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THE
PROHIBITION
MOVEMENT.

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"Tis not for gain, for fame, from fear,
That righteous men injustice shun,
And virtuous men hold virtue dear ;
An inward voice they seem to hear,
Which tells them duty must be done. . . .
—*Mahabharata*.



Wilfred Lawson

THE
PROHIBITION
MOVEMENT.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION
FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC,
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, APRIL 3RD TO 9TH, 1897.

EDITED BY

GUY HAYLER

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NATIONAL CONVENTION

FOR THE

Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, 1897.

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 { Mr. R. P. MONCRIEFF, South Shields.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
TO THE
National Prohibition Convention.

The following Address of Welcome from the Newcastle and Tyneside Convention Reception Committee was sent to each Representative elected to attend the National Prohibition Convention.



HE Officers and Committee representing the Temperance Organizations and the various Religious Denominations, extend to each delegate and visitor attending the National Prohibition Convention a most hearty and enthusiastic welcome to the City of Newcastle-on-Tyne. They feel that a great honour has been conferred upon the workers in the North by the National Council accepting their invitation to hold the Convention in this City, and trust that the gathering may not only give an impetus to the movement throughout the North, but that the principle of Prohibition may be more fully understood and appreciated by the great mass of the people throughout the Empire.

The Reception Committee has endeavoured to make such arrangements for the visit that those who attend may spend the time both pleasantly and profitably, and the Secretaries of the various committees will be glad to give all assistance in their power to delegates and visitors to this end.

Praying that God's richest blessing may attend the deliberations of the Convention.

On behalf of the Reception Committee,

THOMAS BURT, CHAIRMAN.

DAVID RICHARDSON, TREASURER.

GUY HAYLER,

GEORGE TOMLINSON, } HON. SECS.

*Convention Office,
131, Pilgrim Street,
Newcastle-on-Tyne.*

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

INTRODUCTION.



N laying before the public and the subscribers the Report of the Proceedings of the National Prohibition Convention, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, from April 3rd to April 9th, 1897, a few words may be said about the origin and purpose of what was a striking and notable gathering. The suggestion for such a Convention was first made at the National Temperance Conference, held in London, in February, 1896. Nothing was then determined, but there was a concensus of opinion in favour of the idea. On the initiative of the North of England Temperance League—which Association had originated the previous Temperance and Prohibition Convention in 1862—a circular was issued asking for the opinion of the National Organisations, and on December 23rd, 1896, a large and representative gathering of Temperance reformers took place in the Board-room of the United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester. There it was stated that the following organisations had heartily agreed to the calling of a National Prohibition Convention, to be held during the early part of 1897:—The United Kingdom Alliance, British Temperance League, British Women's Temperance Association, Women's Total Abstinence Union, Scottish Permissive Bill Association, National Temperance Federation (representing 33 National, Provincial, and Denominational Organisations), Scottish Temperance Federation (representing 12 National, Provincial, and Denominational Societies of Scotland), the Irish Temperance League, Irish Temperance Association, the Good Templar Grand Lodges of the United Kingdom, the North of England Temperance League, etc.; and it was decided to hold the Convention at Newcastle-on-Tyne, from Saturday, April 3rd, to Friday, April 9th.

THE NEED FOR THE CONVENTION.

Since the General Election of 1895, a certain school of license-reformers had been more active than ever in pressing schemes of compromise upon the nation. It was felt that the summoning of such a Convention was needed to demonstrate once more that the Prohibitionists would not sacrifice the principles which they had been striving for so long, merely to secure some so-called measure of licensing reform. It was needed to refute once more the statement that through the supposed obstructive tactics of the advanced section of the Temperance party

“nothing had been accomplished.” It was needed as a reply to those who asked us to work in support of improved liquor-bars ; the placing of better men and women in the trade ; the formation of companies to work the traffic on condition that the profits, after paying 6 per cent. to the shareholders, should be devoted to charitable or benevolent purposes ; the municipalisation of the traffic as a means of making it more respectable and saving the pockets of the ratepayers ; or some ingenious device for giving away the principle of compensation and fastening the traffic for ever upon the nation. It was desired to reiterate emphatically the opinion of those who believed that the effectual remedy for the evils of the drink-traffic lay in its prohibition.

THE VOLUME OF PROCEEDINGS.

This book, as it is now published, is, then, an exposition of the prohibitionist case against the liquor-traffic. The papers now presented have been carefully revised, but while there is a general similarity of aim running through them, each writer is responsible for the accuracy of his facts and for the soundness of the arguments which he employs. The Temperance movement is now world-wide, and especial attention may be drawn to the papers embodying the experience of Scandinavia, the American continent, and other countries.

The Report of the Convention's proceedings is far more, however, than a record of representative opinions. It is a manifesto from a determined party, which knows, with perfect clearness, its own political aims, and will follow them out inflexibly. Behind the book there lies the moral force of the tens of thousands of Temperance Societies throughout the United Kingdom. Prohibition Conventions have been held before in this country, in 1846 and 1862, but neither of these assemblies can compare with the gathering of eleven hundred representative delegates, the rank and file of the Prohibitionists, who met in Newcastle in 1897. It was a friendly critic, who, after witnessing these meetings, said the last word about them. “What other cause could have drawn its thousands night after night to the demonstrations in Olympia?” Without undue boasting, it may be said that the enthusiasm and resolution of this body of Temperance reformers constitute a moral strength which no prudent statesmen can afford to ignore.

“A time like this demands
 Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands ;—
 Men whom the lust of office will not kill ;
 Men whom the spoils of office can not buy ;
 Men who possess opinions and a will ;
 Men who have honour, men who will not lie ;
 Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog,
 In public duty and in private thinking.”

—*J. G. Holland.*

*Newcastle-on-Tyne,
 October, 1897*

G. H.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION CONVENTION.

ORGANISING THE GATHERING.



HE determination to hold the Convention was received with the greatest enthusiasm, not only by the rank and file of the Temperance Party, but by the hosts of social and moral reformers who are struggling with questions which must ever remain unsolved until the liquor traffic is destroyed. The National Associations heartily joined in calling the gathering, whilst the Societies in Newcastle and District amalgamated their forces to give the representatives to the Convention a most cordial welcome to the North of England.

FORMATION OF LOCAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

A Representative Reception Committee was formed, with Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., as its Chairman; Vice-Chairmen, the Presidents of the Local Temperance Organisations and Free Church Councils, including the Countess of Carlisle; Treasurer, Mr. David Richardson; and Honorary Secretaries, Mr. Guy Hayler (North of England Temperance League), and Mr. George Tomlinson (United Kingdom Alliance). The Executive Committee consisted of ladies and gentlemen whose self-denying efforts for Temperance reform gave promise of real earnest work on the committee.

A deputation from the Reception Committee waited upon the Mayor of Newcastle (Councillor J. Goolden, J.P.), who, with the Mayoress (Miss Goolden), promised to give an official reception in Olympia to the delegates attending the Convention.

A deputation also waited upon the Newcastle, Gateshead, and Tyneside Evangelical Free Church Council (representing 120 Churches, with about 20,000 members). After an explanatory statement by the deputation, it was unanimously resolved, "That the Council accede to the request of the deputation from the Prohibition Convention Reception Committee. First, by asking the various denominations in Newcastle, Gateshead, and Tyneside generally to place their pulpits on Sunday, April 4th, at the disposal of the Reception Committee for special preachers; second, to assist in providing hospitality for all the delegates attending the Convention; and thirdly, to elect representatives to the Reception Committee."

Thus, from all sections of the Temperance party, and from many of the Christian Churches and ministers, came promises of help and co-operation, and the Convention was enthusiastically welcomed to the North.

PROGRAMME OF CONVENTION.

The National Convention Executive who had the arrangements of the various sections in hand had no easy task, but the ready acceptance with which friends in all parts of the country assisted in the preparations for the Convention certainly tended to make the work, however arduous, pleasant and inspiring. Repeated meetings of the Executive were held at Manchester, Carlisle, and Newcastle to draw up the programme, which in every particular was most successfully carried out.

PREPARATORY MEETINGS.

During the week previous to the Convention some 100 district meetings were held throughout the North of England. Agents of the United Kingdom Alliance from all parts of the country joining hands with those of the North of England Temperance League in speaking at these gatherings. Amongst the places visited were Bishop Auckland, Bedlington, Howden-le-Wear, Hetton, Keswick, Tynemouth, Chester-le-Street, Haltwhistle, Murton, Thropton, Workington, Consett, Haydon Bridge, Rothbury, Whitehaven, Carlisle, Hexham, Amble, New Hartley, Seaton Delaval, Braithwaite, Gosforth, Hunwick, North Shields, Tudhoe, Easington Lane, Felling, Great Broughton, Newsham, Bardon Mill, Birtley, Blaydon, Kirby Stephen, Gateshead, South Shields, Washington, Walker, Castle Carrick, Edmondsley, Corbridge, Prudhoe, Ryton, Humshaugh, and Rochester. As a rule there were crowded audiences, and the addresses on Prohibition by the various speakers aroused the greatest interest.

GREAT CHOIR AND BAND.

At each of the great demonstrations in Olympia (the largest public hall in the North of England), a number of Prohibition songs and choruses were sung by a great choir, composed of members of the various church, chapel, and Temperance choirs in Newcastle and Gateshead, assisted by an orchestral band, both choir and band being under the directorship of Mr. John Murray, organist of Heaton Presbyterian Church, and conductor of the Central Hall Temperance choir.

MADAME ANTOINETTE STERLING.

This eminent contralto kindly consented to sing at the great demonstrations held in Olympia on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, April 6th, 7th, and 8th, and the fact that she is a thorough-going Prohibitionist and Teetotaler lent a charm to her visit to the Convention. In addition to Madame Sterling, Madame Marie Bellas, Miss Hallie Q. Brown, M.Sc. (U.S.A.), Mrs. Foggin, and Mr. Arthur Lambert sang at the gatherings in Olympia and the Town Hall.

There is no doubt that the excellent music, both of the Choir and Soloists, contributed greatly to the interest and success of the Convention.

REPRESENTATION.

The Convention was organised upon the widest basis possible. The circular of invitation to send representatives to the Convention was sent to every known Temperance organisation in the United Kingdom. The method of distribution was as follows:—The District Superintendent of the United Kingdom Alliance undertook the work of England and Wales, Mr. Tom Honeyman for Scotland, Mr. W. Wilkinson and Mr. J. B. Moriarty for Ireland.

HOSPITALITY.

The determination on the part of the Local Reception Committee to find hospitality for all delegates attending the Convention was no easy task, but with a large and representative committee of ladies and gentlemen, with Mr. E. W. Watson as Hon. Secretary, over 700 homes were secured while some 400 other delegates provided for themselves. The readiness with which all sections of the community opened their houses for the reception of the delegates was alike creditable to the friends concerned, and to the vitality of the movement. No vote of thanks was ever more deserved than that so heartily accorded to the hosts and hostesses by the Convention at its closing meeting.

GUIDE BOOK AND DRINK MAP.

The Reception Committee issued a most elaborate "Guide Book" and "Drink Map," a copy of which was sent to each of the representatives elected to attend the Convention, while a large number were distributed to the hosts and hostesses and the general public. The "Guide Book" was full of information in reference to the many meetings, services, and demonstrations. "The Drink Map of Newcastle," showing over 700 drink shops in the City, was framed and presented to the municipal officials of Newcastle and Gateshead, the clerks to the Board of Guardians, the Chief Constables, the Y.M.C.A., the Free Libraries and branches School Board Offices, Trade Societies, Schools, and others.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN THE NORTH.

THE Temperance Movement in the North of England may be said to have commenced in the year 1830, when committees were appointed, in various places, to promote abstinence from ardent spirits. Many successful meetings were held, and a large number of tracts were distributed. Earnest workers were enlisted in the cause at Newcastle, Durham, Stockton, Sunderland, Alnwick, and other places. Upon the formation of the York Temperance Society about this time, one of the first to give his adhesion was Lord Morpeth, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, "one of the most deservedly popular nobleman of his own or any other age." Dr. Dawson Burns, in his "Temperance History," says: "Probably about twenty societies in all were planted throughout England during 1830; many myriads of tracts were circulated by these societies, whose members may have numbered some two or three thousand; a small beginning truly, but the cause was blessed of God, and it had within itself the potentiality and promise of incalculable good."



JOSEPH LIVESEY.

On August 22nd, 1832, a pledge of abstinence from all intoxicating drinks was drawn up by Joseph Livesey, and signed by John King and himself; and on September 1st, of the same year, at a meeting in the Cock Pit, Preston, the following pledge was signed by those who were afterwards known as the "Seven Men of Preston":—

"We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine, or ardent spirits, except as medicine."—Jno. Gratrix, Edward Dickenson, John Broadbent, John Smith, Joseph Livesey, David Anderton, and John King.

To Joseph Livesey not only belongs the title "Father of the Total Abstinence Cause," but by his enthusiasm and literary ability an impetus was given—in the early days—which soon made the movement known in almost every part of the kingdom. At first the new doctrine was bitterly opposed, but in a very short time it became clear that "Total Abstinence" was the true remedy for drunkenness, and societies to further this principle soon spread—especially in the North.

At Newcastle, in April, 1835, some working men organised themselves to further Total Abstinence principles, and when Joseph Livesey, in October, visited the North and delivered his celebrated Malt Lecture, new life was infused, and the "Newcastle Teetotal Society" was formed in the following month (November), Jonathan Priestman being the first president; and among the chief workers were James Rowcastle, W. B. Leighton, and Thomas Wilcke. At Newcastle the cause was joined by George Charlton, at Darlington by John Fothergill, and at Penrith by John Mawson. In December John Benson signed the teetotal pledge, and joined heartily in the work. Each day brought new adherents to the cause and an increasing public interest in the movement.



JAMES ROWCASTLE.

The visit of Thomas Whittaker in June, 1836, did much to encourage the workers in the cause. Fresh from Joseph Livesey, with a plentiful supply of tracts, he did much to press forward the good cause during this visit.



GEORGE CHARLTON.

In 1836, a public discussion took place in Newcastle, between Thomas Wilcke and John Hunter (brewer), and in December, a Convention meeting in Newcastle formed the "Northern Temperance District Union," for the purpose of thoroughly organising Northumberland and Durham; James Rewcastle and George Charlton taking a leading part in this Union. It was in the year 1836 that George Dodds signed the pledge and began to help the good cause; and during the first ten weeks in 1837, Edward Grubb and George Dodds lectured nightly in the towns and villages of Northumberland and Durham, great success attended their labours. Later, William Lapsley was appointed Missionary to the Newcastle Society, with marked advantage, and so from year to year the cause was earnestly advocated by a band of noble men and women, of whom any cause or country might feel proud.

The Northern Temperance District Union having for some time been inactive, it was resolved in 1857 at a meeting of a few earnest friends of Temperance, that the Committee of the Newcastle Temperance Society should be appointed a Provisional Committee for furthering the objects of a League, and deputations were appointed to visit the various societies to lay the matter before them. Dr. J. H. Rutherford, George Charlton, George Dodds, and James Rewcastle did the chief part of this work. The reports they gave were so favourable, that it was eventually determined to hold a Bazaar, for the purpose of furthering the objects of a League in conjunction with the interests of the Newcastle Temperance Society. Mr. Buckle acted as Secretary to the Bazaar Committee, and the ladies and others entered most heartily into the undertaking. The Bazaar was held in the Music Hall, Nelson Street, Newcastle, during the first week of May, 1858, and resulted in a sum of £400 being raised. Two-thirds was devoted to the establishing of the North of England Temperance League, and one-third to the Newcastle Society.

The Inaugural Meeting was held in the Nelson Street Chapel, Newcastle, on September 15th, 1858. The Provisional Committee's report having been submitted and approved, it was resolved to call the organisation "The North of England Temperance League." The meeting then proceeded to the consideration of the objects, principles, conditions, modes of operation, which were to form the constitution of the League, and, in order the better to assure this being done satisfactorily, and in a business manner, these grand old pioneers considered each subject in distinctive propositions; and after deliberate and animated discussion upon the most important of them, finally agreed upon what they considered best, namely, Total Abstinence for the Individual and Prohibition for the Nation, elected the officers, and started the League on its journey.

Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. (who had prohibited the liquor traffic on his estates in Northumberland) was the first President, and held that office until 1861, when Edward Backhouse (Sunderland) was elected, and remained President until Arthur Pease (Darlington) was elected in 1868, and for twenty-two years Mr. Pease held this important position. In 1890, Mr. T. W. Backhouse (Sunderland) was elected, as also again in 1891. In 1892, the Countess of Carlisle was elected, and at the last Conference was re-elected President of the League, 1897.



GEORGE DODDS

The important position of Secretary was taken in the first instance by James Rewcastle and Daniel Oliver. The former was re-elected at each Conference until his death in 1868, and the latter until 1869, when George Charlton was appointed, and he retained this office until his death in 1885. In December of 1885, George Tomlinson was elected, and held the position until Guy Hayler was appointed in July, 1889.



JOHN MAWSON.

The Staff of Agents from the first have been men of ability and self-sacrificing labour. In the early days, when railways were few, the Agents would leave their homes for two and three months, often walking many miles to fulfil an appointment, and sleeping in a fresh bed every night. The Agents to-day also leave their homes for two and three weeks together, and in many cases have long walks to fulfil their engagements, seldom staying in the same house two nights in succession. But in most cases the host and hostess tender the Agents so hearty a welcome, and so cheerfully attend to their requirements, that the burden is lightened, and the task of addressing the meeting is made a pleasure.

To trace the history of the movement for the past thirty-nine years would be a labour of love, and would doubtless be interesting reading to many, but space forbids; suffice it to say, that when the League was established in 1858, much had been done—so we have endeavoured to show—in the furtherance of Total Abstinence and Prohibition. Little, however, had been attempted in the way of amalgamation or union of effort, except in holding a demonstration or gala. With the formation of the League, a new method of spreading the movement was inaugurated, and as year by year the agents and honorary speakers went from village to village, and from city to city, seed was sown which, under the blessing of God, has brought forth fruit a thousand-fold.

Temperance literature then was only in its infancy; the circulation of the *Annual Register and Almanack*, edited by James Rewcastle, together with tracts, leaflets, and songs from his able pen, and by other writers, full of facts and arguments in favour of Teetotalism and Prohibition, prepared the public for the weekly and monthly Temperance Press, which has now a large and ever-increasing circulation among the people.

For many years Prohibition work has been kept before the public of Tyneside and District by the Newcastle and Gateshead Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance. From 1872 to 1885 they had the valuable services of the late John Howie as their agent. The Presidents have been:—First, the Rev. J. C. Street; second, the late Henry Scholefield, and third, David Richardson. For many years the late Edmund Proctor was the honorary secretary, and did yeoman service for the cause, while Andrew Robinson, Matthew Mackay, and E. W. Watson have successively held this position.

The United Kingdom Alliance has been represented in the Northern Counties from its formation in 1853 by the following:—James Wilson, Richard Lambert, Joseph Rawlin, Thomas Carrick, J.P., Ald. R. Swan, J.P., William Whitehead, and George Tomlinson.

In the City of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Gateshead the most popular of Temperance gatherings are those held in the Central Hall, Nelson Street, every Saturday night, established by the late Rowland Lambert, first in the Close and then in Hood Street. They have been continued up to the present by



JOHN BENSON

Mrs. Lambert, Alderman W. D. Stephens, J.P., and a number of willing workers.

There is also an earnest and effective work done by the Newcastle and District Band of Hope Union, the Old Temperance Society, Sons of Temperance, Order of Rechabites, the Good Templars, and the Branches of the British Women's Temperance Association and Women's Total Abstinence Union, and the Salvation Army.



JOHN HOWIE.

A large number of the medical men of the North of England are total abstainers, and effective work is done amongst the medical profession by the Northern Counties Branch of the British Medical Temperance Association, of which Dr. F. C. Coley is President, and Dr. T. W. Hay is Honorary Secretary.

The denominations without exception are doing much to further the cause of total abstinence. The Newcastle Diocesan C.E.T.S. has for its honorary secretary an enthusiastic teetotaler in the person of the Rev. E. S. Savage, M.A., Vicar of Jesmond; while throughout the North effective work is being done by the Temperance societies connected with the various religious bodies.

The North of England Temperance Festival, established in 1882, supplies amusement on the Newcastle Town Moor for three days each year in June, and the attendance is estimated at half-a-million of people. Several hundred sermons on Temperance are annually preached on "Festival Sunday." Alderman W. D. Stephens, J.P., is President, and Mr. A. W. Wilkie, Honorary Secretary.

The North of England has always led the way in respect to Parliamentary representatives pledged to advanced Temperance Reform. In the Parliament of 1892, twenty-eight out of forty of the Northern Members were in favour of the Veto and Sunday Closing, and opposed to Compensation.

On the introduction of the Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill, a huge campaign of 1130 meetings, closing with a gathering of over 8,000 persons at Newcastle, was held in support of Sir William Harcourt's measure.

In the dark days of 1895, when the General Election resulted so disastrously to the Veto cause, the Northern Prohibitionists lost four seats, but polled over 10,000 more votes than in 1892:—

VOTES POLLED.	1892.	1895.
For Veto Candidates	189,211	200,163
Against Veto Candidates	153,184	170,079

Thus in every sphere of life Total Abstinence and Prohibition are living forces in the North, and although the onward march is slow, it is nevertheless sure.

"And if it gain one inch as yet unwon,
Or learns one secret buried in the sand,
Its life-work it has nobly, truly done,
And paved the way for the advancing band,
Which shall accomplish that which it begun."

—Southern

PROHIBITION IN PRACTICE IN THE NORTH.

It will doubtless interest the readers of this volume to know that there are in the North of England several Prohibition areas established by local landlords or employers of labour, demonstrating the useful results of prohibiting the traffic in alcoholic liquors ; while in the Province of Canterbury there are some 1,200 parishes and districts where no houses for the sale of intoxicating liquors are permitted, in the Province of York the number is not so large, numbering about 700 ; the results are, however, the same. The testimony being "that drunkenness, pauperism and crime are very rare."



SIR WALTER C. TREVELYAN.

From the York Convocation report we extract the following evidence in favour of Prohibition, by Chief Constables and Superintendents of Police in the North.

1st.—"There are forty-nine small townships in the division, and ten of them have no places for the sale of intoxicating liquors. These townships are comparatively free from crime, or riotous and disorderly conduct, and most of the townships in the country would be in this desirable state, were they free from Drinking Houses."

2nd.—"There are nine small townships in this district, with a total population of about 1,200, in which there are no places for the sale of intoxicating liquors ; and I have much pleasure in stating that not a single summons has been served in any of those townships during the past two years. I have no doubt but this has been owing to the absence of intoxicating drinks."

3rd.—"Out of the twenty parishes in this division where there are no places for the sale of intoxicating drinks, there is seldom a case for magisterial interference, and the labouring classes are well clad and live comfortably. But in the districts where public-houses and beer shops exist, much misery may be seen ; and there is plenty of work found for the police, and the magistrates ; the sole cause of which is the drink."

There are no public-houses in Cambo and District, which is a very extensive area. The late Sir Walter C. Trevelyan succeeded his father in 1846, at which time there was a public-house at Cambo, also one at Longwitton, and a beer-house at Harwoodgate. Before 1850 the whole of these houses were closed, and the inn at Cambo transformed into a temperance hotel, and about 26 years since a new temperance hotel was built at Scotsgap, and the old house became the residence of the agent of the estate. The population on the 1891 census was 836.

Sir George Trevelyan (late Secretary of State for Scotland), the present owner of the estate, in speaking of this district, says :—"Drinking shops are an evil in themselves, and they can be abolished, and can be extinguished without any disadvantages to the public which, in any degree, can be weighed against the enormous disadvantages and evils of their existence. This may be to others a matter of theory, but it is to me a question of experience. Forty years ago, Sir Walter C. Trevelyan took the matter into his own hands, and suppressed public-houses over a large district of country. Since then a generation has grown up with the tastes and habits which were formed under a new system, with self-respect, frugality, and a high standard of comfort for themselves, and what is much more important, for

their wives and children. And I will venture to say that the most minute, and even the most malevolent scrutiny, could never discover in that district any evil whatever which has resulted from the suppression of the public-houses. On the other hand, the most superficial observer will see signs on the very face of the country of innumerable blessings which have resulted from the change. It has changed the face of the country side with the appearance of the people. My neighbours have good health, good wages, good honour, good houses full of furniture, and have saved money. They are neighbours indeed and not dependents—there is not a single pauper on the estate.”

Owing to the success which attended the closing of the public-houses on the Wallington Estate, Sir Arthur Middleton, the owner of the Belsay Estate, suppressed all licenses in his possession, and to-day Belsay is a model village. The population on the 1891 census was 260.

Writing in reference to this district, a well-known gentleman states:—“As to Belsay and Prohibition, I may say that there has not been a public-house for over twenty-five years, and the improvement is very marked. On the neighbouring estates of Sir John Swinburne, Sir George Trevelyan, and Sir Wm. Blackett, there are no public-houses, so that we have an area of about one hundred square miles without this curse. The people are industrious and generally well off. Another important fact, you don't meet a policeman every time you choose to take a walk, and I believe there is not a policeman within this area except at Bolam, and he is a private constable. At several of the adjoining places in this district where there *are* public-houses, of course you have the policeman also. The difference is so marked that I fancy under the Veto Bill the publican could not get into our Prohibition area even if he wished.”

Another is the Marquis of Waterford's estate at Ford; this is one of the richest spots in historic associations and scenic beauties in all the countryside, and it has long been carefully nurtured by the noble residents of the famous castle, whose whilom master, John Heron the Bastard, by his murder of Sir Robert Ker, the Scottish Warden, precipitated that war between England and Scotland which led to the defeat of James IV. by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden Field. The place now forms an ideally blissful Arcady, and the picturesque castle is almost the only relic left to remind one of those former turbulent times. The residents have enough and to spare, living contentedly without a wish to bring back the public-houses that are no more. The population on the 1891 census was 1,435.

Previous to 1883 no public-house existed in Hartburn, but at the request of the villagers a license was granted, and a public-house existed for about 26 years; before the establishment of this house it is recorded “that Hartburn was a quiet little village,” but owing to the disturbances which followed, the Vicar laid the full facts of the case before the owner (the late Henry H. Atkinson, of Angerton), and urged him to close the place, which he did in the year 1859, since which time Hartburn has been a Prohibition village, and has returned to the quietness which reigned before the drink traffic was established. The population of Hartburn on the 1891 census was 505.

Neither in North Seaton village nor at the Colliery are there any public-houses, and no attempt has been made to establish one; both are quiet and respectable. By the last census, this Prohibition district contains a population of 1,996, the bulk of whom are miners working at the colliery.

On the extensive estate of the Earl and Countess of Carlisle all public-houses have been closed with marked advantage. There are several villages on the estate, one of the largest being Hallbankgate, in which place, before the public-house was closed, a direct vote of the inhabitants was taken, and by an overwhelming majority (more than four to one) the people themselves decided that intoxicating liquors should not be sold in their midst, and the public-house was, therefore, closed. We understand that the Vicar of the parish was much opposed to the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, declaring that he was a “drinker of beer, wine and spirits.” We are informed that “Hallbankgate is much improved since the closing of the public-house.”

Ulgham is another Prohibition village. In 1888, the license of the "Anvil Inn" was given up and the premises transformed into a Temperance Hotel. This change was mainly due to the Earl and Countess of Carlisle and their agent, the late Mr. Stephenson. As to benefit, the "village is more orderly, notably on Saturday evenings, on which day men used to come to drink from the collieries near, causing great disturbances. Not long before the license was given up, the policeman was nearly killed in one of these Saturday night rows." The present position of this district is additional evidence that Prohibition is of great value, in the fact that order and quietness has taken the place of noise and riot. The population at the 1891 census was 695.

The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* gives the following testimony in favour of Prohibition:—"As at Ford, as at Cambo and Scot's Gap, as at Belsay, so at Throckley. But there is a difference. The former places are rural villages devoted to agriculture and the peaceful pursuits of the country. But at Throckley, only six miles west of Newcastle, the hum of modern life is distinctly heard, and the quiet seclusion of the other Prohibition estates mentioned is wanting. It is a place no less ancient, however, than the rest, for it dates back further than the ancient city of Newcastle. When William the Conqueror's eldest son Robert led, as far north as Falkirk, the expedition which was principally memorable from the fact of his founding the New Castle upon the Tyne during his homeward march, and the real conquest of Northumberland began, the county was parcelled out among the warriors who helped to win the victory at Hastings. Throckley, however, with other sundry small places, remained in the hands of its Saxon proprietor. There had been people at Throckley long before this, and a very fine ancient British barrow at Dewley, which is now considered part of Throckley, is not yet obliterated by the plough. Dewley, it may be recalled, was one of the places where George Stephenson, the great locomotive engineer, lived in his early years, while he was married at Newburn, of which parish Throckley is a part. It was not far from Throckley, it is said, that Martin the painter selected the view over the Tyne towards Wylam for reproduction in his picture, 'The Plains of Heaven.'

"Prohibition has existed at Throckley for some thirty years, since the starting of the colliery. Formerly there were two public-houses. Now the sale of drink is prohibited on all the estate, which is leased by the colliery company, and on the land which belongs to Greenwich Hospital, and which was formerly owned by the ill-starred Derwentwater family. Not only can the inhabitants not buy drink, but they may not keep dogs or pigeons, and so gamble on the result of rabbit-coursing, greyhound-racing, or pigeon-flying. It is estimated that the number of inhabitants now reaches close upon 2,000, and for a pit village it is claimed that in the orderliness and prosperity of its people it is second to no other in Northumberland and Durham. More than half of the miners are total abstainers, for the prohibition of drink, dogs, and pigeons keeps away those that are inclined thereto, and the result of the repulsion of these free-livers is a sort of artificial selection of steady workmen, who have in the course of years formed themselves into an industrious, peaceable and thriving community, as is evidenced on every hand. The Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Chapels and the Church (which is an offshoot of that of Newburn, the head of the parish) are all well attended, and the ministers and clergy report that the number of men they find attending morning service at these places of worship is quite exceptional. The miners are equally good in turning up for work in an efficient condition on Monday mornings—guiltless of 'after-damp' from any Saturday and Sunday potations—and it is said that Throckley Colliery leads all the collieries of the county in this respect. Fortunately in regard to work the pit is one of the most regular in the district, having worked eleven days per fortnight for several years past, and the men earn an average of 5s. a day. At the excellent and commodious British Schools there is an average attendance of 500 scholars, and the Board of Guardians at Ponteland is called upon to pay the fees of only three. Pinching poverty is almost unknown in this healthy and well-conducted village.

“One of the plainest manifestations of the thriving character of Throckley is to be seen in its Co-operative Society. The members' share capital amounts to over £14,000, and each quarter's sales exceed £8,000, while it pays a dividend averaging 3s. 8d. in the pound. Besides the handsome block of store buildings in which its business is carried on, the Co-operative Society has built at a cost of about £1,500 a large and handsome hall of corrugated iron on a brick foundation. The building is handsomely fitted up inside, and contains a smoking room, a reading room, a billiard and games room, and an entertainment hall with accommodation for nearly 600 persons. Members of this institution, which is also carried on on Temperance principles, obtain for a small fee valuable social privileges, and in the winter a busy round of entertainments of various kinds is kept up almost nightly. During the summer, too, these entertainments are not entirely suspended, and every pay-day a hall is held, which is carried on merrily into the small hours like any city dance. This does not end the Society's enterprise, for it has bought a piece of land adjoining the highroad on which members have built eleven cottages, costing a sum of £2,640. These the owners do not themselves occupy, for they are pitmen living in colliery houses rent-free, but, having by their thrift become small capitalists, they have adopted this manner of investing their savings. It is the exception for members of the Co-operative Society to withdraw their quarterly dividends, and nearly every member has a tidy little sum to his credit in the Society's books. Others of the miners have bought from the Greenwich Hospital Trustees plots of half an acre of land on part of which they have built houses, and they employ their leisure in cultivating these little estates with considerable skill. The rows of miners' houses are very neat and clean, and all the gardens fully worked, while several occupants have erected small greenhouses therein, and others have built stables and sheds and are the owners of horses, traps, and carts, which they let on hire or use for adding to their incomes.

“On what is known as the Bank Top is the Mechanics' Institute, in which are a reading room and recreation room, the latter containing a billiard table and facilities for playing other games. In the summer time a large flower show is held, managed by a committee of working men, and the members of the Co-operative Society promote a leek show, which is held in the Co-operative Hall, as a counter attraction to the leek shows held at the public-houses in the neighbouring villages. The Mechanics' Institute members also hold picnics during the summer, as rival attractions to those of the inns, so that, taking things as a whole, the Throckley people contrive to get for themselves plenty of recreation, amusement, variety, and excitement on strictly Temperance principles. Full employment is found for three abstinence societies, each flourishing and with a good membership continually at work—the Good Templars, the Rechabites, and a branch of the British Women's Temperance Association. Possibly one active cause of the maintenance of Prohibition in Throckley, more potent, perhaps, than all the efforts of the proprietors of the colliery, is the existence in the village of a perfect water supply. The Newcastle and Gateshead Water Company have filtering beds at Throckley, and they supply the village with water of a quality that is not obtainable at every mining village in the North of England. This is a great and exceptional advantage, and must be held to supplement very materially the efforts which have been made by all parties to make Throckley a striking instance of the beneficial results of the application of Prohibition in regard to drinking and other habits which militate against thrift and prevent the acquisition of comfort and independence amongst the working class inhabitants.” The population on the 1891 census was 1,464.

CONVENTIONS OF 1846, 1862, 1897.

The National Prohibition Convention of 1897 and the two preceding Conventions, held in London, in 1846 and 1862.

1846.—Dr. Lyman Beecher, of sainted memory, for ever memorable as the preacher of Six Sermons on Intemperance, the father of noted sons, and a daughter of world-wide fame was present, together with Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, author of "Sparks from the Anvil," etc., and who wrote the introduction to the Report. He was the friend of peace, education, freedom, philanthropy, brotherhood, and when American Consul at Birmingham his services as a lecturer were in great request. He thus describes the character and mettle of the representatives and delegates to that World's Convention of 1846:—"To this centre (London) the men who had lifted up a standard against intemperance at its flood tide, had come. From beyond the seas they came—from the frontiers, centre and seaboard of young America. Men, grey-headed, and full of years and of the experience of years of doing and enduring in the ministry of Temperance, crossed the ocean with all its stormy perils, to give in their testimony before the earnest and true-hearted. Men of all professions came up from the people, the representatives of fifty millions scattered over the earth, speaking the same language and united by the same sympathies—ministers of the gospel, physicians, lawyers, editors, merchants, mechanics, and farmers; men of all religious denominations and political parties met in that Convention, in an unity of spirit and an earnest singleness of purpose which the cause of Temperance must feel throughout the world. Witnesses were they all of the Galilean order of moral courage; not statesmen, nor mighty, nor noble by the state virtue—of genealogy, nor the orators or aspirants of the political forum. They were the earnest men of the times, of that energetic philanthropy which is abroad in this hopeful day, searching the lowest aisles and avenues of human wretchedness, letting the sunlight of salvation and human sympathy into the hovels of sick poverty; men of great hearts and lowly minds, who ride, if ride they may, on the beast of the Good Samaritan to rescue and succour. They were witnesses assembled from the four quarters of the globe to arraign a vice entrenched in the strongest habits of human nature and society, to indict the great prime minister of sin and death on earth, to which everything honoured of men had given it power and honour, to which religion had bowed, and the best graces of civilisation and refinement, of poetry, and the prose of common hospitality. If any person lack demonstration of the pith of these men, and of the courage which braced up their hearts, let him count the gin and beer-shops in any thoroughfare in London; let him go and look into the crater of one of the huge breweries which deluge in brain soddening death more Englishmen in ten years than Vesuvius ever destroyed with its red lava, since its subterranean fires were first kindled. Let him go to either of these points of evidence, and he will understand the exigency of this high court convened in London by the social necessities of humanity. He will appreciate the energetic, ever-hoping faith of the witnesses and advocates at that moral tribunal, in their attempt to arraign and convict, at the bar of the world's conscience, the world's ruling passion—a custom of immemorial antiquity and universal prevalence, a custom claiming every divinity of extraction and patronage, and fellowship with the sacred rites of religion, supplying the table of the Holy Communion from one end of the wine-butt, and the maddest orgies of the midnight revel from the other; a custom claiming saints and holy prophets as its patrons, from the moderate drinking minister of the Gospel of the present day, to Noah, who drank

immoderately of his home-made wine, claiming the Son of Man and His example and the precepts of His apostles in its favour; claiming every throne on earth, every human potentate, the great, the good, the wise, to countenance its existence. Such was the custom, arraigned in its own citadel by the men of whom we have spoken. The evidence and the arguments were weighty and powerful, and they plead 'like angels trumpet-tongued' against the usurper. Heaven, earth, and sea, and the annals of universal suffering, crime and poverty, gave in their evidence—bitter revelations, facts of awful consequences. From the most distant regions of the race, from islands of the far ocean, from the four winds of heaven, from tribes of different regions and zones, from the deep mysteries of the human system, from garrets, hovels, and the homes of new-made widows, from shipboard, from river and the mountain, there came a tide of evidence, like the voice of many waters, against the great curse of the English race."

Samuel Bowly, of revered and beloved memory, presided over that Convention, and taking part in its deliberations were the Rev. Dr. Jabez Burns, the Rev. Thomas Spencer (Rector of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath), soon to become secretary to the National Temperance Society, and uncle to the distinguished Sociologist, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Joseph Sturge (the Birmingham philanthropist), James Teare, Thomas Whittaker, and many others. The question was gripped by that Convention; it was considered more from social, physical, moral, and spiritual aspects, than legislative or prohibitive. There were appeals to individuals, to conscience, to ministers, to Churches, but none to Parliament: and there is no record of lady delegates; and amongst the records of papers and speeches, there is only mention of one paper by a lady, and she was the late winsome lecturer and charming writer, Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour. As a writer of pure, nervous English, she is worthy to rank with Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Barker, William Cobbett, and Elihu Burritt. The title of Mrs. Balfour's paper was one in unison with her kind heart and broad sympathies, "The Duty of Mothers."

1862.—The Convention was held in Queen's Concert Rooms, Hanover Square, September 2nd, 3rd, and 4th. On the first day there was an aggregate meeting, at which letters were read from Lords Brougham and Denman, Dr. Mackenzie, E. C. Delavan, New York; Robert Charlton, of Bristol; and Rev. Dr. Spratt, of Dublin; followed by addresses from the president of the Convention, Sir W. C. Trevelyan; Joseph Thorp, then president of the British Temperance League; and James Houghton, of Dublin. Joseph Thorp, in that Convention, was president of the Historical and Biographical Section, and James Houghton was president of the Band of Hope Section. Thirteen papers were read in the Historical and Biographical Section, by English, American, Canadian, Nova Scotian, Dutch, Swedish, Scotch, and Irish writers. One paper was by the late J. G. Thornton, of Bristol, on "Joseph Eaton and the Temperance Movement in the West of England." The British Temperance League has good cause to remember Joseph Eaton, for no one, living or dead, ever contributed so generously to its funds. Eleven papers were read in the Educational and Religious Section, among the writers being the great thinker of the Temperance movement, Dr. F. R. Lees, and the late Dr. Gale, and the Rev. Wm. Caine, M.A., Dr. Burns, John Paton, and others. Dr. Gale was the first clergyman to join the United Kingdom Alliance—no tongue was more untiring, no efforts more persistent and successful in gathering funds; the doors of his house swung inward in loving welcome to every poor, wandering agent in the West of England. The Rev. Wm. Caine, M.A., is well remembered, not simply as the chaplain of Salford Gaol, but the scholarly and devoted expositor of Biblical Temperance; his books now are highly prized. John Paton, of Barrhead, Scotland, a learned, logical, philosophical shoemaker, read a paper on the "Educative Power of Law." He had a simple, honest, rugged, manly nature, great mental power, and a big, kind heart—a Scot through and through, but true first and always. Six papers were read in the Band of Hope Section, those by the late Rev. G. W. McCreë and Mrs. Balfour being specially valuable. The proceedings on the second day were commenced with an address by Edward Backhouse, of Sunderland, the president of the Social and Sanitary Section;

followed by Wm. Harvey, J.P., of Salford, the president of the Economical and Statistical Section; also an address by Dr. McCulloch, of Dumfries, president of the Scientific and Medical Section. Twelve papers were read in the Social and Sanitary Section—ranging from public-house clubs to the treatment which the nation should adopt towards dipsomaniacs. A paper on the "Unholy Alliance" was read by Miss Florence Hill, of Bristol, depicting vividly a woman's conception of the alliance between hospitality, festivity, and alcohol. Mrs. Wm. Fison furnished a paper on the relation between Temperance and Sanitation. Seven papers were read in the Scientific and Medical Section, on "Alcohol in Relation to the Nerves," "Does Alcohol Arrest Waste and Save Tissue," "Alcohol, Publicans, Medical men, and their Victims," "Alcohol not Needed as a Medicine," "Treatment of Disease without Alcohol," "The Medical Profession in Relation to Abstinence," "Continental Intemperance in Relation to Insanity and Suicide." All these papers are of marked merit, and in the main were presented by the medical stalwarts of that time and occasion, Drs. Mudge, Bennett, Higgingbotham, Collenette, together with Professor Kirk and Dr. Lees. In the Economical and Statistical Section there were eleven papers presented, our friend Dr. Dawson Burns being well to the fore with two very valuable ones, bristling with facts and figures, evincing then, as now, his great aptitude for dealing with the economics of the question. The Rev. Thomas Hunter, M.A., Mr. George Ward, then of Leeds, now of Canada, read papers in the same section. On the last day Mr. Wilfrid, now Sir Wilfrid, Lawson, M.P., as president of the Political and Legislative Department, gave an address; then no less than thirteen papers were read in that section; the writers were from Australia, Upper Canada, Holland, Nova Scotia, America, Scotland, and England—there were also twelve supplementary papers not read at the Convention, but inserted in the Report and volume. There was one sermon preached, and that was by Dr. Gale, in St. Botolph's Church; and one public meeting, in Exeter Hall, presided over by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, and addressed by Dr. Lees, W. Lawson, M.P., Joseph Thorp, J.P., Baron Lynden, Rev. Chas. Garrett, and others. It was a most significant landmark in the history of the Temperance reformation—a complete oneness of soul characterised the entire proceedings; not a solitary jar, not a petty personal jealousy disturbed for one moment that assembly. Many hundreds of men from many lands, localities, ranks, and professions, were held for three days in happy unison, all absorbed in the common cause, all toiling alike in earnest self-abnegation and generous rivalry, inspired by the loftiest and purest motives, one in spirit, in principle, and in policy. The Convention, at its last sitting, adopted in silent thankfulness the following resolution:—"That the Convention desires to record its sincere and solemn thankfulness to Almighty God for the cheering evidence of success which has attended its important deliberations and public assemblies, and does hereby give thanks unto God for that success." A system of devolution was adopted at that time which allowed of much being done, more sections than one proceeding at the same time. A very sparing recognition was given to women as representatives or readers of papers, but a practical phase of the philanthropy was shown in the gift of £200 to a fund in Lancashire, at that time passing through the dark days of the cotton famine.

1897.—The Convention at Newcastle differed very largely from the two preceding ones: first, in the full unquestioned recognition given to women, as equal and efficient helpers with men; and, second, that the day of longer waiting had gone, and Prohibition must be considered exhaustively, secured speedily, and applied as efficiently and extensively as possible. The papers had all a practical bearing, and there was not the slightest disposition to temporize, and no resolution was altered, save in the way of greater strength.

The Convention was large, fully eleven hundred names were sent in from the English counties. Scotland was numerous and powerfully represented. "Stands Scotland were it did" is an old remark; she stood well forward in that Convention in papers, in discussion, and in number and quality of her representatives. Ireland and Wales were also well represented.

Earnest advocates from many parts were present during the previous weeks, stirring up interest and addressing meetings, not only indoors, but even in hail and rain outdoors, about a hundred preparatory district meetings being held. Largely attended demonstrations were held on Saturday and Sunday, and Temperance sermons, services, and meetings were very numerous. The Hon. and Very Rev. J. W. Leigh, D.D., Dean of Hereford, Mr. Wm. S. Caine, J.P., Rev. G. Armstrong Bennetts, B.A., and scores of others, all preaching or taking part in special services on Prohibition Sunday.

Monday, April 5th, saw many delegates in Newcastle, and towards six o'clock they converged on Olympia, where they were received by the Mayor of Newcastle (Coun. J. Gooden, J.P.) and the Mayoress (Miss Gooden), assisted by the Sheriff and Mrs. Beattie, supported by the Mayor of Jarrow (Coun. George Johnson, J.P.) and the Mayoress (Mrs. Johnson), fully four thousand persons being present—delegates, guests, hosts and friends. There was plenty of greeting, handshaking, and conversation, amid the strains of Spencer's Steel Works Temperance Prize Band, which performed a musical programme with a vigour and finish that left nothing more to be desired.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson presided, and Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., as Chairman of the Reception Committee, gave an address of welcome, after which Mr. W. S. Caine proposed, and Mr. John Wilson, M.P., seconded, a vote of thanks to His Worship the Mayor of Newcastle, for the reception he had given, which was heartily carried and frankly responded to by His Worship. Then the great gathering settled itself to listen to the Presidential Address, which was long, humorous, and able—its points which were many and good being eagerly caught and applauded by the vast audience.

For the consideration and discussion of papers, the Convention met in the Town Hall. The reading of papers was lively, and produced animated discussions.

The first paper read was by Mr. Joseph Malins, C.C., of Birmingham—subject, "Legislative Progress during the Past Fifty Years." It was a splendidly encouraging epitome, well read, in a clear well articulated voice.

The paper was followed by one from Dr. Lees, the veteran abstainer and Prohibitionist, on "The Last Decade of Temperance, and the Duty of the Coming One." It was a very able contribution to the literature of the movement, and adds another to the many obligations the cause owes to dear Dr. Lees.

This paper was read by his old friend Mr. Charles Bell, of Redcar. The doctor's absence was regretted all through the Convention.

"Existing Prohibition Areas in the United Kingdom" was efficiently dealt with by the Rev. Canon Hicks, M.A., Salford, in a clear, trenchant, and conclusive paper.

Mr. John Hilton discussed the "British Local Veto Bills," and Mr. Caine should have dealt with "The Last General Election," but, through stress of other duties, the paper was not read.

A paper was read by Mr. Fielden Thorp, B.A., York, on "The Rise and Progress of the Cause in Central Europe." The collection of information, the marshalling of facts, the comprehensive acquaintance with the cause and its workers, the clear diction, and sympathetic utterances won for Mr. Fielden Thorp from the chairman a very high compliment, endorsed by appreciative references, and by the applause of the entire Convention.

Then we were carried off to survey Prohibition in other lands, the Hon. General Neal Dow contributing a paper (read by Mr. Caine), "State Prohibition in Maine," packed with figures, facts, and statistics, and pervaded with that weighty common sense and that spirit of genial hopefulness for the future that well befits one who is proceeding brightly along his 94th year.

Professor Hill, of Des Moines, Iowa, told us of "State Prohibition in other States."

Mrs. Harrison Lee, described by the *Newcastle Chronicle*, as the "charming Australian lady," read a paper on "Prohibition in Australia."

Papers were also contributed on "Prohibition in New Zealand," "Norway," "Canada," "South Africa," "Native Races," and "Fisheries in the North Sea."

"Municipalisation of Public-Houses" was in the hands of ex-Baillie Lewis, J.P., of Edinburgh. A better champion of the cause of true Temperance and Prohibition Scotland does not possess; and the preparation and presentation of his paper showed all his old power, neither logic, dry humour, nor caustic criticism being absent.

On Wednesday morning we had to consider how far proposals for the Prohibition of the liquor traffic commended themselves to social reformers. "Socialistic Theories and the Liquor Traffic," by Mr. J. Martin Skinner; "Drink and Commerce," by Mr. S. P. Kerr; "Drink and Revenue," by Dr. Dawson Burns; "Drink and Wages," by Mr. Robert Knight, J.P.; "Drink, Crime, and Pauperism," by Mr. Charles Roberts, M.A., were the titles of papers which preceded the most breezy discussion of the whole session.

Some views advanced by Mr. Raper, which appeared to countenance the municipalisation of the liquor traffic accompanied with the Veto, called from the Rev. C. F. Aked the most vigorous repudiation and the most scathing denunciation: "We will have no temporising;" "We are not license reformers, we are license destroyers;" "We will not be made partners in this 'league of death' and in this 'covenant of hell';" "We will not make our appeal to cupidity and the lower and baser elements of human nature;" and, as a parting word, "They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin." The enthusiastic and general applause showed the feeling of the assembly; and municipal partnership in the drink business was not referred to again.

Hindrances to Prohibition were considered in Section IV., and papers were given by Mr. G. Blaiklock, on "Electoral Corruption;" Mr. Edward Pearson on "Compensation;" "The Police," by Councillor Threlfall, J.P.; "Corporation Ownership of Liquor Shops," by Bailie Chisholm, J.P., Glasgow; "Gothenburg System," "Compromise," respectively by Messrs. Tom Honeyman and E. Wavranski, M.P., of Glasgow and Sweden.

We were told that in Glasgow the Corporation had acquired no less than 34 drink licenses, every one of which have been allowed to lapse. "Do you know how we did it?" remarked a Scotchman. "We sent the right men to the Council—we voted as we prayed."

Many other papers were prepared and read, and the concluding section was devoted entirely to Women's work in the cause of Prohibition. The Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke presided. Papers were read by the Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, Mrs. Harrison Lee, and others. Madame Sterling (the noted contralto), Miss E. L. Connell, and Miss Hallie Q. Brown (a coloured lady) all contributing their remarks.

In some senses, the last session was the best; the attendance of the public was larger, the Town Hall being filled.

At its conclusion, a farewell meeting was held, presided over by Mr. Chas. Roberts, M.A. Thanks were heartily voted to all who had in any way contributed to the great work of organising and carrying through so great a work; to the good people of Newcastle and Gateshead, and other places contiguous, for their abundant and generous hospitality; to the trustees and ministers for buildings used and opportunities given and aid rendered; to conductor and choir; and especially and emphatically to Messrs. Guy Hayler and George Tomlinson, to whose indefatigable exertions the striking success of the Convention was so largely due. The labours of the hon. secretaries indeed were great—their courtesy and willingness to serve and oblige most marked and conspicuous. No vote of thanks was ever better bestowed or deserved than the one to the hon. secretaries of the Convention of 1897.

Demonstrations crowding the Olympia were held each night—Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Canon Barker, Messrs. J. H. Raper, Joseph Malins, Leif Jones, and many more; Dr. Spence Watson, the Very Rev. the Dean of Durham, Dr. G. W. Kitchin presiding.

A pleasing feature each evening was the singing of an efficient choir, and the wonderful singing of Madame Antoinette Sterling, who hushed and charmed and excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm the vast audience. Madame Sterling is not only a finished and successful singer, but is a convinced abstainer; she

attended the sittings and spoke twice, attesting her great sympathy with all phases of the great movement.

The notices in the local press were comprehensive each day, illustrated with photos of leading workers. With one paper there was an evident effort to belittle the gathering. But after all it was a gathering that represented very largely faith, great courage, and moral power. The liquor traffic is strong in cash, in custom, in social status, and great political power; but what of that, if civilisation and humanity are to win, it will have to be defeated. And under the heat and burden of the controversy, the inspiring words of the eloquent and noble American poet, W. C. Bryant, may be appositely remembered: "Never have I seen any course of right steadily pursued without public opinion coming round to that cause, and crowning those who pursued it with glory and triumph."

J. S.

"I have not seen, I may not see
My hopes for man take form in fact;
But God will give the victory,
And in that faith I act."— *Whittier*.

