resolved, in the name of God and in the name of the wives and children of the drunkards of the States, that we would have Prohibition.

We went in for Prohibition. We obtained Prohibition. And let me say just one word here to-day in favor of the Republican Party. Credit to whom credit is due. As the representative of the third party Prohibitionists, I said to our friends last summer, " We must get the Republican Party to put Prohibition into their platform this fall." They said, " They will never do it." I said, " They will do it." We went to the Republican Convention, we demanded it, and we got it. Gentlemen, ask for what you want, and you will get it. But you must ask in such a way that they will realize that you mean what you say. We have State Prohibition. On the first day of May, 1889, there was not an open saloon in South Dakota—not one. There was not one on the second day, nor on the third, nor on the fourth, nor on the fifth, nor on the tenth. But we have a few " original

package' houses now. But we expect to dispose of them. One of our Congressmen received a thousand petitions from our district, asking for relief from that source. It is coming. Already, as you know, the Senate has taken favorable action. The House of Representatives must do it. Not only does Dakota demand it, not only do Iowa and Kansas and North Dakota and Maine demand it, but your License States demand it. They have got to do it. It is coming.

One minute more. We have Prohibition. We expect to keep it. We have a State Enforcement League, of which I have the honor to be the president. Every one of our State officers has identified himself with it. A great many of our mayors and county attorneys and county judges and others have identified themselves with it. We are putting our moral influence behind this law. We are putting our personal force behind it. We are putting our money behind it. And, in the name of God, Prohibition shall prohibit in South Dakota. (Cheers for South Dakota.)

Mrs. M. J. Washington said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am almost paralyzed, and yet God seems to call me to say something. There are only two points to which I wish to call your attention. This gentleman from Long Island is in the line of my thought—that is, what right has a State to license any institution that is antagonistic to the very life and body and soul of its citizens? If I am wrong on any legal questions, the gentleman will set me right. The moment that a child draws its first breath, it becomes a citizen of the State, does it not? Then the State owes that child protection, does it not? Does it not owe it protection in every sense? Then what right, I say, in the name of the mothers, the grandmothers, of this glorious Republic—what right has a

State, then, to license an institution which degrades the morality not only of its men, but its women? Because we must not shut our eyes to the fact that intemperance is going into every social rank, and we must do away with the sin of it. We must not have any License. The State owes it to its citizens to protect them, does it not? Then we must throw around them protection.

It seems to be my special mission, and I am glad to say here on this platform that I will nurse free of charge any inebriate that any friend in this audience has. I will invade his house, as I did recently at two o'clock in the morning, and gave back to New York one of its first citizens. He had been on a spree for three months; and on the fourth day after I entered his house he went to his business, and he has been there ever since. For twenty-seven years his family had begged him to take the pledge. I never said a word to him about it.

Then there is another point. Of course, women get all off, you know. They can't talk like men. If this State owes protection to its citizens, it has no right, legal, moral, social, or religious, to license any place that will sell liquor. On the other hand, if people must have liquor and must have stimulants, if they feel the necessity of it, let us do as they do in Germany and in France: if we must have beer, don't have it adulterated with glucose and all sorts of things, but give it to the men in a pure state. I was born, I might say, with mint juleps to drink, and in my youth I couldn't get along without six or seven different kinds of wine. But I quit it all. If they will sell liquor such as the Western cowboys call tarantula-juice, and such as my slave-hunters in Virginia called coffin-varnish, then let it be labelled, like oleomargarine, so that people will know what it is.

The next subject was :

THE SYSTEMATIC PROSECUTION OF THE TOTAL ABSTINENCE WORK ESSENTIAL TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE LIQUOR POWER.

The first paper upon this subject was by Hon. Albert Griffin, of Kansas, and was read by Colonel Alexander S. Bacon. It was as follows :

If there were no dram-drinkers there could be no saloons ; therefore dram-drinkers are responsible for *all* the evil done by saloons—and more. *Every* man and woman who uses intoxicating liquor of any kind as a beverage, no matter where or in what amount, is a dram-drinker, and shares this responsibility. Every purchase is a direct contribution to the treasury of the liquor power ; every known indulgence strengthens the sentiment that sustains and spreads the habit, and its potency for evil is greatest when the example is set by those who move in the higher circles of society and are able to exercise self-control. The drink habit is a fountain of woes for which saloons are reservoirs and conduits. Destroying reservoirs may deflect or diminish without stopping the stream, but dry up the fountain, and reservoirs and distributing pipes become useless, and dams and dikes unnecessary. No mere legislative enactment ever did and no conceivable one ever can end intemperance ; but the universal abandonment of the drink habit would do so. It is, of course, Utopian to expect all men to voluntarily deny themselves, but each and every individual who becomes a Total Abstainer unquestionably strengthens the Temperance cause and weakens the liquor power.

There are two methods of fighting the drink evil. The first appeals to individuals to voluntarily stop drinking. The second asks the State to make it difficult for

them to gratify their appetites, and to forbid others to tempt them. Both systems are good ; but as the first always has to precede the second, it is the most essential in point of time, and has always been the most effective as to cure. During the early years of the Temperance agitation and the period of the Woman's Crusade and the Ribbon movements, the first of these methods was relied upon almost entirely, and the cause made wonderful and *continuous* progress. The number of drinkers rapidly diminished and the sentiment in favor of Prohibition spread with almost equal rapidity, although comparatively little special effort was made in its behalf. But during the eight years that the second method has been prosecuted with increasing exclusiveness, the number of drinkers and the consumption of liquor has increased at an alarming rate, the saloon has grown richer and stronger, and Prohibition has been overwhelmingly defeated in eight States, repealed in one, and barely escaped in another. Furthermore, coincident with this change of tactics, the opponents of the saloon have spent more time, energy, and money fighting each other than has been used against the common enemy ; and this fratricidal strife goes on with ever-increasing bitterness and injury to the cause of suffering humanity.

The record of the past proves conclusively that the first method has never done any harm, and has always done good. Indeed, it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise. It is true that it has not been as successful as some sanguine people hoped ; but intelligent, persistent effort on that line cannot fail to strengthen the cause. While it was pursued, the Temperance forces were united and grew daily stronger and more aggressive, the opposing cohorts being correspondingly weakened and demoralized. Experience indicates that that method not only diminishes drinking, but makes more

Prohibitionists than have been or can be secured by direct attacks upon the traffic *unaided by it*. On the other hand, efforts on legal and political lines always tend to divert attention from personal Temperance, and have been less effective on their own lines in proportion as they have had that effect. It is easy to say that this ought not to be so, but the fact remains that it actually is so. In short, persistent and intelligent effort on Total Abstinence lines always has and always will increase the number of Temperance men and Prohibitionists also, while a *concentration* of effort on legal lines always has had exactly the opposite effect. What then? Shall Prohibition be abandoned? By no means. It is needed to clinch the nails driven by the Moral Suasion hammer, and to keep the devils from returning into the men out of whom they have been driven. We must have both Moral Suasion and Legal Suasion, but the best, if not the only way to secure both is to make our main fight directly against the drink *habit*. The American tendency to appeal to the law as a cure-all needs to be checked rather than stimulated.

It must also be remembered that progress is impossible on legal lines until a majority agree, while on personal lines single individuals can work successfully. Political victories are possible only on election days, but personal victories may be won every day in every year. Legislative victories are often barren because of unforeseen obstacles or shifted defences, but personal victories cannot be thus nullified. Again, political victories may be turned into defeats by mistakes, incapacity or treason, but the Total Abstainer's feet are on a rock.

Let us look the facts squarely in the face. About one half of the people of the North are of foreign birth or parentage, and nearly nine million Southerners are Negroes. Taking whites and blacks, natives and foreigners

all into account, it is probable that three-fourths of the men and one half of the women in the United States drink occasionally—or oftener—and of the annual half million addition to our foreign population, and the million and a half of boys and girls who become men and women each year, only a small portion are abstainers, so that the situation grows worse instead of better—and at a rapid rate.

In view of such facts, is it not folly—or worse—to rely exclusively, or even mainly, upon a plan that is so profuse in promises and so parsimonious in performance? Is it not an imperative duty to revive and improve the plan of work that has never failed to do a part of what it promised, and has sometimes done more? Most men will *say* yes to this question, but it is so much easier and pleasanter to denounce dram-sellers and shift the more disagreeable duties on to official shoulders than to persuade men to make personal sacrifices, that nearly all choose the congenial task for themselves, leaving the more important but distasteful one to—somebody—anybody—no matter who. It is therefore evident that this absolutely essential work will not be done unless it is taken up by those whose zeal for *the cause* is genuine enough to imbue them with the spirit of self-sacrifice.

But a mere return to Moral Suasion methods will not suffice. The greater part of the time and money heretofore devoted to Temperance work has been wasted. To illustrate: I once heard a good man, as he dropped exhaustedly into a chair, inform a committee that he had been “laboring hard all day for the cause,” and inquiry developed the fact that his time had been spent “laboring” with eighteen Temperance men, two incorrigible dram-sellers, and one drinker. Tens of thousands of public meetings have been held with none but Temperance people in attendance, and, consequently, no visible

results. It will not do to merely offer pledges at meetings which drinking men and women carefully avoid. In some way it must be ascertained who these drinkers are, and, when they decline to come to us, *we must go to them*. Furthermore, and equally important, we should be careful not to repel them by demanding greater sacrifices than are needed.

It is not possible to ascertain who are for or against a reform by guessing. Millions of men and women supposed by their Temperance friends to be Total Abstinencers are, in fact, tipplers. The best if not the only way to properly prepare for the needed work is to divide cities, towns, and counties into small districts, and have lists made for each containing the names of every resident over ten years old (just as the politician does with the voters of each precinct). Then, proclaiming that the purpose is to make each district as nearly as possible "solid for Total Abstinence," circulate pledges and check every signer. Many names can be procured at public meetings, but the greater number will probably have to be obtained by personal solicitation. Separate lists should also be obtained of the members of all churches, lodges, and other societies, labor unions and employees in large establishments, and especial efforts put forth to make each body "solid for Total Abstinence." While some workers would take selected names for personal visitation, others should go systematically from house to house and shop to shop. Of course, the names of those who are already in favor of Temperance and those who can be most easily influenced would soon be secured, and, as the movement progressed, many who refused at first would decide to "help make it unanimous;" for when public sentiment in favor of great humanitarian movements becomes aroused *and organized*, its power to persuade, convince, and awe is tremendous. **As**

the good work went on and its results became manifest, the really human souls that would not be melted by the fervent heat of enkindled humanity would be rare indeed.

At all times the "Phalanx" idea—shoulder to shoulder, in hollow squares, about the Nation's homes, with every weapon levelled at their defiling and destroying foe—should be kept in mind, and the "Phalanxes" should be composed of "Temperance Volunteers." To succeed, this holy work must commence in and draw its chief support from the Church, which, to that end, must first purge itself. Few ministers have even a faint conception of the number of tipplers now on their rolls, and as the world cannot be lifted to a higher plane than the Church prepares, the saloon will continue to flourish until the wine-cellar under the Church of God are closed, and the odor of alcohol is banished from its sanctuary.

It is admitted that the suggested plan would require a great deal of work; but can the desired results be secured with less? And are they not well worth what they would cost? Do we really desire the redemption of the nation? If so, our plans must be as broad as the evil that we seek to suppress; and, after all, each set of workers will only have to cultivate their own small field. The most difficult part of the whole business is to make the start.

I come now to another point of very great importance. It seems to me unwise to repel those whose help is needed by requiring them to make unnecessary sacrifices. Millions of men and women, who drink more or less, cannot be convinced that such indulgence does them any harm; but, knowing that drinking ruins multitudes of others, they would be willing to deny themselves if they believed such self-denial would become general. They, however, have so little faith that dram-drinking can be made unpopular, that they will not sign a life pledge.

This class of people is very numerous among those whose influence is most potent for good or harm, and the question, How can their support be secured for an onward movement? is one of such great importance as to merit careful consideration. Long reflection has convinced me that the power for good of the approaching Temperance revival (and it is near at hand) will be immensely increased by presenting two pledges something like the following, with no special effort made in favor of one as against the other :

Phalanx Temperance Volunteers.

LIFE PLEDGE.

Believing that the best interests of the Nation and of humanity will be promoted thereby, I hereby pledge myself, God helping me, never to use intoxicating liquor of any kind as a beverage.

Signature, _____

Residence, _____

Phalanx Temperance Volunteers.

FIVE YEARS' PLEDGE.

Believing that the best interests of the Nation and of humanity will be promoted thereby, I hereby pledge myself, God helping me, not to use intoxicating liquor of any kind as a beverage for five years from _____, 1890.

Signature, _____

Residence, _____

Can there be any doubt that the presentation of such alternative pledges to every individual in every community, again and again and again, with urgent entreaties to at least enlist for a five years' campaign against the drink habit, would secure the support of an immense number of individuals who cannot be induced to at once tie their hands and close their mouths forever? Is there a State in the Nation in which the liquor power could maintain itself for five years against assaults conducted in the manner herein suggested, and backed by "*organized* public opinion" in every nook and corner and back alley? No, not one! Five years is really a long time—the great rebellion was crushed in four. It is long enough to create an irresistible sentiment, crystallize it into law, and bring down the heavy hand of Government upon the few who would still be willing to fight with and for the worm of the still. Then, why should we prolong the struggle by insisting on more than is necessary?

Last year Prohibition was decisively defeated in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, not because their citizens approve of and desire the continuance of the saloon system, but because they do not believe it can be suppressed while so large a proportion of the people are unwilling to voluntarily abandon the drink habit. When the campaigns were being organized in those States, their managers were urged to inaugurate a pledge-signing movement as an auxiliary, but they did not deem it wise. Possibly the amendments would have been defeated even if they had decided differently; but it will hardly now be questioned that if they had done so the defeats would not have been so decisive, and the Temperance sentiment would have been greatly and permanently strengthened.

New York is to vote upon a Prohibitory Amendment next April ; will it not be wise to test the efficiency of the proposed plan in that campaign ? Can a crushing defeat be avoided in any other way ? The odds in favor of the liquor power are immense, and it is possible that an absolute victory cannot be won in so short a time ; but on the lines herein proposed a Temperance constituency can be organized that will neither ground arms nor cease its assaults until the last saloon shall have been closed.

Mrs. Lucinda B. Chandler, of Chicago, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I represent the Non-Partisan Women's Christian Temperance Alliance of the State of Illinois. The sentiments of my paper, for the most part, will certainly represent the women of Illinois of that Alliance. There may be one or two points in which they will not agree with me. Our aim is Educational Prohibition based on the following propositions :

The Temperance problem is a problem of human advancement.

The sentiment against drunkenness, which is well-nigh universal, cannot touch it.

Temperance is a positive and spiritual principle.

It belongs to both eating and drinking. To keep the physical organism and the brain in the purest condition for the service of reason, will, and moral sense is the duty of the higher self.

The saloon is an effect. To remove the saloon, the cause of its existence must be removed.

This cause is the ungoverned and misdirected desires of the lower nature, and the uncultivated taste and untrained power of the moral nature of man.

The saloon does not make men weak and ungovernable

in appetite. The weakness and unregulated appetite, the uncultured habits and defects of man, create the saloon and maintain it.

The less of politics and the more of education, scientific, moral, and religious, the greater will be the advancement of Temperance.

We want to abolish the saloon.

We must abolish the demand for the saloon.

The law of demand and supply exists in the nature of things.

Neither sentiment nor force can reverse or overpower the action of this law.

The sentiment and force that can tend to this must be in the individual, where it can change the demand from that of lower desire to higher purpose.

What can most effectively operate to abolish the demand for the saloon is really the problem of the Total Abstinence cause, and of deliverance from the saloon in politics.

Three fortifications of the Liquor Traffic exist in the ranks of reputable and moral people :

1. The religious fortification of the sacramental wine-cup.
2. The social custom fortification among people who are not given to drunkenness, and,
3. The fortification of medical prescription of alcoholic beverages.

It would not be so difficult to abolish the traffic if only the low groggery element sustained it.

Right here I want to say, at the convention of the State Medical Society of Illinois, in Chicago, a few weeks ago, the president gave a very excellent paper in regard to the uses of alcohol, and not only recommended that it should be disused as a medical agency, but that all doctors who should be known to have the drink habit should be disbarred in the profession.

It would not be so difficult to destroy the business of making and selling alcoholic poison were not the traffic exactly in line, on general principles, with the genius of our economic and commercial systems. This genius is the legal right of the money-making power to ignore moral considerations and abstract principles of right, as well as the welfare of others, in business. This is the mightiest foe with which the opposers of the saloon have to contend.

Children are the most promising constituency for the abolition of the saloon in the future, and for the success of the only Prohibition that cannot fail—self-prohibition. The broad foundation of kindergarten training, to establish habits of controlling desire and appetite to rational ends, is the very root of prohibitory work. The children and youth of to-day need to be taught the science of man, to learn that the greatness and glory of manhood and womanhood is mastership of the weaker and fleshly side of human nature by the higher and divine humanity which was pronounced to be “a little lower than the angels.” Were it mine to direct and dispose all the working forces in Temperance, I should centre them chiefly upon the education and training of children; and especially to enlist the interest and co-operative work of boys in promoting Total Abstinence from alcoholic beverages and tobacco. And this education should extend to habits of eating. Abstaining from food that favors or creates a desire for stimulating drinks is as necessary as abstinence from alcoholic drinks. Experiments have proven that a farinaceous diet will destroy the relish for alcoholic drinks. The foundation Temperance principle is that bodily habits shall not interfere with the higher development of man as a spiritual being.

After this education to destroy the demand for the

saloon, I would seek the abolition of alcohol in the sacrament.

If the frequenters of first-class saloons and convivial pleasure-seekers everywhere could be reached by a Temperance evangelist, and they could be persuaded to seek a higher standard of satisfaction and social intercourse, this should be a part of agitation and education.

The medical prescription of alcoholic beverages is becoming less frequent, and reform is slowly advancing in that direction. The sixteen months' experiment by Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett, of Chicago, of entire abstinence from alcoholic remedies in every malady, emergency, or injury in the Temperance Hospital founded by her, was a cheering demonstration of the truth that there is no need for alcohol in the human system.

Until there is a very much stronger sentiment and moral force against any use of alcoholic beverages, and until dealing in alcoholic poison is not held to be a "common law right" by a considerable portion of the people, prohibitory legislation will avail little.

When the coming man and woman have been educated to the truth that alcohol is a destructive poison which the physical man cannot assimilate nor the spiritual man control, and which no man-devised statute should sanction or permit to be dealt out as a beverage, and when from infancy and childhood they have been trained in the habit of considering the good or bad effect of food or drink as binding upon them to govern their eating and drinking, we shall have an unwritten law in the moral force of the people that will abolish the saloon and the "original package."

The boy of to-day will in a few short years either make the statutes you frame now of no effect, or will extinguish the demand for the saloon by his personal prohibition.

The girl of to day, if rightly educated, will be prepared to train the future man in Temperance principles, and the coming woman will not marry the man who drinks wine or whiskey, nor perpetuate the weakness of ungoverned appetite in the children of intemperate fathers.

Educational prohibition cannot fail to prohibit.

Hon. W. Martin Jones, of Rochester, New York, said :

Mr. President : I am a Prohibitionist. I am a third-party Prohibitionist. I have looked forward with a great deal of expectation and interest to this Congress. I hope to see some things go out of it that will crystallize the Temperance element in this country, and that will enable that element to move forward solidly against the saloon. But while I am in favor of third-party work, I am ready to move by the side of a Democrat or a Republican, and vote either a Democratic or Republican ticket, if either one of those parties will adopt and carry out the resolutions of enmity to the saloon. In other words, I may say, I am not wedded so to any political party but that I am ready to work and vote with those who are in favor of the annihilation of the Liquor Traffic. And now I want to say that I mean, by annihilation of the Liquor Traffic, the annihilation of the traffic in lager beer as well as whiskey. It is the light wines that are making drunkards of the people in France and Germany ; for I have seen them stagger there too. And I would say, also, against the sale of cider when it intoxicates. I want to correct one or two statements made. A brother on the stand said that the third-party Prohibitionists—that is, the right wing of the Temperance forces—had been firing into the centre of High License ; and they ought to do that ; but also that they had been firing into the left wing of Moral Suasion. That is a mistake. We have never aimed our guns at Moral Suasion. It is the right

arm of this work. And so to-day I come not merely individually, but I come also to represent, by request, as one of the Executive Committee, the largest Temperance organization working on Moral Suasion lines in the world—the Good Templar Order. Some of you have not heard of it possibly. That organization is encircling the globe; has its lodges everywhere almost where there is civilization; and we are working on the Moral Suasion line. And this brings me to the point here—that is, the systematic prosecution of the Total Abstinence work. I am in favor of it. I have been at work at it ever since I was a boy ten years old, and I shall keep on that line as long as I live. But I want to say that our work will not be accomplished in the saloon by Moral Suasion. I say to my friends, I would carry Moral Suasion with one hand to the drunkard, but Legal Suasion also to the drunkard-maker.

The assembly was favored with a song by Miss Louise Haymar, of Washington.

The next topic was :

HOW MAY THE CHURCHES AID MOST EFFECTIVELY IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC?

The first speaker was the Rev. James M. Buckley, D.D., of New York, who said :

Mr. President, and Friends of Temperance and Humanity : It is an honor to be invited and a pleasure to be permitted to present the results of some experience and observation upon this important question. There are times when language is used merely for entertainment, and others when it is employed solely for the purpose of persuasion. But this is not a time for pleasant words nor a time for personal appeals. This topic requires matured thoughts, and words designed to condense them and express them in a forcible way.

Much is said about what the Church could do. Comparatively little is said of what the Church does. It is the fashion of many to intimate that the Church does little or nothing, because it does not put forth the effort which might be expected of it if it were united and concentrated upon a single purpose.

The Church is the foundation of every true reform, of every organized effort to lift up man ; and this should never be forgotten. Only the person ignorant of the history and condition of the world will fail to recognize it. So that I will not insult the intelligence of the Congress by attempting to demonstrate it. I state it, as the true qualifier and supporter of all that follows.

And, first, the Church exerts an influence by its doctrines and its discipline. How can it by these promote the destruction of the Liquor Traffic and of Intemperance ? Its doctrinal statements must be clear, and such as will carry the conscience of its members and of the people. Therefore all refinements requiring recondite studies and analytical discussions should be left out of the statements of the Church upon the subject, and there should be only such statements as command the assent when they are made ; and of these there have been in the different denominations several which do not admit of improvement—so clear, so concise, so all-inclusive, as respects the moral and humanitarian aspects bearing upon the individual conscience, that wherever uttered with dignity or presented without diverting influences they command assent. No argument in the negative can be raised.

With respect to the discipline of the Church, the crime of drunkenness should be condemned explicitly, and provision made for the censure and the punishment (as the denominations have a right to punish, under the law of Christ) of those who violate the law. . And concerning that use of ardent spirits as a beverage which al-

ways precedes drunkenness and, generally speaking, practically, not universally, leads to it, this also should be condemned in doctrinal statement, and its treatment provided for in disciplinary regulations.

But the Church also exerts a mighty influence by those resolutions which, without the force of law, sustain law and unify and strengthen sentiment. All ecclesiastical bodies have conventions. These conventions may be empowered to enact, or merely to consider. In the latter case they are called congresses ; in the former, conferences or councils or conventions, according to the terms used by the denominations. Resolutions upon various moral subjects are often presented. They are discussed, they are adopted. Every church should so speak in these resolutions as to confirm and illustrate and enforce its discipline and doctrinal views ; and in these, as they admit of change from time to time, it may adapt itself to the progress of sentiment so as always to speak in the concrete, in a way to stir up men to meet the present emergency.

Moreover, in the local administration of discipline the Church can and should do much. It should move with caution as respects those aspects of the subject which come under the declaration, " Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness." And every church officer, whether minister or layman, should have the moral courage to expostulate with that member of the church who trifles with the use of ardent spirits as a beverage. That man is a moral coward who does not dare to speak to a brother privately, but from the safe rampart of a pulpit harangues the public, making it obvious that he means a person who sits before him in the pew. And of such moral cowards there is a considerable number in every convention, who, supported by applause, will denounce,

but who speak not in private, according to the prescribed method. The Church can accomplish wonders by the proper presentation of subjects in their appropriate aspects from the pulpit. Discourses should be preached, according to the nature of the difficulties contended against. Some difficulties can be met better by presenting the opposite virtue, and saying nothing whatever concerning the vice. But intemperance is not one of these difficulties, simply because, in its incipient stages, and in all that relates to it, it belongs to the manifestation of Satan as an angel of light. It comes before us under the guise of friendship, of the social usages which attach us to each other. It associates itself with art and with music, and with the courtesies of life, and with distinguished state dinners, and the dinners of great societies of every kind; and for a man to fancy that he can stand up in the pulpit and preach against intemperance by the use of abstract terms and by descriptions of a typical nature is to fall into a grievous error. The preaching of Nathan is required—in its spirit, personal—"Thou art the man." Nathan preached privately. He did not stand upon the housetop when he described David. But the spirit of the preacher must be, "Thou art the man," upon these aspects of the subject, to the church of which he is the pastor and the community in which he lives. These sermons should not indulge in discussions which divert attention from the main point. There should be no exaggeration, no strong personalities, no attacks on political and other bodies; no language which can give an opportunity to those who are too anxious to secure it to divert attention from the main issue. They should be frequent, but not wearisome. And, above all, the speaker should endeavor to present the subject in such a way as to command respect for his intelligence, for his self-possession, for his manhood, for his knowledge. He can

often better exhibit these by what he leaves out than by what he would most naturally put in ; and Dr. Cheever observed, on one occasion, that the most powerful discourse he ever preached on Temperance was one in which he had first thought of everything he would naturally be expected to say, and then laid it all aside and just struck to the very marrow of the question, and presented the things which are not ordinarily presented in such a discourse.

Another thing the Church can do : it can teach its members the necessity and the solemn duty of exercising their political influence against the Liquor Traffic. Of course, you will expect me to distinguish between a minister's preaching the doctrines and the praises and the usages of a political party, and setting forth the principle which applies with great force to every citizen, to every Christian, and to every patriot. The minister who believes in Prohibition has a perfect right, and it is his duty, to preach the principle of Prohibition in the pulpit of his church ; and no individual will oppose him, provided he have the wisdom and the self-control to discriminate between attempting to dictate to the people from the pulpit as to the particular ballot they are to cast and the particular party they are to vote for, and teaching them that they must, wherever they vote, use their influence to the best of their ability in favor of that principle. I refer, of course, to the prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, as it relates to the use of liquors as a beverage.

To conclude, then, in this fifteen-minute address, I add that it is the duty of every pastor to avail himself of the social opportunities to exert his influence in favor of Total Abstinence. I suggest for you the marvellous example of the Right Rev. Bishop Potter, of this city, who, when rector of Grace Church, though not primarily

believing that the use of wine is a sin *per se*, perceiving that he could exert no powerful influence in favor of Temperance except by practising Total Abstinence, deliberately resolved to do so, and, in a number of the last years of his position there, at no wedding nor anywhere else ever allowed himself to touch one solitary drop of wine.

Be not deceived by these high-sounding words, that if the Church were to unite it could sweep away these things in a moment. As well might we attempt to rid the country of the English sparrow by appointing a day on which every citizen in Canada and British America should devote himself to destroying sparrows and their eggs. No such union ever comes to pass. The Church works locally, or not at all; but as it works locally, it also sustains every great public movement.

Joseph Cook, of Boston, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : Every drunkard is immortal. No drunkard, as such, can inherit the kingdom of heaven. These appear to me to be principles which overarch and undergird and penetrate, as a diameter, the whole theme of the duty of the churches in the battle against the Liquor Traffic. Let it not be supposed that I think for an instant that the churches can do anything more effective against the Liquor Traffic than to preach the Gospel. But if I am to confine myself to less obvious considerations, I will remind you that in fifty years, or at most in seventy-five, there will be, according to the predictions of our wisest statisticians, ten millions of people living within cannon-shot range of the Statue of Liberty, at the New York gates of the ocean. Other cities will grow as New York will, in a manner that is likely to astound the next century. Already the sovereignty of the saloon is the chief fact in municipal politics. The sovereignty of the

saloon threatens disaster to Ultimate America. That sovereignty never will be overthrown by the unanimity of political parties, unless there shall be first brought about a practical unanimity of the churches, the platforms, the presses, the parlors. As Speaker Reed said, "Politicians are eleventh-hour men. They never bear the heat and burden of the day." You can no more overthrow the unanimity of the Liquor Traffic by the dispersed antagonistic convictions of our Temperance population than you can pulverize a boulder by rolling against it a hoopless cask. The Temperance cask in this country needs cooerage, and resists it! I would not undertake this task, even in connection with a single one of the pieces of the cask, if I had not been appointed to it. But I am to read rapidly what I shall name

AN ESSAY ON SEVEN HOOPS FOR THE CHURCH TEMPERANCE CASK.

At what level ought American churches to seek unanimity in opposition to the chief source of crime, poverty, industrial waste, social misery, and political corruption—*i.e.*, the Liquor Traffic?

First, it is safe to assert that the churches ought to rise to the Temperance level of the public schools.

THE FIRST HOOP.

Mandatory instruction in the schools of twenty-seven States and Territories of the American Union has recently set up, in the name of science, a new, unassailable, and alluring standard. Below that standard the voluntary Temperance inculcations directly or indirectly given by the precept and example of the churches ought not to be allowed to fall. This does not necessarily mean that the churches should devote as much time as the schools do to scientific Temperance instruction, nor that they should em-

ploy the methods of the schools ; but it does mean that they should not be satisfied with inferior results. The standard enforced by voluntary Christian action in the religious training of the young in the matter of Temperance ought not to be lower than the standard made mandatory by public law in their secular training. This principle of reform in the relations of the churches to the Temperance cause is as fair and safe as it is comprehensive and radical. It means that the Sunday-schools should be taught as sound Temperance doctrine as the secular schools. It means that preachers should all lift their precept and example in the pulpit and parlor to the level which secular teachers are now required to attain in the school-desk. It means that church-members everywhere should rise to the Temperance level of compulsory instruction in the common schools.

What is that level? The mandatory Temperance instruction now given in the public schools requires everywhere total abstinence from all narcotics—that is, from both alcohol and tobacco. A majority of the future citizens of the nation are now in schools which teach Total Abstinence. Such instruction is mandatory in all the schools, naval and military, as well as territorial, now under the care of our Federal Government. It has been necessary to achieve a great victory over apathetic, corrupt, or hostile State legislatures, in order to secure this advanced Temperance instruction by authority of public law. It has been necessary to achieve a greater victory over the foremost publishers of text-books, to induce them to issue sound Temperance doctrines in volumes on physiology and hygiene. Both these victories, by the blessing of Heaven on the labors of Mrs. Hunt and her assistants in the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, have been achieved, and so a new era dawns. Great publishing houses, such as the Apple-

tons, A. S. Barnes & Co., Ivison, Blakeman & Co., Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., or such as the syndicate of text-book publishers lately organized, now issue approved Temperance text-books all keyed up to the level of Total Abstinence.

If standard and approved Temperance text-books are used, nothing less than Total Abstinence can be taught in the secular schools. It is highly important that a school-teacher should bring his personal example up to the level of his official precept; but in twenty-seven States and Territories of the American Union, every teacher must now bring his official precept up to the level of Total Abstinence. If a teacher should be a Total Abstainer, then, for yet stronger reasons, every preacher should be, and every church-member.

As to the methods by which the Temperance instruction of the young is to be brought up in the churches to at least the level it has attained in the schools, each church must of course decide for itself. I venture to suggest only that by pulpit hints or special addresses and lectures, by Sabbath-school instruction, by the use of pledges, by the circulation of sound Temperance literature, and especially by personal example, the standard of Total Abstinence should be everywhere preached in the churches. Mr. Spurgeon was many years ago a wine-drinker, but now he says, "More men have been killed by grape juice than by grape-shot." The new approved Temperance text-books which are now moulding the secular schools of the nation ought to be in all Sunday-school libraries. Once a month at least instruction in harmony with these standard books should in some way be effectively given in all Sunday-schools. Lift the youth, the adult membership, and all the preachers of your churches to the level of Total Abstinence, which is now the level not only of the secular schools, but even of the life as-

urance societies, and immense results must sooner or later follow. The new heights and uplands of scientific Temperance instruction and religious precept and example will form a vast water-shed down which will flow new rivers of Temperance sentiment, with resistless currents and unflinching cataracts that will cleanse the land.

SECOND.

All the Christian denominations ought to rise to the level attained by the largest and strongest Protestant bodies in the United States, and declare that no rumseller shall be accepted as a church-member. This is the standard of the Presbyterian Church and of the Methodist, and of many smaller but not less earnest and consistent denominations.

THIRD.

As no rumseller ought to be accepted as a church-member, all denominations of Christians ought to rise to the level of the Methodist body, and declare that the Liquor Traffic can never be legalized without sin. The Church cannot consistently exclude rumsellers from membership, and at the same time favor License for rumsellers. It cannot in reason or honor with one hand make rumsellers and with the other hand excommunicate rumsellers.

FOURTH.

If rumsellers ought not to be church-members, and if the Liquor Traffic can never be legalized without sin, then it follows that church-members ought never to vote for a political candidate who is in favor of legalizing the Liquor Traffic. While the churches as such need not declare for any one political party, they ought to declare that church-members as individuals should support no

political party that is dominated by the whiskey rings. Christians on their knees before God will never vote for any party on its knees before the Liquor Traffic.

FIFTH.

The churches will support law and order by the whole power of their moral and social and political influence. Although Christians may not vote for License, yet, if a License law is on the statute-book, Christians will help to execute it. License restricts a part of the traffic, and at the same time legalizes a part. To vote for a License law is to do evil that good may come. In helping to execute a License law for which they have not voted, Christians simply emphasize its restrictive features, without making themselves responsible for its permissive features. In some communities business men who oppose the saloon are boycotted, and outspoken Temperance lecturers are in danger of assassination. George Haddock's blood yet cries out unavenged from the ground of the open street of Sioux City, Editor Gambrell's from the banks of the Mississippi, Osborne Congleton's supposed lifeless body from the bay of San Francisco. Combination on the part of the dram-shop oligarchy to terrorize good citizens should lead to combination of good citizens to uphold law and order. In some localities church leagues are needed for the protection of both business men and preachers who consistently champion Temperance laws already on the statute-books. Every adult church-member ought to belong to a law and order league, or a church league, or some organization of similar scope and purpose, designed to defend business men, on the one hand, and their preachers, lecturers, and editors, on the other, against the lawless attacks of the liquor leagues, already organized from sea to sea.

SIXTH.

There should be a great extension of visitation from house to house by church-members, as individuals, as committees, and as companies in support of the Temperance reform. Personal contact with the tempted and the tempters on the part of church-members has great possibilities of good that as yet have not been fully utilized in the Temperance field, nor indeed adequately explored and discussed. Let the co-operative and aggressive work of visitation proposed by the Evangelical Alliance be carried out so as to reach both drunkards and their families, on the one hand, and saloon-keepers and corrupt politicians on the other.

SEVENTH.

The churches should unitedly insist on the closing of saloons on Sundays and election days, and on the prohibition of the sale of liquor to drunkards and minors.

There is no reason why the churches, on these seven points, should not reach unanimity, and if unanimity, then victory.

Mr. Cook read as his personal Prohibition creed the following original stanzas, entitled :

WEBS AND FLIES.*

Whiskey spiders, great and greedy,
Weave their webs from sea to sea ;
They grow fat and men grow needy :
Shall our robbers rulers be ?

Sweep the webs away, the Nation ;
In its wrath and wisdom cries ;
Say the fools with hesitation,
No ; but educate the flies !

Both we do. Less now is blunder.
Let the school bring noontide near ;
Let the Church sound seven-fold thunder ;
But the webs must disappear.

* These verses should appear at close of Mr. Cook's second speech. (See page 849.)

Loops that stoutest statesmen strangle,
 Politicians' lasso dread,
 Harlots' lure, and gamblers' tangle,
 Weave the spiders with their thread.]

Widows, orphans, paupers, taxes,
 Hang as prey within the net ;
 Madmen, riots, battle-axes,
 Souls whose sun of hope has set.

Up ! the webs are full of slaughter ;
 Sweep away the spiders' lair.
 Up ! wife, husband, son and daughter,
 Make the vexed earth pure and fair.

Where now red-fanged murder burrows
 Let glad harvests wave sublime ;
 Sink the webs beneath new furrows,
 In the giant fields of time.

Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, of Michigan, President of the Michigan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was called upon, and said :

I am at this moment, dear friends, the victim of some well-intentioned friends, and I am here greatly to my own surprise.

The President : And our delight.

Mrs. Lathrap : I came to this Congress as a learner and not as a teacher ; and on this particular theme that we have been listening to just now, it seems to me about all has been said that can be said. I am very much interested in this especial theme, because I believe that the moral forces in any nation are its imperial forces, and I believe that a nation is only safe when the moral forces are on the throne. I believe that in our civilization, in our great cities and in some of our Eastern commonwealths, we are reaching the moral dead-line, when the moral forces are beaten down and beaten back by the forces of evil.

Now I believe that the Church is the home, and ought to be the organized expression of moral forces in government, just as I believe that the saloon is the organized

form of the devil's kingdom on earth. I believe, therefore, that there is no attitude for the Church that is consistent with its principles and with the Bible of God, except in an uncompromising warfare, both moral and political, against this evil. If the saloon were only a force for immorality, if it only made its successes from man to man, by forces that reached the individual and reached society, then it would not be necessary for the Church, in sustaining the moral forces in government, to have anything to do with political forces. But whatever may be said about the Liquor Traffic in its beginnings, to-day the strongest intrenchment of the Liquor Traffic lies in a wrong attitude of government toward it. Not in its money, not in its men, not even in its infamous character; but it stands in this country to-day, in its imperial force to move things and move men and control elections and control policies, simply because of a wrong attitude of government toward it. That attitude of government toward the Liquor Traffic has been decided by the attitude of political parties that from time to time have been in power; because we come to attitudes of government only by the choice of citizens—in what we call political parties—of certain principles; and when citizens agree on those principles, to lift those principles to the throne of successful majorities, then they become the methods of empire and the attitude of government. Now if the strongest intrenchment of the Liquor Traffic to-day is in a wrong attitude of government, if that attitude is decided by the political parties that from time to time are in power, then the citizen stands back of that attitude of the political party. And if the Christian citizenship in this nation were united against any attitude and any political party that could possibly, when it came to power, mean an attitude of protection or perpetuation of License in government, we

could take this whole system down in the peaceful revolution of the ballot-box. I believe that opinions, however good they are, when disembodied are of no more use in this world than disembodied spirits. And I believe that these opinions ought to come together and express themselves through that organization that represents the imperial forces of morality and government. I believe the Church has a right, when a man comes into its membership, to interfere with his personal opinions about drinking, as Joseph Cook has just said, and make him a Total Abstainer. I believe that the Church has a right to interfere with a man's personal opinions about the selling of liquor, or giving it socially to his friends, and thereby interfere with his putting his example on that side. I believe that the preaching and the teaching of the Church has a right to interfere with a man's opinions about his own party affiliations, and to revolutionize them until he won't vote for a License candidate or a License party. When the Church shall thus combine, as the Liquor Traffic is combined on the other side, when its press, its pulpit, its discussions (as I believe there ought to be discussions)—when all these things, and its votes shall combine, the Liquor Traffic will be wiped out, by the will of God and His people, from the face of the earth.

The President read a telegram from Shickshinny, Pa., as follows :

“ *To the Temperance Congress:* Greeting : 2 Samuel 10 :
12. W. C. T. U., LUZERNE COUNTY CONVENTION.”

The passage reads, “ Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God : and the Lord do that which seemeth Him good.”

The Rev. J. H. Hector, of California, spoke as follows :
Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : The first thing I want to do is to paint that Church cask of Mr. Cook's,

of Boston. I want to paint it about my shade. The first thing is, What is a Christian? Why, he is threefold in his character—a joy to heaven; for God's golden truth tells me that when a man gives his heart to God and leaves the pathways of sin, there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repents than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance. God's word tells me, next, that he is a light to the world, and a foe to all evil.

Well, what are his duties? They are twofold in character. He is to love his God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. And any man that does that can't support whiskey, whether the License is high or low.

Well, what is the matter with the Church now? The same thing is the matter with her now that there was in the days when God touched the hearts of some of the best men and women that your republic ever knew, to plead the cause of the liberty of four and a half millions of my people. What was the matter with the Church then? She got wrong. They rushed and got their Bibles and preached eloquent sermons, and said that slavery was a Divine institution, ordained of God; and the colored people in the gallery said, Amen; and that is how slavery lived so long.

To-day you are brought face to face with another gigantic problem. Not only are four and a half millions of black-skinned people enslaved, but the dark and damning influences of strong drink have wrought chains on the limbs of all the people who dwell in your republic—black, white, blue, grizzly, yellow, green, and gray. And the day-dawn is here, with her golden light, for the overthrow of this gigantic wrong. And we find a class of men to-day who are in the Church of God that have assumed the same position toward whiskey that they did toward slavery. And the thing that makes me indignant

is to see men in the Church of the Living God assuming this position, and by a High License act placing the same price on your own sons and daughters that you had on black people about thirty odd years ago. And until the Church of the Living God comes out and does her duty clearly on this question, the traffic will stay. And may God help the Church to so act that the dawn of the beautiful day will early appear, when that old flag, that has been wet with my blood and the best blood of the best men of the nation, shall no longer be seen floating over a brewery or distillery or a saloon !

Mr. Edwin Higgins, President of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : The children are the jewels of the home and the church, the hope, the glory, and they are soon to become the strength and the stay of the nation. They are as dear as the heart's blood to the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian. The Church can win the children to the Temperance Reform. Why should not a Christian and patriotic people take and consecrate its State and National holidays to Temperance and patriotism ? There are thousands of church buildings and chapels scattered over the land, and thousands upon thousands of hearts and hands ready to unite. Utilize the buildings, enlist the workers in this enterprise.

Five years ago, in Baltimore, we began with a single Band of Hope to celebrate the "Fourth of July." Last year a united Temperance effort gathered an audience of eight hundred souls in St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church. It was an inspiring occasion. The exercises were from 10 A.M. to 12 M., allowing the remainder of the day for other diversions. Every boy and girl was presented with and wore a miniature national flag, pinned on by fair hands. The Divine blessing was invoked. Sacred, patriotic, and Temperance songs, stirring ad-

dresses, supplemented by the simplest of refreshments, rendered the occasion both popular and profitable.

The State Alliance is now arranging for four or more celebrations in Baltimore, and for others in a number of the cities, towns, and villages of the State. We can all unite in this work. It is plain and simple. I know of nothing so easily done, so productive of beneficent results. Will you not go to your homes and arouse the churches to immediate action? Our country and our cause demand it. We can have a miniature Temperance congress in every community on every State and National holiday. We must train, protect, and save the children. It is a thousand times easier to form the character than to reform it. The persistent inculcation of ennobling principles will mould the nation. Then, from our homes shall come an invincible army, which, under God, shall sweep the saloon from our land, and America shall be free.

Rev. Charles H. Payne, D.D., LL.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Christian Friends : Why should not the sentiments which have just been expressed on this platform be carried into practical effect by the entire Christian Church? Why should not the word go forth from this Congress that the representatives of all denominations of Christians in this land gathered here for council, unanimously and heartily agree to wage united, aggressive, never-ceasing warfare against the traffic which is the greatest crime of Christendom and the greatest foe of man? Could such a word go forth on the lightning's wing, echoed by the press and sounding the bugle-call of war for all the Lord's people against this greatest enemy of His Church, what consternation would it carry into the liquor-dealers' camp! And is it too

much to expect? Is it unreasonable or impracticable for Christ's Church entire to stand upon a common platform of antagonism to the Liquor Traffic, by the use of these agencies?

1. By educating all the youth of our congregations and Sunday-schools and homes concerning the moral and the physical evils arising from the use of alcoholic drinks, so that there shall no longer be any youth within the reach of the Church's influence who shall not know that the use of strong drink is a sin against his body, mind, and soul, hazarding every interest for two worlds.

2. Cannot the entire Church unite in fostering and emphasizing a *right sentiment* as to the *personal use of* alcoholic beverages? Whatever may be said of other countries and of other ages, there ought now to be no longer any intelligent doubt or question that in our country and under the circumstances which environ us, with the ardent temperament of our people—in a word, with America's climate, America's type of civilization, America's saloon system, no man can be a so-called moderate drinker without being a most immoderate sinner against the nineteenth century, against Christendom, against all highest ideals of character and conduct, against the religious and scientific light of the age and country in which he lives.

3. Cannot we all, of whatever Christian name, agree to wage *aggressive warfare* against the *traffic* in intoxicating drink?

We have now reached the stage in the march of progress when every Christian church ought to be a Total Abstinence society. We have reached the hour when every Christian church ought to be known beyond all questioning as an avowed and uncompromising enemy of the whole business of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. I thank Mr. Cook for his generous

recognition of the attitude taken by the Methodist Church, to which it is my privilege to belong, in its open and official declaration that the Liquor Traffic is a business "which cannot be legalized without sin." Has not the time now fully come when every ecclesiastical body in our free and favored land will unite in this pronouncement, and every Christian church fall into line and march in solid, serried columns under a common flag bearing this legend, inspiring hope in the hearts of the Lord's people, causing terror among the traffickers in the souls of men, "Total Abstinence for the individual, Total Prohibition for the Liquor Traffic"? I would not, indeed, have any church or any minister an advocate for a political party, but ought not every minister and every Christian man to be equally careful that he neither upholds nor apologizes for the sins of any organization, ecclesiastical or political, in its alliances with the Liquor Power?

4. Cannot the entire Church agree to have done with this thoroughly outworn cry, "Let us keep this Temperance question out of politics"? Shall intelligent Christian men be longer deceived by this fair seeming fallacy?

We might as well be asked to keep cyclones and fevers and pestilence out of our land, to keep the devil out of the world. The question is already *in* politics, put there by the liquor oligarchy, kept there by their ceaseless vigilance and by the political managers who seek party triumphs through unholy alliances with this most potent element in American politics, and it will never be gotten out of politics until extinguished by the voice and vote and aggregated power of that mightiest of sovereigns, the American people.

It is, indeed, a lamentable feature of the case that this greatest of all moral questions ever became entangled in

the intricacies and sophistries of politics ; but since it *is* there and cannot be removed, let all good men agree that it shall no longer be given an insignificant place, inferior to the tariff and other issues of merely moneyed interest, but that it shall be lifted to the prominence which its unequalled importance demands, and become the leading and pre-eminent issue, until it is settled by the decree of the whole nation, and National Prohibition becomes our national glory and safeguard.

Guard the pulpit, indeed, against preaching party politics, but do not let us shut our eyes to the fact that the great crime of slavery was once so dominant that it silenced many a pulpit and debauched the conscience of large sections of our country, and that to-day there is probably no greater peril of the Church than the peril of padlocking the lips of its ministry and paralyzing the consciences of its membership, all for the sake of peace in our congregations. In Heaven's name, let us beware of holding this menace over our ministry ; let us rather bid the watchmen of our whole Zion sound the alarm and speak the word of counsel or of warning as God gives it to them, and fear not for the final issue.

Rev. James C. Fernald, of Plainfield, N. J., said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I want to speak a word on a new point. It has been touched in the addresses that have been made, but I think I have some new facts upon it—that is, Sunday-school Temperance Instruction. Circumstances led me to inquire what our quarterlies and Sunday-school papers were doing. I went to a great house that represents all the religious denominations of the United States. I asked them to please give me a quarterly or a paper that gave an exposition of the Sunday-school lesson for the closing Sunday of this quarter ; and, upon a careful search through all their publications, it was impossible to find one line for

the story of Daniel's Temperance work in Babylon, on the closing Sunday of this quarter, provided for, by the report of the Committee, in the International Series. Then I took the quarterlies of a great denomination—one of the most numerous in the United States. I find they do not even name the lesson. They give a missionary lesson, but they do not mention that that International Committee ever thought of having a Temperance lesson. That is one of the greatest denominations in the United States. I took their juvenile quarterlies. I found the same thing also there, as far as I was able to lay my hand on them. And in all the work of that denomination through the United States, as far as the exposition of their authorized publications go, there will be not one single word of Temperance taught to the Sabbath-school children. I say it is wrong.

I took the publications of another society, and I found some provision made for a Temperance lesson. When I had measured off the Scripture—in the old version and the new—I found less than the length of my finger for Temperance ; and there were not fifty words in that that taught absolute, uncompromising Total Abstinence as a Christian duty, as in accordance with all the teaching of modern science and the Temperance Reform.

There is room here, there is a call here, for a great work. I want to do honor to the *Sunday-School Times*, which, as far as I have observed (though the present number has not come to my hands), has provided for a Temperance lesson. But now the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is demanding that a Sunday be given—not an alternative, optional lesson, but a Sunday, perhaps the first in the quarter. And I want to call the attention of this Congress to it. I want to ask that the influence of this Congress be given to the demand that four half hours in the year shall be given, in the Sunday-

schools of the nation, to teaching the depth of this curse that destroys eleven hundred millions of treasure and a hundred thousand souls in our America every year, and is a danger to every person growing up in our society, with this temptation thick around—in a word, teaching Total Abstinence from all that can intoxicate. Is this too much to ask of the Christian Church? and should not the voice of this Congress go out for it, so that the International Committee shall do it?

The next topic was,

THE COFFEE-HOUSE AND OTHER SUBSTITUTES FOR THE SALOON.

Mr. Joshua L. Bailey opened the discussion as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentleman: Leaving to the others who are to follow me whatever reference is to be made to other substitutes, I shall confine the few remarks which I make to the only one which is mentioned in the topic—the Coffee-House.

The underlying thought with me is, that it is very often possible to do by indirect means that which we cannot accomplish by more open methods. The traveler upon the prairie, seeing the fire approaching, feels pretty sure that he will not be likely to avoid it. What does he do? He kindles a fire to meet it. And so it has been sought to meet the fiery appetite for strong drink by setting over against it something similar in kind but different in effect.

“Our forefathers lived in an age of nascent evils.” So wrote the old Lord Shaftesbury. “Evils,” he said, “which they neither saw nor heeded.” We live in an age of remedies. The evils have become full grown and lusty, but the remedies are still young and feeble. There is no one who is engaged in any philanthropic effort, but knows that he is to meet with evils, a legion in number.

and great in magnitude, and that all the remedies at hand are altogether ineffectual for the end desired. No greater evil does he find confronting him than the open saloon. A distinguished jurist of your State, whose name heads the list of those who have called this convention, has said that, out of all the causes of poverty and crime, intemperance stands as the unapproachable chief. Now, I don't wish to take issue with this distinguished authority. But if he had said that of all causes of poverty and crime, the open saloon stands as the unapproachable chief, there would be less difference of opinion between us. I look upon intemperance as a result, the open saloon as the chief cause ; and so long as it holds a charter from the State it will be in vain for us to expect the extirpation of Intemperance. Permit me to say just here, Mr. President, that the only regulation which the Liquor Traffic properly admits of is this utter extirpation.

I think that we are indebted to our friends across the water for the first inception of the Coffee-House idea. So far as I know, it has been as recent as within the last quarter of a century. Somewhere about the year 1867 some good men in the town of Dundee, in Scotland, conceived the idea of having a counter-irritant to the saloon, and so they started a place where refreshments and entertainment were provided for the working people. Their precise purpose was set forth in the sign over the doorway, "The Dundee Workingman's Public House without Drink." Very soon thereafter a similar place was established in Leeds, in England, the title being, "The British Workman's Public House." The immediate success of these two places, in Scotland and in England, incited the activities of the Temperance people, and was very quickly followed by like institutions in different towns throughout the country, known as Coffee

Taverns, as Coffee Palaces, and in some instances as Cocoa Houses, as well as Coffee Houses. It was about 1874 when, under the Limited Liability Act, a company was formed in the city of London, with a capital of £10,000 and with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its president, to establish Coffee-Houses in that city. Within a year more than thirty were opened in different parts of London, and very soon thereafter, in the city of Liverpool, some of its most eminent merchants and philanthropic people and public-spirited citizens united in the formation of a similar society, with a capital of £20,000 sterling, which was afterward increased to £40,000 sterling. They recognized that there was just about as much intemperance to the square inch in Liverpool as could be found in any city in the country, and they determined to do something to meet it. The number of these places which they established increased in a very short time to thirty or forty, and the success in London and Liverpool was followed up in Glasgow, Birmingham, and other cities of the United Kingdom, until, within a few years, there were as many as four hundred in different parts of Great Britain. It is recorded as among the results that they were able to earn and pay dividends upon their stock. This, however, must be considered as the least satisfactory of all their results. The main result, and that which they aimed at, was the reclamation of drunkards and the putting of the temptation out of the way of young men; and the results in that respect have been recorded as being exceedingly satisfactory.

It was somewhere along these years that a similar movement was made by a lady in Boston, who established what were known as the "Holly Tree Inns." Those were some years ago abandoned; the reason why, I am not able to state. I think there is a gentleman here from Boston, who proposes to speak upon this question,

and I trust he will be able to give us the reason why these Holly Tree Inns were given up.

It was in the same year in which the Limited Liability Companies were started in London and Liverpool, that a movement somewhat similar in character was commenced in Philadelphia. In that year two places of entertainment and refreshment, which were called Coffee-Houses, were started—one called the Central and the other the Model; started in a very small way, both of them in centres of great population. But they grew and prospered wonderfully until a whole block of buildings, comprising seven stores in one row, was taken up by one of these institutions, and three or four large buildings by the other. With one of these there was a great deal of auxiliary work connected—a large lecture room, seating four or five hundred persons; three or four reading rooms, and various rooms for the use of different Temperance and other societies. I think it was in one of the rooms of that building that the early meetings of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Philadelphia were held, before their full organization; and several other societies had their origin under the roof of that building. In the course of the first year the number of men who partook of the entertainment which was offered at the counters of the Central Coffee-House reached twenty-three hundred per day. Unfortunately, the purchase of that building by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, for one of its stations, required the closing up and abandonment of that part of the enterprise. The other, the Model, continues to-day without any abatement of its business, feeding from twenty-three to twenty-five hundred men per day.

Now there are a few indispensable characteristics, which I would briefly speak of for the information and encouragement of any who propose to start upon like work.

First, the choice of location. That is indispensable. If we want to catch fish, we must go where the fish are. In the crowded places, where the men most congregate at the hour of noon, is the right place to start a Coffee-House. Then, again, the place must be made attractive. The saloons study that subject. They know how to make their places attractive. And the Coffee-House, to be successful, must be attractive. I don't mean that it should be highly ornamental, but it must be neat and tidy and inviting. That is an indispensable qualification. Then the employees must be neat and tidy, and not forbidding in their appearance; and there must be a general appearance of neatness and order about the place. Again, the room should be well lighted and well ventilated—qualifications not always considered in a saloon. Again, whatever food is furnished must be the best that the market affords. When you invite men to give up the drinks to which they have been long accustomed and which they love, you must be sure to offer them something better. And it was therefore a part of the plan of those institutions started in Philadelphia to give the best quality of food, and cooked in the best manner, from the first. And I think that a large part of the success of those institutions is to be attributed to that. Again, the price must be so as to suit the purses of those who have but little to spend. Again, it must be considered that these places are intended for workingmen. By workingmen I mean preachers, editors, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, artisans, newsboys, and boot-blacks—every man and every boy who works, whether with his brain or with his hands. And while it is not intended to exclude any, they certainly are not intended for those who don't love work and won't work so long as they can beg or steal.

I have one minute more, and I want to say in conclu-

sion to any who would like to start a Coffee-House, that I believe there is no better work for the Temperance cause, no better practical work in which one can engage ; one which will bring a greater amount of blessing upon the people by whom you are surrounded, or one which will bring to your soul the blessings, in larger degree, of many who are ready to perish.

Rev. S. H. Hilliard, of Boston, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I should like to begin by emphasizing, with all the force that I can command, the last words of the previous speaker. I have had some slight experience for the last few years in what is called Coffee-House work ; and the conclusion that I have come to is that there is no kind of work which can possibly bring a greater blessing to those for whom we labor and to those who are laboring in the cause. So what I have to say this afternoon is with regard to the Coffee-House as a benevolent and philanthropic and religious agency. I am not going to speak of the kind of Coffee-House which is a paying commercial institution. There are such institutions ; there are two of them in the city of Boston, from which I come. They were not organized as a merely benevolent agency. They were organized under the charge of a company called the Oriental Coffee Company, which had a coffee plantation at its back, and whose president was the owner of that plantation. Everything has been done by this company on the purely commercial basis. They have two large Coffee-Houses, and those Coffee-Houses have been placed on the principal thoroughfares. They have been placed in exactly the situation suggested by the previous speaker—that is, where they can catch the crowd as they go to and fro, about the hour when they feel the inclination for a meal. Therefore it is that these have been provided with a very extensive plant, on the scale of the

largest restaurants, and aiming to pay, to be supported with an extensive restaurant business. They are more or less successful. I think they are paying a certain amount of dividend, and they are managed in a comprehensive way, on purely business principles. The only trouble with them, in regard to the efficient work for the promotion of Temperance, seems to me to be that they do not afford the opportunities for the kind of close personal work which we want to do, whenever we open a place into which we tempt a drunkard or a man who is in any way inclined toward drink. It is not enough to bring them into a room or into a hall or in front of a counter, and give them a cup of coffee instead of a mug of beer or a glass of whiskey. It is not enough to seat them at a table where they can have a cheap meal and so go away feeling their hunger satisfied, and not be tempted into the adjoining saloon. That is a great deal, there is no doubt, and I believe that if a great deal of the force that is spent in talk were spent in this kind of work, we should be a long way ahead of where we are now in the Temperance movement. But that itself is not enough. Those fellows need some instrumentality which shall make them feel that they have an actual substitute for that which makes to them the strongest temptation in the direction of drink. And what is that strongest temptation? It has been alluded to this afternoon, and I believe that it is the true description. It is the social instinct. Man is a social animal. You are social animals. You know very well that there are times which come to every one of you, when there is a positive demand for recreation, no matter how much disposed you may be to work. There is just as strong a demand in your heart and mine for recreation and refreshment, as there is at other times that you should get up and go out and do your duty in the world. Now these men, who

are working all day, perhaps most of them leading hard lives—lives which have a grinding experience as their prevailing experience—come to the end of a day's work, and they are to go home. Alas! for the mockery of it. They are to go home, you say. But they have no home to go to. The only thing which even pretends to the name of home is a cold garret, or a damp cellar, or a street corner, or a liquor saloon, or a low theatre. That is all they have to satisfy the instinct which comes to them at the end of a day's work, desiring the rest and refreshment which you call the love of home—the gratifying of the love of home. And when they get there, they are driven out very speedily by the circumstances which surround them. It is of no use for us to ignore this. If you don't know it, the sooner you go to work and find it out by your own personal observation, the better it will be for your work in the Temperance cause. I think that, in all the expenditure of our forces against the saloon, we are sometimes forgetting that underneath the saloon power is lying the victim, and that a good deal of the force that we are spending in our warfare needs to be spent in a personal contact with him who is the victim, and who needs to be lifted up.

Now that is the simple theory underlying the kind of Coffee-Houses that I have had anything to do with. They grew out of an experience in a Temperance meeting. They grew out of an effort to dive as deep down as we could, representing our Church Temperance Society in Boston—to dive down as deep as we could, into the lowest strata of the victims of drink. We established a meeting, which went on all one winter. We found that fellows came into this meeting and joined in the singing of hymns, and listened to addresses. The same fellows came every night to this meeting, and we found that we were actually coming in personal contact with those fel-

lows who, when they went home, must pass the temptations to drink, and that the temptations to go into the saloons were considerably stronger than the temptation to go home. We found that those fellows were coming to us in just exactly that way, because here was a bright and cheerful room, and there was a good deal of singing going on.

We found out by that winter's experience that to open a Coffee-House, with this condition of things, was a very simple thing to do. All we had to do was to get a room, to put some chairs and tables in it, and we felt very sure that the fellows who came to our Temperance meeting would come into that room ; and the result proved that our theory was correct. We started in that enterprise with \$500. Somebody said to us when we first started, "To open a Coffee-House is a very large undertaking, and you need a large capital." Somebody said, "If you will give us \$10,000 to start our plant, we will carry on the plant for you." We had \$500, and we said, "Let us go ahead and do just what \$500 will do." We did open this room, and kept it open all winter long, and from the very first start the room was crowded with exactly the fellows who go into saloons. They were kept there—how? By the fact that there were chairs and tables, that there were lights and fires, that they met their companions and had a social, pleasant time, and that there were no restrictions laid upon them—that they could come in there and even be allowed to smoke ; they could come in and be allowed even to play cards ; they could come in and be allowed to play pool. We let them come in in that way all winter, and found that the tone of the room was being elevated every night of every week. The result of that has been that within the last two years we have been able to open five or six of these rooms in Boston—these Coffee-House missions, according

to our experiment with this one—simply a recreation room. It is a room where, of course, it is very desirable to sell as many cups of coffee as you can ; but that is not the first point ; and I am very much inclined to think that next winter we shall be very apt to have a flowing fountain, as it were, of coffee, where coffee can be had for nothing at any time in any evening.

We have allowed them these privileges, and what has been the result ? I will illustrate simply by saying that we had a good many rows there. If we hadn't had these rows, we should have understood that we were not reaching the lowest strata, that we were aiming at. We have been obliged to use a good deal of moral force, and every now and then to clear this room of its occupants. Then we concluded to discipline them, and we thought perhaps the best way would be to shut up these rooms for a week and make them understand that it was simply because they had not behaved themselves on the last night. It has been very interesting to see, when we reopened our room at the end of this week, this crowd of fellows, within ten minutes, coming from this whole district. We went down there while the room was closed, and there was not a sign that we had any constituency at all. One would have said, "Now by your foolishness in maintaining your discipline you have lost your crowd." In ten minutes after we had reopened the room, the same old crowd has been there, and they have always come in in a kind of apologetic way, as much as to say, "We will be good if you will only let us stay."

Now, each one of these places has had, as its next-door neighbor and its opposite neighbors, the saloon ; and as long as these fellows have stayed in our rooms they have not been in the saloon ; and as long as we have made them feel that there was good-will on our part, which led us to establish institutions of this kind that have been

truly benevolent institutions, we have been able to call upon the public and say, "Here is this chance of contact with these fellows, who are so far away from you. Come down and talk to them, sing to them, show them pictures; do anything which would interest your friends in your own parlor; and we will assure you that you will have an interested audience." And the result has proved that we were right. And besides that, these men have themselves asked to be allowed to come in on Sunday afternoons, and they have given us a chance for a Temperance meeting, and there have been a great many incidents to show us that we were working in the Lord's vineyard, and that the motive that lies down at the base of all such work is the religious motive.

Mr. L. A. Maynard, of New York, read the following paper :

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF THE SALOON PROBLEM.

I am a firm believer in Total Abstinence and in Prohibition—Total Abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the State. I believe that the end and aim of all true Temperance work must be the complete abolition of the traffic in strong drink. A Temperance reform movement that stopped at anything short of this would be, in my opinion, a foredoomed failure. But I am not here this afternoon to talk about Prohibition. There are many roads that lead to this Rome of ours, and one of them, as I believe, lies by the way of that institution which we call the Coffee-House.

The term "Coffee-House," I wish to say at this point, expresses but imperfectly the reformatory ideas of those who are engaged in its promotion. The beverage derived from the coffee plant plays only a small and incidental part in the institution which bears its name. The Coffee-House, or coffee tavern, is only another form for

the same idea which finds expression in the cocoa rooms of London and other English cities, and also, in a larger way, in the People's Palaces, which have recently been erected in the tenement districts of the English metropolis. The idea in all these institutions is to furnish to the poorer and lower classes means of innocent enjoyment and recreation, places for the refreshment of mind and body, where the refreshment is not made contingent upon evil indulgence. They go upon the assumption that the poor man as well as the rich man, the lowest as well as the highest, have certain social impulses and longings, not bad in themselves, but so strong and commanding in their nature that, unless acting under favoring conditions, they are quite certain to draw men into evil associations and vicious companionships. It is proposed in the Coffee-House to furnish a means whereby these impulses and longings can be satisfied without the accompaniments of vice and impurity which are inevitable in the saloon.

One of the chief objects of this National Congress, as I understand them, is to consider the most immediate and practical remedies for the evils of intemperance, and to arrive at some agreement among ourselves, if possible, as to the best lines of action to pursue in the application of these remedies. In the Coffee-House we have one remedy that is immediate and eminently practical, and one line of action on which we shall find it easy to agree. No matter how diverse our views may be on the points of Moral Suasion, High License and Prohibition, we can all clasp hands over this question of the necessity of devising something to offset the saloon in its particular character as a place of social resort for the masses. This necessity presents itself most strongly in our cities and large towns, but the necessity exists to a greater or less extent in almost every centre of population.

I have given considerable time and thought in the last few years to the study of the liquor problem in the city of New York, and the more I study it the more firm becomes my conviction of the absolute, the imperative necessity of establishing a class of institutions here that shall meet and offset the saloons in their capacity of places of social rendezvous. Something of this kind must be done, if we are ever to shake off the grip which the saloons have upon our people. No matter what laws against the Liquor Traffic we put upon our statute books, the need of such institutions as the Coffee House will continue to exist. We may succeed after a time in abolishing the dram-shops, but we shall never abolish the social instincts and desires of men. Prohibition will reduce poverty, I believe, in a wonderful degree, but it will not provide every man with a home and cheerful companionship. As strongly as I believe in the principle of Prohibition, the enforcement of a prohibitory law is to me practically unthinkable in a city situated just as New York is to-day, with its vast multitudes living under the conditions in which we find them here. Before the enforcement of such a law is brought within the range of possibility we must substitute something for the saloon in its character as "the poor man's club-house;" we must make the existence of the grog-shop in any capacity wholly without justification or excuse.

NOT AN APOLOGY FOR THE SALOON.

I would not stand here as a defender or an apologist of the saloon in any sense. God knows that I hate the grog-shop, and that I have reason to hate it with a consuming hatred. I cannot believe, however, that the existence of nearly ten thousand saloons in the city of New York can be accounted for wholly on the ground of the perverted and depraved appetites of men. I cannot

believe that these institutions, equalling in number almost all other business places in the city, have no other reason for being than that of catering to the appetite for strong drink. They must have some other elements of power and of popularity. I have faith enough to believe that there are thousands of poor but honest and well-meaning men in all our large cities who become regular frequenters and patrons of the saloons, not in the beginning because of a depraved appetite, or because the associations of these places were particularly congenial, not because they would not have preferred cleaner, purer, and more wholesome surroundings, but because there were no places other than the saloons open to them, because they had no alternative except the open street or the squalid, cheerless, and forbidding surroundings of a tenement room. If you were poor, if you were a stranger and friendless, you might walk for miles and miles on the streets of this city to-day, and never find a door open to welcome you in except the doors of the gin-palaces, or the doors of other resorts worse even than these. If you were overcome with the cold of winter or the heat of summer, if you were weary with the noise and the dust of the streets, there would be nothing for you to do but to sit down on the curbstone—or enter a saloon. You would have no trouble in finding one of these places anywhere, and you would be welcome to rest there as long as you pleased, provided you patronized the bar and did not object to the company in which you found yourself.

THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS OF THE CASE.

I wish I had the power to place before you this afternoon a true and living picture of the actual conditions under which tens of thousands of men and women are living in this city to-day—the people of the tenement

districts, of the dives and the slums. Make a tour for yourself one of these sweltering summer days now upon us down there in the region of the Bend in Mulberry Street, and you will wonder, as I often do, how poor humanity can bear up under such awful burdens of misery and wretchedness, and sin and woe. What is there here that makes life endurable even to the lowest and most depraved? The narrow, dirty streets, with never a breath of God's fresh air in them or about them the year round, the pavements hot and blistering, the air like a blast from an oven, and rank with the foulest of odors, nothing to be seen anywhere to right or left, above or below, but staring brick and wooden walls, and burning flag-stones and filthy gutters, and ragged, wretched, woe-begone people. Along these streets are the great tenements and cheap lodging-houses, vast swarming hives of human beings—squalid, cheerless, desolate, with nothing in them or about them that is not suggestive of discomfort, unrest, suffering, and disease. In surroundings like these, thousands of our fellow-beings, men and women of like flesh and blood as ourselves, live all through the little circle of their lives, marrying and giving in marriage, rearing their families, dying at last without ever having known, many of them, what it was to have a waking hour of real peace or joy or comfort. When I think of these things, how the poor people of the tenements live from day to day, what their surroundings are, and what the influences that mould their lives, I wonder *not* that so many of them become inmates of our prisons, asylums, and workhouses, criminals, vagrants, and paupers, but that *all* of them are not incarnate fiends; that in all this atmosphere of sin and vice a single flower of sweetness and purity can grow; that anywhere here can be found such things as honesty, self-respect, pure womanhood or true manhood.

It is in regions such as these that we find the dram-shop most abounding. The necessities of these people are the saloon's opportunities. The dram-shop comes in to supply a place in the lives of these men and women of the tenements which nothing else, God forgive us, is there to fill. The saloon is there always—the ever-present, ever-open, ever-ready saloon—saloons on every corner, saloons on the right, saloons on the left, above ground and below ground, everywhere, everywhere, the sign of Gambrinus, the swinging green doors, and the foaming beer-mug!

THE SALOON'S ATTRACTIVE POWER.

The saloons have been called "the poor man's club-houses," and the term is not without appropriateness. They are far more cheerful and attractive in their interiors than most of the tenement homes around them. They can afford more brightness and elegance, for they get all the money there is floating about, and the tenements have none. Some of the dram shops in the poorest districts are palaces in their way, with stained windows, polished furniture, flashing mirrors, bright pictures on the wall and cut-glass bottles behind the bar. Oh, yes! they are gorgeous places, some of them, with their music and dancing, their free-lunch counters, their warmth in winter time and their coolness in the summer season, and withal their sleek, smiling, and bediamonded bar-keepers, and their boisterous, jolly, happy-go-lucky crowds. And every one is welcome in these places—that is, if he has a little money, will treat occasionally, and get drunk as often as possible. The poor, friendless young man whose only retreat at night is a narrow cot in a cheap lodging-house, and other men, married and single, young and old, whose only homes are the close, narrow, dirty, and overcrowded tenement rooms—all

these are welcome in the saloons ; welcome to look at the mirrors and the pictures, to hear the music and listen to the talk—all this at the price of their manhood, their self-respect, their bodies and their souls. It is a terrible price to pay for a few fleeting joys, but, Heaven help them, I fear that many of us would do the same under similar circumstances. If I had no other home at night but a four by seven room in a big tenement, and never a soul to speak to out of work hours, and nothing in the summer but Croton water to drink, and ice a cent a pound, I do not know but that I would go to a saloon, too. I am afraid I would.

A great number of men and women who live in these districts are drunkards, hopeless, wretched, abandoned sots. Yes, of course they are ! I wonder that all of them are not that way. Many of them were born of drunken mothers, and have lived over the fumes of beer barrels from their infancy. They beat and tear one another, too, like wild beasts ; they starve their children ; they steal and murder and prey upon each other like wolves. Yes, of course they do ! They were greeted with a curse when they came into the world, and they have dealt in curses ever since.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE ?

What shall we do for people living under these conditions ? What shall we do to save them from becoming drunkards, thieves, outlaws, vagrants ? I tell you what I would do if I had enough power and enough money. I would go down in the regions of Mulberry Street and the East Side, and buy up and clear away some of the tenements and filthy lodging-houses, and I would build in their places some " People's Palaces," like those they are putting up now in the East End of London, great structures wherein should be found everything that

could minister to the true and higher needs of these people, everything calculated to draw out their best natures, to stir up bright hopes and true ambitions. I would have lecture-rooms, reading-rooms, libraries, gymnasiums, free baths, concert-halls, night-schools, refreshment-rooms, winter-gardens and picture-galleries. I would throw open the doors and invite these people in with their wives and families. I would try and teach them in indirect ways that there is something better and more desirable in this world than bar-rooms and beer-mugs, dives and dance-houses. At the same time, I would go down there in the Bowery and the region round about and buy up some of the corner saloons, the worst and the most gorgeous ones I could find. I would do this quietly, and I would not change these places very much except in their interiors. If I found that there was any drawing power in green doors and hurdy-gurdies and free-lunch counters, I would retain them. I would try and draw in all their old customers that I could, but I would fill them up with something better than liquid damnation when they were once inside. I would run these places on strictly business principles, clean, honest, and square. I would keep my philanthropy, religious zeal, and Temperance principles in the background, where they could be felt, but not heard or seen. I would have no Scripture texts on the walls, but I would do what is better, I would put the spirit of the Scriptures into my work. I would not draw the lines so strictly as to keep out the very class I most desired to reach. I would allow just as much freedom as I possibly could, consistently with decency, order, and good morals. I would supply the bar-rooms with all manner of refreshing, invigorating, healthful drinks, all that cheer but do not inebriate, at a price which would leave a small margin of profit. I would have tables and coun-

ters for eating, furnished with a variety of wholesome, seasonable, well-cooked food, hot and cold, at the lowest prices. I would have a reading-room and a room furnished with innocent games, where every person who behaved himself would be welcome to come, whether he patronized my lunch-counters or not. I would have bath-rooms and dormitories open to all at nominal rates. I would try and open a trade with the poor people of the neighborhood in soups and stews and good hot coffee, which they could carry home by the pailful if they wanted to. If they wanted to "rush the growler" as they do now, I would help them rush it, only I would fill the growler up with something better and more nourishing than ale or beer. I would keep these places just as neat and bright and cheerful as I possibly could, but I would not have them so elegant as to make poor men uncomfortable. I would have polite, obliging, kind-hearted, clean-mouthed men and women as attendants, but I would have them attend strictly to business, and not be intrusive with their piety and Temperance principles. I would have them live these things, and not talk them.

These are some of the things I would do for the cause of Temperance in New York City if I had the power and the money. And if I had enough power and enough money I would start at least five hundred of these Coffee-Houses between the Battery and Harlem River in the next year. I have not a particle of doubt that under right management every one of them would be successful, and ultimately pay a fair rate of interest on the investment.

THE ENGLISH COFFEE-HOUSE SYSTEM.

We have only to look across the water to Mother England to see a Coffee-House system in full and practical

operation, fully justifying all that is claimed for it as an antidote for the evils of intemperance. I have had an extensive correspondence with the English Coffee-House authorities, and am prepared, if necessary, to demonstrate with facts and figures the wonderful success which has attended the operation of these institutions in that country. I wish I had time to read to you some extracts from the proceedings of the Seventh Annual National Coffee Tavern Conference held last month in Manchester, as I find them reported in the *Temperance Caterer* of London. You would learn from these proceedings that the Coffee-House has become an institution of the highest commercial as well as philanthropic importance in England, that its extension and development are engaging many of the first minds of the United Kingdom. The President of the National Coffee Tavern Association last year was the Rev. J. J. Stewart Perowne, Dean of Peterborough. Last month Sir John J. Harwood was elected president for the ensuing year. In the long list of delegates to the conference I see the names of men known on both sides of the Atlantic, noblemen, mayors of cities, high ecclesiastics, and representatives of all the learned professions and the higher class of trades. I see that the movement in England has the active sympathy and support of such men as Mr. Gladstone, Cardinal Manning, John Morley, and others of equal eminence. A reformatory movement which has such an endorsement as this surely deserves our serious consideration.

THE RESULT IN ENGLAND.

I have recently been asking some of the leading Coffee-House men in England and elsewhere for specific information on the point of the actual results of the Coffee-House movement in diminishing the evils of intemperance. The answers I have received have been most grati-

fyng. Mr. H. A. Short, Honorary Secretary of the National Coffee Tavern Association of Great Britain, writes as follows : " Let me assure you of the utility and acceptability of our movement in these islands, that the testimony of men in responsible public positions is, with scarcely an exception (I never knew an exception), emphatically favorable to the coffee tavern as a counteracting and educational institution. We both win from the saloon and interpose before the victims are drawn thither. Of course your habits are not quite as ours are ; and it will be necessary to adapt them to American and not English usages. But provide for the thirst and refreshment of the people ; do it well ; sell nothing but what is wholesome and of good quality ; maintain sound business methods ; be sure to put the right people to manage and to serve ; be enthusiastic, but use all right care ; and in a few years we will be coming to America to learn how to perfect the coffee tavern."

In another place, speaking to the same point, Mr. Short says, " To the inquiry, ' Has the coffee tavern movement realized the hopes of its founders and proved a successful aid to Temperance ? ' the answer must be an emphatic affirmative. Of course, individual cases to the contrary may be cited, for what good thing has not its spurious imitations ? And it must be allowed that perfection is not yet reached. But this much is fairly demonstrated, that the liquor-shop is no longer the sole refuge of the worker and the wayfarer from hunger, thirst, and exposure. A choice has been offered between dram-drinking and wholesome refreshment, and multitudes who have chosen the latter have found the whole course of their lives improved and elevated thereby. They have found it not only possible, but preferable to live and work without intoxicants. The advantage has come all unconsciously to some ; while many

others have hailed the coffee tavern movement as a haven of safety from the allurements of the drinking saloon."

I have also received the following letter dated at Toronto, Canada, May 28th, from Mr. Lee Williams, Secretary and Treasurer of the Toronto Coffee-House Association :

DEAR SIR : I am in receipt of your letter of inquiry. We have established the following facts here :

1. That the eating-house business can be carried on profitably at moderate charges without the help of the profits of the bar-room.
2. That it is an advantage to the young man and those addicted to drink to be able to obtain meals at places where " no liquor is sold."
3. That a large percentage of the eating-house business in this city is now in the hands of those who conduct their places on Temperance principles, encouraged by the Coffee-House enterprise.
4. We are confident that the influence of our Coffee-Houses toward Temperance is very large.

I might offer much other testimony from various sources to the same effect, but I think enough has been said to establish the point that the Coffee-House is a practical success in other countries as a counteractive of the saloons.

A SUCCESS HERE ALSO.

If the Coffee-House system has been so successful in England and Canada, there is no reason why it should not be successful here. Allowances would have to be made, of course, for the differences in our habits, social customs, and surroundings, but these differences are not so great between us and the countries named as to add any serious complications to the problem. Our gin-shops are very much the same as the gin-shops of England, just as alluring and just as dangerous. Our poorer

classes have the same temptations, the same influences working against them, the same social desires and instincts as the poorer classes of England, and they need the same kind of help and sympathy. It is true that Coffee-Houses may now be found in some of the cities and towns of the United States. New York City has two Coffee-Houses, one opposite Bellevue Hospital, on Twenty-sixth Street, established years ago by the New York Fruit and Bible Mission, and another recently opened on Twenty-third Street, under the patronage of a philanthropic lady whose name is unknown. These institutions are doing good work and furnishing practical and abundant illustrations of the value of the Coffee-House system. But their number is wholly inadequate to the needs of the situation, and none of them come up fully to the idea of the Coffee House as a counteractive agency of the saloon.

Several attempts have been made in New York in the past seven or eight years to establish a system of Coffee-Houses on a large and extensive scale. Mr. Robert Graham, the energetic and indefatigable Secretary of the Church Temperance Society, who has a larger and more intimate knowledge of Coffee-House work than any other man in the country, has furnished the chief inspiration for the movement here, and it is mainly through his efforts that several houses have been established in different parts of the country, and that public interest has been kept upon the subject. The efforts made here in New York have been sustained by earnest and practical men, but they have not succeeded, simply for the reason that the requisite amount of capital has never yet been forthcoming. At least \$100,000 is needed to give the Coffee-House movement a fair start in this city.

I do not know how many millionaires there are within the sound of my voice to-day, but if there are any I want

to tell them how they can immortalize themselves and make from eight to ten per cent on their investment at the same time. They can do it by furnishing sufficient capital for the establishment of Coffee-Houses here in New York. They are not asked to give away this money, they are asked simply to invest it in an enterprise which will yield a profit not only in cash dividends, but in dividends of saved men and women. The man or men who will undertake this enterprise will find everything ready to their hands. Mr. Robert Graham has some excellent plans for Coffee-Houses in his possession, and also a large fund of sound ideas and practical experience in this work, which I am sure he will put at the disposal of any one who makes a genuine demand for them. And if anything more of this kind is needed, Mr. William Abbatt and others of us who have been working over this problem for years past will furnish more ideas and more enthusiasm. We have some excellent sites for Coffee-Houses already selected too, and, in fact, we have everything to start the Coffee-Houses except the money. We are seriously short at that point, but that is not our fault. Where is the man who will come forward and supply the missing link in our chain of reform? If he will announce himself here we shall all rise up and call him blessed.

AN IMMEDIATE REMEDY.

One reason why I favor the establishment of a Coffee-House system is because of the immediateness of the remedy which it offers for the evils of intemperance in our large cities. I believe, as I have said, that the cause of Prohibition will triumph some day everywhere, that the time will come when the saloon and all its vile accompaniments will be things of the past; but in our large cities that happy day is yet far away. Prohibition with

us here in the metropolis, at least, must be a thing of slow growth. It will take many years, I fear, of earnest, persistent, self-denying labor to bring about the blessed consummation. In the mean while, the duty is upon us of using every available means to mitigate the evils which we have not the power, at present, to abolish. Here we have before us the terrible facts : A city with ten thousand grog-shops, ten thousand drunkard mills grinding out daily their awful grists of sin and misery, woe and shame ; a city full of drunkards' homes, starving children, and heart-broken wives and mothers ; a city with the saloon enthroned in its highest places, defiant, aggressive, arrogant, conscious of its power, and stopping at nothing, foul or fair, to gain its ends and perpetuate its existence. What shall we do about it ? Shall we sit down and wait for some law to come along, that shall help us to crush this hellish traffic into the earth ? Let us do what we can to hurry the law along, but let us not rest ourselves upon that. While we are waiting, thousands of the young and the innocent, the weak and the tempted, the poor and the friendless, are being drawn into the maelstrom of the drink curse, going out and beyond the reach of our pitying and helping hands. Oh, it seems to me that if I could voice the cry that is going up this afternoon from the hearts of the wives and mothers in the thousand drunkard homes in this city, it would be, " Help us now ; come and help us now, before it is too late, too late ! " " Save my boy, save my husband ! " " Save them from vile companions, save them from the evil associations of the saloons ! " Shall we not heed this cry by doing what we can to throw around the boys and the young men, the husbands and the fathers, a purer social atmosphere, better associations, and more helpful and refining influences ?

Mrs. E. D. C. Mair, Superintendent of the Alleghany Holly Tree Inn, said :

It shall only be a very few moments, dear friends. But as my brother who has so eloquently preceded me has been telling of all the pain and all the loneliness and the desolation, I remembered so well reading just two lines, some years ago, in the *Union Signal*, which said that a young man had made the remark that there was no place in that city where he could enter an open door or have a welcome, except in a saloon. As I read it, I reflected that that might echo from the Pacific to the Atlantic. And so, dear friends, you who are women, and you who have the desire to do something for the blessed Christ, to save those who are going down into the depths of a drunkard's eternity, just take pity on this young man and thousands of others like him, and do something, as our brother has suggested.

I was very happy, during seven years, to preside at a Coffee-House in Alleghany City. The Holly Tree became very dear to me, because it was the scene of constant effort for those who came, and, I also believe, of great spiritual benefit. We had, as our brother has depicted, the free lunch. We gave to those who had no money to pay for it ; but constantly the coffee was hot, the soup was there ready, and at the least possible nominal price we just gave freely to all who came. But it was not only for the drunkards nor for the shoeblacks ; sisters dear, it was for the poor girls—some of the girls who had been tempted because at some deadly dance they had taken their first glass of wine, or at some ill-fated picnic they had taken their first drink of beer ; and only God knows how, with tears and with moans unutterable, they had gone down and down into nameless depths. God used the place wonderfully for the salvation of sinners, and day after day, dear ones, we saw so

many coming to Christ, some not staying so very long ; and some, perhaps, might have looked at us and said, " Has it been of much use ? " But you know, as Faber says, " It is always a glorious triumph even to work for God. " And there we saw, exceeding abundantly, the Holy Spirit poured out into lonely, desolate hearts and lives. We had, in connection with it, a Women's Christian Temperance Union employment office, where many and many came to find honest labor, both men and women. We also had a Bible class on Sunday afternoon, and an open Gospel Temperance meeting in the evening ; and from it sprang a Young Men's Christian Temperance League that did valiant service in the cities for seven or eight years. Circumstances closed up the work. But it was a good work. It was God's work. It was needed work. It was Temperance work.

Mr. Graham said :

A little less than a year ago a very generous-minded lady of this city established a Coffee-House at No. 338 East Twenty-third Street, and fitted it up as handsomely as it could be fitted up. It is as comfortable a place as ever I was in. If any of those interested in the work of Temperance reform care to go down to that Coffee-House, she would be glad to have them come down and look over its fixings.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The session was opened with prayer by Bishop Edward G. Andrews, and the hymn " America " was sung.

The President : It gives me pleasure to announce that this evening's session of the Congress will have for its president that gallant soldier and that good citizen, General Wager Swayne, whom we have the pleasure of presenting to you.

General Swayne, upon taking the chair, said :

Ladies and Gentlemen : I am disposed to congratulate you and to congratulate myself upon the particular topic which is this evening before us for consideration. With singular aptness, as I understand it, although doubtless without design, our beautiful singers have this evening opened these exercises with the hymn "America." There is no feature of our America of larger consequence or more vital interest to everybody in it than the Supreme Court of the United States. If this evening's entertainment and interest shall have no other or larger result than to make plainer to us than it has been heretofore the relations which the Supreme Court of the United States sustains to the several States and to their various interests and traffic, we shall nevertheless go away, most of us, highly profited and better Americans by that result. If, in addition to that, the discourse of this evening shall enhance our respect and our appreciation, and the value with which we cherish that Supreme Court, then our country also will be the gainer in the relation which we sustain to its chief executive in the matter of the laws, and to one of its three fundamental departments of administration.

But beyond and underlying and overlying these considerations, this theme comes home to me with a keen sense of appreciation and pleasure, which I think I may rightly invite you to share with me, and may appropriately speak of, for the reason that it arises out of a relation which is common to us all. It is not often that a little thing occurs that is pleasanter to me than when my good friend Dr. Funk met me, as I stepped upon this platform, to bid me God-speed and ask me, when I came to this table, to try to make myself plain ; that is, to make plain, in a word, where I stood. Now, in New York here, you all know Dr. Funk. You all know the

magnificent work at the head of which he stands, and the magnificent way in which he carries that work on. Possibly, as President of the Ohio Society of New York, I might not inappropriately remark that it is a sort of Ohio idea to carry things on in that way. I had a curious illustration of it the other night. I was invited to a rather distinguished gathering—a banquet given to the Hon. Whitelaw Reid ; and after Mr. Reid had expressed himself as Minister to France, the chairman turned to the gentleman on his left and introduced the Hon. Calvin S. Brice, now of the United States Senate, from Ohio. Then he did me the kindness to call me up ; and when he had got through with me it occurred to him he had had about enough Ohio men, so he said he would go away down to the other end of the table and call up a gentleman from Texas, which he did ; and when the distinguished editor of the *Texas Siftings* got up and began his remarks, “ When I began life on my father’s farm in Tuscarawas County, Ohio,” you can see there was a joke in it.

But, quite aside from that, here has been Dr. Funk, carrying on this magnificent work with which we are familiar, and here have been men like Dr. Howard Crosby, like my excellent friend, Mr. Graham, like Albert Griffin, whom I knew thirty years ago nearly, when the fires of slavery were still smoking and still hot enough to grill a man if he should be among them ; and I knew him down on the Gulf, suffering obloquy and ostracism for the right, and I have known him ever since, giving his whole life in that way. Here have been men like these, working on a different programme. Sometimes we have misunderstood each other. Nobody could misunderstand Dr. Funk. Nobody could misunderstand Dr. Crosby. But sometimes we haven’t all of us realized that lesson that comes by and by to be burned into every

one of us whose experience is at all sharp, or at all hard, or at all broad ; that is, that the truth is larger than that any man can see all sides of it. And so we have not always appreciated one another. We have been in need of that beautiful sentiment with which that book of "Little Lord Fauntleroy" closes, where you know the old earl appeals to his daughter-in-law to come and live with them, and she turns to him and says, "Sir, are you quite sure that you want me?" and the old earl says, "Madam, we have always wanted you, but we were not always exactly aware of it." So you see, ladies and gentlemen, that here have been men equally earnest, equally devoted, equally laborious, equally self-sacrificing, to whom it would cause not the least change of personal habit, not the least sacrifice of personal interest, to come to absolute accord throughout, and yet who have not always realized that we wanted one another. Can't you understand now what it meant to me to be greeted here by Dr. Funk and come upon this platform, where, for the first time in all this Temperance agitation, I have known men of all shades of opinion recognizing one another as children of the same God, speaking by the same voice, asking for the same wisdom, that the grace of God might enable us to fulfil those words of our dear Lord, "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another"?

The topic for discussion was :

THE BEARING ON THE TEMPERANCE REFORM OF THE
UNBROKEN PACKAGE DECISION OF THE SUPREME
COURT.

The paper contributed to this discussion by Hon. C. C. Bonney, of Chicago, was read at the session of Thursday afternoon, and will be found on page.)

Hon. Walter B. Hill, of Georgia, spoke as follows :

An accurate legal statement of the decision of the Supreme Court in the "Original Package" cases will be found in the able paper prepared by Judge Bonney. But it will be useful to take account of that decision not with reference to its precise legal limitations and qualifications, but with reference to the large and general impression which it has made and will continue to make upon the mind of the public, unaccustomed to legal distinctions.

Robert Toombs never said that he would some day call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill. But he might as well have said it. It was characteristic, though it was not true ; and the error that attributes the saying to him is one that easily lives on.

Chief Justice Taney did not say in the Dred Scott Case that a negro had no rights that a white man was bound to respect. But so far as the result to the question of slavery was concerned, he might as well have said it. A few discriminating people know better ; but the world connects the saying with his name. And the error is easy to perpetuate, because the scope of a decision, as understood by the general public, is not in the ruling itself, but in its trend and its bearings.

So the Supreme Court, speaking by two-thirds of its judges, have not said in the terms of their decision, but they might as well have said—they are understood by the great public, unfamiliar with legal distinctions, to have said—and considering how extensively State borders are intersected by inter-State transportation lines, and how easily "original package" shops may be turned into saloons in violation of either prohibitory or license laws—they have virtually said, I think, in the practical results of the decision, that *State and communities have no rights that the liquor-dealers of other States are bound*

to respect. No wonder that a decision presenting itself naturally in that form to the popular mind has stirred this nation as it has not been stirred since the firing of the shot that was heard around the world. No wonder that in the South, where the rights of the States are most cherished, the decision has been received with profound discontent and alarm. No wonder that the leading Southern Democratic newspaper has declared that it is the most radical single revolution ever wrought in the structure of the Government! No wonder that even a Republican delegate to this Congress should have declared that he wanted to see the heel of the general Government lifted from the neck of the prostrate States!

Pascal uttered a truth for all time and for all realms of thought when he said, "Unity without variety is tyranny; variety without unity is confusion." Applying the statement to government, the tyranny of the former is in centralization; the confusion of the latter was in secession, which, had it prevailed, would have broken up this great nation into asteroids of inferior magnitude. But the golden mean between the two extremes—the unity in variety—is that indestructible union of indestructible States guaranteed by the Constitution, as settled by the results of the war and construed by the decisions of the Federal Supreme Court. But is any State "indestructible" that is powerless to protect itself wholly by Prohibition or partially by restrictive License against foreign agencies which the sovereign people have adjudged to be destructive to the State and have outlawed from its borders? If they be left so shorn of power, then, in the words of Prentiss, we may strike from the flag the stars that glitter to the name of States, but leave the stripes behind—a fit emblem of their impotence and degradation.

Observe, if you please, that I do not assume to criti-

cise the law of the decision. I accept it loyally as the law of the land, emanating from the "living voice of the Constitution." It is the judgment of the greatest and most august tribunal ever constituted in the history of mankind or now existing upon the face of the earth. Its exalted learning, its complete independence, place it above suspicion or reproach. Never before in any human tribunal have the probabilities of error been reduced so completely to a minimum as in that court, by the greatness of its judges, their disinterestedness, their probity, their patient deliberation. It must be remembered that the judges cannot take into account or be governed by their moral predilections. The court has but one function: to declare what the law *is* as it is found in Constitution, statute, and precedent. While one's personal opinion is of little consequence in relation to the decision of this great court, yet this decision seems to me to be the inevitable result from the case of Bowman against the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, decided about three years ago. I said then in a published speech that the decision followed to its logical consequences would result in the practical nullification of State prohibitory laws, so far as they affected intoxicating liquors shipped across State lines; and I assigned it as one of the reasons for my adhesion, in the campaign of 1888, to the movement for National agitation.

The decision is made; there is no probability that it will be reconsidered or reversed. What is its bearing on the Temperance Reform?

I have only one point to stress. It makes that reform, if it never was so before, unmistakably A NATIONAL QUESTION; if it was so before, it makes it more clearly and conspicuously a national question. To meet the exigency created by the decision and by the rush which

the liquor-dealers have made to set up "original package" shops, *Congress* must act.

Congress may act by declaring that inter-State commerce in intoxicating liquors shall be subject to the police regulations of the States. A bill having this purport—the Wilson Bill—has passed the Senate.

It ought to pass the House, but I do not believe it will. The principle involved has been voted on by the House adversely at the present session. An amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill was offered, providing that intoxicating liquors should not be sold in the army canteens in localities where such sale was forbidden by State laws. The House voted the amendment down. Besides, the news has just come that strong opposition to the Wilson Bill has been developed in the House Judiciary Committee.

If the bill does not pass, the enforcement of prohibitory State laws will be seriously handicapped by the decision in the Iowa case; and the restrictions of High License laws will be virtually nullified by the decision in the Wisconsin case.

What then? We must elect a Congress that will either make interstate traffic in intoxicating liquors subject to the police regulations of the States, or, else and better, that will solve the whole problem so far as the interstate traffic is concerned by depriving such liquors of their ordinary commercial character.

Under the power to tax, Congress might impose a tax, high enough to be prohibitory, upon the manufacture of intoxicating liquors in the States for beverage purposes; and under its power over interstate commerce, it might limit the traffic in such liquors so that they could only be delivered to persons holding authority of a State or county to sell them for other than beverage purposes.

It is true that the police power resides in the States,

but there is not a single argument against the national agitation of the question that does not also demonstrate the folly of the Abolitionists in electing Lincoln in 1860. We all know how that folly was justified by Providence !

The most astonishing of all the objections to national prohibitory agitation is that Prohibitionists are in the minority. That is, in fact, the very reason for the national agitation. If we were a majority, the work would be already done. We know that under our American system laws can only be enacted and enforced by the will of a majority ; and yet, constantly, Prohibition is treated as a tyrannical decree which, by some unexplained *coup d'état*, the Prohibitionists are to fasten on the Republic ! This sort of logic fatigues all patience. It is rational to argue against Prohibition, but it is not rational to concede either directly or by implication the merit of the principle of Prohibition, and then use the fact that a majority do not favor it as a reason why a majority *ought not* to favor it, and as a reason why the minority should cease their efforts to bring the majority to the support of the principle.

Under the powers already mentioned, and without any constitutional amendment, a Congress in sympathy with Prohibition might cripple the Liquor Traffic " within an inch of its life," and thus make the final work to be done by the States easy, speedy, and certain.

What one Congress may do another may repeal ; and thus the whole question is brought into the national arena, where it must stay until it is settled, and settled right.

In that aspect of the matter I am inclined to agree with Mr. Thoman, the head of the Brewers' Literary Bureau, that the decision is a blessing in disguise to the Prohibition cause. There have been two occasions this year when I have been almost ready to sing the "*Nunc*

Dimittis." One was when Bishop Ireland, who seems to me, saving this largely Protestant presence, to have framed the most powerful indictments against the Liquor Traffic which American eloquence has ever uttered, wrote his letter favoring Prohibition in Dakota. The other was when Dr. Lyman Abbott, who edits a newspaper that is a favorite of mine (and also, alas! of my liquor-selling friends), declared that no one could any longer deny that Prohibition was a national question.

The decision has proved a blessing in that it is the first influence that has brought the advocates of Prohibition and High License together. While, heretofore, they have stood in opposition, they now certainly occupy one common ground in fighting the evasions of both measures which may result from "original package" shops.

Having thus been brought into making one common cause, the way is opened for further agreement.

Since this Congress has been called for the purpose of bringing together in conference workers in the Temperance Reform who have hereto labored on different lines, I think that all the discussions should be so directed as to inform our friends with whom we differ of the grounds upon which we object to their methods.

Unhappily, the issue between High License (advocated as a restrictive Temperance measure) and Prohibition is very sharply drawn, and apparently irreconcilable. It is doubtless true, as stated by General Neal Dow this morning, that High License is the chief obstruction in the path of Prohibition; and, as stated by Mr. Robert Graham, that Prohibition is the chief obstruction in the way of High License.