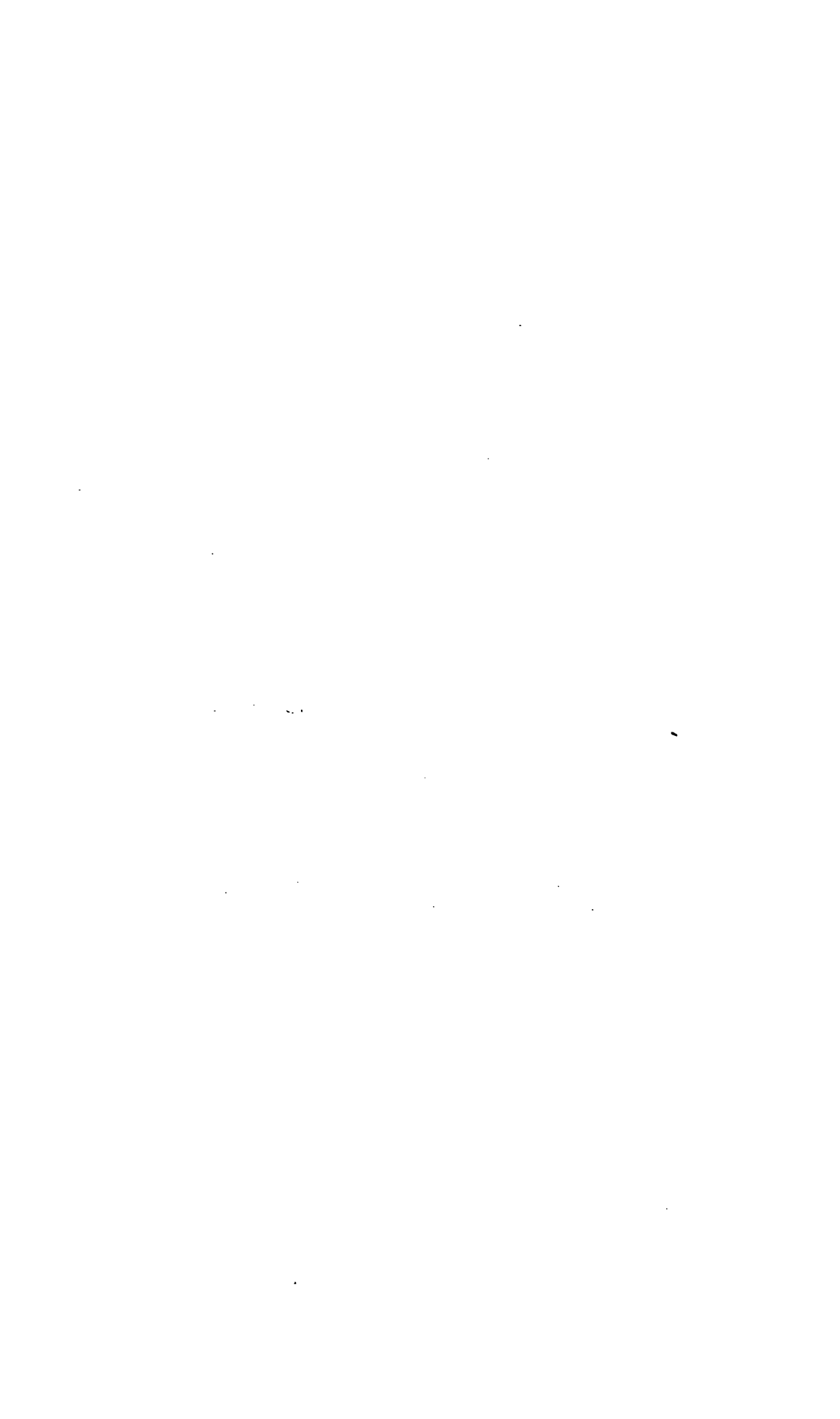
DIVISION I.



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

AND

PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS.



NATIONAL
PROHIBITION CONVENTION.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 3rd to April 9th, 1897.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered on Monday, April 5th, 1897, at the Civic Reception and
Demonstration, in Olympia, Newcastle-on-Tyne.



SIR WILFRID LAWSON, M.P.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P. (President of the Convention), delivered his address, being enthusiastically received by the immense audience. He said he considered it a great honour to be asked to give the presidential address at this Conference, which, so far as he could judge, was the largest, the most influential, the most representative, and the most enthusiastic which the great Temperance reform had ever drawn together. He was glad that it had been convened at Newcastle. Newcastle had had many distinguished advocates of Temperance in its bounds. He looked at the names in the hall—Newcastle, Charlton, Dodds, Mawson, and many more, and he remembered the great work which they had done, so that they might say of them that, “Although they are dead, they yet speak.” (Hear, hear.) If they looked, too, they would find the name of Mr. Joseph Cowen in the immortal list of honour, the first founders of the United Kingdom Alliance. (Applause.) Well, now, what were they met there for? They were not met to advocate total abstinence. He dared say there were a great many total abstainers in the meeting—he saw a great many very sensible looking people—(laughter)—but that was not their direct object. They were not there to deal with the Home for Inebriates; that was a great question just now, and he was very glad to see it making progress; but they were not dealing with the effect that night, but dealing with causes. Above all, they were not there to lay down the law as to the best licensing system—(hear, hear)—they were not clever enough to originate the proper way for dealing out poison to the people; but there were a great many people who thought they could do it, and many were there that night, and they welcomed them. There was no reason if the poison had to be given out that it should not be managed as well as possible; but they also asked them to help them in getting rid of the cause itself. He summed up in a word what their policy was. Their policy was this. “Prevention is better than cure”—(hear, hear)—and that was why they were Prohibitionists, because they believed, as far as they could believe anything, that nobody ever yet got drunk without drinking. (Laughter.) If they could stop drinking and the temptations to drinking they stopped drunkenness. Let him go a little further, and he laid

down another proposition. There were three courses regarding alcohol. Somebody once said that Mr. Gladstone always saw three courses and took the fourth—(laughter)—but there was no fourth course in this matter. They might have free trade if they liked; but really, as the Biglow Papers said, “that’s an exploded idee,” and he need not talk about it now, because if anybody said he was for free trade, and they began to cross-question him, they would find he was not a bit for free trade—he had always some reservation as to the man, the time, and the house—he was not really a free trader. Oh, how amusing it was last week when they had that Irish debate about the finances of Ireland. Of course, whiskey, the sale of whiskey, the consumption of whiskey, and the taxation of whiskey came very much into that debate; but whenever a great Statesman got near it, away he scudded over the thin ice as quickly as possible, and turned to some other subject. One man, Mr. Lecky—(hear, hear)—gave a good remark about it. Speaking with that charming grace and literary polish which delighted the House of Commons, he said when he got to the whiskey, “for my part I don’t believe in the saving grace of cheap whiskey.” So much for free trade. Well, then, the next course was “regulation,” and their law-givers for generations had known that the duty of law was to provide for the life, the health, the safety, and the property of its subjects; and they knew well enough that the liquor trade endangered all these, and they had been trying for centuries to carry on the trade without doing the damage which was incidental to it. They had tried, as they knew, to get good men; they had succeeded very well. They had tried to get good houses; they had succeeded very well. They had tried to make good arrangements to sell drink at this hour not that hour, this day not on that day—very good arrangements, he dared say; at least they sounded very well. What had been the result? They knew when Mr. Chamberlain left the Liberal Government he said that Government, of which he was a member, had made “an awful mess of it.” All he had to say about these licensing people was: they had been trying for 400 years to make the liquor traffic satisfactory, and they had made an awful mess of it. (Hear, hear.) They all knew that the drink traffic was the main factor in the crime, pauperism, lunacy, and the misery of this country. (Applause.) Their friend, General Booth, said, and he knew the poor of this country, that nine-tenths of the misery was caused by drink, and Mr. Gladstone—(cheers)—said in the House of Commons—Mr. Burt heard him, too, so he had a witness—“that drink brought on this country the accumulated evils of war, pestilence, and famine.” Now, then, after that who would say they “talked wildly?” They were the mildest men in the world, and did not speak strongly enough on the drink traffic. He was trying to show them, as far as they knew and could see, what was the policy of the Government—he did not mean this Government, all Governments—the policy of this State in presenting to the people those innumerable temptations which prevented their national sobriety. (Applause.) He could fancy that he heard people saying that was all wrong. “Go on the old lines of moral suasion,” they said. Quite right. He had never dropped that. (Hear, hear.) But let him tell them what a man who was perhaps the most successful moral suasionist of any time said about this. He alluded to Father Mathew. (Applause.) He got the Irish people to abstain for one year from strong drink, and in that year he did more good than all the Home Rulers, and Ulster men, and Liberals and Unionists ever could do. But mark the effect. The State was at work all the time against him, and when all the excitement had died away, there were all these drink shops leading people back again to this abominable system. Just about that time the Alliance was formed to prohibit the sale altogether. Father Mathew said he hailed that with delight, for he was convinced that the effort of no individual was strong enough to deal with this great question. (Applause.) When he talked about the Alliance being formed he was again glad that he was in Northumberland, for the first president of the Alliance was Sir Walter Trevelyan. (Applause.) At a dinner to Sir George Grey in this county he made the first reference to it. After referring to the abolition of the Corn Laws, he said that in Manchester a league had been formed to save the people from a still greater curse and a greater evil. (Applause.)

When Sir Walter Trevelyan died they made him (Sir Wilfrid) their president. He must say it was the greatest honour that had ever been conferred upon him, and his only regret was that he had been able to do so little for this great cause. ("No, no.") First, let him say that the Alliance was not an association limited to teetotalers. They believed that there were plenty of people who might even like strong drink themselves, but who had sufficient self-denial and benevolence to say "We won't insist on tempting our fellow subjects to drink." (Applause.) One of the foundation resolutions read—"That, rising above class, sectarian and party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages as affording the most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance." (Applause.) They did not run down any other society. Let all other societies and associations go on. All they said was that, while they went on doing their good work, Prohibition was the indispensable supplement to clinch their labours. (Applause.) No sooner did they declare that policy than the hullabaloo began. They were called fools, fanatics, idealists, dreamers, extremists, impracticable politicians, purists, pharisees and manicheists, whatever they might be. (Laughter.) As they knew, he had been rather prominent in advocating the views of the Alliance, and had been called many names in consequence. He had often thought of offering a reward to anyone who could find in a dictionary any bad word that had not been used against him. (Laughter.) But what of that? Abuse was not argument, and the more they were abused the more probable was it that they were in the right. (Applause.) The Alliance had never had a Bill of its own. He thought it once sketched a Bill, but that was long ago, before it was as clever as it is now. The Alliance supported any good Bill which was calculated to diminish the volume of the liquor traffic. (Hear, hear.) It supported his old Permissive Bill, and it supported his three resolutions. In 1880 he succeeded in carrying the first resolution in the House of Commons. It was simply in favour of people having a chance, in their own districts, to get rid of the drink shops the same as the landlords had. He carried that in 1880; he carried it again in 1881, and again in 1883. He used to improve on it as time went on—put a little more brandy into it. (Laughter and applause.) The last time the House of Commons declared it was urgent. That was in 1883, and here was 1897. That was the House of Commons idea of urgency. (Laughter.) Who seconded him? Why, he had on his right hand Mr. Caine, and on his left Mr. Burt. (Applause.) These were the two allies who supported him on these occasions. (Applause.) These resolutions had never been rescinded; there they were still on the books of the House; more than that, they formed the basis of the Local Veto Bill which Sir William Harcourt brought in. (Applause.) The Alliance supported that Bill. (Hear, hear.) It was not all they wanted—(hear, hear)—but he always believed the half-loaf bread policy better than no bread, only it must be of good stuff. (Applause.) It must not be sham bread. (Applause.) But they recognised that the Bill was an earnest, honest, able attempt to carry out the idea that the people were better judges than the magistrates of their own wants, and ought to be allowed to manage their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) Now they understood the policy, and how the Alliance had got on. Now he wanted them to look for a moment at what were the forces for and against this just and righteous policy. Some people said Sir William Harcourt's Bill was dead. Well, it was like John Brown.

John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
But his soul is marching on.

(Loud applause.) And the principle of that Bill was a live and vital issue at every contested election in the kingdom. (Hear, hear.) Who were their enemies! First, the trade. They were the richest band of monopolists the world had ever seen. The hope of their gains would be gone if the Prohibitionists carried their measure. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, they were, of course, against the Prohibitionists. And here let him pay a tribute to the trade. He said their conduct in opposing the Temperance reformers was manly, straightforward, and candid. For what did they say? They said "Our trade is our politics. What do we care for Home Rule? What do we care for the State Church? What do we care for Voluntary

Schools? When we do use our political power it is to put money into our pockets." He liked having men like that. He knew what they were about. How much better they were than the people who went out to Africa to murder the natives, steal their land, rob the gold mines, and tell them it was all done for the sake of the Empire and in the interests of civilisation. (Applause.) A good honest, straightforward licensed victualler who declared that his pocket alone was what he cared for was an honest man compared with these abominable hypocrites. (Hear, hear.) Well, then lately—he wanted them to look fairly at this, and see how strong the forces were against them—they had formed limited liability companies, and got an enormous number of people to take shares. They were all interested in the drink traffic, and that formed a very great difficulty. The drink bill, as Dr. Dawson Burns had shown them, was not diminishing. It was going up, and an enormous sum was being expended on drink. He did not know that all the spenders of this were enemies; they were victims at any rate. And then there was the multitude of ignorant people who associated drink with happiness, even still. The stupid people were very formidable. He thought they were almost as formidable as the interested people, for he remembered what Mr. Disraeli once said about stupid people. Mr. Disraeli was attacking the Government, and he said "I don't think the Government intend to do wrong, but who can contend with the machinations of an uncontrollable stupidity." (Loud laughter.) He (Sir Wilfrid) believed the bulk of the community were with them, though some of the religious bodies were not with them. They could not shut their eyes to the subscriptions and gifts which the good brewers gave them. (A voice: "Shame.") Sir Wilfrid, resuming, said: No, don't say shame: have you (turning in the direction of the intruder) ever got a gift from a brewer? It is most difficult to be impartial. He dared say, he proceeded, that they had heard of the jury who tried a man for stealing a pig. Well, the case was as clear as daylight against the man, but the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." After the case was over the Judge asked the foreman: "How was it that you brought a verdict like that?" "Well, my Lord," said the Foreman, "You see every one of us had had a piece of the pig." (Loud laughter.) Well, then, the newspapers were rather against them still. They recognised the importance of what they (the reformers) were doing, but they could not be with them. He would quote from a paper published in Newcastle that morning. It gave a splendid account of Temperance work. It said: "No nobler cause ever enlisted the aid of tongue or pen. It is alike benevolent and patriotic, practical and practicable. It touches us at all points of our everyday life, and is pre-eminently a question of morals, civilisation, and liberty." Could they have a better or more eloquent account of the Temperance movement? And then a little further on in the article it said: "But whatever fate befalls such legislation" (such as that they were advocating, the removal of the temptation to all this misery and crime) "we are against it." (Slight laughter.) He merely quoted that as an illustration of how the newspapers went on. Then there were innumerable and very good politicians who were against them. They could not set to work to get a measure like theirs passed for they had so many other things on hand. (Laughter.) He was not blaming them at all. Some said their great object was to maintain the Union, to maintain the Church, to maintain the army—to maintain the poor landlords like himself, and pay their rates for them. (Laughter.) Those were great objects, and they wanted to carry them out. Quite properly patriotic men did what they could for their country—and themselves. (Laughter.) And so they said to the drink seller "Come over and help us and no harm shall come unto you." He was not there to blame them. By their own consciences they stood or fell, but he said it was by such a union, combination, and strategy that liquor was triumphant at the polls at the last election. (Hear, hear.) What Mr. Chamberlain called "the swollen tyranny of the liquor traffic" was consolidated and put into the position of power it was now in. (Hear, hear.) Now for friends. Who was for local Prohibition? He believed almost all the great Temperance associations—(hear, hear)—the enormous number of Christian Churches and denominations; and though he mentioned the newspapers before, he could say there was an increasing body of the press writing and working

for them. (Hear, hear.) Then they had, as Mr. Caine had pointed out, one of the greatest political parties for them. That was very encouraging, for the Tories, after all, were only belated Liberals. (Laughter and applause.) Then there was another very encouraging thing; so many people were in favour of prohibiting the sale of liquor to black men. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, told a deputation in 1888 that he and his Government supported the common effort by which this "miserable traffic" could be restrained. The "miserable traffic" was selling liquor to black men, and he said: "We will press it in season and out of season, because we believe that a vast amount of human happiness and misery depends upon the course which these negotiations take." So there they had Lord Salisbury. (Laughter.) He had gone away to France—or somewhere. (Laughter.) He was not ill; he was working in season and out of season, day by day, to prevent drink being sold to black men. (Laughter.) And he for one wished him "God speed" in his retirement. (Laughter.) He was happy to say that the Liberal leaders were as earnest about stopping drinking among white men as Lord Salisbury was for stopping it amongst black men. After the General Election an attempt was made to get the Liberal leaders to run back from their policy, but it had failed. (Applause.) Nobody could tell him of any one of the great Liberal leaders who had said anything to show that he would run back from the policy of Sir William Harcourt's Bill. (Applause.) If anybody could show him any one who had done so he (Sir Wilfrid) would promise to look after him. (Laughter.) People talked about the Temperance policy being dead. That was all rubbish. The party that took up their policy had since the General Election succeeded in winning four seats from its opponents, and every one of these seats had been won by a candidate who declared in favour of the public and against the publican. (Applause.) There was Mr. Burt's friend and his friend, Mr. Sam Woods, at Walthamstow. (Applause.) Over that result the political world was staggered and astonished. They could not make it out how that great change had come about. But what did Mr. Woods himself say after the poll had been declared, and before any one could get at him—(laughter)—before he had time to water down? (Laughter.) When the election was fresh upon him he was asked by an interviewer, "To what do you attribute your triumph?" and he replied at once, "To the Temperance vote first." (Applause.) They might depend upon it that some people did not like it. Their policy was the guiding matter in most of these elections. Show him the candidate who would go down to any Liberal constituency and say he was against the policy of Sir William Harcourt's Bill and he (Sir Wilfrid) would eat him—(laughter)—that was if he got in. (Renewed laughter.) To sum up he said they had against them the awful power of gold, which was more powerful in this country at the present moment than it had ever been in the history of the world. They had against them the stubborn forces of prejudice and a dense mass of ignorance, but in spite of all that they had held their own, and had never gone back. (Hear, hear.) For the last twenty years there had been no legislation carried to benefit the trade. The legislation, if not very extensive, had been more in their favour than that of their enemies. Why, then, was their need to despair? A few months ago he read something in a book by Dr. Richardson—(applause)—who said: "It is not a battle which will last many generations, because our alcoholic opponents must give way. They fight wildly, trusting to their numbers, wealth, and influence. In another age it will be thought wonderful how the battle could be fought at all, and alcohol will fall into historic oblivion, both as a food and as a medicine." Sir Wilfrid went on to say that theirs was a duty to proclaim the truth that alcohol was, as Sir Andrew Clark said, the great "enemy of the human race." Their duty was to turn neither to the right nor to the left till their fellow-countrymen should believe their report, and believing it, summon up courage, independence, and manliness enough to shake off this most cruel and oppressive system, which now degraded and endangered this great and glorious nation. (Loud applause.)

At the conclusion of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's address, the Rev. Canon Hicks (Manchester) moved :—

“That the Convention tenders to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., its hearty thanks for his admirable Presidential Address, and for his past services to the Prohibition movement, both in the country and in the House of Commons. The Convention prays that he may be spared to lead the Prohibition forces to that victory which would bring in its train happy homes, social regeneration, industrial improvements, commercial progress, and true religion.”

The Rev. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS, B.A., (London), seconded the resolution, which was adopted with great enthusiasm.

SECTION I.

HISTORICAL AND LEGISLATIVE.

The Opening Sitting of the National Convention for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic took place in the Town Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Tuesday Morning, April 6th, 1897, commencing at 10.30.

Mr. E. PEARSON (Manchester) said he had been requested to announce that the practice that had always been followed in these Conventions would be observed on this occasion, and the meeting would be opened with silent prayer.

A few moments of silent prayer then followed.

PRESIDENT'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P., said that perhaps they might be a little surprised to see him in the chair at that moment, when Mr. John Wilson was announced to take it. But he was only there to make a brief preliminary address. He supposed it was thought well to put him in the chair so that he might tell Mr. Wilson how to behave. (Laughter.) He (Mr. Wilson) came from Scotland, and they could not always trust Scotchmen. (Laughter.) He (Sir Wilfrid) was really there because he was nominally the President of the Convention—(hear, hear)—and being the President he supposed he was like the man who started the horses in a race. (Laughter.) He was the starter. They made a start the previous night—(hear, hear)—and a pretty good start, too. (Hear, hear.) But they must remember for a successful race not only a good start was important, but they must keep it up to the end. (Hear, hear.) He hoped they would be able to do so. (Hear, hear.) He had nothing to tell them except that they were to have a regular feast of the papers read. There was one by Mr. Joseph Malins—(hear, hear)—on Temperance Legislative Progress during the last Half-century, and they knew how trenchantly he dealt with a question. He was sorry to say that Dr. Lees would not be able to attend, but his paper would be read for him. Then they would have Canon Hicks. (Applause.) He would tell them something about Canon Hicks. (Laughter.) Mr. Whyte knew him well, and said he was a man to whom no consideration need be paid. (Laughter.) That was the greatest compliment he (Sir Wilfrid) ever heard paid to anybody, because it meant that Canon Hicks did not care one straw where he went, what he did, or what was done to him, so long as he did something to help on the Temperance cause. (Applause.) Then they would have Mr. Caine—(applause)—and he was going to talk about the last General Election. (Applause and laughter.) He would be much mistaken if Mr. Caine did not say things that would make their hair stand on end. (Hear, hear.) Then there was Mr. Hilton, who would talk about "The British Local Veto Bills." and Mr. Fielden Thorp about "The Rise and Progress of the Cause in Central Europe"—which very few of them knew anything about. (Laughter.) That exhausted the programme for the morning. He thought they would be satisfied, and would not be like the boy at the school feast. When the feast was nearly over, somebody said to him, "Well, my boy, I hope you have had all you want." "No, I have not had all I want," was the response, "but I have had all I can eat." (Laughter.) Now, they had a long programme to get through, and it only remained for him to call upon his friend Mr. John Wilson to take the chair, and behave as well as he could. (Applause and laughter.)

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

MR. J. WILSON, M.P. (GOVAN)

Mr. JOHN WILSON, M.P. (Govan) then took the chair, remarking that he was afraid they had made a bad exchange in surrendering the chair of the witty Baronet to the plain M.P.—and, all the same, a Scotchman to the backbone. (Laughter and hear, hear.) He thanked them for giving him the opportunity of being the first chairman of the Convention. In Scotland they had their own Local Veto Bill, much on the lines of the English one. Only last session of Parliament they were fortunate in securing the first place on the Parliamentary paper of April 29th. This was a Wednesday, and the Government, so much afraid of the Scotchmen taking the matter in hand, burked the whole thing by saying they wanted the time for their own business, and taking it. That he thought very bad usage. (Hear, hear.) The United Kingdom Alliance had a Bill down for Wednesday first, but they surrendered that opportunity to the supporters of the Scotch Bill. What had the Government done again? Determined to burke the question, they said, "We will rise on Tuesday afternoon, and these people who want the Temperance legislation will be put out of Court. That was really the position of the Government at the present time; they had no sympathy with them in this matter, and referred them to a Royal Commission—who knew when it would end? (Hear, hear.) They were met to discuss the historical and legislative aspect of the question. So far as Scotland was concerned their Veto Bill was one of three clauses—(1) Prohibition, (2) reduction of licenses, and (3) if the people wanted neither, the status quo. They did not want to interfere with the licenses at all, or the machinery for granting them. All these things they would let go by the wall. All they wanted was that the people should have the power by statute to protect themselves and their families from being overridden with the licensed houses, which were a temptation and a snare, not only of the young people, but also of the old. (Hear, hear.) It was many long years since the Temperance question took hold of Scotland. It was in 1830, or thereabouts, that the first Temperance Association was formed at Greenock, presided over by a well-known man, Mr. Dunlop, a member of the first reformed Parliament. And things had gone on until throughout Scotland there was not a parish in which there was not a Temperance Association. (Applause.)

It might not be known in England, but the Scotch people all knew that wherever a plebiscite had been taken on this question it had gone in favour of the Local Veto party, in many instances with a large majority. That being so, they were anxious to have placed on the Statute Book a Bill giving to the residents in all districts, where opinion was ripe enough, an opportunity to try it. He did not say that in every place in Scotland the Local Veto Bill would be triumphant, but there were many places where it would be, and these, no doubt, would have the effect of leavening the others. There were many parishes in Scotland where there was at the present moment Prohibition, but that Prohibition was not by the will of the people. It was by the will of the landlords, and surely, if the landlords could prohibit the existence of licenses on the estates where they were resident, because they did not want the evil to be seen, the same right should be given to the poor man to protect his family. (Applause.) He thought they would agree with him that the meeting on the previous night was a great success. It was creditable to Newcastle that there was such a large gathering to listen to the President of the U.K.A. (Applause.) They were very anxious all over the country to stand by the Alliance—even in Scotland, where they took their stand on the principle of the Permissive Bill. All the Temperance Associations in Scotland were working in a friendly way to the same end. (Hear, hear.) He had to say to this gathering that he stood there representing nearly all these associations.

It was the pride of his life, and he hoped it always would be, to be connected with this great work of Temperance reform; and, if he did not live to see complete success, he hoped that those who would come after him would never budge an inch until there was placed on the statute book a law giving everyone in England, Scotland, and Ireland an opportunity to vote as to whether they would have licensed houses in their neighbourhood or not. (Applause.) The other week one of the eminent professors in surgery in Edinburgh, speaking at a meeting, declared that he had never taken any active part in Temperance or intemperance, but, in diagnosing the position in the country, he said that about 60 per cent. of the people of Scotland were temperate drinkers, 20 per cent. were teetotallers, and the remaining 20 per cent. were abusers of drink. They all knew that the population of this land was about 40 millions, and this authority gave 8 millions—20 per cent.—as abusers of drink. Even allowing half that number, he would ask what man there was who could stand by, remaining indifferent, and see 4 million people going down to a drunkard's grave. Was it not time that this country considered, in all its fearfulness, the enormity of this? He trusted that they would never haul down the flag that they had unfurled to the breeze during the last 50 years until the power they desired had been conferred on the people, and there was an opportunity for the country to rise in industry and prosperity. (Applause.)

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Secretary) moved that the following committees be appointed:—

BUSINESS COMMITTEE :

Mr. J. Malins, C.C., Birmingham (Chairman); Rev. Jas. Clark, Manchester; Rev. A. B. Tebb, Newcastle; Rev. G. A. Bennetts, B.A., London; Mr. Leif Jones, Naworth; Miss M. E. Docwra, Miss F. Balgarnie, London; Mr. Jas. Whyte, Manchester; Mr. W. Bingham, Mr. J. M. Skinner, London; Mrs. McKinnon, Dumfries; Mr. W. Williams, Southampton; Mr. H. Hibbert, Bradford.

CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE :

Mr. T. Honeyman, Glasgow (Chairman); Mr. J. R. Hogg, C.C., North Shields; Mr. F. Cowley, London; Mr. W. Pearson, Leeds; Mr. C. Pinhorn, London; Mr. E. C. Brambley, Bristol; Mr. G. Shires, Derby; Mr. J. R. Weatherill, Oxford; Rev. J. Thornley, Sheffield; Mr. D. McMillan, Sunderland; Mr. C. W. Garrard, London; Mr. Thomas Berrie, Glasgow.

PRESS COMMITTEE :

Mr. R. Mackay, Glasgow (Chairman); Mr. F. W. Dimbleby, J.P., Richmond, Surrey; Mr. W. W. Turnbull, Bristol; Mr. J. Newton, Norwich; Mr. H. J. Osborn, London; Mr. W. Wilkinson, Belfast; Mr. R. A. Jameson, Manchester.

Mr. G. W. SHARMAN (Sheffield) seconded, and the resolution was adopted.

FRATERNAL GREETING.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Sec.) read the following from the American Anti-Saloon League, Washington:—

To the National Convention for Advocating the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, to be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 5th to 9th April, 1897.

Greeting—On behalf of above National Federation of the Anti-Saloon Forces of the United States of America, we wish the Representatives of the Temperance Organisations of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland great grace, and a full realisation of the blessedness of unity.

We cannot hope to “see eye to eye” in everything; but we can unite as to those fundamentals upon which we do agree, and oppose a solid front to our united enemy. This done, it only remains to “go forward” unitedly until the licensed grog-shop at least is crushed out of existence.

We have the honour to be, your comrades against the Saloon,

H. PRICE, PRESIDENT.

JAS. L. EWIN, SECRETARY.

15th March, 1897.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

By JOSEPH MALINS, C.C., G.C.T., INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.



MR. J. MALINS, G.C.T.

SOME persons, including even some members of Parliament, sometimes assert that during nearly half a century of Parliamentary agitation the Temperance Reformers have achieved little or nothing in the way of securing legislative enactments for the restriction of the Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks. My purpose is to briefly indicate what has been achieved in this direction, and then to leave it to others to say whether our pathway has been paved with repulses or whether we are not almost an ever victorious army.

It was in 1853—about forty-four years ago—when the Temperance movement called into existence the UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE for the suppression of the Liquor Traffic. Ever since that time the Alliance has been at the front as a political force which, though pledged to, and ever working for, the total suppression of the Liquor Traffic, has always befriended every sound proposal for Temperance Legislation in any direction. During the few years preceding 1853 something had been done by the Act of 1848 which practically extended to the United Kingdom the provisions of the Metropolitan Police Act of nine years before, whereby public houses were closed on Sundays till 12·30 a.m.; but a far greater advance had been made by passing the “Forbes-Mackenzie Act,” for Scotland.

Accordingly, in 1854, Sunday Closing in Scotland first came into operation. About the time this Act was passed, the tax on Scotch spirits was equalised with that of England, and this probably affected the consumption, but the great decrease must be mainly attributed to this Act. During the four years before the Act, the Scotch consumption of spirits was 27,820,268 gallons, but this diminished by over 5,000,000 gallons during the four years after the Act. Within ten years after the Act the total decrease in Scotland under Sunday closing was 15,000,000 gallons, while England and Wales (being without such Sunday closing) increased their spirit consumption by 20,000,000 gallons during the same ten years. The Scotch convictions for Sunday drunkenness during the three years preceding the Act were 4,028, but during the three years following its enactment they were only 1,466. Under this Act *bona fide* travellers can only be served on Sundays at hotels, all other being “six day” licenses. Thus Glasgow now has (besides 310 “off” licenses) 1,145 “on” licenses, but only twenty of these (being hotels) can sell at all on Sundays, and only to *bona fide* travellers.

In 1855 Mr. Charles Buxton, a great brewer (afterwards M.P. for Maidstone), contributed an anonymous article to the *North British Review*, proposing almost complete Sunday closing; early closing on week nights; the non-payment of wages in public houses, and a power to localities by five-sixths majority to veto the sale of intoxicants.

In 1856 the United Kingdom Alliance awarded their First Prize of 100 guineas to Dr. F. R. Lees for his famous prize essay, “An Argument for the Legislative Suppression of the Liquor Traffic,” which has had an immense circulation.

In 1857 the United Kingdom Alliance Annual Meeting first adopted and subsequently circulated a draft of a suggested Permissive Bill to permit localities to suppress the Liquor Traffic when so minded.

In 1858 the duty on home-made spirits in Ireland was assimilated to the duty in Great Britain. This increased tax resulted in a decrease in spirit consumption in Ireland.

In 1859 the ISLE OF MAN LEGISLATURE enacted the closing of drink shops from 11 p.m. on Saturday till 6 a.m. on Mondays; and in the same year a ROYAL COMMISSION was appointed on the Forbes-Mackenzie Act—which had closed public houses on Sundays in Scotland.

In 1860 the MINES REGULATION ACT passed, containing clauses prohibiting payment of miners' wages in proximity to Licensed premises. The IRISH REFRESHMENT AND WINE LICENSE ACT passed, which prohibited Irish Wine and Spirit Licenses being got direct from the Excise, and required applicants to first get certificates from the magistracy.

In 1861 Mr. Gladstone passed an Act giving Wholesale Spirit Dealers power to also possess a Retail License, but prohibiting the sale of Small Beer except under a license.

In 1862 the SCOTTISH PUBLIC HOUSES AMENDMENT ACT passed, which, while giving Magistrates power to extend evening hours of sale under special conditions, gave further powers to suppress shebeens; required the police to report public houses encouraging drunkenness, and made sham "*bona fide* travellers" subject to penalty.

In 1863 the House of Commons, by 141 to 52, votes, gave Mr. Somes leave to introduce a Sunday Closing Bill for England and Wales; but refused it a second reading: The Royal Commission on the Army in India reported in favour of stopping the sale of spirits at canteens, military hospitals, barracks, and aboard ship.

In 1864 Mr. (now Sir) Wilfrid Lawson obtained the first reading of his Permissive Bill by a vote of 72 to 38. In the same year Sir George Grey's PUBLIC HOUSES CLOSING ACT was passed; closing Metropolitan Public Houses from 1 to 4 a.m., and giving Town Councils in England and Wales power to do the same—which was done by 45 corporate towns before the close of the next year.

In 1865 Mr. (now Sir) Wilfrid Lawson secured the passing of a clause extending to Local Boards of Health and Improvement Commissioners the power, given in the preceding year to Town Councils, to close liquor shops during certain hours in the night.

In 1866 no Temperance legislation took place, but a legal decision was given preventing publicans from selling liquors at fairs, &c., outside the licensing division in which their public houses were situated.

In 1867, in the COUNTY COURTS AMENDMENT ACT, it was enacted that no debts for ale, porter, beer, cider or perry, drunk on the premises, should be recoverable, nor should any security be taken for payment.

In 1868 the ENGLISH SUNDAY CLOSING BILL, for the first time, passed its second reading, and was referred to a Select Committee; which, however, by a majority of one, reported against it. An IRISH SUNDAY CLOSING BILL was also referred to Committee, but got no further.

In 1869 SELWYN-IBBETSON'S WINE AND BEER-HOUSE (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL passed, raising the ratable qualification for beerhouses; and none below that standard were again licensed—thus closing 300 beerhouses in Liverpool alone. The Act also decreed that applicants for these wine and beer retail licenses, hitherto obtainable from the Excise direct, must thereafter apply to the licensing magistrates—who, however, should not have power to refuse certificates to those already licensed on 1st May, 1869, save for misconduct or the like—the Benches to have full discretion to refuse new applicants.

In 1870 SELWYN-IBBETSON'S LICENSE AMENDMENT ACT was carried, requiring brewers who wanted retail licenses to apply to the magistrates instead of having them at pleasure from the Excise; requiring also registration of convictions of drinksellers; closing licensed houses against the sale of other articles during hours when drink-sale is forbidden, and empowering the police to enter at all hours any "on" or "off" licensed house to detect illegalities.

In 1871 a LICENSE SUSPENSORY ACT was passed, suspending for a year the grant of any additional licenses. In the same year the BEERHOUSES (IRELAND) ACT passed, which so extended the Act of 1864 as to require applicants for renewals (as well as new applicants since 1864) to annually obtain certificates from magistrates before they could get renewals from the Excise.

In 1872 Acts passed prohibiting the payment of wages in public houses to men working in mines; and Mr. BRUCE's (Lord Aberdare) LICENSING ACT passed, reducing night hours of drink sale throughout England and Wales.

In 1873 no legislation was enacted, but the Law Courts decided that the grant of licenses by local benches was subject to confirmation or refusal by the County Licensing Authorities.

In 1874 Mr. Cross's LICENSE AMENDMENT ACT, while repealing some restrictions, imposed others enacting that drink licensed grocers must not keep open after the public houses are shut, and that *bona fide* travellers claiming refreshment during closing hours must be three miles from where they lodged the previous night.

In 1875 no legislation took place, but the persistent efforts of Sir Wilfrid Lawson in Parliament, and of the Temperance forces outside had already so alarmed the Publicans that they had begun to advance a plea for compensation on any compulsory cessation of Licensing; but, on this subject, the *Law Magazine and Review* for April of that year, made the following weighty declaration:—

“There is no sense in which the term ‘confiscation’ can be applied with the least show of accuracy to the restriction of the profits of the liquor trade. To confiscate is to transfer private property as a forfeit to the State; but here there is no transfer whatever, nor even the withholding of a right. The State acknowledges no right on the part of any citizen to sell intoxicating liquors. It strictly prohibits the practice to the whole community because of its acknowledged tendency to produce grievous social wrongs, and then grants a special permission to individuals selected here and there for the purpose of ministering to the supposed wants of society.”

In 1876 the PUBLICANS' CERTIFICATE (SCOTLAND) BILL was passed. Some clauses diminished the checks upon existing traffickers, but its main provisions extended to Scotland the English rule which deprived the Quarter Sessions of the power to grant licenses which the local Licensing Benches had refused. It also disqualified brewers and distillers from serving as licensing magistrates.

In 1877 MELDON'S IRISH BEER-HOUSE ACT passed, raising the rateable qualification of Irish beer-houses, and closing 557 beer-houses in Dublin. The licensed victuallers supported this suppression of the beersellers—without compensation.

In 1878 the IRISH SUNDAY CLOSING BILL passed, enacting Sunday closing throughout Ireland, except in Dublin, Belfast, Limerick, Waterford, and Cork, where the opening hours were reduced to between 2 and 7 p.m. The result in 10 years was a reduction of Sunday drunken convictions in these towns of 28 per cent., and throughout all other parts of Ireland, 40 per cent., while the spirit consumption dropped from 6,115,332 gallons in the year ending March, 1878, to 4,954,438 gallons in the year ending March, 1888.

In 1879 The English Sunday Closing Bill scored, in that an hostile motion to adjourn the debate on the second reading was defeated by 165 to 162, but no further division was reached.

On June 18, 1880, Sir W. LAWSON'S LOCAL OPTION RESOLUTION was adopted by the House of Commons for the first time by 229 votes against 203. It read as follows:—

“That inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system by some efficient measure of local option.”

In the same year Mr. Stevenson secured a vote of 177 to 139 in the Commons, in favour of a resolution for total SUNDAY CLOSING.

In 1881, the WELSH SUNDAY CLOSING ACT, originated by the Good Templar Grand Lodge of Wales, was passed. In the same year, in the IRISH LAND ACT, the following was inserted:—"The tenant shall not on his holding, without the consent of his landlord, open any house for the sale of intoxicating liquors." In 1881, also, Sir W. Lawson, by 198 votes to 156, in the House of Commons, carried his SECOND LOCAL OPTION RESOLUTION, as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to give legislative effect to the resolution passed on the 18th day of June, 1880, which affirms the justice of local communities being entrusted with the power to protect themselves from the operation of the liquor traffic."

In 1882 the PASSENGER VESSELS (Scotland) FINANCE BILL was passed, to extend to river-passenger-boats the law prohibiting drink-sale on Sundays, which had become a great evil on these vessels. In the same year Mr. C. T. Ritchie, brought in his BEER LICENSES AMENDMENT BILL, to amend the laws of 1869 and of 1880, which had left the Licensing Benches no power to refuse an "off" beer license to new or old applicants. This passed, and gave magistrates power to refuse. It resulted in the refusal of renewals to thirty-four beersellers in Over Darwen alone, on the ground that they were not needed by the neighbourhood.

In 1883 Sir Wilfrid Lawson carried his THIRD LOCAL OPTION RESOLUTION, in the House of Commons, by 264 to 177 votes. It read as follows:—

"That in view of the great and grievous ills which the nation suffers from the liquor traffic, this House is of opinion that the power of removing the cause of these evils, by some efficient measure of Local Option, as recommended by this House of June 18th, 1880, and of June 14th, 1881, should be entrusted to local communities at the earliest practicable opportunity."

In the same year Acts were passed prohibiting the payment in public houses of workmen's wages; and prohibiting the use of drink shops or refreshment houses for Parliamentary Election meetings.

In 1884 a MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT was passed, prohibiting the use of public houses and refreshment rooms for Committee purposes or meetings in Municipal Elections.

In 1885 the Commons *nem. con.* gave Mr. McLagan leave to introduce the Scotch Local Veto Bill, which proposes to empower voters in each locality to (1) prohibit all Liquor Licensing, or (2) reduce the number of Licenses, or (3) to prevent their increase. The Bill did not come up for a second reading.

In 1886 the INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SALE TO CHILDREN) BILL, framed to prohibit the sale of intoxicants to children under 13 years of age, was passed—after the Government had impaired it by inserting "for his or her own consumption." In the same year, when Sir Joseph Pease's BILL ON SUNDAY CLOSING was in Committee, Mr. Stevenson got a vote of 115 to 100 to make it a total Sunday Closing Bill, but it did not come up for a third reading. The British and Continental Convention at Brussels, agreed to the suppression of the Liquor Traffic in the North Sea Fisheries.

In 1887 a BEER AND CIDER TRUCK clause was enacted prohibiting the furnishing of beer, cider, &c., to agricultural labourers as part-payment of wages, on pain of penalty up to £100. A former Truck Act had prohibited such "drink-payments" to others, but that Act had not included servants in husbandry in its protection. In the same year the SCOTCH EARLY CLOSING OF PUBLIC HOUSES ACT was passed. It empowers Licensing Benches outside towns of 50,000 inhabitants to close public-houses one hour sooner every night. Every bench thus empowered has closed all houses at 10 p.m.

In 1888 the HABITUAL DRUNKARDS' ACT passed. Mr. Allison introduced the ENGLISH LOCAL OPTION (VETO) BILL; Mr. Johnson introduced a threefold LOCAL VETO BILL for Ireland; Mr. McLagan's SCOTCH VETO BILL passed its second reading, as did the IRISH SATURDAY EARLY CLOSING OF PUBLIC HOUSES BILL.

The clauses of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL of this year, which proposed to give County Councils the Licensing Control, with power to reduce Licenses by compensation, were frustrated; the tremendous opposition of the Temperance Forces being strengthened by the timely decision in the Court of Queen's Bench, on *Sharpe v Wakefield*—proving that the Licensing Authorities had full judicial discretion to refuse “renewals” of Licenses. The prohibition of Election Meetings at Public and Refreshment Houses was extended to include County Council Elections.

A Parliamentary Committee reported in favour of an IRISH SUNDAY AND EARLY SATURDAY CLOSING BILL, to (a) apply Sunday closing to the exempted cities, (b) extend the *bona fide* travellers limit from 3 to 6 miles, and (c) close Irish public-houses at 9 p.m. on Saturdays. The House of Commons also passed a resolution to support Government endeavours to suppress the spirit traffic among native races.

In 1889 the Government issued an order PROHIBITING THE SALE OF INTOXICANTS TO NATIVES of the South Pacific Islands; and joined Germany and the United States in a Treaty which PROHIBITED THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN SAMOA. In the same year the Commons, by resolution, denounced the Indian Governmental System as fostering the evils of the OPIUM AND SPIRIT TRAFFIC in India, and called for their abatement. In 1889, also, the “PROTECTION OF CHILDREN ACT” passed, prohibiting the employment of young children for performing on Licensed premises. In the same year the ENGLISH SUNDAY CLOSING BILL, for the first time, passed its second reading.

In 1890 the Government introduced a LOCAL TAXATION (CUSTOMS AND EXCISE) BILL which provided for setting apart annually £350,000 for England, £50,000 for Scotland, and £40,000 for Ireland, to be allocated among publicans whose superfluous Licenses should, for the public good, not be renewed—the sum to be raised by an additional tax of 6d. per gallon on spirits and 3d. per barrel on beer. This renewed attempt to affirm the principle of compensation was met by the Temperance forces with the same tremendous opposition with which they had encountered the previous proposal of Lord Salisbury's Government in 1888; and in the end the Government had to abandon the proposal—though the additional Drink-tax was already imposed, and was ultimately mainly applied to technical education. The Royal Commission reported favourably on the WELSH SUNDAY CLOSING ACT. The IRISH SUNDAY AND EARLY SATURDAY CLOSING BILL, and the IRISH LOCAL VETO BILL passed their second readings.

In 1891 the WELSH DIRECT VETO BILL passed its second reading by 187 against 180 votes. The IRISH SUNDAY AND EARLY SATURDAY CLOSING BILL passed its second reading without a division. The House of Lords agreed to inquire as to further legislation for Habitual Drunkards. In the same year the Lords of Appeal gave their final decision in the case of *SHARPE v. WAKEFIELD*, confirming that of the Queen's Bench in 1888, and of all the lower Courts.

In 1892 the SMALL AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS ACT was passed, including a clause enacting “that no dwelling house or building on the holding shall be used for the sale of intoxicating liquors.”

In 1893, for the first time in the history of this country, a Government Measure was introduced by Sir William Harcourt (as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a Gladstonian Ministry,) conceding the principle of Local Option by direct popular Veto. This was the “LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL CONTROL) BILL.” This did not apply to Hotels, Eating Houses, or Railway Refreshment Rooms. With these exceptions it provided that three years after a two-thirds majority of those voting had so decided, all other Licensed houses should close; and whenever a simple majority voted for Sunday Closing of Public Houses, it should come into effect at the next Licensing Day. The Bill was read a first time, but did not come up for a second reading. The WELSH DIRECT VETO BILL, however, passed a second reading without a division—after the rejection of a Compensation Amendment by 281 against 245. The IRISH SUNDAY AND EARLY SATURDAY CLOSING BILL passed in the House of Lords (with some modification as to Sundays) but was not reached by the Commons. A CLUBS REGISTRATION BILL passed a second reading, and was referred

to a Select Parliamentary Committee, which took evidence and reported. Another NORTH SEA FISHERIES LIQUOR TRAFFIC PROHIBITION BILL was passed, prohibiting the Liquor Traffic in the North Sea Fisheries.

In 1894 Mr W. C. Amery devised an amendment to the "LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL 1894," enacting that meetings of District and Parish Councils and Boards of Guardians should not be held on Licensed premises if other rooms are available, and it became law. The "PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN ACT" passed, which, among other things, enables Magistrates to commit to Inebriate Homes the drunken parents of ill-used children.

In 1895 Sir William Harcourt again introduced a LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL CONTROL) BILL similar to that of 1893, with an additional option of reduction, and with abolition of appeals to Quarter Sessions; but it only passed a first reading. The IRISH SUNDAY AND EARLY SATURDAY CLOSING BILL again passed a second reading in the Commons, this time by a majority of 99. The South African chiefs, Khama, Sebele, and Bathoen, secured from Mr. Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary, an undertaking that "*White man's strong drink shall not be brought for sale into the country now assigned to the chiefs, and those who attempt to deal in it or give it away to black men will be punished. No new liquor license shall be issued, and no existing liquor license shall be renewed.*" On the chiefs being presented to the Queen, Her Majesty said, "I AM GLAD TO SEE THE CHIEFS, AND TO KNOW THAT THEY LOVE MY RULE. I CONFIRM THE SETTLEMENT OF THEIR CASE WHICH MY MINISTER HAS MADE. I FEEL STRONGLY IN THIS MATTER, AND AM GLAD TO SEE THAT THE CHIEFS HAVE DETERMINED TO KEEP SO GREAT A CURSE FROM THE PEOPLE."

In 1896 a ROYAL COMMISSION was appointed to take evidence and report upon the whole Licensing Question. Some of the evidence already taken renders it inevitable that their report must recommend still stronger restrictions than at present imposed upon the Liquor Traffic, and some control over drink selling clubs.

With such a record of achievements year by year, it is no wonder that though Temperance reformers meet with an occasional rebuff, they refuse to regard themselves as beaten out of the field, and are ever ready for another encounter. As for the movement generally, originated as it was among a handful of obscure people, scoffed as it was by a drinking community who prophesied its speedy extinguishment, and written down as it was by a public press, which too well represented an unsound public opinion, it can now say with Shakespeare's King Henry the Fourth:—

"I survive
To mock the expectation of the world,
To frustrate prophecies, and to raze out
Rotten opinion, who hath writ me down
After my seeming."

THE LAST DECADE OF TEMPERANCE WORK.

BY DR. F. R. LEES, F.S.A., WATFORD.



DR. F. R. LEES.

I HAVE been asked to speak to you on this topic especially, but I must preface my remarks by referring briefly to what happened in the five decades before, in order to understand what we have achieved, and where we really are to-day. I speak from my own experience, without dogmatism, and my views will of course be accepted for what they are worth.

In the early decade of the thirties, our advocacy was very simple—consisting of two propositions. (1) A great pervading evil is before us; (2) there is a way to stop it teetotally (which was an emphatic word in Ireland and Lancashire for completeness), namely, stop drinking intoxicants.

What prevented? Simply an ignorant superstition born of convention and bulwarked by appetite. Objections were manifold, and all pointing to special attitudes of "opinion"—for there was absolutely no thought at all about the matter in the multitude of any class. Could we live without beer? Some might, but how in hard work? or again, How when ill, could we be cured without it? And yet again, Could we be Christians if we rejected the article? Here our tipling opponents called in medical opinion, even political opinion (of people anxious to contribute to the taxes!), and learned divines who were supposed to understand the Bible better than we did, were summoned to silence us. By and bye, the objection changed—"Can't you let the Bible alone?"

All this set me—a boy of sixteen—a-thinking. One part of our highly educated family had been sadly injured by the "mockers"—and so I became interested in the movement, and began to study the question. I believe, being then a young law-student, I drew up the first memorial against granting Licenses from the Leeds Temperance Society, addressed to the magistrates about the year 1835, when I first began to abstain from beer and wine as well as spirits. In 1836 I was first challenged to a public discussion with a Baptist Minister, who undertook to prove that Teetotalism was Irrational, Anti-Scriptural, and Sinful. Such was opinion at that period: a contrast to this day! At 18, being a great reader in history, philosophy, and law, I turned to the study of the Temperance question in all its ramifications, to chemistry, physiology, medicine, politics, ethics, and criticism. My thirty odd volumes, and some hundreds of pamphlets, and a score of oral discussions with doctors and ministers of the Gospel, were the final outcome—which work at least may serve to shew that Teetotalism is not merely the fanaticism of men of one idea, but a most comprehensive question involving all the possible interests of humanity. That discussion in fact has done more to awaken thought and educate the people on diet and the laws of life than all your libraries and mechanics' institutes put together—but for which we temperance advocates receive from the world, the press, and the State very small thanks, and even yet some insult and much affected scorn. Still good and wise men here and there respected and helped us, such as Earl Stanhope, Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, and above all the saintly Father Mathew, whom in 1843 I induced to visit England. He made the question, on moral grounds, a European wonder, and did more good for Ireland and the Irish than all the Parliaments before or since. Our noble working men advocates stuck to their text with their living facts and their one axiom—as they still abide, immovable. For myself, in the forties and fifties, I had to deal with dozens of doctors, and hundreds of dunces—by pen and voice.

At this period the United Kingdom Alliance was formed, chiefly by the work of a good friend, Nathaniel Card, and its late lamented and wonderful secretary

T. H. Barker. In 1856, my Prize Argument on Prohibition was published by the Alliance, which convinced Cardinal Manning and other noble men, who greatly aided our movement. The public can't bear too much at a time, and are divisible into two classes—the sensible and the sensitive. Argument fits the one, moral pleading addressed to sympathy, the other. Both modes are necessary—and both are bad if exclusive or opposed. The fourth decade, both in America and here, saw the rise of a powerful revival—first the Washington crusade and second the Blue-ribbon enthusiasm—both had their day of success, and prepared for what may be called the National Movement, placed upon a large and more logical survey of the whole question. In that epoch we are to-day.

The press of this country at large is more literary and cultured than formerly, but its writers are not more thoughtful, and what is worse, are not independent. They write to order—and the interests are for drink and debasement—not for truth, justice, and development. The wealthy interests and parties have their own organs, with large and paying circulation. We are not sufficiently rich, organised, or united, to have a great paper of our own in which our case shall be truly put forth. The *Alliance News* is our most efficient one. Nevertheless, it is wonderful what vast changes have been effected in public opinion, in private life, and in political influence. In fact and argument we are the masters of the situation—but the difficulty is to get at the multitude and to destroy the interests. Still our victories should inspire hope, and a calm historical review of the past leaves no room for pessimism or despair. We are, I think, advancing with rapid strides to our ultimate victory! The burdens consequent on the system, its miseries and disasters, are becoming too heavy to be borne, and thus Providence is slowly but surely evolving either remedy or—ruin.