Mr. Robert Graham, in his argument that "National and State Prohibition is not desirable and feasible," rested his contention mainly or largely on the ground that Prohibition was difficult or impossible to enforce;

citing instances of the violation of the law in the maintenance of unlicensed saloons.

But if that argument is decisive against Prohibition, he must abandon High License ; for what has he to say to the 1500 " speak-easies " in Pittsburgh and the 3000 to 4000 " speak-easies " in Philadelphia under a rigid High License law ? I do not think that society can allow itself to be coerced into any policy by lawlessness ; but if it be admitted as a ground for the adoption of a social policy, then the argument is as fatal to High License as to Prohibition.

Dr. Huntington, in his objection to Prohibition as the true policy for our united work, urged the impropriety of classifying beer and light wines with distilled liquors. This distinction is put forward by many who conjure with the potent word " practical " as the true solution of the Temperance question. But outside of the proposition that the indulgence in beer and wine leads (in this country at least) to the use of the stronger liquors, how can any " practical " man say that it would be possible to enforce a law permitting the sale of the former in saloons and forbidding the sale of the latter ? Until the police can be equipped with omniscience and omnipresence, such a law would be idler than " salvation by statute."

I rejoice in the Supreme Court decision, because I think it has in it the seed of a great education for the people of the United States. You know that Georgia, the State from which I come, has a general Local Option law. Once out of 137 counties over 100 had voted for Prohibition. I have seen the number of counties gradually receding under the influence of that very state of things which the Supreme Court decision will bring about with reference to the States. The License counties, contiguous to the Local Option counties, had the

power in great measure to discount the value of the local Prohibition. The Supreme Court decision virtually places all the States in the same situation relatively to each other on this question as counties in a State occupy to each other ; and without some consistent national policy, segregated States cannot protect their police regulations against the invasion and interference of contiguous communities.

Realizing, in 1888, that neither Local Option nor State Option was the final solution of this question, I looked and saw the Liquor Traffic entrenched not only in appetite, not only in avarice, but in national law and national politics. I saw that it held the rod of terror over the trembling heads of the politicians in both great parties, and particularly of that to which I belonged. I saw that even if non-partisan Temperance sentiment became strong enough to emerge into paper platform and paper law through these parties, it would meet the fate of the Civil Service law, secured by the same sort of pressure, and enacted as a statute through the hypocrisy of "the homage that vice pays to virtue," and which, ever since, has been kicked about as a foot-ball between the parties, each one charging the other with the hypocrisy of which each knows it is guilty. And I saw that if the friends of Prohibition should keep their cause out of national law and national politics, it would simply leave the enemy master of the situation, and would be equivalent to unconditional surrender ! And so it became perfectly clear to me that it was my duty as a citizen to leave the Democratic Party and join hands with those friends at the North who had left the Republican Party and raised the standard of the National Prohibition.

I rejoice that it is a national question, because it is the only national question that has no sectional bearing. It is destined to teach the people in Eastern, Northern,

Western, and Southern homes a splendid lesson for this needy time—that the virtues that cluster around the fire-side are everywhere the same. Love and humanity are the same there and here. And when, in the reorganization of parties which I believe this National Prohibition issue will bring about, those people in the North and in the South who would naturally fall into affiliation on social and moral lines come together in political relations, and when they realize that the same humanity and the same Christ are in the hearts of the people of both sections, then sectionalism will find its unhonored grave, and a truer, nobler patriotism will enter into the nation's life.

Last night I reached your metropolis, travelling alone. There is no solitude like the solitude of a stranger in a great city. I had no companionship except the thought to which I have just given expression; but as I rode from the ferry to my hotel, I counted more than a hundred saloons, all busy with their deadly work. And as I looked upon these and thought of other evidences of the enemy's power, to my human vision they seemed wholly invincible; but suddenly I recalled words of Henry M. Stanley, in which he tells us how unexpectedly near he was to rescue when his expedition seemed to be perishing on the brink of despair:

“Constrained at the darkest hour to humbly confess that without God's help I was helpless, I vowed a vow in the forest solitudes that I would confess His aid before men. Silence, as of death, was round about me; it was midnight; I was weakened by illness, prostrated by fatigue, and wan with anxiety for my white and black companions, whose fate was a mystery. In this physical and mental distress I besought God to give me back my people.—Nine hours later we were exulting with a rapturous joy. In full view of all was the crimson flag with

the crescent, and beneath its waving folds was the long-lost rear column."

So I have but one thought to present to-night. In fifteen minutes, which I expect is nearly gone, there is not room for more than one thought, and all that I have said has been in the effort to lead up to it. This one point would I lay stress upon : That if the Temperance Reform has never before been a national question, it is now clearly, unmistakably, and conspicuously a national question.

Rev. A. J. Church, D.D., of Sparkhill, N. Y., said :

I want to say, sir, that the great decision of 1887, announced by the United States Supreme Court, covering the whole question of the right of a State to prohibit the liquor manufacture and traffic, has not been presented before us. Such men as General Dow and Dr. Miner, and those who have been through the struggle in New England, know that it cost us thirty years of hard, discouraging battle to push our case into court and be overruled by a rum-sogged judge. We had Prohibition in seventeen States, and it was killed in thirteen of them by judges who, I cannot help saying, were influenced by political reasons in the decision. Then we went to the Supreme Court, and we got partial decision touching this question on that form of the great issue. But in December, 1887, after the most thorough discussion of the whole question that has ever been presented to the Supreme Court, that tribunal—I believe the justest and ablest judicial authority on this little planet—decided, by a vote of seven to one—almost seven and three quarters to a quarter of a man—that the State has a right to put down the rum shop and close the brewery and distillery.

The Chairman : In the absence of General Cary, I am requested to invite General O. O. Howard to address the meeting. It gives me singular pleasure to bring General

Howard to the front, because in times past he used to have a singular habit of sending me to the front.

Dr. Deems : And if he speaks under these circumstances, he will confirm the reputation I gave him the other day. When a man asked me what sort of a man he was, I told him he was the obligingest man on Governor's Island.

General Howard spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends of the Congress : I don't think I am capable of talking in this place to-night. I am willing to come to the front. I believe in Temperance, and I always have ; and I always thought that the less liquor, wine, and strong drink used, the better, under all circumstances. When I first read that decision of the Supreme Court, I was alarmed. I did not for an instant suppose that they were influenced by anything else than conscientious conclusions upon the law and the Constitution ; and that is the best way to accept such decisions. And we know that when the law is wrong, Congress will rectify it sooner or later. The present Congress may not be able to give an immediate decision in the right direction. They haven't yet found out just what the people want. But if this Congress doesn't do right, it won't do for an army officer, one in the regular service and in the traces, to say much about Congress, except in a most respectful manner ; but I may say, just about in the same spirit as the decision of the Supreme Court, that we have a way in this country, if Congress doesn't do what is right, of putting in another one that will do a little worse, and then get a little worse, until it gets so bad that we have to turn around and have somebody investigate them, and after a few investigations and letting in a little daylight, why, sometimes even the Government of the city of New York changes. Now I do think it is a beautiful thing for you

to come together and agitate this subject, and express your opinions in this general Congress, because it will exert an influence ; and I am very glad that there is some one platform upon which all Temperance men can come. I have always thought that if the real Temperance men and women in the country would come together and voice their sentiments, we might somehow or other protect our youth and our children against the constant invasion of their rights and privileges.

Dr. Deems : One person is absent who was on the programme on this very important question. When I presented General Swayne to be our president, I spoke of him as a gallant soldier and a good citizen. I felt, the moment I sat down, " You missed it. You should have said, ' And a sound lawyer.' " Will you join me in requesting the presiding officer of this evening to occupy ten minutes in giving us his views as a lawyer upon this important case, in the absence of Judge Arnoux ?

General Swayne said :

Ladies and Gentlemen : I feel a great deal of diffidence in undertaking to do that. Certainly I shall not take advantage of such an opportunity to present to you any individual views of my own. But I have been personally and intimately connected with the Supreme Court of the United States for a quarter of a century. I have practised constantly before that Court. I have been personally intimate with the judges of that Court. I have talked with some of them about this very decision, and I feel strongly that, in order to understand what this decision is, in its real aspect, you want to consider it for a moment entirely apart from any Temperance or other question in which you have a personal interest. I, too, have seen and watched the rising and the course of these decisions, and I will tell you where they start, in my mind. They start, in my mind, from a decision which

was rendered a few years ago in a suit against the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad Company, arising out of certain contracts for the transportation of wheat. That decision you may not know of, but I can assure you it convulsed the country in business and transportation circles just as much as the "Original Package" decision has in circles that are more interested in the Temperance question; and it led to the immediate enactment of very important national legislation. In the case of which I speak, certain parties in Illinois made contracts with the Wabash Railroad for the transportation of wheat at rates which were different from those which were prescribed by the Illinois Railroad Commission, and the Wabash Railroad Company refused to carry wheat out of Illinois or into Illinois at the price which was named by the Illinois Railroad Commission. And that case went to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it was there held, as it had been for fifty years before, that, inasmuch as the distinction between the United States and the States is this, that the State controls our personal relations and our business relations and our family relations, that our inter-State relations and our international relations are exclusively in charge of the United States. That is the distinction. Everything personal to me is controlled by the State of New York, and everything that concerns my relations with a man in Ohio or a man in England is controlled by the United States. And consequently the Supreme Court of the United States held that, under the Constitution of the United States, if a man in Illinois contracted with a railroad company to carry corn to a party outside of Illinois, that was a matter of interstate relation, to be determined entirely by the Congress of the United States, and outside of the power of the State of Illinois to regulate in the slightest degree. Now that decision led to the immediate passage

of the interstate Commerce Law, and to the establishment of that tribunal and business about which you hear so much.

Now there came before the Supreme Court of the United States this question, "Has the State of Kansas power to shut up a brewery without paying for it?" And the Supreme Court of the United States decided, without any hesitation at all, that with a man in Kansas and a brewery in Kansas the State of Kansas might do just as it pleased, exactly; but when it came to the relation between a man in Kansas and a man in Illinois, and a contract between those two, that the State of Illinois had no more power to deal with that relation than it had to do with a man in Illinois who robbed the United States Mail. That is the relation that is in question here, and the Supreme Court of the United States took it up entirely from that point of view, not at all as a Temperance question or an anti-temperance question, but just as it has taken it from the foundation of the Government, as a question of transactions between citizens of different States, and so exclusively within the province and control of the Congress of the United States.

Secretary J. N. Stearns, of the National Temperance Society, said :

At the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Temperance Society, held in this house the 13th of last month, a resolution was adopted asking Congress to promptly prohibit all importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage use into such States and localities as have declared the Liquor Traffic unlawful. I was appointed one of a committee to proceed to Washington and present this resolution to Congress. I gave it into the hands of Hon. William M. Evarts, the senior Senator from this State, who presented it to the Senate the day that this question was to come up for discussion. He requested that the

Clerk read it from the desk, and it was printed in full in the *Congressional Record*. The "Original Package" decision had been foreseen, and a bill was presented to the last Congress to meet the case and allow each State to prohibit the sale in Prohibition States, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Senator Evarts last year had united with the Democratic Senators on that committee in an adverse report, on the ground of "Constitutional objections." Senators Edmunds, Ingalls, Wilson, and Hale made a minority report. I listened to the debate last month for four hours from the Senators' gallery, and the discussion was intensely interesting. Senator Evarts and nearly every other Senator listened attentively to the entire debate. On the second day Mr. Evarts, to the surprise of many, made an able and eloquent speech in favor of giving authority to the several States to have exclusive control over the entire liquor question. He explained his change of front by quoting from the decision of the Supreme Court in the "Original Package" case, which suggested that Congress had the authority and could take the action proposed. This was a part of the decision, and removed the Constitutional objection of one year ago. The Supreme Court, in its last decision, said, "The responsibility is upon Congress, so far as the regulation of interstate commerce is concerned, to remove the restrictions upon the State in dealing with imported articles;" and it is obvious that the Court would uphold Congress in granting such permission to the several States. In presenting our petition to Senator Evarts, I quoted to him the remark of Rev. Dr. Cuyler, our president, at our twenty-fifth anniversary, that unless this Congress should take prompt and right action in the matter, we would elect a Congress which would give us relief; and now I believe the House of Representatives will pass some

measure of relief, even if they do not give us the exact Senate bill. This is as much needed for the Local Optionists of the South, the High License men of the West, as for the Prohibitionists of the Prohibition States. It leaves the whole matter of the police power of the States where it was before, and where it properly belongs, the recent decision to the contrary notwithstanding. This leaves it under the control of the several States to deal with it by Prohibition, regulation, taxes, License, or Local Option. I would call the attention of this audience to the fact that the House of Representatives has just adopted the report of the Conference Committee of both Houses on the "Canteen" business, which absolutely prohibits the sale of all intoxicating liquors in canteens now in existence or to be established in Prohibition States, and this that we now ask in relation to the "Original Package" business is no more than they have already done on the "Canteen" question.

The next topic was :

IS HIGH LICENSE TO BE REGARDED AS A REMEDY ?

Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D., spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Christian Friends : I shall not undertake to explain to you why one who takes the negative of the question before us is called upon to lead in the discussion. If anybody else chooses to tell you, all right.

We have been discussing to-day the necessity and importance of united effort, and yet we have had all sorts of opinions here. Do you not know that a house built on the sand cannot stand ? Do you not know that only that house which is built on the solid rock of everlasting truth, as it lies in the very nature of things, can endure ? It is useless to undertake to run this universe on falsehood. It will squeak at every joint. We tried it in the cause of

slavery, and you know how it came out. There is no great enterprise that can be carried forward successfully, except on the basis of rigid, thorough truth. And that truth does not declare that High License can cure intemperance. You shall go out into these streets, and up and down the platform here and in the aisles, and ask men of various opinions what they think of Prohibition. "Oh, it is a very fanatical and radical doctrine. It can never go. I am in favor of High License, but I am as much of a Temperance man as you are." All right. Now let us say we are all Temperance men together; but doesn't it clearly appear that there are two kinds of Temperance—one the drinking kind and the other the abstaining kind? And do you not see very clearly that all who drink belong to the drinking kind and all who abstain belong to the abstaining kind? Now don't complain. I am not accusing you. You may be right. Tip your glass a little higher if you think you are; and that is just what you are likely to do.

Now the drinking Temperance party is an immense party. The whole body of drinkers belongs to it. The leaders of the great parties belong to it, and the rank and file of the parties, to a large extent, belong to it. It is an enormous party, and it has immense revenues. Why, it swallowed last year, in vindication of its faith, twelve hundred and eighty millions of dollars. How is that for high? The total bank capital of the country, \$717,000,000, would not last it seven months. That immense party, numerous, powerful, rich, with all the machinery of government in its hands, is led by the Liquor Traffic, assisted by the two great political parties—all right, I suppose—with now and then a doctor of divinity to lend a hand. I don't say it isn't quite right that he should. But I ask you to observe that this great party is not a reform party. It is just the old party, that had posses-

sion of the world since civilization began. They are running exactly the experiment that has been going on ever since I was a little boy, and, I have great reason to believe, so far as history may be trusted, for generations before—viz., an attempt to drink moderately and have no drunkenness. It has never been done. We are taunted with the declaration that Prohibitionists have never captured a great city. Gracious father! What chance have they ever had to capture New York, with the entire press of the country, with the entire Liquor Traffic of the country, with the entire body of drinkers of the country, with the two great political parties of the country, shouting for License, never daring to trust a Prohibitionist in an executive office? What chance have we had to do anything with the great cities? On one occasion, when, in Massachusetts, a year or two since, they were discussing the question of narrowing licenses to one in a thousand or five hundred (and they finally settled down on five hundred—they always give the doubt to the drinker), the Governor, who himself was a Total Abstainer and a Prohibitionist (that is, he thought he was), said to me, in the ante-room of Faneuil Hall, "The Chairman of the Police Commission expresses grave doubt whether, if enacted into law, it could be executed." I said, "Governor, it is exceedingly difficult for men to execute a law when they don't want to. If you will dismiss those three commissioners and appoint three men whom I will name to you, I will be personally responsible that the law shall be executed." What did he say? Just what you are saying now—nothing at all. He knew perfectly well it could be executed. The difficulty is not in the drink. It is not in the drinker. It is not in the law. It is in the executors of the law. It takes A MAN to execute law in troublous times; and any execution of any law that should disturb

the Liquor Traffic in a city like New York or Boston occasions troublous times.

Now, what is the difficulty? High License stands on a foundation of sand. It says, "We will drink moderately." But what is moderation? It is one glass, perhaps, for a man who is not used to it. A man not used to it cannot stand one glass. But here are some—oh, no, they are not here. "There are some fellows what I know of" that can carry a half dozen glasses and more, and not mind it. What is moderate drinking? Then there is this fact in the whole problem. The drinking of alcoholic liquors nourishes a fictitious appetite, not a natural one. I was thirsty just now, and I was kindly favored with a glass of water. That was sufficient. And if I should be dry to-morrow, another glass of water would answer. But if I were to take whiskey instead of water, it would take a little more to-morrow than it will to-day, unless I braced myself against it. Well, men do that. Hosts of moderate drinkers, with their eyes open to the danger, do brace themselves against the indulgence of a growing appetite; and it takes more effort, every year they live, to stand against it; and they don't continue to stand always. I would by no means be personal in this presence, but I have in mind a most estimable lady, the wife of a bishop of one of the most distinguished churches of our land, who went down to a drunkard's grave; the wife of one of the most elegant writers that America ever knew, who went down to a drunkard's grave. And they were both in Boston. I knew them. Many a man and many a woman in our cities indulges in drink moderately, moderately, moderately, but with a little growing force in the appetite, until, when ambition declines, and appetite becomes stronger, and their conscious observance of their real condition has lapsed, they fall into drunkenness, and fill drunkards' graves. Moderate

drinking ! The nearer you come to the line—ah ! there is no line, as we just said ; what is moderate for one is immoderate for another. But when you come nearer to that line which should be the demarcation with you between moderation and immoderateness, the greater is the danger of your overstepping it. The very moment when you ought to see most clearly, you can see least. It is the very nature of the drink to confuse your consciousness, as you have been told to-day, and to lead you to misjudge until it is too late. The natural trend of drinking is toward drunkenness. It does not make any difference whether the liquor is licensed, high or low, or simply tolerated. It is not the License that affects the quality of the liquor. It is the drinking of it that exposes one to damage.

Just now, in Massachusetts, we are in the habit of sitting down to drink. To our late Governor of exemplary renown, so distinguished in our late Civil War, belongs the honor of doing away with perpendicular drinking, and recommending that the drinker be required to sit at a table and take a little lunch at the same time. I have never quite reached that ideal degree of excellence in managing the question of License. They have been granting all along, for a series of years, licenses to men to keep hotels. There would be an old stove without a pipe, and a piece of cracker, one or two chairs, and a stand-up bar for drinking. All at once the License Governor of Massachusetts has awakened to the profound discovery that that is contrary to law, and has recommended that the law be executed. He suggests the amendment, and the Legislature goes to work upon it. There was opposition from the liquor men and the men who were afraid the party would put itself in some ridiculous position. It can't do it. It has been there too long. The result is that the Commission announced

their determination to execute the law. Well, we said, "If they execute the law as the courts in Massachusetts have defined it, they will prevent any License being given to anybody that does not keep an honest and straightforward restaurant or hotel." But the Commissioners are interpreting it to allow the sitting down to the table without provision, and there are two cases now on the way to the higher courts to settle the question whether the Commissioners are good judges of law or not. However, the question of License comes in here, you perceive, as an incident.

Now, why do the drinking Temperance party want saloons? Because they are drinking men. I give every man a fair chance to say he desires the death of the saloon. But I stand here to say that it is no infringement upon any man's prerogative to say that, if he holds to drinking, he holds to having some way of getting his drink; and out of that comes our whole License system, and this is an old affair. It has been our history for generations. And I therefore repeat that this is not a reform party.

Now turn the leaf, and you have the abstaining Temperance party. What are they trying to do? They are not trying to drink and see how near they can come and not get intoxicated. They perceive that the growth of appetite naturally, with a large class of persons, runs into drunkenness; and just so long as drinking habits pass for Temperance, so long we shall have drunkenness.

"But," says some wise man, "it is conceded that Temperance means moderation." So it does. Temperance in all things means moderation in all things. So it does, with a very little qualification. It does not mean the swallowing of drink that is poisonous.

"But," you say, "the Prohibition declaration that alcohol is poison is an extreme position; it is false, not

true at all." And why? Because here is Mr. A. B., who has taken a drink of gin or whiskey, more or less, every day for a long number of years, and he is alive yet. Very well. Here is Mrs. C. D., who has used arsenic every day in the year for a great many years, and it has beautified her complexion wonderfully. But is not arsenic a poison? But do you say arsenic is used, in this case, in such small doses that it is not fatal. It operates, you see. Her complexion shows that. But it is a poison nevertheless. Now you give a gill of whiskey to a child of a year old, and in a few minutes that child is dead.

I was told a few minutes since that, in the absence of the speaker expected to follow, I might use half an hour. So I have been taking a little broader range than I would otherwise have done. I am permitted now to add a word or two; and thus, turning quite aside from the line I was taking to the fact that High License has done nothing, I alluded, just now, to the laws of Massachusetts. I call your attention to a report which I hold in my hand, of the present state of things as just developed by careful statistics. In the chief cities of Massachusetts the result of High License has been something as follows. I call your attention first to Boston, where, for 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1889, the License fee has run from \$250 to \$350, \$400, and \$1000, and the number of arrests for drunkenness daily, averages forty-four, fifty-two, sixty-three, and sixty-eight, rising gradually as the charge for License rises. The total number of arrests of all kinds rises in the same way, regularly, showing that the increase of License has not lessened drunkenness. And it ought to be remarked, in a general way, that in connection with all this business of License, no matter whether you license many or few shops, underneath these licensed shops run what you have spoken of as a "speak-easy" style of drinking, so that the amount of drinking

is in no wise diminished. I have before me the reports of the cities of Lynn, Fall River, Worcester, Salem, Taunton, Waltham, and Newburyport, but I haven't time to present them to you. They all tell a kindred story, uniformly, that under High License drunkenness increases.—Dracut is called for. Lowell voted No License this year, and Dracut, adjacent, this year voted License. A citizen offered \$8000 for a license. It was granted to him, and the first day his shop was opened there was such a gathering of hoodlums and such a breach of the public peace that not only the community was frightened, but the licensee himself was frightened, and the proposition was to pay back the money and start anew, I see it announced, and that was alleged to have been done; and the Legislature, having an interest in the matter, of course was called upon to legislate. I see, however, within a day or two, a statement that the experiment was to be renewed, and they are going to see if they can't run an \$8000 license in the town of Dracut.

Dr. Deems: Those of you who live in New York do not need to be told that, of all the men in the city of New York, there is no man of whom the saloonists are half as much afraid as they are of Dr. Crosby. It goes to that point that once, when General Clinton B. Fisk went into a saloon and began to make some rather prohibitory inquiries, the man shut up the thing at once and said, "You are one of them Crosby fellows." Here is the head of them all.

Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., spoke as follows.

My Dear Brethren: There is many a good cause that has been lost by a division among its upholders. I think that the Temperance cause in our country has received great injury by the division among its advocates; and I am here to-night to plead for harmony and union among those that may differ very widely with regard to some of

the principles of Temperance. I have no doubt that a large majority of those before me have very different sentiments from what I have with regard to some of the features of the cause ; and yet I presume that I can find a common standing place with you whence we can fight shoulder to shoulder.

With regard to the greatness of the evil, I don't suppose there will be the slightest difference of opinion between us. With regard to the great importance of doing something, and doing something that is effectual, to stop the evil, I don't think there will be any difference. It is only with regard to the special form in which we shall apply measures to this end that we find the difference. We have two great methods proposed by equally ardent, honest, upright, faithful Christian people. One is the great principle of Prohibition, which would destroy entirely both the traffic in and the use of anything whatever that had any alcohol in it as a beverage. I honor those who hold that sentiment. I know hundreds of them as my personal friends, at whose feet I love to sit and learn. There are others (and, brethren and sisters, let me tell you, they are the large majority, too, of Temperance people) who want to see the great evil destroyed ; who are not Prohibitionists, but are Restrictionists. And as we Restrictionists want you Prohibitionists, it is but fair and just that you Prohibitionists should want us Restrictionists.

Now in regard to the practical point. The ground on which I think we can all stand is a Restriction action and not a Prohibition action—viz., the utter destruction of the saloon. Now that is not Prohibition, except prohibition of the saloon ; and there I believe both parties can stand shoulder to shoulder, and fight. Now I can only speak of the city of New York, where I was born and bred, and where I have lived all my life, and where I have fought

with a great many wild beasts. And I know with regard to this city—I know it as I know any truth whatever that is based on large presumption—I know that a Prohibition law in this city would be the opening of the floodgates of rum and vice. That I am sure of.

Now I have heard my good brother here just say that Restriction in the form of High License cannot succeed. Now let me tell you a fact. On January 1st, 1877, the city of New York had just one 1,000,000 of inhabitants. It had 11,000 licensed saloons. The License fee was \$35. The License fee was raised to \$200, and on January 1st, 1889, when the population was 500,000 more, instead of 11,000 licensed saloons there were 6,811. Now you say High License don't operate. I say it does. In this city of New York Restriction, and strong Restriction—far stronger than any we have had—will meet with the popular desire, and we can accomplish it, and there will be a result; whereas, in this city of New York, Prohibition will not meet with favor with those who never touched liquor in their lives, but who feel that the selling of liquor ought not to be put on the same basis as thieving. They believe that there is a difference. They believe that the selling of liquor is an evil because of its concomitants, whereas thieving is an evil in itself at all times, and that therefore we cannot say, "As you prohibit theft, you must prohibit the selling of liquor." We believe that the things must be dealt with in a different way, if the public conscience is to be regarded; and we cannot get along without the public helping us. So, as a practical measure for New York City, we say, the way to overcome the rum power is high, higher, higher License. In that way we will restrict it. Now there are two arguments made against it. "Oh, you will make it a monopoly! The rich men will have the rum shops." Very well. It is one of the necessities of all restrictions—the

sale of gunpowder or anything else—that it will go into the hands of the wealthy classes, who are able to pay the License. It is one of the sad necessities we have to meet in reducing the amount of the injury done. The other objection is that by putting this money into the public treasury you will get the tax-payers to look to this as a source of revenue, and fasten the saloons as a permanent institution. Not at all. In the city of New York we do not put that money in the public treasury. We give it to the benevolent societies; and they would be a great deal better off without it. We do not put that money in the public treasury, and therefore that argument is of no value in this city.

Now the idea that some of us have, who have been quite active in putting down the excesses of the rum power in this city, is this: that in a city like New York we must have Restriction. We can't have Prohibition. We must have Restriction. Let that be coupled with Local Option for the larger towns of the State, and we then believe that we are going as far in the way of law as we possibly can to restrain and overcome the great evil.

Now all I rose for to-night, and all I consented to speak for to-night, was to say this: That as you who are Prohibitionists are not unreasonable people, so we who are Restrictionists are not unreasonable people, and it is but perfectly proper and right that we should respect one another, should take hold of one another's hands in the work, and help one another in the work. And as Restriction is on the road to Prohibition, and we are going thus far on your road, you and we can join together in this restrictive movement, and then, if you see fit, you can go on as much farther as you please. But I sit down, saying what I said when I began. It is a shame for us to be quarrelling among ourselves, when we ought to have the desire to benefit this great country and destroy this

great evil, and should take hold of some measure in which we can all join. May God help us to this union and this co-operation, and if we do unite, we are the vast majority of this country, and we can bring about the end desired.

Dr. Deems : Would not Dr. Crosby join any Temperance men in the State of New York to bring about the Prohibition, by law, of the sale of any kind of distilled spirits ?

Dr. Crosby : Certainly I would, and I would join any one in utterly squelching the saloon forever.

Dr. Funk : You stated, Doctor, that the saloons were cut down from 11,000 in 1877 to 6,811 on January 1st, 1889, and that it was caused by the increase of License from \$35 to \$200 ?

Dr. Crosby : That was virtually the cause.

Dr. Funk : Was not the real cause that the Commissioners refused to grant any more licenses until the number was reduced to that extent—not because the price was raised to \$200 ?

Dr. Crosby : It was partly that, and partly the Society of which I have the honor to be president was putting its finger in the pie and bringing the thing down. All these things co-operated, but High License had a great deal to do with it.

Dr. Miner : In Lowell the number of saloons was reduced from something like sixty to four, the latter being on a High License of \$1300 each, and the number of arrests for drunkenness increased nearly one hundred per cent. Now it does not follow at all that the drinking or sale of liquor was decreased in New York City from the facts which the Doctor mentioned.

Dr. Crosby : I will tell Dr. Miner what the aim is in the city of New York. I can't tell about Boston. The one great question in reducing the number in New York

City is, that you can watch them. You can't watch 11,000, but if you can get them down to 2000, as I hope we shall before long, you can watch them carefully, and you can keep them from being nests of crime. That is one great thing. People who live in the rural districts don't know anything about it.

A Voice : I would like to know from what part of New York the 4000 saloons have disappeared.

Dr. Deems : As it was I that put my foot into it by asking Dr. Crosby a question, I beg that the ladies and gentlemen will not embarrass me more. Let me tell you why I asked that question. That is Howard Crosby, of whom you have heard so often that he does occasionally go to bed sober at night, but it is only occasionally. That is Howard Crosby, of whom you have heard that the saloons flourish under the shadow of his wings. That is Howard Crosby, who comes forward now and says he will join us and use his powerful influence with the Legislature of the State of New York to totally prohibit the sale of distilled spirits. Suppose now we could have that Howard Crosby wing and the other wings come together and get that much Prohibition. Wouldn't you go with it ?

Now just one other point. The object of our Congress is to come together in this way and practically discuss these matters. We are going to drown the saloon at the Battery. We all want to start at Central Park. Some may have to get off at Fifty-seventh Street, some at Thirty-fourth Street, and some at Twenty-third ; but I hope we will have enough when we get to the Battery to drown the saloon.

The Congress adjourned until Thursday morning.

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 12TH.

The meeting was opened with singing, and prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hudson.

The President : In the beginning, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to thank you for the great support you gave to the Chair in the proceedings of yesterday. If it be true that the Temperance people are all cranks—all of us, men and women and children—I do think it is a very delightful thing to preside over a company of cranks ; and, call us by what name they will, we certainly have had one good day together.

Now, will you try to make it better to-day ? I am going to adhere to the rules laid down. Names are sent up that would take two hours to discuss this topic. They cannot all come in. Just say it is the fault of the time, not of the Chair.

The first subject for the morning was :

SHOULD THERE BE A POLITICAL PARTY WHOSE DOMINANT IDEA IS THE PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC ?

The discussion was opened by H. K. Carroll, LL.D., who spoke as follows :

This question is not quite as definite as it might be ; but I assume that what it is meant to ask is, whether there should be a National political party whose dominant idea is the prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Upon this assumption, I shall proceed to show, as fully as the time allotted me will permit, that such a party is not needed.

My first answer to the question is, that Prohibition is not, except in a very limited sense, within the scope of

the powers confided to Congress in the Constitution of the United States.

Congress has no power to legislate on the subject of Prohibition within the boundaries of any of the States. This power the States never surrendered to the Federal Government, but reserved to themselves. There can be no Prohibition in a single one of the forty-two States except by the will and action of the States themselves. Congress cannot make the first move to secure Prohibition in this State of New York or in any other State in the Union. Congress can pass no laws for the enforcement of State Prohibition, constitutional or otherwise. It can tax ; but it cannot license, regulate, or prohibit the manufacture or sale of intoxicants within the States. The only power it has with respect to intoxicants is restricted to the Territories and the District of Columbia, to army and navy regulations, and to importations, in so far as they come under the head of foreign or interstate commerce. This indicates the entire scope of Prohibition as a national question.

Congress may undoubtedly prevent the sale of intoxicants at army posts and in naval vessels ; but our army and navy are scarcely large enough, you will all admit, to make the exercise of this power a dominant national question.

Congress may also enact prohibitory laws for the Territories and the District of Columbia. I do not contend that it is not desirable that Congress should use its power to free these Federal organizations from the blighting effects of the Liquor Traffic ; but I do say that this is comparatively a very small question. We have forty-two States, but we have only nine Territories, including the District of Columbia. Scarcely a million of our sixty-six millions of population reside in the Territories. The importance of Prohibition for the million is

but small indeed compared with the importance of Prohibition for the sixty-five millions in the States. The Liquor Traffic is entrenched in the States, not in the Territories ; and the battle ground of Prohibition is in the States. Once secure the States, and the Territories will follow without effort. Indeed, Congress has already enacted Prohibition in one of the Territories.

The same thing is true of importations. This is a larger and more important field than the Territories for prohibitory enactment. But however important it may be to cut off as soon as possible this source of supply for the drink traffic of this country, it is in itself only an incident in the great fight for Prohibition. The place of beginning is in the sovereign State. You cannot force questions out of their proper order. The States must move first. When the States, or any considerable number of them, shall have determined not to have intoxicants manufactured or sold within their bounds, Congress will hardly need to be urged to supplement their action with appropriate national legislation. Congress will not be slow to respond to the sentiment of the States, when that sentiment is once expressed for Prohibition. The Representatives of Prohibition States in Congress are quite ready, and so are others, to vote Prohibition for the Territories ; and in so far as the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce touches the police power of the States over the Liquor Traffic, Congress does not refuse to grant the relief asked for, as the passage of the Wilson Bill in the Senate witnesses.

Prohibition is eminently a State question. The States only have full power to enact and enforce it. The Supreme Court of the United States has again and again declared that the regulation, restriction, or prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants is entirely in the hands of the several States. In the Mugler case the

Court said that State enactments regulating, restricting, or prohibiting the traffic raise no question under the Constitution of the United States, and are, therefore, left to the discretion of the respective States, "subject to no other limitations than those imposed by their own constitutions or by the general principles supposed to limit all legislative power." All such enactments belong to the police power of the States. This power is lodged in the legislatures of the States, which may decide what "measures are proper or needful for the protection of the public morals, the public health, or the public safety." "This right is," says the Supreme Court, in the case of *Stone versus Mississippi*, "inalienable." It affirms that "no legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants." While this power remains in the hands of the States, it is State action and not national action which we must look to for the enactment and enforcement of Prohibition.

Having shown beyond question that the Federal Government cannot enact or enforce Prohibition in a single State, I do not need to go into an elaborate argument to prove that a national party with Prohibition as its dominant idea is not needed. A national party must, in order to live, or grow, or succeed, have a possible national issue to advocate. Prohibition is not a possible national issue because it is not a possible national function. It is a State function, and therefore a State issue. Prohibition may be made a dominant idea in any State; but a national party nominating candidates for President, Vice-President, and Congress, on a platform having a State question as its dominant idea, strikes me as a most illogical and anomalous thing in politics. The only voters qualified to elect a national ticket are those residing within the States. A national party with Prohibition as its dominant

idea asks these voters to vote for a Congress that cannot make so much as one inch of their soil Prohibition soil. You must radically change the Constitution of the United States before you can make Prohibition a national question ; and until it is a possible national question a special party to advocate it will fail to attain to the dignity and power of a really national party.

My second answer is, that while it is within the power of three-fourths of the States to add an amendment to the Constitution of the United States vesting in Congress full power to enact and enforce Prohibition in the States as well as in the Territories, it is inconceivable that the States will ever do so. Because, first, they would have to surrender a very large part of their police power to the Federal Government ; because, second, the exercise of this police power, which is peculiarly appropriate to the States, would be difficult, if not impossible to the Federal Government ; because, third, it would necessitate two sets of magistrates and police in every city, town, and village in the country ; and because, fourth, there would arise conflicts between the State and the Federal police. National Prohibition without a large national police force behind it would be utterly futile. From the nature of the case, a national police could not be as effective as State police. I do not believe there is a State in the Union, however strong its Prohibition sentiment may be, that would ratify such an amendment.

My third answer is, that the experiment has already been tried. We *have* a party in politics whose dominant idea is declared to be Prohibition. It has had candidates on this platform in several national campaigns. What is the result ? It has not elected a single candidate to any national position. It has yet to elect its first member of Congress. Its aggregate strength in the last Presidential election was less than 250,000, out of a total

vote of 11,392,382. The smallness of the vote was explained by the friends of this special party as due to the fact that the tariff, though not a real issue, was made an issue artificially by the old parties. Now, if an artificial issue can thus absorb almost the entire voting strength of the country, despite the presence in the field of a party with Prohibition as its dominant idea, where will the special party appear when the old parties bring a real issue into the arena? Moreover, election statistics show that this special party polled a larger vote by forty thousand on its State tickets in the elections preceding 1888 than it got for its national ticket in the Presidential election. What is the explanation of this fact if it does not mean that Prohibition is a State and not a National question?

I believe most thoroughly in the idea of Prohibition. The more I study the Temperance question the more strongly convinced I become that Prohibition is the remedy for the evils of the Liquor Traffic. Other legislative devices are at best mitigative in their effects. Prohibition is a radical and effective cure wherever it can be fairly applied. The great battle-ground of Prohibition for the present and immediate future is in the States severally. In every State that has it not in some form it is a possible issue. If a special party, whose dominant idea shall be Prohibition, is needed anywhere, it is needed in some of the States. Wherever neither of the old parties can be induced to respond to the demands of public sentiment and submit prohibitory amendments, or pass prohibitory statutes or local option or restrictive measures, let a balance-of-power party come into the field. Here is a field into which the tariff and other diverting questions cannot be intruded; here is a field with a real, practical, pertinent issue to be settled; here is a field not for sham battles, but for hard, direct, earnest

fighting. A party, or rather a movement, on such a basis as this, with such an issue, would unite, not divide, the friends of Prohibition. The effect of the special National party, whose dominant idea is Prohibition, has been divisive everywhere. In Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Tennessee, and other States the number of votes cast for the tickets of this special party has been but a small fraction of the number of votes cast for prohibitory amendments. This shows conclusively that the partisan element is really a hindrance in the conduct of campaigns in the States for prohibitory amendments and prohibitory legislation. In conclusion, I am satisfied that we shall have more Prohibition if we can only have less Prohibition partisanship.

The next speaker was ex-President John Bascom, D.D., late of Wisconsin University, who said :

I wish to urge three among many reasons which call for a distinct political organization as a means of passing and enforcing prohibitory laws. In the first place, it is, on grounds entirely general, a great gain to carry any question which is at once morally, politically, and socially important, into politics. The greatest defect, the most manifest danger, in our political life is the ready loss of genuine and weighty issues between the two political parties. The appearance of such issues is maintained when they are really wanting, and we suffer that great degradation of politics in which personal interests are pursued under the guise of patriotism. Ostensible motives thus become more and more misleading, real motives more and more unworthy. Our nominations to office, our methods of securing office, and our use of it when attained, are increasingly unbearable under old political divisions. For this steady decline in political action there is no remedy within the parties themselves. New moral life must be infused into politics by fresh

moral issues, broached and pushed in an independent way. The moment one question is settled, another should take its place. A real, an important, a dividing issue must constantly lie between rival parties, or they sink into factions, and the struggle for power becomes an unscrupulous pursuit of victory. When the immediate, organizing purpose of the radical or progressive party is accomplished, or for any reason disappears, it should be replaced by another. This replacement involves a reformation, as no new issue is likely to be engrafted on a previous movement without a somewhat distinct change of principles and persons.

The progressive party in our politics tends, under existing methods, to rapid deterioration. As long as an important social principle is in the foreground, one which has not yet secured the popular assent, men of conviction and moral purpose are called out to guide and sustain the movement. When success has been achieved, those who make a business of politics succeed to power. The leadership, quietly and increasingly, passes into their hands. They immediately lay aside real issues, as involving new perplexities and fresh sacrifices, and seek for secondary, unreal, and captivating planks and platforms, and repeat in routine the old rallying cries, all with immediate reference to success. Success being achieved, they fulfil their promises in the same spirit in which they made them, as a means of binding together those in power, carefully avoiding any fresh division or any difficult duty. A few years suffice, under this natural and inevitable degeneracy of politics, to strip the party of moral ideas, of either avowed or latent principles, and to deeply involve it in all immoral methods. A conservative party more readily preserves its own inertia, but a progressive party must renew its moral momentum by a distinct and rapid avowal of fresh political truths.

Failing of this, it fails of its mission ; and failing of its mission, it becomes a fatal embarrassment to progress.

Remedies sometimes bear the direction, " Shake thoroughly before using." The injunction is in order in politics. Personal interests so readily separate themselves from worthy motives, and rise to the surface, that no reform party retains its remedial power without being often shaken together, and so imbued with moral life. Shake thoroughly before using is the rule which should to-day govern our political action.

At the present moment the Republican Party is under leadership of the most unscrupulous order, and allows itself to accept and create issues with no deep, underlying conviction. The question of the tariff, which has slowly gotten itself into the foreground by the force of circumstances, has resulted in an extreme policy out of sorts with the previous history of the Republican Party. This policy is neither sustained by popular sentiment nor sober political conviction, but is a blind, unmanageable product of personal interests and political exigencies met with no forecast and handled with no counsel. A constant reconstruction of parties is thus an inherent demand of a sound political life. Such a question as that involved in the Liquor Traffic, in the breadth of the moral principles it contains and in the importance of the interests it covers, demands the foreground, and should be cordially conceded this position as the immediate means of renovating our political life.

A second reason why Prohibition must be allowed to become a primary purpose in politics is, that in no other way can the very difficult work of suppressing the sale of intoxicating drinks be accomplished.

Widespread and pushing interests, persistent and irrational appetites, sustain the traffic. These are in no way eliminated, they are hardly altered by Prohibition. The

reformation is not simply one of law ; it is one of moral convictions, social customs, economic action, and physical tendencies. Time, patience, perseverance, power, are called for in its accomplishment. We expect to succeed too easily, and think that we have succeeded when we have only just opened the conflict.

A great many believe in the principle of Prohibition who are not prepared to make any serious sacrifices for it. Enthusiasm, popular good-will, go far in securing law ; they go but a little way in enforcing it. Law, therefore, is often found quite in advance of the effective public sentiment which must be relied on to sustain it. I have had occasion to help in different communities the enforcement of restrictive and prohibitory laws. I have invariably found many who, before opposition was awakened, professed themselves willing and thought themselves willing to render effective aid. I have as invariably found that when the strife became bitter many failed to respond to their purposes and promises. The real moral force, in most prohibitory communities, has not been equal to the work it had in hand. In the life, either of a person or of a community, it is one thing to resolve on reform and another thing to accomplish that reform. We must, therefore, distinctly recognize this fact, anticipate a protracted struggle, and provide the means for it. In this struggle not only the law, but the officers of the law, must be on the side of enforcement. The law without the officers of the law is a mere abstraction. It is in vain to expect one who has been elected on another issue, and whose political success is endangered by sustaining law, to render it any cordial support. It is equally vain to suppose that any private, personal efforts to enforce law, without the support of those chosen to administer it, and whose duty it is to administer it, will, in any high degree or for any con-

siderable period, be successful. The very need of a law and order league implies a hopeless division of sentiment in the community. Such a league is, in its own nature, revolutionary. A sound social method requires not only a righteous administration of law, but its administration by those to whom the citizens of the town, city, or State have committed it. The natural, the only sufficient manner of enforcing law is—except in some very transient and exceptional exigency—through the officers of the law, and this means a political issue and a political party. We are compelled not so much to carry this question into politics as to pursue it into politics, where it already is, and from the beginning has been. We cannot hunt foxes without full range ; without liberty to pursue them from field to forest and from forest to field. If this traffic—a fox that has so long and in so many ways entered our fold—can be allowed to take to the bush, to have uninterrupted and exclusive range of politics, where all voices are heard, all interests consulted, our successes will be very transient and very illusory. The history of the conflict thus far justifies this view. Prohibition has been partially successful—so successful as to show that Prohibition is wholly possible ; so unsuccessful as to show that the best means must be employed in the most determined way. Thus two diverse opinions have sprung up among Temperance men, according to their courage : first, that Prohibition is a practical failure ; second, that Prohibition may be made a great success.

The political Prohibitionist, in view of the history of this reform, has arrived at the following conclusions : All regulation is ineffective, and, in any thorough way, impossible. It is ineffective, since it assiduously cherishes the ever-growing roots of an ungovernable evil. It is impossible, as regards the accomplishment of what it

undertakes, because the traffic retains its full strength of resistance, while the community calls out but a hesitating moiety of the moral power with which the evil is to be overcome. The political Prohibitionist believes, therefore, that the choice lies between a free recognition of the traffic, meeting it exclusively with personal, moral motives, and its adequate and final repression. This repression he believes possible if undertaken in the right method, with settled determination to accomplish it.

A third reason for the formation of a political party is the impossibility of a continuous use of moral motives without it. The evils inflicted by this traffic involve every shade of injury and deep shades of criminality. We must face it and fight it along its entire front. It is not sufficient to persuade and convince men. Many helpless ones, women and children, are entitled to the instant and adequate protection of law. If we refuse to grant this safety, we neutralize the moral force of our entire argument. Wise protective law is itself a moral force, and the natural product of pure moral forces. We cannot maintain these forces in their vigor, and deny them their full, logical conclusion. The instant we attempt this, there is a reaction against our moral method which robs it of its momentum. Men will not assemble to consider familiar truths and enforce accepted sentiments, unless the discussion involves some fresh phase of action. The soundness of Temperance as a law of personal life is a conceded principle, and calls out no contradiction and elicits no interest. There is no diversity of sentiment except as regards the manner of procedure. The Temperance Reform has been from the beginning, and must be to the end, a discussion primarily of methods. These give the occasion on which the evils of intemperance can be set before us afresh, and successfully enforced. That

intemperance is a great evil is no discovery of our time. We may repeat this truism as often as we please, and it will gain neither new strength nor fresh interest by the rehearsal. We must accept the logical conclusions, in action of moral ideas, or their moral power forsakes us. Our religious methods are sometimes urged as an example of a steady presentation of truth, irrespective of results. But religious truths constantly suffer from such a handling. Religious truth that is not made to cover the conduct that is ready to directly flow from it loses its efficacy as truth. I have lived in two different communities of much the same moral tone, in one of which the prohibitory issue was without interest, and in one of which it was a living question. Temperance wins no moral advocacy in the former community, and demands ready attention in the latter. It is impossible to separate interests in discussion, which living relations have united in practice. Moral motives must flow into politics, and political duties must nourish moral impulses. What God, in His historic providence, has united, no man can put asunder.

The real question, therefore, is, shall we disregard the inherent force of facts, the logic of events, and, in full retreat, take again one by one the steps by which we have advanced; or shall we, with the wisdom of the past and the courage of the future, make good our victories by their immediate completion? Such dividing points constantly recur in reform, and become the tests of real power.

We ought, then, to carry this question into politics, that our political life may be made wholesome by a bracing, ethical atmosphere; that we may handle the interests involved most directly and effectively where they really are, and, from the nature of the case, must be associated with our civic duties; and that we may be true

to the growing moral impulse which this reform has awakened and ought to complete.

The President : Mr. E. C. Heath, who was not elected Governor of Texas, but, as a great many of you think, ought to have been, will speak to this question.

Mr. Heath said :

Ladies and Gentlemen : I have come here from the Lone Star State, way down in Dixie, from the land of cotton, to look into the faces of the Temperance people of this nation, who desire to prohibit the Liquor Traffic by the strong arm of the government, which is the priceless heritage of the American people. Down in that country we have grounded our arms of rebellion. We know no North and no South, but one grand and glorious nation, indissoluble, fighting for the home against the saloon. I am a Prohibitionist. Why? Because the Liquor Traffic ought to be prohibited. Second, because neither of the old parties will do it. Down in Texas they don't even allow us to talk about it, if they can help it, if we propose to follow their parties. Down there my co-workers have called me to carry this standard in the present campaign, and I am going to do it, and carry it as near to victory as possible. Behind every saloon door in this State of New York—yea, behind every saloon door in this nation—stands a Democrat or a Republican. At the head of every distilling and brewing institution of this nation stands either a Republican or a Democrat. Every member of the Brewers' Congress of this nation is either a Republican or a Democrat. Then, how can we expect anything from this source? I believe there should be a party, ladies and gentlemen, whose dominant idea is Prohibition. Why? Because the case demands it, and because it is somebody's duty to bring up this question and camp on its trail until the Liquor Traffic is abolished. If we wait for the liquor men, the power behind

the throne of both the old parties, to bring up this question, and allow them to make it up for us, it is against us in the very make-up. Then, how can we expect anything, ladies and gentlemen, except from a party whose dominant idea is Prohibition? For these reasons, ladies and gentlemen, and for many others, I am for a party whose dominant idea is Prohibition, and I believe that party is the Prohibition party of this nation.

Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden, delegate from the Massachusetts Women's Christian Temperance Union, spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Co-laborers in the great work of uplifting humanity : If we are agreed upon nothing else, we are united in one common desire to find the wisest means of dealing with mankind's greatest foe.

We must have been impressed with the diversity of the means that have been suggested, all of them meriting our sympathy and co-operation. Not the least important is that referred to by Joseph Cook and to be more fully presented by my friend, Mrs. Hunt—that of educating the young. My heart is moved with responsive sympathy when I hear Mrs. Hunt say that “the star of hope for the Temperance cause stands over the schoolhouse ;” and my enthusiasm is stirred when I listen to the children of our Loyal Temperance Legions, as they sing with such honest innocence,

“ All will be right when we get there to vote !”

Then I reflect that these same children, when they enter the arena of life, will soon find that the road to political preferment lies through openly endorsing or most vigorously winking at the enormous evils and assumptions of the Liquor Traffic of this country. Do you say, then, teach our children to let politics alone? What will become of the country? A country ruled by the people

delivered over to the very worst elements of the people, while lovers of purity and virtue decline to participate for fear of taint! There is nothing more important to any country than its politics. When the politics of any country have become too impure to be participated in by the best people, it is high time for the best people to go to work to purify it for the perpetuity—for the very existence—of the country.

I venture to say that it is not ignorance that forms the largest factor in the consumption of alcoholic spirits. It is the excess of temptation and the low moral tone of the community. The former will continue as long as the saloon is permitted to flaunt itself in captivating brilliance and attractiveness in the most conspicuous places; and the latter as long as it receives governmental endorsement and protection, and good people vote for its continuance. I do not approve of using the education of our youth as a reason for leaving the overthrow of this terrible evil to the next generation. We might as well, in our war, have stacked arms, while we educated our children in loyalty and taught them how to fight; what would they have had left to fight for, do you think, if we had pursued such a pusillanimous course?

In the diversity of means, therefore, let us not lose sight of the main issue, but buckle on our own armor to free this country from the legalized saloons; then shall posterity rise up and call us blessed! Down, then, with the delusion of High License, which is only the subtle sophistry of Mephistopheles to lead us to destruction! Banish the legalized saloon from this fair heritage. Get the National Prohibitory Amendment.

To this end, first of all, let us have woman's ballot. Too long have the mothers of this country watched the spoliation of their offspring, and groaned in hopeless agony. Too long have they been like Rachel, weeping

for her children, and not to be comforted because unable to reach out a rescuing hand. The women of this country desire to pursue the fox spoken of by President Bascom, which has so destroyed their vines. If we have any political party that will do these things for us, let it be a seek-no-further ; for what the success of this country demands is justice, purity, Temperance. Only by these can we fulfil the design of our Creator in raising us to our almost dizzying height of prosperity and honor. If we have no political party that will do this, and do it *now*, let us speedily get one.

Education is a matter of tremendous importance, but if we use it to permit us to live in luxury, supinely neglecting to do our first works, we need not expect that any amount of psychological and scientific education will make it likely that our children will rise superior to this inertia, and do their work and ours too. If they should, it would be an everlasting stigma upon us.

Mr. Henry Clay Bascom spoke as follows :

I am just requested to invite somebody from the other side to speak after me. Since I have the determination of that question, I am glad to give the invitation.

In its yesterday afternoon edition, the organ of the Anti-Saloon Republicans hopes that this Congress will do something besides talk. This probably implies a conviction upon the part of the *Mail and Express* that this assembly cannot keep faith with the public without crystallizing its opinions and embodying them in resolutions. The call proposes to discover "common ground upon which all Temperance workers may battle against the drink traffic, and, if possible, to enlarge that ground." I am not prepared to dissent from that criticism, for, so far as the outside world is concerned, it will not be known that we have agreed upon anything unless we take a vote to obtain consensus of opinion. No resolu-

tions are necessary to reveal the overwhelming conviction of this Congress that a Prohibition Party is needed.

The saying that silence gives consent goes by contraries in this body ; silence expresses dissent, and applause endorses Prohibition. In like manner, this audience has unanimously approved the able paper of Dr. Davis, showing alcohol to be a narcotic poison, never to be used for beverage purposes. As Prohibitionists, we hold that the alcoholic poison destroys more people than all other poisons, and that the State is bound to classify its sale with other poisons, inhibiting its use for purposes of self-destruction.

In advocating a License system, a speaker yesterday afternoon said, in substance, " Prohibition laws result in free rum, except as the sale may be limited by fines and imprisonments." Quite correct ; horse-stealing is free grand larceny, except as it is limited by fines and imprisonments. We rest the claims of Prohibition right there. The Liquor Traffic is the cause of at least three-fourths of the crimes for which victims are languishing in prison. We do not propose to license, legalize, the father of crimes, while we punish its more innocent progeny. We propose to outlaw the Liquor Traffic, making the law a schoolmaster, whose penalties shall educate the people, as they are now educated against arson and larceny.

The question does not make so specific a claim as has been here alleged, but we accept that interpretation—viz., there should be a National Prohibition Party, and the Liquor Traffic should come under Federal control. A speaker has attempted to prove here that such is the language of the Constitution that the National Government has no power to prevent the drink crime. The National Government ought, at least, to have power to go out of major-copartnership with the drink traffic.

While the Government derives a revenue of ninety cents on every gallon of whiskey that costs but seventeen cents, while the Government grants a tax-permit to sell, it appears to me little less than insurrectionary for a State Legislature, in defiance of such Federal sanction, to attempt to prohibit the sale. The primary condition of Temperance reform is, therefore, Federal outlawry of the Liquor Traffic.

Reasons why we must have a Prohibition Party to secure these ends are found in the character of the three prominent parties of the country. One of them is confessedly the whiskey party, and J. M. Atherton, President of the Liquor-Dealers' Association, determines its Temperance creed. The other great party is the beer-party, and Brewer Sheridan Shook, of New York, approves its articles of faith upon the Temperance question. The next is the cold-water party, and Professor Dickie may be said to be authority upon its platform. He is not in the liquor business, and he believes in statutory and constitutional Prohibition, State and National.

In the history of this country it once before came to pass that men said, The Constitution is so sacred and inviolable that we cannot put away our greatest national sin. Slavery was pronounced a divine institution, entrenched in the rights of the individual State and beyond the touch of the general Government. The Republican Party pronounced this doctrine a heresy; was that party right in those days? Then it is all wrong in these. States-rights are not more sacred than Federal perpetuity. If this Union could not survive "half-slave and half-free," it cannot survive half-drunk and half-sober. The drink slavery, more withering and more damning than was the bondage of the African, is a National question, and must and shall have National settlement.

But, gentlemen, as was said regarding the slavery ques-

tion, when it was declared that the Federal Government had nothing to do with it, and that the Constitution would be invalidated if we attempted to suppress slavery in this country, Horace Greeley proposed, if that were true, to spit on the Constitution, and trample on it. And that is what I propose to do with our Constitution. If it has come to a pass in this country that the Liquor Traffic is to interpret the Constitution in its own behalf, and dominate this government, I am ready for my musket.

The temporizing sophistry that has been propagated by some of the speakers of this Congress, finding vague expression in the cry, "Down with the saloons and the sale of distilled spirits," while it silently winks at the sale of beer and all fermented beverages, would be endorsed by all of the brewers of this country. I protest that, until, as a government of the people, we dissolve copartnership with this giant vice and outlaw the whole business, we cannot properly pray, "Thy kingdom come."

The President: I cannot answer all the anonymous letters that pour in on me. I cannot do all the things that are asked of me—"Will the President please forbid the clapping of hands at every remark, as it is not courteous, and is very annoying?" I don't know anything about it. I can't do it; and that is an answer to all the rest of them.

Mr. Nelson Williams, Jr., of Virginia, said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have come three hundred and forty-five miles to look into the faces of the Temperance people of this nation. And I want to first explain to you the position that I occupy. I am a Prohibitionist. Nay, more than that, I am a Total Abstainer. And I believe that the only way to get rid of this Liquor Traffic in this nation is by the Prohibition Party. I don't care anything about a Democrat or a Re-

publican. I am a Prohibitionist, and I wouldn't vote for my father if he was not a Prohibitionist. I stand here to-day to speak for the people of my State. I want to say that the plea is coming up from one and a half millions of Afro-Americans of this nation for Prohibition. Why? Because the people that I stand to represent here to-day are the principal sufferers of this nation on account of this Liquor Traffic. And, ladies and gentlemen, I stand here to-day and plead in the name of God that this Liquor Traffic shall be abolished from the American nation. And we who live in the Old Dominion, you can count us as those who shall stand until God shall say, "It is enough; come up higher." And we firmly believe that, unless this Liquor Traffic is gotten rid of out of this nation, that in the course of a few years she shall be as the Roman nation of antiquity; she shall sink down into oblivion. And I don't believe, as I stand here to-day, ladies and gentlemen, that the civilization and the Christianity of America can succeed with the Liquor Traffic.

Rev. Dr. Kynett, of Philadelphia, was called upon to speak on the other side. He said :

Mr. President : I am greatly obliged. I am not a third party Prohibitionist. I am a Republican. But I am a Prohibitionist. We must suppress the saloon. We must rid the country of the evils of the Liquor Traffic. We must annihilate the sources of supply, the distilleries and breweries. The parties in power in the several States must do it, or we must find a party that will do it. Isn't that the other side, Mr. President? I have been laboring with my Republican associates for a few years past. I have been trying to point out to them the signs of the times. I have been telling them there is a popular upheaval that will upset the thrones of existing political parties if they do not respond to the popular demand for

relief from this gigantic evil. I have been saying to them, "Gentlemen, the prudent man foreseeeth the evil and hideth himself ; but the simple pass on and are punished." I say to my Republican friends, and the representatives of Republican papers upon this platform, that the American people are weary of the policy of suppression. The great Republican organ of this city gave a little more than half a column to the entire proceedings of yesterday.

The American people are looking anxiously to the New York papers to know what this convention is and what it is doing, and they are looking almost in vain. I know the sentiment of a large section of the American people in this State, in Pennsylvania, in Iowa, in Kansas ; and I say to you that this Liquor Traffic must go down within the next decade ; and if the parties in power, having the opportunity of doing it, do not avail themselves of the opportunity, we, the people of the United States, will find a way to do it. That is the other side of this question ; and I am very much obliged to you.

Rev. S. H. Hilliard, of Boston, Secretary of the New England Department of the Church Temperance Society, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am distinctively and decidedly on the other side from the majority of those who are present at this meeting, and it is extremely disagreeable to me to stand up here and say one word, because I know that any one who thinks as I do is in a hopeless minority. And yet that is the very reason why I want to come and say one word. I want to know whether this meeting is a caucus or a conference or congress. I understood that this meeting was called to be a practical Temperance Congress. It seems to me that, as everything has gone, it is simply and solely a caucus—nothing but a caucus. Now the first thing is,—Is that what we

want exactly, or are there a great many people here in this hall who really do desire that every man who is truly and thoroughly a Temperance man, and is willing to devote himself, soul and body, with every energy of his heart and mind, to this work, as a glorious work, as God's work, to do it as a patriot and as a Christian, is to have some chance to stand by and with every other man who has the same motive in his heart? Now, I believe thoroughly that if there is only such a purpose as that in the heart and mind in this convention, that sooner or later, in God's good time, that purpose will be blest by Him, and that a work is going to be accomplished for the Temperance cause that cannot possibly be accomplished in any other way. And I stand up to plead for that simply and solely.

The President : That is the whole intention of this Congress, brother.

Mr. Hilliard : Mr. President, if it is so, I thank God for this Congress, and I believe that many of you who now feel that there is no room for anybody but those with one sentiment on a Temperance platform will come to see that there is room, will come to understand that you can work for Temperance with those with whom you thoroughly and totally disagree as to the theories of Temperance. But you will find that, as to the practice of Temperance work, there can be a thorough harmony ; that you can take off your coats and go to work together ; that you can stand, for instance, in such institutions as coffee-rooms, in the midst of the great multitudes of those who are oppressed by the Liquor Traffic, and that you can work for them, and that it never comes into your mind to ask whether your next-door neighbor, who is working with you, is a Prohibitionist or a High License man ; that you can work with them month after month and year after year bound together by a

true chord of sympathy which comes from God, and that you need not know what your theories on the subject of the best method of doing Temperance work are.

The President : I think that the last gentleman expressed exactly what was the intention of this call, or I am mistaken. It was to have a congress, and not a convention ; a congress, to be followed by a convention, as when church congresses ventilate the views of the clergy, and conventions formulate the methods of executing them. We are just ventilating our views, we are just uttering our opinions, we are just adjusting our convictions to one another ; and when we have done that thoroughly, then I think we will be prepared for a convention, which will have resolutions that will have all the thunder in them which the lightning of this Congress predicts.

The next topic was,

THE RELATION BETWEEN TEMPERANCE REFORM AND IMPROVED DWELLINGS.

The discussion was opened by Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, who said :

I should like to change slightly the subject of the address that I am to make to you to-day, and instead of speaking upon the general subject of the relation of Temperance to improved dwellings, let me rather call up the relation of the saloon to the dwellings of the poor. I should like to put it in that way, because the saloon is really the exponent of the Liquor Traffic, as we have it. It is the one great arm that that Liquor Traffic is using to enslave our people. And therefore I want to regard the saloon as the exponent of the Liquor Traffic, because it bears to the homes of the poor an intimate and very peculiar relation that I want you to consider with me.

I quite understand, from what I have heard this morn-

ing, that I shall express views that are not at all in sympathy with this gathering, and I shall not attempt to express any views except those that relate to the dwellings of the poor in great cities, and on that subject I feel that I am entitled to speak and entitled to be heard.

First of all, let me say about these saloons that the modern saloon, as we understand it to-day, is distinctively modern. In the ancient world there were very few things of that kind. Certainly in Athens, in the Periclean age, there was no such thing as a drinking saloon as we understand it; and while there was drunkenness and dissipation, it was generally confined to the privileged classes, to the men who had gorgeous palaces in which they could entertain their convivial friends. And so it was largely in ancient Rome. There were wine-shops in Rome, and we read of terrible scenes, of orgies and of drunkenness, in the annals of Tacitus and in the satires of Juvenal. And yet, again, they were the orgies of the elevated classes, of those who had places where they could meet together and drink and enjoy convivial life. There was not drunkenness as a national vice in the ancient world, as there is to-day, because there was not the saloon.

Again, those of you who may have visited that ruined city of Pompeii will remember that the wine-shop of the ancients, as represented by those ruins, was a very different thing from the saloon of this age. And, therefore, I say that we must regard the saloon as the source of the greatest evils that spring from the sale of liquor in this present age.

Now let me say a word as to the dwellings of the poor. I cannot better describe the homes of the poor (and I mean the homes of the very poor) than by quoting from Dickens. You will remember, some of you, that in one of his shorter stories he singles out a man from among

the working classes, and describes him as the type of those whose wages are very small and surroundings very miserable. He takes a man who, by his daily toil, working from early in the morning until late in the evening, is barely able to pay his rent and to supply his wife and children with the insufficient food which they must have and the clothing which they must use. He can give them no social pleasure, no intellectual enjoyment. And this man lives in a dark, dingy, two-room apartment in the east end of London, surrounded by filthy streets and degrading associations. He sees his children growing up in these streets, his girls growing up amid all the improper, roughening influences of the gutters. And finally the pestilence comes to the city and fastens itself upon the city, and the rich take their families and go off to the watering places ; but this poor man is confined by his poverty to the tenement-house, and must stay there, and the pestilence comes and seizes on his family and takes his wife and children and leaves him there alone. And then the missionary comes in to see him, and you remember his answer, " Oh, what avails it, missionary, to speak to me, a man condemned to residence in this fetid place, where every sense is tortured and every minute of my life does but add mire to the heap 'neath which I lie oppressed ? Give me my first glimpse of heaven ; let me have some of its light and air. Give me pure water. Help me to be clean. Lighten this heavy burden beneath which our spirits sink and we become the hopeless creatures which you find us. Then will I listen to Him whose thoughts were so much for the poor, and who had compassion on all human sufferings."

There are thousands and ten thousands in this great city living like that, without hope in this world, in misery and squalor—men who come home from their daily toil to sit down in their little cramped apartment, surrounded

by their wife and children, and they find the air close and hot with the atmosphere of cooking ; they dare not open the window to let in the winter's air, because they must economize their coal, and heat is precious. They sit down there, and have their supper by seven o'clock, and they have two hours on their hands before they need rest—two hours for intellectual enjoyment and social pleasure ; and they are confined to these little, narrow homes in which to spend them, where the air is hot and uncomfortable, where they have not sufficient cubic feet of air to supply them with the proper breathing space. The atmosphere is exhausted. The children are going to sleep in the only room they have to sit in, and that is crowded. Will you say to these men that they must forever occupy those rooms ? Will you do nothing for them except prohibit liquor, or will you try to lessen their woes ; will you try to give them some place where they can enjoy those social attributes that are born into every man ?

Now look at the saloon, on the other hand. I am not exaggerating this question of the homes of the poor. I will show you these homes myself. I will show you homes in which, if you and I should be forced to live, we would be glad enough to go into a liquor saloon to get out of them. Look at the saloon. Here is a place brilliantly lighted, large and spacious. It has easy-chairs, and a polished bar, and shining glasses, and the convivial bar-keeper, and the circle of friends who come in there. I has its genial hospitalities. And it is a place of that kind to which these poor fellows, confined to the miseries of their tenement-house life, go in such enormous numbers. And shall we close these saloons absolutely, and give them nothing else ? Lest I should be misunderstood, let me say this, first of all : that in the present circumstances of life, I believe in Total Abstinence,

and have been for years myself a Total Abstainer. But let me say, further than this, friends, as I know about the life of these men, with these narrow opportunities for social enjoyment, that if I could in one single instant crush every saloon in this city (and I hate those saloons as much as you do) I would not do it, until we can build some place where they can live, until we house human beings not like animals, but like men. Until we give them people's palaces, and places where they can obtain some social entertainment, I would not close every liquor saloon in this city. There are saloons in this city, I believe, that, while founded upon the principles of utter selfishness, while seeking only to transfer the wages of the working man into the pockets of the liquor-seller, have been an actual benefaction to the working classes. Actually a fact, I believe, sir. I believe that in the places in which these men live more sin and misery would have sprung if there had not been some saloons. I would not blot them out until we have something else to give them. When you and I sit in our comfortable homes and enjoy comfortable surroundings, we are content to stay at home. What shall we think of the poor man who has no comforts at home, who has no place in which to enjoy such social pleasures as you and I have?

Now let me say a word further about these saloons. You understand that I am no advocate of beer and wine, having been for years a Total Abstainer. But let me say that I believe that we must do more than we are doing—simply trying to prohibit the saloons. I may say that I am a High License man. I want to see them cut down, and have their fangs torn out. I was not here at the discussion yesterday, but I understand that my friend, Dr. Huntington, practically gave my whole line of thought in this connection—Improved Dwellings for the Poor; Some Substitute for the Saloon; and Warfare

against the Four Great Liquors. Now I wish to ask, Mr. President, whether it is not possible to succeed in gaining some legislation against the hard liquors. If we could absolutely prohibit, first, the sale of hard liquors, it would remove the greatest danger that arises from the use of beer and wine ; because, as I understand it, the use of beer and wine is chiefly dangerous from the fact that it encourages the appetite for hard liquor. I have spent a whole winter in the south of Italy without ever seeing a single drunken man or drunken woman. Not that there were not wine-shops, plenty of them ; not that I have not seen the men go in and drink ; but I have not seen a single drunken man or woman during a whole winter in the south of Italy. If we could obliterate the sale of hard liquors, many of the saloons might still be left open to supply these men with the opportunities of social enjoyment, where they could get nothing more than beer and wine, and where the taste that might be a taste for beer and wine would never be gratified by anything more than that. I simply want to suggest that before I say a few words, in closing, about what improved dwellings really mean.

There are in this city quite a number of improved dwellings—very insignificant, however, in comparison with the absolute need of the people. There are large buildings at Tenth Avenue, Seventieth and Seventy-first streets, covering the whole block ; also at Fourteenth Street and Avenue C, and the Sloane Buildings, in Mulberry Street. Perhaps I can indicate best the features of these buildings by speaking of the Sloane buildings on Mulberry Street. They are the smallest of all. They are situated in the very centre of human degradation, right in the Italian quarter. They have been occupied seven or eight years almost wholly by Italian tenants. In that quarter of the city the landlords sometimes di-

vide rooms in two by a chalk line, and let half to one family and half to another. Go from those buildings into these new buildings of the Sloanes, and you will be perfectly amazed to find yourself in the midst of a real paradise. The women keep their apartments neat and clean—surprisingly so, considering the degradation from which they have come—many of them without any ideas of cleanliness and order. But they have been educated to it by those buildings and their agents, until you realize why it is that in these homes a workman can stay at home. If we could give such dwellings to the poor, we never would need a saloon, if such saloon were allowed to exist at all. People are never turned out of those buildings for intemperance. Intemperance may scarcely be said to exist. Of course, people do drink here and there, but when we compare these buildings with the buildings beside them, in the matter of rent, payment, and intemperance, the contrast is striking.

I make my plea, then, for improved dwellings for the poor; and I never shall be satisfied with any Temperance movement that simply says to my poor brother, "You must go on living in these poor dwellings, in a fetid atmosphere, in close, confined surroundings, without pure light and air or pure water, until you become, as Dickens says, the hopeless, indifferent creature that we find you. I shall never be satisfied with any Temperance movement that has not that connected with it so closely that when it says, "Prohibit," it says at the same time, "Let us give what men deserve, what men must have, if we would ever make them men at all."

The President read the following communication from Algona, Ia. :

To the Temperance Congress: Greeting from the W. C. T. U. of Iowa: In solid ranks let us battle the drink habit and the drink traffic; our watchword, "In essen-

tials, unity ; in non-essentials, tolerance ; in all things, charity ; in God's good time, victory !"

MARY J. ALDRICH,

Corresponding Secretary, Cedar Rapids, Ia.

Also the following, from Ossian, Ind.:

To the National Temperance Congress : We will look to your Congress with great expectations. We are with you for the protection of the home. We will stop short of nothing less than Constitutional Prohibition for the Nation. May God speed the right !

OSSIAN GOSPEL TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE.

Rev. H. BRIDGE,	} <i>Committee.</i>
C. E. DUDLEY,	
L. F. CHALFANT,	

Also the following, from Evanston, Ill.:

To the National Temperance Congress : The Evanston, Ill., Better Day Reading Circle, sends hopeful greeting. See Esther 4 : 14.

HENRY A. DELANO.

The passage reads, " For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deiiverance arise to the Jews from another place ; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed : and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this ?"

Also from Warren, Pa.:

To the National Temperance Congress : Grand Lodge of Good Templars in session, Greeting : We wish you God-speed and success in your convention.

HARRY DEAN,	} <i>Signed.</i>
ELLEN S. SOUTHWORTH,	
S. B. CHASE,	
W. H. MORGAN.	

Also from Worcester, Mass.:

To the National Temperance Congress: Bishop H. M. Turner, who is sick with a fever, cannot be present to-night to speak upon Temperance. He begs you to get him a representative. He says he is with you soul and body, and will work for the party.

W. H. BARRY.

Also the following letter from Rev. Dr. T. L. Cuyler:
To the National Temperance Congress.

DEAR FELLOW-WORKERS: I deeply regret that engagements in this part of the State prevent me from being with you. If I were there, I should urge the imperative importance of a fresh process of sub-soiling *education* of the popular mind by pulpit, platform, and press. A fight with the accursed saloons and distilleries is not wide enough. We must strike at the drink itself, wherever it shows its head, and strive to uproot the *drinking usages*.

There is a good old "original package" called the *Total Abstinence Pledge*, which has done glorious service in the past. It has had the sanction and blessing of the "Supreme Court" of Heaven! Let us try it again!

May the spirit of wisdom and brotherly love make your Conference powerful and memorable!

Ever yours for the good old cause—*long and strong*.

THEODORE L. CUYLER,

President of National Temperance Society.

AUBURN, N. Y., June 10, 1890.

Rev. Albert G. Lawson, D.D., of Boston, continued the discussion upon Improved Dwellings. He said:

Mr. President: For some four or five years past I have been permitted to see underground Boston. There is a very excellent proverb of progress that the Apostle Paul

has given us in his letter to the Thessalonians. He bids us both hold fast and let go. "Hold fast that which is good ; abstain from that which is evil." Scientists tell us that our walking is a process or series of stumblings and recoveries. We understand as Temperance men, we are to hold fast to certain things. We are to hold fast to that Total Abstinence principle which, as a boy, I thank God I was led to put my hand and heart to. We are to hold fast to Prohibition, through and through, in city and town and State and Nation. We are to hold fast to the recognition of this also, that except as God helps us all our help is in vain. But we are also to remember that, as the body is made up of many parts, as every character is the outcome of forces from many different directions and of various power, so also the Temperance Reform includes many and various elements, and we never can expect to have success by running holding our eyes to any one narrow line. I understand the relation of improved dwellings not to be the first thing, the fundamental thing, and yet a very vital thing. We look across the water and see London and those great cities. We are coming to have in our own land a mass of Christian men and women here absolutely ignorant of what the facts are in their own land—many in this very city absolutely ignorant of what is in this city, where I spent most of my life until within the past five years. And so also in Boston we are having families upon families living in a single room, with all the wretchedness, with all the drunkenness, with all the lack of proper air that they are having on the other side of the water. What is the result? Just as Mr. Cutting has said. Let us remember, you and I live in more than one room. If we want to invite friends, we usually have one room reserved for those who come in. We call it a sitting-room or parlor or what-not. Thousands of these

families of workmen have no such room. I do pity the poor wives and the children ; and yet I don't believe I should do other, with their training and with their surroundings, than many of these mechanics do, who, when their day's work is over and they come back to the little narrow, stifling quarters, and have eaten their supper, stroll out and go somewhere, to an open, lighted place, that offers them the opportunity of social intercourse. It is the only club-room that the mechanics have. And, therefore, now I would say to wealthy men, Do this. Mr. Pratt has put up a building in Brooklyn, which he calls the Astral. For every portion of the widely separated building there is a chapel or Come-in-room. Let wealthy men put up their best tenements, not in the better places, but in the lower streets, where the poor are ; for their elevation must be gradual. In every building put a Come-in-room, with music, with tables for games, with opportunities for conversation, opportunities for social contact. Then we shall have done a little, at least, to destroy this tyranny of the saloon.

Mr. Robert Graham, of New York, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : Mr. Fulton Cutting, who read the paper to which you listened with such intense silence, very different from your previous enthusiasm, is not a theorist ; and he is a very uncommon man in the United States, because he is an eminently modest man. I want to say for him what he did not say for himself, that the man who, looking at the seamy side of New York life (and it has a seamy side), puts his hand in his own pocket and influences other men of like mind with himself, and spends \$500,000 in improving the condition of the poor, ought to have had something more than a silent reception at the hands of this Congress.

I just heard read a telegram which said, " Protect the

home." Ladies and gentlemen, you have got to give a vast mass of the people of New York homes to protect before they can protect them. Let me give you one picture. I think I know the lower side of New York as well as I know the fingers on my own right hand. It has been an eight years' work with me. There is one particular place in the city of New York, which lies at the corner of Elizabeth Street and Mott Street. It is a building six stories high. There is a broad flagged hallway right up the centre, and there are blocks of rooms running right and left from that central hallway. The first room gets a dim light from the window in the corridor. The second gets a still dimmer light. The third is dark. And in that place, in the very centre of New York civilization and of New York City life, you have a population, all told, under that single roof, of 568 souls. How are they constituted? Two of them were English, two of them were American; the 564 balance were divided among ten different nationalities. For the past year I have attempted an order of mission work in a part of New York near Forsyth Street. I took a census of the eight blocks that lay around the little church where I endeavored to do some work. This is what I found there. There were, within that area, five public schools. There were, within that area, two churches, one a Protestant Episcopal Church, holding three hundred, and the other a large Jewish synagogue. There were, within the same area, sixty-two licensed liquor-saloons. And I call upon you men who shout so loudly for Prohibition, and say, "Sweep away the saloon"—brethren, when a man has to face this in a practical way, and know that he has his enemies, these sixty-two men, who try to hinder, he doesn't want to wait twenty years for the millennium of Prohibition. He wants something that will blot out of existence at least fifty-six out of the sixty-two. He can

fight the six, but not the sixty-two. That is the reason why I believe in Restriction, and not in Prohibition.

The President: By reason of a matter over which no one here has any control, for the first time we vary the programme. Instead of taking the Canadian Experiment, we shall have the pleasure of hearing from our brothers and cousins across the sea a statement of

THE TEMPERANCE REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN,

by Mr. Robert Rae, the Secretary of the National Temperance League of Great Britain, who has already been presented.

Mr. Rae spoke as follows :

Ladies and Gentlemen: I should have been very contented to have remained a silent spectator of these interesting proceedings, as I came to hear and not to talk. However, I feel obliged to the Committee of Management for the invitation which they have kindly extended to me to say a few words in regard to the Temperance movement in what you call the old country. I have learned much during the discussions that have taken place at these sittings. I have formed certain impressions, but have not as yet reached any very definite conclusions. I hope to do so before your proceedings are at an end ; and it would certainly be very impertinent in one who knows so little of your local matters, to presume to express any opinion respecting them.

Upon one point, however, I am tolerably well informed, and that is, the condition and prospects of the Temperance cause in Great Britain. I have been connected with the National Temperance League, the headquarters of which are in London, for a period of twenty-nine years, during which time I have been closely associated with its various departments of work. That association is of a somewhat general character. It is non-political and un-

sectarian. By "non-political" I do not mean that we have not men connected with it who take a great interest in political movements ; but we have all shades of opinion in regard to politics as we have in regard to religion. We have, for example, as our President, at the present time, the Lord Bishop of London, a stalwart man in this great Temperance movement ; and his predecessor in the office was an eminent member of the Society of Friends, Mr. Samuel Bowley. So you see that from the one end of the pole to the other we are represented in the religious world. We have on our Vice-presidents' list not only the name of Archdeacon Farrar and Canon Wilberforce, but we have also Mr. Spurgeon, and men who hold a similar position with him in the ecclesiastical world. We have also scientists, like Dr. Richardson and Dr. Norman Kerr. We have members of Parliament, like Mr. William Caine, who is at present leading the great anti-saloon crusade in the House of Commons ; and, although not officially connected with us, we have had Sir Wilfred Lawson upon our platform frequently. We have also had Cardinal Manning. In fact, there is no phase of religious or political opinion in Great Britain that is not represented in the association with which I have the honor to be connected.

I need scarcely tell you that, with such a basis, we aim at reaching all classes in the community. Our work has been chiefly of an educational character. We attempted, first of all, to reach the various churches. Nearly thirty years ago we approached the Church of England. We had a hand in forming the Church of England Total Abstinence Society, when it existed under its original basis of Total Abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Many of you are probably aware that some years afterward the Constitution of the Society was enlarged so as to admit of the co-operation of non-abstain-

ers with those who were teetotalers ; and since that time there can be no doubt that the Society has greatly enlarged its sphere of influence. The number of bishops associated with it is now much larger than it was in the days of its Total Abstinence platform, and the work which it is doing is of a very important and satisfactory kind. I may just mention in passing, however, that they have taken a position which many of their friends do not approve of, in relation to the Compensation question, which is now agitating England. The representatives of the Church of England Temperance Society have agreed to a compromise, by which the offer of compensation will be settled in a way that Total Abstainers would not approve of ; and as the various parties in the House seem determined to carry this Compensation question, I have very grave fears that you will ere long hear that it has passed. The second reading, as you are aware, has been carried by a majority of seventy ; and that majority, I fear, is not likely to be much reduced when the bill comes into Committee, notwithstanding the very great demonstration which was held in London on Saturday last in opposition to those measures. That, however, is by the way.

The Church of England Society, as I have said, is doing a large amount of very important and valuable work, and I can say the same in regard to our various dissenting denominations, as we call them, or Non-conformist denominations—a term with which you are happily not acquainted upon this side of the Atlantic. The National Temperance League took steps in regard to those denominations at about the same time as they acted with the Church of England Society, and we were instrumental in forming Temperance organizations in connection with the Methodist bodies, in connection with the Congregational Union, in connection with the Baptist Union of Great

Britain ; and these societies are all now, and have been for some sixteen to twenty years, in active operation, permeating the churches with the principle of Total Abstinence, and doing a great deal to advance our cause in their respective denominations. And I may mention, without going into statistics, in regard to the number of ministers, that in the various Non-conformist denominations about five-eighths of our ordained ministers are Total Abstainers from intoxicating drinks. In some of the smaller denominations the proportion is larger, but in some of the others it is a little less, and as far as I can form a conclusion from the estimates which have been made, I think about five-eighths may be put down as the proper proportion of Total Abstainers among our Christian ministers. Among the theological students attending our various colleges the proportion is larger. Indeed, in some of our largest colleges, such as Mr. Spurgeon's, where there are about seventy students at present in residence, every man is a Total Abstainer. So that we expect that the rising ministry will be stronger even than their predecessors upon this great question of Total Abstinence.

I was very much interested in the discussion that took place yesterday afternoon, upon Temperance in connection with your American churches. I was especially interested in the paper by Joseph Cook—a very suggestive and thoughtful paper ; but it appeared to me that there was one link in his chain of logic which was a little defective. He spoke first of the Church being bound to recognize liquor-selling as a sin. The next position that he took was that members of Christian churches should not vote for a man in favor of the Liquor Traffic. Now I thoroughly approve of both positions, but I would have inserted between those two another position—viz., that the members of the churches should not only not vote

for a man in favor of the saloon, but that they themselves should not use the article supplied by the saloons.

My idea is that, in order to constitute a traffic, you must have a buyer as well as a seller ; and I think it is rather difficult to proportion the responsibility that rests upon the one compared with the other. You all agree, I know, that the seller, if a Christian, is in a false position. But my contention is that the buyer is just as bad, or nearly as bad, as the one who sells ; because if you had no buyers you would not find many sellers. And therefore I contend that, on this question, as it affects the Christian Church, we ought to come close home to the individual. Perhaps it may be that in your American churches you have no members who purchase intoxicating liquors at the saloons. If such is the case, I can only say that I sincerely wish we had reached that position in England. I regret to say that in all our leading denominations we have men who sell intoxicating drinks, as well as a large number who use them. We have, even in the Methodist churches, class leaders, circuit stewards, and others, who hold a license to sell intoxicating liquors in connection with various groceries ; and at the head of our great religious institutions in London, in connection with our missionary societies, with our Bible societies, and with our various organizations for the spread of Christ's Gospel, at home and abroad, we have great brewers and distillers holding prominent positions, and whose position is unquestioned by the churches with which they are connected. That being the case, I take the ground, and I do it very strongly, that we have to purge the Church of those connected with the traffic, and purge it from all connection with the traffic, before we can have any hope whatever that the legislature will be able to put a hand to it.

Thus much in regard to the churches. We have done

a great deal in connection with the medical profession, as well as with the churches, in our National Temperance League. Nearly thirty years ago we began to adopt special means for the purpose of influencing the medical profession. Twenty-one years ago the National Temperance League commenced what has since been published once a quarter as the *Medical Temperance Journal*, setting forth the various scientific phases of this great question. At that time also we commenced a series of conferences with the members of the medical profession, during the Annuals of the British Medical Association, an association that corresponds to your American Medical Association, which holds a movable meeting once a year, about the month of August. It is held sometimes in London, and more frequently in our large provincial towns. And we have followed this annual meeting of the medical men, wherever they have gone, during the last twenty-one years, and have held, in connection with their anniversary proceedings, a Temperance conference, at which our case has been presented by the most eminent men connected with our medical profession. Some three years ago we had the pleasure of welcoming Dr. Davis, of Chicago, to our meeting at Brighton, and he gave a most valuable address, equal to the paper which was read yesterday afternoon, to the medical men of England. Our next conference of this kind has been convened for July 30th, at the great city of Birmingham, where our president, the Bishop of London, will have an opportunity of addressing the assembled doctors upon the claims of Total Abstinence.

It was also this association, the National Temperance League, which was the means of forming in the medical profession what we call the British Medical Temperance Association, every member of which is a Total Abstainer. The membership does not seem very large. About four

hundred medical men have associated themselves in this society, and about one hundred medical students, who are attending the various colleges. That association holds regular meetings. Its President is Dr. Richardson, and many of our leading men are associated with him. We have also another society, called the Society for the Study of Inebriety—a subject, I think, which is perhaps more advanced in the United States than it is in Great Britain. The head of that society is Dr. Norman Kerr, who may be regarded as the Dr. Carruthers of Great Britain, and who adopts a great variety of means in order to impress upon the medical profession in England the importance of recognizing the physical aspects of this drink question.

Our society also was the means of obtaining and of circulating what we call the medical declaration respecting alcohol, which was adopted by the leading physicians and surgeons of England in the year 1871. We had also the pleasure of enlisting the co-operation of Dr. Richardson, when he delivered the Cantor Lectures upon alcohol, which I believe are familiar to many in this country. He also prepared, at our request, the Temperance Lesson Book, which I believe has been extensively used, especially upon this side of the Atlantic, both in Canada and in the United States. I remember, not long after we published that book in England, it was republished by your National Temperance Society in this city; and the Canadian edition is also extensively circulated through the various provinces of that great Dominion. So that I am inclined to think that this work of Temperance education in schools, which had a small beginning in England, has grown into something very formidable upon this side of the Atlantic. Your growth has been certainly wonderfully rapid, and I congratulate all concerned in it, including Mrs. Hunt, who is to read

a paper this afternoon, upon the wonderful success (wonderful, it seems to us in England) that has attended the effort to introduce Temperance teaching in your various schools. We have made many efforts, but these have been met by great difficulties in England. Still, we have succeeded in obtaining permission from the school board in London, and very many other of our educational institutions, to introduce lectures to the children attending school, and those lectures have been attended with great success. We have adopted one means (I am not sure whether it is in operation in this country or not) of interesting the children in these lectures. When a lecture is given by any one of our representatives in the schools of London, we offer prizes to the boy and girl in each school who will produce the best written reproduction of the lecture. The consequence is that the children take notes of the lecture ; they go home and compare those notes, they get the aid of their brothers and sisters in understanding any points that may seem to them difficult ; the father and mother of the family are also called into counsel to assist the young people in preparing their reports ; and thus the subject becomes a topic of discussion in the family circle, and I believe in that way does a large amount of good. Then, when the reports are sent in, they are examined, as a general rule, by the teachers in the schools, and they award the prizes to those papers which they consider the best, and once a year we have a meeting to distribute the prizes that have been gained during the year among the different schools. Last year those prizes were presented at the Crystal Palace, with a considerable amount of *éclat*, under the presidency of the Chairman of the School Board of London. And in this way we endeavor to diffuse a practical interest in this question throughout the various schools of the metropolis.

Then, not only in regard to children and schools, but

among the teachers, we have carried on a very important work. Our feeling is that no rules or laws that can be passed have a very practical effect unless we have the practical co-operation of the teachers in carrying them out; and we find that unless the teachers are Total Abstiners they are not of much use in this system of Temperance education. The result of this conviction is that we are attempting, in a great variety of ways, to influence the teachers of our land. We commenced, some fifteen years ago, a series of conferences with the teachers, similar to those we have held in connection with the medical profession. That is, wherever the National Teachers' Union has held its anniversary, we have followed them there, and invited them to a conference; our usual course being to invite the members to breakfast, and to have the conference after the breakfast is over. Then we have also held many conferences in addition to those in our large provincial towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield, and all the principal towns throughout England. We convene the teachers of those towns at a special meeting—we generally have a cup of tea or something of that sort previous to our talk with them—and then, after our deputation has spoken to them, we invite response from the teachers as to the best and most practical methods of carrying on our work.

In addition to those conferences we have also endeavored to approach the students in our training colleges—a very important class indeed. We believe in the principle of catching the teachers when they are young, and hence we have sent deputations to our training colleges, and have instituted competitive examinations for the students in those colleges. We award, almost every year, prizes amounting to from £25 to £50, for the best essays prepared by the students in these colleges; and we have during the last year extended similar competitions

to the pupil teachers in our various schools. I am not sure how far your system accords with ours, but I suppose your monitorial system would accord somewhat with what we call our pupil teachers. We have established competitive examinations among them, and we offered last year to the pupil teachers in London schools £25 in prizes for the best answers to questions based upon Dr. Richardson's lesson book and other works of a similar kind. These things have done a great amount of good in enlightening the teaching profession, and in enlightening those who are to teach the children, and we have great hopes that in the coming time we shall get important and invaluable help from the teachers of England.

Mr. Aaron M. Powell, editor of the *National Temperance Advocate*, said :

Mr. President : I want to say just a word or two of acknowledgment and thanks, as an American, as a man interested in Temperance reform in this country, to our distinguished friend from the other side of the water. He has spoken to you of the great work of the National Temperance League, and he has said, " We have done so and so." While he has associated with him, in his Board of Managers, some very able and gifted men, the fact is, and I wanted to say it to you while he is here, that in a very large degree this exceedingly useful work is the result of the individual effort of our friend. More than to any other man in Great Britain is due to Mr. Robert Rae the credit of bringing to the aid of the Temperance cause Dr. Benjamin Richardson, Canon Farrar, Cardinal Manning, and others of those distinguished European advocates of Total Abstinence from all intoxicating beverages, and the prohibition of the drink traffic, on the other side of the Atlantic. We in this country suffer greatly from European influences. Our

work here, as all of you who are here before me know, is immensely hindered by this flood tide of European immigration. It adds greatly to the difficulties in our way in seeking to inculcate both the lesson of Total Abstinence and the duty of the State and the National Government to prohibit the drink traffic. But while we have this hindrance from Europe, we also have a great help in the uplifting thought of such men as gather about our friend in the prosecution of the work on the other side of the Atlantic. It was my privilege, in 1886, to attend one of the International Congresses summoned by the National League, and largely under the direction of our friend, where were present the distinguished gentlemen to whom I have referred, and many whom I have not named. And I wish you might have heard the very able papers and the very interesting discussion which those papers called forth on that occasion. Their echoes have been heard on this side of the Atlantic.

Our friend has spoken of the British Medical Association, from which comes to us also, quarterly, the *Medical Temperance Review*, which is the organ of that association, and which ought to be in the hands of every American physician. It is a journal unique in its character, and has no counterpart on this side of the Atlantic, I am sorry to say. We are in advance in many things, but we are behind Great Britain in the work it is doing in the scientific and the medical field. But I must not stop upon that. The London Temperance Hospital, the very significant figures of which we are fond of quoting on this side of the Atlantic, is one of the outgrowths of the work of our friend. There have been small beginnings here, but we have nothing to compare with the London Temperance Hospital and the London Provident Life Insurance Company, the directors of which, several of them, are also directors of the National Temperance League.

One single other point, with regard to that shocking traffic which we are responsible for, as well as our European friends—the importation of intoxicants among the native races of Africa. Our friends over there began the agitation to stop that importation. We have taken it up. It should be part of the function of this Congress to emphasize from this platform the importance of action by our National Congress to pass two pending bills which have been introduced within a few days, to prohibit the further importation of intoxicants from America among the natives of Africa.

There are various other things that I should be glad to say. This I wanted to say while our friend was with us, that you might appreciate the significance of his visit and his work.

The President: Julia Colman, who has been writing Temperance text-books that have been scattered around to the extent of a quarter of a million copies, will speak a few minutes on this topic.

Miss Colman: We in this country are largely indebted, in the Temperance work, to the Temperance text-books of the English. I have long been conversant with their work, and I can say from positive knowledge that they have prosecuted the Band of Hope work in that country much more effectively than we have here, for forty years, until perhaps quite recently. While we have made a specialty of the work in the public schools, and, as Mr. Rae very courteously remarks, we are ahead of them in that respect, I may say that we borrowed the idea from them in this practical work in the first place, so far as I can judge. I happen to know that twenty-two years ago it was first urged on the people of this country, and the leading men said it was impracticable, it could not be carried out. I am glad to say that our experience has proved, and the efforts of the Woman's

Christian Temperance Union have proved, the contrary. But in looking over some documents in the preparation of an article for the press, some few weeks ago, I happened to come across a reading-book published in this country in 1835—a Temperance text-book for the schools. I don't know whether our brother can go further back than that, or whether they in England can, but it shows how these two great works go on side by side in the two different countries. I myself was not aware of there being any such text-book published in this country in 1835 until that time.

We need, so far as I can judge, in this country, a great deal of the enthusiasm they have there for personal effort in teaching the young. I am glad to say that it was a very large element in the Prohibition State of Maine, years before they really thought much about pushing local Prohibition. I am acquainted with the Hon. Joshua Nye there, who himself, for twenty years before I knew him (and that was more than fifteen years ago), had a Band of Hope that he taught himself, and had educated in it sixteen hundred boys, and they had grown up to be voters, and they were some of the voters that carried Maine for Prohibition. In order to have enthusiasm in this work, it is not sufficient for us to turn it over to the public schools and their teachers. We are too ready to do that. Oh, yes, we clap our hands for the education of the children, but we leave it all to the public school teachers, or are willing to do so, apparently—to the public school teachers, who, many of them, are not Temperance men and women. I honor them for the good work they are doing for Temperance. But they cannot communicate the enthusiasm to the young minds of this country that you and I could if we should take hold of it ourselves. We must gather the children together and teach them this truth with such enthusiasm

and inspiration as cannot come any other way ; and we can do that in our Sunday-schools and in our churches. I mentioned that not long ago to a minister, and he said, " Oh, yes, the old thing, digging away." Didn't they get their members in just that way ? Didn't you and I come into the church because of the digging away of the ministers ? I don't know any better thing than getting into the right line and digging away ; and, for my part, I put into this work just as much enthusiasm as I can, and I want you to do the same.

The following telegram was received from Mr. Foster, of Ottawa, Canada :

To the National Temperance Congress : Regret that at last moment important public business detained me. Hope your meeting will be very successful.

GEORGE E. FOSTER.

A collection was taken to defray expenses, and the President announced that any surplus would go to Nebraska.

The President read the following communication from the Committee of Arrangements :

While we are engaged in the fraternal discussions of this Congress, there sleeps, in the Committee on Judiciary of the popular branch of our National Congress, a measure in which we all have the deepest concern ; for, whatever else may be said of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court on the " original package cases," it has collided with the hitherto recognized police powers of the States, and the wreckage lies across the path of progress. The question at issue is one of the relative powers of the National and State Legislatures as determined by the Constitution of the United States. The Senate has, with commendable promptness, passed a measure known as the " Wilson Bill," which would afford the relief to the police powers of the States which

the Supreme Court itself indicated as possible, but it still slumbers in the House of Representatives. Meantime, the unscrupulous and rapacious liquor-dealers are making haste to trample upon the police powers of the States which have by restrictive and prohibitive laws sought to relieve their citizens from the acknowledged evils of this nefarious business.

As the Supreme Court of the United States diverged from its usual custom to suggest the needed legislation, so this Congress diverges from the strict programme marked out by it, and requests that its officers, with the concurrence of the Committee of Arrangements, memorialize the House of Representatives through its honored Speaker, in the name of this Congress of American citizens—citizens also of States whose police powers, hitherto recognized and protected, are now ruthlessly invaded—to grant the relief needed by the immediate passage of the bill adopted by the Senate ; and also to petition His Excellency, the President of the United States, to give it his early approval.

Dr. Deems requested all those in sympathy with this communication to stand. All present unanimously arose.

Dr. Kynett : A few moments ago you announced that any amount received over and above that necessary for expenses would be sent to Nebraska. Two or three gentlemen from Philadelphia, who must leave this afternoon, have proposed to give a hundred dollars each. We think there are others in Philadelphia who will join in this movement. I have proposed to them that we designate Captain Wallace, Treasurer of the Union Prohibitory League, to receive their contributions, in trust for the purpose named ; and I trust you will name some one here in New York to receive contributions in this city. We hope to be able to get a larger sum by providing for the payment of the subscriptions in Philadelphia.

The President named the Secretary of the Congress, Mr. Bogardus, to receive any donations in New York.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The session was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. M. H. Pogson, and songs by the Silver Lake Quartette.

The first topic for discussion was :

TO WHAT CAUSES IS TO BE ATTRIBUTED THE FAILURE OF THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENTS IN THE LATE CONTESTS IN MASSACHUSETTS, PENNSYLVANIA, AND RHODE ISLAND ?

The first speaker was Mr. H. H. Faxon, of Massachusetts. He said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have my speech all prepared and in print. I do it for the benefit of the hard-worked reporters. I never knew a man to make a poor speech, but he blamed the reporters for reporting him wrong. I have got it all printed, and I don't care how much they pitch into me after they read it. I will just say here, before I start, that Prohibition can be enforced. If there is any sceptic in this house that don't believe it, let him go to Quincy, Mass., and try to buy a glass of whiskey. A gentleman this forenoon told us about poor tenants. Abolish the saloon, and thousands of tenants will own their houses themselves.

Mr. Faxon then read the following :

I am glad that New York City was selected as the place for holding this conference, because the Devil has a large following here, and I believe in fighting his Satanic majesty at short range.

It has been announced that I would speak upon the causes of the defeat of the Prohibitory Amendment in

Massachusetts. The principal reasons for the failure can be given in a few words. High License had been placed upon our statutes a short time before the campaign began. Many people were anxious for a trial of this new policy, and the city of Boston, with its vast political power, was determined that its treasury should be enriched by the enormous sum of \$888,308, to be thus derived from license fees. Prohibition will never be a success until all forms of revenue obtained from the traffic are abolished. Another important factor contributing to the defeat of Constitutional Prohibition was the antagonism or indifference of almost the entire press of the State; and while the Temperance people were handicapped for necessary funds to prosecute the work, expending only about \$20,000, the liquor fraternity disbursed money without stint. Recognizing, then, the fundamental causes of our defeat, what steps shall we take, what means employ to bring about ultimate success? Long experience has convinced me that the policy of Local Option is the shortest and best road to absolute Prohibition. One of the strongest features of this law is that requiring an annual vote upon the question of granting licenses. This yearly agitation of the subject keeps public sentiment alive to the best interests of each community. Many towns vote "no license" by large majorities, and then, after celebrating the victory, the friends of the law seem to consider the work done and their responsibility at an end, and settle back into a state of indifference and inaction, leaving the enemy in full possession of the field. The condition of such towns is deplorable in the extreme. Prohibition will never prohibit if left in charge of saloon-keepers or the average board of selectmen, or to those constables who vote "yes" on the License question.

The law will mean nothing except there are officers:

behind it who are in full sympathy with its provisions, and who will push it with energy to successful results. When I was first appointed special officer to enforce the liquor law in Quincy there were forty-two licenses granted, with a Democratic Board of Selectmen, favorable to the License element, in power. In a few months, the climate had become so warm and disagreeable for the liquor-dealers and their constituents that the selectmen displaced me from office, fearing that some of their prominent political supporters would soon land in the House of Correction. Although my term of service, at this time, was brief, the people of Quincy needed no better evidence that I had done my duty than the complaints of the rumsellers that my methods did not suit *them*. The best citizens of the place, realizing the good that had been accomplished by the enforcement of the License provisions of the law, were ready to take a step forward, and at the next town meeting "No License" was carried by a large majority, the vote being 1057 to 467. Selectmen in sympathy with this vote were elected, and I was again appointed to look after the dealers in the ardent. It is, perhaps, needless to say that the warfare against those offenders was waged without fear or favor. The sword of Prohibition was used unrelentingly, and during the first ten months of my career I made one hundred and ten complaints, resulting in more than forty convictions, including six commitments to the House of Correction. Let me here cite some significant facts :

The cost of supporting the poor for the year ending February, 1882, the last year of License, according to the report of a special investigating committee, was \$15,415. Four years later the cost was only \$5533. In other words, while the population had increased fifteen per cent, the cost of caring for the poor decreased more than sixty-four per cent. The deposits in the Quincy Savings

Bank in 1881 amounted to \$184,143, while for the years 1887-88 the deposits had increased to \$645,150. The District Court record shows that for the year ending September 30th, 1888, in the License town of Randolph, with a population of 3807, there were 143 drunks reported by the police, while in Quincy, more than three times as large, the number of similar offenders for the same period of time was 55.

Under "No License" the real estate and other kinds of business in the place have materially improved, and the community has been much more orderly and law-abiding.

The only way to make Prohibition a success is rigidly to enforce the law. What has been accomplished in my own town, now a city, can be realized in other places by voting "No License" and electing faithful officials to carry out the will of the people. Not a License is now granted in Quincy, not even to a druggist, and there is no indication that the citizens desire a change in the existing policy on this question. If the friends of Temperance will combine to demonstrate the great blessings and advantages to be derived from the enforcement of the policy of Local Prohibition, its ultimate triumph in the State and Nation is not far distant. Local Option stirs up even the dormant energies of lukewarm Temperance men, especially when a town votes for "License" and the adjoining town has "No License" well enforced. Such has been the case in Dracut, Mass., where the only rum-shop the place was entitled to, under the limitation law, was licensed for a fee of \$8000. The entire thirsty hoodlum element of the prohibitory city of Lowell was turned loose upon this place, and after two days' remorse over its wickedness, the town appealed to the Legislature for permission to refund the blood money to the rumseller from whom it came. The people of Dracut will not soon forget the sad experience they derived from their

eagerness to get rich on the revenue from sin. If all the towns surrounding Boston would vote "No License" and enforce the law, all the bummers would flock to the city to get their liquor, and Boston would soon become a Dracut on so large a scale that the citizens would rise *en masse* to put the evil down. I feel that this matter of law enforcement cannot be too strongly emphasized. The towns and cities in Massachusetts whose officials have been most faithful in this respect are those which have continued to enjoy a prohibitory *régime*.

In the last ten years I have expended a large sum of money in enforcing the laws, and have never called upon the town or city for a dollar of the money appropriated for my services. If honest, competent officials had been elected to coöperate with me in the work it would not have cost one-fifth of the amount disbursed.

Nearly half the time I had to contend against the officials and the runsellers of both Quincy and Boston. Those who desired to render the law inoperative would vote "No License," but at the same time would cast their ballots in favor of selectmen who they knew would oppose me at every point. Men of this class are political assassins in ambush. It is such action as this that has brought the statutes regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors into contempt.

Another great hindrance to the enforcement of the liquor law is the present jury system, which is the very essence of injustice. With one rascal in the jury-room, all endeavors to see that justice is meted out will be set at naught. One dishonest juror can defy the unprejudiced conclusions of his eleven associates, the charge of the judge, the arguments of the district attorney, the testimony of the prosecuting officer, and all those who had suffered from the criminal on trial. The modern jury is the refuge of the vicious, the hope of the lawless,

and the harbor of safety for every influential political rascal. The system must be revised or repealed. I would like to see a change, so that appealed cases might be submitted to three judges.

Still another great obstacle in the way of bringing violators of the liquor law to justice is the difficulty experienced in securing evidence. There are men who, though debauched by their intemperate habits, are inclined to tell the truth in court, but who cannot bear the taunts of their companions in sin, and therefore commit perjury to shield their destroyers. Who can solve the problem thus presented, and tell me why men, having been plied with liquor and robbed of every valuable they possessed, will yet go into court and perjure themselves to protect those who have thus maltreated them? For the same mysterious reason, upon election days such depraved beings have often voted the ticket put into their hands by the same rum-selling manipulators of politics.

The reason why the liquor-dealers of this country have been so successful in perpetuating their infamous business is that they always confront their antagonists with a powerful political phalanx. All the rumsellers and their whiskey-soaked patrons work together as a unit in politics, while almost the first thing done by an assemblage of Temperance workers is to pass resolutions declaring "we are non-political, non-sectarian," etc.

They thus fritter away their most potent energies, and are handicapped at the outset in their intended work of reform; for such resolutions plainly indicate to the enemy that he has nothing to fear so long as the weapons of political influence are not hurled at this unholy business. Those who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors are firmly bound together by the strong ties of self-protection, and are on the alert to

manipulate any agency which will help them to resist every attack which the Temperance forces may make upon their so-called liberties. When rumsellers organize, they resolve that no candidate for office shall receive their support who is not committed to their policy of opposition to what they are pleased to term "sumptuary laws." They care nothing for party or principle, and only seek creatures who will do their bidding. When ward officers can count double the votes cast for their candidates, and thus elect them, it is called "liquor dealers' expert politics."

We should, in particular, learn a lesson from our foes, and become united on a common platform from which we can wage a battle that will prove the overthrow of the arch-fiend of Intemperance. It is the duty of all the representatives assembled at this conference to do all in their power to advance the cause—politically, religiously, and socially; for without Temperance, politics is a cheat, religion a farce, and social life a curse. If we are faithful to the work that is before us, the day will not be far distant when we shall have reached the acme of our desires on this great question. We must use all the weapons at our command in defending our homes and country from the encroachments of this destroyer, and seize every opportunity that is afforded to take a step onward toward the goal of our ambition. One of the chief reasons why our cause has progressed so slowly in the past has been that many radical Temperance men have sulked in their tents, refusing to do anything except along the narrow path of their one idea. They have honestly believed that such action would hasten the dawn of Prohibition. That they have been wrong is apparent, and such foolish conduct is hailed with delight by our opponents, and is placed upon the profit side of their account.

I am convinced that no political party can attain the

summit of its aspirations by advocating only one great moral question. If we desire success for the cause so near our hearts there must be embraced in our platform other reforms that are recognized as equally important by those independent voters who will not be led by one idea. This was the way in which the anti-slavery cause was advanced—thousands of people who cast their ballots for Abraham Lincoln not caring a whit for the negro, and voting with Republicans simply because theirs was the best political combination. The Prohibitory party is exerting a healthful and restraining influence over the Republican party, and I desire to see it go forward until its noble mission is accomplished.

It is a well-known fact that the Democratic party cannot be trusted to do anything which will advance Temperance and morality. If there is any conscience in that organization, it is kept very carefully concealed by its leaders. All their platform orators ignore the question of Prohibition, except to reiterate the old cry that it cannot be enforced. Democratic rumsellers know that their security is assured if police and other officials of their own political faith are appointed through their influence. The guardians of the peace, whose free drinks are furnished by those whom they are expected to detect in violations of the law, will be careful not to cut off their own supplies. The Democratic party is composed of the political sewage of almost every nation on the globe, and it seems instinctive for a large percentage of this class, especially the Irish, to shout for Democracy and free rum. The whole history of the party is one of disaster, because its hopes are founded upon dramshop support. Principles which are run through a whiskey distillery will not stand fire in the day of political judgment. The Republican party was once the medium of true reform, but of late its leaders busy themselves in citing the

valiant deeds achieved by their fathers and grandfathers in order to bolster up its waning glory. Both the great parties are floating on the raft of sentimentalism, and the least puff of a virtuous breeze makes the whole political fleet tremble.

In the present condition of affairs I believe the true course for reformers to pursue is that of absolute independence by voting for those candidates, wherever found, who represent their principles. Voters who stick to their party, no matter whether it be right or wrong, are hidebound partisans, and poor tools with which to work out any kind of reform. As for myself, I shall remain perfectly independent. With whichever party I may act from time to time, I shall stand fearlessly in defence of my principles, not only respecting the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors, but also as regards the support and perpetuation of pure government, by purging it of dishonest and corrupt officials.

Hon. Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, read the following paper :

Entrance upon the post of duty assigned me on this occasion is not an experience of unalloyed pleasure.

Four years ago, a citizen of Rhode Island could have stood before such an audience as this full of pride for his home and his citizenship. To-day his attitude must be of extreme modesty, if not of humility.

Rhode Island has been made a stumbling-block for reformers throughout the length and breadth of our land. She, alone in the family of States, after a brave declaration of independence of the rum power, has ignominiously surrendered to the enemy, and is, to-day, obedient to his commands.

My duty, on this occasion, is that of witness rather than advocate ; historian rather than philosopher.

In April, 1886, the citizens of Rhode Island, whatever

their opinions, were surprised by the adoption of Constitutional Prohibition by a liberal majority. Among the reasons why we, of the affirmative side, were not expecting victory at that time, were, first, because of the preponderance of city population in our State, and that largely of foreign birth. In 1885, the city of Providence contained about forty per cent. of the population of the State, and the county of Providence about seventy per cent., and of this more than thirty per cent. was of actual foreign birth ; second, the principal daily papers of the State are published in Providence, and were and are bitterly hostile to Prohibition—one of these papers holds such long-established business relations to the people of the entire State that it commands public attention to a degree that a person not a resident of Rhode Island could hardly appreciate ; third, the officials of the city of Providence had, for many years, given abundant evidence of non-intent to enforce the conditions of any liquor laws, however mild, and the people had been sadly tolerant of this neglect of duty ; and, fourth, and perhaps worse than all else, we knew that social drinking customs had a very strong hold on that class of citizenship generally spoken of as “good society,” and exercising a good deal of influence.

But the campaign in favor of the Amendment was very wisely and happily organized and conducted. Thorough unity was attained, partisanship and all other side issues were ignored, and the friends of Prohibition were like a band of brothers and sisters. Calm arguments were presented, bravely and well, by the ablest advocates in the land. We were fortunate in the fact that the rum power belittled our strength, and did not put forth its work or its money until it was too late to save its fortunes. On the immediate eve of election, the affirmative undoubtedly appeared to be the popular side, and it at-

tracted a good many votes from that class of citizens who habitually float with the current, unburdened with convictions; some of these *pro tem.* converts certainly surprised us. Of course, this class of alliance becomes intangible and invisible whenever a passing cloud darkens the horizon.

Our new law took effect July 1st, and the immediate great reduction of drunkenness and general disorder was profoundly gratifying; but when the enemy had recovered breath and resumed aggressive warfare, all liquor-dealers, wholesale and retail, organizing for mutual defence with a degree of efficiency that would be impossible in a larger State, with prominent newspapers and leading officials discouraging to the utmost every effort to enforce the law, our weakness on account of a loss of unity among ourselves became sadly apparent, and golden opportunities were lost beyond hope of recovery. We had shouted our rejoicings for victory, forgetting that all we had done was to get our siege guns into position, and that the hard fighting was still before us. Issues were soon introduced by influential defenders of law-breakers that bewildered and confused our loyal people, and much of our strength was frittered away.

I therefore note, as first among the reasons why the overthrow of Prohibition was made possible, that the defenders were never well united in working methods, did not understand each other, and, of course, wasted their resources.

This experience being, in its character, not unlike what you have all had occasion to deplore, and the subject having been assigned an important place in the deliberations of this Congress, I narrate it only as a part of the record; but with pretty thorough familiarity with the entire record of our battle, I assert, confidently, that if we could have secured and maintained a spirit of unity,

concert, and mutual confidence, even among those who have never wavered in their loyalty to Prohibition, we could not have been beaten by even the mighty combination of iniquity, treachery, cowardice, and corruption that was arrayed against us.

As to the good faith of the legislation immediately following the Amendment, opinions differ very widely. Speaking only for myself, I do not doubt that at that time our legislators intended to respect the people's voice as uttered in the Amendment vote. But some features of that legislation, whatever the honesty of its intent, proved disastrous, because furnishing vantage ground for the enemy's forces which they were not slow to occupy and utilize.

We next encountered, and were unable to cope with, the disloyalty of officials in cities and large towns, who neglected and practically refused to enforce the law, thus establishing a most effective alliance with law-breakers. While a few of such executive officers were faithful to their trust, the many, when tried, were found wanting; this falsity to official duty being especially marked in the city of Providence.

I am well aware that I am herein making a grave accusation, but I base my statement on official records that are open to the world's inspection. I could spread before you columns of evidence, but my limits forbid. I, however, ask you to note that an official report of the Chief of Police of the city of Providence narrates that, during a period of eight months, his men arrested 2,946 persons for drunkenness, and, during the same period, arrested only three for liquor selling, this being at a time when public records indicated the precise locality of several hundred law-defying liquor shops. Soon after making this report, he received the endorsement of the City Council in a reelection. Please note, also, that the

City Solicitor of the city of Providence, prosecuting officer on all complaints from the Police Department, and legal adviser thereof, within eight months after adoption of Prohibition was signer to a memorial to the Legislature declaring that the law could not be enforced.

The public demoralization resulting from such official disloyalty and cowardice made comparatively easy the final act in the drama.

The attack upon the small State of Rhode Island by the combined liquor hosts of the nation was, primarily, for effect upon the then pending amendment elections in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. These States were flooded with printed falsehood as to Rhode Island's actual condition under Prohibition, and we had absolutely no opportunity to place the true record before our neighbors in season to be helpful to them.

Finding that liberal cash payments could secure ready allies in Rhode Island, the combined liquor powers moved forward for the restoration, in that State, of a rum dynasty, purchasing freely, for cash, such agents and agencies as could be made most useful. Strictly under the management of only the rumsellers' agents and employees, a large number of signatures was obtained to a petition to the Legislature for Resubmission, but this petition bore very few names of men known in works of Christianity, humanity, philanthropy, or education. Very hurriedly a counter petition was prepared and presented, the signatures greatly outweighing those of the former one in numbers, wealth, and social or business position. At least nine-tenths of the clergy of the State declared their opposition to repeal of Prohibition; but the recognized managers of both the leading political parties had been purchased, and their arguments, whatever their form, controlled a majority of the legislators,

and secured the first enactment providing for Resubmission.

A three days' session of a new Legislature was close at hand, and therein, in a single day, under a suspension of the rules and without debate, the Legislature was whipped into a vote for Resubmission, May 30th, and an election was ordered for June 20th, thus outrageously shutting off all opportunity for popular discussion of an unexpected proposition to amend the fundamental law of a State. Even if the time limit had not been fatal to the defence of Prohibition, the fact that all of the best-equipped speakers were engaged in Pennsylvania, inevitably made the campaign of defence a comparatively weak one.

You know the result. Without organization or the time to make it, without money or the time to collect it, and with a hostile press, however influenced, we could not promptly counteract the thoroughly prepared combinations that were brought against us. Our little State was at once flooded with falsehood and traversed by corrupt and corrupting agents under every imaginable guise, and the defenders of Prohibition were buried under a heavy majority.

In less than two weeks after the popular vote of Constitutional repeal, the Governor had his Legislature summoned for special session, and Prohibition was swept from Rhode Island's statute book, giving place to a License law framed by the formal attorneys of the liquor-sellers, being the meanest law of its class that has lately been enacted anywhere, and to-day drunkenness and general crime and demoralization are rampant in Rhode Island as never before.

But I now beg you to note, as the most important statement that I have to make to you, that Prohibition was repealed in Rhode Island *not because it was a failure,*

but because it was not. That Prohibition far more than justified its enactment in Rhode Island (as everywhere else) is proven by unimpeachable testimony.

After Prohibition had been legally in force for six months, the *Providence Journal*, then, now, and always opposed to Prohibition, testified as follows :

“ The most obvious result of the law is the abolition of open selling to any and all comers. Throughout the State the public saloon is reported unknown. This, of course, is a very decided gain. The temptations placed in the way of the young and heedless by open bar-rooms at every corner have been removed, and, in consequence, taking the State as a whole, there was a *remarkable falling off* in drunkenness and cognate offences during the last six months of 1886, as compared with the corresponding period in 1885. . . .

“ In a word, the present state of affairs is this : The law has reduced the amount of drunkenness that was seen under the License system, and has so far conduced to the general improvement of many hitherto disorderly localities.’

Six months later, at the end of a year’s experience, the same paper published a statement of the arrests in the city of Providence in the year just then closed (under Prohibition), as compared with the last previous full year (under License), the reduction, under Prohibition, being as follows :

Total arrests, all causes	33	per cent.
Minors	36	“
Assaults	21	“
Brawlers, Revellers, and Disorderly Persons	38	“
Drunkenness	37	“
Common Drunkards	54	“

For Drunkenness :

Arrests in Providence in June, 1886 (under License)....	515
“ “ “ “ July, 1886 (under Prohibition)..	263
Average for July of several previous years.....	651

Arrests for drunkenness in Providence during last six months under License, *increase* over corresponding period of previous year, $18\frac{3}{10}$ per cent.

During first six months under Prohibition, *decrease* from corresponding period of previous year, 42 per cent.

Total warrants from police court of city of Providence (all causes), for several years, as follows :

<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>
4,678	4,548	4,138	3,843

In 1888, after three years of official disloyalty, the warrants crept up to 4,146, but were, even then, nearly ten per cent. less than in the last year under License.

Taking the State at large, as represented by the number of inmates of house of correction, official reports certify as follows :

Average inmates during 1883, 1884, and 1885.....	224
“ “ “ 1886 and 1887.....	164
Total number of commitments, 1884-85.....	1,056
“ “ “ “ 1886-87	758

Total commitments for drunkenness only :

Average 1882, 1883, 1884, and 1885.....	343
“ 1886 and 1887.....	239

All jails and prisons, for all causes other than State's prison offences, inmates :

Average per year, during 1882, 1883, 1884, and 1885.....	1,527
Average per year, during 1886 and 1887.....	1,361

In the foregoing statements no reference is made to increased population, the figures being absolute.

In conclusion, let me say that if you encounter anywhere the statements, first, that Prohibition had "a fair trial" in Rhode Island ; second, that Prohibition was a "failure" in Rhode Island ; third, that Prohibition was "honestly" repealed in Rhode Island, abundant evidence is available to convince any honest inquirer that each and every one of these statements is untrue, and that the overthrow of Prohibition in Rhode Island stands only for a temporary triumph of dishonesty, trickery, and corruption.

General H. W. Palmer, of Pennsylvania, being unable to be present, the following paper, sent by him, was read by the Secretary, Mr. Bogardus :

CAUSES OF THE DEFEAT OF PROHIBITION IN PENNSYLVANIA, JUNE, 1889.

Attempts to explain defeats are always melancholy and generally fruitless. If the failure to carry Pennsylvania for Prohibition were final, and the cause lost forever, then time spent in accounting for the disaster would be time lost. But as the war is not over, and as the effort will be made again sometime, there may be profit in recounting the forces that were effective in compassing defeat.

I regard the contest in Pennsylvania as a preliminary skirmish, a kind of Ball's Bluff, which children now living will see turned into an Appomattox.

I. The most potent of the causes of defeat was the control by the enemy of the agencies that create public opinion. Out of 800 newspapers, less than 250 were openly

for Prohibition, and these were of small circulation and limited influence.

No great daily or weekly, having a general circulation, was on our side. Several of them professed to be neutral, and under that flag pillaged both sides without stint. As the opportunity for plunder was a hundred-fold greater from the brewers, distillers, and dealers than from the Prohibitionists, naturally they had the lion's share of space for the publication of their matter.

In our campaign the fact was conclusively demonstrated that the business of publishing newspapers in Pennsylvania is purely a commercial enterprise. The newspaper columns are open to all who can pay the price. To Prohibitionists it was, in Philadelphia papers, fifty cents a line, which made the dissemination of information an expensive luxury.

Undoubtedly the newspapers of Pennsylvania contributed materially to the defeat of Prohibition. The old familiar lies, "Prohibition does not prohibit," "It is a failure in Maine and Kansas," "It hurts business," "It depreciates the value of property," "High License is better than Prohibition," were reiterated in a thousand forms. They were furnished by the Liquor Dealers' Literary Bureau, and their publication paid for, at a price per line from ten cents, in country weeklies, to one dollar in city dailies, and the articles contained no mark discernible by the average reader to indicate paid matter. They were falsely and fraudulently designed to deceive, and to the deception the great journals lent themselves for a consideration.

Being a great public question, Prohibition was entitled to a full and fair discussion by the journals that profess to represent and form public sentiment. It was not accorded. If the truth could have been made plain to the people, the result would have been different.

II. Another specially injurious factor in the campaign was the so-called High License law, passed in 1887. By this act the price of a hotel and restaurant License had been advanced in cities from \$50 to \$500, and in boroughs and townships in a less proportion. The License money, which had formerly gone to the State, was by the new act apportioned between the State and the municipality, thereby giving every taxpayer a pecuniary interest in the business.

In Philadelphia and Allegheny, the power to grant licenses was conferred by this act on the courts, coupled with some restrictive provisions, which made the granting of a license substantially discretionary. Under the new law the number of licensed houses in Philadelphia had been reduced from about 6000 to about 1400, and in Pittsburgh a larger proportionate reduction had been made.

These reductions met the approval of the people, and a vast number of friends of Temperance were inclined to believe that the true remedy had been found. Sufficient time had not elapsed to demonstrate the fact, which has since been proved, that High License did not diminish consumption, or decrease the evils of Intemperance. Therefore, many conscientious persons who were opposed to the Traffic were led to believe High License a better remedy than Prohibition, and voted accordingly.

The dealers were not slow to take advantage of this phase of the case, and to expend their energies in shouting for High License. They professed to be better Temperance men than the Prohibitionists.

Another year's experience has demonstrated the folly of the High License experiment. The licensed saloons have been replaced by the unlicensed "speak-easy," and there are more places selling liquor in Pennsylvania to-

day than ever before, and, as an inevitable consequence, the harvest of woe is more abundant.

III. The ignorance and indifference of the people in some sections of the State may be mentioned as a cause of defeat. There is a kind of stupidity upon which no impression can be made. Neither preaching, singing, praying, argument, expostulation, literature, nor the tongue of an archangel could make an impression upon some of our Pennsylvania people. There was no use in trying ; but we did try, only to be voted down in some localities ten to one. In thirty of the more intelligent counties, Prohibition carried. In the others, nothing short of supernatural interposition could induce the people to vote Prohibition, and there was no supernatural machinery at the command of the Committee.

IV. A powerful agency effectively used in the campaign for the defeat of Prohibition was money, collected in large sums from brewers, distillers, and dealers, not only in Pennsylvania, but in other States, and also from persons engaged in furnishing supplies to the trade.

The funds thus secured were used to subsidize newspapers and local political leaders, to distribute tons of lying literature, and to hire men to work at the polls. Probably not less than a half million of dollars was spent directly and indirectly by the general and local committees for these purposes.

Less than \$7,000 was contributed to and expended by the Prohibition State Committee, and probably \$40,000 would cover the entire amount of funds expended by local committees to carry Prohibition. It was like fighting a battle without powder. There was no lack of efficient workers from all over the United States, who offered to serve for expenses and very moderate compensation, but the treasure-chest was alarmingly empty, and many eloquent tongues could not be heard.

V. The influence of persons not actually engaged in the business, but who were indirectly pecuniarily interested, was a factor of considerable importance in securing the defeat of Prohibition.

The financial institutions, railroads, merchants, manufacturers, and business men of Philadelphia, where the greatest majority against Prohibition was cast, were almost solid in opposition. They said, "It will hurt Philadelphia;" "No one will come here to trade;" "This will be a way station;" "Property will depreciate, and our business will be destroyed." Like the idol-makers of Ephesus, who opposed the religion of Christ because it would hurt their business, the worshippers of Mammon in Pennsylvania opposed Prohibition.

VI. Lastly and chiefly, Prohibition failed for want of votes. It wanted votes, because so many of the people did not want Prohibition. The real trouble was that too many are fond of drink, and do not intend to be deprived of it. They are not drunkards. They believe the use of stimulants in moderate quantity to be useful and beneficial. They do not care enough for the welfare of others to deprive themselves of what they consider a harmless gratification.

Avarice, appetite, indifference, ignorance were the agencies that operated to defeat Prohibition in Pennsylvania. The desire of makers of public opinion to keep business and get money from both sides made it possible for the enemies of Prohibition to lie it to death, especially among people who hastened to be convinced against a measure that would curtail indulgence in a habit which they did not wish to abandon.

Rev. Ira L. Cottrell, of Rhode Island, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I come to speak a word to-day for the smallest and, I fear, the drunken-

est and wickedest State in this family Union ; and yet there are places like an oasis in Rhode Island. I come from a town that never in its history granted a license. I say that I fear she is the wickedest State, because our Master said of that traitor that it would have been well for him if he had never been born ; and of Rhode Island, I fear that she is the drunkenest State because, in 1886, she passed a Constitutional Amendment by more than a three-fifths majority, and in 1889 she repealed it by more than a three-fifths majority. What may we expect of her to-day ?

I wish to speak of four points which, I think, were causes of the repeal of that Amendment. First, and perhaps foremost, the very thing that this Congress is aiming to accomplish in its assembling together on this occasion—harmony among the Temperance people ; for the want of harmony the more than the three-fifths vote of Rhode Island sunk out of sight before the two-fifths vote, and to day it is out-voted and out-numbered. Again, there has been that bickering and that embittering of people that were good Temperance people against each other, so that they hated their friends worse than their enemies. I believe there has been too much politics in Rhode Island. They thought that when they obtained the Amendment it would enforce itself. But law never will enforce itself. It must be enforced by the Temperance people of the country. Again, it was, as has been said by our Hon. Mr. Metcalf (and he is better and more honored, I trust, than the golden calf), that it was a popular thing to be a Prohibitionist, and the converts came flocking into the ranks, and men didn't know whom to trust, any more than Abraham Lincoln knew whom to trust when he went, in 1861, to Washington, and a few mistakes at that time would have chronicled Abraham Lincoln a martyr four years earlier than the

event occurred. Rhode Island made a few mistakes, we suppose, and she didn't accomplish what she hoped to. Those politicians did as it has been said of another animal on a memorable occasion :

“ It wriggled in and it wriggled out,
And left the looker-on in doubt
Whether the snake that made the track
Was going south or coming back.”

And we found he was coming back. Another cause is the extension of the suffrage ; and I wish I could speak on that. I believe that America should be the ayslum of the world—Ireland, Germany, Italy, and all of the world ; and even China—to our shame. I don't believe that Christian philanthropy or charity demands that I should say to the foreign tramp who comes here to live, “ Come into my home. My children are your children, my wife your wife, my home your home, and I will leave.” No ; let us help them all by converting them and teaching them—the last of which I would enlarge upon if I had time. I consider as the root of all evil the money that bought the presses and bought the men, and the License money, that bought the taxpayers.

Mr. Horace Geiger said :

Ladies and Gentlemen : I am a Republican, and I am forced to tell the truth, and will tell the truth on all occasions, although it may strike very hard.

In the first place, the failure of the Prohibition Amendment in Pennsylvania was caused by the passage of the Brooks License Law by the same Legislature that submitted the Prohibition Amendment to the people. They never intended it to carry. We had been working under a License law, the fee of which was \$50, for a great many years in the State of Pennsylvania. Anybody could secure a License who came up and paid the \$50, and set up a few kegs in some little grog-shop. But when they

found that restrictions were placed around the business, the Republican party, who were in the majority in the Legislature, were wise, very astute, very shrewd. They saw that by passing the High License bill, with the restrictions around it, they would be able to forestall the Prohibition Amendment by giving the people something they had never had before.

In the second place, the false issue was raised, High License versus Prohibition. There was no such issue in Pennsylvania. It was the submission of the Prohibition Amendment to the vote of the people, for or against. The liquor men circulated that statement all over Pennsylvania, that it was High License against Prohibition, and got many of our good people to believe that such was the case. Dr. Kynett spoke of our daily papers suppressing the truth. They not only suppressed the truth, but they lied; and they published double-leaded lies in regard to the results of the campaign in Iowa and in Kansas—the Republican and Democratic journals, both. I wrote to twenty-three district judges in Kansas as to the results of Prohibition, and found out that all saloons in those cities had been closed, and the drunkenness had decreased from eighty to ninety-five per cent, according to the judges that wrote me. Nevertheless, when I wanted to publish the facts, during my chairmanship of the Amendment Committee in Philadelphia, I was charged by several of the Republican journals one dollar per line—fifty cents more than General Palmer spoke about—which made virtual prohibition, as far as we were concerned, to publish the truth to the people of Philadelphia.

In the third place, we had no money to carry on our campaign. We had just about enough contributed through the whole State of Pennsylvania to carry one good-sized county for the Amendment. There are sixty-

nine counties in the State. We had no National Protective Association at Louisville, Ky., to which assessments on barrels of beer and barrels of whiskey could be sent, and distributed in Pennsylvania. We had to rely on the good people of Pennsylvania whose hearts are interested in the work, and throughout that State, hardworking as the people were, they secured the small sum of between six and seven thousand dollars to carry the Amendment. Well, in the bank of which I am a director myself, I saw the funds deposited of the liquor-dealers. One hundred thousand dollars, in Philadelphia, was deposited by the liquor-dealers to defeat the Amendment. That was the reason we couldn't carry our Amendment. I am a politician myself. I am working for the Republican Party. But, ladies and gentlemen, on Election Day, or before Election Day—about May 15th or 16th—I knew the Amendment was defeated in Pennsylvania. If the orders were not positively given by the key of the situation in Pennsylvania, tacit consent was given to the workers at the various polling-places to work, not against the Amendment, but to deceive the people; to put upon the lapels of their coats a badge for High License instead of against Prohibition; and many of the workers had on our badge on Election Day, as I went around to the different polling places, with the words changed. I hauled two fellows up for it—drove them away from the polls for doing it. For such reasons we were defeated. And you, friends, as well as I, know that no man can act in the Republican or in the Democratic party contrary to orders from his superior, unless his head is cut off. These men were the very same men who worked at the regular elections. I have seen them time and time again working both for the Democratic and Republican parties; and I knew that they must have received orders, or they would not have been given federal positions after-

ward. Several of them that I know have received federal positions since. I am very much obliged to you for this opportunity for presenting the matter.

Miss Anna M. Edwards spoke as follows :

I did not expect to say a single word here to-day. I see my name has been sent up by some friends, and so I will not refuse to speak. You have just heard that if the truth could have been made clear to the people of Pennsylvania, the result would have been different ; and the politicians, because of their political rascality, prevented this, and so on. But, after all, friends, the truth remains that the great majority of the people of Pennsylvania don't want Prohibition. They said they didn't want it. And why don't they want it ? Simply because they do want the stuff that these liquor-dealers have to sell. They might have been informed if they could have had the newspapers in their favor, if they could have had speakers sent, and money enough to carry on this work ; but the fact remains that they didn't want Prohibition. Of course, they wouldn't vote away the opportunity to get what they wanted.

A vast host of people not only in Pennsylvania, but all over this country—many of them poor, hardworking men and women—pay their scanty earnings into the till of the rumseller because they are under the delusion that beer is needed to give them strength for daily toil. They look upon beer as a very fair substitute for good food. And we owe it to those people to give them light, more light, on this question. The people are to-day perishing for lack of knowledge ; and not only the poor and ignorant classes, but our educated, refined people, intelligent on every other subject, are in multitudes of cases woefully ignorant concerning the nature and effects of alcohol. How many, for instance, may we suppose, who voted against these amendments, really know

what alcohol is? How many of them actually believe that alcohol is a poison, and is to be avoided as arsenic or strychnine, or any other form of poison? They don't believe it. That is the trouble. They want liquor, and so they vote for what they want. And, friends, we want to remember this: the saloons in this country are not run especially for the benefit of drunkards. Very few saloons make any effort to secure that kind of custom. What these poor, poverty-stricken drunkards give in this line to support the Liquor Traffic is a miserable pittance compared with the vast sums of money which are continually being poured into the liquor treasury of this country by the great host of fashionable tipplers and respectable moderate drinkers all over this land. And it is the influence and the money and the votes of these highly respectable moderate drinkers that the liquor men depend upon chiefly to make their business respectable, to make their trade lucrative, and to secure for it the protection of law. When a man becomes a Total Abstainer as a matter of choice and principle, when his heart has been touched by the sufferings and woes of those who have suffered from this cruel curse, when he has begun to realize that the very existence and perpetuity of our Republic depend upon the complete overthrow of the Liquor Oligarchy, then and not till then can he be depended upon to work and vote for Prohibition.

Colonel H. H. Hadley, Superintendent of St. Bartholomew's Rescue Mission, New York, said:

Mr. President and dear Friends: To what cause is attributable the failure of the Prohibition movement in Massachusetts and other States? I want to refer to a conversation that I had several years ago with Mr. A. H. Ritter, of Boston. He said, "You need never be afraid of the Total Abstinence and Prohibition fanatics capturing Massachusetts, so long as we are allowed to manu-

facture and sell such good lager beer as we do manufacture." Since that time I have been converted. Hallelujah! If I was a Methodist, I wouldn't have said that; but I understand an Episcopalian has a right to shout hallelujah whenever he pleases, while all the Methodists say Amen!

On behalf of the two hundred and fifteen thousand drunkards in New York, I stand here to say this. I was one of them. I was converted down at the old Jerry McAuley Water Street Mission. Glory to God! And that is the only medicine that will do anybody in this town or anywhere any good that has any doubts about drink—the grace of God in the heart.

Now, friends, look here. The river that flows through the workingman's home in this city, the river that flows down the throat of the little child, while its mother is at work, to quiet it, and makes a drunkard out of it, and makes it a slave to rum before it is eight years old, is not whiskey, nor brandy, nor rum, but beer. It is lager beer. And I want to tell you, dear friends, from what I know by a personal examination of eighty-one lager beer saloons and their books, and an analysis of their stuff, too, and a personal acquaintance among the brewers (and they are grand men, out of Christ)—I want to tell you that they don't need one particle of support from D.D.'s or editors of religious newspapers. During the past three years God has allowed me, every night, to go down among a lot of poor drunkards, praying God to free them from the appetite for rum; and during that time I have seen sixteen thousand men come forward and say, "O God, have mercy upon me, a sinner, and take away this appetite." Thank God, it is beginning to be known that He does do that thing for drunkards. During that time I have seen many backsliders. Those who have backslid, dear friends, backslid through lager beer.

Those who feel that they need comfort don't go to the saloons for whiskey, but they will take a little lager beer. "Have you stopped drinking, my dear brother?" "Oh, yes, I have stopped drinking. I don't drink at all. I just take a little lager." That five per cent. of alcohol that our dear Dr. Huntington (God bless him in everything but that !) spoke about yesterday—if a man wants a pint of whiskey, he will take twenty pints of beer to get that pint of whiskey. I have an acquaintance with many men in the liquor business. Many of them take their hundred glasses of beer a day, and the last day that I drank anything I took fifty-three drinks, the last six brandy cocktails. Do you suppose, dear friends, that that work won't wear out a man? The man who needs moderation cannot be moderate, and the man who can be moderate don't need moderation. It is only one step from the moderate drinker to the drunkard. Who in the world ever heard of a man coming back from drunkenness and stopping at moderation?

Mrs. Isabel G. Shortridge, of the Pennsylvania Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, said :

Ladies and Gentlemen : It has already been said here to-day that the reason we were defeated in Pennsylvania on June 18th last was because we did not have votes enough. Now, my friends, I only want to say this, that there was a reason why we did not have votes enough, and I claim that the reason is this : that we wanted then, and we do still want to concentrate the Temperance forces of the great State of Pennsylvania, and all over this Nation, and get down to a practical common-sense platform upon this great issue, and then we will get Prohibition in the State and finally in the Nation. We want to fight the enemy, and not fight one another. We want more talk of the duty of the people, and less about party. We want more principle and less partisanship

promulgated among the people. In some of the counties in Pennsylvania, where these objections were put under the feet of the workers, we were successful, and I stand here to tell you that I am sorry that that vote was not cast by counties instead of by State, because, had that been so, to-day in the State of Pennsylvania over twenty-nine of her counties the white flag of Prohibition would wave. Now why? Because, my dear friends, the people spoke in those counties. The people said, "We are tired of the saloon." There is not a man nor a woman in this vast audience who does not believe that the only remedy for this evil is not "Down with the Saloon," but the total annihilation of the Liquor Traffic. Take away the attraction of the saloon, and you will soon crush the saloon. So, my dear friends, what we want, then, is to work on this particular line, remembering that it is the duty of the Temperance people to work to overthrow this enemy of mankind, to work to overthrow this evil which takes down one dear boy out of every six that comes up among us. That is what we want to do, and that is preëminently what the women of this nation want to do. It is a work of education. We want no longer to discuss methods so much as the cause. We want no longer so much to follow leaders who, filled with some personal ambition, worthy or otherwise, pushing them forward, may pose like saints and fight like Spartans until they reach the goal to which they aspire, and then very soon we find them in the ranks of the spoilsmen. We don't want so much to follow leaders like those, as we want to follow this great issue. And when we get down to this common-sense platform by working in the Temperance cause, being all friends, differing cheerfully and agreeing to differ as to certain opinions, we will then have the goal for which we all pray, for which we all work, very near unto us. What is method compared to

result? When I hear the different phases argued, I remember a circumstance that occurred in my own city several years ago, in one of our Public Schools. An enthusiastic teacher said to a boy at the close of the day's session, "John, you remain after school and recite this lesson. You have missed it"—a spelling lesson. Said John, "I can't do it." Said the teacher, "You must." John said, "I can't do it." Taking her watch from her pocket, said she, "I give you two minutes to make up your mind to spell this lesson at the close of the session, or be dismissed from the school and turned over to the authorities." At the end of one minute the boy looked in the face of the teacher, glum and scowling, and said, "Well, I'll spell the lesson, but I'll spell it sitting down. I won't stand up." Now, now, friends, we want to get a spelling-book in which we have absolute Prohibition, annihilation of the Liquor Traffic, and we don't care whether that lesson comes to us sitting down or standing up.

Rev. C. H. Mead, of Hornellsville, N. Y., said :

We have up in Western New York, in the town where I live, a groceryman who, a week ago, hired a lunkhead of a boy from the country who wanted to learn the grocery trade; and the day after that boy went to work, the groceryman said to him, "Johnny, you go there and plug up those rat-holes." And the boy went to work and plugged them up with cheese! I see you make the application yourself. We have been trying to plug up the liquor rat-holes with High License cheese, and it don't work. Those fellows get fat on it. Now, in Pennsylvania, the very first thing they did after submitting the Amendment was to bring about that other thing, the Brooks High License Law. What for? Plugging up the rat-hole with cheese. In Massachusetts, exactly the same thing. Now wait till I tell you. The great

need in all these States has been to get the truth before the people. In every campaign it has been a short one, as a rule ; they have had only a little time in which to work. They needed all the energy and all the power and all the influence and all the information that could be packed into a very short space of time to get it before the people. Now another thing. The fight in Pennsylvania was a fight that belonged to this whole Nation. The liquor men realized that, and they poured in their money and their influence from every State in the Union into Pennsylvania. In Massachusetts they did exactly the same thing. All their power and force went into Massachusetts. In Rhode Island the same thing. And they have done that in every single State. It is so in Nebraska to-day. It is our fight just as much as it is the liquor men's fight. They are pouring their forces in there, and the wonder has been to me that we have not stopped to think of the mighty fight going on there now. It would mean so much to us if we had, every one of us, from all over this Nation, said, "This is our fight, and not yours. It belongs to the whole nation." Now, do you want to carry Nebraska? Why, bless my soul, there were three men who said, a few moments ago, "If they will raise a fund for Nebraska, we will contribute a hundred dollars apiece." I received a letter from Nebraska the other day, saying, "I want to see this Amendment carried. It is down on my heart, so much so that I have gone to work and put a thousand dollar mortgage on my farm, that is worth thirty-five hundred dollars, and have given that thousand dollars to the Committee, to carry the Amendment." That is devotion. That is getting it down on your heart. Why, you have heard in this convention yesterday how they said that Omaha is the citadel. I believe there is more corruption going on in the Liquor Traffic in Omaha to the square inch than any-

where else in this nation, because the High License saloons and the dance halls are attracting the boys and girls. You will find more boys under twenty-one criminals than anywhere else in the country. You will find more girls under eighteen years of age who have lost their virtue, walking the streets, common prostitutes, or living in nameless homes, than in any other city of like size in the American nation. We want to clean out that cesspool of corruption ; and I say that the best thing now to do, growing out of the experience of the past in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, is for us here, this afternoon, this moment, to give these men who have got the dust down in their pockets a right good chance to give it to Nebraska, and say, " We will win that fight."

The President : You can keep sending your contributions up to the President during all the rest of the speeches this afternoon, and the President will not rule you out of order.

Mrs. E. S. Burlingame said :

A few words more from Rhode Island. Three years are too short a time in which to introduce into a State's life a great new principle—to have laws passed for the enforcement of that principle—to wait for those laws to pass through the courts and be considered by those courts. And I claim, friends, when you talk about the failure of Prohibition in Rhode Island, that there had not been time in which it could honestly and honorably fail. One of the judges of our Supreme Court said to me, " Mrs. Burlingame, our State has had a long series of years under one of the most perfect License systems that any State has ever tried, and it is only fair that our State have time in which to make a fair test of Prohibition." And I claim that the three years during which we had that on our Statute Book were not sufficient in which to make a fair test of it in

our State. I claim, friends, that there was a great mistake made, not only by the people of our State, but by the people of our Nation, in judging as to what Prohibition could do there. Now it would be very nice in this world if every good cause had immediate results. But where can you see a church which has been put down in a community and has converted the whole of that community within three years? Where can you see a church that has perhaps made more progress than has been shown you by the statistics given you this afternoon? Especially would that be true if that church had armed enemies in the field, who were seeking to overthrow every effort that is made. Now, when we put Prohibition into our Constitution in Rhode Island, it was our Declaration of Independence. But the people thought it was Yorktown. And there is where the mistake has been made, not only in our State, but other States. Friends, the enactment of Prohibition, if the enemy would immediately submit, if we could have officers who would enforce the law, might bring immediate results. But when that Declaration of Independence was written, what did Great Britain say? "No, no, you are not free. That means nothing." When that was put into the Constitution of Rhode Island, the liquor power said, "No," and then the fight began, and if we could have gone on long enough, we should have reached our Yorktown. Friends, I claim that there is another thing: that we did not contemplate sufficiently moral gains. We made a great moral gain in Rhode Island when we put in our Constitution that which made every man who sold a glass of liquor as a beverage, for three years a criminal in Rhode Island. I claim that we made a great moral gain when we put that into our Constitution, which said to every boy and girl in the State, "That which you are taught in our schools about Temperance is met and sus-

tained by the laws of the State." Friends, until we make legal and moral right synonymous in our country, there is danger ahead.

Mr. John T. Tanner, of Alabama, spoke as follows :

Ladies and Gentlemen: While I am a citizen of Alabama, I rise before you to make a few remarks in regard to the failure of the Prohibition Amendment in the State of Texas. I was in that State two weeks ago ; had the honor of meeting ex-Governor St. John there ; and I learned a great deal of the facts concerning the failure of Prohibition in the State of Texas. I state, in the first instance, one of the causes of failure in Texas was the importation of ten thousand Mexicans. Another item was that ex-President Davis, of the Southern Confederacy, was induced to write a letter there. It was brought about by chicanery. They induced the poor old man to write a letter, and it was the cause of losing almost a hundred thousand votes in that State for Prohibition. Now that is a remarkable statement, but I state that as a fact. I want to say one thing more. While I am from Alabama, I want to say that Alabama was the first State that ordered the reduction of Fort Sumter ; and Mr. Walker, an acquaintance of mine, living then within twenty-five miles of me, was then the Secretary of War, and he was said to be one of the finest presiding officers, and one of the best informed in parliamentary usage, in the United States. If he had been living and witnessed the proceedings of this Congress, he would have lost that honor. I want to say another thing, that I am glad to say that I was one of the first to be admitted into the National Congress of Temperance People of these United States from Alabama, and I am sorry that my wife is not here, for she would enjoy it. She is in favor of the women having all the rights that are due to women in this land. And as an evidence of what I have just re-

marked in regard to the efficiency of this gentleman, I see that he is highly appreciated by some fair hand (referring to a bouquet sent to the President). I had the pleasure of an introduction last night to his better half, and I am sure that I fully join with her in all of the appreciation that she has of this good man. And I could have had no greater pleasure in coming to this city than to have made the acquaintance of Dr. Deems.

Secretary John Lloyd Thomas, of the National Prohibition Committee, spoke as follows :

Why were the Prohibition Amendments a failure, or why was the effort to carry Constitutional Prohibition a failure, in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, etc.? Because, we are told, they didn't have votes enough. Correct. Why didn't they have votes enough? Perhaps some of you think that there were votes enough to carry the Amendment, but that the votes were not polled. Why were the votes not polled? I have learned, from my personal experience in all of those States (for I engaged in the campaign in each one of them)—from personal experience and communication with all parts of the States; from personal communication, also, with the leaders of the campaign on both sides of the question in all of those States—because I communicated with the leaders of the liquor interest as well as the leaders of the Amendment interest. We didn't poll votes enough in those States because there was an unholy conspiracy between the political parties and the liquor men to prevent the polling of those votes; because the efforts to educate the sentiment were foiled by the efforts of the old political party press to keep the education away from the people and close up to us the channels for conveying the education to the people. Why did we lose the Amendment? Because, in places where sufficient votes were

polled to carry the Amendment locally, those votes were wickedly counted out by the watchers and vote-counters and recorders that were placed at the boxes by the leaders of the old political parties. Why didn't we carry the Amendment in those States? Because, brethren, it was the fight of a crowd, an unorganized public sentiment, against the disciplined and well-organized political *corps* managed as one man by shrewd political leaders, centred upon the weak spots where the people were not prepared to resist the onslaughts of the enemy.