Doubtless the too exclusive attention to one particular phase of the movement, though inevitable, has its disadvantages; neither the politicians nor the clergy are yet sufficiently educated. The first are often Philistines and the last are quite conventional. Hence the light does not penetrate deeply; and their personal hobbies and interests become hindrances. This one-sidedness has led to an Unholy Alliance of Beer and Church, and the fears of the traffickers to a combination which defeated the moderate yet wise measure of Sir Wm. Harcourt. *Everything moral, reasonable, and just went down before the threatened interests.* Yet those interests never had more reason to “fear and tremble” than to-day—like the slaveholders of the Southern States, whose obstinate selfishness, by the reaction it created, fixed their doom; and just as surely as their first victory at Bull's Run foreshadowed their defeat at Gettysburg so shall our moral Omnipotence yet confound the knavish tricks of selfish politicians and ignoble monopolists. The fact that the Alliance policy is right, and that it has got a firm grip of the country is proved by the attitude of the nefarious trade itself. Witness the quietude of Mr. Buckingham's Committee of 1834, in contrast to the bitter animosity excited by Sir Wm. Harcourt's Bill of 1895.

The aim of all the publican-politicians is, by “hook or by crook”—mostly the latter—to get in the wedge of “Compensation,” and make monopoly legally entitled to it—contrary to English law—so that the *price* shall be so enormous as to shut out the hopes of a successful prohibitory vote. Even if you could persuade the tax payers to give to the interests already made wealthy by a monopoly which creates paupers, mad-people, and criminals, in a generation or two the *example* would be a premium to the renewal of the old system, out of which would spring the former evils, again to be got rid of by the same tardy and expensive process. Philanthropy is spasmodic, and temperance advocacy is not hereditary or an establishment—so, whatever else we do, let us not sow the spawn of another 16th Century blunder, with its perennial tragedies.

II. AS REGARDS METHODS, a word or two. I think we have all the success we deserve. Man fails, but God never. His laws—for good or evil to us—invariably and invincibly are vindicated. Our failure, therefore, is due to our ignorance or inattention to *His* methods. Sometimes seemingly, “Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers.” The *will* is slack, needs enthusiasm and energy. Our moral momentum is not equal to the occasion—to the special hindrances before us: and

in our weakness we fall back into pessimism or despair. It is not more *faith* we need, but more knowledge to direct action and dissipate doubt. Whether we fail in part, or succeed in part, there is a reason, and that discoverable. The grounds of duty are always accessible; and the secret of success is the fitting of our means to our ends.

To do anything efficiently—easily and well—we must learn how. Knowledge is first, bringing conviction—courage is second—and organization is third. We must learn, by exercise, the use of our weapons, both of attack and defence. It is said of Prince Henry of Prussia, brother to Frederic the Great, that he never lost a battle. Why? Because he never fought a foe who was stronger and better posted than himself. Now *Truth* is stronger than Error—always provided that its supporters have courage and determination—and all have that who fully discern the fact of things and the truth of our position and our propositions.

Much vague talk is current in regard to 'Union.' But true union of action must be founded upon union of thought—and in the present condition of the world it is often best to have sectional action. This avoids the waste of power in controversy, which, save with the wise and tolerant, spoils temper and obscures perception. In this matter let us avoid *metaphors*, which though sometimes are windows to let in light, are never the *doors* of solid truth. Thought and action are not *welded* together like metals under equal temperatures. Action follows thought: and only so far as the thoughts are like, will the lives and work agree. One man's thought stops at F., another at Z., but there is no necessary dis-union, so far as action is concerned they can walk together. A. goes for Sunday Closing with X, who goes for total prohibition—but both are united in voice and vote on the general question, while X goes on teaching the application of the truth to all time and place, as the only adequate and complete cure of the afflicted people. The thing to be very carefully avoided, as I judge, is *Compromise* of principle. Truth and Justice cannot be halved or quartered—they are absolute relations: and hence the attempt always ends in failure, and often in increased disaster. In the matter of infection and disease society is wiser—because selfishness works for the truth. You don't tamper with disease as with drink—you are wiser for your cattle than for your kind. You at least endeavour to stamp-out the causes of rabies, anthrax, and cholera. The notorious compromise on slavery in the United States led to the punishment of a civil war, the loss of a million lives, and to the maiming of hundreds of thousands of soldier-citizens. I happened to be in the States when the signs of the coming conflict first appeared, and was hooted in a vast meeting for warning the people of the danger and pleading for the oppressed. That very year the United Kingdom Alliance was founded in Manchester. Some think that this led to premature political agitation, and so to diversion from what is called *Suasion* or per-suasion. I do not think so; and at any rate it was an inevitable development. In reality, we had reached the available conscience of the community, and disappointment and pessimism were developing. It was then necessary to teach why we failed to get further. It was because the factors of Causation were double: namely, ignorance and appetite on one side, and temptation and interest on the other. Argument and example might meet the first, but only law could remove the disease it created. We saw the wisdom of Christ's prayer as regards 'Temptation'; and thus perforce we became Temperance Politicians. Now all the interests of vice—gambling betting, racing, impurity, speculation, and the sensuous pleasures—and the manufacturers of the poison that feeds and fosters all vicious conditions—were strong in Parliament and strong in Corporate bodies; and at last, when our cause had again and again won its voting victories in the House of Commons, and our proposition was introduced into a Premier's programme, these interests of the evil one grew alarmed, condensed all their political aims and principles into "Number one,"—the trade and the trade only—and joining together, with an uprising of the slums, carried the last General Election, and so deferred all legislation by another inquiry. Of course this will be rectified—the Commission will confirm the old facts—and enlightenment and organisation will follow. All the powers of vital religion, of morals, and of industry, will in

due time assert themselves, and when our citizens become fully aware of the supreme importance of our movement, an enthusiasm will be aroused competent to combat and to conquer all the dark and selfish forces arrayed against us. The fruits of drinking have exactly followed, here and everywhere, in nature and quantity, the amount of the Drink Bill, impeding trade, increasing taxation, creating crime and madness, and of course must continue to do so, until the world's dream of luck shall give place to causation and divine order. Millions upon millions have been rescued—tens of thousands of families have been blessed—but for all that, millions more than ever have been and are being cursed. Our reward is those we save, and the guilt of the lost does not rest upon those who have faithfully done what they could.

Doubtless vast advances have been made in our agitation, and improvements in our methods, our organizations, and our advocacy in general. Nevertheless, the time has come for enlarging our programme. The campaign needs to be carried on in a new direction. We are strong now. We must cease to be Apologists and become Protagonists. We must summon Society itself to appear in the High Court of the World's Justice. It says, "We believe in drink." Well, but we demand the grounds of a belief that fills our homes with misery and our cities with foulness, disease, and death. The only justification of Government is that it protects man in the development of his mental and material faculties; but centuries of experience have demonstrated that the drink traffic creates most of the crime, and gives less and less protection. Our opponents now use not only sophistry and evasion, but invective and misrepresentation in answer to our protests and appeals, and never honestly, fairly, or fully meet our impeachment of custom and the traffic. It is time that all this terminated, that evasions and hypocrisies and one-sided controversy ceased, and that our advocates rose to the greatness of the crisis and the occasion. We demand JUSTICE, the greatest of all social conditions. There is treason in the city—in Parliament and in Press—and the gates of the Delhi of Drink are closed. Let us advance and storm them; clear out the traitors, and establish Justice for generations, as a memorial of our piety, our patriotism, and our courage. "O that the people would consider" is the language of the ancient Prophet—speaking for God—and it is for ever true, for Thought is Justice.

The system of *licensing* a dangerous and not necessary trade, and of thus creating a vast monopoly, has utterly failed to satisfactorily regulate or reduce the evil consequences. They bulk out larger with every new development, and what the old drink traps did for the men, the new wine- and grog-grocer, refreshment rooms, and travelling drink delivery carts, are doing for the women at home. The teeming fruitage of crime, disorder, and insanity, with their heavy monetary burdens, is a contradiction of government and a mockery of justice. The perpetual changes of law are proofs of utter failure to lessen the evil, or destroy the trouble it deals with. The system is an anomaly in both thought and history. We do not license smallpox, infection or dog-madness, or sewer-disease—why *this*? Our national policy in Exchanges is Free-trade, not license, free trade in goods, *why* not in drink? If the traffic be fair, it should be free—if foul, prohibited—unless the evil consequences can be kept from the community. That being impossible, gives the right of protection *through prohibition* to every wise State.*

The monopoly almost doubles to the purchaser the price of his Poison drink—and from the wage-class alone absorbs ten millions of pounds yearly as *monopoly-price* in growing bloated millionaires, members of Parliament, and lay and clerical shareholders in breweries, creating a selfish political interest hostile to the commonwealth and influential on the Government. Politicians and Statesmen (so called) become their tools, or in the event of showing their independence, the Monopolists become their enemies. Nor do the influences end here. They ramify everywhere, spoiling our mental ideals and weakening the power of conscience. Doubtless civilisation and social morals *in a large class* are growing, but in a vast

* Free Trade, or Prohibition, is the only way to tunnel the granite Interests, which shut up all hopes of change. One or the other must cut the knot; and a sharp remedy must be applied. Free competition would soon effect the destruction of the interests; and an increase of the evil for a while is better than perpetual suffering.

multitude of another rank each generation witnesses the increasing degeneration of body and brain, the poison working its way into every avenue of life, while in the form of interest and limited associations its *causes* are seen at work in all sorts of men, from Premiers and Parliament down to the Watch Committees and Policemen of our corporate towns. *The leopard cannot change its spots.*

I do not, however, at all despair. The multitude may go on degrading themselves, but there is a large number of persons all round the globe who begin to perceive the danger and the *method* of remedy, and these are the intellectually strong and politically potent. As Savages are more numerous, but still weaker in the elements and energies of civilisation, REASON will compel them to fight the enemy, and they will assuredly conquer, because they are strong in intelligence. It is a battle between brutal selfishness and the evolution of patriotism, civilisation, and philanthropy—or the love of the best, for ourselves and for the children of the future. I stand by the Greek peasant, who leaving there children and the wife he loved to repel the Turk, said, "I love them—but what are they to the millions? I fight for their life and freedom as well." Our instincts for the family are also our love for our country and kind. To preserve the Individual we must not forget the Species. Selfishness must eventually perish, and love prevail. We can either lengthen the reign of confusion by our ignorance and indifference, or by our wise activity prepare for the speedier advent of the kingdom of peace. This is our true responsibility.

EXISTING PROHIBITORY AREAS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY REV. CANON E. L. HICKS, M.A., MANCHESTER.



REV. CANON E. L. HICKS, M.A.

It is amazing what prejudice has been raised against Prohibition by the constant and vehement assertion of the enemy, that our proposals are fanatical and impracticable. The friends of Permissive Prohibition are described as if they were visionaries of the cloister, with no experience of affairs, and as if the plans they propose for improving human life were things never heard of under heaven, but the creation of a disordered brain.

It is, therefore, an important, though humble, task to point out that Local Prohibition, for which we so urgently plead, is something which already exists. It exists in our own land. It is an experiment which has been tried again and again, and under singularly varied conditions. In all parts of the Kingdom there exist at this moment numbers of local areas within which the common sale of strong drink has been effectually forbidden for a long series of years. Some localities are rural; some are urban; some are larger, some are smaller in extent and population. In some, Prohibition has been at work for as long as thirty or forty years, in some for less, in many for even more. But however varied the conditions of the experiment, there is no variation in the testimony which comes from each area, and swells into an ever-accumulating volume of proof, that the experiment of Local Prohibition is everywhere an unquestioned success, and productive of extraordinary benefits to the populations affected by it.

It is found that the health, and wealth, and happiness of the people are solidly enhanced; that their virtue and moral worth are greatly advanced; that their homes become what homes are divinely meant for, the nurseries of happy childhood and the school of character; industry and trade, education and intelligence, in a word, precisely those elements which make for progressive civilization as well as social peace, flourish and abound; or to put it in a more concrete and homely form, the pawnshop disappears, the school and church thrive, the policeman is not required, and even the doctor finds half his occupation gone.

It had been my hope, as it was my endeavour, to obtain, for this paper, a tolerably exhaustive list of prohibitory areas within Great Britain. But I soon discovered the impossibility of the task. Many of the areas are villages, more or less agricultural, but some industrial, which owe their immunity from drink-shops to the wise foresight of the local squire, backed up by the opinion of his tenants. Other localities constitute areas in densely-populated towns, within which the building covenants and leases have stipulated from the first, that no liquor-shops might be opened. Some few of these latter, like the Shaftesbury Estate in London, and the Toxteth Park estate in Liverpool, have become household words with temperance reformers; though our opponents often ignore their existence. Some of the villages too are well known. Messrs. Richardson's industrial village of Bessbrook in Ulster, and Roe Green, a pit village near Manchester, are familiar names, and deserve the attentive study of the social reformer.

It was estimated by the Convocation of Canterbury* in its Report on Intemperance and its remedies, in the year 1869, that there were at least a thousand villages within this Province which were without a public-house, and were enjoying the advantages of Prohibition through the firmness of land-owners. I know of no return that is available since that date, but there is every reason to believe

* The province of Canterbury contains 32 English counties, with North and South Wales. In 1869 it had a population of 14,071,164.

that the figure to-day would stand as high as then, or even higher. And observe this omits all mention of the Northern Province of York. And who does not know that Scotland, Wales, and Ireland include large numbers of prohibitory villages, if only we could obtain returns and tabulate the evidence they afford? I shall probably be within the mark if I say that within the British Islands there are several thousands of prohibitory villages—communities wherein, though small in population, and little known to the great world, men are born and live, and love, and toil, and where all the complex movements of human life are at work, without the presence of a drink-shop. Nor let the citizens of the busy town think lightly of the life of a village. It is the stream of vigorous humanity which has its fountain head in the village that supplies the national life. It is too often lost (I speak of physical vitality) in the Dead Sea of the drink-ridden towns.

If we turn from the villages to the prohibitory areas in towns, it is most difficult to estimate their number. They are unquestionably less frequent, but this I can say, that in the pursuit of my inquiries I was continually hearing of urban localities till then unknown to me, and in different parts of the country, from which the liquor trade had been excluded. This was a pleasant surprise. It shewed what a strong force of Temperance conviction is at work in the land, and how ready the national mind is in this age to make social experiments of this nature. But I was less gratified to observe how little capital had been made by Temperance advocates out of these accumulating phenomena. If we are to out-master our enemy in argument, and disabuse the popular mind of his sophistries, it must be by an appeal not to mere emotions, however pure, nor to hopes, however impassioned, but to the irrefragable evidence of facts. And to my mind there are no facts in the world so convincing, so obvious, so unanswerable, as the hundreds and thousands of prohibitory areas that exist round about us, in town and village, all over the land. And I cannot imagine any better service that our local temperance workers throughout Great Britain can render to the cause of Prohibition, than by obtaining accurate information as to Prohibition areas in their districts, and forwarding the information promptly to the United Kingdom Alliance.* Such information should include a statement of the name and size of area, the number and occupation of inhabitants, by whom Prohibition was introduced, and under what circumstances, the duration of the experiments, how it is regarded by the people and what are its general results.

We are told, and the statement is made with significant emphasis in speaking to prohibitionists, that human society is a highly complex organism, that its forces strangely act and re-act upon each other, that if we want to discover and eliminate the causes of poverty or crime, we must take into account the play of many forces, that we must not be empirics, and that no one remedy can be adopted by a sound thinker for evils so complex in character. Such warnings might have their meaning if addressed to the old generation of Prohibitionists who lived before modern biological researches and sociological studies had become matters of common knowledge. And yet let us do those great pioneers the justice of recognising the important and solid contribution they made to the science of social reform. But to the prohibitionists of to-day these monitions, however well-meant, seem hardly appropriate. We are not forgetful of the play of social forces and the complex laws of human life. Prohibitionists do not live so far away from the centres of light and knowledge; we are not ignorant of recent economics; we read and think and observe. *Non tam aversus equos nostra sol jungit ab urbe.* But we value experiment as well as observation as a method of Social Science; and we maintain that nothing can be more scientific than to study the results produced in a community by so simple an experiment as the one we speak of. It interferes with no laws; it imposes no sweeping restrictions; education, religion, industry, we have them to work as before. Only we discover that the removal of one disturbing element—which abundant experience has shown to be detrimental to individual life and happiness—proves in the case of a community to have enormous and far-reaching results. If these

*Communications on this point will be welcomed by the Secretary U.K.A., 16, Deansgate, Manchester.

results appear to some minds to be too great for ready belief, we challenge the most careful scrutiny; we invoke more attentive study. But we point out that what makes the alleged results more worthy of belief, is the fact that the good consequences of Prohibition are not the mere product of a better economic condition, or improved material environment; they follow from the improvement of human nature itself. By prohibition, human virtue is sheltered, human life purified, and the capacities of man, as an individual and social being, are freed from terrible waste and outrage. Now it is the one wish of the social reformer to improve humanity. That is the key of the position. But alas! as a rule it is the last thing he can hope for; he has to be content with improving conditions, with contributory helps, with indirect influences, with experiments which may or may not avail. But the experiment of Local Prohibition adds to humanity at once new resources, and fresh vigour; it makes a man a better man and sets him free to improve as he will, by legislation or otherwise, the rest of his social conditions.

I conclude by mentioning some typical examples of home Prohibition.

SOME TYPICAL PROHIBITORY AREAS. (a) RURAL.

1.—The Kemble Estate, Wilts; Its area is just over 7,000 acres and comprises five villages. The population numbering as near as may be 1,000, is strictly rural and chiefly engaged in agriculture. The Prohibition was gradual, at the wish of the farmers, with the approval of the labourers; public houses, as they fell out of repair were gradually abolished by the owner, Mr. Gordon, and after his death by his widow and daughter. One public-house alone is now left on the whole estate; namely the "Tetbury Road Inn," which formerly was close to the Station, and is on the high road between Tetbury and Cirencester. There are very few houses within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of it. The results of Prohibition are seen in the absence of distress, and the superior social condition of the whole population. The people are comfortable in their homes, proud of their village, and good Church-goers. It is hoped that the one remaining public-house, which is out of the way, may be removed. By special desire of the late Miss Gordon, no alcoholic drinks can be sold in the Kemble Junction Station, and Mr. Biddulph has erected a coffee tavern close by.

2.—Wormleighton, near Leamington, Warwickshire, is a Village of about 250 people, belonging to Lord Spencer. For many years it has had no public-house. An unusual air of comfort pervades the village, and the people are conscious of its superiority. I lived for 12 years as Rector of the next parish. We had three public-houses; Wormleighton was the only Prohibitory village about us. If my people had possessed the Direct Veto they would immediately have done for themselves what Lord Spencer did for his tenants, and would have made Fenny Compton, like Wormleighton, a Prohibitory area.

3.—Roe Green, just North of Manchester, is part of the parish of Worsley. It belongs to the Bridgewater Trustees, and its inhabitants are entirely colliers. Many years ago at the request of the inhabitants, the Trustees closed the one remaining public-house, and Roe Green has been a Prohibitory area ever since. Population 700. Every visitor to the Village testifies to its cleanliness, its order, its uniform appearance of comfort. Many of the men have purchased or built their own houses. Their Churches and Chapels are well-supported. Remember that the people are all colliers.

4.—Throckley, a pit village of 2,000 people, six miles west of Newcastle, has been a Prohibitory area for 30 years, and exhibits like results.

5.—I now give particulars of the cost of pauperism in Brixworth Union, Northamptonshire. The Union includes 36 parishes; has an area of 60,756 acres; its rental is £123,028; and its rateable value £104,865. The population is 12,186.

Returns for half-year ending Lady-day, 1896—

Indoor paupers numbered 112, at a cost of £482

Outdoor " " 99, " £206

Total ... 211 £688

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There are in the Brixworth Union the following Prohibition areas by will of the landowner—

Parish	Population.	Rateable Value. £	Paupers.	
			In.	Out.
Althorp	110	2,685	—	—
Church Brampton...	180	1,249	—	1
Coton	92	1,008	—	—
Holdenby	209	3,098	1	—
Lampport	160	2,723	—	—
Mawsley	10	836	—	—
Moulton Park ...	41	713	—	—
Overstone	239	2,668	2	—
Total ...	1,041	£14,980	3	1

The total cost of relief in Prohibition parishes was—

Holdenby	£3 15 0
Overstone	0 15 0
Church Brampton ...	4 0 0
	£8 10 0

The Prohibition population is $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole Union. If it contained the same proportion of paupers

as the non-prohibition part, it would cost	£58 9 6
But actually it does cost	8 10 0

Thus saving per annum £49 19 6

In another form—

Cost per head of population in Prohibition area is under ... 0s. 2d.

Non-Prohibition area is over 1s. 2d.

As all are agricultural villages, they are existing under absolutely the same conditions and subject to the same influences.

The landowners concerned are Lord Spencer, Lord Wantage, and Lord Clifton.

(f) URBAN.

1.—Toxteth Park, Liverpool; Population 60,000. Prohibitory since 1880. The success of this experiment is too well known to need further comment. The population is chiefly of the working class.

2.—Coppice Estate, Oldham; Population 8,000, as near as may be, prohibitory for many years, when the estate was laid out for dwellings by the Platt family, whose mansion it adjoins. The rents vary from 3s 6d per week upwards. It is largely, but by no means exclusively, a working class district. Comfort and cleanliness abound. Houses are always let.

3.—In Leeds there is a prohibitory area, of which I lack particulars.

4.—In the middle of the district known as Greenheys, Manchester, there is an area owned by a syndicate of Temperance men, who have introduced a Prohibitory covenant into every lease. Though the population is only 2,000, yet the area is an interesting example as being surrounded by a non-prohibitory district. Perhaps owing to this contrast, its houses are always in demand.

5.—The Artizans, Labourers, and General Dwellings' Company, Limited.

Names of Estates.	Acreage.	Population
Shaftesbury Park Estate, Battersea ...	42½	7,340
Queen's Park, Harrow Road W. ...	76	14,424
Noel Park, Wood Green, N. ...	100	9,120
Leigham Court, Streatham, S.W. ...	66	888
At various "Blocks" ...	—	6,990
	284½	38,762

The population is mostly of working classes—artizans, labourers, porters, postmen, constables, messengers, railway guards, clerks, &c.

The Leigham Court Estate is in process of development.

THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION.

BY W. S. CAINE, J.P., PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE FEDERATION.



MR. W. S. CAINE, J.P.

THE General Election of 1895 was a very disastrous one for the Liberal party. The majority of 40 by which they were returned to power in 1892 was turned into the overwhelming majority of 152 for the Coalition party of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.

As Prohibitionists, we have no immediate concern with the fortunes of either of the great parties in Parliament, except so far as their policy, which they respectively submit to the country, affects the future of the Temperance movement. In the 1895 election, however, the fortunes of the Prohibition movement were linked inevitably with those of the Liberal party, from the fact of Sir William Harcourt's Local Veto Bill being one of the most prominent questions submitted by the Liberal Government to the country. With one or two rare exceptions, rare enough to be only proof of the rule, the warm and enthusiastic support of the advanced Temperance party throughout the country was given to Liberal candidates. What I want to consider in this brief paper is whether or not that support was a contributing cause to the defeat of the Liberal party.

There are those who contend that it was even more than a contributing cause, and who urge that if the Liberal leaders had frankly thrown over the Veto as a hopeless fad, they would have won the election. The figures which I propose to submit presently are a flat contradiction of this ridiculous contention, and prove, on the contrary, that almost every candidate who was personally identified with the extreme sections of the Temperance movement did better, and not worse, than those who accepted the Veto as a mere plank in the Liberal platform, which was better covered up than left bare.

There was, indeed, a host of contributory causes in the rout of the Liberal party. The internal dissensions among its leaders, following the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, which afterwards led to the retirement of Lord Rosebery; the crude, undigested mass of bills which had never got beyond a second reading, and which puzzled and bewildered the electorate; the rent which had taken place in the ranks of the Irish party, were, any one of them, enough to destroy the Liberal chances. I propose to show, by a careful comparison of the polls secured by Liberals strongly and personally identified with the Veto, with the polls secured by Liberals not so directly smeared with it, in similar and surrounding constituencies, that, as a matter of absolute fact, identification with the Veto secured better results in almost every case.

There is, indeed, only one instance by which it can be even suggested that close identification with Prohibition of the liquor trade had any directly adverse effect upon the Liberal vote, viz., Sir William Harcourt at Derby. The man who is the best judge of electoral defeat is the candidate himself. Sir William Harcourt has never ascribed his defeat to his advocacy of the Veto; he has never abated one jot of his loyalty to its principle; defeated at Derby on other issues than the Veto, he went at once to West Monmouth, where, staunch to the Veto, he polled 214 more votes than were polled at the 1892 election for an exceptionally popular candidate. There is only one fair, and indeed infallible, comparative test of success and failure of a candidate in a Parliamentary election, viz., that of *percentage of the register*.

Taking the entire Liberal poll of Great Britain, its percentage of the entire registered electorate was just 36 per cent. Sir William Harcourt polled 38·9 of the electors of Derby, and 62 per cent. of the electors of West Monmouth. At

Derby he was subjected, not only to the ordinary attack of the Tory party, but to the costly, well organised onslaught of the liquor party of the United Kingdom, in which no expense was spared, and all the methods in which that party are such adepts were put into operation. In spite of it all, he polled 8 per cent. better than the average of the Liberal party throughout Great Britain.

Perhaps the two Liberal candidates who received the closest attention of the organised liquor traffic after Sir William Harcourt were Sir Wilfrid Lawson and myself. I will take my own case first, because my constituency was a borough, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson a county, and these peculiar methods of electioneering are much more easily applied in a borough constituency than in a county.

In East Bradford the liquor party had for months previous to the election been organising for my defeat. One of their ablest agents, Mr. Biddlecombe, had been sent to take up his residence in Bradford, and when the dissolution took place a complete organisation of the trade for electoral purposes had been formed, and it soon became evident that Mr. Biddlecombe had unlimited funds at his disposal. Not only had he secured the bulk of the advertising hoardings in the constituency, but on every available open space he built special hoardings of his own for the display of inflammatory and exasperating literature; processions of sandwich men paraded the constituency day and night; a separate and individual canvass of the electors was undertaken, with all the peculiar machinery afforded by public-house and beer-house. It has been reasonably estimated that £3,000 would not cover Mr. Biddlecombe's expenditure. If there was a case in the whole of Great Britain in which, if Temperance politics were a hindrance to success, putting the Liberal candidate away down at the very bottom of the average poll, it was surely at East Bradford. But what happened? It is true that, with 170 other Liberal candidates, I was defeated, but so far from my defeat being unusually disastrous, my poll was far above the average of the country. I polled 39·5 of my registered electors, the average of the country, as already pointed out, being only 36·0 for the entire Liberal candidature. But compare my vote with that of another division of Bradford, the Central, in which the Liberal candidate, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, was a man of far greater qualities than myself, a Cabinet Minister, deservedly popular with the working classes, with an unusual personal record of good work done for the people. He was left alone by Mr. Biddlecombe and his organisation, and ought to have polled far better than I, if the Veto was unpopular and liquor organisation worth anything at all electorally; but Mr. Shaw Lefevre only polled 38·7 of his register, as compared with 39·5 polled by myself. Another comparative test, though not so infallible as that of percentage of the whole register, is the decrease in the number of votes polled. Compare the results in each division, as shown in 1892 and 1895:—

	Percentage of register polled.	1892.	1895.
Shaw Lefevre (Central)	46·7	38·5
Caine (East)	44·4	39·5

So that, while Mr. Shaw Lefevre's vote, left alone by Mr. Biddlecombe's organisation, only fell off by 8·2 of the entire register, my vote, in the same borough, in spite of Mr. Biddlecombe's £3,000, only fell off 4·9. I am profoundly convinced that, so far from my strong and pronounced views on Prohibition by Local Veto having lost the election, it was the one and only cause of my polling so much better than Mr. Shaw Lefevre; and if it ever be my fate in the future to contest another constituency, I shall give Mr. Biddlecombe a very hearty welcome if he appears on the scene of action. I may also note, in passing, that the average poll of all the Yorkshire boroughs for their Liberal candidates was 38·0 of the total registered electors, the Veto and Mr. Biddlecombe combined raised my vote in East Bradford to 39·5.

Let us now turn to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, who is, of course, the High Priest of Prohibition. He received all the attention it was in the power of liquordom to bestow, though it was not possible to concentrate it in a scattered county as it can be done in a crowded urban constituency. If there is, however, one candidate of all others likely to be handicapped by his views on the liquor question, he is the

man. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's poll, though reduced like other Liberal candidates by hostile causes, was no less than 41·0 of the register, or about 14·0 better than the average of all the Liberal candidates in the county. (Let me here explain that 14 per cent. of 36, the Liberal average in the country, is 5.) But let me rather compare his poll with that secured by the other Liberal candidates in the same county. Mr. R. A. Allison, also a pronounced Veto candidate, though not so deeply coloured with it as Sir Wilfrid Lawson, polled 39½ per cent.; while the Liberal candidates in the Penrith Division only polled 35½, and in the Egremont Division 34½. Taking, therefore, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the President of the United Kingdom Alliance, and Mr. Allison, a vice-president of the same body, we find they polled an average between them of 40·3, or about 12·0 better than the average of the country; while two excellent and capable Liberals, not in any way identified with the Temperance movement, are only able to poll in the same county an average of 35·0, nearly 3·0 less than the average of Great Britain.

The same result is manifest in Scotland. Mr. John Wilson, the President of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association, and a vice-president of the United Kingdom Alliance, stood for one of the divisions of Lanarkshire, and had his contest complicated by a Labour candidate. Mr. John Colville, who introduced the Scottish Veto Bill into Parliament, and is a vice-president of the United Kingdom Alliance, stood for another division of the same county. If the Veto Bill was the main cause of the Liberal defeat, they ought to have polled worse than the Liberal candidates for the other divisions of the county. What happened? Leaving out the votes polled for the Labour candidate, the joint Liberal polls of these two pronounced Veto men was 41·5 of their registers. Yet the average vote of all the Liberal candidates for the other four divisions of Lanarkshire was 39·0.

I will now turn to that ancient stronghold of the Liberal party, the West Riding of Yorkshire. Mr. T. P. Whittaker and Mr. H. J. Wilson, both vice-presidents of the U.K.A., polled each 45·0 of their respective registers. The Liberal candidates in the other divisions polled as follows:—In Morley, 43; Normanton, 43; Doncaster, 42; Shipley, 41; Elland, 41; Keighley, 41; Colne Valley, 40; Pudsey, 40; Hallamshire, 40; Skipton, 39; Otley, 39; and in Ripon 37 per cent. of their registers.

South East Lancashire shows similar results. Mr. Thomas Snape, a vice-president of the Alliance, and a conspicuous Lancashire teetotaller, though defeated, polled 42·0 of his register. Only one Liberal candidate did better, Dr. Pollard, at Radcliffe, who polled 43·0. In all the other divisions the Liberal candidates did worse—in Eccles, 40; Middleton, 40; Prestwich, 42; Gorton, 33. The average vote for all constituencies, except Mr. Snape's, was 40 per cent., Mr. Snape's being 42, the average of Great Britain 36.

In Durham there were two Liberal candidates who were unusually pronounced Temperance reformers and Veto advocates, Mr. R. Cameron in Houghton-le-Spring, and Mr. John Wilson in Mid-Durham; they each polled 47 per cent. of their registers, all the other Liberal candidates polling only an average of 44. In the borough of Stockton, Mr. Samuel, the most pronounced and extreme teetotaller-resident in the constituency, won a remarkable victory, reducing the Tory vote of 1892 by 474, and increasing the Liberal vote by 309. In Middlesbrough, a contiguous constituency of precisely the same character, the Liberal vote was reduced by 2,000, and the Tory vote increased by 1,402. In Sunderland, another Durham borough, where the Liberal candidates minimised their support of the Government Veto Bill to the utmost of their power, the Tory vote was increased by 1,439, and the Liberal vote decreased 1,630.

Turning to Derbyshire, where another vice-president of the Alliance was a candidate, we find similar results. Sir Walter Forster, in the Ilkeston Division, polled 47 per cent. In all the other divisions of the county the average Liberal poll was only 43 per cent.

Wales presents the same condition of things. Two vice-presidents of the United Kingdom Alliance, both teetotallers, contested and won Welsh counties. Mr. T. E. Ellis for Monmouthshire, and Mr. J. Herbert Roberts for West Denbigh. Their average polls were 53½ per cent. Carmarthen polled 49 per cent for its

Liberal candidate ; Carnarvon, 49 ; Glamorgan, 44 ; Montgomery, 43 ; Anglesea, 42 ; Brecknock, 42 ; Flint, 40 ; Pembroke, 40 ; and Radnor, 40. The two teetotal vice-presidents of the United Kingdom Alliance actually polling 22 per cent. better than all the rest of the Welsh counties. The same results appear in a comparison of Welsh boroughs.

But I need not weary the Convention with more figures. The closest study of the returns of the General Election of 1895 prove conclusively that the Liberal candidates, who emerged from the contest with the best results, were the men who were bold and fearless advocates of the Prohibition movement, and that the more closely they were identified with the extreme Temperance party, the better was the average of the poll.

The bye-elections since 1895 fully confirm the contention. The remarkable victory of Mr. Samuel Woods, a teetotal Prohibitionist, over Mr. Dewar, a whisky distiller at Walthamstow ; the defeat of Mr. Alfred Billson at East Bradford, where he suppressed his Veto principles, followed by his brilliant success at Halifax, where he proclaimed them, combined with the precise similarity of the two constituencies and the circumstances under which they were fought ; the enormous reduction of the Romford Tory majority, and other bye-elections, prove incontestably that no Liberal candidature is injured by the fearless adoption and advocacy of Prohibition views.

I have only touched the fringe of the matter ; much more might be brought forward in support of my contention. I might refer to the retirement of Captain Fenwick from Houghton-le-Spring, and the defeat of Mr. Mark Beaufoy for Kennington and Mr. H. E. Hoare for West Cambridgeshire, as proof of the impossibility of carrying Liberal candidates engaged in the liquor trade and opposed to the Veto Bill of the late Government. The facts of the last General Election show that a responsible Government may cast in its lot with the advanced Temperance party without fear of loss on that account. I do not believe the Veto contributed one jot or tittle to the defeat of any Liberal candidate who was not afraid of it.

BRITISH PERMISSIVE PROHIBITORY LIQUOR BILLS.

BY JOHN HILTON, LONDON, PARLIAMENTARY AGENT UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.



MR. JOHN HILTON.

BEFORE describing any of the various Permissive Prohibitory Proposals, it seems desirable to trace their origin, and to show that they are absolutely consistent with the fundamental principles on which the United Kingdom Alliance, this great representative Prohibitory Organisation in Great Britain, was founded and exists.

The Alliance was formed on the hypothesis that the sale of intoxicating liquor differs essentially from the sale of ordinary useful articles. That ages of experience have demonstrated the fact that it is an exceptional trade and that it must be dealt with in an exceptional manner. This was explicitly set forth in an address presented by an Alliance deputation to Sir George Grey, when Home Secretary in 1857, as follows:—"That the traffic in strong drink cannot

safely be left to regulate itself by the ordinary law of supply and demand, because it does not acknowledge the politico-economic conditions, on which the law is based. That the mischief by the trade does not depend upon its circumstantial, but is essential to the trade, inasmuch as it is a trade in a dangerous article. That the trade must be controlled. That the control at present is vested in the magistrates who, though a most honourable body, are irresponsible to the people."

"That the trade exists only in deference to a real or supposed public convenience, and that its burdens and results press upon the people."

"It would, therefore, be equitable and reasonable that the power to decide as to the existence of the trade should be vested in the people."

These propositions declared, in short, that the Liquor Traffic was essentially inimical to the well-being of the people, and, therefore, the people ought to have the power to stop it if they so desired.

Four centuries ago, when the sale of fermented liquors was free, such evil results arose therefrom, and forced themselves on the attention of Parliament, that legislation giving justices power to stop ale houses followed.

From that time to the present Parliament has been making vain endeavours to allow the trade to go on and, by regulation, to render it innocuous, or to protect the public from its consequences; yet, its results continued to be, and are as disastrous now, as ever they were.

The Alliance, therefore, arose to proclaim and labour to bring about the only true and effective remedy, viz., to abolish the cause that the effect might cease. It sought the suppression of the Liquor Traffic, not by the exercise of some tyrannical power, but by educating the people and creating a sound public opinion to obtain such legislative suppression; not an attempt to stop the trade by gradually diminishing the number of liquor shops or to cure the evil by more stringent regulation; but to prohibit it totally and immediately. Now this proposed total and immediate prohibition by the will of the people is in principle the same, whether applied to the United Kingdom, to one country in the United Kingdom, to a county or town or a hamlet. Thus a Permissive Prohibitory proposal quite quadrates with the fundamental principle of the United Kingdom Alliance.

This was clearly stated in the Alliance Annual Report in October, 1856, when asking the Council to approve a draft of suggestions for a Permissive Prohibitory Bill. The report declares:—

"It was, at first, of the utmost importance that the bond of union among members of the Alliance should be a bond of principle, since it is almost impossible to devise a measure which, in every detail, shall satisfy all, except as embodying a general principle on which all are agreed. Hence your committee have always, hitherto, declined to give opponents the advantage of dealing with the question by

the discussion of clauses of a proposed Act. They believe, however, that the time has now arrived when, with advantage, the future policy of the Alliance may be reduced to a more definite *formula*. The opposition, which must be encountered, has developed itself, and has been found from whatever quarter arising, to resolve itself into one or two elements. It is, therefore, possible to construct a *formula*, which, enforcing the whole principle, may yet avoid or neutralise opposition. Thus it can never be 'premature' or 'coercive,' or unjust interference, with the liberty of the subject to refer the question of prohibition directly to the public." The report further remarks:—"Your committee would only say that the idea of permissive legislation on the subject of the Liquor Traffic is not one of recent conception. Its embryo may be found in an article published about two years ago in the *North British Quarterly Review*, due, your committee believe, to a member of one of the most eminent brewery firms in the Metropolis."

I may add that it was from the pen of the late Charles Buxton, M.P., a brewer, whose words on this point are worth quoting fully. He was referring to the Maine Liquor Law. He says:—"The chief objection made to such a law is that it would be greatly evaded. But the use of it would be not so much to deprive drunkards of their liquor as to remove temptation from those who are not yet fallen. We think, under these circumstances, it might not be amiss to permit the application of a similar law to some parts of the United Kingdom."

"In fact, we are ourselves acquainted with villages where it has been virtually enforced, with the utmost benefit, by the mere refusal of the landlord to allow any sort of beerhouse on his estate. But what we would throw out for consideration is the question whether it should not be allowed that where five-sixths of the ratepayers of a parish demand the entire extinction of all licenses those existing should expire, after a fair time had been allowed for the publican to make other arrangements."

The Council warmly concurred in the proposal of the Executive, and adopted the draft suggestion for a Bill. It was headed :

SUGGESTIONS FOR A BILL TO PREVENT THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

The broad, able, and invulnerable Preamble was drawn by the eminent Queen's Counsel and Recorder of Birmingham, Mr Davenport Hill, and was approved by the Right Hon. Lord Brougham. It was as follow:—

"Whereas the common sale of intoxicating liquors is a fruitful source of immorality, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death; whereby not only the individuals who give way to drinking habits are plunged into misery, but grievous wrong is done to the persons and property of Her Majesty's subjects at large, and the public rates and taxes are greatly augmented; and, whereas, it is right and expedient to confer upon ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships the power to prohibit such common sale as aforesaid."

Be it therefore enacted :

The suggestions for a Bill had 14 Clauses, the principal being those providing for taking a vote of every person rated to the Relief of the Poor in any borough, parish, or township, for or against the adoption of the Act, and if two-thirds of the votes cast should be for the adoption of the Act, it should not be lawful for any person or persons within the area, adopting the Act, to manufacture for sale or directly or indirectly to sell, barter, or dispose of except for such purposes as may be hereinafter provided, any alcoholic or intoxicating liquor.

These suggestions were extensively circulated and favourably received until 1864, when Sir Wilfrid, then Mr. Lawson, M.P., consented to introduce a Bill to Parliament. The Preamble of the suggested Bill was appropriated, but the title adopted was "The Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill," and it had fewer clauses and less details than the suggested Bill. Its principal clauses were:—

- (1.) That at any time after the passing of the Act it shall be lawful for a given number of ratepayers in any borough, parish, or district, to require the Mayor or overseers to take the votes of the ratepayers as to the propriety of bringing into operation the provisions of the Act.

- (2.) That the Mayor or overseers shall, on receipt of such requisition, cause voting papers to be delivered to and collected from ratepayers within the district.
- (3.) That if, on examining these voting papers, it be found that two-thirds of the persons voting are in favour of the adoption of the Act no license shall be granted or renewed within such district after the term for which the license were current.

The Bill was backed by Sir Thomas Bazley, and in subsequent years by gentlemen belonging to the Conservative, the Liberal, and the Home Rule parties, and by religion, Catholic, Protestant, and Non-conformist.

The Bill, on its first introduction, received 40 votes, which was a larger number than the leading supporters of the measure expected. The negative votes were 297, giving an adverse majority of 257.

The Alliance friends were, however, not at all discouraged, but held a great banquet in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, and raised a five years' guarantee fund of £50,000. Sir Wilfrid Lawson persevered, and divisions on the same Bill were obtained as follows:—

Year.	For.	Against.	Majority against.
1869	94	200	106
1870	115	146	31
1871	130	208	72
1873	90	330	240
1874	92	318	226
1875	93	379	285
1876	194	319	218
1878	106	300	194

In each debate Sir Wilfrid Lawson found that just what was suggested in the Annual Report of the Alliance when the suggestions for the Bill were adopted happened: viz., the machinery of the Bill rather than its main principle was discussed. Therefore, after much consultation and consideration, Sir Wilfrid in 1879 substituted a resolution for a Bill just declaring the essence of the measure, with no details, in the hope that debate and vote might be on a clear issue.

The resolution was as follows:—

“That inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquor is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system” by some efficient measure of Local Option.

This resolution up to the words “by some efficient measure of Local Option,” was one of the recommendations of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1869.

On this resolution a debate and division were secured in 1879, when the votes were:—For, 185; against, 273—Majority against, 88.

The next year, 1880, there were:—For, 166; against, 280—Majority against, 114.

The same year, after a General Election, the votes were:—For, 245; against, 219—Majority for, 26.

This was Sir Wilfrid's first majority.

In 1881 the following resolution was submitted by Sir Wilfrid, debated and decided on:—

“That in the opinion of this House it is desirable to give legislative effect to the resolution passed on the 18th day of June, 1880, which affirms the justice of local communities being entrusted with power to protect themselves from the operations of the liquor traffic.” This was carried by 231 for, and 189 against—Majority for, 42.

In April, 1883, what may be called an urgency resolution was proposed by Sir Wilfrid, as follows:—

“That the best interests of the nation urgently required some efficient measure of legislation by which, in accordance with the resolution already passed and re-affirmed by this House, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors may be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves.” For this resolution on division there were 264 votes, with 177 against, giving a majority of 87 in favour, but no legislation followed this vote of urgency.

In 1884, Mr. P. McLagan introduced a Bill for Scotland on the same lines as Sir Wilfrid Lawson's first Permissive Bill, but no division was secured upon it.

Subsequently two additional options were added, viz., for reduction of the number of licenses, and the prevention of new ones.*

In 1888, on the 17th of April, the business before the House closed three or four minutes before half-past five, when Dr. Clark seized the opportunity of moving the second reading of the Bill, and no one objecting, it passed a second reading without debate or division, but though every effort to move it another stage was made they failed, and there has been no division on the measure since.

In the same year Mr. Allison introduced a “Liquor Traffic Local Option Bill” providing for the stopping of all licenses locally. It has been persistently introduced every Session since, and Mr. T. P. Whittaker now has charge of it. Like the old Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill it provides only one option, viz., that of stopping all licenses where it would operate if adopted. It has undergone only slight revision since first introduced.

In 1886 Mr. W. Johnston introduced a Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill for Ulster providing three options, viz., to stop all licenses, to reduce the number, or to prevent new ones being issued, but it did not reach a second reading.

In 1888 Mr. Johnstone introduced a Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill for Ireland with three options, and in 1890 a debate and division resulted in 124 votes being in favour and 131 against, so that the second reading was defeated by the narrow majority of seven votes.

Mr. Bowen Rowlands persistently introduced and watched over a Welsh Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill with three options for many years, and in 1891 had the gratification of securing not only debate and division, but a majority of votes for the second reading.

There was for 187, against 180—Majority for 7.

A still greater victory was secured on March 15, 1893, when a motion of rejection of the Welsh Veto Bill was moved by Sir W. Marriott obtained 245 votes, but 281 votes were given against, and thus the motion was defeated by a majority of 36, and the second reading of the Bill passed without a division.

The House of Commons has thus six times endorsed the principle of a local power to prohibit the sale of liquor.

I have confined this paper strictly to proposals for a full unencumbered Local Veto.

There have been proposals for partial or full Local Veto powers made in Licensing Bills, notably the remarkable Bill of Lord Randolph Churchill, and the Bills of Sir William Harcourt which would be well worth discussing in a separate paper.

On the necessity for effective dealing with the liquor traffic I may make two brief quotations. First from General the Right Hon. Lord Wolesley :—“There are yet some great battles to be fought, some great enemies to be encountered by the United Kingdom, but the most pressing enemy is drink. It kills more than all our newest weapons of warfare, and not only destroys the body but the mind and soul also.”

Next from Lord Rosebery when Prime Minister :—“If the State does not soon control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State.”

If these warnings are correct surely our permissive prohibitory proposals are the minimum, which the great moral forces of the kingdom should demand from any Government.

* The Scotch Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill now before Parliament provides but two options, viz., that of suppressing all licenses or of reducing their number

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

BY FIELDEN THORP, B.A., YORK, TREASURER BRITISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.



MR. FIELDEN THORP, B.A.

I HAVE been asked to prepare a little sketch of the Temperance Movement in Central Europe, and specially in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. Before touching upon recent efforts, it is needful briefly to advert to the fact that Temperance Societies, so-called, on a similar basis to the old "Moderation" scheme—requiring abstinence only from distilled spirits—were formed in some of these countries almost as early as in England and America, and in some places enrolled a very large number of members, with decidedly beneficial results. Even in 1831 Prince John of Saxony, after attending in London one of the first meetings of the old British and Foreign Temperance Society, issued an appeal to his people, signed by ten men of high position in the country. But the effort was not very successful. Pastor Böttcher, writing 30 years later, says in reference to it:—"Throughout Europe, in every class of society, even in the ranks of the

nobility and the schools of science, alcoholic liquors were at that time considered as a necessary ingredient of food, and as one of those gifts of Providence that were a blessing to the human race, notwithstanding the dire consequences attending upon their consumption. The higher classes thought it cruel that the people should be debarred this enjoyment. These prejudices were powerfully sustained by the pecuniary interest of a legion of distillers and spirit sellers in every land."

Five years later some English vessels brought Temperance tracts to the Elbe ports, and the result was the formation, in December, 1836, of a native German Society advocating abstinence from spirits. The movement received a fresh impulse from the work of Dr. Baird, an emissary of the American Temperance Society, who, by his writings and by personal visits to Germany, Russia, and Sweden, exerted a wonderful influence.

About the same time the work was begun in Switzerland by the well known author, Tschokke, whose book, entitled "The Pest of Alcoholic Drink," produced a great sensation, but no permanent results appear to have followed. So, too, in France very little progress was made, though a Temperance Society was started, also in 1837, at Amiens, through the personal exertion of a noted philanthropist: the Société de la Morale Chrétienne had, however, in one of its six sections, the particular aim of abolishing strong drink (meaning, of course, distilled spirits as beverages). Moreover, the Congrès International de Bienfaisance several times dealt with the question. At Brussels, in 1856, and at Frankfort, in 1857, it was ably discussed by men of different nationalities, among whom were several English friends, now no longer living, and two whom we rejoice still to have with us, Dr. Lees and Samuel Pope, Esq.—not then a Q.C. At Frankfort a resolution, moved by M. Ducpetiaux, a Belgian inspector of prisons, was carried after warm debate as follows:—"The Congress, recognising that the habitual use of strong drink influences in a manner very unfavourable the health, well-being, and morality of the working classes, believes it to be the duty of Governments, as of individuals and associations, seriously to study this question, and to apply the proper means to put an end to these evil conditions."

By the year 1843 very considerable progress had been made in Germany, where a National Temperance Convention was called in August, at Hamburg. The principle adopted by the German societies, then numbering 500, with 40,000 members, was that of Total Abstinence from distilled spirits.

As a result of this Convention, a priest, Fietzack, raised the war-cry against alcoholic drink in Silesia, exerting so powerful an influence on the Roman Catholic clergy that the whole clerical body arose as one man, and by their example, carried away the entire population of the district, mostly of the Slavonic race, being miners, coal and metal-workers, and much given to drinking. This whole population at once took the pledge of Total Abstinence. No country has ever witnessed such a moral triumph as this in Upper Silesia. In one district, containing 900,000 people, within three months from the above date, five hundred thousand adult male and female persons renounced the use of spirituous drinks ; and the children, of course, followed the example of their parents. These vows of abstinence were taken with the most solemn fervour, in churches and chapels, before the altars, with prayers and sacred hymns, and they were kept with the utmost fidelity. Nobody in Europe, even in Prussia, would at first believe this news. The Government of Prussia ordered official inquiries to be made, and a ministerial edict of July 11th, 1845, made known and attested this surprising fact. All the local authorities announced in official documents, legally attested, the following facts :—

- (1). "That this most remarkable resolution and renouncement by a whole province of alcoholic drink was a true and positive fact.
- (2). "That this sudden renouncement had nowhere, and in no case, produced any of those hurtful effects so often predicted by fear or prejudice.
- (3). "That according to the unanimous assurance of all the legal authorities, as well as according to the official returns purposely ordered for ascertaining the consequences, the population had become far more industrious, more orderly, more punctual, more attentive to religious worship, as well as more regularly domesticated and comfortable, since assuming their Temperance vows, instead of the disorderly and irregular way of life that had formerly prevailed among them."

Another instance is afforded by the city of Osnabruck, in Hanover. In that place the Catholic and Protestant clergy, the physicians and teachers, the civic and Government functionaries, joined in exhorting their fellow citizens to abstain from taking spirituous liquors ; at the same time they themselves publicly set the example. The town, with its suburbs, contains about 18,500 inhabitants. Our cause in three months brought over one-third of these. The example of the enrolled members of the population made so great an impression on the remainder that not one respectable person would drink any spirituous liquor, and it was only the most inveterate drunkards and a few obstinate persons who still continued to follow their evil propensities. Spirit-drinking was thenceforward considered as an ignominious action by respectable people.

But, amid the religious and political upheaval of 1848, all these promising efforts seem to have more or less completely collapsed, and at the London International Convention, called by the United Kingdom Alliance in 1862, Pastor Böttcher, from whose historical summary many of the above details are taken, complained (after referring to the Roman Catholic Temperance fraternities) "that they could not induce all the drunkards to renounce their evil habits, nor the publicans their noxious trade ; nor could they, with all the powerful means at their disposal, prevent many from relapsing into their old customs. The satanic power of alcohol has, to a certain extent, baffled these most earnest and holy exertions, on the success of which every friend of Temperance once fully relied. And this is the important experience we have gained, that the nations will only be released from the scourge of alcohol when the governments shall do their duty and cancel all licenses. It is irrefragably proved that, by suffering gin-shops and inns, the governments foster places of temptation, where the *best intentions* must, in the long run, be drowned in a sea of moral degradation. Even the exertions of "Temperance fraternities" in the Catholic Church found their grave in the privileged public-houses ; and the noblest prelates had to see an institution frustrated which they thought so firmly established, and deemed so promising of good."

With our English experience to guide us, we cannot marvel at the limited success of a struggle based upon the mistaken assumption that while distilled spirits are destructive and poisonous beverages, fermented liquors are natural, nourishing, strength-giving articles of diet. Yet the mistake was a not unnatural one; and especially so in countries where the national beverage was for the most part only slightly alcoholic; as, for instance, the Bavarian beer and the light wines of France and Italy. It is undeniable that the peasantry of Central Europe forty years ago were much less given to intemperance when the native wine or beer was the staple drink, and when spirituous liquors were more costly and far less commonly used than they are now. But we have learned by sad experience in England, and our Continental brethren are now more and more generally coming to the same conviction, that no partial remedies will be satisfactory; that alcohol will do its deadly work whether imbibed in a strong or in a dilute form; whether combined with its own weight of water as in strong spirits, or with twenty times its weight, as in light beer or wine.