How shall we carry Prohibition? By meeting this organization with an organization equally thorough. By meeting a hostile and subsidized and corrupt press with a press pure, patriotic, and honest and honorable; by meeting the money of the liquor-saloonists with the money of the people of this country. And, brethren, when I say the people of the country, I don't mean only the Total Abstainers of the country. In the State of Pennsylvania I saw men, moderate drinkers and immoderate drinkers, drunkards, walking to the ballot-boxes and depositing their ballots for the Constitutional Amendment; and in doing so I heard one man (and I will never forget it) ask God to either bless or damn the Total Abstainers who cast their ballots against his protection. Educate sentiment! We have been told that we are firing into the camps of our friends. Brethren, let us be frank. We do fire into the ranks of the High License advocates. Let us be frank about it. Because we despise them? Oh, no; but because they are our enemies, and we must get after them.

Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, of Michigan, said:

We have been told several times in this convention that when we come to a point where our ways separate, we must keep sweet. This observation is usually made,

in its bearings, to apply to the radical Temperance people, who stand on the outside lines of this discussion. Now, dear friends, I want to say this, that the radical Temperance people who represent the outposts of this discussion agree with everything that is behind of Moral Suasion or Restrictive Legislation—everything. We have gone over that, and the people who stand on the outside line have nothing to gain and all to lose by going back, while some of the people who represent a line not yet come up to, where these are, have nothing to lose and all to gain by going with us. We will go as far as you possibly can on any moral line, and then we will go beyond you and call on you to come up. So we can afford to keep sweet.

We were told this morning that this was a State question. I thought that recent history had tortured us out of that kind of logic. Allow me, in the minutes that I have left, to say this : that up to 1863, the liquor-dealers, standing at the uncertain bar of public opinion in this country, were modest. Since 1863, they have not known what modesty meant. The reason is not far to seek ; for in 1862, the Federal Government put the revenue on intoxicating drinks to meet the expenses of the war, and it was national action that brought the Liquor Traffic into politics and to the front. In 1863, in February, the liquor-dealers of this country were called together for the purpose of organizing a national organization to protect their own interests. They declared that it was necessary for them to control the legislative and executive forces of government in the interests of their business, and therefore they organized nationally. They appointed a national committee on agitation, to look after their affairs in Washington, and they have shown ever since a greater philosophy and a greater insight into affairs, and have been wiser, than the Temperance

people. Why? Because, in the first place, they organized nationally. You never heard them talking about this being a State issue. On the contrary, their paid attorneys said, in one of their recent congresses, "Gentlemen, if we can keep our hands on the National Government, we can control this matter in the States;" and Congressional control and national power has reached and over-passed all State regulations and State power, and has brought the Liquor Traffic to the front. So, dear friends, they have organized nationally, and from that time they began to endeavor to control the political parties. In this they succeeded. In 1872, they captured the Republican party; in 1876, the Democratic party; and since that both of these parties have been in favor of the Liquor Traffic. What has defeated Constitutional Amendments? The attitude of the political parties and the political machines. On the lever of the political machine have been the hands of men in the United States Senate, as in Pennsylvania, and men in legislative and senatorial honors, as in the State of Michigan; and we can't move one step farther, in some of these States where Constitutional Prohibition has been defeated, without retiring to private life such gentlemen as Matthew Quay.

The President: The editor of the *Wine and Spirit Review* has sent me a package of papers to be distributed, but I think he wants them mainly to be handed over to the representative of the journal which had an article this morning on which he comments, and of which he approves.

The President expressed his thanks to the New Jersey Woman's Christian Temperance Union for a beautiful bouquet which they had sent him.

The next subject was

THE ATTITUDE OF THE LABOR MEN TOWARD THE
LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The discussion was opened by Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who read the following paper :

Ladies and Gentlemen : I have been asked to address this assemblage upon the topic, "The Attitude of the Labor Men toward the Liquor Traffic," and I desire to say that the invitation was accepted after considerable thought, and with the distinct understanding that entire freedom of expression would be guaranteed me.

In view, however, of the well-known views entertained by most—yes, all of you, I enter upon the task with many misgivings as to the result.

At best, in the short time allotted, a mere assertion of facts can be uttered and only generalizations indulged in, trusting either that they will be found self-evident truths, or that a future opportunity may be found for the demonstration of their justness.

In the first place, permit me to say that, generally speaking, the labor men look with considerable indifference upon the efforts of the Temperance and Prohibition agitations. This is due to several causes, and can be briefly stated thus :

So far as the immediate and tangible condition of labor is concerned, the working people find that Liquor Traffic reformers are only different to other employers of labor in this respect, that they usually treat their employees with a greater degree of unfairness than do other employers ; that all legislation to regulate the Liquor Traffic can and does only affect the workingmen when they indulge in liquor (as they must if they want to indulge in liquor at all) over the bars, or as sold to them otherwise in the only way they can buy it—namely, in small quantities, and at such times as they want it ; that legislative regu-

lation of the traffic cannot and does not affect the rich or well-conditioned people, who can and do purchase large quantities and use it at will ; that many employers of labor have used this argument : that, inasmuch as the Liquor Traffic has been regulated or prohibited in certain localities, and money cannot be expended for liquor, the workers can afford to work for less wages ; that the so-called Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic has not prohibited it, but has merely given them worse liquor at higher prices ; that you cannot make men more sober or temperate in the use of liquor or make them Total Abstiners by law ; that the only natural and permanent manner in which men become sober, temperate, or Total Abstiners in and from the use of liquor is through the improvement in their habits and customs ; that the habits and customs of the people become improved by the improvement in their material conditions and surroundings ; that high wages and a reasonable number of hours of labor tend more largely to improve the habits and customs of the working people, hence lead to a greater degree of sobriety and regularity of conduct ; that, as a rule, there are three classes in society which habitually get drunk—namely, those who have no work to do because they are too rich, and find the rounds of society life too monotonous, and look for the excitement resulting from the exuberance of the contents of champagne bottles ; the second, those who, after having the spirit crushed out of them by their too long hours of daily drudgery, let in too much spirit at night as a substitute ; the third, those who have no work to do because they cannot find it to do, and “ get drunk on their faces.”

There are probably other statements of equal importance and truth, but which lack of time reminds me had better remain unsaid if I desire to make a few remarks on a matter to which your attention should be directed,

and which in a large measure determines the course of our people.

There can be no question of difference that in no civilized country on the face of the globe do the changes in the weather occur more often ; that in consequence the climatic conditions of our country are of the most trying and exacting upon the human system ; that the climatic conditions have undoubtedly tended to work up the nervous systems of our people to the highest possible tension ; that this high tension of the nervous system evidently accounts for the quicker movements and work of our people over that of any other on earth ; that, as a consequence, the body requires greater nutriment and more rest to maintain anything like an equilibrium, or, in the absence of either, or both, stimulants will be indulged in, even if they do subtly destroy both mind and body.

None know better than do the so-called leaders in the movement for Labor Reform the curse of liquor and the hindrance it is to the better education and activity in that field of operations ; but we view this question as we find it, the result of poor conditions rather than the cause. I do not pretend to say that this rule is invariable, but I am sure it is general. Hence we base our operations upon removing the cause of the evil rather than dallying with the result.

The sad refrain of "the Song of the Shirt" is more heartrending, pitiful, and truthful to-day than at the time in which it was written. The pitiless, arrogant, and relentless taskmaster stalks this earth to-day as in the days of yore. The toilers' endless and hopeless and unfairly requited drudgery is almost as bitter now as ever.

It is the "Gospel of Relaxation" and leisure, that results in better material and moral conditions, that we preach and urge you to consider.

Mind, I do not wish to be understood to say that your gatherings and agitations do no good. On the contrary, I hail them as an excellent means to awaken thought and discussion upon an extremely important condition of life.

In the time of the old fire-alarm bell, it was very irksome and annoying to be aroused from our slumbers during the night, but it was far preferable to being roasted alive in our beds. So, say I, with all forms of agitation. They are the danger signals that wrong exists, which require the intelligent action and co-operation of mankind. To me nothing appears more fraught with dire results than a torpid or dormant condition of the people. They are the causes of reaction, and most destructive to the body politic, moral, social, and economic.

I therefore hail you as cranks, as fellow cranks who, knowing that all things are not right merely because they exist, and knowing this, in the face of all opposition, rancorous antagonism and flippant ridicule, dare proclaim and maintain what we believe to be right.

My friends, I trust you will not regard me in any way inimical to your various movements or agitations to regulate the Liquor Traffic. My purpose was to state as truthfully as I perceive and understand the attitude of the Labor Men toward the Liquor Traffic.

Mr. T. B. Wakeman, of New York, spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear in rather a singular position, as representing those who cannot be represented, but whose voice ought to be heard, and who have been heard through one of their representatives, the gentleman who has just addressed you. Do you reflect that that gentleman represents thousands of people, almost a million; that until you can get the labor organizations of the country, represented by such men as this speaker and Mr. Powderly, to stand in an attitude of friendliness to your movement, it can hardly

succeed? You have here your friends, you are here unanimous, but you are here simply as an earnest minority. You cannot shake the great mass of the people of this nation simply by your unanimous and pleasant voices to each other, uttered here. The real truth is that the Labor movement lies across your path, and unless you can remove that barrier your progress for the present is stayed.

A Voice : We will absorb it.

Mr. Wakeman : How will you absorb it? That is the question. You have just heard their difficulties. Their first difficulty is that it is the economy that makes the morality, and not the morality that makes the economy; and they move the previous question as a question of economy—the Labor Question. The greatest evil on earth, according to them, is poverty, not drunkenness. Drunkenness is independent of poverty to such an extent that they insist upon it that the question of economics, the industry or Labor Question, must be first attacked by the body politic before drunkenness can really be removed. Now that complaint means this, that you have got to go into a business of education with these men, firstly; and, secondly, you have got to remove their objections from your method of propaganda. Those are the two things you have got to do; and the first, the noble speaker here (for noble he is, though a workman) has stated fairly; and here in the *Nationalist* (I wish I had time to read it) is the same complaint, that the real difficulty is that the workingmen and the most of the people of this country believe that there is comfort in alcoholic drinks. Until they can be convinced that there is no comfort in alcohol, that it is, as Dr. Davis said yesterday in that admirable paper, simply an arch-deceiver, a treacherous assassin in the very centre of the soul, until they can be convinced of that, that their imagined comfort is simply

an illusion, that alcohol is an irritant and at the same time a paralyzer, that it paralyzes and then leaves the hungry cells and tissues yelling for more of the anæsthetic or paralyzer, and doing no good whatever ; until that simple physiological truth can be taught to the masses of the people, and, above all, to the laboring masses, you can't convince them that they don't get comfort out of alcohol. You have got to do that, and then you will have allies among the working people of this country, and not before. And mere eloquence, mere appeal to law, mere appeal, above all, to religious fanaticism, which is the predominant idea here (cries of "No"), does not avail or prevail, nor will it ever prevail, with the mass of the people. Let the truth be known ; for here is the place where help is to be obtained, by the true appreciation of the truth of the situation.

And then, secondly, you have got to change largely your method of propaganda before you gain their hearts. The first objection is to the High License business. The trouble with it is, to their eye, that it is nothing more than a system of monopoly. You give monopolies to the politicians and their friends to use the rum shop and the Liquor Traffic for the benefit of those who own the politicians and who deal out political influence and liquor as one and the same thing. Now the working people know perfectly well what that means. It means high prices on all the comfort that they have. The only heaven they have is through this paralyzer. They are half worked to death. They have no time to give to intellectual culture or æsthetic pleasure of any kind, except of this gross sort. That is their position, and they feel that when you put on a High License you are giving the rich man the advantage, giving monopolies to the rich. And you think the working people are fools, and they won't

sympathize with any Temperance movement that goes on that ground, you may be sure.

The next point—Prohibition. The trouble with Prohibition is in the way that it is put—a sumptuary law, backed by sumptuary influences, backed by the rich, backed by religious fanaticism, backed by the power which says, “We are holier than thou. Sit down.” That is the spirit of the Prohibitionists. (Cries of “No no.”) No, you deny it. I want you to know the truth.

The President: I understood the speaker to be giving us what the workingmen’s views are. Why should we sit here and cry, “No, no”? We have sent him down to the Battery to find how many boats are in, and he reports fourteen. We wanted ten, and we cry, “No, no.” I understand that this gentleman, as well as his predecessor, is simply giving us the views of the workingmen; and I, for one, beg to hear them. I want to know them, so as to meet them.

Mr. Wakeman: That is exactly the spirit in which my remarks were made. If you believe they were not true, read this article, Nationalism *versus* Prohibition, in the last number of the *Nationalist*, and there you will see it stated with all its plainness, that far exceeds any words of mine. If you don’t believe it, cross-examine this gentleman who sits back of me. He will tell you with an emphasis that I cannot give. No, my friends, you are deceiving yourselves. You don’t understand this question, when it meets the mass of the people. You wonder why you are defeated in State after State. I can tell you. Because you put on airs of holiness, and try to rise above the workman, and the true workman won’t stand it, and he is in rebellion. That is the trouble.

Now, then, can there be any method devised by which, in conjunction with the education of the people as to the real nature of alcohol—to wit, that it is a poisoner

always, and always deleterious to the human system, as Dr. Davis has proved—can we put the Prohibition movement upon a footing which shall be clear, which shall get rid of the sumptuary idea attached to it, and which shall be a common protective measure of all the people, rich and poor, workman and employer? Can we do that? Can we take a method of graduated Restriction, leading up to a method that shall be actually a practical abolition of the saloon business and of the Liquor Traffic? Was there not such a method devised and stated here yesterday afternoon by Dr. Funk? Was it not stated that, while you could not carry the mass of the people at present to the absolute Prohibition problem, we might change it and put it upon a secular, common basis of alcohol poison, not a prohibition of a traffic, but a restriction of the use of a poison? The distinction is immense. In the first case you stand aloof from the man, as better than he, and try to drive him and prohibit him, and cut him off from something. In the other position you stand as his friend and protector, trying to save him from arsenic, alcohol, and all other poisons, on a common basis, prohibiting no one except as you prohibit everybody from the sale of that poisonous article, just as you do now.

Now I may be mistaken. I don't understand these Temperance men much, but I thought I understood Dr. Funk. I think he has got hold of something that can save this whole Temperance propaganda and put it on a common, secular and uniform, equal and unprejudiced basis, upon which all people, workingmen or others, can stand in common and say, before a common law, which is applied equally as to all classes of the community, "We stand with you, and we will not oppose anything that seeks to destroy this evil." As Mr. Gompers said, it is a tremendous evil, and the reason we cannot

succeed better with the Labor Movement is because of this very superstition that alcohol is a good thing, and of the superstition that those who are managing the Temperance Movement are really the enemies of the working people. Convince those working people that you are their friends, by putting the matter on that common basis. Give them the verdict of science on this question, and then you have placed your prohibitory or rather restrictionary abolition movement on the solid basis of science as its corner-stone, and humanity as the direction for its common propaganda.

Hon. Edwin C. Pierce, of Providence, R. I., said :

Mr. President: My relations, personally and politically, with the labor men of Rhode Island justify me in claiming to represent them on this point. The secret ballot is, as you know, a favorite measure with the labor men of America. Rhode Island was the first State to emulate Massachusetts in enacting the Australian system, pure and unadulterated. It was my fortune to introduce in the General Assembly of Rhode Island that bill, which became a law, and which became a law only because I carried, to back it, the petitions of the factory operatives of the State of Rhode Island. And I am charged by the labor leaders of Rhode Island, very many of them, to represent them at this Congress to-day, and there are those here from Rhode Island that know that in that State, through the exertions of myself and those who act with me (and there are many such), we have made a larger advance toward placing these two hands of Temperance and Labor together than has been made in any State in the American Union ; and I know whereof I speak. There is no time, and I will not attempt, to discuss this subject. The two gentlemen who have preceded me have stated the attitude of an immense number of the labor people of this country toward the Temperance

Movement. In great part, however, they misunderstand the Prohibitionists of America. The two elements do not understand each other. Men like Samuel Gompers have mastered both questions. I know that very many men of his stamp have mastered both the Labor and the Temperance problem, and I tell you Prohibitionists that every one of those who propose to lead in the Temperance Movement must master the Labor Problem as well as the other. Study these problems. Study them as critically as you please, every radical theory that there is in this country for the relief, by legislative aid, of the cause of labor. Study them critically; but, I conjure you, study them sympathetically. I refrain from what I could elaborate upon. The Labor Interest of America is tending, after all, toward Prohibition. I could prove that if I had more minutes. It is tending, as never before, in that direction, and the thing can be done; it will be done, in my judgment. A party will be needed in this country to nationalize this as well as other questions. The Liquor Traffic is a national question. Dr. Carroll's paper was an admirable paper from a very able man, and he states the general view which most of us have accepted, myself included, down to the time I began to consider the subject seriously. No one in America pretends to say that if a citizen of New York contracts to sell a barrel of beer to a citizen of Rhode Island, he hasn't a perfect right, under the Constitution, to carry out that transaction. There is not a lawyer in the United States who does not understand that the courts cannot prevent that transaction being consummated. When the party of the future is born, it will not have a name significant of any single issue. It will have the mind of Hamilton and the heart of Jefferson. May God grant, and grant He will, if we are wise, in 1892, that the aspiring toilers of America, the American democracy, will

vote for a party which will have the suppression of the Liquor Traffic as a leading aim.

Rev. Solomon Parsons, of Paterson, N. J., said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentleman : I am from a city where we have a very large laboring population—a manufacturing town. I am very certain, gentlemen, that you can never succeed in your labor organizations until you take hold of this Liquor Traffic. The strikes—I am not saying whether they are right or wrong ; I sometimes think they are right, and sometimes wrong ; the strikes are universally failures in this country, because the men that make them have not saved enough money to carry them out. They have spent their surplus money for liquor, and they can never make these strikes successful until they lay up some of the money that now goes into the till of the saloon. In Paterson, I have no doubt that nine-tenths of the liquor saloons are supported by the operatives in that city. The men of means don't buy their liquor at these saloons. Sabbath breaking is carried on in a wholesale manner in that city. It is these labor men that patronize these Sunday saloons, and keep up a bigger business on Sunday than at any other time. Until you can get your labor men to come into the house of God and get an educated conscience on this question, you may agitate this question all you have a mind to, and you will make no real success for the laboring people. We need, I think, to join these questions. I am in hearty sympathy with the laboring men, and I know that many of the most efficient workers in our Prohibition Party have been men who came from the ranks of Labor. It is not the millionaires, not the men of money, but the common laboring people that are doing more to advance this question to-day than any other people. I have been perfectly astonished, sir, that while we could not secure money from men of means to

advance this Prohibition interest, these laboring men that have come in and joined us have poured out their money liberally—more so than in any Labor organization, I think. I am not willing to receive the insinuation that we are a lot of Pharisees, setting ourselves up as more holy than other people. Why, bless you, the men that are in the front rank in this Prohibition work are from the ranks of Labor. So far as we have gone, touching the Prohibition movement, I believe that the real backbone of it is the laboring people, and there is no divorce-ment whatever between the laboring people and the Church on this question. The Church is in sympathy with the laboring people. We don't advance their peculiar labor devices, and yet we stand by their great principles. I have read Mr. Henry George. I think every minister ought to read him, if he can understand him. There are a great many good things in his book. A few years ago, Mr. Bishop sent out in New Jersey certain questions—"What will better the condition of the laboring men?" Almost invariably those laboring men, in their answers—I have carefully examined them and put them together—almost invariably we find the laboring men who have intelligence enough to frame an answer, saying, "The one great enemy to the labor movement is the Liquor Traffic, and we can never succeed until we put it down." The intelligent workers in the Labor Movement see that they must connect their work with the question of the putting down of this Liquor Traffic in America. We need the laboring men. We need their votes, their money, their sympathy. And I think that if the intelligent men who are leading this movement would present the thing in the right light, we should soon get a great deal more force from this class of the population.

- Now, I will tell you the reason they don't unite with

us. I used to labor with a man, to get him to give up whiskey. He took up a black bottle one day. Said he, "This is a man's enemy, isn't it?" "Most assuredly," said I. Said he, "We are taught to love our enemies; so here goes." And he just swallowed the enemy. That is the trouble with these people. They love their whiskey more than the Church of God. I would like to see the laboring people of Paterson take hold of this question. While there are many exceptions, the great mass of the laboring population of this city are against Temperance and morality and a helpful Sabbath, and you never can hope for the elevation of Labor in this country until the laboring people respect the Christian Sabbath and respect morals. It is a moral as well as a political question, and the people have got to respect morals in this matter. I am in sympathy, I say, with this Labor Question. I do hope the time is not distant when they will work on these lines of Temperance, and Prohibition will be found united with all who are working on the lines of lifting the laboring people in this country. But let us work on solid principles, and I believe that, in the end, we shall find that the result is just what we are after.

Hon. Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, said :

Mr. President: I have already occupied as much of the time of this Congress as I may properly claim, but I want to say a very few words on the matter which is before us. In looking over the programme, I found no names upon it as speakers that interested me more than those of Samuel Gompers and T. B. Wakeman. My sincere regret is that I could not have listened to a longer presentation of the thoughts of those gentlemen. I should be glad to learn from them. I don't think I should agree with them in every point. I am not here for that purpose. I did not come here either to proselyte. I

came to learn, and I should be delighted to learn more from them—a single thought only in the direction in which they have been speaking ; and that only because I think that it has not been given the attention that it deserves. We are agreed, Mr. President, as to the enormous waste incident to the Liquor Traffic, figuring it up in all directions—the cost to the drinker, the loss to the family, the loss to the employer, the loss to the community, the loss to the taxpayers, the cost of the prisons, the cost of the police ; we know that it is an enormous sum. When the producers of this country come to a realizing sense of the fact that nearly every dollar of that they have to pay, something will be done. I know, sir, of no way of providing for waste except by production. I know of no way of covering the waste, except by the industries of the people. It may come indirectly. I said to some labor men, on one occasion, “ Here is such and such a waste, and you pay for the whole of it.” “ Oh, no, I don't. The man that owns that large building over there pays it. He pays the tax ; I don't.” But he adds it to your rent ; don't you forget it. Directly and indirectly the labor of the country has got to pay for this fearful, terrible waste. When the laborers of the country realize that fact they will sweep that enormity from the face of the earth.

Rev. J. B. English, D.D., of New York, said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I didn't come here to make a speech, but I can't help speaking upon this subject. My life has been, for fifteen years, as a minister of the Gospel, associated with the laboring people. I have been profoundly interested in them, in their lives, in their homes, in their hopes, in their plans. I do not believe that the laboring people of this country are an ignorant people. I do believe that they are among the most intelligent people that are to be found in this na-

tion to-day, and therefore they are acquainted with the grand events ; they are being educated by the facts, as they are passing before us to-day. And on this question of the Liquor Traffic they are well posted. What is their attitude toward the Liquor Traffic to-day? It is an attitude of suffering. No class of people suffer more from this damnable business than the laboring people of this country. No class of people have it in their hearts more earnestly to overthrow it than the laboring people of this country. We do not recognize the value of humanity. This is an economic question. The time has been, in the history of this country, when our political economists did not recognize humanity as a factor. It was the value of the land, it was the value of stocks and mortgages, it was the value of railroad companies and great properties. But the time has come in the history of economics when we are coming to recognize the value of the man. What is needful in this country to-day in the movements for progress is not more men, but more *man* ; and the political economy of the present time and of later time will recognize the value of man. It is because the people of this country and other countries have been cheapened by the Liquor Traffic that their value has not been fully recognized. Nothing has put them so down in the scale of humanity as this infernal traffic. Nothing makes a weak man weaker, nothing makes a strong man weaker, than the use of the infernal thing that we call intoxicants. It takes the life and the soul out of him, and it makes a very poor citizen of him. It is the value of the man that we are to recognize. When the Lord God of Heaven would make a gift to this world that should be in harmony with His own perfections and the value of the whole world, what did He give us? He gave us a man, His own Son. And when He would make a present to His Son in harmony with His dignity

and His character and His perfections, nothing was left in Heaven good enough, and so He gave His Son regenerated men. "Thine they were," He said, "and Thou gavest them Me." Oh, we are going a long way in progress when we come to recognize the value of the man! Human nature is the cheapest thing on earth to-day. In Baltimore, Md., where I lived, the horse-cars were run by men who worked seventeen hours a day, and some of us said, "That ought to stop." There were men who never saw their children awake. The time came when it was necessary to say to the Legislature, "You must pass a law to protect these men, and give them twelve hours instead of seventeen," and some of us went at it, and we got it for them, and the law is executed to-day.

Professor Edwin V. Wright, of New York, spoke as follows :

This question of Labor, which is one that is calling the attention of thoughtful men throughout this country, is a question of the greatest importance. I stand before you here this afternoon as a graduated laborer. Some thirty years ago, I graduated in a blacksmith shop. I stand here this afternoon as a representative coworker and colaborer with Labor and Labor organizations for the last twenty-five years. I stand here, my friends, to say to you that the worst enemy that the laboring man of this country has is the gin-mill and the beer saloon. My experience is particularly related, in brief, that a few years ago, I was associated with an assembly of the Knights of Labor—with the Educational Department of it—where I had nine thousand men to talk to, more or less. I found that the place where those men congregated to get education was the annex of a beer saloon. There has not been, for the last twenty-five years, in the city of New York, a Labor organization of any kind, but

the majority of their meetings have been held in the annex of a beer saloon. In God's name, what can we expect of the situation of the workmen of the great city of New York under such circumstances? You can find laboring men—and I speak with the greatest kindness; I have the greatest reverence for this representative gentleman here, Mr. Gompers; I know that he understands something of the work he is engaged in; but the people that he represents, as well as the Knights of Labor, of which I have had the honor of being a member for years, do not understand the great question of Temperance or Prohibition. I find that, as was said here a short time ago, the great mass of the people, even the educated people, are absolutely ignorant of the question of rum and its influence upon the human system. When they become better acquainted with the scientific aspects of the Temperance question, when they take time in their organizations to give that question thorough consideration, I shall expect better results. But I was forced to leave the Knights of Labor because in their organizations they were ready to receive hardly a word on the question of Temperance and Prohibition. I thank God that we have a Powderly; and were it not for him the laboring men of this country, known as the Knights of Labor, would be far in the dark from where they are to-day. I hope that Samuel Gompers will make his name stand, in the future, as the President of the Confederation of Labor, alongside of Powderly, who says that the rum curse is the gigantic curse and foe of the laborer of this country. And there will be no doubt upon this question. I want to see the laboring men and the temperance men strike hands. The time is not far distant when they will, and a few more such meetings as this, and in the various counties of the great Empire State and of the several States of the Union, for the

purpose of conference, will bring these organizations, the wealth-producers of the land, hand in hand with the Prohibitionists, and give us by and by a civilization that shall be worthy of the name.

The President : My friends, I am instructed by Mr. John Lloyd Thomas that I called him out on the wrong subject ; that he wanted to speak on this subject, and that I was all wrong before. Now if he can make a little better speech on this subject than he did on the other, I will give him four minutes.

Mr. Thomas said :

I am the son of an iron-worker, and from the day I was eleven years old until two or three years ago, I worked in an iron mill and in coal-mines. Our friend, Mr. Wakeman, said that the Labor question lay across the path of the Prohibition question. I believe that the Prohibition question is the Labor question ; and because I believe it is the Labor question, that is the reason I am a Prohibitionist. I look upon Mr. Gompers and Mr. Wakeman as representative workmen. I look upon Charles H. Leitchman as a representative workman. He told the people of Pennsylvania to vote and work for Prohibition. I look upon P. M. Arthur as a representative workman. He said, " Every friend of the working-man will vote against the saloon every time he gets a chance, and close it up, not only upon Sunday, but upon every day of the week." I look upon Ralph Beaumont, as a representative workman. He says that to-day, more than all other questions that do not deal with the fundamental principles of political economy, the Liquor Traffic rises up above all things else, the obstacle in the way of the working man. I look upon Terence V. Powderly as a representative workman. He says, " Boycott the saloon, and in five years' time there will be an invincible host working against oppression and tyranny and monopoly."

Strikes have been referred to. I have had a share in them, and I never yet knew an unjust strike started among laboring men that I did not trace the cause of it to the saloon. I have never known a just strike to fail of success that I did not trace the cause of that failure to the saloon. I know our brother Wakeman is not a very ardent advocate of the wage system, anyway. But, brethren mine, the wage system is here, and as long as it is here we have got to deal with it. A workman, before the Senate Committee on Capital and Labor, said, "Drunkards, their impotent and debased progeny, convicts and paupers, born of the saloon, make the wage rates in the labor market, and sober men, intelligent men, have to receive the wages that are made in the labor market by these drunkards and convicts and paupers." Where do you get your convicts? In the saloon. Where do you get your paupers, brothers mine? Again, in and from the saloon. Now, I know it has been said that poverty causes drunkenness, rather than drunkenness poverty. We Prohibitionists have an unfortunate habit of matching theories with actual experience and figures. Our brother Rae, of England, will bear me out in the statement that this question has been examined in the large cities among the working people of England; and, brothers, the men and the women who are sent to the poorhouses, who receive public support and alms as the result of poverty and indigence caused by the liquor traffic, are not the unskilled workingmen, are not the ignorant hand laborers, the poorest paid, but are skilled workingmen, who work short hours and get the largest wages. The actual facts are demonstrated by observation and test in England. I wish to God that our census enumerators would test some of those facts here; but they won't. I just want to say, in parenthesis, here—our brother Parsons suggested that we get the

laboring people into the house of God. Amen to that ! But, as a laboring man, brothers and sisters, I say, in the name of God, get the house of God to the laboring people !

I am sorry that a good man like our brother Wakeman considers this a religious craze. It is because, I am sorry to say, our brother Wakeman don't come into the Church—he may come into the church building, but he doesn't get into the Church spirit, and the Church spirit doesn't get into Brother Wakeman and his associates. Let him understand us better, and he will know us better. I am glad that our Brother Metcalf alluded to the fact that taxation is caused, in large measure, by the Liquor Traffic, and that the working people of this country pay the taxes. In the name of God, let us put a stop to this tax-maker !

The remaining two minutes of the hour were given to Mr. Gompers, who said :

There is but one thing, ladies and gentlemen, that I desire to say, and that is in regard to one statement of our friend, Mr. Thomas. I think it is a misstatement, based on anything but facts. It is not so, and I deny and defy a contradiction, that in any place on earth there is more drunkenness where wages are higher and the hours of labor are shorter. The very opposite is the truth. Wherever the hours of labor have been reduced, it has resulted in higher wages, and the more leisure given to the people has resulted in more sobriety. You can look to any trade that you please, to any calling that you please, and you will find that the workingmen and women who work eight or nine hours a day are more sober than those who work twelve, thirteen, and fourteen a day. I assure you that the man or woman who works twelve or fourteen hours a day has no spirit left. They have not a proper stomachful of food, and want and will

have—I don't know whether they want it, but they will have, a stimulant as a substitute for the spirit that is driven and crushed out of them during the day.

Mr. Thomas: Mr. Goshen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of England, says that the strike of the dock laborers and others, that resulted in higher wages and shorter hours, brought about an era of prosperity for the workmen of England, and the result has been a rush to the beer barrel, a greater consumption of spirits than ever before, and a greater revenue to the Treasury. There are other facts that might be mentioned.

Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, who was to have discussed the subject of Law and Order Societies, being absent, the paper of Hon. C. C. Bonney, on the

ORIGINAL PACKAGE DECISION,

was read at this point by Assistant-Secretary A. R. Heath, as follows :

The Commerce Power of the Nation is Paramount to the Police Power of the States (*Leisy & Co. v. Hardin*, U. S. S. C., April 28th, 1890).

I. THE NATURE OF THE CASE.—Illinois brewers brought replevin for beer imported into Iowa and seized there for violation of the Iowa prohibitory law. The lower court held the law void, as in contravention of the National Constitution. An appeal was taken to the Iowa Supreme Court, and that court held the law good and the seizure valid. The case was then removed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the last State decision was reversed, the law held unconstitutional, and the seizure unauthorized, because in conflict with the exclusive power of Congress "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States."

Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Miller, Field, Brad-

ley, Blatchford, and Lamar concurred in the opinion. Justices Harlan, Gray, and Brewer dissented.

The statement of the case and the opinion of the court occupy nearly thirteen columns of the *Chicago Legal News*.

The leading points of the decision are old law, and rest on prior decisions of the court, commencing with the great case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*, in 1824. Concisely stated, the doctrines of the decision are substantially as follows :

II. POINTS OF THE DECISION.—1. The Constitution of the United States prohibits the several States from imposing any restraints or conditions on interstate commerce.

2. The common right to engage in interstate commerce includes the right to sell the subjects of such commerce in the State into which they may be imported from another State or a foreign country.

3. But those rights are subject to the paramount power of Congress to impose all such regulations, restrictions, conditions, restraints, and burdens as it may deem proper, or to prohibit such commerce altogether, in any articles which it may deem injurious to the general welfare.

4. In merely local matters, such as bridges, ferries, quarantine, and the like, the States may act, until Congress shall intervene and exercise its superior power ; but in all things relating to general transportation and trade among the several States, the non-action of Congress is equivalent to a declaration that commercial intercourse shall be free and unrestricted.

5. To permit the States to exclude one article of commerce without the consent of Congress would, in effect, be a permission to them to exclude any or all others, as local interest or prejudice might demand.

6. The police power of the States extends to all per-

sons and property within their limits, excepting only those cases in which the power to regulate and govern has been transferred to Congress. As to them, the power of the States has been suspended or abrogated. The entire subject of interstate commerce has been so transferred, and upon Congress alone rests the responsibility of whatever action the emergencies arising from time to time may require. Under its general power to regulate commerce, Congress may prescribe what articles of merchandise shall be admitted and what shall be excluded, and may, therefore, admit or exclude the importation of ardent spirits, as it shall deem best.

7. The right of the States to exclude infected or diseased articles, animals, or persons rests on a different ground. Things diseased or infected are not proper articles of trade or commerce at all, and the States may, therefore, rightfully prohibit and exclude them ; but not any known article of commerce the actual condition of which is not dangerous.

8. But when an article of interstate commerce has, by sale and delivery to a resident of the State to which it was consigned, become a part of the general mass of property in the State, it is subject to the full operation of the State laws. The State may, indeed, discourage imports of a particular class, and may thereby diminish the price which ardent spirits would otherwise bring ; for although a State is bound to receive and permit the sale by the importer of any article of commerce which Congress authorizes to be imported, yet it is not bound to furnish a market for it, nor to abstain from the passing of any law which it may deem necessary or advisable to guard the health or morals of its citizens, and which does not prevent such importation and primary sale.

9. It is not denied that ardent spirits, distilled liquors, ale, and beer are subjects of exchange, barter, and traffic,

like any other commodity in which the right of traffic exists, and are so recognized by the usages of the commercial world, the laws of Congress, and the decisions of the courts.

10. But while the right of transportation into another State involves, by necessary implication, the right to make a sale there, that right is limited to a sale of the unbroken imported package, and is confined to the first sale by the non-resident importer, by which act alone, say the court, it would become mingled with the common mass of property within the State.

11. To permit each State to decide for itself what articles of commerce may and what may not be imported into it would be to defeat one of the great objects for which the union was formed, and would introduce commercial anarchy and confusion in place of that unity and uniformity which the Constitution intended to secure by means of Congressional regulation of interstate commerce.

12. The great Kansas Prohibition decision is approved in the present case, and the right of the people affirmed, with the exception specified, to adopt such measures as they may deem proper for the protection of the public morals, health, and safety, the security and protection of persons and property, and the prevention of idleness, disorder, pauperism, and crime.

III. COMMENTS ON THE DECISION—ITS RELATION TO TEMPERANCE REFORM.—1. The court seem to say that Congress may authorize the several States to prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors; but of course Congress cannot delegate back to the States the exercise of any power that the Constitution vests in Congress to be exercised by that body. Doubtless Congress may, either absolutely or on certain conditions, forbid the transportation of any intoxicant on any line of interstate com-

merce, by land or by water, under any penalties it might see fit to prescribe, and might make all the persons and property concerned liable for any violation of the law applicable to the case. Congress might prohibit the importation of any article of commerce either under specified circumstances or altogether, and might require bonds against any invasion of the proper province of the State laws, under color of the rights of interstate commerce. A simple prohibition of interstate commerce in intoxicating liquors would be the death-knell of the drink traffic.

2. But as the local government of a city may supplement and render more complete, by its ordinances, the laws of a State, so doubtless may the States, by their legislation, make more efficient such general regulations as Congress may prescribe.

3. The Iowa decision does not protect any sale made BY a resident of the State, for that would be domestic commerce. It applies only to sales made by non-resident importers. It does not apply to any USE of any article of commerce by any person. Application and use are under State control.

The Iowa decision protects *non-resident* property. As soon as it has fully become *resident* property, the State jurisdiction attaches.

4. Manifestly the Iowa decision should not be so construed and applied as to give non-residents any greater local privileges and immunities than are enjoyed by citizens of the locality. The Constitution of the United States only aims to secure, in every State, to the citizens of all the other States, "equal privileges and immunities."

5. The habit of speaking of the police power of the States, in contradistinction to the commerce power of the Nation, seems to have led to an idea that they are

in some way antagonistic to each other, whereas in truth they are of the same nature. The States regulate their internal affairs by virtue of the police power retained by them, and Congress regulates commerce with foreign nations and among the several States by virtue of the police power entrusted to it. The power is the same. Only the agencies of its exercise are different. Whatever the States may do within their province, by virtue of their police power, the Nation may do within its province by virtue of its police power.

6. In the Kansas case, the Supreme Court decided that no State Legislature can bargain away the public health nor the public morals; that the people themselves cannot do so, much less their servants. Government, says the Court, is organized with a view to their preservation, and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them. The court cites an earlier decision in which the same doctrine is declared. The same rule must necessarily apply to the powers vested in Congress. Neither can they be bargained away nor transferred to any other authority, but must remain and be exercised as the Constitution requires, to promote the general welfare of the people.

7. The still more recent case of the Minnesota Dressed Beef Law confirms the decision in the Iowa Saloon case. The Minnesota statute forbade the sale of dressed beef in the State, unless the same had been inspected and certified in the State, and before slaughter. But the Supreme Court of the United States, in an opinion delivered May 19th, 1890, held the Minnesota law void, as an attempt to "regulate commerce among the several States."

8. The influence of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Iowa Beer Case, or the "Unbroken Package" case, as it is also called, on the future

of Temperance Reform, will be very great and far-reaching.

It transfers the regulation of the Liquor Traffic to the field of national politics, excepting merely local transfers within the limits of a single State.

It silences forever the claim that national politics has nothing to do with the drink trade, but that it belongs wholly to the internal policy and local governments of the several States.

Senators and representatives in Congress must henceforth be as ready to answer questions concerning the regulation, restriction, or abolition of the commerce in intoxicants, as questions relating to the tariff, internal improvements, or civil service reform.

Party platforms can no longer be silent on a subject which deeply interests the great body of the American people. Presidential candidates will no longer be at liberty to ignore that subject.

9. UNDER THAT DECISION THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION WILL ADVANCE TO THE FRONT AS THE GREATEST ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUE, AND AT THE SAME TIME THE GREATEST MORAL AND SOCIAL ISSUE OF THE TIME.

In comparison with the vast sum of nine hundred millions of dollars, to which the liquor traffic annually amounts in the United States, the supposed treasury surplus is a small matter.

In comparison with the awful waste and destruction of life, liberty, property, peace, comfort, and happiness that are wrought every year by the drink traffic, the losses and injuries inflicted on the people by all other causes are insignificant in magnitude. It has passed into a proverb that for three-fourths of all the poverty, beggary, disease, insanity, disorder, and crime which burden the people, the drink traffic is alone responsible.

10. But with that appalling fact everywhere recognized by the leaders of mankind, the Liquor Traffic has assumed a more defiant attitude, and has entered into party politics for the avowed purpose of securing protection as the reward of partisan service. It contributes money for campaign purposes ; masses its votes for the candidates who promise protection, in case of success ; and supports a lobby at every capital to oppose unfriendly legislation. Good government is impossible, and the hope of civil service reform is utterly vain, wherever the influence of the liquor saloon prevails. The first necessity of progress is the utter destruction of the political power of the drink traffic.

However the friends of Temperance, law, and order may otherwise differ, surely they must agree that the Liquor Traffic shall be at least so far crippled and abolished that it will be unable to contend with patriotism for the control of government ; unable to contend with the school and the church for the control of the young ; unable to produce more than a very small part of its present horrible harvest of pauperism, insanity, and crime.

11. In his vigorous and able paper in the *Forum* for May, 1890, on "Government by Rumsellers," Dr. Howard Crosby says, "Were all right-minded voters to vote, and to vote according to conscience and not according to party, the rum power would be suppressed at once. The saloon would then be destroyed. This tap-root of evil annihilated, public office would be in purer hands ; legislation would run in moral lines, and the people would be more prosperous and contented. This," he adds, "is the most important question now before the American people. Tariff, railroads, the negro, the fisheries, Canadian reciprocity, Pan-American Alliance, and the silver question, are all of secondary consequence, when

compared with this matter of the fundamental morals of legislation and society."

This is sound doctrine. But Dr. Crosby has never been known as a Temperance fanatic. On the contrary, he is ranked as one of the most conservative of Temperance leaders.

12. What modern party politics has become under the influence of the rum power and the corruptions with which it is notoriously allied is well indicated by a recent utterance of a distinguished party leader, who is reported to have said, "The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. . . . This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme."

There was a time when God and Humanity, when virtue and morals and patriotism were the war cries of political action, and the decision of the National Supreme Court in the Iowa Beer Case opens the way for a restoration of that time, with more than its pristine glory. The American people will now demand that those who administer their national government shall once more put the welfare of the people in the highest place, as the supreme object of party existence and success.

The days of political leaders who teach that the Ten Commandments may be violated with impunity and the Golden Rule trampled under foot without shame are already numbered, and they will soon retire from the public service, to return thereto no more. New leaders, who love justice and honor and virtue, will take their places, and then the long-waiting work of government reform will be prosecuted to success.

13. The "Unbroken Package Decision" will undoubtedly unite the Temperance sentiment of the country on national lines of progress. The declaration of the Supreme Court that the Liquor Traffic is, in a very important respect, subject to the national power, will do more than any previous cause to enlarge, strengthen, and advance the general movement of the people against the alarming evils of that traffic. Under the influence of that decision the friends of Temperance, law, and order in different parts of the country will feel united by a common interest, a common purpose, and a common line of action. LOCAL OPTION will be overshadowed by NATIONAL OPTION. At all the many points where the systems of State regulation or repression touch the National system of trade and transportation, new questions will arise, the discussion and settlement of which will exercise a powerful educative influence. The decision under consideration has already advanced the Temperance question to a position of importance and dignity higher than it has ever before occupied. The political leaders who have been accustomed to greet the Temperance question with a sneer will henceforth, if they are wise, salute it with uncovered heads.

14. As to politics and parties, it is not difficult to speak. No vote ever taken in this country can be regarded as a true measure of the Temperance sentiment of the people, because no vote has yet been taken under circumstances that could command the ballots of all who are at heart opposed to the liquor saloon. Even in the so-called Prohibition States the abolition of the saloon has been coupled with and impeded by other questions, on which the friends of Temperance were not fully agreed.

In some way and at some time, in spite of all efforts to keep them apart, the Temperance Republicans and the

Temperance Democrats will get together on the issue of abolishing the saloon, and then the impending revolution will march straight forward to victory.

And when that shall have been accomplished, the recruits from the old political parties may, if they will, return to their former associations. But it may be confidently affirmed that if the friends of Temperance, law, and order could be gathered from all existing political organizations and united for the abolition of the saloon, they would constitute a party of the very highest intelligence, virtue, courage, and patriotism, qualified to deal in an adequate way with every other public question that now interests the American people.

The liquor saloon and its vote have corrupted our municipal, State, and national politics to such an extent that the abolition of the saloon and the destruction of its political influence is now the indispensable condition of American progress.

There is one way in which the formation of such a union party may be effectually prevented. It is by one or both of the present powerful parties making war on the dram-shop and destroying it. To both of them one of the greatest of opportunities is offered. It is for them to say whether they will improve it. Of one thing we may be sure. The liquor saloon will not always hold its present powerful place in American politics. We may also feel sure that its final overthrow will be powerfully promoted by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Iowa Beer Import case.

The toleration or abolition of the liquor saloon is emphatically a question of law and politics. Personal temperance and Total Abstinence are chiefly questions of morals and conscience. By confining the legal and political warfare to the abolition of the saloon and dram-selling in all forms, and committing the cause of per-

sonal temperance and Total Abstinence to the churches and the Temperance societies, the American people can be massed in an irresistible political army for the destruction of the dram-shop, and an equally powerful organized moral force for the promotion of Temperance and its attendant blessings. Unrelenting war against the grog-shop till it shall be driven from the land, and earnest Moral Suasion for the advancement of personal temperance and virtue—this is the Temperance policy for which, at this time, the American people are prepared.

With the drinking saloon abolished, the recruiting places of drunkenness will be closed, and then the moral forces of the country will easily complete the grand work of Temperance, Law and Order.

Professor Wilkinson: Mr. President, may I, sir, at this point, state a fact which I think is important to the proceedings of this body? The hearty thanks of the National Temperance Congress are due, and if resolutions would not be moved out of order, I would move that they be hereby rendered to the Broadway Tabernacle Church, for their characteristic and traditional generosity in granting the free use of their spacious edifice for the sessions of this body. I read this as a notice.

The President: All of you who sympathize with Professor Wilkinson's feelings toward the dear brethren of the Tabernacle will say, "Aye."

There was a hearty response on the part of the audience.

Professor Wilkinson: This Congress desires to testify their grateful recognition of the important services rendered them by Dr. C. F. Deems, for the exceedingly watchful, wise, fair, firm, and genial chairmanship throughout the course of these proceedings. All who would vote for that resolution, except that resolutions would be moved out of order, will please rise to your feet.

All present rose.

Professor Wilkinson : There are various ways of doing things, and we have got around the President once.

The subject of

TEMPERANCE WORK AMONG THE YOUNG

was opened by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, National Superintendent of Temperance Instruction of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, who said :

Mr. President and Friends : This very kind introduction, the history of the past hours, and I was going to say the looks of your faces, but it hardly warrants it, reminds me of a story (perhaps you read it—it went the rounds of the papers) of three men who laid a wager as to which should out-talk the other. One was a Westerner, one was from the South, and the other was a Boston Yankee. The three were shut in a room together. At the expiration of the time the door was opened. The Westerner was dead, the Southerner was just gasping his last breath, and the Boston Yankee was whispering in his ear. But you are safe, friends, in the hands of so fair and yet so rigid a President, although I am from Boston.

As I understand it, Mr. President, this Congress is called for the purpose of finding and uniting on remedies that will prevent the vice of Intemperance, rather than dwelling upon its acknowledged evils. Therefore, while pitying the heart that could, unmoved, consider those evils, I will not give them here one moment of my fifteen, but turn at once to the question, "What is the cause of these evils that should move with pity a heart of stone?" and the question, "What shall we, what can we do to prevent them?"

What is the Cause? —Does some one reply, The saloon, the Liquor Traffic is the cause? The saloon is the

personation of the Liquor Traffic and the head-centre of the abominations that blot and endanger our civilization. But when we look a little closer, we find the saloon is also the disbursing point for beverages that a majority of the people of this country believe in and want to drink (the people being, in this case, the men, or the voters).

The fact that a majority of the American people believe in and want to drink alcoholic liquors is the first cause of the evils of Intemperance in our midst.

The Demand.—This popular belief and desire constitutes the demand that makes the saloon a possibility. The saloon is a result. But the attempt to regulate the saloon, whether by High License or Low, will never be a success, because nothing is more clearly proven by both science and experience than the fact that it is the nature of a little alcohol used as a beverage to create an appetite for more alcohol. Therefore, moderate drinking, no matter how elegant may be its environments, will always open the way for drunkenness and its consequent evils and vices, and the saloon, the liquor-selling apothecary, the hotel bar, or the corner grocery, while supplying an existing demand, will at the same time foster and increase that demand, and thus become self-perpetuating results of alcoholic habits among the people.

Alcohol an Outlaw.—Because of this unnatural appetite for itself which alcohol has the power to create, it is by nature an outlaw in any quantity as a beverage, and the evils of Intemperance will never cease until it is outlawed from human habits. How can we outlaw it is only a question of remedy again.

Personal Prohibition First.—Under this government of the people alcohol must first be abolished from the habits of the majority before its traffic can be prohibited—that is self-evident; for as long as a majority believe

in alcohol, they will drink it, because they like it, and as long as they drink it they will vote for its sale. Total Abstinence among the people is the object sought by Prohibition, but Prohibition is itself impossible until a majority of the voters are already Total Abstainers. The saloon, as we have seen, is a self-perpetuating result of this demand of the majority for alcohol. Legal Prohibition is a result of the absence of that demand.

Is there Hope?—Is there, then, no hope in this inter-sphering and complex problem? Does not that depend upon our readiness to recognize and apply the remedies that will reach and remove the cause? Law is embodied sentiment, but we must have the sentiment before we can embody it into statutes. Sentiment against alcohol as a beverage is what is demanded in this case.

A Difference.—There is a wide difference between sentiment against alcoholic beverages and sentiment against the saloon. The latter does not always imply the former, and as long as we lack the former our troubles will remain, for that lack is the cause. In 1888, we lacked, in Massachusetts, on the whole vote cast, only 2000 men to make a majority for local Prohibition—that is, against License, under Local Option law; but a majority of over 44,000 of the same men, a few weeks later, voted against forever prohibiting by organic law the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors. This instance clearly illustrates the wide difference between sentiment against alcohol and sentiment against the saloon. The gentleman who does not want the saloon on his street, or in his ward or suburb, will vote “No License” there; but he will not vote so to abolish the manufacture and sale that he cannot, without becoming accessory to law-breaking, get the glass of wine or beer that he likes and believes in, and, therefore, Massachusetts and many other States are disgraced by the legalized saloon.

The Remedy.—Universal sentiment against alcohol, founded on the intelligent conviction of the truth that it is a dangerous and seductive poison, entailing such disastrous effects that it should be outlawed from human habits, must take the place of the unintelligent and confiding belief that there is no danger in drinking it moderately, before the horrors of intemperance will cease to be.

Remedy too Late.—The most convincing argument that science can present will have small influence with a person who is already the victim of an alcoholic appetite. He knows by bitter experience that alcohol is a poison, he feels its virus in his blood; but, like Samson in the lap of Delilah, he is shorn of the power to break the spell. In the beginning it was a question of intelligence with him. If he had been taught the dangerous and poisonous character of the drink before he had taken the first glass, if he had understood the scientific connection between the first glass and the drunkard's fate, before appetite was formed, and while his will was yet a regnant power, he might have been saved. For him we are too late!

The Real Fanatic.—The moderate drinker, who impatiently tells you that he can stop if he wants to, but never seems to want to, will scout the most overwhelming and positive proof that alcohol is a poison. We shall ordinarily make small headway in attempts to convince him. He sniffs at the testimony of modern science, and behind your back, and sometimes before your face, calls you a "fanatic." Poor fellow! He does not know that he himself is the greatest fanatic; for a fanatic is one influenced, as he is, by prejudice and not by reason. Unless saved by the "grace held down by the nail-pierced palms," these will each in their turn pass on to the hopeless beyond, and join the vast army of alcohol's victims.

The Impressionable Class.—But, Mr. President, there is a large and more impressionable class to whom we may carry the truth against alcoholic drinks with an assured hope that it will influence their lives for intelligent Total Abstinence. These are the children and youth in the public schools of our land. These are now accessible to us as never before. It is estimated that there are at least 18,000,000 children of school age in our country. Yonder silken flag, that in the Paris Exposition last summer floated over the American exhibit of the Department of Scientific Temperance in Public Schools, announced to all visitors who could read English that there are now 12,000,000 children in America under Temperance Education Laws.

Our Present Field.—Before the admission of the new States, there were twenty-seven States and all the Territories under some more or less stringent form of this legislation. Before Idaho and Wyoming came in, new States, so far as heard from, had either adopted the national or some more stringent law. North of the Potomac, only New Jersey and Indiana are out of the fold. It is eight years since the first law was enacted, and now it is a question of a little more time before, with God's help, we shall be able to take the black cap off from every State on the map, and the entire Republic will be under Temperance Education Laws.

Books and Methods Ready.—At first the lack of experience in teaching the study, and of well-graded and accurate school text-books as radical as the truth, was a great hindrance; but it has been overcome. Well graded text-books in large variety are now ready, and clearly defined school-room plans or courses of study to fit all kinds and grades of schools have been prepared and are being sent broadcast over the land. Experience shows that three lessons per week for fourteen weeks of

the school year between the Primary and second grade of the High School will cover the subject and not unduly crowd other branches.

The field is ready, and is being planted in tens of thousands of cases. Why not in all? What lack we? Between the course of study with the right text-books and the children whom the law says shall be taught what alcohol is and what it will do to them if they drink it, stands, in many cases, an unsympathetic school-board, who carelessly or purposely are minimizing or evading the law which the Temperance people are not taking the trouble to enforce. The teachers, as a whole, are ready to do their part, but they must do what the boards order; and if the board orders a course of study filled absolutely full of other topics, leaving no time for this, and if text-books on this subject, written in language that neither teacher nor pupil can understand, and that do not teach the truths the law requires, are put into the schools, it is the fault of the board, and the teachers are comparatively helpless.

The Need of the Hour.—Temperance men on our school-boards is the need of the hour—a need that can easily be met if the Christian and Temperance people of each community would unite to secure it, instead of waiting for that impossible law that would enforce itself. With two or three exceptions there is more force in the laws that require this study in our many States and Territories than there is in the laws that require arithmetic taught. That law is enforced because the people want it enforced.

The Future Voters.—Our future voters, law-makers, politicians, governors, and presidents are in school to-day, and the law says they shall there be taught the truth about alcohol; and just as sure as truth will dispel error, as light will dispel darkness, that truth thus early

implanted will make the sentiment against it that must be made if it is ever abolished. We said that Total Abstinence among the people is the object sought by Prohibition, but Prohibition itself is impossible until a majority of the voters are already Total Abstainers. From the school-houses, Mr. President, are to come our Abstainers, who will make Prohibition possible.

Organized Effort.—If this great work of warning our children and youth against alcoholic liquors is to include all our children to-day and thus save our nation to-morrow, skilful and organized efforts, especially in our cities, must be made now to secure Temperance men and women on our school boards, as well as superintendents and teachers who are in sympathy with the law and its most faithful enforcement.

Common Ground.—Is there not here a common ground on which all Temperance people and all well-wishers of good order can unite and work hand in hand? Can we fail to do it without incurring guilt, in responsibility for the young lives we might have saved?

Not a Long Range Shot.—Do you say this is a shot at long range, and that you cannot wait for the children to grow up? You want the saloon at once and forever abolished. Yes, my friend, we want the same thing; but under this government by majorities we shall be obliged to wait until the majority agree with us in wanting it abolished. But the children grow up very quickly. The curly-headed boy whom you loved better than your own life as you tucked him in his crib only yesterday, seemingly, is to-day a bearded young man, a voter, by your side.

New Recruits.—They tell us that in our country about half a million new voters cast their maiden ballots each year. If we preëempt these new voters for intelligent Total Abstinence we shall soon have our needed majority.

The School Leads the Home.—Already these trained youths are influencing the homes. A few weeks ago at a breakfast table, in a home of wealth the events of the previous evening's party were under discussion. A boy of thirteen gravely remarked, "I don't think it is very polite to give our visitors poison."

"What can you mean, my son?" the mother replied. "We had the best caterer in the city."

"Yes," the boy answered, "but alcohol is a poison, and there was from five to seventeen per cent alcohol in every glass of the wine he furnished."

Discussion followed, in which this schoolboy rehearsed the lessons on Scientific Temperance he had learned in school. "We have decided to have no more wine in our house," the mother said, as she told the story.

Reinforces Other Teaching.—The Temperance teachings of the Church, the Sunday-school, the Band of Hope, and the Home have a more powerful emphasis for the youth who has learned at school that alcohol is a poison.

Focalizing Growing Sentiment.—Let us gather up from time to time every bit of sentiment against alcohol and against the saloon as fast as it is made, and focalize it into the utmost law against them that advancing public sentiment will bear, keeping up all the time our work of making sentiment by faithful scientific Temperance teaching in the school.

The Acres of the Future.—Truth planted in the mind of the child is good seed sown in the acres of the near future.

Our First Duty.—We, the Temperance and Christian people of to-day, must be true to our high trust and obligation to enforce these Temperance Education laws. Do I mean to imply that the enforcement of these is the sum of all our Temperance duty? No, indeed! We must do everything; but we must do this first, and with

all our might. If we do, a vast army, with the buoyancy of youth in its tread, will come over the hills of a near morning to make short work of the saloon.

The President : Now you see, since you have gone and taken that action at the instigation of the professor from Tarrytown, I am free. I have my bill of health. I don't know whether wife has come into the church. If not, she will see it in the papers to-morrow, that you say I behaved well in the presidency. Hereafter I will behave just as I please. I can take all the time. I can rest and tell stories. I am going to introduce another person, who is my friend-in-law. I have never had but two friends-in-law, but they were both presidents. One was the President of the Southern Confederacy, Mr. Jefferson Davis. I was very fond of Mr. Davis's wife. Mr. Davis knew that that was the member of the family I was fond of, and so when we met one day, he said, "I suppose I may at least claim you as my friend-in-law; you and my wife are devoted friends." And that is the way I came to have that relation of a friend-in-law. Now I have another friend-in-law, and the way it comes about is this. He is not my friend particularly, but my son's friend, and every time we meet he makes it a point to throw it at me that I am Ned Deems's father; and that is the way he comes to be my friend-in-law; because, you see, at Princeton Ned Deems happened to be one of his boys, and loved him so that the President of Princeton College can never forget it. Now my friend-in-law, the Rev. Dr. McCosh, will address the Congress.

Rev. James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : You see that I am so far advanced in life that you need not be under any fear that I will be able to occupy you any length of time. I promise you that our President, who is a very rigid man, and very properly so in such a meeting, will

not get any rule that will stop me, for I will stop myself before he is able to lay hold of me. I think that this convention is formed upon very sound principles, very expedient principles, principles that we need to adopt in the present day. It is said, in the very opening, "We, the undersigned, representing almost every shade of anti-liquor views." Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me, as an old man, strongly advise you to combine, all, men and women and children, that are opposed to Intemperance. I tell you I have been grieved more than I can tell, when I find some Temperance people, zealous and devoted and good in every way, and whom I have often been seeking to help in what they are prosecuting—when I find them speaking more bitterly against some people who take a somewhat different view of Temperance than they do, than against the anti-temperance people. I have lamented this excessively, and I have found it in all countries. I belong to three countries. I belong to Scotland, I belong to Ireland, I belong to America, and in every one of these countries I have found that what is needed—I don't say above all things, but what is most needed at this present time, is that there should be a combination and hearty coöperation of all who are opposed to the Liquor Traffic in any form. Heretofore they have been arguing, not simply against the liquor people, but against the views held by their neighbors; and I think one of the happiest effects of this Congress (and this is what has made me come here) is that here we are united; and whenever you see a body of men united for the purpose of stopping this traffic, let us say, "We wish them success;" if at all possible, let us join them, and as we do so we shall find, in the course of time, just the best method. Some would say that it is this plan, some that plan, and there is no agreement among us. But I think the time is coming when we

shall find the principle upon which I have acted for forty years past in the old country, in Scotland and Ireland and in this country, that whenever I find a band of men seeking to lessen the traffic, whenever I find them seeking to combine to carry out Prohibition, I invariably join them, and lend my little aid to encourage and strengthen them. I will say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that our business now is to cease our internal quarrels. We have a powerful and united enemy against us, united by the strongest of all motives, by motives of self-interest, and what we have to do is to combine to face the enemy, and only then will we succeed.

I had something else to say to you, but the lady who spoke before me has introduced that. That is to say, the care we should take of the young, to see that they are instructed in these principles. I may tell you that I think this is the most important means we can employ ; that in comparison with that, any other sinks into insignificance. I can testify from having tried it with children in schools and in colleges, that there is a preparation in the mind of the child for joining this cause. If you take the proper steps, and all in kindness, you will find very few boys and girls who will not be prepared to enter it. We must use all means that are allowable, all means that are countenanced by the Word of God. While we use all other means, I say that this is by far the most important means. I say we should enter every school. There are a number of people here from various parts of the country, and it is quite clear that you are very zealous to promote this cause. The first thing to do would not be, perhaps, so much to deal with the politicians. They are a difficult class to deal with, and in dealing with them your best plan is to deal with their constituents ; and if you get their constituents, you will be sure to get the politicians. I say the first thing that you

should do should be to enter every school and see that every scholar knows of the evils that arise from the use of intoxicating liquors. What we especially require, in my humble opinion, is to see that there is, I do not say necessarily, a Temperance society organized, but that there is a Temperance movement in every Sunday-school. You will not get all the teachers to do it, but a great body of them will. I can testify to this. I think this is certain, that you will get nine-tenths—perhaps ninety-nine out of a hundred—in the Sunday-schools, if you take the proper steps with them. Encourage them, send your agents to them, and you will find that you have a means of stirring the young in nearly all the many Sunday-schools. We boast of those Sunday-schools in America, and I think we are entitled, so far, to boast of them, if we do so in the proper spirit. But I think in every Sunday-school there should be proper efforts made to show the evils of intemperance. I like practical methods, and there is one thing that I would like especially to see done, as I believe an incalculable good will arise from it. There are a great many anti-liquor articles and pamphlets, all useful. The more of them the better. We need more. But I think there should be one book, not large—one text-book written by a man of pure science. He may or may not be a Temperance man. That is no matter. He must be a physiologist; he must know the human frame. He must know how agents act upon it, and he must sit down and write a little volume of perhaps fifty or one hundred pages. Let him not introduce any Temperance into it. There would be great objections to it on the part of many. But let him sit down and simply write a scientific work, with nothing but science in it, showing how intoxicating liquors are a poison to the frame. Let him do that, and then he does not need to make any practical application. We all

know how novels produce their effect. It is a very bad thing for a novelist to sit down, at the end, and say, "The lessons to be derived are, first, this ; second, that ; third, that." There is apt to be a great resentment to that. What is done by the novelist ? He produces the influence indirectly, unconsciously, without the people knowing it. He don't draw the lesson. He flatters the reader until he draws the lesson himself. And what I would have is a purely scientific book—only the evils arising in our bodily frames by the use of liquors pointed out scientifically, so that no man could deny it. And then let us go to the State Legislature and the General Legislature, and to the Education Office, and insist that that book be used in every school in the United States. I believe you would do more good in that way than by a great many of the operations that you are performing. You would bring up the young with antipathy to this from the beginning. Their whole prepossessions would be against it, and they would be ready to resist the temptation. We must deal with the young. At the same time, I believe there is not a more important thing (we don't allow credit for it) than to find families allowing the children to take intoxicating liquors. I tell you it is a very bad thing when these children see their fathers and mothers partaking of these stimulants ; and the conclusion they will not tell you, but the conclusion is there, "We will, by and by, when we get beyond being children, rise up and take these stimulants too." And I think parents will learn a good deal from the children. In many cases I believe they will be the most effectual agents for reaching the parents. And when the children stand up manfully or womanly, and say, "We cannot partake of these intoxicating liquors," I believe it is the best way of reaching the parents. There will be no other way so effective. And I believe that

we should aim especially at reaching not only every school, but especially every Sunday-school.

Allow me to add that, while I am interested in schools, I am still more interested in colleges. I have been some thirty-eight years a teacher in two of our higher universities, and I think that it is of the utmost moment that presidents of colleges and professors in colleges should lend their utmost influence to secure our educated young men, who are always the most influential with the community. It is important to get the great body of the college graduates to be anti-intemperance. You would find that it would soon spread throughout the country. So let us see that, in looking to other institutions, we look to our colleges. Especially let us see that temptations are withdrawn from our young men in colleges. Oh, it was an awful thing for us to have a great many students coming all the way from San Francisco and all those Western States, and to see half a dozen or a dozen places open for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and inviting them to enter. I, in my incumbency at Princeton College, set myself vigorously to meet this evil, and I am happy to be able to state to you that when I left Princeton College I did not leave a single saloon in that city. We gave rooms to each of those pupils, and we laid it down as a rule, "If we give you that room, there is to be no intoxicating liquor introduced into that room." I don't say that our college was perfect—very far from it. But I am able to testify that the results of these restraining measures were most beneficial, and that among the six hundred young men that we had, or more, there was very little trouble. We had times of breaking up, which we took care to discern, but there was very little of that vice which is producing so much evil in this country, and not only among our working-men, but among our highest and best educated men.

And now, in closing, I say that what we need now is to combine. I think that there should be a combination of all the agencies. Some are anti-saloon men. I join them. Some want High License; I join them. Some want Prohibition; I join them. Let us all proceed in this way, and I believe that from this great meeting, with you, sir, as the president of it, an impulse will be produced that will propagate itself all over this country.

Rev. James H. Darlington, of Brooklyn, was the next speaker. He said :

I am very glad indeed to follow Dr. McCosh. As an old Princeton boy I followed him for a number of years, and I am very glad to follow him now in this case. And I want to say that one of the grandest times when we had to follow him at Princeton was the time when he surpassed us all by leading us in the effort to clear out all rumshops from Princeton, and the students and the president did it. Some of the high-toned professors and the other high-toned people were very much surprised to find that the boys had won, and driven them out. I am here to-day as a representative of the Knights of Temperance of the Episcopal Church. There are some of the Methodist and Presbyterian brethren, whom I love very much, who think the Episcopal Church is very slow on the Temperance question. Be careful! Sometimes those who are the slowest to wake up get there first. Look out! You know that the Roman Catholic Church is the church of discipline. The Episcopal Church is very much like it—a church of discipline. It takes a good while to get going, but when it is going it is like a machine that can't stop going. The League of the Cross, in the Roman Catholic Church, is doing splendid work. The last year, in Brooklyn, in trying to fight the saloons, the best fighters we had, the men who were the most regular at their work, were

Father Fransioli, Father Barry, Father Dewey, and Father O'Hare—all of them Fathers ; and I wish the whole world were filled with such Fathers. You know what excommunication means in the Roman Church. Father O'Hare read the minor excommunication from his chancel against every one engaged in the iniquitous business of liquor selling. You know what that means. And Sunday after Sunday he went through Greenpoint, giving up his masses to the assistant priest, that he might find out those of his people that patronized these places. We are going to have powerful coöperation there before long.

What is the "Knights of Temperance?" It is a church order in the Episcopal Church. It takes in young men from fourteen years to twenty-one—the most dangerous period of life. It has now sixty companies. It was only started four years ago. It has twenty-five hundred members, pledged to Total Abstinence, under military discipline. The motto is like the old Roman motto. The initials are S. P. Q. R. Any one familiar with Roman history will see that we mean by that, "Sobrietas, Puritasque Reverentia"—"Sobriety, Purity, and Reverence ;" and each young man is pledged to that. This society is a part of the Church Temperance Society. Some one says that this Church Temperance Society stands for any kind of Temperance. Yes, I am glad it does. It is on the line of Temperance as much as this convention is on the line of Temperance. I am glad to say that I am, and have been since before St. John ran for the Presidency, a third-party Prohibitionist. And yet I glory in the fact that Mr. Graham, our representative, is a High License man. Why do I do it? Listen! Because our church represents all classes of Temperance men. Our church order is Total Abstinence, but we gather together men, and we take just as much as we

can get from each man. Here is one brother who says, "I will give a hundred thousand dollars to found a coffee-house." God bless him! We will take it. Another says, "I don't recognize the need of my pledging Total Abstinence, but I will put my boys in the Knights of Temperance." God be thanked! We will have the boys. Another says, "I will help the Sunday-school." We are glad of that. Among ministers there are many who will not preach a Temperance sermon. We have fixed that in the Episcopal Church by fixing a Temperance Sunday, and we have got to preach a Temperance sermon. Every man must take some stand, and if he doesn't take the right stand, I hope the Woman's Christian Temperance Union will get after him, and the next year he will preach Prohibition.

Now I want you to understand about the Church Temperance Society. I wish all the churches had them. The Knights of Temperance are limited to the Episcopal Church. We don't want any Methodists in the organization. Why? Because we think we have all we can do to attend to our own boys. We are trying to attend to our own, as every mother should attend to her own children. The Roman Catholics have started their organization, and we think every church should have some way of attending to its own boys. And when we get all these particular gardens of the Lord attended, I think somehow or other we will be all right.

Last night there was a telegram by the Associated Press sent to the Brooklyn *Times*, and as I read it going over the ferry from this meeting, I read that General Neal Dow spoke very strongly in favor of High License, and Mr. Graham spoke very absolutely for Prohibition. Now you see things are getting decidedly mixed. There are two classes of High License people, one of whom are always our friends, and the others I haven't much hope

of. If you get a High License man who is a Total Ab-stainer, as Brother Graham is, I know what he will be-come by and by. But when you get a High License man who drinks, we may well pray for him.

I have just come from the Rutgers Commencement—the Rutgers Female College; and there were gathered a great group of young ladies, dressed in white, singing the *Jubilate Deo*. I come down here and see a lot of people not in their Sunday clothes, many of them wear-ing black. It looks to me as if they were in their work-ing clothes. These girl graduates were rejoicing that they had graduated. We have not graduated yet. We are in the midst of the work, but as I heard the *Jubilate Deo*, I thought, “We will be singing the *Jubilate*, we will be wearing the white, we will be feeling through and through that the battle is won, by and by.”

As I went out of here a while ago, a friend said to me, “I won’t stay another minute. Why, there is one of those crank, short-haired women speaking.” Perhaps she was a crank. You know what that means. You remember the siege at Lucknow. You remember poor Jennie, the crank, and you remember, long before the other people heard the words of succor, long before they heard the song of victory, this crank woman, with her ear to the ground, heard it, and she cheered the heart of the soldiers in the midst of their doubt and misery. The Campbells were coming, and they had victory, because a crank woman had told them long before that they would have it. God be praised for the crank women who are leading in this movement.

THURSDAY EVENING.

Dr. Deems announced that General Dow, who had been expected to preside, could not be present. In his

absence the Congress signified its desire that the President should preside.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hector.

The first address of the evening was on

THE NEBRASKA AMENDMENT.

Mrs. Mary A. Hitchcock, President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Nebraska, spoke as follows :

Brothers and Sisters : It is with pleasure that I am here upon this platform to-night, to speak in behalf of Nebraska. But I was not aware that my name would appear upon this programme until I reached Chicago. I might have made the excuse of a bad cold, or of other engagements, had I known that I should be called upon ; and so I question a little the right of this committee to put my name upon this programme without letting me know that they had done so. When I arrived in Chicago, a programme was handed me, and there I found my name. I felt a little cowardly, I must say, when this great convention or congress came up before me as you appear to me to-night, and I stand before you with more timidity than I would before the whole State of Nebraska, although it is four hundred and fifty miles in length and two hundred and fifty miles in width. So you can see how I measure up this convention. I had no time to make a set speech and to write it down, and so I shall speak to you, perhaps, in rather a disconnected manner, as I am not a platform speaker, or even a lecturer. I simply talk to my own people.

Nebraska is the oldest High License State in the United States. We had High License first, and we have struggled with it for the last nine years. It was introduced into our State as a restrictive and a reformatory measure. It has not proved to be either. If the provi-

sions of the law had been lived up to it would have been nearly Prohibition ; but they have been disregarded in every respect. Liquor has been sold to minors and to drunkards, and it has been sold on Sunday, and the law has been disregarded in every way. We have become tired of High License. We want no more of it. Our last Legislature had a conference with the chairman of the National Republican Committee, and he said to them, " You are losing so many men from the Republican party to the third party, that you must submit a Prohibitory Amendment to the people." He said one thing more. " But," said he, " you must defeat it at the ballot." So we have before us what is called in Nebraska a double-header. We have two amendments submitted to our people, to be voted upon next November. One is Prohibition and the other is License, in our Constitution—mandatory—" You shall license ;" that is the wording. So we have this double-headed fight. That is the condition in which Nebraska stands to-day. It is not only the battle-ground for our State, but it is the battle-ground of the United States. As this question goes in Nebraska, so it will affect, for weal or for woe, the whole interests of Prohibition or the Temperance cause. I want you to fully understand that it is not simply the State of Nebraska that is interested in this, but it is this whole Congress, this whole United States. Mr. Peter E. Iler, the great distiller of Omaha, says, " If Prohibition obtains in Omaha, I shall move out ;" and we should be glad to say good-by to him. But he also says, " If License carries, I shall double up my capacity." What does that mean for Nebraska ? Now the condition of Nebraska to-day, financially, is this : We are laboring under greater financial depression at this time than we have ever been before in our history. We have an indebtedness of five million dollars upon our

State, with resources of only a little over one million. We have another thing which is appalling, and I wish I could write it in figures to encompass this room,—NEBRASKA'S DRINK BILL IS TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

That is the condition that we are in. We are little prepared at this time to fight this Liquor League. It is the Liquor League of the whole United States, that are putting their money into this amendment fight. They are thoroughly organized. I was told but a few days ago that there were four million five hundred thousand dollars on call to be used to fight Prohibition in Nebraska. The liquor power realize that if they lose Nebraska they have lost a great battle. They realize that upon the north we have the Dakotas, upon the south Kansas, and upon our east Iowa; and we shall have a large Prohibition territory in there if we can carry Prohibition. And so, if it is lost to the liquor power, it is a great loss to them, and the backbone of the liquor power is broken.

The question has been asked me a good many times since I have come to this Congress, "How will this Original Package business affect Prohibition in Nebraska? How will it affect your campaign?" and I received a letter from a good sister whom I have never met, from one of the Eastern States, and she says, "Have you become discouraged and given up your campaign in Nebraska because of the decision with regard to 'original packages'?" As soon as I could write the words, I said this, "Faint, yet pursuing. We have not given up our campaign, and we do not intend to." It is difficult at this time to tell how this "original package" business will affect our campaign. We scarcely can tell. The people seem to think, a great many of them, that if we can't have Prohibition, if we have got to have liquor come into our State in "original packages," we may as well

have the License fee to help to run our schools ; for that is what we do with our License money—put it into our public schools. Shame be it to us that that is the case ! So it is very difficult to tell just what the result will be. Before this decision it seemed to me that it was borne in upon every breeze that we should carry the State for Prohibition. Since that time there has been, perhaps, a little feeling of depression among our people with regard to this matter. We are hoping, we are praying, for relief in this direction from Congress.

We have but two large cities in our State, so that we have a good deal in our favor in that regard. We have about fifteen cities in our State which number from ten to fifteen thousand. We are doing a great deal of work along these lines. Our towns are being visited and thoroughly canvassed. But what we want is rural work, work in our schoolhouses, work in the rural districts ; a calling together of our people so that they shall become instructed in this matter, so that they shall outvote the element which we have in our large cities. A short time ago, there were riding upon the train two politicians, and they were talking in this wise. They said, " It looks as though Prohibition was going to carry in our State. We don't desire that it should." And so they began to lay their plans as to what they should do to prevent it. They said, " We will run in two thousand voters into Omaha. We will get them to sleep at the livery stables and board at cheap boarding houses, and we will keep them there until after the election"—to vote against what ? To vote against the wishes of the best people of our State, to fasten upon us, to put into our laws, a law which shall become a snare and a curse and a delusion to our people ; to vote against the best wishes of the mothers of our land, of the fathers of our land, of the wives and the daughters. If we could have

had municipal suffrage in Nebraska at this time, there would have been no doubt as to the result of the election. We had before our Legislature, just before this Amendment came up, a bill for municipal suffrage, and we had enough of our legislators working for the bill, to have carried it through both houses. But when this Amendment came up before the people, in accordance with the instruction which was sent to them by the Chairman of the National Committee, they said, "If we want to defeat Prohibition in Nebraska, we must defeat the suffrage bill;" and so it was defeated. Our women are exceedingly anxious, and are doing everything that lies in their power to help carry on this work. We have our organizations. We have our party organized for Amendment work. We have the non-partisan organizations for Amendment work, we have the Good Templars, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. And I want to say to you, my friends, that we are working in perfect harmony. It was my pleasure to sit, but a few days ago, in a joint committee from these different societies, helping to plan this work and to carry it forward. We work on our own lines, we pay our own speakers, but we work in perfect harmony, for we are working for one and the same thing.

Now what we need in Nebraska more than anything else is money to carry on our work. With four million and a half of dollars from this organized liquor party, we have to fight it, as you might say, with the Nebraska cent. The liquor party is so thoroughly organized that they are sending literature out into our land; they are scattering it all over our State. In twenty-four hours' time that little *Farm Herald*, which did so much damage in Pennsylvania, was dropped into every post-office in our State. And so they are thoroughly organized. And what we need is money. We need your sympathy and

we need your prayers to help us to carry on this work. While I do not come to you begging for money for my own State, I come to you asking that you should help us because it is a national issue. So I was glad to-day, when I heard my brother speak of the wants of Nebraska. I have heard but little said concerning Nebraska here in this Congress. But it is the thought that lies near my heart. It should lie near the heart of every one of you, because of the great interests which cluster around this Amendment, whether it shall carry or whether it shall not. If we put License in our Constitution, it does away with Local Option, it does away with High License, and that is one of the amendments which is before us. We have some counties in our State where they have no saloons, but since the decision of the Supreme Court with regard to "original packages," they have opened their "original package depots" in those counties. And while I come before you to plead for your prayers and for your sympathy and for your help for Nebraska, I believe that we shall carry the State for Prohibition, because I believe in the manhood of my State, I believe in the Christian sympathy of the people of the United States. I believe that there is a bond of sympathy running through this people, which will reach over to us and help us in the time of our dire extremity. So I ask your prayers, I ask your sympathy, I ask your help in any way you can give it to Nebraska, so that you will help us in our Amendment work.

The President : Now let us do something. I call upon Rev. C. H. Mead, of Hornellsville, N. Y., to tell us what to do.

Mr. Mead said :

I told some of the brethren that this Congress was bound to be a success, and that we should have the best speeches of all on the last evening, if I had to make one

myself ; and here I am. I have been looking up at this map of our country while this lady has been speaking, and I want to say to you that if we put Prohibition into the fundamental law of the State of Nebraska you know what will happen. We shall have North and South Dakota above her, Iowa on the right side of her, Kansas beneath, and she in the middle. You know what you will have then ? A stretch of territory with Prohibition in the fundamental law—a stretch of territory large enough to take in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Switzerland, Spain, Denmark, and a part of Sweden and Norway. That makes a tremendous stretch of territory, don't it ? If we get Prohibition there, we shall have a stretch of territory that will take in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, and little New Jersey thrown in. Do you know what that means out there ? Do you know what it means for the nation ? Do you know what it means for God and humanity ? Do you know what it means along all the lines ? Do you know it will send a thrill of joy into many a home all over this nation and throughout the Christian world, if the news goes that Nebraska has swept the Liquor Traffic out of sight ? Is she going to do it ? There is a paper published in New York City, called the *World*. Perhaps you country folks never have heard of it. But the New York *World* has quite a large circulation, in several families. In the New York *World*, a few days ago, there was a letter from a corespondent in Nebraska, giving the political situation in that State, and among other things the correspondent said, " Prohibition also will play an important part in the campaign. Already the speakers are out stumping ' for God and home and native land ' " (Glory to God !), " while the antis are forming their reënforcements and preparing to wage a vigorous warfare,

especially through the newspapers. This fight will be a close one, with the chances in favor of the Prohibition Amendment carrying." Well, when you get such an admission as that from the devil's side, it means a good deal. We have got fellows all along the line that will say, "Prohibition don't prohibit; it never has prohibited, all the way from Sinai to Cincinnati." But it does prohibit. Now we want to see Nebraska carry the Amendment. You have rightly said, madam, that this is not the fight of Nebraska, but it is the fight of the whole nation. The whole guns of the Liquor Traffic are being turned against the home, in that State. Twenty thousand dollars was sent from one association alone, in the city of Philadelphia, within the last three weeks, to the liquor men in Nebraska. Over one hundred thousand dollars was given by the National organization. Before they get through they will have over five hundred thousand dollars, and probably double that amount, on the liquor side. A lady from Nebraska said to me a few days ago, "If we can have one dollar to spend where the liquor men have a hundred, we can carry the State." What does that mean? It means that God has laid an obligation upon every man that loves God and home and native land. You that believe the Liquor Traffic ought to be suppressed, put up your hands. (Numerous hands were raised.) Now put them down, down in your pockets, and pull out your pocketbooks. Now we want to send out of this Temperance Congress our sympathy in practical form, to help Nebraska. Three gentlemen sat here to-day, from Philadelphia. I am sorry they had to go away to their homes. They were ready to give a hundred dollars apiece for Nebraska.

Now, gentlemen, there are a good many men here who are tremendously interested and tremendously in earnest that Nebraska shall stop the Liquor Traffic. I hope they

will come to the front now. Are there not a dozen men here who would be willing to give a hundred dollars apiece ?

Appeals for contributions were made by Mr. Mead and Mr. John Lloyd Thomas, under whose leadership pledges and cash were received aggregating \$998.75. The amount received in all thus far is \$973.75, as shown by the following list of

CONTRIBUTORS :

John S. Huyler.....	\$100.00
THE VOICE.....	100.00
Elizabeth S. Toby.....	25.00
Judge H. B. Moulton.....	25.00
“ “ “ for W. C. T. U. of D. C..	25.00
Horace Waters.....	25.00
Henry B. Metcalf.....	25.00
W. C. T. U. of Massachusetts, by Miss E. S. Toby	25.00
W. C. T. U. of Massachusetts (later).....	14.00
W. C. T. U. of Rhode Island, by W. T. Wardwell..	25.00
Miss E. S. Toby, for a friend.....	25.00
Mr. N. B. Powers.....	25.00
Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap.....	25.00
Shotwell Powell.....	25.00
W. C. T. U. of Closter, N. J.....	10.00
L. A. Maynard.....	10.00
W. J. Dingleline.....	10.00
Thomas S. Stewart.....	10.00
Mrs. Thomas S. Stewart.....	10.00
M. W. Baldwin.....	10.00
Prohibition Club of Lansingburg, N. Y.....	10.00
W. C. T. U., No. 14, of New York City.....	10.00
Dr. I. K. Funk.....	10.00
W. C. T. U. of Union Hill, N. J.....	10.00
W. C. T. U., of Middletown, Del.....	10.00
“ “ “ “ (later).....	11.00

Rev. A. J. Church.....	\$10.00
Rev. J. H. James.....	10.00
Miss Ann Edwards.....	10.00
Prohibition Club, Caldwell, N. J.....	10.00
W. C. T. U. of Connecticut.....	10.00
Cash, New York.....	10.00
George C. Hall.....	10.00
S. A. Kean.....	10.00
Horace Waters, for Maine.....	5.00
“ “ “ Texas.....	5.00
“ “ “ California.....	5.00
“ “ “ New Hampshire.....	5.00
“ “ “ Oregon.....	5.00
“ “ “ Trinity Baptist Church.....	5.00
Dr. C. H. Payne, for Ohio.....	5.00
Charity Lodge of East Hampton, N. Y.....	5.00
Rahway Reform Club.....	5.00
Mr. H. Osborn.....	5.00
Mrs. H. S. Berry.....	5.00
Jere T. Brooks.....	5.00
Golden Cross.....	5.00
J. A. Helvin.....	5.00
W. C. T. U. of Rahway, N. J.....	5.00
T. R. Simonton.....	5.00
W. J. Peck.....	5.00
Rev. J. H. Hector.....	5.00
Judge H. B. Moulton, for Vermont.....	5.00
F. E. Grimshaw.....	5.00
W. B. Hill.....	5.00
John T. Walsh.....	5.00
Rev. Dr. C. F. Deems, for North Carolina.....	5.00
Rev. A. P. Eckman.....	2.00
N. B. Powers.....	2.00
Julia A. Wilson.....	2.00
Caleb Ford.....	1.00

Henry A. Tuttle.....	\$1.00
Cash.....	1.00
Cash.....	1.00
Cash.....	25
Morningside W. C. T. U., per Mrs. R. Campbell.	5.00
Morningside W. C. T. U. (later).....	5.00
Collection.....	128.50
Cinnaminson Prohibition Club.....	10.00
Earl Lee.....	5.00
Rev. F. N. Lynch.....	5.00
	\$973.75

This amount has been duly forwarded to Nebraska, together with \$65.97 additional, the latter sum being the surplus received for expenses of the Congress beyond the amount of the expenses.

In the course of the canvass, Professor A. R. Cornwall said :

Mr. President : If this audience could only just see it, you can take Nebraska. It is all within your grasp here to-night. We have only got to carry out the programme that is begun. If we take Nebraska, I want to tell you now, liquor will never be set up again in that North-western Territory.

A Delegate : Gentlemen, I am pastor of a Presbyterian church in Nebraska, and at the head of a Non-Partisan League. I have not come here to collect money from you. I have come fifteen hundred miles, partly to learn from you what we can best do in our own State. I, however, desire at this time to render hearty thanks for my whole State for what you have done so far for us in money matters, and I ask you, my dear Christian friends, that you pray for us in this contest—for it is a mighty one—that I have undertaken to deal with in a small community of five hundred inhabitants.

Joseph Cook, of Boston, then delivered an address entitled

THE APPEAL TO PHILIP SOBER.

He said :

Money makes the mare go, and also the nightmare. This vast region of Nebraska we fought over once in the contest with slavery. There is more money behind the Liquor Traffic than was ever behind slavery. It is fair to say that slavery never whipped or burned or starved to death as many human beings in any one year as the Liquor Traffic now kills with every circuit of the seasons in this foremost Christian Republic of all times. Slavery never injured the Republic, in any one year before the Civil War, as much as the Liquor Traffic injures it now every year. It is because there is money in it that the Liquor Traffic conspires, combines, and may ultimately fight for what it calls its rights. I hope we can put down the saloon by use of the weapons of the school, the church, the press, the pulpit, the platform, and politics. I am certain we shall need much money. I fear we may ultimately need the musket. Agitation and controversies now are far better than war taxes by and by. You may come to barricade riots yet, as you have in several of the great cities. When the path to political preferment leads through the gin-mill, free government is a farce, and its future is likely to be a tragedy.

A man lives but once. Why should he live like a dunce? Let us, on this topic of High License, think, and not wink. The secret forces that are massed against us deserve to be discussed here, if I am to speak of Philip Sober in contrast with Philip Drunk.

Do clubmen hold the club over any preachers? There are multitudes in our clubs, in our cities, who are not Total Abstiners. Some of these men are church-members, some are wealthy contributors to churches, and

many silent lips in the pulpit are to be explained by secret influences. There is vast significance in the secret conspiracies of men of very moderate opinions on the Temperance cause—an understanding among men of the world, strictly so called, that High License must be defended, that Prohibition must be put down. I appeal from Philip Drunk, with these false views, to Philip Sober. I call politics, I call mere society, however proud it may be of its privileges, if it is merely by wealth, Philip Drunk. I call the Church, in its best estate, Philip Sober. Now let me contrast these two states of civilization—the State on one side, with the secret influences of merely secular life ; on the other, the Church in its best estate. Look at my hand, and let it be an object lesson concerning the position of mere politics and society in this country.

We are 65,000,000 of people, ruled by 13,000,000 of voters. About three million of our voters fail to appear at the polls in Presidential contests. We are governed by some ten millions who actually cast ballots in Presidential elections. I lift up my hand and let five fingers represent the ten millions. Two millions of them are illiterates. In a closely contested election, the mere illiterates would decide the case. In a narrow margin, you might have the result achieved by the votes that fail to be cast by those who stay at home, or by those who are so far illiterate that they cannot read or write, or, if they can write, cannot read, or if they can read, cannot write. I shut that finger to represent the illiterate portion of our suffrage.

Then here is a portion that represents the semi-illiterate, 2,000,000 more. I shut that finger to represent the bulk of foreign immigration and of the semi-illiterate. Then what remains? Here is the great Satanic thumb of the whiskey ring and its allies, and in the great cities

the policy of the whiskey ring is notoriously to govern both political parties. It clasps itself over those two smaller fingers, and there you have what I call the commencement of the grip of rum on the throat of the Republic. That single grip is what makes the throat of every great municipality in the land wheeze to-day. The great whiskey rings and their allies know very well that under High License the fees must be gathered from the victims. High License is an appeal to the cupidity of taxpayers. But one of my objections to High License is that it causes the Liquor Traffic to lock hands in the most scandalous, infamous way, with the brothel and the gambling den. The other night, in Philadelphia, going home from the Academy of Music, I passed a building eight stories high, lighted to the top. Leaning on the arm of the Chairman, I said, "What is in those lower stories?" "A gilded saloon." "What is in the next story above?" "A gambling hell." "What is at the top of the building?" "You would better not ask."

Herrick Johnson, of Chicago (whom may God bless!) deserves to be remembered a thousand years for a single epigram, "Low License asks for your son; High License for your daughter also."

That thumb clasping itself over those fingers, what remains? The open palm. Here are two great parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. It is supposed that politicians love majorities. How can these parties, so closely balanced, get majorities against each other, except by bending down and currying favor with that thumb? There are your great historic parties. And I mean to say nothing to offend any man's political sympathies. I have been a good sound Anti-saloon Republican. I now call myself independent in politics. But your parties, with close margins between them, tied, have assistance from the whiskey foe and its allies, and

are more afraid of the whiskey vote than of the Christian vote, and that is the most enormous political threat in the future of the Republic. The Democratic party has done wonders in the Southern States. In a number of States Local Option has been well established. The respectability of the Southern States is in the Democratic party. Here in the North the Democratic party has done much in the Great Commonwealth. But the Democratic party, as a whole, is under that thumb. And the Republican party, which is a national organization, is naturally in favor of "judicious measures" for the good of the majority, and is not under the thumb nor over it, but is both under and over. When that thumb clasps both those fingers, you will have the grip of rum on the throat of this Republic.

Now I am an American of seven generations, and proud of my lineage. But I must say, these things appear to me to be facts to be contemplated on our knees, and with humiliation. What is the remedy?

Here is the other hand of civilization—the Church. Here are your five great Protestant denominations—Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. I have been studying the various movements of thought in this Congress, to ascertain what one regiment of leading opinions is the strongest. I believe I find it in the great fact that a majority of our evangelical fingers shut one way on this Temperance cause. They close upon one palm; that is to say, the immense majority of the Protestant Christians of the United States are agreed that a rumseller ought not to be admitted to church membership.

Now I want to use that fact, the combination of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches in that position. Those churches all said immediately, without pausing for unnecessary qualification, which is well

understood here, they have all taken that attitude—the Presbyterians officially, the Methodists officially, the Baptists in a great measure, in their independent churches. The Baptists act as individual communities in their churches. Now I maintain that whoever will stand by those three fingers—I will say four fingers—that all shut toward one palm, will have a force that can unlock this terrific grip ; and under heaven and among men I see no way of unlocking that position of the left hand except by the grip of the right hand.

Some of you know that I have occupied an independent platform for a number of years, and that I am in the pay of no party, clique, or clan, but am a friend of all these evangelical denominations, proud of them all, anxious to serve them all. My solemn conviction is that in the Church, as Philip Sober, is to be found the only remedy for the giddiness of State and of society in this matter of Temperance—that is, for the vagaries of Philip Drunk. And I appeal from the State to the Church. I lay down this as an indisputable fact, from current history, that rum-selling as a business is so mischievous that whoever practises it is now judged unworthy to be admitted to the average Protestant church membership. If we could only lift the Roman Catholic Church to the level of Protestantism in this matter, we would soon disentangle every thread of that infernal coil that fastens on the State. There are distinguished Catholic prelates who believe as strongly as I do in the duty of Total Abstinence. There are distinguished prelates in the Roman Catholic Church who assert that it is the duty of the Church to drive all rumsellers from the Communion. But whoever reads the names on the signboards of the liquor shops from sea to sea as often as I do would be convinced that rum-selling is largely patronized by those who come from the other side of the sea, and very many

of those are in the Catholic Church. I know that the most infernal of all American scoundrels is likely to be a native-born American, like Brigham Young, or some of those who have dominated in this city from time to time. But the cause would be immensely influenced if you could only bring up the Roman Catholic Church to the level of Protestantism in this position, that rum-selling is so mischievous that the rumseller cannot be admitted to church membership.

Now to secure unity here, let me walk around that great boulder, that indisputable Temperance fact in history, and look at the four sides of it. I make four propositions: first, any business which justly excludes a man from church membership cannot, as is evident, be consistently legalized by Christian votes. Secondly, any business which justly excludes a man from church membership cannot be legalized without sin. Thirdly, any business which justly excludes a man from church membership ought not to be legalized by a Christian state. Lastly, any business which justly excludes a man from church membership cannot be legalized by a free state, depending on the votes of a free church, unless by the disloyalty of Christians to their principles. Any political party which proposes to legalize a business which justly excludes a man from church membership cannot be consistently supported by Christian votes. So I appeal to Philip Sober to rectify the vagaries of Philip Drunk. Pardon me if I use time enough to read a war song for the conflict. I have spoken of the value of education in elementary schools on the dangers of intemperance. No one can have been more profoundly moved than I was this afternoon by the address of that lady who has achieved the impossible—Mrs. Hunt, whose name is sure to sparkle as a jewel on the extended forefinger of history in time to come. No one can have been more

deeply moved than I was by ex-President McCosh's injunction to us to carry on this instruction in Sunday-schools as well as other schools. But while I believe in educating those who are tempted, I believe also in sweeping away the webs into which the flies fall.

Mr. Cook then read the verses "Webs and Flies," which will be found on page 124.

NO SECTIONALISM IN THE TEMPERANCE WORK.

Upon this subject, General Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, then delivered an address, as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The subject I am to discuss is not the least in importance, though it stands last on the programme and comes at this late hour.

I have asked myself, "Why should there be any sectionalism in this matter, or how could there be?" The traffic is alike in its effects upon men and business everywhere ; and we of the South are as sensitive to its touch and hurtful influences as you can possibly be in your respective sections. It kills our people just as easily as it kills yours ; it ruins our business just as surely as it ruins yours ; it fills our penitentiaries, jails, asylums, and almshouses just as full as it does yours ; it makes orphans and widows among us just as it does with you ; it produces lamentation and woe in our beautiful Southland just as it does in your green mountains and magnificent cities.

In the closing of the twenty-five years last past, we are not the distant and unknown prejudiced people we were before the war. Our people by thousands have settled and entered into business with your people. The Northmen have gone South, invested their money, and become part and parcel of the South. Our children have intermarried—slavery no longer divides us ; but a common interest unites us, a common destiny awaits us, one

flag leads us, one Constitution binds us, and one great Union holds us. This question can never produce sectionalism of itself. It is a common enemy, and we are willing to unite with you, anybody and everybody to drive it from our land.

But, Mr. President, I fear there are many good men and women who in their zeal for reform are pushing too many other matters on the platform with this, that will clog it and weigh it down and prevent its real success and triumph.

Is this not *the great question* before the American people to-day? Where is there another like it? However important any of the others may be—and I would not lessen a proper consideration of them—this rises up higher and higher still above them all, with its colossal weights of taxation, crime, and infamy grinding the people into the dust, threatening the liberty of the masses and the religion of the soul. Why should we press other issues to the front or alongside of this, when this demands and requires the best efforts of the mind, soul, and body of all men? I have no faith in a policy that presses other issues of less magnitude upon a plane with this, where there is so much of life and liberty and property and happiness involved. Why divide our forces, that we may be attacked in detail by greater odds and be defeated every time? The people are being educated more rapidly along this line than we are aware of; their sympathies and judgments are with us very largely, as the votes of Texas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, the two Dakotas, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, and thousands of localities verify. If prejudice and sectionalism spring up and lessen our strength by dividing our vote, it is not because the mind and feeling have changed on this subject, but because we have tied to it and will not separate it from other matters upon which the people differ, and differ religiously and

conscientiously, and in which there is not in any wise so much involved.

Mr. President and friends, we have a mighty foe to contend with. It is hoary with the centuries it has tyrannized over the human family, but never in the history of our country was it stronger and more active than to-day. It is supported by men of talent, influence, and courage ; by men of good repute, and whose character in the walks of life is exemplary and honorable. It has in its possession and behind it millions of money—money from home sympathizers and millions from abroad. Its friends, aiders, and abettors are on the alert, never sleeping, bold, audacious—nay, some of them are bold enough to rush into the temple of the Most High and gather from the Word of God His commendation and divine approval of its rights and place among men, as they claim, and flaunting these garbled passages by the million in the faces of the more ignorant and indifferent, keep a solid phalanx all along the line of battle. There is no time for trifling, no time for other issues, no time for sectionalism, no time for differences of opinion as to methods of attack. The friends of Government, of liberty, of property, of the pursuit of happiness, must stand shoulder to shoulder with undaunted front, move forward on this issue, with banner lifted high, upon which shall be written in letters of living light, “*No compromise, but unconditional abolition of this monster from all of our fair land.*”

The prejudices and sectionalism born of the war will continue more or less, I fear, as long as the present dominant parties exist as they are. I honor these old parties for whatever of good they have done and for whatever of good they are trying to do. But there must be a new and national issue, one that touches every part of the country alike, and which will bring out the best thought,

the best action and determination of the best people. I believe Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic in the manufacture and sale is the one and only one that will make inroads into the old parties and produce an organization that is entirely national in its objects and ends. Step by step this state of things is being accomplished, not by the friends of this movement altogether, however. Our friends, the enemy, sometimes give us the advantage, and help us forward even more than they desire or intended. The opinion of the Supreme Court, which has already been discussed, is a godsend, I believe, to help this movement forward. 'Twas not so intended, I dare say, but it is good law, and, I am sure, a correct opinion. It forces this question where it should be, and where, I trust, all of us want it—before the Nation and the law-making power of the Government. If the Congress decides that the States may deal with the trade and traffic in their own way, then they will do it, and go on in the good work until all of them are one in law and sentiment. If it says the Nation must deal with the traffic, then the Nation will do it, and we will see that men are placed in power who will be the servants of the people, and not those who will keep them slaves.