Speaking generally, it may be said that Teetotalism, as we understand the term, has sprung up in Central Europe almost entirely during the last 20 years. A few individual abstainers, indeed, there may have been here and there, but public propaganda there was none carried on by natives of the countries we are now dealing with. The first of the recent series of International Congresses was held at Antwerp in 1885, and those who were present at it will remember how few, beside the English and American visitors, were the uncompromising advocates of abstinence from fermented as well as from distilled intoxicants. Yet the good work had been already begun, and that on the different yet converging lines which still divide our friends abroad,—the distinctively religious, and the purely scientific, under which latter term may be ranged both physiological, economic, and moral discussion of alcoholism.

It was in 1877 that the Swiss Temperance Society was founded, which soon afterwards, when it extended its operations beyond the little Republic of Switzerland, took the name and badge of the Blue Cross, the emblem being an adaptation of the Red Cross of the ambulance societies for the care of the wounded in war. M. Rochat says:—"What the Red Cross is to the victims of war our society aims to be to the sufferers from drink. Its sections—or local gatherings—are the ambulances where they are received; its members the surgeons and nurses who seek to cure and to save them." Its distinctive work is, in the words of its fundamental rules, "to labour, with the help of God and of His word, in the restoration of the victims of intemperance;" and for this object, it demands of its members total abstinence from all intoxicating drink, except for medicinal or sacramental purposes; it does not, however, desire to condemn the strictly moderate use of fermented liquors by persons not members of the society, but declares the absolute necessity of total abstinence for the recovery of drunkards.

Some of us, no doubt, will think this last proviso a rather lame and illogical one; and it does, unquestionably, open the door to mischievous compromise. Yet we can respect the tender Christian feeling of some of our true-hearted, earnest abstainers, who shrink from any pronouncement which would condemn their Christian brethren who do not see with them. It is a very real difficulty in many church organizations even in England, to know just how far decided teetotallers are warranted in judging their fellow members who are still moderate drinkers, or treating them as thereby unfitted for office or for membership in the church: and, therefore, it is not for us to throw stones at our brethren of the Blue Cross. One thing I may thankfully add, that the whole tendency, as evidenced at our International Congresses, is towards increased harmony of working between this, the religious wing of the temperance force, and the scientific teetotallers, represented by the Good Templars, the society of abstaining physicians, the students' leagues, the Alkoholgegnerbund (anti-alcohol league), and other similar organizations.

The number of abstainers enrolled in the Blue Cross Society in Switzerland is nearly 12,000; there are 150 Temperance Cafés or restaurants, in which un-intoxicating refreshments only are sold; and six inebriate asylums, four for men and two for women.

When we come to consider the efforts made in Switzerland to secure legislative action against the drink traffic, we must note first of all the fact that in 1874 the separate Cantons, independent States though they are in many respects, were deprived of the rights to interfere with the trade, the new Constitution then adopted providing that "freedom of trade and industry is guaranteed throughout the Swiss confederation." But the evils resulting from this free trade in drink, coupled as it was with the numerous private stills where the peasantry converted their potatoes into a crude spirit, were so marked that ten years later, in 1884, the Cantonal governments were once more allowed to exercise certain restrictive powers in regard to licensing and to the retail sale; and the Federal Government in 1886-7, further imposed conditions as to the manufacture of this potato spirit, which practically render it a State monopoly, making the Government Department responsible for the purity of the article supplied. This, however, does not apply to the very considerable manufacture of spirits from grapes and other vegetable products, which has been so much increased since the so-called "Alcohol monopoly" has raised the price of the common "schnaps" by heavier taxation. Of this taxation, the Swiss Government has laid down that at least 10 per cent. is to be locally employed in opposing intemperance in its causes and effects; a provision which has been but very imperfectly carried out, though one wise use has been made in some Cantons of a part of this money, in widely circulating among school teachers an admirable text-book by M. Jules Denis; and in Geneva, every elementary school has been supplied with fine anatomical diagrams showing the effect of alcohol on the human organism.

We turn now to Germany, where the revived Temperance movement dates only from the formation in 1883 of the "Society opposing the abuse of spirituous liquors," of which Dr. Bode—himself, it is fair to say, a personal abstainer—is secretary. He defines the position of this organization thus:—

"The early societies directed their efforts only against brandy (*i.e.* distilled spirits in general); ours attacks intemperance in the use of all intoxicating beverages. They saw the enemy in brandy—and, therefore, outside the man; we see the enemy in the abuse, in the intemperance, and so in the man. We are well aware that the conceptions "temperance" and "intemperance" are difficult, if not impossible to define; but this difficulty cannot prevent us from recommending, as the ideal of all education, temperance and self-control, which are needed not only in regard to alcohol, but to food and sleep and a hundred of other things."

Insecure as this basis is, the society has accomplished a good deal, especially in circulating a literature which has called attention to the dangers, not only of spirit drinking, but also of the excessive use, so common in Germany, of beer, and has given clear warning of the mischief of giving intoxicating drink to children. It has also promoted the establishment of coffee-houses supplying nothing stronger than small beer, and providing working people with cheap refreshments—three-penny dinners and the like; it has established in several cities popular evening entertainments, and it has co-operated with the Blue Cross and the Good Templars in opening Inebriate Asylums, and in various other departments of work. It has also, after careful study of Scandinavian and Dutch legislation, suggested a Bill embodying various improvements in regard to drunkenness and licensing, which, however, has not yet come before the Reichstag.

This society, though at first under the patronage of great names, such as Count Moltke, Dr. Miguel, and others, has made no general impression on the mass of the people; after 12 years of activity it only numbers some 8,000 or 9,000 members in all Germany, as against 10,000 in its first year.

Dr. Bode, perhaps stirred by this comparative want of success, founded in 1889 a new organization, the Alkoholgegnerbund or Anti-Alcohol League. Its members must be total abstainers, though "associates" were at first admitted without this condition, if willing to aid in its work; this concession, however, was afterwards withdrawn, on this very sensible ground, to quote Mr. Tienken, the President:— "It is the moderate use, and the drinking customs, that are the spring of all the mischief, and so we are labouring with all our might to stop this spring. Abstinence does not seem to us to cut off any real enjoyment from life, but to be

the foundation of a better and happier future. We lay down no rules as to the use of alcohol as medicine, nor interfere with our members' right to take part in the Lord's Supper."

Besides these two bodies we must not forget that the Blue Cross is strongly represented in some 80 local societies in Germany, numbering perhaps 3,000 members: the Good Templars have nearly 100 lodges, mostly in the Schleswig-Holstein district, with about as many members: and two or three other organizations not primarily devoted to our cause, are valuable allies:—The Salvation Army, the Vegetarians, and a society for popularizing the principles of Hygiene. Notwithstanding all the efforts, we note with regret the steady increase of the consumption of drink in Germany—the annual expenditure being more by £40,000,000 in the year 1892 than it was in 1886: so that our friend Tienken might well say that "the conviction must gradually dawn upon the German people that this rapid increase involves a threatening danger to the national development—a danger not to be averted by any half-measures."

The movement in France is, for the most part, in its initial and tentative stage. The Blue Cross has its representation in a small way in France, and many of the best statesmen, doctors, and scientists are thoroughly alarmed at the fatal progress of intemperance; some of the ablest papers read at Basel were from men of this stamp; but they are all more or less disposed to insist on the untenable, unphilosophic distinction between wine and spirits, and even to argue as though adulteration with drugs of various kinds was a more important factor than the alcohol, whether in fermented or in distilled beverages. It is strange to see how this delusion, and the fear of alienating the great vine-growers and wine producing populations, mislead men who clearly understand, in theory, the mischievous nature of alcohol. A paper by M. Puteaux of the French Temperance Society (prepared for, but not read at, the Basel Congress,) is a striking illustration of this unhappy spirit of compromise. He tells us that the Parisian workman spends one-third of his wages, on the average, at the wine shop, owing to the deep-rooted, almost invincible prejudice that wine and spirits are indispensable to maintain the strength of any man who has to do a fixed and considerable amount of work. Anything, he tells us, serves as an excuse for drinking; if it is hot, the man must drink to quench his thirst; if it is cold, he must drink to warm himself; if trouble comes, he flies to drink to drown his care; if some happy circumstance befalls him, he must express his joy over his cups. Very clearly does M. Puteaux show the ruinous results of all this alike to health and pecuniary prosperity, pointing out the fallacy that wine is a food. "It is a stimulant, not a strengthening agent. It produces a deceptive, transient sense of warmth, not a steady force . . . The soldiers who were the first to succumb during the terrible retreat from Russia in 1812 were those who drank spirits; and just lately we have hailed with applause General Duchesne's order severely forbidding the use of alcoholic liquors by the troops under his command in Madagascar." "It is," he declares, "absolutely proven that wine is not indispensable to enable a man to live well and to live long." And yet, after all this, he suddenly drops into another tone: "We must not in our country ask for total abstinence. It would be contrary to all the habits and temperament of the Frenchman absolutely to proscribe the use of wine, cider, beer, or other hygienic beverages. We must not ask our countrymen to sign a pledge such as that of the Blue Cross—still less, like the Good Templars, one requiring not only personal abstinence, but also opposition to the use or sale by other persons of fermented liquors—to do this would be to ensure the failure of our enterprise."

No wonder, while views like these prevail, that the paper concludes with the statement that alcohol has risen steadily from 2½ litres per head in 1830 to 4 litres in 1855, 6 litres in 1879, 8 litres in 1889, and 9 litres in 1892; and that the departmental government of the Seine has decided to build a new lunatic asylum for 1,200 persons, and to reserve 500 places in it for inebriates!

Before concluding, a few words must be devoted to Holland, where gin drinking and gin distilling have long prevailed. A society called the Netherland Union has existed for more than fifty years, specially to deal with drunkenness by legislation.

Its monthly organ, *De Volksvriend* is intended to discourage the use of distilled beverages; some of its members are total abstainers from all intoxicating liquor. Besides this we have the "Volksbond", a moderation society. In 1892 was founded a teachers' society, mainly consisting of total abstainers, whose aim it is to deter their scholars, by their influence, from using intoxicants. The latest figures to hand give the number of male members as 368.

More recently a teetotal society has been formed among University students, which numbers nearly a hundred members; and a distinctly religious total abstinence society, founded in 1881 at Amsterdam, has four thousand. In connection with this are various subsidiary organizations all carrying on the good work begun years earlier by our good friend Adama van Scheltema and others.

My personal interest in this work on the Continent began nearly twenty years ago, when I was invited, by some ladies at Neuchâtel, who had themselves been led to adopt total abstinence principles through the influence of English acquaintances, to address a gathering of young people in the College Chapel. It was not a large meeting, but was attended by a number of earnest youths, some of whom had walked many miles to be present. Since that time it has been my privilege to attend all but one of the Conferences at Antwerp, Zurich, Christiania, The Hague, and Basel; and to promote, in some little measure, the publication of the *International Monthly Magazine*, a very ably edited and instructive paper.

It is an encouraging sign of progress that our English teetotalers are learning to take a practical interest in the efforts of our brethren abroad, and all the help we can render them is being richly repaid by the fresh information supplied by men like Professors Bunge and Forel, and many other scientific investigators, confirming the truth of those principles for which our British and Irish teetotalers have long persistently contended.

SECTION I.

DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION.

FIRST RESOLUTION.

Mr. W. S. CAINE, J.P. (London), then moved the following resolution :—

“That this Convention declares that the sale of intoxicating liquors is proved to be adverse to the true interests of individuals and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and therefore that the duty of the State is its absolute and complete suppression. That to this end the people of every locality should forthwith be armed with a direct vote, by the exercise of which it should be made impossible for any licensing authority to issue licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors in any locality where the vote of the people forbids it—and which measure of self-protection has already been accorded under the British Crown to our fellow-subjects in Australasian and other colonies, and throughout the whole of British North America.”

He said that the resolution gathered up the statements in the various papers into a concise form for record as the deliberate opinion of this important Conference, which was gathered from all corners of the kingdom, and was as representative of the Temperance feeling in the country as Parliament was of the community at large.

The Rev. JAMES CLARK (Salford) seconded. He said the resolution stated very clearly what they wanted, but it did not say that nothing less would be acceptable. He thought they could not too often repeat that they were ready to receive, as they had received in the past, everything that tended in their direction, and not only to receive but to work hard and cordially for it, and desiring to secure step by step what they might be able to gain. (Hear, hear.)

A discussion took place, taken part in by Mr. J. H. Raper, Rev. J. C. Street, Mr. Guy Hayler, Mr. Geo. Johnson, Mr. T. Jefferson, and others.

The motion was carried, and the Convention adjourned.

PROHIBITORY AMENDMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

In eighteen States, there have been submitted to the people the proposition of incorporating in the organic law Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, with the following results:—

STATE.	Year.	VOTE ON THE AMENDMENT.		Not Voting.
		For.	Against.	
Kansas	1880	91,874	84,037	25,325
Iowa	1882	155,436	125,677	10,935
Ohio	1883	323,189	240,975	157,146
Maine	1884	70,783	23,811	47,819
Rhode Island	1886	15,113	9,230	2,532
Michigan	1887	178,636	184,281	17,968
Texas	1887	129,270	220,627	7,616
Tennessee	1887	117,504	145,197	41,083
Oregon	1887	19,973	27,958	7,023
West Virginia	1888	41,668	76,555	41,317
New Hampshire	1889	25,786	30,976	34,160
Massachusetts	1889	85,242	131,062	128,213
Pennsylvania	1889	296,617	484,644	216,307
*Rhode Island	1889	9,956	28,315	4,840
South Dakota	1889	39,509	33,456	4,862
North Dakota	1889	18,552	17,393	2,153
Washington	1889	19,546	31,489	7,408
Connecticut	1889	22,379	49,974	81,625
Nebraska	1890	82,296	111,728	20,066
Total ... ..	...	1,743,329	2,057,385	858,398

* This was the submission of the question of repealing Prohibition.

THE LARGEST PROHIBITION CITY IN THE WORLD.

In 1880 power was given to the citizens of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States of America, to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquor in their midst. The population in 1895 was 81,643. The following is the result of each year's contest :

	For License.	Against License.	Majority For.	Majority Against.
1881	2,614	2,608	6	—
1882	2,772	2,379	393	—
1883	3,116	2,522	594	—
1884	3,659	2,552	1,137	—
1885	2,764	2,234	530	—
1886	2,344	2,910	—	566
1887	3,727	4,293	—	566
1888	3,819	4,483	—	664
1889	3,300	3,793	—	493
1890	3,611	4,180	—	569
1891	3,565	4,051	—	486
1892	4,763	5,606	—	843
1893	4,539	5,329	—	790
1894	4,500	5,099	—	599
1895	4,160	5,663	—	1,503

It will be noticed that the first year a poll was taken the majority for license was a very narrow one, and that for five consecutive years the Temperance forces were defeated, on one occasion by a large majority ; but, nothing daunted, they persevered, and now can tell of ten consecutive years when victory has crowned their efforts. It is worthy of notice that the figures for 1895 show a majority against the liquor shop almost double that of any previous year.

SECTION II.

PROHIBITION IN OTHER LANDS.

The Convention resumed in the Town Hall at half-past two o'clock on Tuesday, April 6th, 1897, Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P., London, in the chair.

PROHIBITION IN MAINE.

BY HON. GEN. NEAL DOW, PORTLAND, MAINE.



HON. GEN. NEAL DOW.

PROHIBITION in Maine had its origin in an appreciation of the enormity of the liquor traffic growing out of a knowledge of its effects upon the people. This first found lodgment with those who had been endeavouring to ameliorate the conditions entailed upon society by intemperance, and who had observed that their efforts were neutralized to a large extent by the ever present temptations of the grog shops. This naturally led earnest men who were engaged in that work to see that genuine and effective temperance effort must include preventive and protective as well as remedial and reformatory work. Looking, then, to the liquor traffic as directly contributing to the increase of the habits of intemperance which they were trying to correct, they found these to be only one of the injuries it inflicted upon society.

Knowledge thus acquired tended to broaden the scope of the temperance movement. That was no longer to be confined to often ineffective attempts to reclaim here and there one of the numerous victims of vice, but was to include as well a policy of seeking protection for the public from an evil of which the grosser forms of intemperance were but one and by no means the most damaging of its many destructive phases. It became a matter involving public policies. It was no longer simply philanthropy, sympathetically extending aid to unfortunate individuals. It became a question of large politics in which the weal of states was concerned.

From that conception progress toward prohibition embodied in law became a matter for agitation and education. No one who deemed it a trivial evil, limited in extent and insignificant in results, would have thought it worth while to put it under the ban of the law. When it came to be popularly recognised as an evil, that only and that continually, the embodiment of that public opinion in law was natural. The same process was applied in this case as in every other. Law reflects the opinion of the people adopting it as to the object with which it deals. A people that approves of duelling will enact no law that condemns it. It is not to be expected that theft will be prohibited by a State that recognises no moral wrong in thieving.

Hence in the early days of the Temperance movement in Maine, as elsewhere now, personal conviction and public opinion as to the liquor traffic could be accurately tested by what the individual favoured, and what the people insisted on in dealing with it. When a friend of Temperance became thoroughly informed as to what the grog shops were, and so much in earnest in his desire to relieve society from their baneful power as to be willing to incur personal discomfort to accom-

plish it, he became what is known as a prohibitionist, and thereafter his influence tended toward the creation of a general public feeling of hostility to it that resulted naturally and logically in prohibitory legislation. So deeply, however, was the traffic rooted in the customs of the people, and so strongly entrenched in the avarice of those engaged in it and the appetites of those who patronised it, that the effort to secure prohibition was not made until after the failure of every other conceivable means of protecting society from it.

Conditions in the earlier periods of the history of Maine were such as to render our people particularly susceptible to the temptations emanating from the traffic. The avocations of large portions of our male population, as lumbermen on land or as fishermen at sea, enforced their absence for long periods of time from home, depriving them of its restraining influences, while the products of those industries was largely exported to the West Indies, to be exchanged there for West India rum and molasses, the most of which latter was converted by the numerous distilleries of the State into the cheaper, but not less injurious, New England rum, which was sent into all parts of the State and dispensed in every country store and in almost every corner grocery in every considerable town and village. Every tavern had its open bar, and liquor in one form or another was as freely sold at every store as were the most ordinary family supplies. Account books of many of the old time country stores of Maine are still in existence, and they disclose that upon the average there was one sale of liquor for every three of all other kinds of articles. The resulting conditions of that widespread use of intoxicants were seen in poverty, misery, and wretchedness of every kind in every quarter of the State. On every hand then were to be found examples of the injurious influences of the liquor traffic, which were used most effectively by the friends of Temperance to illustrate their contention that the trade in intoxicants was inimical to the public welfare and inconsistent with the general good.

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the details of the work. Meetings were held in churches and schoolhouses in all sections of the State where such could be obtained, and when local sentiment was such as to interfere with the use of these buildings for such purposes, resort was often had to barns, or, when the weather would permit, to open-air meetings, in all of which the effort was made to arouse the people, not only to an appreciation of the safety and wisdom of total abstinence as a personal rule for life, but also of the necessity to protect society from the effects of the traffic in intoxicants through suitable prohibitory legislation. Many years were thus employed, and, little by little, a change in public sentiment was wrought which manifested itself from time to time in more stringent provisions being applied to the license legislation of the State and in efforts before the legislature to abolish this altogether, and to substitute therefor the entire prohibition of the traffic, which was the natural and logical result of an earnest conviction that its existence was inconsistent with the public weal.

In this movement for the reconstruction of public sentiment many clergymen of the State took an active part, and the influence of their voice and example proved potential for great good. An agency which was largely instrumental in the change was that of the Washingtonian movement, which, originating in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, in the thirties, extended to Maine in the early forties, with marked results upon the habits of many of our people. As was to be expected, the change in public opinion which was wrought by such long and persistent efforts to convince the people that the use of intoxicants and all that tended to promote and increase that use was inimical to their interests exposed more fully the folly of the license system. Few, indeed, of those who became interested in the temperance movement failed to see that the logical result of such convictions as they had then come to entertain would be secured only through legislation to protect the people from the pernicious influence of the traffic. Finally, in 1851, the hopes of the earnest friends of Temperance were realized in the passage, by large majorities in both branches of the legislature and the approval by the Governor, in what has ever since been known as "the Maine Law."

As this measure could not have been secured save through convincing the people of the dangers to their best interests which were to be found in the

legalised grog shops of the State, so long as they were alive to its evils there was little danger of any retrograde movement. That enactment, sustained by a popular sentiment which had been created by long years of earnest agitation, immediately inaugurated a wonderful revolution. It is unnecessary to cite proof of this. The measure and its results attracted attention throughout the English speaking world, and those results were so marked for good that many States in the Union, including all those in New England, adopted prohibition, embodied in statutes closely resembling in their more important features that of Maine. It is questionable if the foundations for that legislation had been as thoroughly laid in those States as it was in Maine by the preliminary agitation and discussion of the question before the people, for after awhile some States which adopted prohibition were driven from that policy by the persistent assaults of the liquor interest into adopting various kinds of so-called restrictive legislation.

In Maine, five years after its first adoption, the prohibitory law was repealed, and a license law substituted. This latter measure, however, was repealed in the course of a couple of years, and Maine returned to the policy of prohibition. From this the most persistent efforts of the liquor traffic have been unable to swerve it. This return to prohibition was hastened by the untoward results of the two years of license, which presented a marked contrast with the influences for good of the few preceding years under prohibition.

Within an astonishingly short time after the adoption of prohibition the liquor traffic was practically banished from Maine, and absolutely so as to a very large portion of the State. In those sections where it maintained itself secretly it was so limited in extent as to have been shorn of an immense proportion of its power for evil. With the practical annihilation of the traffic in the State, and the absence of its injurious effects, there was naturally less activity among Temperance men. When a vast conflagration is raging the citizens turn out *en masse* to extinguish it. When it is practically under control, and nothing but smouldering embers are left, the burden of further caring for it is left to those whose special duty it is to act in such cases. And so as a result of the indifference to the liquor traffic which came from its practical absence from the State through want of zeal among those who should be ready to warn the people of danger and the lack of faithfulness on the part of officials to their duty. It has succeeded in gaining here and there footholds, from which it might be easily banished by a renewal of the zeal which originally uprooted it, and by a performance of duty which the law imposes upon officials. Nevertheless, an immensely large portion of this State is free from anything approximating an open liquor traffic.

During the entire history of their movement in Maine the friends of Temperance have, of course, encountered opposition. In the early days, defence of the liquor traffic, and opposition even to the purely reformatory phases of their work, was open and avowed. But the marked contrast between the material and moral condition of our people when exposed to the ever present temptations of the grog shops under the license system and that which so generally obtained through the State wherever prohibition was faithfully enforced was such as to compel the opposition to abandon their first position. Of late years, therefore, the chief obstacle to the realization of the hopes of the friends of Temperance and morality has been the indifference to the ever threatening danger of the liquor traffic of many of those who occupy positions of moral trust, responsibility, and influence.

I do not now recall any men in this State who have at any time in its history been actively identified with any phase of the Temperance movement who are themselves opposed to prohibition, or who doubt its efficacy where officials are faithful to their duty. It is true that there are those who have done the cause of Temperance immense harm by their insistence that it is useless to attempt to suppress the liquor traffic. I do not hesitate to say that those, whether they be high or low in church or state, could have done their fellows much good if they had devoted the same time they have given to the denunciation of prohibition to efforts to convince those with whom they have a natural influence that, that which prohibition seeks to overthrow is only evil, and should be antagonized in every proper way by all good citizens.

I have not seen, I cannot expect to live to see, the full, ripe, rich fruitage which the people could surely gather from the general adoption of a policy based upon experience, justified in reason and sustained by an enlightened popular intelligence and a quickened public conscience—the legislative condemnation of the liquor traffic. But wherever such policy has been consistently and persistently applied to its purpose its result has been all that its most sanguine friends could anticipate. Indeed, if any good has anywhere come from any of the so-called high license laws of the day, prohibition may justly claim the credit for it, for these have only been permitted to faint-hearted friends of Temperance by the liquor interest, lest more earnest reformers might otherwise secure prohibition.

When the original Maine law was first enacted I wrote to the then editor of the *National Temperance Advocate* that “more than any other measure this law will bless the people which will adopt it.” I am no less firmly convinced to-day than at any time in the past that no greater good to greater numbers can otherwise be obtained than when under wise and conscientious teachers, and fearless, earnest leaders the people shall understand how their interests are subordinated to the liquor traffic, and shall insist upon putting that gigantic crime under the ban of honestly enforced prohibitory legislation.

The CHAIRMAN, at the conclusion of the paper, said they were much indebted to General Neal Dow, the veteran and founder of the great Prohibition movement, now in his 93rd year, for having written it for them, and without proposing any formal resolution he was sure that they would authorise the Secretaries of the Convention to write to General Neal Dow and thank him for sending it to them. (Loud applause.)

STATE PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROFESSOR G. W. E. HILL, DES MOINES, IOWA.

THE agitation to procure Prohibitory Laws in American States dates back some fifty years. While Maine has the credit of being the pioneer commonwealth in this movement, yet the same year (1851) of the passage of the "Maine Law," Illinois, a then far west State, passed a similar law, the only striking difference lying in the fact that Maine, after the repeal of the law, tried once more, and secured a re-enactment in 1858, which has never been repealed, but only strengthened from time to time by salutary legislation, while the Parliament of Illinois repealed the Prohibitory Law of that State in 1853, and no similar law has since been adopted. In many of the States our Prohibition friends have been satisfied to secure statutory law, which is simply the creature of the body that makes it, and may be set aside by the next Parliament, or at best two years later, if it feels so disposed. This was true in the following States:—Illinois adopted statutory law in 1851, repealed 1853; Minnesota in 1852, repealed 1852; Michigan in 1853, repealed 1853; Ohio in 1854, repealed 1859; Iowa in 1855, repealed 1856; Indiana in 1855, repealed 1858; Pennsylvania in 1855, repealed 1856; Nebraska in 1855, repealed 1867; Mississippi in 1855, repealed 1855; Texas in 1855, repealed 1876; New York in 1855, repealed 1855; Michigan in 1855, repealed 1875; Delaware in 1855, repealed 1875; Massachusetts in 1869, repealed 1875; Rhode Island in 1875, repealed 1875; and Iowa in 1884, neutralised by the "Mulct" Law, 1894.

The following States have passed statutory laws, which have remained in force up to the present date:—Vermont in 1852; New Hampshire in 1855; and South Carolina in 1881. Of the fifteen States named in the first list the law in the States of Minnesota, the Michigan law of 1853, the laws of Indiana, Mississippi and New York were set aside the same year by a decree of the Supreme Court. The South Carolina law only prohibits the placing of public houses in the rural districts.

In 1872, the friends of Prohibition began to feel that something more effective was needed than a law subject to the caprice or whim of the party in power, and when the friends in Wisconsin began to move to secure proper legislation to banish the saloon, Col. B. F. Parker, the then, as now, Grand Secretary of the I.O.G.T., in his annual address, recommended that they should ask for an amendment to the constitution, the fundamental law, a document that cannot be altered or amended by Parliament, but only by a majority vote of the electors. This proposition at once took firm hold upon the minds of the friends of the cause, and the following States have since secured the submission of the question to the electors, and made the matter a certainty by handsome majorities, namely:—Kansas in 1880 by 8,000 majority; Iowa in 1882 by nearly 30,000 majority; Maine in 1884 by nearly 47,000 majority; Rhode Island in 1886 by nearly 6,000 majority; South Dakota in 1888 by nearly 6,000 majority; and North Dakota in 1889 by 1,000 majority.

In Iowa the amendment was set aside upon technicalities, occurring simply through the carelessness of a clerk in making the entry of its passage. The friends of the cause at once rallied and secured the passage of the statute which went into effect July 4th, 1884, and the saloons were for six years closed in 90 per cent. of our territory.

In Rhode Island the opponents of the law secured the election of a Parliament in 1888 that submitted the question, and by the use of money and all the devices known to the trade, the amendment was repealed by a majority vote of the electors at an election held in 1889. In the same year, the opponents of Prohibition in Iowa secured the election of Hon. Horace Boies, a prominent anti prohibitionist, as Governor. Governor Boies was a man of splendid personality, a fine-minded, honest, total abstainer; a splendid platform orator, and thoroughly and, I believe, conscientiously opposed to the Prohibitory law. He used his pardoning power freely, and, although case after case was decided in favour of the Temperance friends, yet the Governor pardoned the malefactor and remitted the fine. This

necessarily caused an increase of violations and a contempt for the law. Luke-warm friends at once began to assimilate with the opposing party and politicians, hungry for the public pap, raised their voices in a discordant outcry against the law. In 1891, the two great political parties met in separate convention, and the Democratic party, through its platform, demanded the repeal of the law, while the Republican party by a delegate vote of 1,206 to 92 declared "No compromise with the saloon." Never was there a more splendid war cry sounded, and never did the friends of the cause work more valiantly, but the opponents of the law, whiskey, soaked politicians, and would-be office holders, saw their opportunity, and rallied to the opposition. Governor Boies was re-elected by a greatly increased majority. The effect was at once apparent. Violations became more frequent; the law enforcer, too often times elected because of his outspoken sympathy with the whiskey party, refused to do his duty, or sent a message beforehand to the violator, and thus the miscreant, forewarned, was forearmed by this means, and when the constable appeared there were no illicit goods to be found. Thus and by similar means the law was made a byword.

In 1892, the Republican party, that had so nobly championed the cause of the "Home against the Saloon," was silent in convention upon the subject, and in 1893 adopted as a party declaration, what was known at the "Rotten plank." As the result of its adoption the Republican party again stepped into power, carrying the election by a large majority, having by their unholy alliance won back the whiskey vote, and elected, not only the Governor but a sufficient number of members of Parliament to give them a working majority. When Parliament assembled in January, 1894, they at once set to work to remodel the Prohibitory law, and gave to the people that monstrosity known as the "Mulct Law." Like all other license laws it is an attempt to regulate the trade, and like *all* license laws it fails to do so. The law of 1884, while still practically in operation has been much mullified by the passage of this so-called "Mulct Law," which has virtually repealed the law in forty-nine of the ninety-nine counties, but as several of the Municipalities have the Mulct in force while the county refuses to adopt the same, it virtually makes more than one-half of the State under saloon rule.

By June, 1894, six months after the passing of the "Mulct Act," several hundred grog shops were legalised in Iowa. There is no doubt in my mind but that the backward step in Iowa has very materially affected the work throughout the country and the world. South Dakota felt it soonest, and the Parliament of that State re-submitted the question of the Constitutional Amendment to the people, and at the General Election of 1896 the amendment was repealed, and the conscience of the voters being deadened by brewers' gold, given freely to the political parties for campaign purposes. The Prohibitory party were defeated. The recent Parliament of South Dakota, although it did not pass one single measure for a tax-ridden and mortgage-crippled people, did fasten upon the helpless women and children and its weak manhood a high license law to sap the strength, blight the citizenship, and cover with shame the womanhood of that fair land. Kansas and North Dakota are still in line with Prohibition as a fundamental law, although immense pressure has been brought to bear in those States by the mighty monopoly of the liquor trade.

I may be asked why a constitutional amendment was defeated in Nebraska, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Oregon, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, and I reply, the splendid organisation of the liquor forces, who always join interests in such campaigns, and the vast numbers of voters who have come to us from every European country, and who have been made voters by swearing allegiance to the laws of the United States and promising to uphold them; and as the licensed grog shop is one of our laws and one of the measures they can grasp, they uphold it, defend it, and are willing to die for it. Again, if asked for the cause that led to defeat in Texas, Tennessee, and West Virginia, I reply the negro vote. Prior to 1863 one right the negro, because of his being a slave, could not enjoy, was the privilege of getting drunk. This was the right of his white master, and freedom meant to him to be "like massa." The proposal to abridge his freedom is

tenaciously fought by the negro, and in the last-named States they voted almost solidly against the Prohibition amendment.

A few words more about Iowa. In 1882, by a majority vote of 30,000, the men of that State did noble service for God and their homes against the saloon, brewery, and distillery, and said they must be extinguished. We still have a splendid fighting force led by three thousand total abstaining ministers, who twice each week thunder down the truth at the pewholders. We are not disheartened; we are still in the fight. Our battle cry, "No compromise"; our watchword, "Death to the saloon." But we have much to contend with, more than sixty per cent. of our population being foreign born. In several counties the German tongue is the only one used by a majority of the voters. We have large settlements of Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Russians, and Irish. The adult members of these communities came to us, as a rule, with fixed ideas on the drink question. In one community I recently found a Methodist Episcopal Church of seven members, whereas in 1875 the same church had two hundred and twenty communicants. It was not death that had wrought the change, but the indomitable energy of our people that has sent them still farther toward the west, and their places have been taken by the emigrants from Central Europe, three hundred and fifty thousand landing in one single year at Castle Garden, and thirty-five thousand of them finding homes in Iowa.

The money of two of the richest corporations in America—the brewers' and whiskey syndicates—is being freely used, and fifteen hundred local publicans carry much influence. The various temperance societies have organised themselves into an anti-saloon league, and every effort is being made to put into our Constitution a Prohibition plank. Kansas has nailed her flag to the masthead, and there it stays; North Dakota is not likely to retreat; Vermont is practically free from the curse; and all over America the forces are marshaling for the final emancipation.

In Minnesota we have local option for municipalities; and in Georgia, Michigan, and Missouri county option; and in several States modified local option. As Prohibitionists, we have acted on the idea that little was better than nothing, and that, however small the pittance doled out to us, it was an entering wedge that assisted in the securing of a still better portion.

We are much encouraged because our national Parliament has recently banished liquor from the capitol building of the United States; and so, with clear heads, our legislators are prepared to render service to the nation for the people's good. I bring you the greetings of five million people who live in Prohibition territory in America, and say to you: We are with you in this fight, having sworn undying fealty to our noble cause.

There's a diadem most massive,
Iron-rimmed and diamond set,
And the earnest brow that wears it
Never has been conquered yet.
There may be some seeming failures,
But for battle still is flame:
Triumph must reward the owner—
Courage is his mighty name.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA : A COMPARISON.

BY CAPTAIN O. R. VAN ETTEN, EX-MEMBER OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE,
SOUTH DAKOTA.



CAPT. O. R. VAN ETTEN.

To write a paper fit for publication is, for me, a new experience. In recent years my life-work has been platform speaking, rather than writing. But, in order to speak with any kind of success, I have had to gather up a good deal of information—not mere talk, but facts. An opinion is one thing, a fact is another. Prohibition in America has been referred to in this Convention both from the platform and in the papers that have been read. In the first place, the reader of this article must remember that America is one country, although it is divided up into 45 States, having each, within limits, their own government. The State of Maine adopted Prohibition in 1851, and it has been so much of a success there that many a young man and woman have come to the age of 21 without seeing a drunken person. And the State, although a rock-bound country and in the far corner of the United States, has so prospered that it

has been enabled to loan at interest thousands of dollars to other States that have better soil and better natural conditions of life.

But comparison brings out colours as nothing else will, so we will compare a little:—Iowa voted Prohibition into existence in June, 1882, not by party vote, but at a special election held for that particular purpose, and members of all political parties voted for or against it. It was carried by a majority of nearly 30,000. The law went into effect on the 4th day of July following this election, and the drink shops closed up all over the State, and there was great rejoicing among the Temperance people. Soon after the law was unfortunately declared to be unconstitutional, and saloons opened up business again. At the next general election, held the next year, on the 9th day of October, 1883, it was made a party issue—the Republicans declaring for Prohibition and the Democrats for a “judicious license law.” The Republicans won by a larger majority than had been given at the special election in June. And when they met at their State Capital they enacted a Prohibitory law for that State, and it was signed by the Governor and went into effect the 4th of July, 1884. Now as to the results and what was done by the State—I do not say Prohibition did it, but I do say it was done under Prohibition—Saloons closed up in at least nine-tenths of the towns in the State, but corn did not cease to grow, nor did cattle and hogs cease to become fat, and men that had spent their money at the drink shop began to pay off old debts; taxes went down in six years from 100 cents. on 100 dols. to 50 cents., and the State debt was completely wiped out in five years time; and in 1890, when the census was given to the world, Iowa had not a dollar of State debt left. In 1884 her two prisons had 1,225 inmates, but in 1890 there were only 735, although the State at large had increased in population over 300,000, and the outgoing Governor, though not a Prohibitionist at heart when elected, became so when he saw the good results, and could not say enough in its favour, and recommended in his farewell address that they “put the prisoners of the State in one institution and close up the other.” In 1890, when the census was taken, it is on record that Iowa had ninety-nine counties, and sixty-nine of them had not an inmate in their gaols, and that the twenty-four counties of the State that had neglected to put the law in force, furnished most of those who were in gaol. Iowa has never repealed her law, but has

weakened it very much by placing by the side of the Prohibitory law a "Mule" law, and that is already tending to fill up the gaol and lock-up and to increase the expenses of the State.

But the most striking comparison of State law is Kansas and Nebraska. First, because they have been trying entirely different methods with the drink question the same length of time. Second, because they are two States lying side by side, and are very much alike in climate, soil and modes of earning a livelihood. Each State grows corn to a large extent; each State has immense herds of cattle and hogs; each State is subject to winds, droughts and cyclones—consequently you are not comparing a State like Maine when you speak of Kansas and Nebraska. They are also somewhere near the same size, and both are good, rich agricultural States. In 1880 Kansas adopted Prohibition, whilst Nebraska placed what is known as the "Slocum law," or high licensing (1,000 dols. each) on her Statute Book. The "Slocum law" is considered, by liquor sellers in America, as the model law. Peter Jiles, of Omaha, Nebraska, a millionaire brewer, said in 1890, during the fight in that State to secure Prohibition, that "high licensing had never hurt their trade one iota, but put it into more responsible hands." (Not, mark well, respectable hands.) And if the question were left to the liquor sellers as to whether they would prefer "No licensing, low licensing, or high licensing, they would give a big majority for high licensing." The whiskey papers, which advocated the high licensing system, would tell you that Nebraska was receiving at that time 750,213 dols. license money revenue, which, if removed by Prohibition, would have to be supplied by the taxpayers of the State. This led to an investigation at the State Capitol. It was found that Kansas that year ran her State Government for 62 cents. per inhabitant, while it was costing Nebraska 14 dols. 5 cents. per inhabitant. That was a knock-down argument against the licensing system, which then led to an inquiry as to the causes of this great difference with all that 750,000 dols. of license money thrown in. Another little item was that Nebraska had in her Reformatory School 343 boys, while Kansas, with nearly a half a million more people, only had 133. Kansas' report of her State prisons showed that she had decreased 17 per cent. in numbers during the ten years from 1880-90, while Nebraska had increased 67 per cent. These statistics began to open the eyes of the ratepayers. Yet each day's issue of the *Omaha Bee* and other whisky papers kept placing before their readers the poverty and distress of Kansas, and stated that people would not emigrate to a State with such a law, and that the State was on the verge of bankruptcy. Statistics, however, came in again. And when they were published in 1890 Kansas had received more people in the ten years than any State west of the Mississippi River. And the State Auditor's report said the taxable property of the State had increased 20,000,000 dols. (£4,000,000) each year. The total reaches 200,000,000 dols. (£40,000,000) in ten years, whilst Nebraska, with her "great industry" of liquor selling thrown in (for they call it an industry) only reported 11,000,000 dols. (£2,200,000) a year increase, making its sum total 110,000,000 dols. (£22,000,000) in ten years, leaving a balance of 90,000,000 dols. (£18,000,000) over the period in favour of "poor dry Kansas." Then came another very striking comparison of the two States.

Nebraska, in 1880, when she adopted high license, was paying for all State purpose :—

On a 100 dols. Assessment	Dols.	Cents.	Kansas was paying...	Dols.	Cents.
Nebraska, 1881	39	1 ...	...	55	7
" 1882	42	3 ...	" "	52	3
" 1883	45	0 ...	" "	50	6
" 1884	47	7 ...	" "	47	1
" 1885	50	6 ...	" "	45	2
" 1886	53	2 ...	" "	41	0
" 1887	60	8 ...	" "	39	7
" 1888	67	1 ...	" "	38	1
" 1889	70	6 ...	" "	36	0
" 1890	85	1 ...	" "	35	6
" 1890	83	0 ...	" "	36	0

Thus, Nebraska never had so light a tax per 100 dols. as the year she adopted high license—every year since she has had a steady increase until the year 1889, when it was more than double the year 1880. On the other hand, Kansas never had so high a tax per 100 dols. as the year she adopted Prohibition, and the year 1889 it was over a third less than in 1880. These figures, if they mean anything, mean a good deal in the running of a State under these two distinct systems. In regard to taxable property, Kansas has another feature in her law that is worthy of notice, and if it was not for that feature would make quite a difference in the total amount of taxable property. Every head of a family, be it man or woman, is exempt from taxation in respect of 200 dols. worth of property. In 1890 there were 236,054 families in the State, and that at 200 dols. per family makes the small sum of 47,210,400 dols. that was not counted in as taxable property. This, too, in “poor bleeding Kansas,” as she has been termed. Nebraska has no such law.

And now one more comparison, which comes from the whiskey side of the house, as late as 1895. In their annual report as to the sales in the different States, they credit Kansas with 2,050 barrels, and Nebraska with 144,219 barrels, which is quite a wide difference when we take into consideration that Kansas is the greater State of the two in population by over 400,000. I have more figures relating to court expenses that are fully as striking as the above, but as it is so difficult to tell how much of such is due directly to the drink question, we will leave it out entirely. The two Dakota's are the only States in America that have never had a legalised and protected drink shop. They both came into Statehood on the 22nd day of February, 1882, with Prohibition in their constitutions ratified at their first election in October 1st, 1883, by a good majority in each State. In both North and South Dakota, the liquor seller is an outlaw, which is much better than making him an equal and on the same footing with the school teacher and the minister of the gospel, which I find he is in England, and as he is in every licensed State in America. To say that what we license we should protect (it is a correct principle in law), but what we do not sanction and approve that we ought to prohibit.

I have a large farm in Hyde county, South Dakota, and whilst travelling in this Temperance crusade from Pacific to Atlantic Oceans, it is managed for me by a Swede. I did not know of the Newcastle Convention until after my arrival in England in quest of further information and experience. States are made up of men and women, and all I see and hear in England confirms my conviction that good States are made up of good men and women, and that great States cannot be made up of bad men and women. That rotten timber is not fit for any ship of State, and that nothing rots character like the liquor traffic. That it is a great and terrible wrong for a State to grant the sanction of license for the sake of revenue: and that the slave-owners of 1861 in my country were patriots compared with the men—rum-sellers, saloon keepers and publicans—who create so much lawlessness and misery both in my country and in yours.

P.S. —Since writing the above paper, I read from the *Union Signal*, what I call a good authority, that a high licensing law has been adopted in South Dakota, with a local option clause. This has been done by the present lawmakers, assembled this last winter. The law is very much like the Nebraska law, with Prohibition of everything you can think of. No screens allowed, no chairs or seats of any kind; no games of either skill or chance, and, of course, no selling to minors or drunkards, nor on its Sabbath day, nor after 11 p.m. These things make the business a little difficult at times to carry on, yet the liquor seller is perfectly willing to pay his high license money, if you will only sanction and stand by the evil itself. High time that I set off home?

LOCAL OPTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY THE REV. JAMES YEAMES, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

AFTER some years satisfactory experience of *unenforced* prohibition, Massachusetts, in 1874, returned to the licensing system.

In 1881 the Local Option Law was passed. This provides for the granting of licenses only in cities or towns voting for their issue at their annual election or town-meeting. The vote is taken by a separate ballot, Yes or No, to the question—"Shall licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors be granted in this city (or town)?" Every male citizen, being 21 years of age, and duly registered, may vote. A mere majority decides the question.

Towns voting "No" may grant druggists' medicinal licenses.

The result of subsequent legislation may be summarised as follows:—

The issue of licenses in Boston is in the hands of the Board of Police Commissioners—three men appointed by the Government of the State. In other cities which vote for license, the licenses are issued by a Board of Commissioners, appointed by the mayor with the concurrence of the Council. The towns voting for license, the Select men are the licensing authority.

A "town" in the United States is a *township*, often covering a considerable area, and including several villages. The town is the unit of municipal government. It largely resembles the district council area in England.

Licenses are issued in six classes:—

1.—To sell liquor of any kind, to be drunk on the premises. (Fee, not less than 1,000 dols.)

2.—To sell malt liquors, and cider, and light wines, containing not more than 15 per cent of alcohol, to be drunk on the premises. (Fee, 250 dols.)

3.—To sell malt liquors, and cider, to be drunk on the premises. (Fee, 300 dols.)

4.—To sell distilled liquors of any kind, not to be drunk on the premises. (Fee, 300 dols.)

5.—To sell malt liquors, cider, and light wines, not to be drunk on the premises. (Fee, 150 dols.)

6.—To chemists and druggists and apothecaries, to sell any kind of liquors, for medicinal, mechanical, chemical purposes. (Fee, 1 dol.)

A record of each sale by a chemist or druggist must be made and be kept, every purchaser having to certify the use for which the liquor is required.

There is also a special Club License, revocable at any time, the fee for which is 50 dols. annually.

The principal conditions of licenses are:—

1.—No sales between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m., nor on Sunday (except to guests in hotels). Only "good" and unadulterated liquors to be sold. No sales to intoxicated persons, or to a person known to have been intoxicated within six months; nor to any one known to have been supported by public charity within twelve months; nor to a minor.

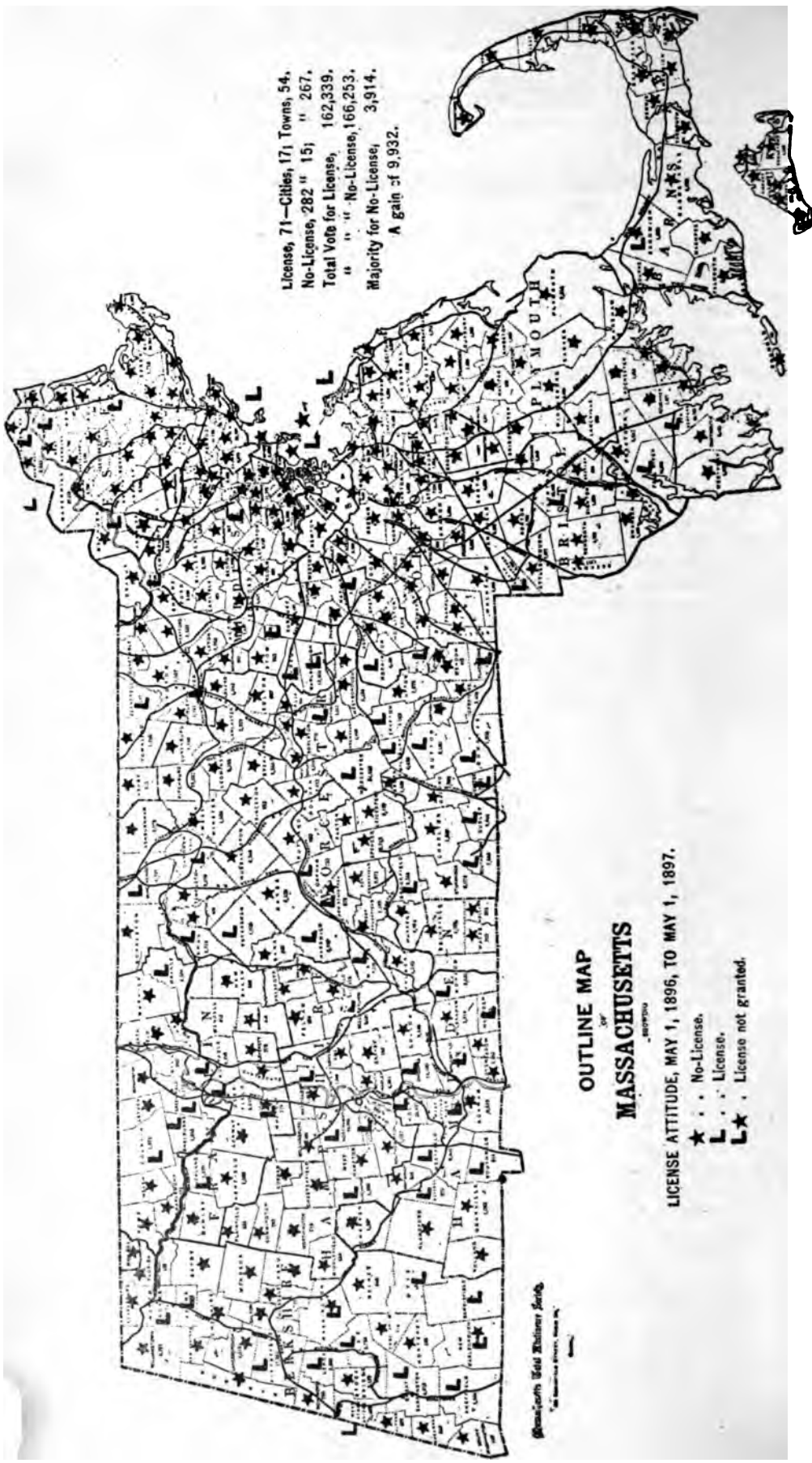
No person under the age of 18 is to be employed in the sale of liquor.

2.—The penalty for the violation of the liquor laws is a fine of from 50 dols. to 500 dols., and imprisonment for a term of from one to six months; with forfeiture of license and disqualification for one year.

A licensee is required to give a bond of 1,000 dols. for fulfilment of conditions of license. (Frequently these bonds are signed by brewers, no one being allowed to sign more than ten (!) bonds).

3.—No building to be licensed within 400 feet of a school-house. (An unsuccessful attempt has just been made to change this law in the interests of a magnificent hotel now building in Boston at a cost of more than 3,000,000 dols.)

If owners of property within 25 feet of premises for which a license is sought object, the license cannot be granted in face of such objection.



License, 71—Cities, 17; Towns, 54,
 No-License, 282 " 15; " 267.
 Total Vote for License, 162,339.
 " " No-License, 166,253.
 Majority for No-License, 3,914.
 A gain of 9,932.

OUTLINE MAP
OF
MASSACHUSETTS
—1897—

LICENSE ATTITUDE, MAY 1, 1896, TO MAY 1, 1897.

- ★ . . . No-License.
- L . . . License.
- L★ . . License not granted.

Massachusetts Gold Mining Series
 U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BOSTON, MASS.

The room in which liquors are to be sold must be open to the street, with no screen or other obstruction to prevent a free view from without.

4.—Intoxicating liquor is defined to be any beverage containing one per cent. of alcohol at 60 per cent. fahrenheit.

5.—Persons found in the act of illegally selling liquor may be arrested without a warrant.

6.—Compensation may be recovered by parent, wife, or child for injuries caused by liquors sold to the relative, and if a judgment awarded for injuries remains unsatisfied for thirty days the license is revoked.

7.—If an officer neglects to institute proceedings after receiving written notification of violation of the law, any person making complaint thereof is entitled to all the fines which may be imposed and collected.

Such are the conditions under which the liquor traffic is conducted in the 71 towns and cities of Massachusetts which vote in favour of the grant of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

But of the 353 towns and cities which cover the remainder of the State there are 282 which exclude the public-house, and voluntarily adopt a policy of Prohibition.

Under the authority of an Act of the Legislature, passed in 1894, the Bureau of Statistics of Labour has made a thorough investigation of the relation of the Liquor Traffic to pauperism, crime, and insanity. The work extended over twelve months, closing in August, 1895. The official report of this bureau has been recently published, and has commanded so much public attention that a second edition has had to be issued. The investigation was conducted with cool, official impartiality, the facts being collected and recorded with no reference to the inferences which may be drawn from them, or the argument which may be based upon them. Yet this report, in which neither theory or bias have any place, states facts concerning the relation of the sale of liquor to the industrial and social condition of the people, such as the most ardent Temperance advocates had not dared to assert.

We present some of the results of the inquiry, as to Drunkenness, Pauperism, Crime and Insanity.

THE LICENSED LIQUOR-SHOPS AND DRUNKENNESS.

Of the 353 cities and towns in Massachusetts there were 53 which were under the license policy during the year—comprising half the population of the State. There were 260 under no-license; and 40 which, owing to change of policy, were for part of the time under license, and another part of the time under no-license. These showed as follows:—

		While under License.		Under No-License.
Arrests for Drunkenness	...	36.24 per 1,000	...	9.94 per 1,000
Arrests for Offences other than				
Drunkenness	... ..	23.34	„	10.26

A comparison, fairer perhaps than the above, because it deals in each case with the same community, is that of the number of arrests in given towns and cities during license and no-license period.

Of the towns which changed their policy by their vote, the larger number showed more arrests for drunkenness and other crime under license than no-license. In the case where the reverse was true the whole number of arrests was small, and the difference was slight.

The five cities which changed were Haverhill, Lynn, Medford, Pittsfield, and Salem. The average number of arrests per month for drunkenness was less in all cities under no-license than under license, as shown in the following table:—

Cities.	Number of Months.		Average Number of Arrests per Month for Drunkenness.	
	License.	No-license.	License.	No-license.
Haverhill	8	4	81.63	26.50
Lynn	4	8	315.00	117.63
Medford	8	4	20.12	13.25
Pittsfield	4	8	93.25	36.75
Salem	4	8	140.50	29.63

These figures reveal the close and direct connection between the licensed liquor-shop on the one hand, and drunkenness and crime on the other. It is not easy to see how their testimony can be evaded or resisted.

PUBLIC-HOUSES AND PAUPERS.

The statistics as to paupers are the results of an inquiry covering all persons found in the State Institutions during twelve consecutive months. They show that, excluding minors, about seventy-five persons in every hundred among the paupers of the State had been addicted to the use of liquor. Three-fourths of these used all kinds, or at least two kinds of liquor.

Nearly one-half of the paupers had one or both parents intemperate.

About thirty-nine in every hundred attributed their pauperism to the intemperance of their parents.

LICENSE AND CRIME.

In the statistics of crime the direct connection between the use of intoxicating liquor and the burdens which rest upon society is more obviously and forcibly shown.

1.—Out of all convictions for crime, during the year, about sixty-six in every hundred were for drunkenness.

2.—In nearly eighty-two cases in every hundred the offender was under the influence of liquor when the crime was committed.

3.—In more than eighty-four cases in every hundred the intemperate habits of the offender led to a condition which induced the crime.

4.—Leaving out of the account the convictions for drunkenness, it appears that intemperance was responsible for more than one-half the remaining crimes.

5.—Finally, excluding minors, the tables show that of every one hundred persons convicted for crime during the year, 96.44 per cent. were addicted to the use of intoxicants.

THE PUBLIC-HOUSE AND INSANITY.

1836 cases in the institutions canvassed during the twelve months.

In sixty-nine cases out of every hundred, where the facts could be determined, one or both the parents of the insane person were intemperate; and in twenty-five cases in every hundred the intemperate habits of the person himself were considered the cause of insanity.

Of the insane males nearly fifty-one in every hundred used tobacco.

THE EFFECTS OF PROHIBITION BY LOCAL OPTION.

The Local Option law provides for an election on "license" or "no license" every year in every area in the State.

One of the most striking and instructive illustrations of the operation of a prohibitory policy, adopted by popular veto, is furnished by the city of Cambridge. Cambridge is separated from Boston only by the River Charles, and is, therefore, exposed to all the advantages (?) and disadvantages which may arise from close proximity to a license city.

From the year 1857 to the year 1885, the city of Cambridge voted for license. but, in December, 1885 this policy was reversed; the vote of the citizens was cast for no-license, and the liquor traffic has been under ban ever since.

Thus we are able to make a comparison between two periods of ten years each in the life of the same community, and such a comparison between the license decade and the no-license decade will prove intensely interesting and most instructive.

1.—POPULATION. From 1875 to 1885, the population of Cambridge increased from 47,883 to 59,655, a gain of 11,820 in the ten license years.

In 1895 the population was 81,643, a gain of 21,985, or double that of the previous license period.

2.—**HOUSES.** The assessor's returns in 1876 showed 7,882 houses in Cambridge. In 1886 the number was 9,398, an increase of 1,516 in the license years.

In 1896 there were 12,723 houses in the city, a gain of 3,325, or more than twice the growth under the regime of the open saloon. 1896 has been a year of severe depression; notwithstanding, 418 new houses have been built, as compared with 292 in 1885, the last license year.

3.—**VALUATION.** In 1876, the total assessed valuation of Cambridge was 62,636,453 dols. In 1886 after ten years of licensed saloons, the valuation had fallen to 59,445,670 dols., a positive shrinkage in values of 3,190,783 dols!

In 1896, the valuation had increased to the enormous sum of 83,147,700 dols., and instead of a shrinkage there was an increase of 23,702,030 dols.

4.—**TAX REVENUES.** The taxes collected in 1896, on this increase alone, were 357,900 dols. The license fees from eighty-one saloons would be 81,000 dols. Of this sum 25 per cent. is claimed by the State. The revenue for licenses, after deducting the 20,000 dols. which must be turned into the State Treasury, would be one-sixth of the receipts from taxes for the year.

5.—**SAVINGS BANKS.** The deposits in the Savings Banks during the ten license years increased from 4,907,597 dols. in 1876, to 6,560,934 dols. in 1886, an average gain of 155,333 dols.

In 1896 the deposits had reached 10,227,479 dols., an average gain of 366,654 dols. per annum, and an increase again twice as large as under the ten years of the open licensed liquor-shop.

At the end of one year of license, in 1876, the sum of 1,093,082 dols. was deposited in the banks, and there were 14,628 open accounts. The deposits in 1886, at the end of ten years of license 1,205,959 dols., only 112,877 dols. more than in 1876.

The open accounts had increased to 21,215, a gain of 6,587.

Now, take the figures at the end of the Prohibition decade. The open accounts now number 33,280, showing 12,065 new depositors—a gain twice as large as during the license period.

Deposits of 2,069,882 dols. in 1896, show an increase over 1886 of 863,923 dols.

Nothing is a better index to the prosperity of a community, and especially of the class most liable to injury from the public-house, than the deposits made in savings banks.

6.—**SCHOOLS.** In 1876 there were 423 pupils in the High School; in 1886 were 516 pupils in the two High Schools; and in 1896 there were 1,063. Ten license years show an increase of 93 scholars, and ten no-license years an increase of 547.

In 1876, 187 pupils graduated from the Grammar Schools; in 1886, 273, an increase of only 86; while in 1896, 467 pupils graduated—or 194 more than in the year 1886.

7.—**WORK AND WAGES.** The income of the city from taxes is expended upon the Government and improvement of the city. We have seen that no-license brings in six times as much revenue as the fees from eighty-one licenses would produce. Nor must the savings of the city under prohibition from the diminution of crime and pauperism be forgotten.

With such results, and with the evidence of such an experience, it is not surprising that, last December, Cambridge, for the eleventh time, voted no-license, the majority being 1,881—the largest in the history of the city. The mayor, the clergy, the heads of the university, the business men—and, as is evident by the popular vote—the immense preponderance of the intelligence, piety, and civic spirit of Cambridge are steadfast for Prohibition by local control.

DOES PROHIBITION PAY?

Equally striking and conclusive is the experience of the city of Quincy, also a neighbour of Boston, only divided from the metropolitan city by the river Neponset.

For thirteen years Quincy has been under no-license rule, well enforced. A very large share of credit for the vigilance and strictness with which the law has been administered is due to the Hon. Henry H. Faxon, a gentleman who has contributed unsparingly of his time and fortune in the interest of truest Temperance.

The following table shows the vote of Quincy on the license question since 1881, when the present local option law went into effect :—

Year.	No.	Yes.	Total.	Majority.	Silent.
1882	1,057	457	1,514	600	75
1883	1,086	458	1,544	628	126
1884	1,067	407	1,474	660	200
1885	1,002	510	1,512	492	200
1886	1,017	258	1,275	752	325
1887	1,071	259	1,330	812	425
1888 (town)	1,064	293	1,357	771	459
1888 (city)	1,394	458	1,852	936	414
1889	1,162	618	1,780	544	332
1890	1,339	728	2,059	619	351
1891	1,659	835	2,494	824	250
1892	1,860	956	2,816	904	176
1893	1,886	1,060	2,946	826	249
1894	1,889	1,037	2,926	852	273
1895	1,958	1,177	3,135	781	208

1.—SAVINGS BANKS. In 1881, the last year of license, 173,950 dols. was put into the Quincy Savings Bank, in 2,530 deposits. In 1895, 441,152 dols., in 6,425 deposits. Thus, 267,202 dols. more was put into the bank in 1895 than in 1881, in 3,895 more deposits.

2.—VALUATION. The population in 1881 was estimated at 10,885. In 1895 it had increased to 20,712, a gain of 91 per cent. The valuation in 1881 was 7,560,381 dols. ; in 1895 it was 17,325,855 dols., a gain of 129 per cent.

3.—PAUPERISM. The amount expended in caring for the poor during the last year of the legalised saloon was estimated at 15,415 dols. During the year 1895 the sum used for this purpose was 8,338 dols. In other words, while the population increased 91 per cent., the cost of supporting the poor decreased 46 per cent.

4.—HOUSES. In the last year of license there were 24 houses built ; in 1895 there were 157 built, or 133 more than in 1881.

Observe this comparison between Quincy and five license cities of approximate or smaller size. Here are the figures for the cost of supporting the poor, and arrests for drunkenness for the same year, 1895 :—

	Population.	Cost of Supporting Poor. Dols.	Arrests for Drunkenness.
Newburyport	14,552	22,012·91	759
Northampton	16,764	12,901·14	451
Pittsfield	20,461	13,658·35	829
Waltham	20,876	13,116·83	821
Woburn	14,178	13,467·09	669
Quincy	20,712	8,338·09	306

FIFTEEN YEARS OF LOCAL OPTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

When the present Local Option Law went into effect, in March, 1881, some of the towns had already held their town meetings. Fifty-six towns voted on the measure in the spring, of which nine were in favour of license, and 47 against.

The popular vote (excluding that of four towns since become cities) was : For license, 4,310 ; against license, 6,659.

The following is a tabulation of the vote, with the number of cities and towns voting, for the license year beginning May 1 :

THE VOTE ON LICENSE FOR 15 YEARS.

	Total Vote.		Majority.		Number of Cities and Towns Voting.	
	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.
1882 ...	80,267	80,123	144	—	76	257
1883 ...	89,635	73,462	16,173	—	81	237
1884 ...	97,344	86,830	16,514	—	98	240
1885 ...	105,130	77,594	27,536	—	114	225
1886 ...	89,189	86,006	3,183	—	78	264
1887 ...	94,819	111,048	—	16,229	60	286
1888 ...	111,055	113,642	—	2,587	73	277
1889 ...	127,337	111,123	16,214	—	67	283
1890 ...	107,850	108,519	—	669	77	269
1891 ...	126,276	111,315	14,041	—	79	271
1892 ...	120,072	130,738	—	10,666	56	290
1893 ...	140,063	167,361	—	27,002	70	282
1894 ...	151,481	152,776	—	1,295	73	278
1895 ...	157,963	153,075	4,889	—	84	268
1896 ...	162,339	166,253	—	3,814	79	275

A more satisfactory comparison is shown by taking the results of the popular veto by periods of five years.

Thus, the average majorities in city, town, and state were :—

	Cities.		Towns.		State.	
	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.
1886 ...	21,211	—	—	9,752	11,510	—
1891 ...	16,963	—	—	14,626	2,338	—
1896 ...	8,879	—	—	16,636	—	7,653

At the end of the first period, the majority for license in cities had decreased 4,247, or 20 per cent. ; and at the end of the third period 8,085, or over 47 per cent.

The town vote increased in the same periods 4,874, or 50 per cent. ; and 2,010, or 13 per cent.

The license majority fell off in the second period four-fifths ; and in the third period was replaced by a no-license majority only a third less than the license majority of the first period. These facts are most encouraging, and unmistakably show the movement of the State towards Prohibition.

The average majority for no-license for the past five years is 7,653, a fact which should instruct legislators and encourage reformers.

In 260 instances in town elections not a single vote has been cast for license !

In 1896 there were seventeen cities and sixty-one towns which voted for license. In seven towns, however, the authorities declined to use their power and refused to issue licenses. The no-license vote resulted in winning three cities and two towns additional on the former year, besides the seven towns granting no licenses.

The following statement gives the vote by counties :

County.	Registered Voters.	Ballots Cast.	Yes.	No.	Majority.
Barnstable (a) ...	6,967	4,145	770	1,951	1,181 No.
Berkshire (b) ...	17,272	16,688	6,297	5,937	365 Yes.
Bristol (c) ...	34,124	26,434	11,572	11,117	455 Yes.
Dukes ...	1,141	360	78	252	174 No.
Essex (d) ...	64,105	53,548	22,063	28,841	4,781 No.
Franklin ...	4,981	6,169	2,624	2,624	Tie vote.
Hampden ...	27,124	22,324	11,674	8,679	2,294 Yes.
Hampshire ...	10,258	7,793	3,516	3,357	159 Yes.
Middlesex ...	90,402	72,557	28,357	38,179	9,822 No.
Nantucket ...	812	581	297	229	68 Yes.
Norfolk ...	26,647	18,925	6,153	10,339	4,186 No.
Plymouth ...	22,227	14,701	5,028	7,840	2,814 No.
Suffolk (f) ...	99,528	84,790	44,243	30,155	14,088 Yes.
Worcester (g) ...	56,656	42,518	19,667	18,753	914 Yes.

(a) One town voted for license, but no license issued.

(b) The disproportion between number of voters (and votes) and the Yes and No vote is explained by the absence of voters through sickness, indifference, or other cause. The disparity between the vote cast for town officers, etc., and

the vote on the license question is due to the indifference or assumed neutrality of voters. (In Berkshire the cities are for license ; the towns for no-license. In two towns, notwithstanding the Yes vote, no saloon licenses are granted).

- (c) Cities, License ; Towns, No-License.
- (d) The "banner" prohibition county of the State. Net gain for No-License, 4,614. One town voting Yes, grants no saloon license.
- (e) County ranks no-license.
- (f) Contains the City of Boston, with 91,483 registration. The rest of the county consists of the city of Chelsea, and towns of Revere and Winthrop, all of which vote, no.
- (g) Cities, license ; towns, no-license.

A review of these facts and figures shows a no-license gain for the past year in thirty-one towns, and a loss in two cities and twenty-three towns ; with a license gain in one city and thirty-one towns, and a loss in one city and twenty-four towns.

The license gain on the vote was 3,472 ; the no-license gain 13,404, a net gain for no-license of 9,932.

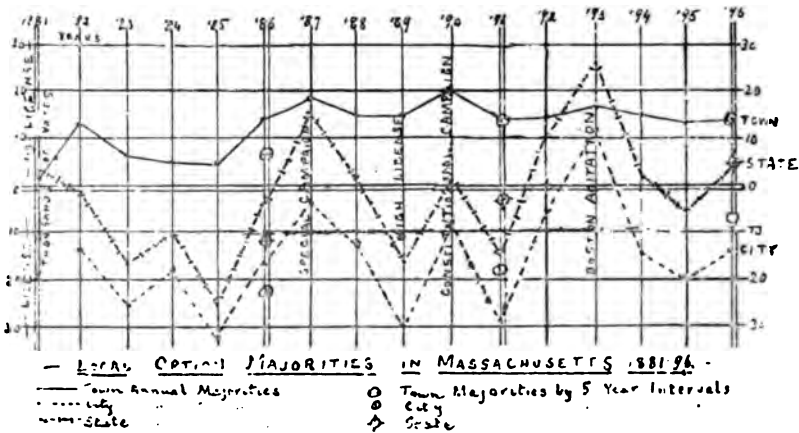
There was a decrease of 120 in the number of licenses possible, not including the "summer licenses."

Seventeen cities and sixty-one towns voted for license ; fifteen cities and 275 towns voted against license ; and seven license towns issued no saloon licenses.

Thus, in fifteen years, the majority in the cities for license has decreased from 21,211 to 8,879. The majority in the towns for no-license has increased from 9,752 to 16,636, and the majority of 11,510 for license in the State has been changed to a majority against license of 7,653.

About a year ago a very determined effort was made to introduce the "Gothenburg" System into Massachusetts, but the endeavour was successfully resisted, and the utter fallacy of the Scandinavian theory was exposed. The points of strongest resistance to Prohibition now are the cities, where the foreign element is generally present in large numbers. The latest and most hopeful move of Temperance men has been in the direction of applying the local option principle to wards and counties. It seems reasonable and just that a ward voting against the public-house should be protected from the intrusion of the public-house within its borders ; the wards of a large city like Boston containing many times the population of the county towns which have full power of self-protection. Similarly, when a county like Essex, casts 28,841 votes against the drink-shop—a majority of 4,781 in favour of no-license—it seems but reasonable and right that the liquor traffic should not be forced upon its inhabitants.

The idea of compensation to a license-holder upon the withholding of his license has never been suggested in Massachusetts, and I question if anyone would be bold enough to make such a proposition.



TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY ALD. F. S. SPENCE, TORONTO, CANADA.



ALD. F. S. SPENCE.

THE term British North America as used in this paper, includes the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland.

Newfoundland, an independent crown colony with a separate government, had in 1891 a population of 202,040. Its legislation is in no way affected by any Canadian Parliament or other body. The Dominion of Canada is a union of a number of what were once separate colonies, each of which still retains in some matters its territorial and political identity. The political divisions of the Dominion with their respective populations, are as follows :-

Nova Scotia	450,396
New Brunswick	321,263
Prince Edward Island	109,078
Quebec	1,488,535
Ontario	2,114,321
Manitoba	152,506
North-west Territories	66,799
British Columbia... ..	98,173
Unorganised Territory	32,168

PUBLIC OPINION.

Temperance sentiment early took root and flourished in this new country, not having arraved against it so ancient, wealthy and strong an opposition as is found in old world countries where the liquor traffic has been entrenched for generations.

The first Canadian Total Abstinence Society was organized at Beaver River, Nova Scotia, on April 25th, 1828. It is still in existence. Nearly all the organizations that advocate temperance have found productive soil in the population of this new country. Nearly all the different churches have strongly advocated total abstinence, and the principal ecclesiastical courts of many denominations have made strong declarations in favour of total prohibition. A few samples of the latest of these deliverances are submitted.

The New Brunswick Synod of the Church of England, at its session in 1885, adopted the following resolution :-

RESOLVED, "That this Synod recognises the evil of intemperance as one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of Christ's kingdom. And further— Resolved : That in the opinion of this Synod, the Church of England should be found in the front rank in the contest against this gigantic evil, and that the clergy and laity of this diocese be called upon resolutely to oppose the evil, and to encourage every legitimate effort to suppress it."

The Presbyterian General Assembly of Canada has made the following declaration :—

RESOLVED, "That this Assembly, having heard the unanimous and vigorous denunciations given by so many sessions and presbyteries in all parts of the Dominion, of the saloon or dram-shop, and deploring a large number of them that are reported as plying their demoralising traffic in so many centres of population, desires to place on record its unqualified condemnation of the saloon or dram-shop as a centre of most degrading influences and a source of great danger to church and country, and its convictions that the license system has been proved insufficient to effectually remove the terrible evils of the drink traffic, and that so far as legislation is concerned nothing short of prohibition, rigidly enforced by proper authorities, should ever be accepted as final or satisfactory."

The Methodist Conference of Canada some years ago made the following deliverance :—

RESOLVED, "That we are unalterably opposed to all efforts to regulate the liquor traffic by taxation or license, high or low. These afford no protection from its ravages but on the other hand entrench it in the commonwealth, throw around it an artificial garb of respectability, and make the people partakers of and responsible for the evils resulting therefrom. 'It is impossible to legalize the liquor traffic without sin.'

"That we declare the complete and immediate prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes to be the duty of the civil government."

Many similar quotations might be made from the deliverances of other religious bodies.

It will readily be understood that in a country like Canada, comparatively free from class distinctions and with the control of public affairs entirely in the hands of the people, the strong sentiment mentioned, will quickly and continuously find expression in the legislation relating to the liquor traffic. Canadian electors have not only insisted upon the enactment of general restrictive laws, but have also secured legislation placing the control and restriction of the liquor traffic in every part of the country, to some extent, in the hands of the people, who are thus empowered to deal with it directly.

THE QUESTION OF JURISDICTION.

Some knowledge of the political organization of the Dominion of Canada is necessary to a full comprehension of the position of temperance legislation in the country. A Governor-General, an appointed Senate and a representative House of Commons, jointly govern the Dominion, which is made up of seven separate provinces and a large area known as the North-west Territories, each of which eight divisions has a Legislature and a Lieutenant-Governor exercising jurisdiction in local matters and interests. Outside the vast territory which these Legislatures control, is an extensive area of unorganized territory in which the Dominion alone has jurisdiction. Part of the Canadian legislation relating to the liquor traffic is the work of the Dominion Parliament and part of it the work of the Provincial Legislatures.

The progress of liquor legislation in Canada has been to some extent hampered by the fact that, in the Act of the British Parliament constituting the Dominion, the respective powers of the Dominion Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures regarding this subject are not directly defined. Hence many controversies have been carried on in legislatures, in parliament and in courts, relating to the respective authorities of the different legislative bodies named. Many cases involving this question of disputed jurisdiction have been appealed from court to court, and some points regarding the question are yet in doubt. The following matters have been definitely settled. (1) The Dominion Parliament has authority to prohibit the liquor traffic. (2) The Dominion Parliament has no authority to license or regulate the liquor traffic. (3) Provincial Legislatures have authority to license and regulate the liquor traffic, and to enact measures giving the electorate power in any locality to prohibit retail liquor selling. (4) Provincial Legislatures have no authority to prohibit the manufacture or importation of intoxicating liquor.

The question of whether or not Provincial Legislatures have authority to entirely prohibit the sale of liquor within their respective territorial areas is not yet settled.

DOMINION LEGISLATION.

Under this prohibitory power the Dominion Parliament enacted in 1878 a law known as the Canada Temperance Act or more popularly the "Scott Act," providing for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor in any county or city in which a majority of the electors vote in favour of such prohibition. Dominion legislation also prohibits the sale of liquor in unorganized territory, also all sale on the days on which Parliamentary elections are held, and sale at any time to Indians.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION.

Under their restrictive powers above mentioned, the legislatures of every part of Canada have enacted license laws full of limiting provisions ; and, in every pro-

vince but one, have given to electors extensive local-option power to prohibit the retail sale of liquor. It is understood that any authority exercised under provincial legislation takes effect only in localities in which the electors have not availed themselves of the prohibition authorised by the Canada Temperance Act.

Some details are herewith submitted of the provisions and the working of the Canada Temperance Act and the different Provincial License Laws respectively.

THE CANADA TEMPERANCE ACT.

The Canada Temperance Act is divided into two parts, the second of which is a prohibitory law that may be brought into operation in any city or county. The first part provides the machinery by which the advantages of the second part may be secured. Under the provisions of Part I., twenty-five per cent. of the electors in any city or county may petition the Government for a poll on the question of the adoption of the second part of the Act. A poll is then taken, and if the majority of the electors voting declare in favour of prohibition, the second part of the Act becomes law in the specified district.

Where the second part of the Act is in force, the sale of liquor is prohibited except for sacramental, mechanical, and medicinal purposes. Permitted sales are hedged in by careful restrictions so as to prevent violation of the intention of the law in excepting them from the general prohibition provided. The Act also permits the sale by wholesale of liquor to be removed immediately beyond the boundaries of territory affected by the Act.

The penalties imposed upon persons violating the prohibitory provisions of the law are, for a first offence a fine of fifty dollars, for a second offence a fine of one hundred dollars, and for a third offence imprisonment for two months.

In places where it has been adopted, the second part of the Act remains in force until repealed in the way in which it was adopted. No vote on the question of repeal may be taken until three years after the adopting vote. If an attempt to adopt fails, no other attempt is permitted till three years after such failure.

The second part of the Canada Temperance Act has been adopted and subsequently repealed in thirty-three counties and cities. It has been adopted and is still in operation in twenty-nine counties and cities. In nearly all the cases in which the second part of the Act was repealed, the repeal vote was taken at the earliest possible date after the coming into operation of the law. In nearly every case in which the second part of the Act remained in force for a length of time sufficient to fairly test its efficiency, it secured the approval of the electorate, and is still the law.

As might have been expected; there is still a good deal of controversy as to the effectiveness of the law, during the time of its operation, in those counties and cities in which it has been repealed. In many places serious difficulties were met in the operation of the Act for some time after its adoption. Questions relating to the authority of officials, the meaning of certain terms, and the legality of certain clauses, had to be settled. The restriction of the law was felt irksome by part of the population. The consequent failure of the law to do all that some ardent prohibitionists anticipated, caused a feeling of disappointment among some of its friends. Sympathy with those who were severely punished for violation of the law had also an effect. The friends of the liquor traffic offered a vigorous resistance to enforcement, and by various other methods tried to bring the measure into disrepute. All these conditions told against the success of the measure. Nevertheless the court records show that in most cases the operation of the Act was accompanied by a striking falling off in the arrests and convictions for drunkenness.

It must be borne in mind that the drinking of those who drink to drunkenness is less interfered with by legislation than is the drinking of those who are not the victims of strong appetite, and whose drinking is more moderate or less frequent. The latter are not impelled by an overpowering appetite to persistent efforts to evade the law.

In these places in which the second part of the Act has been operative for many years its benefits are indisputable. Evidence of this is abundant. During a recent inquiry made by a Commission appointed by the Dominion Government, official communications were sent to a great number of Canadian clergymen asking

for the results of their experience regarding various matters. The replies received were carefully summed up by the Commission, and a part of the summary as published is in the following form :—

Question.—Has a prohibitory law been at any time in operation in a parish mission, or other charge in which you have been stationed ?

<i>Answers.</i>	
Affirmative	1,950
Negative	461
No experience... ..	20
Replies indefinite	12

Question.—Was such law the Scott Act, the Dunking Act, or some other local option law ?

<i>Answers.</i>	
Scott, Dunkin, and local option acts	1,621
Local option law	152
North-West Territories Act... ..	63
Other laws	101
No experience... ..	166

Question.—From your experience and observation as a clergyman, had such prohibitory law the effect of lessening drunkenness :—

<i>Answers.</i>	
Lessening	1,606
Negative	259
No change	4
No experience... ..	101
Replies indefinite	91

Question.—From such experience and observation, had such prohibitory law the effect of increasing or lessening the drinking of intoxicating liquors :—

(1) In the family ? (2) In the community ?

<i>Answers.</i>	
Lessening	{ 1. 1,434
	{ 2. 1,557
Increasing	{ 1. 128
	{ 2. 137
No change	{ 1. 93
	{ 2. 65
No experience	{ 1. 106
	{ 2. 98
Replies indefinite	{ 1. 242
	{ 2. 166

The official statistician of the Dominion Government prepared for the use of the Commission a comparison of the criminal record of that part of New Brunswick under the Canada Temperance Act and that part of the same province remaining under license law. The following is an extract from his report :—

We have seen that there were 22,841 convictions in the province during ten years. Divided according to Scott Act counties and non-Scott Act counties, there were 8,738 in the nine Scott Act counties and 14,102 in the other counties, or 38.4 per cent. in the nine counties and 61.6 per cent. in the non-Scott Act counties, judged by the criminal statistics. That is to say 61 per cent. of the population had 38½ per cent. of the criminal convictions and 39 per cent. of the population had 61½ per cent. of the crime as indicated by the convictions.

These facts are very forcible. The report might have followed the comparison further. Of the 22,841 convictions, 13,598 were for the offence of drunkenness. Of these 4,986 were in the Scott Act counties, and 8,612 in the counties in which license was in operation. That is to say, sixty-one per cent. of the population (under Scott Act) had thirty-six and one-half per cent. of the convictions for drunkenness, and thirty-nine per cent. of the population (under license) had sixty-three and one-half per cent. of the convictions for drunkenness.

PROVINCIAL LOCAL OPTION.

The methods by which the legislatures of the different provinces give electors local control over the liquor traffic, while varying a good deal, resemble each other

in many particulars. Before dealing with the subject of the restrictions imposed by provincial license laws upon the persons authorized to sell intoxicants, attention may be profitably directed to the legislative provisions by which the people of a locality may do away with licenses altogether. The power thus granted to the electors by provincial legislation becomes suspended in localities in which the second part of the Canada Temperance Act goes into operation, unless and until that second part of the Canada Temperance Act is repealed.

In the Province of Nova Scotia no license to sell liquor is granted unless the applicant presents to the licensing officials a certificate signed by two-thirds of the ratepayers within a certain area, consenting to the issuing of the license. The term for which the license is granted is one year, and a new certificate, signed as stated, must be presented every time the license is renewed. This provision makes it very difficult to obtain a license. There are eighteen counties in the Province of Nova Scotia. In twelve of them the second part of the Canada Temperance Act is in force. In four others the provincial legislation just mentioned entirely prevents the granting of licenses. There are, therefore, only two counties in the whole province in which any licenses are issued.

The Province of Prince Edward's Island had some time ago a license law under which electors had a veto power on the issue of licenses. The second part of the Canada Temperance Act was adopted in every part of the province. The legislature thereupon repealed the license law and the province has now no legislation relating to the licensing of the liquor traffic. The whole province is under the prohibition of the Canada Temperance Act.

The Province of Quebec has a comprehensive system of municipal organisation under which the electors of certain small areas elect municipal councils for the management of local affairs. The provincial license law gives these municipal councils power to enact bye-laws prohibiting the sale of liquor within their respective territories. There are about nine-hundred municipalities in the province. The second part of the Canada Temperance Act is now in force in two counties—including a large number of municipalities. Outside these counties there are over two hundred municipalities that have prohibitory bye-laws in operation. Further, outside the cities of Quebec and Montreal every application for a license must be approved by the council of the municipality, which council may withhold approval and so prevent the issuing of the license. In the cities of Montreal and Quebec a license cannot be granted or renewed if a majority of the electors of the neighbourhood in which it is to take effect, petition against it.

The Province of Ontario has also a complete municipal organisation. Municipal councils may pass bye-laws prohibiting the sale of liquor within their respective jurisdictions. Such bye-laws can not, however, take effect until submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipality and approved of by a majority of the electors voting. An applicant for a license for premises not previously under license must have the approval in writing of a majority of the electors in the neighbourhood in which his license is to take effect.

Municipal councils in the province of Manitoba are also empowered to pass prohibitory laws, a three-fifths vote of the electors voting being necessary to secure the ratification of any such bye-law. An applicant for a new license must present a petition favouring the granting of the license, signed by sixteen out of twenty householders nearest to the place to be licensed. No license can be renewed in any year if eight out of the nearest householders protest against such renewal.

The local option powers given to the electors of the North-West Territories are much the same as those enjoyed by the electors of Manitoba. An applicant for a new license is, however, required to have the endorsement of only ten out of the twenty householders nearest to his premises.

The license law of the Province of British Columbia has no provisions under which the electors in a locality can secure the passing of prohibitory bye-laws. Neither has it any provisions by which the electors of a locality can, by petition or vote, prevent the renewal of existing licenses. No new license may, however, be granted unless petitioned for by two-thirds of the resident lot-holders and householders in the block of land within which the place to be licensed is situated,

The petition in favour of license must also be signed by two thirds of the wives of such lot-owners and householders living with their husbands on the said block of land.

In the Colony of Newfoundland, which is not included in the Dominion of Canada, there is in operation an Act known as The Temperance Act, 1871. It provides that if, at a poll taken according to the Act, two-thirds of the duly qualified electors vote in favour of the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor, the Government may by proclamation prohibit such sale within such territorial district.

Nearly all the provinces provide for the closing of licensed places during provincial and municipal elections. In Quebec, licensed places are also closed on the day before the election.

HOURS OF CLOSING.

The regular hours of closing licensed places as fixed by provincial laws, are, in Nova Scotia 9 p.m., in New Brunswick 10 p.m., and in Manitoba 11 p.m. In Quebec hours of closing may be fixed by municipal councils, and in the Province of Ontario by the license commissioners.

All licensed places are also closed in Nova Scotia from six o'clock on Saturday night until seven o'clock on Monday morning; in New Brunswick from seven Saturday night till six on Monday morning; in Ontario from seven on Saturday night till six on Monday morning; in Manitoba from half-past eight on Saturday night till seven on Monday morning; and in British Columbia from eleven on Saturday night till one o'clock on Monday morning. Some provinces, however, permit sale on Sundays in hotels to *bona fide* guests at meals.

In Newfoundland, sale is prohibited on week days from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m., between April 1st and December 31st,; and between 9 p.m. and 7 a.m. from January 1st to March 31st. No liquor is allowed to be sold on Sunday, Good Friday or Christmas Day.

COMPENSATION FOR LOSS THROUGH DRINKSELLING.

In nearly all the provincial license laws there are clauses providing that if any person has drunk intoxicating liquors to excess in any place where such liquors are sold—legally or illegally—and, while in a state of intoxication, has come to his death by suicide or drowning or from cold or accident occasioned by such intoxication, the keeper of the place in which the liquor was sold and also any person or persons who delivered liquor to such person, shall be liable to an action as for personal wrong, and the legal representatives of the deceased may recover from such offender pecuniary damages. The maximum amount which may thus be recovered by damages is fixed by some provinces at \$1,000.

PROTECTION FOR INEBRIATES, ETC.

Nearly all the provinces have also legislation providing that near relatives, guardians, tutors, or persons in charge of charitable institutions, may notify license holders, or require license inspectors to notify license holders, not to sell liquor to drunkards, minors, lunatics or other persons, in whom the persons giving notice are interested on account of the relationships named; and that severe penalties may be imposed upon, or personal damages recovered from, persons who disregard the notice thus given. Some provinces also authorise the commitment of habitual drunkards to private asylums authorised and inspected by the Government.

SUNDRY PROVISIONS.

In most of the provinces licenses are classified as tavern licenses, shop licenses, and wholesale licenses. Tavern licenses authorise sale of liquor to be drunk on the premises; shop licenses authorise sale in small quantities not to be drunk on the premises; wholesale licenses authorise sale only in large quantities.

In some provinces the licenses are issued and the traffic controlled under the direction of the municipal councils. In other Boards of License Commissioners for defined districts, are appointed by the Financial Government to issue all licenses.

In some cases the license fees are exclusively the property of the municipal councils. In other cases, they are divided in varying proportions between the municipal and provincial treasuries. In most cases the provincial laws prohibit license-holders from being elected to serve in municipal councils or holding any public office.

Penalties for violation of the law vary in the different provinces and according to the different classes of offences. For selling without license the penalty is generally a heavy fine for the first offence, and imprisonment for the second.

There are a number of other features of Canadian liquor legislation which may be considered as useful and progressive beyond what is to be found in the license laws of other countries. Only what are thought to be the most important peculiarities of the British-American methods have been specified here.

EXTENT OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The carefully prepared report of the Royal Commission already mentioned, contains extensive calculations in relation to the quantities of different kinds of liquor consumed in Canada for a great many years. A careful examination of these statistics shows the total annual average to be as follows:—

Spirits	...	...	...	...	3,809,596	gallons.
Malt Liquors	...	...	...	...	17,355,487	"
Wine (imported)	...	...	...	...	511,626	"
Total					21,676,709	gallons.

This does not include a certain amount of domestic wine which does not come under the cognizance of the customs and excise authorities. The Commission's Report estimates the amount paid by the consumers for this liquor at \$39,879,954, say £7,976,000.

The consumption of spirits in the Dominion of Canada, proportionately to the population, has been falling off for a number of years. The quantity of malt liquor consumed has been increasing. On the whole there has been a steady reduction in the quantity of alcohol consumed. The Commission's report estimates the quantities of alcohol contained in the different kinds of liquors, and presents the following table as a summary of the average yearly per capital consumption of alcohol, in gallons, in the different provinces, and also in the Dominion as a whole:—

Yearly Average for	Ontario.	Quebec.	Nova Scotia.	New Brunswick.	Prince Edward Island.	Manitoba.	British Columbia.	Dominion.
10 years ended 1890	·738	·764	·333	·432	·212	·774	1·088	·666
5 " " 1890	·677	·728	·319	·390	·187	·660	1·113	·622
3 " " 1893	·654	·672	·305	·362	·153	·671	1·262	·597

This table is calculated from the quantities of liquor which paid duty in the Provinces. It is an approximate, but not an actual, statement of the quantities consumed in the respective provinces, although accurate for the Dominion as a whole. In some cases it is probable that part of the liquor which pays duty in one province may be consumed in another. This slight inaccuracy, however, will not affect the general correctness of the table.

It is specially worthy of note that the consumption is smallest in Prince Edward Island, which is entirely under the Scott Act, and largest in the Province of British Columbia in which there is least prohibition in operation. It will be found by a comparison of the figures of this table, and the facts hereinbefore stated, that the consumption of liquor varies according to the stringency of the legislation in force in the different provinces.

PROGRESS.

As stated, temperance sentiment in Canada is steadily growing. The consumption of alcohol is steadily diminishing. The stringency of legislation against the liquor traffic is steadily increasing. Parliament and legislatures are extending the powers of control over the liquor traffic granted to the electors. At the present time the legislatures of nearly all the provinces are considering measures for the further restriction of the traffic. The electors are continually availing themselves more and more of the power already possessed. In this connection the following table is submitted, shewing the number of licenses of all kinds in operation in the Province of Ontario in different years. It shews that notwithstanding the steady increase of the population, the number of licenses has rapidly fallen off—

License Year.	Number of Licenses.
1874-5	6185
1884-5	3970
1894-5	3151

PUBLIC OPINION.

At the request of temperance workers the legislative assemblies of four Canadian provinces have tested public sentiment on the prohibition question by plebiscites. Elections have been under all the careful restrictions and provisions of the provincial election laws, the people simply being asked to vote upon the following question :—

Are you in favour of the immediate prohibition by law of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage in the Dominion of Canada ?

Results of the voting are set out in the following table :—

Province.	Date of Voting.	Votes cast for Prohibition.	Votes cast against Prohibition.	Majority for Prohibition.
Manitoba	July 23rd, 1892 ...	19,637	7,115	12,522
Prince Edward Island	Dec. 14th, 1893 ...	10,616	3,390	7,226
Ontario	Jan. 1st, 1894 ...	192,489	110,720	81,769
Nova Scotia	Mar. 15th, 1894 ...	43,756	12,355	31,401
Totals... ..	...	266,498	193,580	132,918

Only four provinces have voted. The Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, however, by a unanimous vote, on April 7th, 1893, adopted the following resolution :

RESOLVED, "That Assembly hereby expresses its desire that the Parliament of Canada, shall, with all convenient speed, enact a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage into or in the Dominion of Canada."

THE FUTURE.

The plebiscities taken in the different Provinces expressed an opinion regarding legislation of so comprehensive a character, that it could only be enacted by the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada. That Parliament has from time to time considered the question of prohibition. On several occasions it has made such declarations as the following, which was a series of resolutions adopted by the House of Commons of the whole Dominion of Canada in 1884 :—

"That the object of good government is to promote the general welfare of the people by a careful encouragement and protection of whatever makes for the public good, and by equally careful discouragement and suppression of whatever tends to the public disadvantage.

"That the traffic in alcoholic liquors as beverages is productive of serious injury to the moral, social and industrial welfare of the people of Canada.

"That despite all preceding legislation, the evils of intemperance remain so vast in magnitude, so wide in extent, and so destructive in effect, as to constitute a social peril and a national menace.

"That this House is of the opinion, for the reasons hereinbefore set forth, that the right and most effectual legislative remedy for these evils is to be found in the enactment and enforcement of a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

“And this House is prepared, so soon as public opinion will sufficiently sustain stringent measures, to promote such legislation, so far as the same is within the competency of the Parliament of Canada.”

The final clause of the resolution just quoted naturally raised the question of whether or not the public opinion of the Dominion of Canada is in favour of total prohibition. The provincial plebiscites and the declaration of the New Brunswick legislature show that a large section of the people of the Dominion desire prohibition. It has been argued, however, that there is not yet evidence that the Dominion as a whole would approve such legislation, and from time to time there has been discussed a proposition that a Dominion plebiscite should be taken as a full and final test of public opinion regarding prohibition.

Before the last general election for the Dominion Parliament, the Liberal party, in a Dominion Convention, declared in favour of such a vote, making a promise to make it part of the policy upon which the party appealed to the country for support. That general election placed the Liberal party in power, and the leader of the party has since declared that a Dominion plebiscite on the question of prohibition will shortly be taken. Parliament meets for despatch of business on the 25th day of March of the present year, and it is anticipated that at the session which will then commence a bill will be introduced providing for the proposed vote.

The leader of the Government has further declared that it will be the duty of the Government to embody in law the will of the people as expressed at the polls. In all probability, before 1897, the people of Canada as a whole will have declared for or against the total prohibition of the liquor traffic throughout the Dominion. If the result should be as it is expected to be—a declaration in favour of a law for the total suppression of the traffic in intoxicating beverages—then the present Parliament is practically committed to the speedy enactment of such legislation.

The prohibitionists of Canada are full of hope and determination. They have confidence that within a very short time they will be placed, in their contest with the liquor traffic, in the advantageous position of dealing not with a legally authorised institution, but simply with a discredited and outlawed relic of less enlightened days.

PROHIBITION IN AUSTRALIA.

BY MRS. HARRISON LEE.



MRS. HARRISON LEE.

IN Australia as in other lands there seems to be an odd idea that removing licenses to sell drink is to inflict a great injury on the general public, and to unduly interfere with rightful liberty. It is contended that Prohibition laws (when applied to the liquor traffic) are unjust, hurtful, and impracticable. There are other laws, both of God and man, that undisciplined nature rebels against, and prohibitive measures are laughed to scorn and rashly broken, but always to the injury of the wrongdoer. We find on Mount Sinai God laid down very stringent prohibitive laws; all of them meant for the safeguarding and ennobling of His people. Recognising then, that God in loving wisdom has decreed prohibition of all evil, the teetotalers have set themselves the task of teaching the nations of the earth that prohibition of the drink evil is neither unjust, unwise, nor impossible.

In Australia there has been much legislation to prevent drunkenness, while giving immense facilities for getting drunk. There has never been any other thing in our land that has given so much trouble, annoyance, and perplexity to the wise and learned and clever men comprising our Parliaments, as the drink traffic. It is a perpetual problem, and no one has ever been wise enough to tell us how to prevent drunkenness while legalising drink.

In Queensland there is a splendid local option law on the Statute Books, only waiting for an awakened public conscience, to prove the best law of any land. It not only gives power to retain present licenses, but gives power to reduce the number if so desired, and also to prohibit all licenses by a two-thirds majority. As yet no district has attempted prohibition, although reduction has been carried in parts.

Victoria comes next with limited local option, a measure rendered utterly valueless by the incubus of compensation. And just here, in justice to the temperance workers in my dear native land, I must explain that when they presented the Local Option Bill to Parliament it sought to give the electors of electoral districts full power of licenses, either to increase the number, decrease, or prohibit altogether. The law was so mangled in its passage through Parliament that its best friends could not recognise it when it came out. Instead of giving full control to the people of a district, Parliament fixed a statutory number of licenses, being one for every 250 of the population up to the first thousand, and one to every five hundred after. Wherever the existing number of licenses exceeded the statutory number, permission was given to take polls for a reduction, but to the owner of every license cancelled by the will of the people—"just and equitable compensation" was to be awarded; such compensation to be obtained from increased license fees, fines for breaches of the licensing law, and a tax on beer—so actually making the liquor traffic provide its own compensation. On the face of it this seemed so fair, that few could object, and many imagined that the sense of British justice and fairplay would be met by this clause. The actual working of the Act has, however, proved a disastrous failure, and instead of hastening the extermination of drink, the compensation clause has put back the clock twenty years. Victoria stands as an object lesson to the whole world against the compensation of publicans. We do not speak theoretically on the matter, but by actual and very painful experience.

In the mother colony, N.S.W., the temperance party, profiting by our experience, utterly refuse to concede the principle of compensation, preferring to withdraw their Local Option Bill each year, rather than accept the measure with the deadly incubus of compensation weighing it down. And no amount of

plausible argument will induce the other colonies to grant compensation after being eye witnesses of Victoria's vain attempt to compromise with evil.

In New Zealand magnificent progress is being made. Three years ago over 40,000 votes were polled against the liquor. This year the numbers are doubled, over 90,000 having voted against licenses. At this rate we may soon expect to see our progressive little sister colony shaking herself free from the curse of nations, and rising in glorious triumph emancipated. The work in New Zealand is watched with eager interest by all the colonies, and the success there helps to bring success in other parts.

In South Australia there is one town under actual prohibition. It is the Moonta Mines Township. For many years the people there have tasted the benefits of exemption from drink sale, and the results are excellent. When I visited South Australia three years ago I went through this town, and noted with special pleasure the clean little homes and gay gardens, the pleasant women, and happy, prettily-dressed children. It was the first time I had actually trodden on prohibition soil, and I was eager to see whether success or failure followed the banishment of drink from a community. Everything I saw tended to strengthen me in the belief that domestic and social happiness follows in the wake of prohibition.

In Mildura, on the border of Victoria and South Australia, a form of prohibition was at one time in vogue by the will of the Chaffey Brothers. No public-house licenses could be obtained in the whole of the irrigation colony, but as wine making and distilling on a large scale was contemplated, we could not class Mildura under the honoured title of a prohibition district.

Of West Australia I have no personal knowledge, but from sad accounts of drink doings there, I fear that much work remains to be accomplished there.

I have dealt, so far, only with the legal points of our great work. Now I come to other phases. The growth in public opinion on this question, of late years, has been wonderful. Christian Endeavour Societies, comprising the very cream of our young people, are on the side of prohibition; while the churches themselves never were so progressive and aggressive in this direction. Clergymen everywhere are beginning to echo Dr. Stalker's words:—"A Christianity intent on saving its own soul in the repose of luxurious churches, whilst the river of human sin and misery sweeps unregarded by the door, will not impress the present age."

The working men are beginning to understand that the teetotallers don't so much want to rob a poor man of his beer, as to rob the beer of its poor man.

The women are learning the new catechism—"What is a license fee?"

"A small sum of money which gives a man the right to manufacture drunkards, paupers, and criminals at a tremendous rate."

"What material is used in the manufacture of these articles?"

"Our Boys."

"What is the difference between a licensing law and a prohibition law?"

"The licensing law puts whiskey into a boy through a £20 funnel, and then puts the boy in the gutter; the prohibition law puts the whiskey in the gutter, and *saves the Boy*."

Business men are beginning to see that the diversion of millions of money from the liquor traffic into legitimate channels of trade and industry would mean all the difference between poverty and plenty, between stagnation and prosperity.

Financiers are getting a faint glimmer of light in their dense darkness, and are beginning to ask—"What is the good of a revenue from drink when that revenue is re-absorbed in trying to undo drink effects?" The axiom that "reduced expenditure would be equal to increased income" presents itself when the vast sums of money have to be annually disbursed from the State treasury for police, gaols, asylums, reformatories, law officials, &c. -people and institutions mainly required through the existence of the liquor traffic.

Philanthropists who have spent time and money, and made herculean efforts to cope with the poverty in our land, are beginning to say despairingly "Of what use is it for us to pluck the leaves from the branches of this deadly upas tree, while the roots are being richly nourished to produce fresh supplies?"

Legislators are slowly, very slowly, beginning to catch the words from a Chinese Emperor's lips, and some day may even echo them—"We will not derive a revenue from the vices and consequent misery of our people."

That prohibition shall yet be the law of our magnificent island continent I have not a doubt. How it is to be brought about I cannot yet see. Local option would settle the matter if the will of the people could be blended with the will of our God, and this may yet be attained; and Australia unite with the Great Father Heart of Love in decreeing that the stumbling blocks shall be removed from the paths of the people.

When that glad day comes we shall all learn that righteousness and not revenue exalts a nation, while the sin which was a reproach to a Christian people was also its destruction.

The motto of Federated Australasia was given by the late Sir Henry Parkes—"One People, One Destiny." I liked the motto, and adopted it for a temperance banner with a slight addition, which I am sure you will consider an improvement—"Australia's motto," "One People, One Destiny—Prohibition and God's Glory"

THE LIQUOR RESTRICTIVE LAWS OF AUSTRALIA.

By E. H. DERRINGTON, P.G.CO., PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA.



MR. E. H. DERRINGTON.

It will readily be conceded that it is wise that in political, social, or scientific experiment, selection of average locality and environment should be made, where success and failure may be accurately gauged, and where also the effect of the latter may be attended by least injury. Thus our colonies have been made useful to the mother country, and have afforded very valuable object lessons in advanced experimental legislation upon confessedly difficult political questions and social problems. This has been particularly evidenced in regard to what is commonly denominated "the liquor traffic," and it must be admitted that England has reason to be thankful that the regulation of that trade and the repression of abuses by popular control has, in her colonies, been proved to be possible, and that positive advantages have resulted alike to the State and the governed, by repressive legislation. Of course, in one respect, it is known that the conditions differ from those existing in Great Britain; in the colonies "vested interests" are not so powerful as here, nor are the monopolists so completely masters of the people. More rarely are brewers and distillers made "aristocrats" in virtue of acquired wealth in their ignoble trades; and as a rule clergymen and politicians avoid the degradation of sharing in the ownership and supply of gin-palaces and public drinking-shops. As a consequence, colonial men of influence leading public opinion pursue their work with clean hands—an advantage that we could desire to see extended among all public men.

On the other hand, in dealing with the success or failure of restrictive legislation (now referring particularly to the Australian Colonies) it would be unfair to disregard these special features: the climate exhibits higher temperatures, and for the most part a very dry atmosphere; there have been novel pioneering difficulties to surmount; and some of the colonies have suffered the enormous disadvantage of having been made the "dumping-ground" for waste, damaged and irreclaimable humanity, too evil, too utterly bad to be kept in Fair England. Add to these, the comparatively easy access to wealth, with consequent rapid transitions from poverty to affluence, affording ample opportunity for the gratification of all the lower appetites. In view of all these we may well be surprised that the colonists as a whole are so temperate, so easily governed, and so willing to effectively control an inimical traffic.

Before the writer lie a series of Parliamentary papers, issued under Imperial sanction, entitled "Present Working of the Liquor Laws in Canada, the Australian Colonies, and New Zealand," from which may be gleaned the following facts relating to the Australian Colonies, namely, Western and South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and Tasmania:—

It may be premised that Western Australia has recently had an influx of gold-diggers—always an excitable and free-living class—more than doubling her population. The licensing law of 1880 has six times been amended: penalty for drunkenness, £1 or seven days; second and subsequent offences £5 or twenty-one days; publican must not supply liquor to any person under fourteen years of age. The laws are often infringed, and there is difficulty in securing convictions. Proportion of licensed houses to population 1 to 325, equal to 1 for every 125 males over the age of 16. Up to 1894 drunkenness had diminished, and despite the advent of a great many undesirable mining-camp loafers, the average sobriety is remarkable. In the matter of Local Option, the law provides that if by memorial "the majority of the ratepayers within a particular neigh-

bourhood for which application for a license is made, make protest, the Bench has no option but to refuse the application." Before 1880 Sunday trading in Drink was permitted during certain hours, but "on account of the unseemly displays of drunkenness in the public streets . . . public opinion, assisted by the majority of the licensed victuallers, demanded the total closing of all licensed houses on Sundays, and experience has justified the wisdom of that step."

South Australia is a remarkably quiet, well-governed colony, and has not been much subject to disturbing conditions. In 1890, Earl Kintore wrote:—"The liquor laws generally give satisfaction, but there appears to be a growing feeling in favour of the extension of the principle of Local Option." A Royal Commission, sitting in 1879, recommended adoption of the law of Paris: any publican selling drink to an intoxicated person should be fined from £5 to £40, with or without imprisonment and suspension of license. An intoxicated person found in or coming out of a public-house was *prima facie* evidence against the publican. This recommendation was not adopted. In the matter of Local Option, one-tenth of the ratepayers in a district may demand a poll; one-fourth on the roll must vote to be effective; Compensation to owners of closed houses on basis of valuation. Inasmuch as "compensation" is likely to become an important feature in liquor-law reform in England, it may be well to mention that in South Australia the Act of 1880 was amended in 1890, and provided for payment being made to owner of licensed premises for decreased rental value on withdrawal of license, and to occupier for loss of business. The amount to be settled by arbitration on the basis of five times the difference between rental value as licensed and as unlicensed premises for a period of three years from the date of the Local Option poll closing the hotel. By an amending Act passed in 1891, the term was extended to a period of fifteen years from the passing of the Act. This was passed as a concession to the brewing and hotel-owning interest, principally because of legislation having compelled the erection of very large and costly hotels. Provisions in like manner relating to Sunday closing, and also that after a certain period annual licenses shall not carry any assumed right of renewal. Wine manufacture large, and wine-shops worked great mischief; now remedied. The Commissioner of Police reported in 1893 that drunkenness was less prevalent than in other communities, and that the traffic was conducted in a creditable manner, alike as regarded the people and those conducting the trade. Temperance organisations strong.