That sectionalism to-day exists because of the Negro, and that this is the chief cause of it, there can be no doubt. This, it is said by many, is the great problem of the age. I know it is a grave and stupendous question, upon the proper solution of which depends largely the peace and prosperity of the Government.

Gentlemen, hear me, for I speak the words of soberness and truth: remove the saloon, destroy the still-house, stop the barter and sale of intoxicating liquors, and you will do more to solve this problem and allay prejudice and kill sectionalism than by anything else known to men. Remove the exciting cause of difficul-

ties, broils, and other violations of law, and you remove these. It is with us as it is with you. Where there are no liquors sold, there is a peaceful community, one of industry and thrift. On the other hand, where it is plentiful there are loungers and loafers and disturbers of the peace, open and gross violators of the law. The great majority of negroes love to drink, and adhere to that idea of "personal liberty," and when under the influence of liquor many of them are uncontrollable and dangerous. When in such a state, they do the things that are wrong, and to be condemned by all good men. Education and the Church are doing much for them, but the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic would bring them all under the influence to a greater and more wholesome extent of religion and intelligence. Assist them in labor—there is plenty of it to do. Teach them to save their wages and buy homes and clothes and food and educate their children, and build churches. Be their friends, not their enemies. The Negro is a citizen of the South, he is a fixture there. He does not desire to leave. It is his home; and we do not want him to go away. No people understand each other better than the whites and blacks of the South, and no men will do more for the Negro than we will. You of the North do not understand us. The relation between the former master and the freedman is strong and enduring, and neither class ask more than they are justly entitled to under the law. What we ask and all we ask is that both classes may be kept by the law and the Government from the temptations and evils of that dreadful element which destroys reason and puts in play the lower and meaner passions of the soul, and we will work out the mighty problem.

If I may be permitted to criticise the position taken by some of these distinguished and able men who have preceded me, I would say, the proposition to close up

the saloon and leave the distillery is absurd and impossible. Close the distilleries, and you necessarily close the saloon ; but as long as the still-house runs, liquor will be sold and its effects felt, whether it is by the saloon or some other means. The Government can suppress it. It does do it, and most effectually, save for revenue purposes ; and if the majority who freed the Negro and gave him full citizenship would be the friend of his liberty and future good and greatness, then that majority would by the strong hand of the Government see that he is protected here, and put on a plane where he can become useful, respected, and honored. We are ready to meet you more than halfway on this issue. This country of ours has done marvellous things, the doing of which has brought her to the very first position in the sisterhood of nations. We secured our independence after a long, tedious, and bloody war, marked by deprivations and sacrifices. We maintained our independence and nationality against attack from without by steadiness, courage, and loss of life and treasure, but not of principle. Then came the third and severest ordeal—the maintenance of nationality against conflict within. The world has never witnessed such a conflict, but the nation lives, and we of the South as well as you of the North rejoice to-day in our Union, where all men are free. There is no country like this of ours. Its climate, its soil, and its people are unequalled on the globe. Its rich cotton, rice, and sugar belt, reaching up and imperceptibly intermingling with the great cereal, horse, cattle, and grass belt of the Middle States, thence onward into the industries and varied production of New England, and then stretching far west to the Pacific, with a land filled with boundless wealth of gold and silver, and all over its surface a brave, patriotic, philanthropic, and Christian citizenship. We can stand erect in the fulness

of our manhood and thank God for such a country. And yet, fellow-citizens, there is one dark spot on the flag. Slavery was once written there, but that has been blotted out, and in its place liberty to all has been inscribed. The other remains, *Distillation of the drunkard's beverage*, producing crime and burdens, woe and death. Blot it out ! blot it out ! and we shall indeed be free !

We are trying this great issue at the bar of conscience and at the ballot-box. The underlying sentiment of the nation is with us. If we are wise, we will rid it of all hindrances and superfluous weights, and gather the mighty reserved forces into line for quick and certain success. But let us not forget that the foe is an obstinate and daring one, and will not at once down at our bidding. It may be that when it is discovered that the judgments and the ballots of the American people are about to decide against the traffic, that other and severer means will be resorted to by its friends to maintain their position. Will you be ready and sufficient for the times ? The conflict will not be on other issues. It will be on this. The enemy will not fight for other questions now agitating the public mind, nor for any in all likelihood to arise ; but upon this and this alone. The severity of the conflict will be brought on by the opposition, as it has been in miniature already in many places, but we must be prepared. When the War of Secession began, men of the South loved the Union, and wept when they saw the old flag go down ; but when their States took position these men followed their destiny. There were those in the North who deprecated war and cried " Peace ! " but when Fort Sumter was fired upon, allied themselves with the friends of the Government and gave their lives for its preservation. So there may be differences of opinion now, but there is but one issue—" shall the nation be free, shall it be sober, shall it be Christian ? " If so,

let us all, North and South, East and West, come together, bury sectionalism and prejudice, and contend for the right, as we see the right, and in God's name we shall succeed, and be as the Almighty intended, the great chandelier hung out in the midst of nations to bring them to peace, liberty, and righteousness.

The President: A telegram informs us that Bishop Turner cannot be with us to-night. It is late in the night. If you are willing to stay, I would like to have the Rev. Mr. Hector take just ten minutes, to speak for the Negro on this subject. It is not a fair call, I know. It is the first unfair thing I have done since I have been in the chair. It is an unfair call, because he is not a darkey, he is not a negro. He is only a colored British subject; that is all. He is just exactly on the footing of our Brother Graham. The only difference is, he is a little darker shade. I don't think he ever was in the South in his life, but his father and mother were, and the blood is in him, and I think that if you will listen to him a few minutes, you can wait.

Rev. J. H. Hector spoke as follows:

I am very glad to be here to night. I am glad that they left me last, so that the Scripture is on my side—"The last shall be first." We were the last to be called on when every star trembled in the firmament of your flag. We were the first to enter the capital of Rebeldom. On the eve of the battle that is before you, we are the last, but you can depend on us when the struggle comes for the balancing up, for the loosening of the fingers of old Philip Drunk. I will tell you why. We remember what you did to us. We remember, when you fought for eight long years of battle unparalleled on the pages of the history of the world, and tossed off the chains of British oppression; when you broke those chains, the first thing you did was to take them and slam them on us.

We remember, too, that we prayed the Lord, and He gave us signs, one day, that we would be free, and we troubled God's throne until God raised up the best band of men that your country ever knew, called Abolitionists, who plead the cause of our liberty, and raised the tide of public sentiment so high that at last the black smoke-cloud of the Nation's flame gathered ; then brave men from the North met brave men from the South. You ask me if I was down South. I have eight flesh wounds on my body, and carry three pieces of lead. Oh, yes, I was there ! And God came along, after five years, and rolled back the black smoke-cloud of war ; Peace, with her long white pinions, shaded this Republic, and then four and a half millions of us, with our chains all broken, walked out in the radiant sunbeams of liberty, never again to be slaves, thank God !

To-day the conflict that is before you is a parallel to the one you have just wiped out. You enslaved us because you loved gold better than you did right, and God has given black people their freedom. We are not going to use the new-bought freedom that God has given us to take our ballots and put the chains on the limbs of the drunkard's wife and the drunkard's children and the broken-hearted American mothers of this Republic. Thus far, in the South, where the contests have been close, where black men were in the majority in the wards (I speak from experience), the black men in the South have voted aright, and thus balanced up what I say by the power of their right arm, invested in the Government. And we are here, as the general said, to stay, and we are growing mighty fast, and what you want to do is to educate us, to pay more attention to us, to bring us up to the proper level of civilization, more than the Republicans and the Democrats have done. We waited, you know, a long time. They told us what they would do,

and we have been waiting. They said to us, when they broke the chains from our limbs, they would be our Moses, and so we waited and waited, and then we finally got so that by the light of education we could read, and we took God's Golden Word of Truth, and we read that Moses never got to the Promised Land. Now we are beginning to follow this new Joshua that has come out with royal colors to lead us to sobriety, education, and truth ; and on the rocks of the future prosperity of this nation the power of the black people in this nation has got to be felt ; and I ask you to take whiskey from us, because the position we occupy to-day is worse than what slavery gave us. You don't believe it. I will prove it to you in eight minutes.

The point is this : slavery kept us sober. It was a criminal offence for a white man in the South to give a slave whiskey. What do you want to prove, Hector ? I want to prove that when you gave us freedom you told us about personal liberty, and then we stepped out, not understanding the laws of physical culture and health, and we began to do what you do. We got razzle-dazzled ; and some of these old doctors fooled a lot of us, too. They told us that alcoholic beverages and beers would aid digestion, and were a sure cure for the dyspepsia. I want to prove to you that slavery did for us a grand thing. We are to day, because of slavery and Prohibition, the best physically developed race in the country. We have better teeth, better lungs ; we can out-sing any other band of people, and can go out in the woods and make more racket to the square inch than any other band of people in the Republic.

I heard a gentleman upon this platform talk about regulating the sale of whiskey. Let me say to you, for the benefit of my race and for yours, I plead for the black man here to-night in your Congress—we can't change

our skins ; so the Scripture says ; but I will tell you what you can do for the black men in this country : you can change the color of that old map up there, and wipe out that black. We would like to have you do it, for you of the favored race have a royal advantage over us in this particular, and in God's name I plead with you tonight, for one thing, don't try to regulate it. The men that favor regulation have no more logic than an old colored woman that came from Georgia to New York. She had never been in a house before where they had running water, and the lady left her in the kitchen and said, " Maria, you sit down here and I will come back soon and tell you what to do." She looked around and said to herself, " My, what a splendid house !" She looked at the little brass faucets, and she turned one of them. The water came. She was scared, of course. She rushed and got a pail and a sponge and began to sop up the water with the sponge and wring it out into the pail, and when she got the pail full she would throw it out of the door and then go back and begin again. The lady came down and said, " Maria, what is the matter ?" " Why," she said, " I am trying to regulate this water." That is the condition of every High License man in this country. They are running around with an old pail and a sponge, saying that they are going to wipe out all these low, miserable dens, and establish first-class places ; and whiskey is running all the time, right along, a steady stream. Your sons and your daughters can no longer be blighted and damned by these low, miserable dens ; and now, if they are going to be blighted and damned, it has got to be done in first-class style, and a man has got to pay a thousand dollars to do it ; and the whiskey is running all the time. May God speed the dawning of the day when you people of this Republic, black, white, blue, grizzly, yellow, green, and gray will turn

the spigot and shut off the damning tide of rum forever!

The President: Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are bound to admit, and every good and honest man, I think, is bound to admit, and the reporters are bound to say, that in this great Congress we have had the truth in black and white. We have had it up one side and down the other. I think you will admit that, after all the trouble, what has come has been worth it. I have just a remark or two to make as we close.

One is this: I come to beg pardon for my stupidity to-day, when Professor Wilkinson sprung a resolution upon the Congress, in which I was personally concerned. It took me so suddenly that, after hearing my name and one word, I heard no more. I only knew it was exceedingly complimentary, and what I wish to beg pardon for is that I did not have sense at the moment to return my most grateful thanks, which I do now.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been an uncommon strain upon me. People don't know how much of a strain it is. The things I have not done are the things for which you ought to be grateful. More people have been kept from speaking than have been allowed to speak here during these two days; and the one solitary man that has had to bear the brunt of all that has been the President; and he has had to decide rapidly, as each case came up. And then there have been propositions to bring public questions into the Congress, which were good questions, and the propositions were on the right side, and personally I was strongly in favor of everything that has been refused. Now I beg you to believe that, for I say it from the bottom of my heart, and I say it truthfully; I did not anticipate, when I allowed myself to be made the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, that the great responsibility of presiding

would be put upon me ; but I give you my most hearty thanks for the generosity, the gentleness, the kindness, with which you have received all the rulings of the Chair.

We did not know what this was to come to. The night before we assembled, the Committee said, " Shall we have three hundred people, or thirty ?" And when I left my house to come up to this church yesterday morning, I had great misgivings. But as you poured in, and as the enthusiasm grew, and as these men with such strong convictions have come nearer and nearer together, I have thanked God and taken courage.

We have not done much, people may say. But we have left undone the things we ought to have left undone, and let us thank God for that.

Now some day we shall have another Congress, shall we not ? (Cries of " Yes".) Some day we shall come together again. If the course had not been pursued which has been pursued, gentlemen, we never should have had such a representative body as this. There never has been one like it before in America. But may there be a hundred like it in the years to come, and every one superior to its predecessors. May your sons and my sons, your grandsons and my grandsons, stand up in the future National Temperance Congresses of this country, and may our great-grandsons be at the last, and say, " There is no need of more congresses, for the day of jubilee has come, and the captive is set free !"

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we close this Congress. We love one another better, I think, than we did before. We have spoken plainly on all the subjects. We have spoken kindly. There is just one little piece of business, and then I will adjourn the Congress according to the programme.

Dr. Deems announced that the subscriptions for Ne-

braska had amounted to \$909.44. This amount was soon brought up to \$1000.*

Mrs. Hitchcock expressed to the Congress thanks on behalf of Nebraska for the generous donation.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. Dr. Deems.

* The amount which is here reported in round numbers will be found exactly stated (\$993.75) on p. 34) —ED.

APPENDIX.

REVIEW OF THE CONGRESS.

BY CHARLES F. DEEMS, D.D., LL.D.*

As it fell to me to preside over the First National Temperance Congress, so it seems to be my duty to yield to requests from different quarters, and give a statement of the impressions made upon me as the whole affair appeared from my point of view. I have waited until the perspective might adjust itself and the work be done dispassionately.

Its origin seems to have been on this wise. No observer, however superficial, has failed to notice three things : 1. The increasing power of the saloon, not only in propagating and intensifying the manifold evils of Intemperance, but also in balefully controlling Municipal, State, and National politics. 2. The increasing desire and determination on the part of good men to suppress the saloon ; and, 3. The great divergence of views among intelligent and conscientious men as to the best method to secure this most desirable result.

There is nothing so dreadful among men as the saloon. It is absolutely useless and it is always injurious, admittedly the most injurious of all human institutions. It is conducted always by bad men, no man of good character being willing to endure the thought of being connected with the business. And yet it survives and

* This article was written by Dr. Deems without consulting the official report, and the note on page 273 was supplied by the editor of this volume as it was passing through the press.—[ED.]

grows, notwithstanding the fact that every decent man in the United States, Catholic and Protestant, Democratic and Republican, professes to deplore the existence of its malign influence. Why, then, is it not swept away in a year, so that no vestige could be discovered? Thoughtful men have felt that the phenomenon of its continued existence is due to the divergence of opinion among its opponents as to the best method of destroying it. Whether this divergence can be lessened in any degree is a problem.

At some one's suggestion, an informal meeting was called, in the month of March, 1890, of friends of Temperance to talk over the situation. The temper and the result of the meeting were so agreeable as to induce the appointment of a committee to consider the propriety of making a call for a National Temperance Congress. That committee consisted of seven persons, and I believe no two of them represented the same "Temperance view." Without consulting me they appointed me chairman. Upon reflection I concluded to accept the position and try to do the work faithfully. "A Call for a National Temperance Congress" was circulated, and obtained the signatures of men and women representing all creeds, religious and political, and all shades of Temperance views. Among those were many of the highest names in America, the most able thinkers in Church and State, the most influential workers in politics and business. The call was made so broad that no Temperance man was excluded. It was an invitation. It was a solicitation. It was as broad as this: "We ask all Local, State, and National Temperance Societies (regardless of sex or politics), and all Churches and Sunday-schools, and other Associations which hate the Saloon, to send representatives to a National Temperance Congress, to be held in New York City, June 11th and 12th, 1890, in

the Broadway Tabernacle." That there might be no mistake, the following sentence is added : " Every person opposed to the saloon who will present himself at the Congress will be welcomed as a member." After such a call, is it fair for any man who " hates the saloon" and who did not attend the Congress to utter any adverse criticism ?

The object of the Congress is stated in the first sentence : " We, the undersigned, representing almost every shade of Anti-Liquor Views, believe that the time has come for representative Temperance people throughout the country to assemble together in convention, to look into one another's face, to compare views frankly, to learn the whole ground of our agreement, and to enlarge that ground, if possible, by candid and friendly discussion." Before accepting the chairmanship of the Committee I satisfied myself thoroughly, and *am still satisfied*, that the Congress was not secretly intended to turn the grindstone to sharpen any man's axe, that no party politics were to be promoted by the movement, and that nothing was to be done beyond that which was stated in the call ; so, when a programme was made out the topics were distributed among the religious, moral, social, and legislative departments of the Temperance question.

It may be important, as a matter of history, to copy from the programme the topics in the order in which they were actually discussed. 1. " Is State and National Prohibition Desirable and Feasible?" 2. " Alcohol a Poison, never to be used for Beverage Purposes." 3. " The Line on which all Enemies of the Saloon may unitedly do Battle, whether they be Believers in Restrictive Measures or in Radical Prohibition." 4. " How may the Churches aid most Effectively in the Destruction of the Liquor Traffic?" 5. " The Coffee House and

other Substitutes for the Saloon." 6. "The Bearing on the Temperance Reform of the Unbroken Package Decision of the Supreme Court." 7. "Is High License to be Regarded as a Remedy?" 8. "Should there be a Political Party whose Dominant Idea is the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic?" 9. "The Relation between the Temperance Reform and Improved Dwellings." 10. "To what Causes is to be attributed the Failure of the Prohibition Amendments in the late Contests in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island?" 11. "The Attitude of Labor Men toward the Liquor Traffic." 12. "The Systematic Prosecution of the Total Abstinence Work Essential to the Overthrow of the Liquor Power." 13. "Temperance Work among the Young." 14. "The Nebraska Amendment." 15. "The Appeal to Philip Sober." 16. "No Sectionalism in the Temperance Work." Certainly this must be admitted to be a broad gauge.

Then look at the men assigned the topics. A majority of them were opposed to radical Prohibition and to what is known as "the third party." Certainly it was no mean Congress which had among its speakers Rev. Drs. Huntington, Funk, Kynett, Buckley, Miner, Howard Crosby, Carroll, ex-Presidents McCosh and John Bascom, Joseph Cook, General Nettleton, General Wager Swayne, General Neal Dow, General Palmer, General Green Clay Smith, and Messrs. Robert Graham, Joshua L. Bailey, S. H. Hilliard, L. A. Maynard, R. Fulton Cutting, H. H. Faxon, Henry B. Metcalf, Samuel Gompers, T. B. Wakeman, Albert Griffin, Judges Bonney, of Chicago, and Arnoux, of New York, Hon. Walter B. Hill, of Georgia, and the learned scientist, Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago. All these were on the programme, and with the exception of two or three, who sent their papers, were all present and spoke.

There were four rules of order on the programme, as follows :

1. Fifteen minutes to be allotted to each opening address. 2. The ' Talks ' following the opening of each discussion to be limited to five minutes. 3. The Chair is to ' call time ' promptly. 4. The Congress shall be wholly for conference ; hence all resolutions are to be ruled out of order."

The size of the Congress was surprising. The first session opened on Wednesday morning, June 11th, at 9.30. It is to be remembered that every man came at his own cost, and that the call had been issued only a few weeks before. At the opening of the first session, nearly the whole of the ground floor of the Tabernacle was occupied, and there were some in the gallery. The crowd increased with every session and every hour, to the close. They came in from Maine and Alabama, from Georgia and Dakota, from New Jersey and California. Colonel Alexander S. Bacon, who is *not* a " third party " radical Prohibitionist, but a well-known member of the Republican Party in Brooklyn, had been appointed to call the Congress to order. When he did so, the writer of this article was nominated as President of the Congress. It had been intimated to me that such nomination would be made, and I had pondered the question of my duty in the premises. I knew how divergent were " Temperance " sentiments, how conscientious were Temperance men, and how tenaciously each section held to its own views of policy. I knew also that there would be many who would insist upon breaking through the rules which had been adopted, and many who would insist upon the Congress taking some " action." I felt that whoever presided over that Congress should be obstinate enough to resist wild attempts to make a stampede, and courteous enough to break a mule's neck with-

out giving offence to that interesting animal. It did not appear to me that I had these characteristics in any very conspicuous degree ; but then, somebody must discharge this duty, somebody must incur the probable odium, and as I was not prepared to name any other gentleman for the sacrifice, I consented to victimize myself.

Plainly, there are advantages in seeing an assembly from the President's chair. If the observer be at all intelligent and self-possessed, he will see all around. Watching the assembly to know what should be done next, and the best way of doing it, examining the piles of cards and notes sent in by persons who desire to speak, receiving the comments made by those who are on the stage, he must have a clearer view of the whole affair than any one else. At this Congress I was not allowed to sleep one minute. Since its adjournment I have read most of the comments made by the press, and I now deliberately declare that if I had depended for my information upon the daily newspapers I should have had a most defective and distorted impression of the whole affair.* The press seemed unanimous in determining to misrepresent the Congress, and its success was not small. Now, I can say this without any personal resent-

* As a sample of the manner in which the papers differed, compare the following extracts :

“Prohibitionists are in an overwhelming majority in the National Temperance Congress.”—*New York Tribune*.

“Neal Dow did not meet with much sympathy at the National Temperance Convention in New York Wednesday. He was received with great respect, but it was evident that the mass of the delegates were in favor of High License. Rev. Dr. Deems even restricted the venerable Maine apostle to a five-minute speech, and threatened to quit the chair when certain persons in the audience urged the infringement of the rule.”—*Boston Journal*.

“Neal Dow did not meet with much sympathy at the National Temperance Convention in New York on Wednesday. He was received with great respect, but it was evident that the mass of the delegates were in favor of High License.”—*Boston Traveller*.

ment, because all who wrote about the Congress were unanimous in praising the President. Indeed, but for that, I do not think I could write this article; I could not avoid the suspicion of writing to "hit back."

A few days after the adjournment, one of the most distinguished citizens of New York, a man of more than national reputation, congratulated me, and told me that New York society was congratulating me on having so successfully managed "that bear garden," and having brought it to a close without a riot. "That bear garden"! All this gentleman's information had been derived from the newspapers and (probably) from a friend of his who was a member of the Congress, and who had been the most difficult man to keep in any reasonable order. "That bear garden"! I know the House of Commons in England, the House of Representatives in this country, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and divers other bodies, and yet I declare that I never saw any assembly better behaved, more submissive to order, and more dignified than the First National Temperance Congress.

There was excitement. There was life. There was vigorous and sometimes violent assertion. There was earnest and sometimes very loud protest. But of disorder there was next to nothing. In my speech of acceptance, I had pledged the Congress to stand by me in having the rules strictly observed, calling attention to those rules, one of which was that the chair was to "call time" promptly, and "time" was fifteen minutes for each opening address and five minutes for each following speech. Now it came to pass that the first speaker was Neal Dow, the veteran Prohibitionist. The Prohibitionists welcomed him warmly. I had told him

that I should give him the signal when he had but two minutes left. This signal was given and taken kindly. But who that is "full of matter," like Job's "comforter," can stop short-off at the close of the first quarter of an hour? General Dow was proceeding warmly with his speech when my bell struck, and I arose and called, "The next speaker is Mr. Robert Graham." "Go on, go on!" the assembly called vociferously, as is customary in the best regulated of enthusiastic crowds. Twice again I called, "The next speaker is Mr. Robert Graham." And they raised their pitch in "Go on!" I knew that my hour had come. Then I called out that that Congress had pledged itself to stand by me in keeping the rules, and men were violating their pledges by interrupting proceedings, and that unless immediate order were restored I should vacate the chair, and allow them to elect a President whom they could run over. The announcement was heartily applauded, and perfect order came. And the next speaker proceeded. I knew that if I kept order in the case of a very aged gentleman who was enthusiastically regarded by a large number of persons present, then younger and less conspicuous men could not complain.

There was one other deviation from perfect order. One of the speakers—not a "third-party" Prohibitionist—seemed to have deliberately studied how he might insult a section of the Temperance men or test their tolerance. He coolly and repeatedly applied to them the most irritating epithets, such as no man or set of men in private or in public is expected to endure in silence. Strong protesting exclamations came from the insulted party. I allowed both, up to the point where the irritated crowd could bear no more, and were about to overwhelm the speaker. There a stop was called. I told the audience that the gentleman was not a volun-

teer, but an invited speaker ; that at our request he was telling us what some labor men thought of some other people, and as this Congress was called that we might learn views, the gentleman should be allowed to proceed. The gentleman did proceed, he avoided unnecessary exasperation, and thenceforward to the close there was perfect order.

Now these are the only two instances that I can remember, through the six sessions of the Congress, of departure from the most absolutely perfect order. I appeal to all intelligent men whether it is fair to apply disparaging epithets to such an assembly.

The Committee of Arrangements selected topics and speakers, giving some time at the close of each appointed discussion for five-minute speeches by any member. The greatest difficulty of the presiding officer lay there. He knew few of the hundreds of persons present. The rule was adopted that each person who desired to speak should send up his card. There was a snow shower. The first received was the first called, and I took them in order, making these modifications to the rule—namely, that the proportion between the male and female speakers should be maintained ; that the different sections of the country should be heard from ; that, so far as I knew, those representing different views should be heard, so that all speaking should not be on one side ; and, if practicable, no one should speak twice. This was a task. It made some disappointments. It let in some indiscreet speakers ; but how was that to be avoided ?

Whole passages of the most sensible speaking went uncommended by the press, while a few rather startling observations received very conspicuous and derisive and damnatory notice. For instance, one paper says that “ General Neal Dow, the old man virulent, was the first speaker, and commenced the campaign by denouncing

as liars all who hinted at failure of Prohibition in Maine." This is a misrepresentation, possibly founded on a misapprehension. General Dow did no such thing. He denounced no man. He would have been promptly called to order if he had done so. I watched him closely. In the midst of his speech he quoted the assertion that "*Prohibition had everywhere been a failure and had been equivalent to Free Rum.*" Then he took special pains to inform the audience, as I understood him, that he charged no man with intentional lying, but that an untrue statement had been quoted by good people through ignorance of the facts; but that he might emphatically contradict it, he pronounced *the assertion* a "lie," and repeated that it was a "lie," and endeavored in a very clear, forcible, and decorous manner to sustain his position by showing that six months of faithful administration of the law had emptied the jails of five counties; that in the jail of the oldest and most populous county of the State, at the end of four months after the passage of the law, there were only five inmates, three of whom were liquor-sellers who had been convicted of violating the law; that now in three-fourths of the State the drink traffic was practically unknown; that whereas there had been many large distilleries and breweries in Maine—nine in Portland—now there is not a single distillery, nor a single brewery, anywhere in all the State.

Now certainly I should not have used the word "lie," and perhaps it was indiscreet; but does the manner in which it was used, with such careful guarding of terms, justify the wholesale disparagement of such an assembly?

Again, some one is accused of proposing to "spit on the Constitution and step on it." My recollection is that one speaker did apply to the Liquor Traffic the words which Horace Greeley applied to slavery, that *if the Constitution sustained slavery*, he was ready to spit

on the Constitution and step on it.* But we Americans ought to be used to that. In my earliest boyhood an earnest New England orator made my blood boil by speaking of the Constitution of the United States as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and his words were repeated and reëchoed until the Civil War, in which, to save the Union, the Constitution *was* overstepped, if not stepped upon or kicked aside. Perhaps the orator in our Congress was thinking of all that, and of the fact that nearly all our representative men used to ridicule any objection to the war for the Union raised on constitutional grounds. It was seen that the Union could not be preserved constitutionally.

Then it was stated that a "varied assortment" of persons "expressed their readiness to shoulder their muskets and face the foe on the shortest notice." Besides Mr. H. Clay Bascom, above referred to, the only speakers who made military allusions of that kind, so far as I now recollect, were the Eastern orator, Joseph Cook, and the Southern orator, Green Clay Smith. These are all very gifted and excellent and distinguished gentlemen, and, taken together, perhaps may be designated "a varied assortment" without violation of veracity, or syntax, or rhetoric. But is it fair to take their remarks out of their connection? So far as at this distance of

* The exact words of the speaker (Mr. H. Clay Bascom) were as follows :

"But, gentlemen, as was said regarding the slavery question, when it was declared that the Federal Government had nothing to do with it, and that the Constitution would be invalidated if we attempted to suppress slavery in this country, Horace Greeley proposed, if that were true, to spit on the Constitution and trample on it. And that is what I propose to do with the Constitution. If it has come to a pass in this country that the Liquor Traffic is to interpret the Constitution in its own behalf, and dominate this Government, I am ready for my musket."

[See p. 209.—Ed.]

time it can be recalled, the connection was something like this: It is plain that the drink traffic, if not destroyed, will ruin the country; there are only two ways to destroy it: by law or by arms; if not destroyed by law, it will soon drive the people to desperation, and resort may be had to arms. If that came, I understood those gentlemen to say that they would take up arms upon the side of the broken-hearted fathers and mothers, upon the side of the home, upon the side of the Republic, instead of upon the side of the murderous saloonists. Is there a patriot in all the land who does not sympathize with that sentiment? Would you not despise one who did not? And it is not to be forgotten that one of these gentlemen had once fought for the preservation of the Union, and that all knew that the saloonists had already taken the musket and shot down Temperance men, and were ready to do so again; and that they may carry it to a point where the decent portion of the community may be compelled in sheer self-defence to take up arms against the most unprincipled set of men now living upon the planet. Worse than the Janizaries, worse than the Mamelukes, the saloon-keepers deserve the fate which Mahmoud II. meted out to the former and Mehemet Ali dealt to the latter. If slavery had been abolished in our country by law, it would not have been abolished by blood. Is it not kindness to warn the saloonists of what may be their fate if they be not saved from destruction by some legal abolition of their infamous traffic?

The "lie," the "Constitution," and the "musket" allusions are the only grounds found by the most vigilant search through the six animated sessions of the Congress for the disparagement of such a body of men, and it is seen what they are worth.

There is another statement made which it may be well to notice. It is of the nature of a complaint. It is that

the Prohibitionists were very largely in the majority. And that plainly was the case. But who is to blame for that? They were invited publicly and came. Other Temperance men had had the very same invitation and did not come. So far as can be ascertained none, except those on the programme, were personally invited. Then, where were the High License men? Where were the Anti-saloon Republicans? Where were the Church Temperance Society men? Where were other Temperance men? On the way to the Tabernacle the first morning I met a gentleman in the street car accompanied by his colored valet, who attended to his portly portmanteau. It was soon ascertained that he was on his way to the Congress; that he was a Prohibitionist; that upon reaching his home in Alabama from Texas, he had seen the call, and immediately pushed off for New York, traveling day and night to be at the opening. Another gentleman, also a Prohibitionist, and therefore called "a semi-lunatic," came from Dakota, and another, described as "a wild stump orator," came from Nebraska, and each spoke five minutes in somewhat cyclonic fashion; but where were the gentlemen who are neither "semi-lunatic" nor "wild," but who favor High License—where were they? Are the men who were present to be blamed for the absence of those who did not choose to come? Let there be some fairness!

Every one who knows the facts knows and admits that every reasonable effort was made not only to give, but to secure an impartial hearing to every side of the Temperance question. Then what ground is there for complaining that certain sentiments were "barely tolerated" or "heard with ill-concealed impatience"? Did radical Prohibitionists expect High License men to cheer them, or did those who denounced Prohibition look for plaudits from "third-party" men? Were General Neal

Dow's feelings hurt because Mr. Robert Graham did not play the rôle of *claqueur* to him, or was Mr. Robert Graham thrown into the sulks because Neal Dow did not wear out his palms in applauding him while he poured hot shot into Prohibition by Law? Would it not be childish to expect such things from such venerable gentlemen?

But as the Congress did not "secure some common ground of action" for the Temperance forces, it "did nothing"! A machine or a political or a social movement must be judged by what it was *intended* to accomplish, not by what the critic might wish it had accomplished. This Congress was called together under the stipulation that nothing should be "done," no action should be taken, no resolution should be heard. This complaint, then, is a compliment. It proclaims that those who had the Congress in hand completely succeeded in what they undertook. Nothing but candid and friendly discussion was intended. No man was repelled by the fear that some action would be taken which, if it did not bind him, might embarrass, if not compromise him. It was because of this that so many shades of opinion were represented. Moreover, talking is something. Among people accustomed to deliberative assemblies, there must always be a great amount of thinking and talking before there can be determination. A Parliament is a *parley*-ment. Most certainly this Congress has done much to prepare the way for wise action among Temperance people.

The fact that the Congress did not do what ardent advocates of particular theories wished it might do, goes far toward showing the wisdom of those who projected the assembly under the limitations that were fixed. No criticisms are severer than those written and uttered by "third-party" men both before and since the Congress,

nor were any gentlemen so reluctant as they to take part in starting the movement. But the result has been to present phenomena which seem to indicate that the most sincere and candid Temperance men, those who most have convictions with courage, those who are readiest to devote time and money to the destruction of the drink traffic, are the pronounced Prohibitionists, whether they belong to the so-called "third party" or not. Moreover, it was shown that the tendency of the mass of Temperance men is toward Prohibition, and that they are moving to that nucleus of crystallization with constantly accelerating rapidity.

Among the invited speakers was Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, one of the bravest and noblest of men, a man whose position is much misunderstood because it is exceedingly difficult to understand, for the reason that he is believed to have done more against the saloon than any other citizen of New York, and yet he is believed by thousands of people to have done more against the cause of Temperance than any other three clergymen in New York. As he is my personal friend, and as I knew in advance what his reply would be, I put the question to him: "Will Dr. Crosby unite with the Prohibitionists in urging the Legislature of New York to prohibit the manufacture and sale of distilled liquors?" His answer rang through the great house, "*I will*;" and then he added with strong emphasis, "and I would join any one in utterly squelching the saloon forever." Before this, the accomplished Dr. Huntington, rector of Grace Church, New York, had proposed what he believed to be five efficacious methods of opposing the spread of drunkenness, and among them this: "A common warfare against the four distilled spirits, which are answerable for most of the drunkenness." So here was a coming together.

Dr. Funk, editor of *The Voice*, is supposed to repre-

sent the most advanced views of the most radical Prohibitionists, called "third-party" men. The basis of agreement proposed by him was presented in two items—namely: 1. Abrogation of all license laws. 2. The immediate adoption of prohibitive, restrictive laws that shall say, "Any person who sells liquor on Sunday, on election days, after midnight, or to drunkards—or to minors, shall be fined or imprisoned, or both. Any person who opens a saloon in an election district against the written protest of a majority of the voters residing therein shall be fined or imprisoned, or both. Then, as the public mind ripens, additional laws could be enacted; as, any person who sells liquor after sundown shall be fined or imprisoned, or both; any person who sells liquor to be drunk on the premises shall be fined or imprisoned, or both; any person who sells distilled liquors shall be fined or imprisoned, or both; and so on toward absolute Prohibition."*

If nothing else had been done, the presentation by such representative men of the possibilities of approach in action would have been worth the cost of the Congress. But much else was done. Men learned distinctly what others believed, and learned to respect those who differed from them as to the engines to be used in extinguishing a conflagration, but who agreed with them that *the fire must be put out*. There was an increase made in the volume of Temperance agitation. There was a successful initiation of a series of Temperance Congresses. From what I have seen in the press and heard from leading citizens, I feel sure that the First National Temperance Congress in the United States was felicitous in its conception and will be beneficial in its outcome.

* See page 60, sq.—[Ed.]

LIST OF DELEGATES.

That this Congress fairly represented the masses of opponents of the saloon throughout the country is shown by the appended list of organizations and persons represented and attending its sessions.

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L. H. Losee, 358 West Forty-eighth Street, New York City.

James Dayton, Woodside, L. I.

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John Neafie, 191 West Tenth Street, New York City.

Peter McDonald, 1,651 Broadway, New York City.

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Frank W. Herr, 35 Fourth Place.

Clarence M. Whipple, Adams Street.

William E. Davenport, 11 Garden Place.

Albert A. Baker, 199 Fulton Street.

James W. Stewart, 322 Jay Street.

William Wirt Griffin, 51 Concord Street.

William Bradley, 321 Gold Street.

William B. Perry, 428 Gold Street.

Robert Townsend, 1 Duffield Street.

William J. Thompson, 20 First Street.

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NEWSPAPERS.

CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Union Signal.*

George C. Hall.

HARTFORD, CONN.—*The Connecticut Home.*

Rev. H. G. Smith.

NEEDHAM, MASS.—*The Campaign.*

Frank Arthur Brown.

NEW YORK CITY.—*The American Sentinel.*

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The Voice.

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.—*Irish Catholic Benevolent Temperance Union Journal.*

Martin I. J. Griffin.

WORCESTER, MASS.—*Daily Times.*

J. R. Bartlett.

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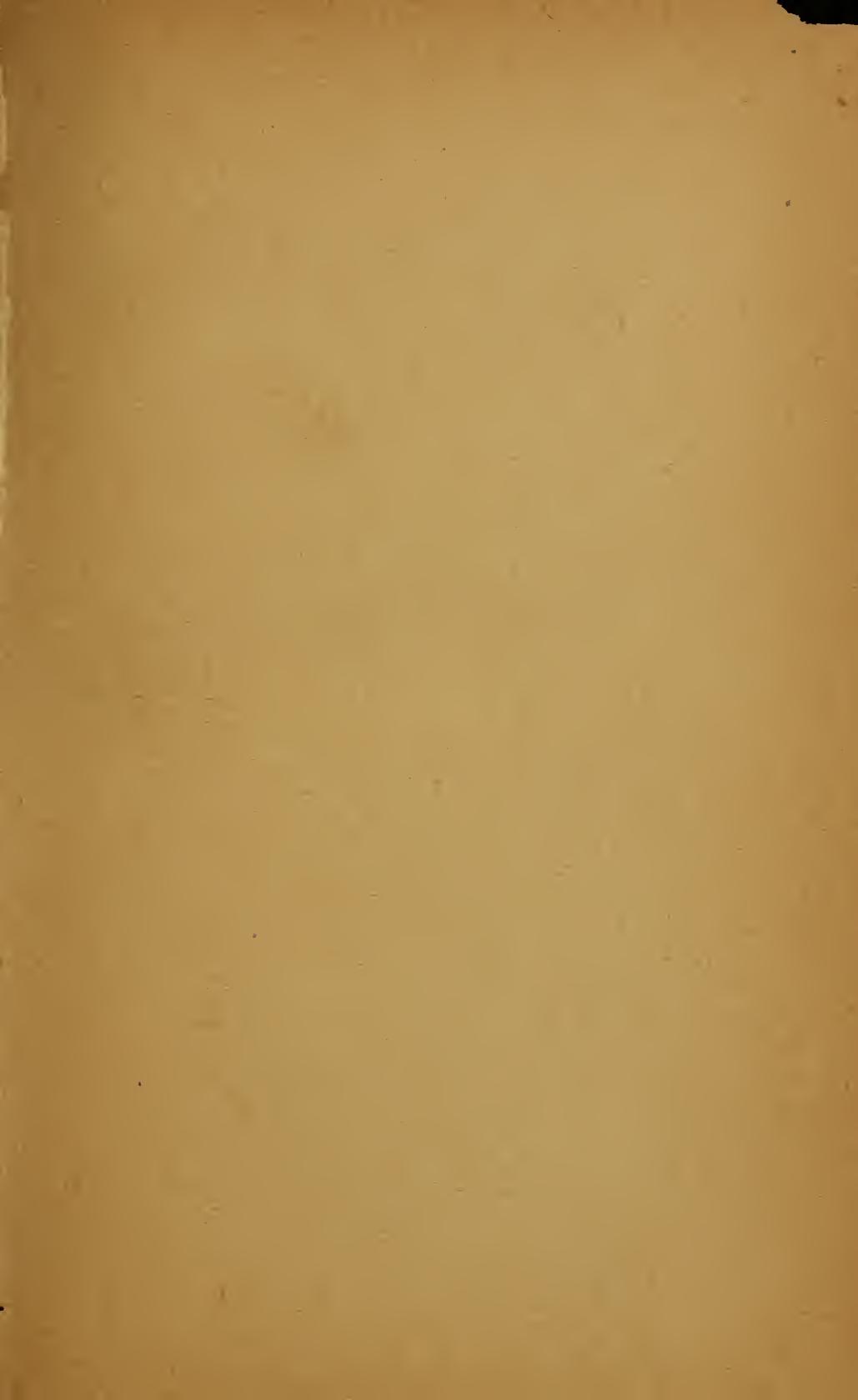
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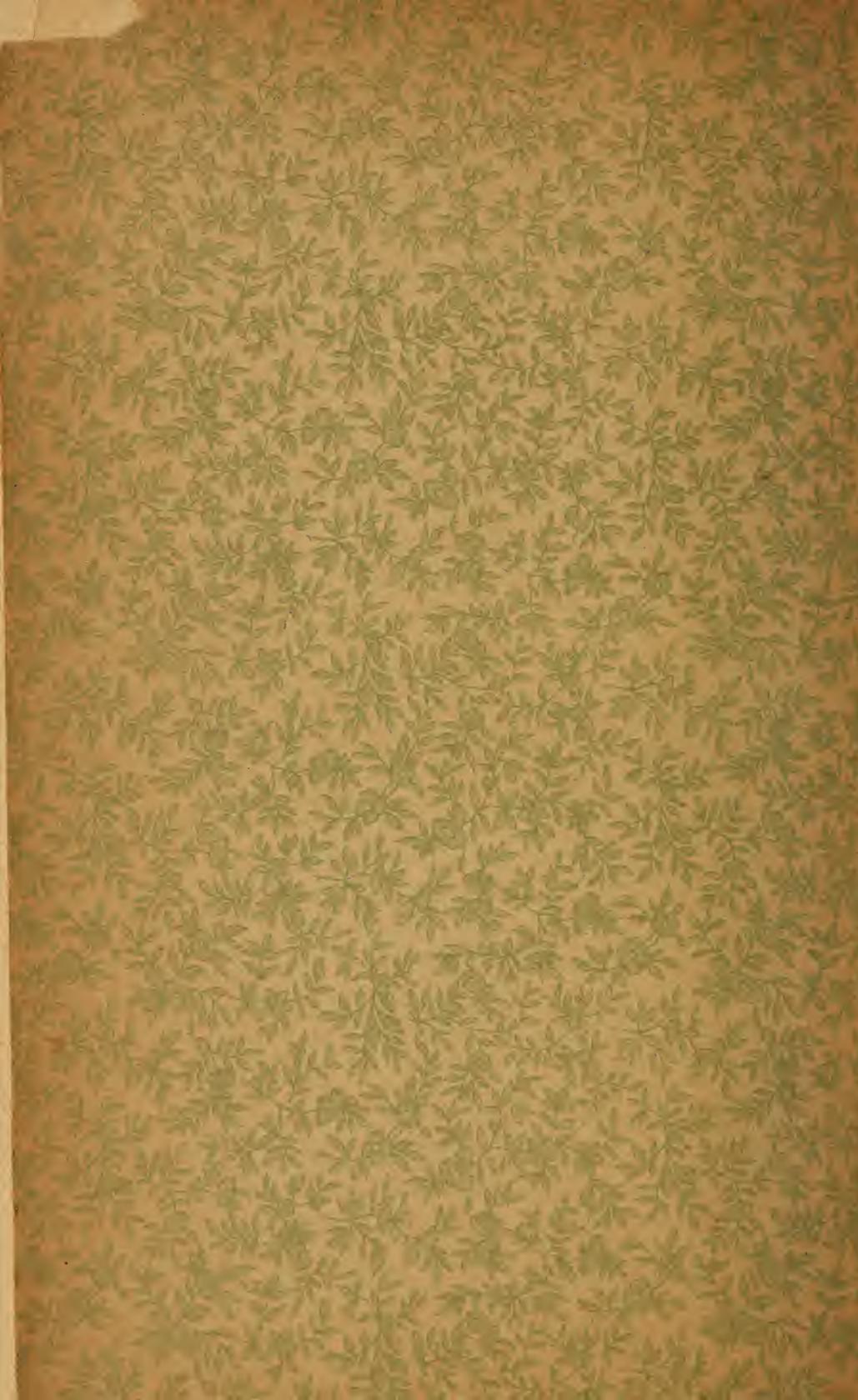
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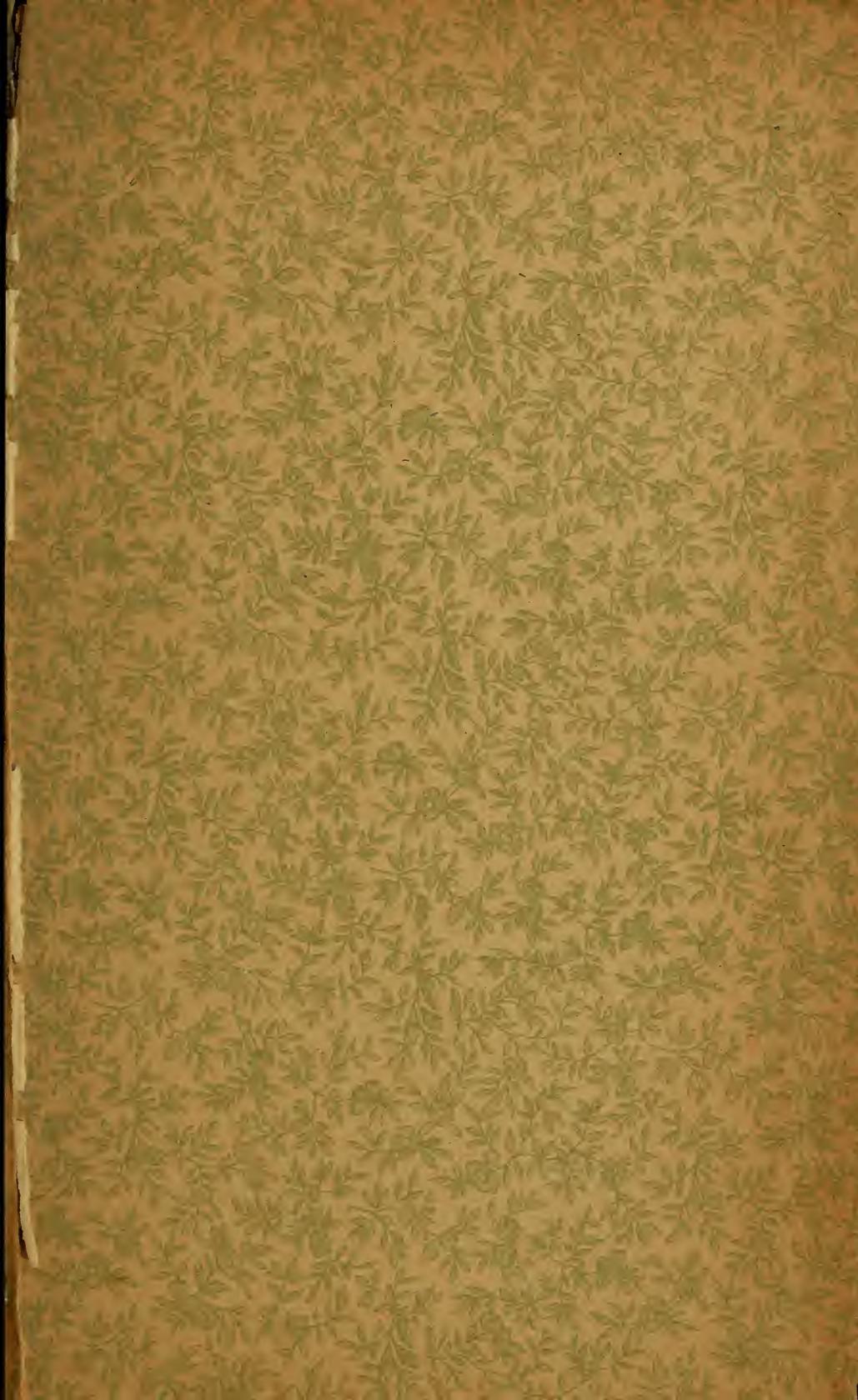
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