Victoria furnishes very brief items through its Chief Commissioner of Police, and only down to 1893. That official reports a decrease of drunkenness and Sunday trading, but questions whether that may not be partially due to the serious commercial depression under which that colony has been suffering. There exists legislation favouring the resort to local option polling, and at Maryborough and Ballarat—East and West, the number of hotels have been materially reduced; but restriction through police supervision has led to the formation of clubs, through the working of which evasions of the liquor laws are possible and frequent, drinking and gambling being carried on.

The Inspector-General of Police of New South Wales reported in 1890 that the law entirely closing public houses on Sundays was systematically broken, and that it was impossible to obtain convictions of offenders, with demoralizing results—excessive drinking and unblushing perjury, and the establishment of working men's clubs, chiefly, if not solely, for drinking. In his opinion, the local option principle was highly beneficial. The number of public houses in every town and district was far in excess of public requirements, and the effect of existing laws upon intemperance not marked, though excessive drinking is not so prevalent as formerly. Drunkenness always prevails when wages are high, and hotel competition creates inducements. The Superintendent of Police (1893) says the local option law has been beneficial, and he is in favour of extension to full local option, but the general public are apathetic.

The Licensing Acts of Queensland of 1885-6 contained provision for local option; one-sixth of the ratepayers might demand a poll to determine (1) Prohibition, or (2) reduction in number of licenses, or (3) that no new license should be issued.

No new poll can be had for two years. Polling in 43 places on the third question carried in 42 and lost in 1. At a second polling period 5 places rescinded their former vote. Apathetic conditions largely prevail, but in Ward No. 1 Brisbane 94·2 per cent. of the ratepayers voted, and in Laidley 95·05, with majorities for non-issue of any new license. Sunday closing in operation, except for lodgers and travellers (5 miles). Prohibition as to habitual drunkards, intoxicated persons, and those under 14 years of age, or (for consumption on the premises) to any under 18, or to aboriginals.

Tasmania reports a gratifying diminution of drunkenness, and a steady progress towards temperance. The Commissioner of Police states that there is a marked improvement in the habits of the people, and that prohibition of sale of liquor to persons habitually intemperate has been resorted to with very great benefit to the individuals and to their families.

Now, summing up results, the writer, who has travelled very extensively in Australia, and come into close contact with "all sorts and conditions of men," avouches that there are many ardent reformers at work to whom the State owes a vast debt of gratitude for the generally healthy public tone and the sobriety of colonial communities, and the increased prevalence of temperate habits. One feature is noteworthy: No woman careful of her reputation would dare to drink among the drunken at public-house bars; grocers' licenses do not assist to debauch women and make them living lies; and the children and youth in the colonies are, as a rule, growing up in habitual abstinence from intoxicants. Here and there practical "Prohibition" has been tested—as at Moonta Mines and some of the irrigation settlements—with the most satisfactory results, as the people affected most gladly proclaim. So that, with facts to guide legislators, and a consensus of opinion in favour of helping the people in their own reformation, the outlook is in every respect encouraging. The day is approaching when there will be no drink slavery. There are adverse conditions in some of the colonies, notably New South Wales and Queensland, which are hurtful, but by no means beyond remedy. The chief is in relation to wholesale, careless, and indiscriminate issue of licenses to the occupants of miserable shanties, as well as to respectable innkeepers. It will ere long dawn upon magistrates and legislators that the revenue thus obtained is hurtful to the State, and the costliest part of its machinery for promoting social economy. In South Australia and elsewhere the licensing benches refuse licenses where the accommodation for the public is inadequate—viewing the premises as a hostel—or inferior. Another which threatens to take shape (under the temptation of enormous brewing profits) is a monopoly and extensive ownership of hotels. This may be guarded against without much difficulty, as fortunately free public opinion does not favour any kind of monopoly. So this may be said of the Colonial "object lesson"—that these essentially English communities, which form no inconsiderable part of the British Empire, have shown with safety and benefit that the people may be helped by legislation to become sober, wise, and happy.

LOCAL OPTION CONTEST IN NEW ZEALAND, 1896.

THE FOLLOWING CHORUS, EMBODYING THE WATCHWORD OF THE PROHIBITIONISTS, WAS SUNG IN ALL PARTS OF NEW ZEALAND DURING THE CAMPAIGN :—

STRIKE OUT THE TOP LINE.

Strike out the top line—only the top line ;
Sweeping the drink trade away.
Strike out the top line—only the top line ;
Vote for "No License" to-day.

The Manifesto of the Prohibition Party contained the following information and instructions :—

The Voting Paper.

Below is the new form of the **voting paper**. It will be seen that those who are in favour of **no license** need only **strike out** with a pencil the **top line**. They thus help to carry either of the other two proposals which gets the largest number of votes.

I vote that the number of licenses existing in the district continue.

I vote that the number of licenses existing in the district be reduced.

I vote that no licenses be granted in the district.

General Directions.

The voter may strike out one or two of the above proposals, but no more.

The voter must strike out the proposals which he does not wish to be carried.

If the voter strikes out all, or fails to strike out at least one of the proposals, the voting-paper will be void.

The voting paper so marked is to be dropped by the voter into the separate ballot-box prepared for it, and *not* into the same box as that in which he drops his electoral ballot-paper.

The voter is not allowed to take his voting-paper out of the polling booth.

The Recommendations of the Temperance Party are

that voters strike out only the first of the three proposals. In so doing they vote for a reduction in the number of licensed houses, or the discontinuance of all licenses, and one or other of these proposals is certain to be carried. Then

Strike Out the Top Line

and don't make any mistake.

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND.

By SIR ROBERT STOUT, K.C.M.G., M.H.R., CHRISTCHURCH, N.Z.

THE second Local Option poll has been taken. In 1894 the first was taken at the time of the Licensing Committee elections, and there was a provision that one-half the voters on the roll must vote, otherwise the poll was void. In 1896 the poll was taken on the General Election day, and in every case where there was a contested election, there was no requirement regarding the number of votes necessary to constitute a valid poll. At the previous poll, a voter could only vote for one thing—continuance, reduction, or no license; but the votes for reduction and no license could be added together to secure reduction. Now, a voter may vote for two out of the three questions, but there is no adding together of the votes. The returns in 1894 gave Continuance 41,165, Reduction 15,856, "No License" 48,856. In one case—Clutha—"No License" was carried, and in fourteen districts reduction. In thirty-five districts there were invalid polls. Under the present law, continuance has in every case been carried, not by the majority of the votes, but the law is—If nothing is carried, the licenses remain as they are. It is "heads we win, and tails you lose," the liquor party may say. The "No License" vote has, however, largely increased. The numbers, as far as returns are to hand, give for Continuance, 138,483; for Reduction, 93,706; for "No License," 97,828. With 97,828 electors, out of a total poll (to date) of 230,000, voting "No License," the result must be gratifying to every Temperance reformer. The old Cornish song about "Thirty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why," may be applied to those who have voted "No License." I am not surprised at the defeat of the Temperance party, if it can be called a defeat. The goal is nearer by many years than I imagined.

It is fitting, however, for the Temperance party to consider their position; and I wish to make a few remarks on the situation. Save for the getting of a Local Option vote made legal, the Alcoholic Liquors Act of 1893 and 1895 were no Temperance gain. The liquor party gained as much, if not more, and were intended to gain more than the Temperance party by such Acts.

The Temperance party lost (1) the right of a committee to refuse a license if not required in a district; (2) the right to refuse a renewal of the license, and other minor matters. The liquor party gained these things, and they practically got three years' licenses, so that they have stronger rights to licenses than even their brethren in England. The Temperance party, under the old licensing law, could have defeated the traffic in detail far more effectually than under the existing law.

This alteration of the law was made to please and appease the allies of the Premier—the liquor party—and to stem the strong Temperance current that was manifest three years ago. The liquor party were told that a majority of three-fifths for "No License" would never be got, and that "Reduction" even would not be carried at a General Election—and this prediction has proved true. The gain, and the only gain, to the Temperance party was the recognition in a statute of the right of the people by a three-fifths majority to abolish the liquor traffic. I do not minimise this great gain, though its practical result will be for some time nil. It will have its due educational effect, and it must stimulate every Temperance worker to still greater exertion in the crusade in which he is engaged. But let it not be forgotten that the new law was not designed to help Temperance reform.

And the proposal to give the electors a direct National Option poll, and to put clubs under the control of such a poll, is not meant by the Premier to hasten the dawning of the day when New Zealand will be without grog. Do not let this be misunderstood. I know what the liquor party think. Many of their leaders, at all events, think that were the question of National Option put to the electors, antagonistic feelings against Temperance would be aroused; and they think, also,

that all the club men, both working men's club men and others, would cast their votes in favour of liquor--and I do not know that they are wrong. I believe the amendment of the law, by incorporating the National Option vote and the club clauses, will at first tell against Temperance reform. The only gain to the Temperance party will be the recognition of the right of the people to absolute Prohibition by a direct vote of the people. Temperance people who see the strings that are pulled are not deceived by the pretended desire of the present Ministry for progress in Temperance reform.

The next point that I wish to allude to is having the Local Option poll taken on General Election day. I was the first to advocate it, and I voted for it. I expected that the people would have an opportunity of voting on this question in a calm and deliberate manner, and outside of side issues. What has happened? The last election has shown me that I under-rated the forces working for the drink traffic, and over-estimated the freedom from bias that the ordinary voter would display. I suppose that in nine out of ten of the constituencies in New Zealand, the drink party and the Ministerial party were in close alliance. This was so in Auckland, Dunedin, Wellington, and in Christchurch, though the Liberty League had an opposition on their ticket in Christchurch. Let me speak, however, of Wellington, where the Women's Social and Political League, of which Mrs. Seddon is president, was the chief canvassing agent at the election. They were in alliance with the brewers and publicans. They distributed their tickets to strike out the second and third lines. There were numerous cabs employed by the liquor party, bearing placards how to vote at the Local Option poll, and these were used as cabs for the Ministerial candidates. One of the most prominent brewers wore on his coat a ribbon, bearing the message, "Vote for Fisher, Hutcheson, and Wilson." The alliance was complete between Ministerialists and the liquor party. The Ministerialists helped the liquor party all they knew, and the aid given by the liquor party to the Ministerialists was hearty and invaluable.

It is clear, from what occurred in Wellington, that the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act may be deemed obsolete, if the Local Option poll is to be taken on the same day as the General Election. Cabs were hired by the score; and if objections were made the answer no doubt would be, to bring voters to the poll for the Local Option poll. It cannot, however, be denied that those canvassing for the Continuance vote canvassed for Ministerial candidates, and those canvassing for Ministerial candidates were incessant in urging voters to vote for the continuance of licenses. Ministerialists and beer joined hands. If we are to have pure election, some change must be made; and it seems to me that we should have one day in three years to deal with this great Temperance question, freed from all other issues. It is big enough, it is important enough to the Colony, to have one day in three years to consider it; and if it was held some day in March, I believe that it would be dealt with on its merits, and free from party feeling and side issues that are bound to be raised in a general election. The expense will not be increased, as the committees have to be elected.

There are other matters I might deal with, but I know your space is limited. I urge the Temperance party to consider what I have said about a special election day, and not to be in the least discouraged by the vote cast. The result should urge us on to still greater consecration to our cause. With an army of about 98,000 voters, why should we be dismayed? We believe we are on the side of progress--let us be more determined to fight than we have been in the past, and victory, we can rest assured, will one day be ours.

PROHIBITION IN NORWAY.

BY EX-BAILIE DAVID LEWIS, J.P., EDINBURGH.



EX-BAILIE LEWIS, J.P.

THERE is perhaps no country in Europe where spirituous liquors have played a more prominent part than they have done in Scandinavia. Norway was long regarded as one of the most drunken of European countries, and now, more especially in its rural districts, it is being pointed to as an example of sobriety. Those forces which contributed to the dissipation of the Norwegians, and those which subsequently produced such an improvement in their habits present an interesting object lesson in Temperance Reform.

With the view of promoting the agricultural interest of the country, and in accordance with the current belief that alcohol "kept out the cold" during the long and keen winters which are experienced in Norway, as far back as 1816, a law was passed granting every man the right to distil spirits from grain or potatoes grown by himself. From the facilities thus afforded for distillation there were few families which did not possess a private still among their household appliances, and during the following 20 years the consumption of spirits more than doubled itself.

Incredible as it may seem, the amount of spirits manufactured in 1833 was no less than 4,488,000 gallons. Under such conditions it will surprise no one to learn that habits of industry were uprooted, and thriftlessness and drunkenness of the most degrading kind had settled down, like a night-mare, upon the nation. So serious had matters become towards the close of the first half of the present century that it seemed as if society were being dissolved by the action of alcohol. In 1845 Government, becoming concerned, passed an Act which contained drastic provisions dealing with the manufacture and sale of spirits. As the result of the powers which it conferred upon the communal and municipal authorities, sweeping restrictions were brought to bear upon the traffic, while over extensive areas it was absolutely prohibited. The effects of this policy were obvious in a marked decrease in the consumption of spirits, which, as a matter of course, was followed by a corresponding improvement in the social condition of the Norwegians. From the foregoing it will be seen that by what amounted practically to Free Trade in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors Norway was brought to the verge of ruin; and that subsequently, by legislation, which partook in a great measure of the prohibitory element, the reclamation of its rural population was largely effected. It must not be overlooked, however, that this reform was encouraged and sustained by religious influences, and by the persistent efforts of Total Abstemiers to inculcate personal abstinence.

One most hopeful feature for the future of Norway is the strong sentiment in favour of prohibitory legislation which prevails among the peasantry. In a tour through the country in the summer of 1892, we found the Liquor Laws most popular, especially in those districts where Prohibition had become a settled condition. The country people spoke with feelings of humiliation of the drunkenness of the past, and seemed anxious to be avenged upon an enemy which had blighted the reputation of their ancestors, and brought dishonour upon their fatherland.

In 1866 an Act was passed containing a clause which provided that one man should hold only one license. This, we regard as a most salutary provision, which might with advantage be placed upon the Statute Book of Great Britain. In 1871, another Act was passed amending that of 1866, by which the way was opened up for the purchase of a monopoly in licenses by corporate bodies as had previously been done in Gothenburg.

Before entering upon an examination of the characteristics of the Samlag it must be observed that an improvement in the drinking habits of the people had taken place prior to the passing of the Act of 1871. We must emphasize this fact, because we constantly hear it affirmed that it has been to the operations of the Samlag that this marked improvement is largely due. These drinking companies, be it noted, were not established in Norway till after the passing of the Act of 1871. The first Norwegian Samlag or Controlling Society was set up in the town of Christianssand, and was opened for business on January 1st, 1872. Subsequently, companies were formed in Christiania, in Bergen, and in many other smaller towns. During the discussion which has lately taken place on the Gothenburg and Bergen Licensing Schemes, many reports on the subject—more or less authoritative—have been widely circulated. Some of these reports being favourable towards it, and others the reverse, many honest inquirers have found it most difficult to come to a true understanding of the case. Tables of Statistics—many, most conflicting, being framed from different standpoints—have tended rather to intensify than relieve the embarrassment. With the view, therefore, of simplifying matters, we propose to confine our observations almost exclusively to Bergen. We do this for three reasons:—

- 1st. Because Bergen is the centre to which the advocates of the management of the drink traffic specially direct attention.
- 2nd. Because it is generally admitted that it is there that the experiment has proved most successful; and
- 3rd. Because, having in Bergen made our investigations into the working of the system, any facts and figures which we may submit possess the advantage which must ever attach to direct personal evidence.

In 1875 a Company was formed in Bergen for the purpose of conducting the liquor traffic. It was hoped that by thus superseding the individual publican the motive for private gain would be removed. It comprised among its members many leading and public-spirited men in the town, who, we believe, were actuated by the best of motives. The Company came into active operation on January 1st, 1877. As soon as it had secured a legal footing it set itself to limit the temptations to drinking, and at one stroke reduced the number of liquor shops from 21 to 14. The result for the time was a marked diminution in the sale of spirituous liquors. Three years later they closed one other drink shop. From that time up till 1892, when we visited Bergen, no further reduction had taken place.

The first thing which struck us in our investigation of the Bergen licensing scheme was the vast improvement which it showed in several important features when contrasted with that of Gothenburg. There was, for example, the closing of the shops of the Samlag from 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoon till 8 o'clock on Monday morning. They were also shut during the workmen's dinner hour (from 12 till half-past 1 o'clock), at 8 o'clock in summer, and half-past 7 in winter, and during election days and all holidays.

It further contrasted favourably with Gothenburg in having no women employed in its bars, and in having a special police staff for the purpose of discovering shebeens, of excluding drunken persons from their premises, and of carrying out generally the regulations of the Samlag. Chemists were also employed to analyse its liquors in order that by eliminating the fusel oil, their maddening effects might be minimised.

We are free to admit that the Executive honestly believed themselves, in these efforts, to be working out the redemption of their country from the curse which drink had brought upon it. Still, in spite of all that was being done towards this end, an examination of the Police Registers proved that during the first six months of 1892 there were 1,856 arrests in Bergen, and of these, 25 per cent. were apprehensions for drunkenness.

We are asked by the promoters of the Gothenburg and Bergen schemes, "Why should such reforms" (as those to which we have referred), "not receive the sympathy and active support of all temperance reformers?" Mr. Chamberlain, for instance, referring to the attitude of certain temperance men in relation to this question, says, "Until willing to accept half a loaf rather than have no bread, I

fear that the history of the Temperance agitation will continue to be a dismal record of the wrecks of well-meant efforts and promising experiments." In reply we say, "Let Mr Chamberlain introduce a Bill conferring upon the British people such concessions as those to which we have referred without any counteracting drawbacks, and we believe there is not a member of this Convention who would not gladly accept the same." The leaders of the Temperance movement have been too long starved by fruitless and trifling legislation to refuse much less than even half a loaf, only it must be genuine bread, and not an adulterated mixture of such ingredients as cannot but prove indigestible to those who can discriminate between a sound principle and a reactionary compromise. So long as Mr. Chamberlain, the Bishop of Chester, and others make compensation a *sine qua non* in any measure of Temperance legislation, there is little hope for unanimity of opinion among Temperance reformers.

It having been persistently affirmed by responsible advocates of the Bergen scheme that it had been the means of greatly reducing the sale and consumption of liquor, special controversy had raged around this assertion in the discussion of its merits. We resolved, therefore, on reaching Bergen, to appeal directly to the accounts of the Samlag—which were courteously furnished us by the Manager of the Company—and thereby arrive at the exact truth on this crucial point. The following table gives the result of these investigations.

Quantity of spirituous liquors sold in Bergen in litres for the five years ending 1891—a litre being 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ English pints :—

1887	...	...	...	...	...	241,734	litres.
1888	...	...	...	...	...	238,398	"
1889	...	...	...	...	...	254,487	"
1890	...	...	...	...	...	282,907	"
1891	...	...	...	...	...	314,952	"

We have thus an increase, during these five years, of 30 per cent., while the population had only increased 11 per cent.

In order to prove that the increase in that town was not exceptional, we take now a more extended view of the case as it affects all the Samlags in Norway.

Quantity of spirituous liquors sold by all the Societies throughout Norway in quarts for the five years ending 1891 :—

1887	...	...	...	...	...	2,045,146	quarts.
1888	...	...	...	...	...	2,041,595	"
1889	...	...	...	...	...	2,239,671	"
1890	...	...	...	...	...	2,574,549	"
1891	...	...	...	...	...	3,238,911	"

The aggregate result of the quantity sold by all the Companies gives an increase of 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during these five years, while the population increased only 2 per cent.

In discussing this question of the increase or decrease in the consumption of liquor, there are certain conditions which must be taken into account. Not only is there that of population (which in this case we have been able to dispose of); there is, besides, the variation in the material prosperity of the people which periodically occurs. As to how far depressed or prosperous trade during that period may have influenced these returns we have unfortunately no means of forming an opinion. There is also the possibility of attaching too much importance to any published returns regarding consumption of liquor in either of the leading towns in Norway or Sweden from the fact that a number of wine and spirit merchants—irrespective of the Samlag—still carry on business. Nor indeed do we see how strictly accurate returns on this point can possibly be obtained unless the entire trade in spirituous liquors were placed exclusively in the hands of the Samlag.

We come now to face the really practical question, "Has the Samlag succeeded in diminishing drunkenness?" Unless this can be proved, every other argument in its favour becomes of secondary importance. Before leaving Bergen we determined to seek reliable information on this point, and on visiting the Offices of Police, the Chief of the Staff was most willing to facilitate our inquiries. With his

permission, we examined several of the officers on duty, and obtained official returns as to the number of drunken arrests for the five years previous to our visit. They are as follows:—

Number of persons arrested for drunkenness in Bergen for the five years ending 1891:—

1887	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	685
1888	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	728
1889	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	729
1890	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,122
1891	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,047

As this is a point upon which we felt that no uncertainty could be allowed to exist, a few weeks ago we applied to the Chief of Police in Bergen for more recent information, and received from him the following return:—

Number of persons arrested for drunkenness in Bergen for the five years ending 1896:—

1892	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,129
1893	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,309
1894	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,432
1895	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,813
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,228

We have during these ten years an increase in arrests of 225 per cent., while the increase in population during the same period amounted only to 33 per cent. One notable feature in these returns is most significant, viz., that during the whole course of these ten years (with one trifling exception) the number of arrests had steadily and uniformly increased. This in itself is sufficient to settle once for all the contention that the Samlag has been instrumental in reducing drunkenness in Bergen.

One branch of the Samlag in Bergen, and throughout Norway, is admitted by all parties to have been a marvellous success. We refer to its financial department. The Samlag in Bergen was established with a capital of £4,445. After paying interest on capital, working expenses, and contributing to a reserve fund, it has earned upon an average about 125 per cent. net profit per annum.

In an article in the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1894, the late Mr. T. M. Wilson—one of the ablest advocates of the Gothenburg and Bergen schemes—gives us a glimpse into the question of profits. In speaking of its general operations in Norway, he tells us that “In 1892, with a working capital of £35,617, the net profits were £85,852, or 241 per cent. per annum profit upon capital.”

One of the gravest charges which we have to prefer against these drink Companies is the manner in which their enormous profits are distributed. In Gothenburg the application of the surplus profits of the Bolag had exercised a corrupting influence upon the ratepaying community. The promoters of the Samlag in Bergen, therefore, recognising this, sought to obviate this objection by devoting their surplus profits to public and charitable purposes for which Police or Poor Rates were not available. Up to the year 1892 the Samlag in Bergen had distributed in grants to the community 1½ million kroner, or upwards of £70,000. We learned that at first a strong public sentiment was exhibited in opposition to its formation, but that public opposition had been largely broken down by the sums of money which it had annually distributed in the shape of benefactions. The list of the various institutions thus subsidised was most interesting reading. Grants were given, among others, to the promoters of theatrical entertainments, to the Society for promoting Scientific Knowledge, to the Young Men's Christian Association, to the Bergen Total Abstinence Societies, to the Order of Good Templars, and to the Blue Ribbon Total Abstinence Union. Does not the very incongruity in the allocation of these profits prove, without any argument on our part, the extent to which the several members of the body politic were being influenced by these monetary considerations?

That system which manufactures men and women into drunkards, and then distributes a share of the profits thus derived to the Young Men's Christian Associations, Temperance Societies, and Good Templar Lodges to aid in reclaiming them,

is an outrage upon every principle of consistency, and repugnant to every instinct of Christian citizenship. We confess it difficult to find terms sufficiently strong in which to express condemnation of a system which transforms bread-winners into criminals and idiots, and thus creates work for Christian philanthropists in caring for the widows and orphans who have been grievously, though it may be legally, wronged. The recipients of these grants do not seem to be the only parties prejudicially influenced by them. The Directors of the Drink Companies themselves appear to have been unable to withstand these financial attractions. Upon no other ground can we account for the fact that in Gothenburg, for an annual sum of £3,380, they gave 23 wine and spirit merchants the right to trade in spirituous liquors for their own private profit. To our mind this transaction implies a flagrant violation of one of the leading principles of the Gothenburg Licensing System. Consul-General Michell asserts that municipalities, as well as the governing bodies of the Samlag, are unduly influenced to push the trade. He cites a case where, at Christiania, the Samlag set up a large drink shop in a quarter of the town where two large breweries and the principal iron and mechanical works were concentrated. The owner of the iron works protested, and brought the case before the court, pointing out that the license had been procured by the suppression of strong objections recorded against it. A large number of the workmen in the immediate vicinity also entered a protest, and, under the pressure of public opinion, the Municipality were compelled to revoke the license.

"What," it may be asked, "was the public sentiment in Scandinavia regarding these Drink Companies"? In both Gothenburg and Bergen we found a mixed feeling existing on the subject. Those who "represented the Societies" were warm in their commendation; but among Christian and Temperance workers they were freely spoken of in terms of disapproval. At a large public meeting of teetotalers and working men held in one of the churches in Gothenburg a deputation from this country was warned against having them introduced into Britain. The Drink Companies, they were told, by the payment of local rates out of their profits, had succeeded in largely withdrawing from the Temperance movement the sympathy and support of the trading classes. There can be no doubt that by many of those competent to form an opinion, the Samlag, in Norway, is discredited as an institution for promoting Temperance. Mr. S. Urdahl, one of the best Temperance authorities in Norway, states that out of the 15 Samlags established since 1881 only four show any decrease in sales between the years 1881-1891. He further adds that in public opinion those associations have in no way contributed towards the promotion of sobriety. The Rev. C. F. Eltzholtz says the Gothenburg system is "not good for much more than to make the drink traffic more respectable and, therefore, more dangerous and destructive. It is one that enables the local municipalities to secure a large income from the depraved among the population." Consul-General Michell says, "I have acquired the firm conviction that the activity of the Samlags is appreciated almost exclusively by Shareholders, property holders in towns, and by municipalities." He concludes his reply to Mr. Berner's hostile criticism of his official report to the British Foreign Office by saying, "My conviction remains that the Institution has been a brilliant success to the towns and richer citizens, without having had scarcely any appreciable effect upon the diminution of drinking among the people." Ibsen, the great Norwegian author, while admitting that great efforts are being made to check the spread of alcoholism in Norway by legislation, says, "Since recent laws were passed one sees more drunkards in the street than formerly." The Grand Lodge of Good Templars, in July, 1893, by 53 votes against 3, passed a resolution declaring that "The present Samlag system of selling spirits and beer in this country is objectionable, and without any influence worth naming on the limitation of the consumption of intoxicating liquor."

The public opinion as expressed in this country has been no more flattering. Upwards of 20 years ago it was proposed by Mr. David Carnegie, of Stronvar, to introduce the Gothenburg Licensing System into Scotland. Mr. Carnegie was one of the largest brewers in Sweden, and on visiting Edinburgh announced, through the Chief Magistrate, that his object was to bring before the Scottish people a remedy for national drunkenness, apart from a recognition of the practice of

Abstinence. Being a gentleman of great wealth and much energy, he succeeded in forming an influential committee, and his proposals were warmly accepted by many, while viewed by others with considerable distrust. With the view of getting at the facts of the case a deputation consisting of the Rev. J. Idrisyn Jones (author of "The Slain in Liverpool"), Mr. J. H. Raper, of the United Kingdom Alliance, and the writer of this paper, proceeded to Gothenburg. The inquiries they made were of the most searching and impartial character, and, in so far as they indicated the discovery of any social paradise of sobriety, were distinctly disappointing.

The results of these investigations were submitted to the public at a large representative meeting in Edinburgh, and the scheme for introducing the Gothenburg system at that time not finding further support in Scotland was ultimately abandoned.

Some time afterwards, when a measure embodying certain of the provisions of the Gothenburg scheme had been introduced into Parliament, a National Declaration was signed by nearly 3,000 representative men in Scotland declaring their disapproval of any legislative measure which recognised the duration of liquor licenses for more than one year, or provided compensation either to the proprietors or occupants of licensed houses. More recently the Gothenburg and Bergen proposals (on being re-introduced by Mr. Chamberlain and the Bishop of Chester) were, as on former occasions, disapproved of at a large public meeting in Edinburgh convened by the supporters of the scheme.

The Gothenburg and Bergen schemes have also been condemned by the convention of Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland, and by the Grand Order of Good Templars. Still more recently, on the 16th of last month, a representative conference was held in Edinburgh, presided over by Professor Orr of the United Presbyterian College, with the object of considering a draft bill now prepared by the Scottish Three-fold Option Alliance. The Bill, among other things, provides for the carrying on of the traffic by the community for the community, for an extension of the duration of licenses, and for compensation to the proprietors and lessees of licensed premises either by a time limit or money payment. This conference was numerously attended by those interested in Temperance reform, and, notwithstanding that the draft bill was advocated by one of the most able Professors of Edinburgh University, it was unanimously condemned by the meeting. Lord Overtoun, one of the most honoured and prominent of Scotsmen, gave voice to the majority of his countrymen engaged in Temperance and Christian work when very recently he gave it as his opinion of the Three-fold Option Scheme that it was "one of the cleverest *ruses* of their opponents to divide Temperance reformers."

We have been asked to give the Bergen scheme a trial in this country. Our reply is that it has had a trial in Norway, and been found wanting. Out of 13 towns in Norway which have had a trial of the scheme for five years 11 have given a verdict against it; even in Bergen the promoters of municipalisation narrowly escaped defeat. In a population of about 60,000, 14,590 voted for the Company, and 14,172 against it, so that in the very stronghold of the system the Company was in 1896 only saved by a majority of 418.

We have the highest authority for saying that every system must stand or fall by its results, and, viewed from every possible standpoint, we contend that as a practical measure of Legislative Temperance Reform, the Bergen scheme stands condemned by its results.

The CHAIRMAN, interpreting the feeling of the meeting, said all would agree with him that Mr. Lewis had added another item to the long list of services rendered to the cause in times past, and he thought it was very significant—the strong protest against this piece of imposture in the paper they had listened to with so much pleasure and profit. (Applause.)

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN SPAIN.

BY ALFRED R. ECROYD,

La Solana del Rey, Eslida, Province of Castellon, Spain.

THE ordinary Spanish mind seems unable to grasp the rudimentary principles of total abstinence, and is profoundly ignorant of even the existence of a "movement" in favour of Prohibition; indeed in a country where express trains are content to jog along at fifteen or twenty miles an hour, "movements" of any kind can scarcely be said to exist.

Spain cannot be said to have a licensing system. Anyone can sell liquor anywhere, except in very few townships, with a population of less than 1,000, that have availed themselves of the option of undertaking the municipal sale of intoxicants. In these towns each manufacturer is entitled to run one tavern, no one else being allowed to compete with the municipal drink shops. Very few townships avail themselves of this option.

There are heavy import duties upon foreign wines and spirits. All shops, including taverns, pay an annual *contribution industrial* to the national exchequer, but no special license is required to enable a person to sell wine and spirits. There is a local tax called *consumo* levied upon a number of articles upon entering a town, such as meat, sugar, oil, petroleum, vinegar and all kinds of alcoholic beverages. Everyone must also pay *consumo* upon the wine he makes and drinks, but as this is rather difficult to calculate, it is generally commuted. A family of three generally pays from fifteen to twenty shillings per annum, but the taverns pay, or are supposed to pay, so much per *cantaro* of wine sold by them. The amount paid varies according to the size of the town. Again the amount paid in towns of the same size varies greatly, each municipality being allowed to augment the *consumo* more or less according to the needs of the municipal treasury, but with a limit of 100 per cent., but even when that limit of augmentation is reached the increased cost does not tend to reduce the number of taverns.

Just as each individual householder has the right of commuting, so every township has the local option of redeeming these taxes by the payment of a lump sum every three months to the Provincial Government, which, after taking a percentage for its own use, forwards the balance to the National Treasury in Madrid. This arrangement saves the municipality the expense of collection, and avoids the worry and unpleasantness of passing the customs every time you enter the town. In these free trade townships there is no restriction upon the sale of liquor, which is sold cheaper than in the non-commuting townships, hence there is a tendency to attract the habitual drunkards of other townships. In practice this is not so, but the thrifty housewives from the adjacent towns will walk miles to buy their pork and mutton in the free trade towns, whereby they save 30 to 40 per cent. As each householder has to pay his share of the cost of commutation, the plan would result in an injustice to teetotalers and vegetarians if such existed. As a matter of fact the people in the free trade townships use less alcohol and eat less meat than in the other towns despite the unrestricted sale and the diminished cost. I have lived for over six months in what one may call a high license town in Central Spain. There are eight taverns for a population of about 1,200, or one for every 150, the people being mostly engaged in mining. During this time I only saw two cases of drunkenness, but the Doctor shortly afterwards lost his post through assaulting the Mayor when drunk. I have also spent over six months in a town of 2,500 inhabitants in Eastern Spain, which supports nine taverns, or one for every 280, the people being almost all agriculturists. I have only seen one drunkard in this town, and he, I fear, would not be habitually in that condition but for the mistaken kindness of an Englishman who taught him to drink liquors stronger than the native wine. This township likewise has not adopted free trade; but its next neighbour, of which I have had nearly three years' experience, has been under that regime for many years. Its population of 1,500 is content with three taverns. I have not myself seen one of

its inhabitants the worse for liquor. Nevertheless, two of the townfolk used to get drunk every feast day, until last year, when a tavern quarrel resulted in the death of one and the exportation of the other. This is the only crime that has occurred in the town for 16 years, and it has never had a resident policeman. I have a casual acquaintance with the neighbouring township of Chova, which is not under free trade. Its population of 500 supports two taverns. There is no policeman within a radius of more than six miles. It is ordinarily a very quiet little town, hemmed in by mountains and surrounded by cork trees; but on the occasion of its annual feast in honour of its patron saint, moderate drinking is not the order of the day. Thus, in August, 1895, the English newspapers announced a "Republican rising" in this town, for which 27 out of its adult male population of under a hundred are now undergoing punishment. At the close of the annual feast, the day having been very hot, the people generally were in a state of alcoholic excitement, and as 95 per cent. of the inhabitants are pronounced Republicans, they naturally sang Republican songs, which are legal, and later on commenced firing salutes, which are not. Next day, when sober, they were frightened, and fled to the mountains, where they were captured by the Guardia Civil, a score of whom had promptly occupied the little town.

When a man has decided to sell alcohol in any form, he hangs the branch of a pine tree over the door of his shop. In winter the customers push aside the curtain and take their seats in the windowless interior around the open hearth; in summer they sit on logs or chairs outside under the shade of vines and fig-trees, where they discuss local affairs and occasionally those of the province or nation. The tavern keepers make their own wine as a rule from their own grapes, selling in addition a small quantity of rum, brandy, and whisky. Cider is unknown and beer is very rarely met with. In no case does the livelihood of the tavern-keeper depend upon the sale of intoxicants: they invariably sell groceries, and are almost always small landed proprietors.

There is no artificial restriction as to hours of sale, except in a few of the larger cities where, as in Madrid, a local bye-law provides that all taverns shall be closed before 2 a.m.

These remarks apply principally to the country townships of Central and Eastern Spain, where there is practically no immorality, pauperism or lunacy, and very little crime, and by far the greater part of that little is the outcome of political controversies in the taverns on Sundays and Feast days.

In the cities and large towns the facilities for getting drunk are more numerous and more refined. My own experience of Spanish cities is not extensive, but I have walked through the streets of Madrid, Toledo, Ciudad-Real, Barcelona, Valencia, Castellon and Segorbe both by day and night, without seeing a drunken man, and were it not whispered that inebriate señoras are not uncommon amongst the upper ten, I should say I had not even heard of a drunken woman. In fact the women of Central Spain—certainly those of the small towns—are practically life abstainers, drinking water or lemonade even at meals, whilst the men are sipping their wine. It is considered as equally bad form for a woman to drink wine as it would be for her to smoke or talk politics. But this is not so in all parts of the Peninsular. In Eastern Spain, the whole family, including the baby, can often be seen drinking the naturally fermented juice of the grape in extreme moderation, and seldom if ever—so far as the women are concerned—except at meals.

As a natural result the children are not so healthy, and the infant mortality is much higher than in Central Spain, where, with the thermometer registering 80 degs. or 90 degs. in the shade, and 130 degs. in the sun, the handsome water-drinking maids and matrons, old and young alike, expose their heads and faces to the full glare of the noon-day sun, with no covering but their luxuriant hair, except when balancing a *cantara* of water (weighing over a stone) on the little cushion which encircles the head like a coronet; and all the while their wine-drinking husbands and brothers find it necessary to wear twopenny broad-brimmed straw hats, and occasionally even eightpenny parasols, to protect their more susceptible craniums from the scorching sun!

Twenty years ago the Sheffield Stipendiary declared that "the British workman required good beer and plenty of it." What wonder, then, that in Spain, in many things a century behind the times, the prevailing belief should be that men cannot work hard without wine, that "good creature of God" which the doctors prescribe for every ailment under the sun, at the same time solemnly warning their patients against the terrible dangers of pure water, fresh air, and natural light!

The farm labourers, who work from sunrise to sunset, which in summer means a day of sixteen hours, for eightpence and their victuals, which always included wine, drink more than their masters, and are seldom guilty of hard work, frequently stopping to enjoy their cigarette, or to have a chat with every passer by.

Water is scarce in Spain, being often sold in the streets at a halfpenny or a penny per gallon, and in many districts it is not only scarce but bad. Some tourists make this an excuse for breaking their pledge, ignoring the ever-present lemon, whose citric acid kills the cholera bacteria, which are made more dangerous when intoxicated with wine. The ancient Spaniards were decided water-drinkers, so much so that a wine-loving Greek was astonished to find even wealthy Spaniards who preferred water to wine, and even now the modern Spaniard is less particular about the quality of his wine than he is with regard to his water, for it is said that a Spaniard "will just drink the wine that grows nearest, while he will look about and inquire for the best water."

I agree with the late Richard Ford, who knew Spain well half-a-century ago, when he says that "The Peninsular inns, with few exceptions, have long been divided into the bad, the worse and the worst! and the latter are still the most numerous and the most national. . . . Many of the inns, and especially those of the country, continue much as they were in the time of the Romans! The genuine Spanish town-inn is called the *posada*—a house of repose after the pains of travel. The keeper is only bound to provide lodging, salt, and the power of cooking whatever the traveller brings with him, or can procure out of doors." None of the four townships to which I have alluded in this paper possess inns of a higher type than the *posadas* thus described by Ford. Once when on a walking tour in the Province of Toledo, not far from the ancient capital of Spain, I sought shelter at night in one of these *posadas*, the only beds available being stone benches on either side of the fire place of a windowless dining room covered by a by no means waterproof roof.

In Spain you have neither the comforts of the old-fashioned country inn, nor the devilry of the modern public house. There are few habitual drunkards, and still fewer life-abstaining men. I am only personally acquainted with two of each class. One of the latter is a mate, the other a master mason, both above the average in mental and physical power.

The tendency is rather towards absolute free trade in home-made wine and spirits, coupled possibly with increased duties on those of foreign manufacture, and some of the leading statesmen have lately favoured the abolition of all taxes and restrictions upon the manufacture, sale, and consumption of Spanish wine, their object being to encourage the agricultural interest, which in Spain, as elsewhere, is complaining bitterly of "hard times."

Nevertheless, Spain requires education on all phases of the Temperance question; and as there are no "meetings" and no "movements" in this most conservative corner of Europe, the people will require special indirect treatment. It appears to me that the best way to educate the Spaniards on this great question is first to convert the priest, doctor, and schoolmaster of every parish by means of suitable literature. To scatter such literature amongst a people, the great majority of whom cannot read or write, would be useless. A sovereign would pay the postage of 1½ oz. of literature to these officials in a thousand towns and villages. The literature should be carefully selected and signed by a well-known British Catholic, an influential Doctor, and a University Professor. It would, of course, have to be translated into Spanish, and should be printed in Spain. The cost would not be great, and the result—Who knows? In fifty years Spain might be ripe for Prohibition!

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN ICELAND.

BY DR. JON JONSSON, REYKJAVIK, ICELAND.



DR. JON. JONSSON.

I HAVE the honour to explain to you what we Temperance workers in Iceland have done, and what we hope to do, for the Temperance cause. It seems to me due to some earnest workers to introduce them to you, so that you may know what their motives and ideas are, and learn how during the past fifteen years they have been able to move public opinion so strongly in my native country. I will add to their names short expressions of their own opinions on the question of Prohibition.

Mr. I. EINARSSON, Official Registrar for Iceland, says :—

“By Prohibition law, I understand law which prohibits the sale and manufacture of all intoxicating drinks. It is easier for Iceland than for any other land to accept such a law, because everywhere in other countries a great number of people live on the manufacture of intoxicating drink. Many would think that the merchants who import wines and spirits to the value of about £30,000 per annum would lose a great deal by such a law. But everyone here knows that the Icelandic merchants are universal providers, and therefore the people, when they can no longer buy spirits, would buy other things more necessary and useful, and the merchants would gain in other trades what they would lose in the wine trade. It would be the innkeepers who would lose by such a law, but they are not many families all told. It is true that the Exchequer would lose the duty on the imports of wines and spirits, some £5,000 per annum ; but it would not be difficult for the Government to get income from other sources. When the people abstain from brandy, wine, and whisky, they would be more able to pay duty on other articles, such as coffee, sugar, and so forth. But the nation would directly profit, and, what is more, the poor rates would be lower year after year, and if they decrease only one-half we shall have saved £12,000 per annum.”

Mr. JON OLAFSSON, P.G.C.T., now an editor in Chicago :—

“It is proved by experience that a great loss has followed the wine trade in all nations which have licensed its sale—so great that all bloody wars and horrible slaughters, all fatal epidemics together are less injurious than the cruelties which follow the use of intoxicating drinks.”

Sheriff G. GUDMUNDSSON, M.P. :—

“It is a great idea to make abstinence from all intoxicating drinks an international rule and to exterminate entirely from mankind a custom which has taken root most deeply through the latest centuries—to seek sensual enjoyment in intoxicating drinks. Our object is :—The unconditional prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of such liquids as beverages, prohibition consequent upon the will of the nation.”

Mr. BJOM JONSSON, Editor of *Isafold*, the best circulated paper in Iceland, taking for his subject, “On Moderation in Drinks,” he says :—

“We know an unailing remedy for the fearful danger to the nation produced by strong drink. This remedy, free of harm to any, is :—Never to use intoxicating drinks, and to drive them out of the country. Their benefits exist only in the imagination. It is an abuse of language to speak of the moderate use of these articles. All use of them is abuse. The infinitely small fraction of nourishment which is to be found in these drinks is a hundred times as expensive as its real value. Thus to spend money in such articles is a great economic blunder.”

Mr. OLAFUR ROSENKRANG, G.C.T. :—

“It seems to me that the nation is at present as ready to accept this prohibitory law as any other connected with the Temperance question, because it is well-known that after all it is only a small part of the nation which really opposes such laws. Many men who use alcohol, with or without moderation, are really in favour of such a law. Many of them have told me :—‘We will use alcohol as long as it is imported, but you may diminish the import as much as you like or prohibit it.’”

During the last twenty years, and especially in the last ten years since the I.O.G.T. Grand Lodge was instituted, we have been fighting earnestly for Prohibition.

In attempting to move the Legislature in favour of Temperance Legislation we have often presented petitions from people all over the country.

In 1887 the first petition for absolute prohibition was signed by 800 men and some women.

In 1889 we presented a petition in two clauses, the first for absolute prohibition of the importation and manufacture of drink, signed by 1,700 men and some women; the second for the withdrawal of all duty on spirits, which only got a few signatures.

In 1893 a petition signed by 640 voters, about one-tenth of the total, was presented to the following effect:—

1. Prohibition of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors.
2. Increase of duty on liquor to at least three times as much as at present. (It is now about 8d. a litre, or 3s. per gallon.)
3. The license fee to be raised from £10 to £20.

(According to the Local Option Law of 1888 the public house license can only be granted for a period of five years at once.)

In 1895 the women of Iceland presented a petition signed by 7,500 of their sex, or one-third of the whole, asking Parliament to give to every County Council a delegated power to proclaim the prohibition of the manufacture and importation of liquor in their county area.

THE CHURCH.

In 1893 one venerable Bishop and seven Rectors and Ministers sent out an address to the whole clergy, in which they said:—"The Temperance movement in our native land does continually grow stronger and stronger, and if we, men of the Holy Church, all associate under its banner, we hope, with the assistance of Almighty God a glorious victory will then be certain." They then ask the clergy to sign a declaration that they will do all in their power by "example in word and deed to assist this great cause of benefit and blessing for our people." About sixty clergy, or one-third of the whole, signed this declaration.

HINDRANCES.

We know that the manufacturers of spirits cannot oppose us as they do not exist in Iceland. The innkeepers are so few as not to be formidable, and they are not increasing. For instance at Reykjavik where there were four public houses ten years ago, there is only one now.

But as all merchants in Iceland have licenses to sell spirits they will certainly offer as much opposition as possible, but they do not act as an organised body.

Some think that the Government of Denmark will not approve of a Prohibition Law and will advise the King to use his power of vetoing its passing, but there has been no definite indication that such is the case.

The question of the revenue is a great difficulty as it amounts to one-fourth of the total income for the year.

TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

The I.O.G.T. has at present about 1,400 members, and other Temperance Societies about 1,000 members. These constitute the fighting part of our forces. But we want encouragement from our fellow-workers in other countries, as we feel ourselves quite isolated in this island.

If you believe, as I do, that Prohibition is a question of the greatest possible interest for every land, and you feel it your duty to help it forward, come up to Iceland; pay us a visit: give us encouragement, and you will be glad. You will be proud that you have assisted to get the first absolute Prohibition law in Europe adopted.

THE LIQUOR LAWS OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

BY JOSEPH PLYMEN, G.C.T., ST. SAVIOUR'S, JERSEY.



MR. JOSEPH PLYMEN.

THE Channel Islands are the only portion of the old Duchy of Normandy now pertaining to the British Crown, and their claim to the distinction of having "come over with the conqueror" is an undisputed historical fact.

Many of the rights and privileges belonging to the Islands are extremely ancient and are guarded with great tenacity, none being more highly prized than the complete system of Home Rule under which they are governed.

The authority of the Imperial Parliament being supreme in the Realm, extends of course to the Channel Islands, but is only exercised when Imperial affairs are concerned, and no Act of Parliament has force of law in the Islands unless directly specified.

For the purpose of administration the Islands are divided into two groups, Jersey forming one, and Guernsey with all the smaller islands the other. So complete is the system of local control in each case that the laws, and many points in the form of government are quite distinct and entirely dis-similar in most cases.

The direct representative of Her Majesty is the Lieut. Governor, who is always a General in the British Army; the head of the civil administration is the Bailiff, who must be a member of the legal profession. The holder of this most important office combines the functions of Chief Magistrate, President of the Local Parliament, and also President of the Excise and Licensing Board, no public assembly can take place without his consent, and every extension of hours granted to a license holder must receive his personal sanction.

The licensing authority in Jersey consists of the bailiff, lieutenant-governor, and twelve judges. In Guernsey the bailiff and judges alone compose the Board. The franchise depends solely on a property qualification, and is seldom exercised by members of the working classes, who are practically free from direct taxation. There is a decided absence of public opinion on most subjects, though occasionally it is aroused on some more than ordinary important question, and a growing temperance sentiment has not infrequently been the cause of popular upheavals.

Licenses in Jersey were formerly granted very freely, and the control was very lax, anything like Sunday closing being almost unknown, but the continued exertion of temperance reformers has completely changed the aspect of affairs. The Licensing Assembly has been regularly petitioned at its annual sessions, with the result that no new licenses have been granted for several years, and many have been extinguished, it being a fixed principle with the Board that any publican fined for a violation of the law loses his license at the end of the year. This action has had a marked effect upon the manner in which houses are conducted, and the law, once openly defied, is now recognised and observed. Licenses are granted to the individual, and not to the premises, and the question of vested interest is never entertained. The license is so thoroughly personal property during the period for which it is issued that a publican, provided he has had the necessary permit, can temporarily close his house, and carry his license to any special place where an increased public demand is anticipated. Should the Licensing Board deem it expedient from any cause to refuse a renewal, no question of compensation is ever mooted either by the tenant or owner of the house, and as a consequence public-house property never bears a higher value than any other class of business property, but often the reverse.

The new licensing law which came into force a few years ago completely revolutionised the licensing system and brought in total Sunday closing so far as

public houses are concerned. By this law licenses are now of two classes, namely, special or £10 granted exclusively to large hotels, permitting the holders to remain open until 11 p.m., Sundays included, and £5 or ordinary, granting the right to sell until 10 p.m. on six days, and closing on Sundays, Christmas Day, and Good Friday. An attempt was recently made to amend the law in the direction of extending the hours to 11 p.m. during the summer, but the public feeling was evidently so strong against the idea that it was defeated by a large majority.

Grocers' licenses are unknown, but, if possible, a worse condition of things existed, in the form of a free trade open to all without let or hindrance, provided the quantity sold were not less than 1½ pints, and that it were consumed off the premises. The number of so-called wine and spirit merchants was legion, and almost every grocer had a bottle department, no restriction in the form of closing hours existing; and the trade became such a public scandal in respect to selling on Sundays and after licensed houses were closed, that in response to a popular demand, backed up by a strong Temperance petition, the Legislature placed all shops of this class under the same regulations as the £5 or ordinary license holders, with the result that many grocers have ceased to sell liquor, and a most beneficial change has taken place, the evils complained of having practically disappeared. There are no prohibitory districts, though under the old feudal laws still in force, several Lords of Manors have the exclusive right of granting licenses on their respective "Feifs." All new enactments recognise this right by exempting the manors in question from the operation of all such acts. No apparent advantage pro or con is taken of this privilege, the ratio of licenses being about equal in all districts.

In Guernsey the licensing system was placed under a new and most stringent law in 1894, and the provisions of the Act are strictly enforced. Licenses are of three classes, namely, £2 on beer, £8 on publicans' full license, and £20 on hotel licenses. Publicans keep open until 11 p.m. on five nights and 10 p.m. on Saturdays; hotels until midnight on six nights, but Sunday closing is rigidly enforced in all cases. An attempt is at present being made to exempt the country hotels from Sunday closing, but the Temperance organisations have secured 3,500 signatures to a petition against this, and it is not in any way anticipated that the law will be changed.

The Temperance organisations in both islands are practically the same. The Good Templars are the largest and most active body, the C.E.T.S. works on the dual basis with the usual success, the B.W.T.A. is active and progressive; every Nonconformist body has a society. There are several tents of Rechabites, and many Bands of Hope and Juvenile Temples. Jersey has a Temperance Alliance composed of delegates from the leading societies, which has done much useful work in bringing united efforts to bear on several important occasions, while the Guernsey Vigilance Committee, which undertakes the supervision of aggressive work and the opposing of new licenses is most active and influential.

No local Temperance papers are issued, but the leading English periodicals are widely circulated, and the Temperance sentiment is decidedly good in all the islands. Drink, owing to comparative light taxation, is abundant and cheap, but a marked change has been produced upon public morals by the constant pegging away of Temperance workers, aided in no small degree by recent restrictive legislation, and the labours of the Temperance reformers have been frequently recognised by the leading local authorities. A contemplation of the future gives just cause for bright anticipations, and a steady, if slow, realisation of their duties as citizens is undoubtedly permeating the thinking portion of the community. Untiring efforts are being directed to the training of the young with the certain prospect of a large accession of Temperance strength in the not distant future. The waves of Temperance sentiment which rise in the mother country have a most stimulating effect upon the workers in these sunny isles who, though they may not be partakers in the benefits of any legislative triumph, hail with heartfelt satisfaction every indication of progress, whether won in the parliamentary arena, by moral suasion, or through the awakening zeal of the Christian Church.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

BY WILLIAM CUBBON, DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN.

“Little Man Island,” as Hall Caine affectionately calls his native country, is in danger of losing the proud position, which it secured years ago, of being among the foremost in the Temperance cause. The Manx, as a people, are among the most sober and thrifty in the world, but the influx of the “*Uitlander*” has transformed the native population—and the transformation, it must be said, from a moral standpoint at any rate, is not for the better. There is plenty of proof to corroborate this statement. In the places in the Island least trodden by the visitor a public house is hardly ever to be seen, but in the centres where the Saxon makes his home for a few days, the most ample provision has been made to allay his thirst. It is not the object here to give a history of Temperance reform. That history has already been written for the work “*Temperance in all Nations*,” by the late Thomas Goldsmith, of Douglas, one of the pioneers of the movement. The main object of this article is to show the condition of affairs in Man in very recent years, and the unique developments which have just taken place.

When Queen Victoria commenced her reign there was almost free trade in drink in the Isle of Man, and the inhabitants were probably no more sober than those of any other country. However, in the thirties and early forties a grand wave of reform swept over the Island, largely through the influence of James Teare, who was one of those who worked along with Joseph Livesey. The reform commenced—as reforms always do in the Isle of Man—with the common people, and the upper classes and ministers were ultimately brought to approve of the new order of things. The work was ever an uphill one—the cause would often be retarded by well-meaning persons who unfortunately knew no better. A Ballasalla philanthropist, for instance, left his brewing pan to the good people of the village, so that they could have their own “*jough*” brewed in greater facility. As a result of the Temperance revolution—for it was a great revolution—Rechabite and other such societies sprung up, until now there is no other part of the world where Rechabite is stronger in proportion to the population. In a total population of 54,000 there are 3,000 adult and 2,000 juveniles with funds amounting to £40,000, and these members are proving, as Prohibitionists are everywhere proving, that total abstinence is best for the individual and for the State. There are several names which will live long in connection with the early struggle—Parson, Caine, James Teare, Richard Kneen, Richard Cowle, Thomas Goldsmith, Henry McIver, Thomas Cubbon, all of whom have gone to reap the reward of their faithfulness and unselfishness. And we, in the latter days, are not without talented and trustworthy leaders—men who have served and are serving the cause well. In our Legislature we have strong men, and there are almost a majority in the representative chamber. But there are also very talented and reliable leaders of public opinion outside the Legislature.

LOCAL OPTION.

In 1882, the great Radical leader, “the tribune of the people”—Mr. John Robert Cowell—brought into the House of Keys his Local Option resolution, which after a capital debate was rejected on the casting vote of the Speaker. Mr. Cowell is a powerful speaker, and his advocacy of the Local Option principle in 1882 did more to raise him in the esteem of his fellows than any effort of his made since that date.

SUNDAY CLOSING.

The Manx people are thankful for the measure of Sunday closing which has been vouchsafed to them since 1857. The Sunday Closing Act has been a huge success as far as the Manx people are concerned. Through the existence of the “*bona-fide traveller*” clause, combined with the slumberous attitude of an otherwise efficient police force, there is in practice too much Sunday drinking on the part of hundreds of holiday-makers, who apparently appreciate the humour of the thing.

Public opinion is very strong on Sunday Closing ; but, unfortunately, the Manx police are not the creatures of public opinion ; they are entirely under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor and his executive, whose laxity regarding the administration of the liquor laws has during the present year been so much the subject of comment.

Last year (1896) the licensed victuallers—a numerous and wealthy party—promoted an agitation which had for its object the opening of public-houses on Sunday as in England. The Clerk of the Rolls, who is the leader of the Tories in the Upper Chamber, brought on a resolution in its favour in the Tynwald Court, but not a single member of the Council or Keys in a well attended house had the temerity to second his motion. In 1857, when this beneficent Act of Sunday Closing was passed one of the Keys (Colonel Murray) a descendant of the Athols, knelt down and publicly thanked God.

RECENT LEGISLATION.

The tendency of recent legislation has been of a decidedly retrogressive character. Previous to 1876 no liquor could be supplied to children under fourteen years. This restriction has now been abolished. It is marvellous how “visitor worship” has taken possession of the officials who have decided that English visitors must have the most ample facilities to purchase their beer, and Scotchmen to purchase whisky whether they require it or not. The officials—from the head of the Government down—are slavishly anxious to confuse the visitor with “facilities” to quench his thirst. £40,000 and over is yearly brought into the Government coffers as the result of the duties on liquor, and this sum comprises the greater part of the Manx revenue. Though Governor Walpole, in 1889, brought in a proposal to reduce the number of licensed houses to the basis of one to every 400 inhabitants in the country, and one to each 500 in the towns, the tendency of officialdom has always been in the direction of encouraging the trade. The revenue of £40,000 is the key of the situation. This shows the full reason why the liquor laws have been allowed to be so disgracefully administered, and why matters have been allowed to drift until now they are a disgrace to any civilised community.

THE GOVERNMENT WINKS AT ILLICIT TRADING.

For over a score years a system of illicit drink-selling was going on in the Douglas lodging-houses, until it grew to such an extent that, according to the highest judge, Deemster Drinkwater, large and costly houses had been erected and specially adapted for the trade. Complaint was repeatedly made of this illicit trade, and at the instigation of Bishop Bardsley, now of Carlisle, a Commission was appointed in 1886. For a number of years the Commission did next to nothing ; but in 1891, on the arrival of Governor Ridgeway, a splendid disciplinarian, the Commission was pressed upon to make their report. The report came as a thunderbolt on the people. After stating that the law dealing with the illicit sales was “flagrantly, openly, and systematically violated every day in the season by thousands of criminal law-breakers,” the remedy suggested by the majority—for the Committee was divided—was, in brief, “License the evil, and get as much profit as possible out of the transaction for the revenue.” Then came the tug of war. The Government brought into the Legislative the Boarding House Bill (commonly known as the Permit Bill). Its object was to permit, or license, the sale, during certain hours of the day, under certain restrictions, of beer and stout, by those lodging-house keepers occupying houses of the annual value of £40 and upwards. Influence and pressure was brought to bear upon the members of the Legislature, and notwithstanding strenuous objections from the people, the Bill was passed in both branches of the Legislature in the record time of six days. In Douglas, in the course of a few days, over 1,600, out of a total of 3,500 householders, petitioned the Home Secretary with the object of withholding the Queen’s assent to the measure without success.

We have had three seasons’ experience of the Permit Act, and its effect has been to seriously hamper temperance work. A large proportion of the houses referred to took out permits, and made considerable profits out of the sale of the liquor. The grog interest is continually growing, as property and rents are

enhanced through the sales. The reputation of the island is little thought of by these interested persons, and the influence on the morals of those holding permits, their children, and their servants, can be imagined. The influence of banks, company directors, and so on is all powerful in Douglas; and what else could be expected when there are three-quarters of a million invested in licensed property in the town (comprising some 280 licensed houses) for a population of 20,000?—one licensed house for every 92 persons, or one for every 20 families.

The Permit Act was only a tentative or experimental one. It was, according to one of its clauses, to lapse in July, 1897, but in January of the same year the Upper Chamber proposed to renew the Act permanently; also to extend the "permit" to houses of a valuation as low as £24 per annum, making it possible for every one house in every three to be licensed! The country roused itself at once; meetings were held in every village, and the people showed that the proposal could not be conceded. Early in January the bill was unanimously passed in the Council, of which the Bishop and Archdeacon are members, but it was decisively rejected by the Keys. The Government at once dissolved the representative chamber, and by the middle of February a new House was returned, of which twelve members favoured a Permit Bill on the old lines (£40 valuation), and twelve who were pledged against the bill in any shape whatever.

During the election proceedings and afterwards, when the bill again came before the Keys, scandalous proceedings were undertaken by interested parties in order to secure the passing of the bill. Even ministers of the gospel were induced to take the "permit" side, and try to prove that it was a Temperance measure; and many well-known Temperance men were led to drop out of line through the presentation of misleading statements, which have since been entirely exploded. The member for one of the towns was repeatedly boycotted, and pecuniary inducements held out, so that the bill might be passed even by one vote. The twelve, though continually beset by deputations, continued firm, and deep was the disappointment among the liquor leaders at the eventual loss of the bill. Deputations were sent by the old holders of the "permits" to the Governor and the Clerk of the Rolls (one of the Government Executive, and one of the highest judges), in order that the bill might be re-introduced. The latter, strange to say, held that no court would be likely to enforce a penalty if they went on breaking the law; but that the Legislature should pass an Act indemnifying them if they continued to sell in the absence of an Act authorising such sale! At a sitting of the Tynwald Court, held later, his Honour the Clerk of the Rolls refused to vote for a Government motion to spend £23,000 on public works, for the reason that the revenue could not stand such a strain now the Permit Bill was rejected by the Legislature, and the consequent loss of duty on the liquor. Strange confession! The revelations which have been made regarding this phase of the "permit" question are such as to make certain respectable politicians and leaders of public opinion hide their heads for very shame. The coercion exercised—if not bribery held out to the hon. member for Castletown, in order that he should change his views and secure the passing of the bill by one vote—will not soon be forgotten. The great increase in the consumption of liquor during the last year of the Permit regime clenches the arguments of the anti-Permit party entirely.

Then commenced another stage of the never-ending boarding-house question. Disappointed at the prospect of losing their profits on the sale of liquor, the boarding-house keepers who had held the "permits" applied to the Douglas Licensing Court for public-house licenses. The court was comprised of gentlemen, all of whom, with one exception, had taken a foremost place in the promotion of the defeated Permit Bill. Angry that the majority of the Keys would not accept the Bill, and vain of the opportunity which they had of displaying how little they cared for the conclusions of the House, these gentlemen granted liquor licenses to no less than 76 lodging-houses by one stroke of the pen as it were—a feat unprecedented and unique even in the records of liquor licensing.

To quote *The Isle of Man Examiner* (which journal alone ably and successfully advocated the Anti-Permit cause), "A condition of things was brought about which was nothing short of lamentable. In the matter of public-houses, Douglas was

bad enough in all conscience. Drink shops were stuck all over the place, and now the principal lodging and boarding-houses of the town have been licensed to traffic in liquor. Despite what those people interested in the sale of drink say, the visitors to Douglas are not attracted by beer and music halls; and indeed it is a well-known fact that thousands of people of that class which we are most anxious to attract to Douglas have always shunned the place in consequence of its domination by the liquor interest. Even the great majority of Douglas people are horrified at this latest mischievous freak of the Licensing Court."

The people of the Isle of Man will not easily forget the treatment meted out to them by the majority of the Licensing Court—Messrs. S. Harris, J. A. Mybrea, R. S. Stephen, and G. Drinkwater. The electorate of the Island, having all the facts before them, deliberately pronounced against the revival of the expiring Permit Act. But the will of the people has been ignored by the above members of the Douglas Licensing Bench, who have earned for themselves well-merited reprobation. It should be stated that the licenses were granted on the conditions that beer, porter, and light wines only should be sold, and between the hours of 12 noon to 11 p.m., and to visitors only. The Licensing Act gives no authority to make any conditions such as these, and the police do not, therefore, recognise or enforce them. The actual licenses granted are, in fact, precisely similar in wording to the ordinary public-house license. The Licensing Court, in making these verbal conditions, virtually created a new class of license, thus calmly setting at defiance popular legislative opinion. Such an abuse of magisterial privilege was never perpetrated. Where the farce is going to end it were hard to say. Further developments are now proceeding, and it is difficult to say what the outcome will be. It is certain, at any rate, that the Manx people will not quietly rest much longer under the domination of the liquor-syndicate interest, which is eating like a canker into the heart of all that is best in Manx life and character.

The Douglas Temperance Confederation were eager to appeal to the highest court against the grant; but the best legal advisers were of the opinion that the court in granting what are now known as the Mybrea-Stephen licenses, made no actual breach of Licensing Acts, although the Act and Legislature never contemplated such a revolutionary proceeding. No appeal was therefore entered; but the public are nevertheless agitating for redress.

DOUGLAS TEMPERANCE CONFEDERATION.

In 1894 the Douglas Temperance Confederation was inaugurated, consisting of delegates from branches of the C.E.T.S., the time-honoured Manx Temperance Union, the Rechabites, B.W.T.A., Wesleyan, Catholic, Salvation Army and other Societies. During the last few years this Conference, under the presidency of Mr. Philip Christian, of Finch Hill House, has been responsible for the carrying out of some splendid work, especially in the licensing courts and in the Legislature. There has not been a licensing court held in Douglas, but the Confederation has been represented at the sitting. In the first year (1894) out of fifteen cases fought, ten were successful. In 1895 there was only occasion to oppose in seven cases, and five of these were successfully opposed. In 1896 the Confederation were successful in three striking cases out of ten opposed. In 1897 the Confederation were successful in five cases, but were unsuccessful in the opposition to the granting of the infamous Mybrea-Stephen boarding-house licenses, mentioned elsewhere. The licensing laws have always been administered in Douglas with laxity, but since the Confederation has been established many striking improvements are seen. Applicants eager to obtain a license, made all sorts of promises as to music and singing, closing of certain doors, and restricting the sale of liquor to certain places. These and other conditions have been allowed to be habitually and impudently broken, and the court has thus brought on itself public contempt. One reason for the want of confidence which the public have in the court is that most of its members are financially interested in the drink traffic, and are directors of the local banks, which institutions derive a large portion of their revenue from licensed houses. It seems to be the common opinion that "there is little difficulty in securing a license if the applicant goes the right way about it," and pays

tribute. The "power of the banks" was strikingly shown in 1895 in the historic licensing struggle known as "the Woodbourne," when a license was granted in the face of the strongest possible opposition from the surrounding neighbourhood—eighteen out of every twenty of the householders objected, but in the face of huge petitions, and after an eighteen months' struggle, the license was granted. The trail of the financiers' interest ran through the whole fight.

On the eve of the General Election in the beginning of 1897, the Confederation called a large conference of temperance workers, when a policy was formulated, which was adopted by the country, notwithstanding that several temperance leaders dropped out of line. The Confederation formulated a series of questions relating to temperance, which were put to candidates all over the Island. The great majority of those returned to the House of Keys have declared themselves to be in favour of the reforms set forth. The new members appear to be generally agreed that the *bona fide* traveller question is one that demands immediate attention. Many of the new members are willing that the *bona fide* traveller should be entirely abolished in the winter months, and at least the majority of those returned consider that he should travel six miles in order to qualify himself to purchase liquors on Sundays.

The question of higher license fees for licensed premises; interested persons sitting on the licensing bench; limiting the number of back doors to public houses; and prohibiting the sale of liquor to young children, were discussed during the election proceedings, and we note with pleasure that most of the successful candidates favour reforms in all the above matters.

The General Election of 1897, notwithstanding two or three reverses, was a great triumph for the Temperance cause. From every point of view the present House is a better one than the last. A pleasing feature in the election was the admirable stand made on behalf of Temperance by nearly all the shreadings, showing that the country districts are ripe for the more advanced reforms.

The election revealed the fact that the Temperance people, well organised, under ordinary conditions, are all-powerful. The Rechabite Societies, of which there are ten all in a flourishing state, were highly organised, ready for the election, and it is largely to them that the most striking victories are due. The Rechabites are the strength of the patriotic "Young Manx Party," of which we will probably hear more in the future.

In the town of Douglas more than in any part was the Permit Act made the chief question. And here self-interest was victorious. The wonder was that two men were courageous enough to come to fight the battle. All honour, then, to Mr. W. J. Kennode and Alderman William Goldsmith for their noble efforts! They did not succeed in securing a seat, but they did succeed in exhibiting to the people of the Island how "the ropes were manipulated," and how self-interest affected the result of the contest.

In 1896 the Temperance Societies had a visit from Mr. W. S. Caine, who is of Manx parentage. He received a glad welcome by a large conference of Temperance delegates from all parts of the Island.

The average amount spent per head on liquor in the Island is about £2 15s. compared with £3 12s. in England. The British holiday maker is responsible for largely increasing the first-named figure, for in a country where a fifth of the adult population are Rechabites and probably a third are teetotalers, the average sum spent on drink ought to be low. The police records have shown little improvement for some years, while most English towns manage to lessen their number of "drunk and disorderlies." The local brewers' sales and the Insular revenue from liquor are yearly going up, showing there is a greater consumption. It is stated on reliable authority that the drunkenness prevailing in Douglas is greater in proportion to population than in any county in England, and contributes two-thirds of the police court defendants.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

BY FREDERICK GRUBB, ANGLO-INDIAN TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

THE Anglo-Indian Temperance Association was founded at a meeting convened by Mr. W. S. Caine at 7, Delahay Street, Westminster, the residence of Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., on July 24th, 1888, to consider proposals for the formation of a committee or association to act in correspondence with similar associations in India, with a view to resisting the spread of drinking facilities in that country, and to promote total abstinence among its natives.

The movement was the result of a conference which Mr. Caine had held during his tour in India in 1887-8 with a large number of the leading native gentlemen of Bombay, who had expressed a strong desire that some committee or organisation should be formed in England with a view to Parliamentary action regarding the Excise policy and administration of the Indian Government, and which would also promote and guide an agitation throughout India for Temperance reform.

In the winter following the formation of the Association Mr. Caine, who had been elected hon. secretary, made a prolonged tour in India in conjunction with the Rev. Thomas Evans, and succeeded in forming Temperance Societies in nearly every place he visited, and aroused great enthusiasm in favour of Temperance reform. During this visit alone 40 societies were formed, and most of them are still in active existence.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee, held after Mr. Caine's return, it was decided that a motion should be brought forward in Parliament condemning the Excise policy of the Indian Government. On April 30th, 1889, the President of the Association, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., moved the following resolution in the House of Commons:—

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

Mr. Caine (who was then member for Barrow-in-Furness) seconded the resolution, and, in doing so, gave a description of the Excise system which then prevailed over a greater part of our Indian Empire. We make the following quotation from his speech, as it will serve to show the difference between the Indian system and that which prevails in this country:—

“The Abkari, or Excise, administration differs considerably in its methods in the various provinces of India, but it is based everywhere on what is known as the ‘farming system.’ Licenses for working distilleries of ardent spirits and opening liquor shops for their sale are granted for certain defined areas to the highest bidder. In some provinces the spirits are manufactured by the Government, and the right to retail only is let to farmers. The Government of India contends that this system is calculated to produce the maximum of revenue with a minimum of drunkenness; that the principles on which it has been based, and which have been accepted by all the authorities concerned, have been these, namely, that liquor should be taxed and consumption restricted as far as it is possible to do so without imposing positive hardships upon the people and driving them to illicit manufacture. They contend that in this policy the local Government in their Abkari administration have been completely successful, and that the great increase of Excise revenue in recent years, taken as evidence of drinking habits by those who only look upon the surface, really represents a much smaller consumption of liquor and an infinitely better regulated consumption than prevailed in former years. I found this opinion maintained, with few exceptions, by the English official class in India; but in my intercourse with educated natives I found a strongly contrary opinion universal, and this was also held by every missionary with whom I came in contact. Native opinion maintains with great pertinacity that the increase of Excise revenue represents a proportionate increase of intemperance throughout India—an increase in exact proportion to the zeal

and energy with which the Excise revenue has been stimulated in various collectorates ; that the Government, under the thin pretence of suppressing illicit manufacture, are stimulating to the utmost the extension of spirit licenses for revenue purposes ; that the Government are leaning more and more on the liquor revenue as a means of meeting the interest on their costly frontier expenditure ; that they are in consequence establishing out-stills and spirit shops in large numbers of places where till recently such things were unknown, in defiance of native opinion, to the misery and ruin of the population."

Mr. CAINE concluded his speech with the following :—

1. That the consumption of intoxicating liquor is enormously on the increase all over India, and in Burmah no less than India.

2. That the increased consumption is accompanied by increased drunkenness, with lamentable results in the demoralisation of districts hitherto absolutely free from this evil.

3. That this consumption is steadily on the increase, and shows no sign whatever of abatement.

4. That the authorities are knowingly encouraging and stimulating the consumption for the sake of the revenue it produces.

5. That the Government of India has deliberately issued a defence of their liquor policy which appears to be intentionally misleading, which is disproved by honest statistics, and which is emphatically repudiated by every influential and educated native of India and every Christian Missionary.

A long and interesting debate followed. The Government, through Sir John Gorst, then Under-Secretary for India, met the resolution by a direct negative. The motion was also opposed by Sir Richard Temple, an ex-Governor of Bombay, and Sir James Ferguson, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who described the resolution as "a very severe vote of censure on the Government of India." But in spite of this strong official opposition, and notwithstanding the fact that the Government had a large majority in the House, the resolution was carried by a majority of 13—113 voting for and 100 against.

This was a great triumph for the cause. The Secretary of State for India sent a despatch to the Government of India, embodying the resolution of the House of Commons. The Government of India took the matter up seriously. A thorough inquiry and investigation into the administration of the Excise departments of all the various districts of India was instituted, and the defence of the Government of India was, after eight months delay, published in a ponderous volume of 400 pages. But that the policy of the Government has been largely influenced for good by the passing of the resolution will be seen from the following extract from the *Gazette of India*, March 1st, 1890 :—

"POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN MATTERS OF EXCISE.

"103. Looking to all the conditions of the very difficult problem with which we have to deal, we have, after careful consideration, arrived at the conclusion that the only general principles which it is expedient or even safe to adopt are the following :—

"(1) That the taxation of spirituous and intoxicating liquors and drugs shall be high, and in some cases as high as it is possible to enforce :

"(2) That the traffic in liquor and drugs should be conducted under suitable regulations for police purposes :

"(3) That the number of places at which liquor or drugs can be purchased should be strictly limited with regard to the circumstances of each locality ; and

"(4) That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained."

Thus, the Government of India, always slow to move, at last instituted really serious reforms in many districts of the Empire, and the alarming increase in the Excise revenue was checked, though in recent years it has again advanced by leaps and bounds. It is to be feared that the "general principles" enunciated above, by which the Excise department is professionally governed, are more often ignored than regarded.

In the meantime, however, the Temperance movement among the natives of India was making splendid progress. In the course of successive visits to India, Mr. Caine was able to establish a large number of societies, and affiliate them to the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. In this work he was ably supported

by the Rev. Thomas Evans, and by several influential vernacular lecturers, notably the Mahant Kesho Ram Roy, of Benares. The last-named gentleman was the means of inducing whole communities to prohibit the sale and consumption of strong drink by caste rule. His death, which took place two years ago, was a great loss to the movement.

Mr. Caine's recent visit to India was a great stimulus to the temperance cause. He was able to consolidate the organisation, and form strong central associations in the various provinces. In the report for 1896-7, which is now in the press, the hon. secretary states that there are now 238 active affiliated societies, in addition to about 90 lodges of the Independent Order of Good Templars.

The Association from its commencement has always taken a deep interest in the British Army in India, and its honorary deputations have frequently addressed large gatherings of soldiers in the cantonment cities. The organisation of the Army work, however, is left entirely to the Army Temperance Association, which was founded by Mr. J. Gelson Gregson, a member of the A.I.T.A. Executive, and is now actively carried on by the Rev. J. H. Bateson. The membership last year reached 23,711, which is 35 per cent. of the entire British Army in India.

The report further states that "the revenue from intoxicants in India continues to progress steadily in spite of every effort to reduce it. Nothing so completely proves the necessity and justifies the existence of our Association as a comparison of the net income of the Excise revenue of the State during the last two decades."

NET EXCISE REVENUE OF INDIA.

1874-5.	1884-5.	1894-5.
£2,633,000	£4,012,000	£5,528,000

The report proceeds:—These figures reveal the startling fact that the revenue from intoxicants sold by a Christian Government to people whose religious and social habits oppose the use of liquor altogether, has more than doubled itself during the last twenty years. No doubt there is something to be said for the contention maintained by the defenders of the worst licensing system in the world, that some of this increase is due to stricter Excise supervision resulting in a decrease of illicit manufacture and sale, and to higher duties. But wherever it has been possible to arrive at the actual consumption in gallons, as well as rupees, it shows that the increase in actual consumption is about 70 per cent. in quantity with every 100 per cent. of money increase. The figures may seem small as compared with the consumption per head in Britain. But it must be borne in mind that the average income per head of the population in India is only one-thirtieth that of the United Kingdom, and that India is practically a nation of total abstainers, the consumption being confined (at present at any rate) to about fifty millions of the population. Unless the consumption is seriously and immediately checked by the institution of more restrictive measures, there is every reason to fear that the next twenty years will show a still greater increase. The case for Prohibition is far stronger in India than it is in this country, and the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association will certainly not fail to hold fast by the twin principles of the Temperance movement—Total Abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the State.

NATIVE RACES AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC UNITED COMMITTEE.

By A. W. BODGER.



MR. A. W. BODGER.

I AM grateful to you for the privilege of bringing before your notice a phase of the Temperance Movement which, in the eagerness to promote the sobriety and well-being of those with whom you more immediately come in contact, has, until recent years, been lost sight of and neglected.

True it is that "charity begins at home," and well it is that it should be so, but charity that always remains at home does, of necessity, become cramped, selfish, and unprofitable; to give is to get, and a considerate and unselfish regard for those outside our family circle, will inevitably result in a healthier and more vigorous disposition towards all that makes for kindness and liberality, truth and righteousness, within the home influence.

Moreover, the subject I have the honour of bringing forward is one that very properly has a place at this Convention, for no Temperance organisation has ever yet, to the best of my knowledge, attempted to legislate for so large an area, or succeeded in procuring the enactment of such far-reaching "Prohibitory" laws, as has resulted from the operations of the "Native Races and the Liquor Traffic Committee."

Unfortunately, ignorance of an evil does not involve its non-existence, and although, until quite recently, the general public were not cognisant of the existence of this evil, yet I have printed matter in my possession referring to a report of a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who, in 1706, wrote home that the sale by Christians of so much rum to the North American Indians was a sufficient bar, if there were no other, against their embracing Christianity.

Since then the evil has been co-existent with the growth of the British Empire. Where we have colonial possessions, protectorates, or spheres of influence, not only have our missionaries gone, but our traders; and a frequent and often principal article of trade has been intoxicating liquor. In many cases the trader has been first in the field, and where he has inculcated a taste for European spirits, he has made the work of civilization increasingly difficult.

The source of a terrible demoralization has thus been placed within the reach of untutored natives. And it is not strange that where there has been no restraining influence of religious scruples, or of difficulty of transit with consequently prohibitory prices, the mischief entailed by the consumption of the most vicious class of intoxicating liquors should have vastly grown, and latterly presented such obstacles, not only to missionary enterprise, but to trade itself, that an outcry has been raised and something attempted to mitigate the evil.

What has been done in this direction, I want very briefly to lay before you.

As the result of reports received at Missionary Conferences held at Basel in 1885, and in other places, a committee was organised by the Church Missionary Society, consisting of delegates of the principal English Missionary Societies. The committee collected and published a valuable amount of information on the subject.

In 1886 a British and Colonial Temperance Congress was organised by the National Temperance League, and further urgent representations were made.

Consequent upon these meetings, Canon Ellison, the founder of the Church of England Temperance Society, called a meeting, on March 30th, 1887, at Prince's

Hall, Piccadilly, London, at which representatives of over forty Missionary and Temperance Societies were present, and our "United Committee for the Prevention of the Demoralization of Native Races by the Liquor Traffic" was formed, with which the Church Missionary Society's Committee, before referred to, amalgamated.

From this United Committee have sprung other Committees, notably a United Committee for Scotland, an International Committee having representatives in most civilized countries of the world, and a United Committee for Germany, consisting of thirteen Missionary and Temperance Societies.

The committee have established correspondents in nearly every part of the globe, and have, as a consequence, accumulated an immense amount of reliable evidence. They have established correspondence and influential relationships with various Governments of Europe and America. They have, I venture to think, and as I believe the result of their labours show, won for their cause a place of no mean importance in international negotiations affecting the interests of the native races of Africa, and of many other parts of the world.

It would take too long to tabulate in detail the work of the committee, and it would be impossible to record (owing to the often delicate and confidential nature of their negotiations) the whole of the successes that have rewarded their efforts from time to time. Whenever a well authenticated case of a breach of a native liquor law has been laid before them, the Government having jurisdiction has been approached, the matter fully investigated and properly adjudicated. When the committee have heard of natives being unprotected by reason of the absence of law, or by the inefficiency of the existing law, they have, by private correspondence, by questions or debates in either or both of the Houses of Parliament, by memorial, or by deputation represented the case and ventured to suggest a remedy.

I would more particularly refer to the Brussels General Act of 1890-91, and for the special reason that I want you to know that this Act should come under revision in 1898, and I want you to act on that knowledge.

I need not tell you by what means the committee induced the Powers assembled at Brussels in 1889-90 to introduce the liquor question into their deliberations; this you can find recorded in the publications of the committee.

The result was that an area was legislated for, equalling one-fifth of the habitable portion of the globe, in the greater part of which it was unanimously agreed by the seventeen Powers that it should be illegal for intoxicating liquors to be introduced; that these seventeen Powers pledged themselves to assist those Kings and Chiefs whose countries were adjacent to the territories of any of the Powers, and who desired to free their peoples from the baneful influence of such liquors, and that in other countries where intoxicating liquors had obtained a large hold, a uniform minimum duty should be established.

The committee obtained from the conference, not all that they wanted, but a great deal more than they expected. And I would ask you to remember, as a good augury for the Temperance Movement in general and as a tribute to the work of this committee in particular, that in 1885, five years prior to the date of the Brussels Conference, a similar Conference of the Powers was held at Berlin, at which less stringent legislative measures were proposed, and practically tabooed by a large majority.

With a view to the revision of the Brussels Act in 1898, the committee, being of opinion that the present minimum duty of 6½d. per gallon is inadequate to effectually restrain the traffic, are anxious to take such measures as shall secure a very much higher duty. The desire of the committee would be to ensure the entire prohibition of the liquor traffic with the natives. And I would remind you here of the extensive prohibitory native liquor laws in force in Bechuanaland, in Basutoland, in Natal, in Khama's Country, in the Transvaal, in the large area lying within the zone reaching from 20 degs. North latitude to 22 degs. South latitude (already referred to as one-fifth of the habitable portion of the globe), in other parts of Africa and in other countries of the world. But keen friends of the movement, who know different parts of Africa thoroughly well, have informed the committee that it is absolutely impossible to extend such laws to the whole of the

countries on the Coast of Africa. In some Colonies natives of standing and position have full and equal rights with Europeans, and any class legislation would produce little short of a revolution ; and further, we have it on the testimony of the respective Governors of some West African Colonies that the revenue is largely dependent on the importation of liquor, and that the Government could not otherwise be carried on without huge subsidies from some other source. Hence there are many matters to be adjusted, but we are on safe ground in urging the inadequacy of the present minimum tariff of 6½d., and that the minimum be raised by International agreement to a very much higher figure, and the committee would venture to suggest, with a full knowledge of the conditions, that there should be a constantly increasing duty for all the West Coast Colonies, commencing at not less than Four Shillings per gallon.

This, it is hoped, would effectually reduce the sale of intoxicating liquors, allow the growth of a trade in more legitimate articles, and at the same time not prove so serious an obstacle to the various Governments, but that they, in the interest of the welfare of the natives, might be disposed to accept the suggestion.

I am confident that I need not appeal to this audience for sympathy with the subject of my remarks. Temperance people have not failed to evince their desire to extend their principles in every possible direction, and in pleading for protection of native races from the liquor traffic, I am appealing not only to your Temperance principles, but to that patriotic sentiment which, I am proud to believe, is active in the heart of every true Englishman, for this liquor traffic has been truly described as "a foul blot on the escutcheon of England." It is, moreover, a dangerous and fatal rival to trades that would support and extend our industries and manufactures ; and it still further appeals to us, on the highest of all ground, that it impedes the spread of the Gospel that makes for peace and goodwill, and for the physical and spiritual betterment of our fellow creatures.

The difficulties in the way of success have seemed so huge and so many that people have held aloof from a sense of sheer helplessness, not knowing what to do. I have indicated the lines upon which the committee have worked, and tried to show you that although they are far from having accomplished their heart's desire, yet much success has attended their efforts, and the object of this paper is to induce you to fall into line with them at this point, and give them your unreserved accord and support.

My committee have received information that at the present time Her Majesty's Government is in correspondence with certain Continental Governments having territorial power in Africa, with the view of coming to an agreement on the subject, and this is a most fitting time to give clear and forcible indication that the people of England are awake to the evil and demand its redress.

PROHIBITION TO NATIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY JAMES B. SMITHERS, P.G.C.T., SEA POINT, CAPE TOWN.



MR. JAMES B. SMITHERS.

THE Bishop of Chichester told the "Nil Desperandum" Lodge of Good Templars that "as to legislation, he did not believe in passing laws very much in advance of public opinion."

The Good Templar doctrine of "Total Abstinence for the individual, and Prohibition for the State," is admirable in theory, and logically sound. But the practical politician has to content himself with something very much less complete, and to accept a compromise which may be illogical, but which is very much nearer the belief shared by a good many more besides the Bishop of Chichester.

Especially is this the case in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa; where the power of the wine farmer, and brandy distiller (exercised through the Afrikander Bond and a Parliament wherein the "country" has a prepondering representation) is sufficient to prevent even the imposition of an Excise on Colonial manufactured spirits. What

chance, therefore, is there for total prohibition to be even whispered of in our Colonial Houses of Parliament?

PROHIBITION TO ABORIGINAL NATIVES is the only practical form of prohibition that is at present within reasonable probability or possibility.

The aboriginal natives themselves desire Prohibition. At a Congress of the South Africa Temperance Alliance, held in Grahamstown, in 1893, the Rev. Gaza Makaza, Wesleyan native minister, read a very interesting paper, in which he said that before his people knew anything about the white man, the aborigines knew how to brew Kaffir beer, but its use was not general. Young people were not allowed to drink it. Barbarous and heathen as they were, they saw the necessity of prohibiting it to young people, who were allowed to use milk only. When his people were men, and governed themselves, they had a chief-made law of Prohibition. The beer, as made in the old times, was intoxicating only when taken in large quantities; but it was found that when young people indulged in it fighting and disorder was the result. Hence the chiefs forbade the use of it to the young; and only the old people who were not likely to get excited, quarrelsome, or disorderly, were allowed to partake of it as a beverage. He wondered whether politicians were aware that Prohibition thus existed amongst the aboriginal natives, and was neither considered by them to be a hardship, nor oppressive. After showing the evils consequent upon the present general indulgence in strongly alcoholized beer, the Rev. Gaza Makaza proceeded to say:—Nevertheless, the people expressed a strong wish to be delivered. They were no longer as men, they could not vote. They were like children; they could only raise a great cry—"Take away brandy from us!" (brandy, he had previously explained, was the general name to all European intoxicants). The objections to doing this, such as talk about the franchise, and class legislation, were but frivolous reasons. A great responsibility rested upon the white men. If the natives were degraded and ruined, that very degradation and ruin would reflect upon and endanger the high position and civilization of the white men. The natives could not sink without dragging down with them some at least of the civilized whites. And when he heard of "poor whites," he wondered whether it might not be that in the district where these existed there had been a failure to do justice to the aboriginal natives!

The *Journal*, of Grahamstown, commenting on the Alliance meeting, said:—"We are persuaded that public opinion is now ripe for an effort to secure prohibition areas for natives, and so place the Colony on a level with the other States

in South Africa, which all forbid the sale of intoxicants to natives. No reason, we think, can be suggested why the Cape Colony should lag behind in effecting this improvement, except that our Parliament is too much influenced by the brandy-farming interest. But we believe that the crime and folly of permitting the natives of the Colony to be ruined through brandy are being realised more and more by every section of the population. We cannot longer refuse to the aborigines the protection they themselves demand. It is madness to suffer the labour market of the Colony to be destroyed by this pernicious influence. We cannot continue to incur the guilt of causing the physical and moral ruin of these otherwise promising races."

In 1881 the Colonial Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the native laws and customs. The various treaties and conventions with the native chiefs, whereby their territories were handed over to the Government, were published in the Blue Book containing the report of the Commission, and the evidence taken; and invariably these native chiefs had made it a condition that no intoxicating liquors should be sold. So that the Government is bound by treaty obligation to prohibit the liquor traffic among natives.

The Commission, in their Report, say that "All the better class of natives, and even the heathen and the uneducated portion, have implored the Commission to suppress the evil which is bringing ruin on themselves and their country." The Commission further affirms that the liquor traffic is "an unmitigated evil to the native races, and that no other cause or influence so directly increases idleness and crime, and is so completely destructive, not only of all progress and improvement, but even of the reasonable hope of any progress or improvement." And, further, "the Commission believe that any direct loss to the revenue in the lessened number of licenses, and the returns from the excise, would be more than made up to the State by the improved condition of the people, by their power to buy other articles yielding custom's duties, their increased industry, and by the lessened expense of the criminal list, while the Colonial public generally would undoubtedly be benefitted by a better supply of native labour—and that of a more reliable kind—being available for farming, industrial, and domestic purposes."

In 1889, a Commission on the Liquor Laws, with Judge Maasdorp as president, was appointed; and in that and the following year took very valuable evidence in all parts of the country. The following is an extract from the report of the Commission:—"A large mass of evidence was collected bearing upon the condition of the natives of the colony generally, in so far as it is affected by the use of intoxicating drinks, and upon the consequences flowing from the proclamations defining native areas under the provisions of the Liquor Licensing Law of 1883. Upon these points we obtained the opinions of several persons now resident in different parts of the Colony, who held official positions under Government amongst the native population on the eastern frontier, and who possessed great experience of these matters. We also visited some important districts thickly inhabited by natives of the Kafir and Fingo races, large numbers of whom took advantage of the opportunity of stating their views and wishes to the Commission; and we may here mention that, from representations made, it appeared that others of them in large numbers were eager to meet the Commission for the purpose of enforcing and supporting the sentiments expressed by those whom the Commission had already heard, but it seemed useless to burden the proceedings with endless testimony of identical purport.

"Although the weight of the evidence is to the effect that, on the whole, there has been no increase of drunkenness among the coloured people for some years back, still it exists to a deplorable extent, and is accompanied by this bad feature: that this vice is laying hold of the women, and is not uncommon amongst young persons, both male and female. The difference between the Europeans and natives as regards the use of intoxicants seems to consist mainly in this: that amongst the former a certain proportion is undoubtedly addicted to intemperance, which is found, to some extent, amongst all classes; but with the tribes on the frontier, the whole population, from the chiefs and headmen down to the lowest amongst the common people, succumb to the temptation of strong drink when it

comes within their reach. With the coloured tribes no feeling of shame is associated with intemperance. This condition of the native mind is the necessary result of a low state of civilization, which gives rise to other circumstances also, which, taken together, necessitate and justify special legislation for the protection of the native tribes.

“Such legislation has been resorted to in all the neighbouring states and colonies without exception, and statements received from the Governments of those countries represent the results obtained as satisfactory.

“Many witnesses of undoubted experience and judgment are of opinion that nothing but the total Prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to natives will save them from utter ruin and destruction. Others, admitting the difficulties surrounding this proposal, would confine it to districts thickly peopled by the coloured races, but covering areas large enough to prevent such evasions of the law as prevailed when the small defined areas existed. Notwithstanding that some moderate amount of good was done by the proclamation of these areas, the consequent evils were great. Numbers of natives, taking advantage of the exclusion of liquor from the areas, conveyed large quantities of it from the towns and adjacent districts to the locations and kraals, which was not forbidden by law, and then illicitly sold it to their countrymen living in the prohibited areas.”

In other words, the areas proclaimed in 1883 in which liquor was prohibited to natives, were too small to be thoroughly effective.

The Liquor Laws Commission's Report continues—“To make good the defects of the existing law, we recommend that areas be proclaimed, not for the exclusion of all licensed houses from within their limits, but within which the sale of liquor to natives should be totally prohibited without distinction of position, class, or political privileges. We base this recommendation upon the expressed wishes of the people themselves, the vast majority of whom, both Christian and heathen, recognising their danger, beg to be saved from it. Those of position, education, and who are possessed of political privileges, ask for Prohibition for the sake of their tribe generally, and seek for no exemption on their own account. We would recommend it upon the evidence before us that one area should include Peddie, Bathurst, Albany, King William's Town, East London, Komgha, Stutterheim, Victoria East, Fort Beaufort, Stockerstrom, Cathcart, Bedford, Somerset East, Queen's Town, Wodehouse, Aluval North, Barkly East, and Herschell.

“Not only should the selling, giving, bartering, or otherwise disposing of liquor to a native be made a crime, but the buying or otherwise obtaining it by a native within the areas should be made punishable; also the conveying of liquor into the areas for the use of natives, the possession of liquor by a native for his own use or for the use of other natives; the proof of *bona-fide* possession for other purposes to rest on such native. The police should have the power to search natives and their huts; if found in possession of liquor, a native should be liable to be taken into custody and brought before the resident magistrate. The special area recommended by us should be defined and provided for by legislation.”

It must be remembered that this finding and recommendation was the result of two years' investigation; was drafted by Judge Maasdoorp of the Supreme Court, and also signed by the Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C., President of the South African Temperance Alliance; Mr. B. H. Holland, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Fort Beaufort, who had large experience of native management; and the Rev. Neridick Abraham, Wesleyan Minister, belonging to a church that has more natives under its care than any other in the country.

The Labour Commission of 1894 reported a strong concurrence of evidence in favour of restriction being placed on the sale of liquor to aboriginal natives. Where Prohibition exists, the natives are quite satisfied with it. On the other hand, it is said that such restrictive legislation would tend to injure the great wine and brandy industry of the West; that the races, other than Kaffir, might consider it oppressive; and that it would be difficult to enforce in mixed communities.

But why should special legislation be made to protect the native alone from his free will in drinking while the White is left unprotected, and when drink is reducing many Whites to the same level as the drunken native ?

At the Kimberley Diamond Fields, the natives are "compounded," and are not allowed any liquor at all. They are quite contented ; are able to save money, and do more work because they are not disabled by drink. When the South African Temperance Alliance met in Kimberley, meetings were held in the Compounds, and the Hon. A. Wilmot, President, addressed the natives, his words being interpreted into three different languages by two interpreters. In one compound there was a son of Letsea, the Paramount Chief of the Basutos, in charge of a number of his tribesmen, who were working in the mines. He said that in Basutoland they did not allow the sale of liquor, and asked, "Why should white men allow the sale of liquor in Kimberley ?" All the natives who spoke at these meetings were quite in favour of Prohibition.

Is it necessary to adduce any further evidence in favour of Prohibition to natives ? It is a boon asked for by the natives themselves, declared to be essential for their salvation from ruin and degradation by their best friends ; a protection solemnly promised and guaranteed to them by the treaties and conventions under which they gave up their lands and their government to our Government, a measure for which enlightened public opinion is fully ripe, in which all Temperance people, whether belonging to the Church Temperance Society at the one extreme, or the Good Templars at the other extreme, are united, and which prevails in every other state or colony in South Africa except in the oldest—the Cape Colony.

The Prohibitory provisions of the present Colonial Liquor Law are as follows :—Sunday trading is not allowed. Those license-holders who are granted "Sunday privileges" by the Licensing Court are only allowed to supply on Sunday to any person who takes and pays for a *bona fide* lunch or dinner—only a reasonable quantity of liquor to be consumed at such meal. And some Licensing Courts define the hours during which such *bona fide* meals can be served. There is no supply of liquor alone for a *bona fide* traveller only.

A magistrate may, by an order in writing, forbid the sale or gift, by any person whomsoever, to any person thrice convicted of drunkenness, or of drunkenness twice and also of assault within three months ; or to any person who, by excessive drinking, mis-spends, wastes, or lessens his estate, greatly impairs his health, or endangers the peace of his family. Such order may be in force for any period not exceeding twelve months.

In districts where aboriginal natives are located or resident, or are congregated upon public or other works or mines, the Governor may define areas within the limits of which no license may be granted except with the permission of the Governor. (Under this clause, areas were proclaimed in 1883, but they were too small to be of any real advantage. The natives had no difficulty, as reported by the Liquor Commission, in bringing in liquor from outside the borders of the area). When desired by any Municipality or Village Management Board, the Governor may, by proclamation, define areas within which all bottle stores and canteens shall be closed at noon on Saturday or such other day of the week as may be determined on.

Wages are not to be paid to workmen at any place where liquor is sold.

Under the Glen Grey Act, no new license can be issued without the previous approval of a majority of the District Council ; no license can be renewed if objected to by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the District Council.

THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

In the Transkeian Territories, Pondoland and Walwich Bay (essentially native territories) no liquor may be given or sold to a native without a permit from a magistrate, and all such permits must be delivered by the dealer to the magistrate of his district quarterly. No liquor may be brought into the territory without the written permission of the magistrate.

Act No. 12 of 1893 gives Municipalities and Village Boards very large powers to regulate and even to prohibit the manufacture and sale of Kaffir beer.

THE COLONY OF NATAL.

In the Colony of Natal, Law 22 of 1878 prohibits the sale and disposal of spirits and other intoxicating liquors to persons of the native race.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

In the Orange Free State no licensed dealer is permitted to give, barter, sell, or in any other way dispose of wine, or distilled or fermented liquors to any coloured person. No country canteens are allowed.

THE TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC.

In the Transvaal Republic no Sunday selling of intoxicants is permitted; and, by the law passed last year, the Raad not only decreed that the sale of strong drink within the Republic should be prohibited but that no one on proclaimed gold fields should be allowed to even offer liquor to coloured persons. The law came into force on the 1st January of the present year, and of its working the *Times of Africa* says:—"The first week of experiment has induced a general feeling of hope. Taking three of the most important of the mines only—the City and Suburban, the Wolhuter, and the George Goch—it is exceedingly interesting to note that the expression of approval of the working of the law thus far is quite a chorus. The manager of the first-named mine, whose Kaffir boys number fully 2,000, makes a gratifying statement to the effect that at the end of the week the usual disorder caused by drunkenness, and the consequent Monday incapacity, were conspicuous by their absence. There were no fights; and the usual close observance of the Kaffir constable, immediately after the pay, has resulted in a complete sinecure. 'On Saturday last,' he says, 'every boy was sober, on the following morning there was not a single prisoner, and instead of the unseemly brawls the boys were diligently applying themselves to mending their rugs or other belongings, or playing the concertina or Kaffir piano. The change was marvellous.' At the Wolhuter mine, 2,800 boys have behaved with commendable contentment under the new order. The brandy, which they purchased as low as sixpence per bottle prior to the closing of the canteens, has given out, and the boys very sensibly solace themselves with the reflection that they are now working for themselves and not for the canteen keepers. The manager of the *George Goch* mine, who has a staff of 1,350, is of opinion that the law promises well, and will prove of great ultimate value to the mining industry.

Turning again to the Cape Colony, we find that Judge President Lawrence, in closing the Sessions at Kimberley, said that with regard to the sale of liquor to the natives, he was quite satisfied that serious cases on the calendar this Session would never have arisen had it not been for the lamentable facilities which existed in this country for the supply of strong drink to natives in unlimited quantities, and often of the vilest description. He pointed to other States and Colonies in South Africa where such traffic was prohibited, and the benefit derived from the Prohibition, and said that in an old Colony like this, which was the pioneer of civilization, natives were allowed to degrade themselves and become dangerous to society by the unlimited facilities for obtaining alcohol. He referred to the Bill for remedying this state of affairs, introduced into Parliament last session, and expressed the hope that *some such measure would be adopted at an early date.*

BASUTOLAND.

In Basutoland, the people themselves in 1876, assembled, decided to prohibit the sale of intoxicants. Under section 7 of the Trading Regulations the sale or gift, or disposal in any way, of wine, beer, and spirituous liquors was absolutely prohibited; and nothing of the kind was to be brought into Basutoland without the permission, in writing, of the Executive Commissioner being first and well obtained.

BRITISH BASUTOLAND.

In British Basutoland, no person, whether resident or no, can sell, exchange, give to, or procure for any native in British Basutoland any wine or spirituous, or partly spirituous liquor in any quantity whatsoever. There are stringent regulations as to the importation, removal and carriage of liquor. For the

Act of Annexation, in the portion of Bechuanaland now incorporated in the Cape Colony, the prohibiting clauses of the liquor law as regards natives are maintained.

RHODESIA.

In Rhodesia, natives are not allowed to have any liquor; but I have not got the exact terms of the law before me.

Thus, in two republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Chartered Company's territories, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, the Colony of Natal, and in the portions of the Cape Colony comprised in the Transkeian territory, Pondoland, Walwich Bay, and Bechuanaland, prohibition to natives exists, in one form or another. Why should the remainder of the Colony not also fall into line with the rest of South Africa?

P.S.—The Hon. J. Rose Innes, Esq., Q.C., M.L.A., re-introduced his "Bill to Amend the Law relating to the Sale of Liquor" into the House of Assembly this session, 1897. This Bill is intended to give effect to certain recommendations of the South African Temperance Alliance, as well as those of the Labour Commission relating to the sale of liquor. It provides, *inter alia*, "that no liquor shall at any time or on any day be sold at any railway station refreshment room to any native;" and that any licensing court may, when granting or renewing any license, "impose conditions as to sale of liquor to natives. Such conditions may either entirely prohibit the sale of liquor to natives, or may impose such restrictions or conditions upon such sale as to the Court may seem meet."

The first year this Bill was introduced, it shared the usual fate of "slaughtered innocents" at the fag end of the session.

Last year, it passed the House of Assembly by a very large majority; and had nearly got through the Committee stage in the Legislative Council, when the opponents of the Bill succeeded, by a small majority, in carrying the motion that "the Chairman leave the chair," without the usual provision to "ask leave to sit again."

This session the Assembly again passed the Bill by an overwhelming majority; but the Legislative Council rejected it at the second reading by a majority of two. On which the *Cape Times* published a severely scathing article, concluding by denouncing the Legislative Council as "Historically baseless, logically indefensible, and politically mischievous. Why cumbereth it the ground? In the name of common-sense and economy mend it or end it—preferably the latter."

SECTION II.**DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTIONS.****SECOND RESOLUTION.**

Ex-Provost DICK, J.P. (Glasgow), then moved the following resolution :—

“That this Convention regards the Temperance legislative progress made year after year—including Sunday Closing Legislation for Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and the enactment of so many restrictions upon the liquor traffic throughout the United Kingdom, as indicating a national conviction that the traffic is so inimical to the interests of the people as to compel Parliament to enact repressive measures such as would never be applied to a trade that was morally legitimate.”

He said the papers they had heard that day, full of facts and arguments, proved that they had made progress. It was also proved that enthusiasm among the people was growing to such an extent that the Government in time would be compelled to do something. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. A. T. GUTTERY, (Newcastle) seconded in a speech full of hopefulness for the ultimate triumph of their movement.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

THIRD RESOLUTION.

The Rev. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS, B.A. (London), moved the following resolution :—

“That this Convention fully appreciates the action of Her Majesty's Government in their efforts to restrain the traffic in intoxicating liquors with native races in Africa, and expresses the hope that at the forthcoming revision, in 1898, of the Brussels General Act of 1890-91, Her Majesty's Government will endeavour to secure the maintenance of the pledges and promises made at Brussels in relation to the prohibition of the supply of liquor to the natives of Africa.”

Mr. JOHN HILTON (London), seconded the proposition, which was unanimously agreed to.

AN AUSTRALIAN SALUTATION.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Sec.) announced a cablegram from the Victorian Alliance—“Congratulation, cordial greeting, and best wishes for a successful Convention.—JOHN VALE, Secretary.” (Applause.)

The Convention then adjourned.

DIRECT COST OF DRINKING SINCE 1820.

Year.	Drink Bill.	Average Cost per head of Population.	Year.	Drink Bill.	Average Cost per head of Population.
	£	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.
1820	50,440,655	2 8 6	1879	128,143,865	3 15 0
1825	67,027,263	2 19 5	1880	122,279,275	3 10 11
1830	67,292,278	2 16 5	1881	127,074,460	3 12 3
1835	80,527,819	3 3 0	1882	126,251,359	3 12 0
1840	77,605,882	2 18 10	1883	125,477,272	3 10 5
1845	71,632,232	2 12 11	1884	126,349,256	3 10 3
1850	80,718,083	2 18 10	1885	123,268,806	3 7 10
1855	76,761,114	2 14 6	1886	122,905,785	3 7 8
1860	85,276,870	2 18 6	1887	124,347,369	3 7 4
1865	106,439,561	3 11 3	1888	124,611,439	3 6 8
1870	118,736,279	3 16 1	1889	132,213,276	3 9 11
1871	125,586,902	3 19 1	1890	139,495,470	3 14 4
1872	131,601,490	4 2 8	1891	141,220,675	3 15 0
1873	140,014,712	4 7 8	1892	140,866,262	3 13 11
1874	141,342,997	4 7 2	1893	138,854,829	3 12 3
1875	142,876,669	4 7 3	1894	138,737,828	3 11 6
1876	147,288,759	4 9 0	1895	142,414,812	3 12 9
1877	142,007,231	4 4 10	1896	148,972,230	3 15 6
1878	142,188,900	4 4 1			

SECTION III.

ECONOMICAL AND STATISTICAL.

The Convention resumed in the Town Hall at half-past ten o'clock on Wednesday, April 7th, 1897, Rev. James Clark, Salford, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.



REV. JAMES CLARK.

Rev. JAMES CLARK (Salford), in opening the proceedings, said their section that morning was "Economics and Statistics," and he owed the gathering an apology for appearing as chairman, for he had not been one of the "calculating boys" of the movement. (Laughter.) He could, however, recommend himself to the Convention on at least one ground, and that was that he had taken the chair from a readiness to fulfill any part he could on behalf of the Temperance movement. (Applause.) The subject they had to consider was ordinarily considered very unattractive, and had been named the dismal science, and if there was anything in economics and statistics particularly dismal it was that portion of it relating to the facts and figures of the drink traffic. When the various papers of the day had been read, he felt sure that they would be found to have contributed in a very useful manner to this particular portion of their advocacy; and those of them

who were not skilled in figures could possess themselves of the papers, and master their details, and he thought that the morning's section would then have given a new and increased impetus to the Temperance reformation. They were to have papers from gentlemen distinguished in the science of economics, and among the best known to him, and probably also to those present, was their old and esteemed friend, Dr. Dawson Burns. (Applause.) Dr. Dawson Burns was one of the earliest of those "calculating boys" with whom he became acquainted in the Temperance movement, and his efforts in this direction had been as unflagging as they had been acceptable in the promotion of Temperance reform. A little later he had become acquainted with their friend, William Hoyle. (Applause.) He had done great service for the cause in this direction. His works on this subject were standard works, read not only by those who were interested in Temperance, but by all who were interested in the temporal happiness and spiritual welfare of the community to which they belonged. Though dead he still lived among them both by his works and his speeches, and the work he incepted had been carried on since his death till the present time. The writers of the other papers which would be read were also well known for their work in this portion of Temperance advocacy, and they would doubtless prove extremely instructive to the Convention. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Sec.) announced that the following had been received from Bailie Chisholm:—"I regret much to say that it will be wholly out of my power to be present at the Prohibition Convention. The Convention of Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland meets in Edinburgh at the same time, and, as senior magistrate of Glasgow, it falls to me to represent my own city there. I have endeavoured to atone for my enforced absence from the Prohibition Convention by making sure that temperance will be discussed at the other. I have given notice of a motion against municipalisation."

DRINK AND COMMERCIAL PROGRESS.

BY S. P. KERR, BELFAST.



MR. S. P. KERR.

IF I had had any choice in the matter, I do not think I should have taken as my subject the heading of this paper. Yet it is of such importance that it is well that public attention should be drawn to it at this great Convention. I purpose to stick closely to my text, and to confine myself to the influence of the drink traffic on our trade with other countries and with our colonies and dependencies.

At the outset I am confronted with the claim made by the liquor traffickers and their friends that the drink traffic itself is the great trade of the country, and that in dealing with "commercial progress" its magnificent proportions must not be overlooked. This presumptuous claim must be dealt with, and I, therefore, ask what are the "trade marks" of true trade? In the language of Lord Brougham: "trade is honest; it

is useful; it is innocent; it is humanising; it is universally beneficial."

This description is comprehensive and at the same time simple and true; but we may well ask if trade bear these "marks," what is the liquor traffic?

I know well that strong language is deprecated by many of our friends and condemned by our critics. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that if the British public permit the liquor traffickers to foist their liquor traffic upon them as a great trade, it is, to use the language of Mr. Gladstone with reference to it and its evils, "the measure of our degradation and disgrace" as a commercial people.

We reject it emphatically as an item of our trade, but we have to accept it as a great reality which influences trade to an enormous extent. It exists because its foundations are "the love of money," human sensuality, and almost invincible ignorance; and it will exist till one or more of this interesting trio be seriously weakened or overthrown.

I purpose dividing my paper into two portions; how drink operates at home and abroad to affect our commercial progress.

A backward glance over the century reveals the fact that the commercial progress of the United Kingdom is without a parallel in history.

In 1800 our export trade totalled up £39,471,203, and our import trade £30,570,000, but last year our exports aggregated £302,000,000, and our imports £440,000,000. Our population increased from 16,650,956 to 37,880,764 or 2½ fold, but our exports nearly 8-fold and our imports nearly 15-fold.

As Temperance reformers, viewing this colossus we are tempted to ask what would it have been but for the drink traffic? or, changing our view somewhat, what would it have been if more than sixty years ago the temperance movement had not been started and its powerful influence brought to bear upon our countrymen, counteracting to some extent the enervating influence usually induced in a country by exceptional prosperity? Our conclusions must be purely hypothetical, but we cannot help arriving at conclusions adverse to the drink and favourable to the Temperance reformation.

Of the six factors which have helped to make the United Kingdom great there cannot be affected to any appreciable extent by any known cause, our natural resources, our geographical position, and the natural conformation of the countries.

One, the character and physical and mental qualities of the people can only be injured by their own act, but the other two factors, viz., inventions and good laws,

may become the property of the world ; and other nations may take lessons, enter into competition, and seriously cripple or destroy our export trade.

Taking, then, this fairly comprehensive view of the situation, we proceed to try and find out where the real danger to the continued commercial prosperity of this kingdom lies. The voice of the alarmist is persistently raised, and "woe! woe! woe! to this nation" is the cry, but when we come to examine the remedy which is suggested to prevent our downfall, we find the chief ones would probably result in worse evils than the disease itself. Of all the wise political economists of which the nation can boast, not one refers to the liquor traffic as a possible factor in destroying our commercial greatness, and yet we poor despised totallers assert it is the great danger, and almost "the only enemy" which Britain has to fear.

As Sir Walter Besant wrote some years since, "The prosperity of the country depends wholly on the industry, the patience, and the skill of the working man." Quite recently the belief was expressed by a leading politician that in these qualities the British working man was superior to any other, and, therefore, the cry of the alarmist was the result of baseless fear.

We are proud to think that we are the cream of earth's inhabitants, but what if we suicidally destroy these qualities upon which our success depends? Is it not a fact that thousands, nay might I not say millions, of our people have in the past destroyed them ; and hundreds of thousands are destroying them in the present? What a vast multitude of our people are to-day the slaves of drink, and what more potent than it to destroy "industry, patience, and skill!" In the time coming, the finest qualities of the manhood of the nation will need to be developed to the utmost, if we are to hold our own against the world ; and it is idle to deny that it is impossible to develop the finer qualities in a drink-saturated frame. Further, it is useless to hide from ourselves the fact that increased prosperity has in the majority of instances produced greater self-indulgence, and been a curse instead of a blessing to our skilled workers. The leaders of labour know this, and to their honour be it said, with one or two exceptions, they are strenuously striving for a sober nation. Eliminate the disturbing, destructive element drink, and wages could be increased, the hours of labour reduced, the conditions of existence immeasurably improved, and yet the output be greater, the work done of a superior quality, the capitalist further enriched, the wealth of the nation vastly added to, and our own position in the markets of the world assured.

We have not only the direct influence of the drink on the workers to consider, but the indirect influence as affecting the future of the country. The children of drinkers—what of them?

In 1855, Mr. Charles Buxton estimated that 1,500,000 children never knew home happiness, through the drink. This number reaches at least 2,000,000 to-day. With children brought up under such conditions, moral, mental, and physical deterioration must result. Rev. Charles Garrett, writing in his *Children's Home Periodical* for March, 1896, says, "And alas! too often neither hands nor heads are of average power. Our children, with few exceptions, begin the career of life under physical and nervous disadvantages."

What folly, then, to boast of the qualities of our people when a deterioration, alarming both as to its extent and deadly character, is going on in our midst. To any with eyes to see, the fact is very apparent in all our large towns, and we have only to proceed far enough in that direction to ensure not only the destruction of our commercial prosperity, but the destruction of the nation.

Let us not forget that while these remarks refer primarily to the workers, their application to the capitalist and employer must not be overlooked. If it is essential to have clever workers, it is just as necessary that our merchants and manufacturers should have clear heads, bright intelligence, and sound judgment. Production is not everything ; we must produce what is needed to meet the tastes and necessities of our customers. Drink has in the past been a fruitful source of commercial failures.

Thus far I have only referred to the influence of drink as affecting our export trade; but it will not be denied that our import trade is also seriously affected by the drink factor. The purchasing power of the people is at present reduced at least fifteen per cent. of the total income of the nation, through indulgence in drink, and to this has to be added the direct expenditure.

If the practice of general total abstinence worked no improvement in our present earning power, still it is evident that the turning of upwards of £140,000,000 per annum into true trade channels would give an enormous impetus to our import trade.

I come now to deal with the manner in which the drink is operating in our dependencies to cripple our home production. Our customers abroad resolve themselves into three groups: those in foreign countries, those in our colonies, and those in our dependencies.

Foreign countries, and many of our colonies, have protective tariffs in force which seriously affect our competition in those countries. We must produce cheaper and better, or we have no chance against their own productions; while every other nation can compete there on the same terms as ourselves. Till recent years we looked upon the whole world as exclusively our own market. There was no serious competition from any quarter; but it is not so to-day. Other nations have gained knowledge of us; some having learned at our feet are rapidly advancing to a time when possibly they may not need our assistance to supply their home markets, while others having acquired all the information we possessed, are boldly competing with us all over the globe. The outlook is serious enough, but nothing to cause alarm to a sober people. Heretofore, fresh conquests have been made, new territory acquired, and new markets opened up as fast as our industrial resources were developed; but there is a limit to these things and we appear to be reaching it, although even here there is no cause for alarm.

So far as foreign nations and self-governing colonies with protective tariffs are concerned, although somewhat handicapped we are still able to produce many things which they need, better than they can, and possibly we will continue to do so, but we need not hide from ourselves the fact that the probabilities are that they will become less dependent on us, and in any case we have competition with others to face. To hold our own, then, in the future we assuredly need a free, sober, and intelligent people.

Turning, however, to our dependencies governed directly by Great Britain, our position is very different. Here we have hundreds of millions of people largely at our mercy and under our control, and with respect to whom we rest under an almost infinite responsibility.

Here, then, we have a field for our commercial operations, the thought of which should bring a smile to the countenance of the veriest pessimist, and make the prophets of evil cease their croaking. Yet here, unfortunately, one of the gravest dangers to our commercial progress in the future lies.

The people committed to our care are deliberately destroyed by the drink traffickers. Effort after effort has been made by thoughtful and godly men and women in these countries to move successive governments to prohibit the sale of drink to native races. Promise after promise has been made by successive colonial secretaries that "something would be done," and no doubt much has been done, but still much evil remains. The reply to Bishop Tugwell's inquiry as to the spread of the drink traffic in Western Africa reveals a shocking state of affairs along the coast. That it is not so bad in the interior may be considered "more the misfortune, than the fault," of the liquor traffickers.

I observe that a further glimpse at this African drink question has been given by the Rev. J. B. Wood in an account of his journey from Abeokuta to Lagos. "Two-thirds of the caravans travelling to the town and every canoe on the river were loaded with rum and gin." "Not from the time that we left the Abeokuta gate, till Lagos was reached, did I see one piece of cloth on its way up country."

This statement is almost in entire harmony with the statements made by the correspondent of a London daily some years since, and if these witnesses be true, and we do not doubt them, what a revelation it is of the folly and crime of the British nation. The people under our protection are debauched, degraded, destroyed by strong drink, and our trade is destroyed at the same time. Not in West Africa alone is this the case, but wherever the drink traffic can find an entrance under the protection of the British flag.

About 33 per cent. of our export trade is to our own possessions, so it is an important matter to the nation that this slaughter of our own customers should cease. I put it on a low basis when I plead for their lives in the interests of British trade ; but what the righteousness of the nation fails to accomplish the self interest of the people may do.

I have often wondered at the keen watchfulness of our Chambers of Commerce over British trade ; but I have never yet seen a reference to the drink traffic made, nor an effort put forth by any chamber to direct public attention to its damaging influence. I presume the reason is that the drink traffic is strongly represented in every chamber, and we can hope for no help from that quarter till an enlightened national conscience becomes too strong for selfish interests.

The splendid increase of £14,000,000 in our export trade last year has called forth from all quarters notes of congratulation, and rightly so ; but the frightful increase in our already bloated drink bill has been passed over in comparative silence, and yet the evil to the country from the latter is immeasurably greater than the gain from the former, and its results will remain when the benefits of the former shall have been forgotten. We are a commercial people, a sensible people, a religious people, but, judged by our dealing with the drink question, we might fairly be considered a nation of fools.

Speed on the ship, but let her bear
 No merchandise of sin ;
 No groaning cargo of despair
 Her roomy hold within ;
 No Lethean drug for eastern lands,
 No poison draught for ours.
 But honest fruits of toiling hands
 And nature's sun and shower.

DRINK AND THE REVENUE.

BY DAWSON BURNS, D.D.,

Author of "Temperance History," "Christendom and the Drink Curse," &c., &c.

THE familiar objection indicated by the title of this paper may be thus stated:—"You cannot suppress the Liquor Traffic without losing the revenue now derived from it. This amounts to about one-third of the total annual receipts of the Exchequer. How do you propose to replace it?" This objection is sometimes garnished by the assertion that the publicans do a very useful work by collecting so large an amount for the Government. On the contrary, the duties on alcoholic liquors are paid by the producers and importers, not by the retailers, and are collected by officers of Customs and Excise—the money ultimately coming out of the pockets of the consumer. As far as the publicans are concerned, there was far more truth in the remark of the late Professor Miller that the ancient and modern publicans differed in one important respect; the ancient publicans (*publicani*) collected the public taxes, whilst the modern publicans created them; a statement perfectly correct as to the portion of the local rates and taxes required by the pauperism, crime, disease, and vice generated by the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors.

The objection itself can now be considered.

1. A moment's reflection will shew that the objection has no exclusive application to Prohibition, but extends to the advocacy and adoption of Total Abstinence. In fact, one of the most common of the clap-trap arguments urged 50 years ago against the friends of Temperance was that, if successful, they would rob the revenue and make the Exchequer bankrupt. The sufficient answer was then, and now is, that no one pretends—least of all the objector himself—to regulate his tastes and habits of life with a view to the sustentation of the revenue. This affected concern for the revenue is only a means of showing dislike to the Temperance cause, and is usually assumed by those who, like Demetrius, are chiefly moved by a regard to their own gains, while they profess to be alarmed for the credit of some popular idol. When the Beer Duty was repealed in 1830, they were silent about the revenue; and whenever fresh duties have been imposed on intoxicating liquors, their unconcern for the revenue has been shown by violent opposition to this method of increasing it. No objection can be imagined more insincere on the part of its authors than that which is raised to Temperance or Prohibitory legislation, because of loss to the revenue and supposed injury to the State.

2. The objection is as one-sided as it is disingenuous. It sees nothing, and has a word for nothing, except as to the effect of Prohibition on the revenue. As to its effect upon the nation, the objector is silent and blind. Yet the state of the revenue is not a standard of the national condition; it only shews, where indirect taxation is concerned, how much the nation expends on articles paying duty to the State. Yet nothing is plainer than that, if the increased use of such articles is a cause of increased misery, the greater the revenue from such sources the greater is the national loss; and that an increase of such revenue should be deprecated by the enlightened patriot. Now, as the evils from strong drink increase with increasing consumption, and a corresponding increase of revenue, any such increase cannot be reason for rejoicing, but is reason for lamentation. A mere rise in the revenue can never be an event of primary importance; in times of war it may signify great public suffering; but the condition of the country, socially and morally, is always a matter of paramount consideration. On this ground some Chancellors of the Exchequer have expressed pleasure at diminished receipts from the duty on spirits, and even in the Queen's Speech, at the prorogation of Parliament in 1882, these words were used:—"The growth of the revenue is sensibly retarded by a cause which must, in itself, be contemplated with satisfaction. I refer to the diminution in the receipts of the Exchequer from the duties on intoxicating liquors." It is possible, of course, that where the duties are augmented, a larger revenue may be derived from a lesser consumption; but in

this case it is the diminished consumption which excites the satisfaction of the moralist; which is a sentiment altogether averse from the wish to keep up the consumption for the sake of the revenue.

3. The objection to Prohibition taken from the Drink Revenue is not only factitious and one-sided, but it is self-destructive; for it presupposes a state of things which would render the loss of the Drink Revenue of no practical concern. It supposes that the hundred and forty millions sterling now annually spent on drink, and furnishing thirty odd millions to the Exchequer, would remain with the present consumers, and this again supposes an application of this enormous sum in a manner that would be a great and permanent advantage to the nation. The wealth of the country would be immediately augmented; all useful trade would be stimulated; and even the contributions to philanthropic and religious purposes would call into request the labour and skill of the workman. Simultaneously, there would be the gradual, and in due time the complete, disappearance of drink-caused pauperism, crime, disease of all kinds, physical and mental, and vice of many kinds; evils which all have a depreciative money as well as moral significance; while the forces of Christian civilization, released from the weights that had depressed and impeded them, would act with a power hitherto unknown, and hasten the growth of productive industries and the development of a nobler type of human character and life.

Under such circumstances there would result a greatly diminished expenditure, both public and private, for the relief of misery and the repression of crime, while the deserving poor would receive a measure of assistance which they are now denied. Is it possible to conceive that a nation coming into possession of such vast benefits, and relieved from such oppressive burdens, could experience any real difficulty in raising a revenue adequate for all its needs? If a drink-cursed people can pay its way, what fear need be felt that a Temperance-blest people would make ends meet, with a handsome surplus to spare? Drink does not cause the goose to lay the golden eggs so dear to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; rather would universal sobriety enable the goose—if goose it could then be called—to lay eggs still larger and in greater profusion. Our answer to the objector is, therefore, briefly this:—the conditions under which the drink revenue would disappear, would make easy the procuring of a substitute. To suppose a country wealthier than before, and yet unable to raise an equal revenue, is to imagine an economic contradiction.

4. If the discussion is carried farther it may be observed that the objection is not only insincere, one-sided, and self-destructive, but that it is perfectly visionary, since the anticipated difficulty would never arise. The objector seeks to startle and alarm by portraying a Budget with thirty millions of a deficit, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer driven to distraction. But this difficulty could not even temporarily occur unless the sale of intoxicating drink was universally and suddenly to cease. But such a rapid and general change, however desirable from a moral point of view, is not to be expected. Let the nation be armed to-day with the power of the Veto, and would the nation use it at once, and with common consent? Who think so? Not those who predict it would not be used at all, and who yet, with utter inconsistency, profess to regard as possible, and even actual, a national prohibition causing a sudden loss of one-third of the national revenue! But if the emergency could not arise, the objection is illusory. It is a bugbear that cannot terrify intelligent children. What might happen would be the increasing use of the Veto power, with a corresponding decrease of drinking and drink derived revenue; but the diminution thus occasioned would cause not sorrow, but satisfaction to patriotic Chancellors of the Exchequer, who would find it both possible and pleasant to make good the deficiency from such a source without opening fresh sluices of social corruption.

In the meantime we are striving to save our country from one of its master-enemies; and in pursuing this sacred object—sacred to the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian—we shall not be deterred by objections that originate not in reason and reflection, but in ignorance or prejudice, or a distempered imagination.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION IN THE COMMUNITIES.

BY WILLIAM LANE, CHAIRMAN OF COSME, PARAGUAY.

SCATTERED over the Western world are a number of more or less small "communities," which, in spite of their heavy stoppage rate, have a strange persistence. They are formed from time to time by people who have some conception of life and conduct which at once binds them to each other in brotherhood, and separates them from the rest of the world. North America is their usual ground, but South America also knows them, and they appear even in England. One might think that all having aspirations after a truer and better life than that of modern society would have but one opinion on the liquor question. Yet even on the liquor question the communities are not in accord, some emphatically maintaining the necessity for total abstinence, others denying this altogether; others again "straddling the fence." Direct information on the subject is not complete, but enough is available to show the position of the question in the communities generally, and the necessity for more energetically saturating with the teetotal principle the social movement from which they spring. They should all be, but are not always, places where local option in its best and purest form attacks the evils which beset human society, among which evils liquor drinking most unquestionably stands.

Among the frankly outspoken opponents of total abstinence is the Amana Society, of Iowa, U.S.A., a rich community, two generations old, and over 1,500 strong. It says:—"We believe in true temperance, that is, use all things in moderation, and consequently do not favour to exercise any influence towards total abstinence, but think that wine, or even stronger liquors, if properly used, will not be harmful."

The Bridgewater (England) Agapamone, a semi-religious, semi-æsthetic association of about the same age as Amana, hardly comes under the same category as most of those spoken of here. It does "not make a point of the liquor question, either one way or the other."

Fairhope, a single-tax (land nationalist) community in Alabama, U.S.A., has a constitution which "is silent on the liquor question. . . . Recognising the desire to win the esteem of their fellows as being one of the strongest motives actuating men, and feeling assured that under conditions which keep all natural opportunities open to all no one could hold the esteem of his fellows and engage in the liquor traffic, we did not think it necessary to prohibit it in our rules." The secretary adds that: "Personally, I have no use for the liquor business. I consider it generally a nuisance and never of any value to any community. This, I believe to be the opinion generally—but not solely—entertained by our members. We look upon intemperance as in a very large degree due to an abnormal economic system which produces the extremes of riches and poverty from which the ranks of the drunkards are constantly swelled."

The Ruskin Co-operative Association, of Tennessee, U.S.A., like the Fairhope, seems to have ignored the liquor question altogether, there being no mention thereof in its constitution or publications. This community may be taken as fairly representative of socialistic co-operation as commonly understood. Its assets are set as worth nearly £12,000 over liabilities, its entrance fee is £100, its industries are carried on with improved machinery, and its numbers have increased to some 200 in three years.

In England there are two or three small Anarchist-Communist settlements which are opposed to Prohibition of the liquor traffic as being an appeal to that law-force which Anarchists consider wrong for reasons which Tolstoi, their eloquent apostle, has made widely known. But Anarchist settlements may differ. Embryotic Assingdon, Essex, is "strongly of opinion that the taking of alcoholic drink is injurious to health. Naturally, this implies having taken the matter into consideration, and also that we follow out our reasoning, and consult our happiness by refraining from injuring ourselves." Forest Hall says that "the food and drink provided regularly . . . to its members contain no alcohol. Some of us

are nearly, or wholly, teetotalers; there is no drunkard between us. However, the colony laying much stress upon personal liberty, there is no control whatever exercised about a member being or not being a teetotaler. . . . The extreme moderation with which alcohol is used amongst us is not due to coercion, but rather to freedom."

There remain the old Shaker communities in the United States, and the young Cosme Colony in Paraguay, South America, which, while differing in their conception of life as far as it is possible for honest people of common race to differ, agree in their emphatic maintenance of teetotal principles. The Shakers are celibate and seek the spiritual kingdom; the Cosmens uphold marriage and seek to increase, multiply and replenish the earth. The Shakers assert the equality of every race and colour; the Cosmens draw the colour-line and admit only English-speaking whites. The Shakers are non-resisters, literal disciples of Jesus of Nazareth; the Cosmens have Covenanter conceptions. The Shakers hear voices and see visions and commune with "risen saints" in the still watches of the night, waiting to be of the elect; while the Cosmens seek the Law of this life, and take little thought for any other, holding that when one does rightly whatever the future may be all is well. The Shaker denounces tobacco; the Cosmen grows it and usually smokes it also. But both Shaker and Cosmen are united against liquor drinking. It says something for the breadth of the Temperance Movement when it can link together two such opposing forms of communist life.



THE TEETOTAL COLONY OF COSME.

The Shakers, who are bound together by a belief in the re-appearance of Christ in one Ann Lee, about 1770, have fifteen prosperous communities as the result of 110 years of quiet organisation. A recent letter from Mount Lebanon, the parent community, says: -

"We say our community favours total abstinence from tobacco and from all intoxicating and fermented liquors. A little demands more, and more acceded to dethrones reason, enslaves the man or woman, and lets loose the beast. Moderate drinking, so-called, and a moderate use of tobacco, benumbs the moral sense and defaces the image of God and inbrutes the mind by so much as it is practised. 'Tis the bait of the Adversary of all good, and tippling-houses and drink-saloons are recruiting stations of hell. It is cause for wonder that sober, sensible people, who have the good of their neighbour at heart, do not unite to remove distilleries and grog-shops and gin-mills from the land as unbearable nuisances and pests to the human race. Our community would inspire by words of encouragement all reformers who are seeking by wise methods to eradicate vice and to morally elevate the race. Our special work is to bring the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth, and to

set mankind an example of righteousness, purity, unity, and truth, such as we witnessed among the primitive disciples at Jerusalem, when they were together and were of one heart and one soul, and had all things in common, no one saying that ought of the things he possessed was his own We bless all honest workers in the cause of Temperance and in the cause of social purity—in the cause of peace and love to the neighbour—in the cause of freedom and conscience and equal rights and privileges for all orders and classes of people, as fast as people can be educated to the proper use of them. We wish a hearty God bless you on all true labourers in these fields of necessary reform, and we say success must and will crown your efforts in aforesaid direction—and we bid you God speed." Thus feel the Shakers on the liquor question and Prohibition.

Cosme Colony, Paraguay, founded some three years ago by a withdrawal from the since disbanded New Australia Association, has always placed teetotalism, with communism, life-marriage and the colour line, among its leading principles. The most popular of the English socialistic journals then prophesied its speedy downfall, because of its condemnation of "liquor as a poison." Nevertheless, it has almost doubled its original sixty members, has established itself under exceptional difficulties and hardships with the scantiest capital, and is now slowly drawing to it British as well as Australian members—all total abstainers. Apart from land and fixed improvements, which it does not value in money, Cosme has still but £500 worth of stock, machinery, tools and stores, over liabilities; but it is living on its own produce, and patiently improving its position. Entry is free to persons accepted by its agent now in Britain; the passages of single women are now paid, this making an important step in the development of a home-building people. The accompanying illustration shows part of the pioneers' camp of this teetotal settlement, which little more than three years ago was virgin forest and untrodden grass land. The foreground is "clearing," then forestlike the background; in the middle is the cricket oval; at the back the little school-house; to the left of the foreground, out of sight, the first permanent village—Homestead—is being built. There is room on the present Cosme land for half-a-dozen similar villages, upholding the same principles and helping each other, which will be opened one by one as means allow. Concerning the drink question, the *Cosme Monthly*, an official journal, says:—

"THE TEETOTAL PRINCIPLE: Drunkenness is not a mere result of the present social state. It is the great vice of our race. Since long ago we have been a drunken people; notoriously so ever since our forefathers came into history. To this day the drunkenness of the Britisher is a byword among more sober nations. Who shall say how much of our social evils this drinking of ours is responsible for? Liquor-drinking in its very nature under-eats the humanity of men, rots their will, destroys all that is highest in them. Our people have turned to it when sad and worried and downcast, and have found in it a false gaiety and gladness; not only now but for long generations they have drummed up their hardihood with it, and forced the feast with it, and learned to forget with it. When things go wrong we should not want to forget, we should want to remember, to think seriously and soberly what to do to put things right and at any cost to do it. Drinking is a vice destructive of thought, hampering action, brutalising and degrading under the guise of a false merriment. Since it is such an evil and the wiping of it out is so dependent upon each man's will, why not wipe it out by beginning with ourselves? For if we cannot reform ourselves, what hope have we of reforming Society? Cosme is teetotal on principle. It is an association of men and women who hold drinking to be a vice. Nobody is asked to join and submit slavishly to teetotal regulations; nobody can join, excepting under false pretences, who does not hold teetotalism to be right and does not agree to maintain it so always."

It will be seen from this that the Cosme conception is that the drink traffic, like the slave trade, like usury, being in itself evil, cannot be made good by State-law, not even by the community managing the drink-shops. It is a vice and to be treated as such by all, individually and collectively.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that those communities which conceive of intoxicants as brutalizing and degrading, of drinking as a distinct vice and not merely as a bad habit, are by free will and choice Prohibitionist, and open only to those like-minded. Communities which look upon drinking, as too many Prohibitionists strangely do, as a bad habit because costly, as a mistake because causing

poverty and destitution, do not require total abstinence of their members, for the simple reason that intoxicants are only artificially costly, and that poverty, though aggravated by drunkenness, is not directly caused by it, as every man can see who dares to think. The Temperance movement cannot succeed, and will never succeed, in the communities or in the world at large, unless the truth is told concerning the terrible vice it fights against. Let us prohibit the drink traffic, most certainly, since it is rightful to strike down the evil thing, anyhow and everywhere! But let us prohibit also all other doing, the effect of which upon us and our fellows is clearly and unquestionably evil. Because we have brutalised ourselves by the drink-vice and other vices, we stagger maudlin in the midst of the most woeful of recorded civilizations, dodderingly admiring the catastrophes which heap ruin around us, foolishly chuckling at the thought of our own wondrous cleverness. Sober we must become or die out from among the nations of the earth. But drunk or sober we shall surely die unless we make use of soberness to do our duty to our neighbour better than we are doing at present.

DRINK, CRIME, AND PAUPERISM.

BY CHARLES ROBERTS, M.A., NAWORTH, CUMBERLAND.



MR. CHAS. ROBERTS, M.A.

WHEN the Committee asked me to write a paper on "Drink, Crime, and Pauperism," I felt that it was a subject on which it was impossible to say anything that was new, and hardly possible, I fancied, to say anything that was not true. We cannot but agree with the Irishman, who complained of drinking, and said that drink caused him to be guilty of every crime under the sun, even to shooting at his landlord and missing him. I take it that the Prohibition Convention only deals with the matter, because it could not pass over so essential a part of the case for prohibitory measures as the contribution of drink to the crime and pauperism of the nation. I wish to briefly summarise the ground of our case, and to make some estimate of the influence of drink on pauperism and crime.

Many of the facts have been well known for a considerable time. In the year 1869 the Lower House of Convocation for the Province of Canterbury appointed a Committee on the Prevalence of Intemperance. It consisted of three Deans, six Archdeacons, seven Canons, two Prebendaries and the Prolocutor. They drew up a well-known report, which through the Archbishop of Canterbury was presented to the Queen. The committee communicated not only with the parochial clergy of thirty-two British counties which then had a population of 14,071,164. They also sent forms of inquiry to the governors and chaplains of prisons, and heads of the constabulary throughout Great Britain; to the superintendents of lunatic asylums in England and Wales; to the judges, the recorders, the coroners, and to the masters of workhouses throughout England.

On the special point which I am treating their report ran as follows:—"That Intemperance is the main and prolific source of the Criminality which is every year assuming more prominent features and attaining more audacity in the country—making our streets dangerous, filling our gaols and hulks, and while causing an ever-increasing and ruinous expenditure in an unavailing effort to overtake it, rendering life and property every day more insecure—no one who is acquainted however lightly with our criminal annals and statistics will think for a moment of disputing. The testimony of our Judges, our Grand Juries, our Magistracy and Police, and of the Governors and Chaplains of our Prisons on this point is precise, abundant and conclusive. Theft, Fraud, Embezzlement, the Prostitution of the Young, Rapes, Robberies, Burglaries, Acts of Violence in every shape, often ending in the destruction of life, and by which our people are depraved and brutalised—and multitudes who might be the source of national wealth and prosperity are transformed into the pests and scourges of society—are traceable to the passion for intoxicating drink, which we fear it must be admitted the Law by its present regulations far from repressing even tends to foster and encourage. 'I have shown you,' says a Chairman of Quarter Sessions, 'that it costs this Petty Sessional Division £20,000 a year to maintain our Public-houses, nurseries of crime. If we were to stop the supply, we should not only protect the community from that demoralisation which costs us so much and sinks our people so much deeper in vice and ruin.'"

"From an extensive and minute inquiry prosecuted by your Committee throughout the workhouses of the country—as well as from other authenticated statements—it can be shown that an enormous proportion of the pauperism, which is felt to be such a burden and discouragement by the industrious and sober

members of the community, is the direct and common product of intemperance. It appears that at least 75 per cent. of the occupants of our workhouses, and a large proportion of those receiving out-door pay, have become pensioners of the public, directly or indirectly, through drunkenness and the improvidence and absence of self-respect which this pestilent vice is known to engender and perpetuate. From numerous returns before the Committee, submitted by the masters of workhouses and other officials, whose information may be relied on, it appears that the recipients of parochial relief in England and Wales amount to one-twentieth of the population, and that this destitution is largely caused by intemperance."

Such was the voice of the Church eight and twenty years ago. I do not wish to do more than allude to the testimony of the judges. Everyone here knows the Alliance pamphlet on the point with its startling collection of the opinions of the bench over a period of the past fifty years. If there were no connection between drink and crime, it must follow that the whole bench of judges is utterly incapable of estimating evidence on the very matters to which they give the whole of their lives.

In the discussion on the Veto Bill the trade boldly endeavoured to make out by means of diagrams that there was no traceable connection between drink, crime and pauperism. "The drink-bill," it was argued, "is a barometer of trade, not of morals—with prosperity the glass rises." I do not know if we were supposed to infer that the best method of promoting national prosperity was by drinking hard. I have in my hand a specimen of the trade diagram on drink and crime. So far as the figures relating to the drink bill goes, I have no quarrel. The trade seems to know about that. Of course, too, it is well known that the drink bill rises and falls in accordance with the prosperity of the nation. In fat years like 1874 or 1891, or the present time, the first thought of John Bull is to take the spare cash which he finds in his pockets and spend it in the public-house. But the trade diagram proceeds to draw a red line, which represents a supposed decrease of crime since 1862, and which is said to be "based upon the figures of the judicial statistics—a Government return." Well, I am reminded of the saying of a well known judge of a past generation, Baron Wensleydale, "In the affairs of this world," he said, "too little account is taken of the influence of direct 'lie-age.'" I can find nothing in the judicial statistics to bear out the diagram, and I do not think we need spend on it any more elaborate criticism.

As a matter of fact, the judicial statistics of 1893 (England and Wales) dealt with this very question of the connexion of drink and crime. I reproduce some curves from one of the official diagrams. (See Diagram I). The crossed line at the bottom represents what is known in the judicial statistics as "Class I.—Crimes against the Person." This is a list of 26 crimes. The line includes, first, the most serious crimes of violence, from the murders tried at the assizes to the assaults which come summarily before the magistrates. It includes, secondly, the gravest offences against sexual morality, assaults on women and children, and the like.* The treble line refers to the police apprehensions of drunkenness for each year from 1874. The single line represents the estimated growth of population during the period.

To prove a connexion between drink and crime, the most scientific method would be to eliminate drink and observe the results. Unfortunately at present we cannot make that experiment. We can only employ what is called the method of concomitant variation; we can only notice whether crime rises when the drink bill rises and falls when it falls.

The official diagram is an attempt to employ that method. It takes the total of the crimes described for the year 1874 as a starting point. It likewise takes the total of the apprehensions for drunkenness in the same year, 1874. It represents

* The offences are:—Murder, attempt to murder, threats, conspiracy, or incitement to murder, manslaughter, wounding, and other acts endangering life (felonies), endangering railway passengers, malicious wounding, etc. (misdemeanours), procuring abortion, concealment of birth, unnatural offences, indecency with males, rape, indecent assaults on females, defilement of girls under 13 and under 16, householder permitting defilement of girls, procuration, abduction, bigamy, child stealing, abandoning children under two years, cruelty to or neglect of children, assaults (both indictable and tried summarily), intimidation and molestation, and other offences against the person.

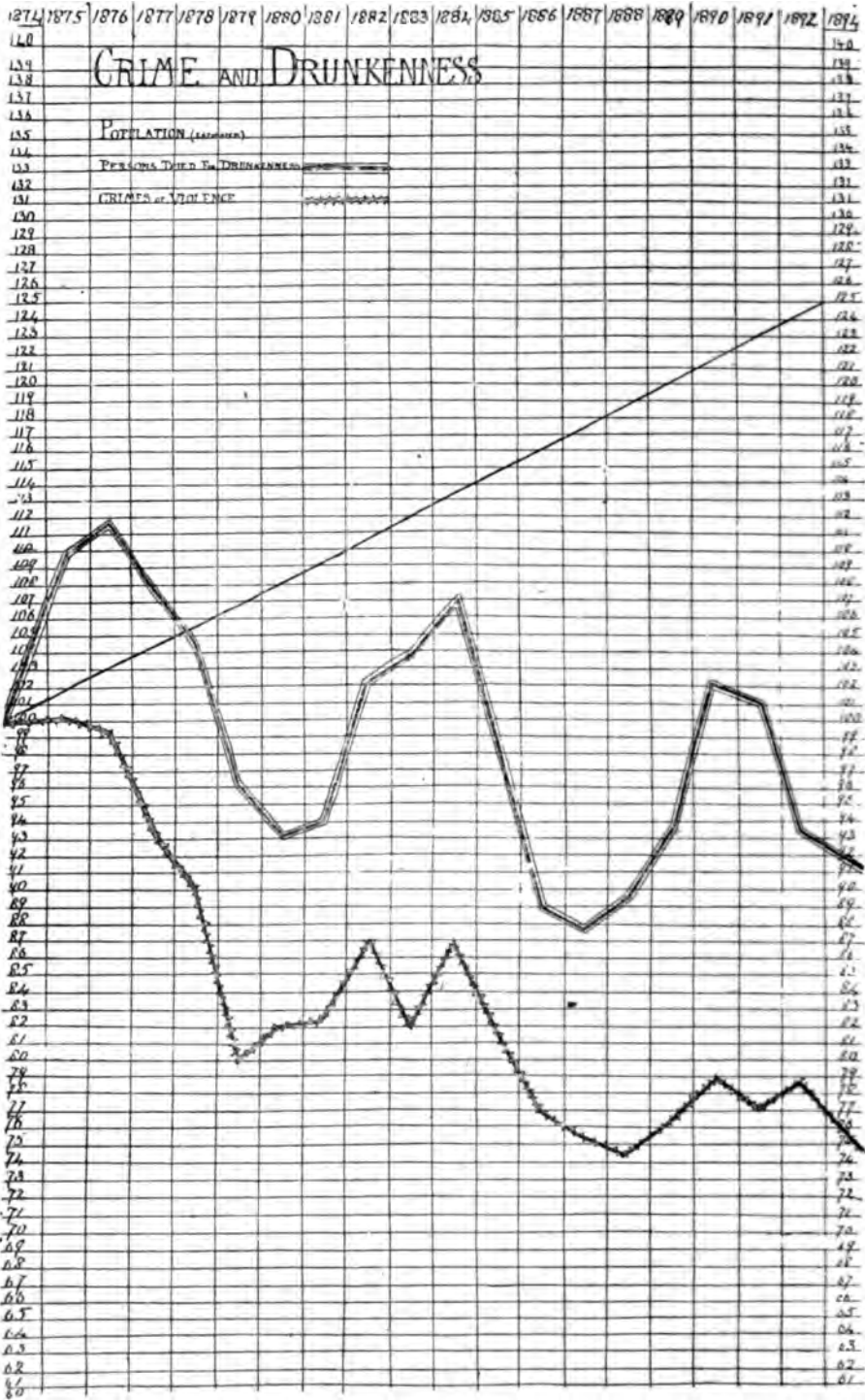


DIAGRAM I. Illustrating the percentage of increase or decrease of police apprehensions for drunkenness, and of crimes against the person, including assaults tried summarily for each successive year since 1874. The thin lines gives the estimated increase of population in the period.

both these totals by the figure 100. The diagram then compares the percentage of the increase or decrease of these crimes, and of drunkenness respectively, for each successive year, as compared with 1874. You will see by following the lines that drunkenness as measured by the police apprehensions tends to vary in the same proportion as crimes of violence and sexual crimes. In the words of Mr. Troup, the editor of the Judicial Statistics, "it will now be seen that the variations in the amount of drunkenness, and in those of this class of offence do correspond somewhat closely. In particular, from 1876 to 1879, and again from 1884 to 1887, there is a great decrease both in drunkenness and in the number of crimes of violence."

One point will at once occur to those who take the Prohibitionist standpoint. Are the police apprehensions for drunkenness any real measure of drunkenness or drinking? The Licensing Commission has made quite clear that the police only arrest the drunk and disorderly and the drunk and incapable. That is the rule nearly everywhere, though you are stricter at Newcastle. The police do not trouble about the man who may be rolling down the street, but who is quietly drunk and not an obvious danger to himself and the passer by. But a man who has drunk a good deal is much more capable of, let us say, entering a house as a burglar than a man dead-drunk, who has to be taken into legal custody. I take it also that the Prohibitionist holds that drinking, and not drunkenness, is the cause of crime, and that given the social conditions of our nation and the existing character of the British people, a certain consumption of drink will normally, and perhaps necessarily, work out into a certain percentage of drunkenness and a certain quantity of crime.

I have taken, then, our figures for the yearly drink bill of the United Kingdom. (You cannot get the drink bill for England and Wales except by a rough estimate too loose to use.) I find that the figures vary from year to year very much as the apprehensions for drunkenness, except that there is no rise in the drink bill between 1881 and 1884. The rise in the apprehensions for that year may very likely be due to a spurt of police vigilance. Probably then the police apprehensions do sample drunkenness. They certainly do not account for the whole of it. But the police seem to get into their hands from year to year a certain section of drunkenness; and this may serve as one measure of drinking, and one index of crime.

If, however, we take the whole total of indictable crime, we must admit that its yearly fluctuation does not vary in any close correspondence with drinking or drunkenness. Crimes of violence and sexual offences are crimes of passion, due in part, doubtless, to alcoholic excitement. But there may be also crimes of demoralisation. Drinking may lead a man into ill-conditioned surroundings, or bad company, or financial difficulties, and a temptation to dishonesty coming upon a weakened character may take a man off his guard. That would not be the result of a single drinking bout. It would be the outcome of some prolonged habit of drinking. Drink, no doubt, leads to demoralisation of character, and that is the fruitful parent of many forms of crime. But, as Mr. Troup said before the Licensing Commission, that is scarcely a result which you could hope to trace in statistics.

Thus the apprehensions for drunkenness do not closely correspond with the total amount of indictable crime between 1874 and 1893. That is partly due to the effect of the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, which caused an alteration of legal procedure, and obscures the returns. It is due partly to the fact that the total amount of indictable crime varies in accordance with one particular class of offences against property, larcenies, embezzlements, etc., which is numerically very large, and I do not think that we either can or need to make out that an increased consumption of drink will be followed in the same year by an increase in the number of embezzlements and forgeries.

On the connection between drink and pauperism, does anyone need to do more than to consult the masters of workhouses? Before the Commission on the Aged Poor it was stated again, though it had often been stated before, that a teetotaler in a workhouse was a thing unheard of. Or we might refer to the investigation

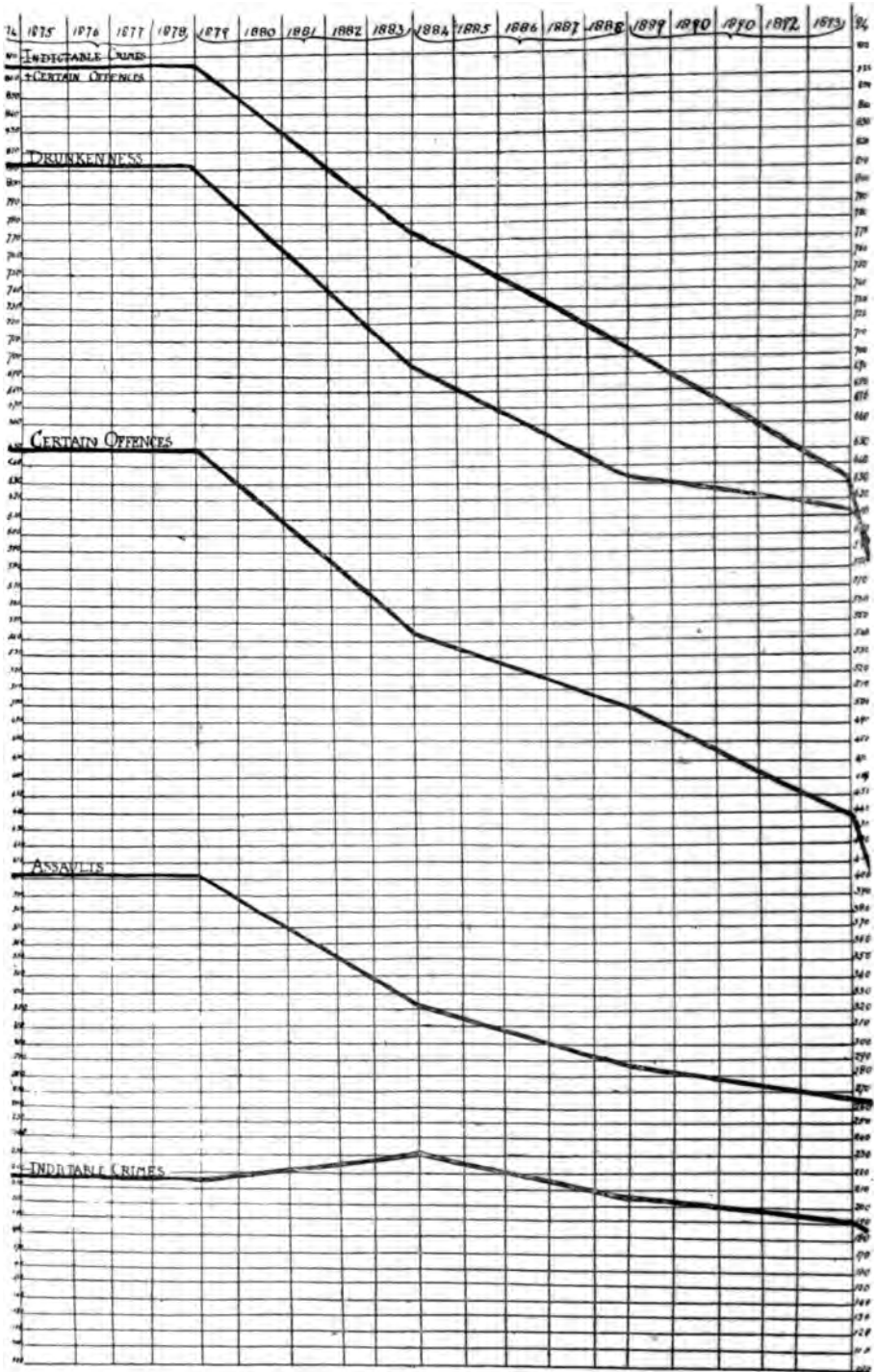


DIAGRAM II., illustrating the coincident decrease of drunkenness, and various classes of crime between 1874 and 1894 (see accompanying Table giving average numbers of each class of offence per 100,000 of population over periods of five years).

of Mr. Alderman McDougall into the past history of 254 cases of indoor and outdoor pauperism in Manchester. Mr. McDougall found that 51·24 per cent. of the pauperism of the township was directly due to drink, that a large though uncertain proportion of the remainder was indirectly due to it, while the drinking habits of the population form the most obstinate hindrance to the improvement of the condition of those who are just above the border-line of destitution.

Yet I am sure no one who thinks about the subject would be at all surprised at finding that pauperism is slightly lower when the drink bill is high, and slightly higher when the drink bill falls. When does the drink bill rise? Of course, in years of good trade. But years of good trade are just the time when pauperism is naturally reduced. So there is a slight fall in pauperism in the years 1876 and 1891, when the drink bill rises; and pauperism is somewhat raised in 1879 and 1887, when in two bad years of trade the drink bill was low. There is another obvious reason which explains the phenomenon. Everyone knows that the drink bill depends largely on the weather. A severe winter, like that of 1895, raises pauperism by stopping work; but there is less money to spend on drink, and the drink bill at such seasons tends to fall. This question of the yearly variation of pauperism does not in the least affect the question how much does drink contribute to the sum total of existing pauperism? The answer to that cannot be given in a review of yearly fluctuations: it will only get itself recorded over a term or average of years.

There is one further point about crime and pauperism to which I should wish to refer. "For the 20 years between 1874 and 1893," says the Editor of the Judicial Statistics, "the decrease in crime, though not so great as it has been often represented, is, nevertheless, real and substantial." Crimes against the person, as we see, stand 25 per cent. lower in 1893 as compared with 1874. The total of pauperism varies slightly with good and bad times; but its upward growth is held in check, and even in 1893 it stood 9 per cent. lower than in 1874. The population meanwhile has risen 25 per cent. I have here a diagram prepared from some figures given me by Mr. T. P. Whittaker, M.P. They are official figures, corrected by the Editor of the Judicial Statistics. I submit them to you, and I have also thrown some of them, for the sake of clearness, into diagram form. They show the coincident decrease of drunkenness and of various classes of crime per 100,000 of population, taking the average number of offences in periods of five years. (See Diagram II).

Now what, we ask, is the meaning of this decrease? Well, first we must remember that 1874 was a year in which the British nation had a wild orgie. Trade was very good, and drink and crime mounted high. A facile optimism pronounces the subsequent decrease to be due to the growth of wealth, the general progress of society and the spread of education. These may be factors in the case. No one of us will overlook the standing difficulty of the social student, the fact of the plurality of causes. But a review of the years before 1874 will throw further light on the point. There was a vast growth of wealth between 1860 and 1874, and during that period the foreign trade of the country increased 70 per cent. There was educational progress; in twenty-four years before 1874 the number of those signing the marriage register with a mark fell over 200 per cent. There was even some moral progress. The number of illegitimate births fell from 70 per 1,000 in 1845 to 56 per 1,000 in 1870. Yes, but the drink bill rose from £2 18s. 10d. per head in 1860 to £4 9s. per head in 1876. The consumption of beer rose from 24·3 gallons per head per annum in 1861 to 34 gallons per head in 1874.* And the arrests for drunkenness went up from 442 per 100,000 on the average of 1858 to 1862 to 812 per 100,000 in 1874-8. And what was the good of the growth in wealth and the spread of knowledge and the improvement of society in checking crime? Between 1860 and 1876 the population rose about 19 per cent., but †

* See Parliamentary returns, with diagram, of 23rd August, 1894.

† For these figures see Judicial Statistics (England and Wales for 1860 and 1876

Indictable offences—crimes against the person rose ...	47 per cent.
Breaches of the peace and want of sureties ,, ...	140 ,,
Deserting or neglecting to support a family ,, ...	91 ,,
Prostitution rose	36 ,,
Begging	29 ,,
Having no visible means of subsistence... ..	81 ,,
Malicious damage to property, etc.	55 ,,

Such is the high value of the general improvement of society when accompanied with an expanding drink bill. I beg to submit that there is evidence that the great growth in wealth since the 50's led to little but national demoralisation while the expansion of the drink bill went on. By 1876 the legislative restrictions of 1872 and 1874, and, still more, the efforts of Temperance reformers, began to tell. For twenty years, between 1874 and 1893, a consumption of drink declining in proportion to population goes far to account for a decrease in crime and the arrest of pauperism during that period, while the enormous figures of the drink bill, as it still exists, help us to understand how it comes about that in England and Wales you still have a yearly average of 55,371 indictable offences—not to mention an average of 634,120 cases tried summarily—and how, amid the greatest accumulation of wealth ever known in the world's history, there still apply for relief in the course of the year a population more than seven times the size of the total population of the City of Newcastle-on-Tyne. I wish we could realise what that fact means.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Persons tried per 100,000 of the Population.—Annual Average.

Year.	† Drunk.	Offences tried on Indictment.	Indictable Offences tried Summarily.	† Total Indictable Offences.	* Selected Offences tried Summarily.	† Total of Indictable Offences, plus Selected Summary Offences.	TOTAL INDICTABLE CRIMES.		† Assaults Only.	Selected Offences, minus Assaults.	All Indictable Offences, plus Selected Offences, minus Assaults.
							Against the person except against Morals.	Against Property.			
1874-78 ...	812.48	63.93	153.73	217.66	649.33	866.99	7.54	48.65	401.56	247.77	465.43
1879-83 ...	697.50	57.96	172.70	230.67	543.43	774.10	6.07	43.29	320.10	223.33	454.00
1884-88 ...	636.40	49.82	158.61	208.50	499.61	708.11	5.74	34.52	289.43	210.18	418.68
1889-93 ...	614.95	41.21	152.97	194.18	438.88	633.06	4.95	28.24	267.71	171.17	365.35
1894 ...	594.54	40.02	147.20	187.22	399.63	586.85	4.90	27.81	213.32	156.31	343.53

* Selected Offences :—Assaults, Game Laws, Malicious Damage, Poor Law Offences, Prostitution, Stealing.

† The columns of figures thus marked are thrown into diagram form in the accompanying diagram.

SOCIALISTIC THEORIES AND THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

BY J. MARTIN SKINNER, BECKINGHAM, KENT.



MR. J. M. SKINNER.

It is not my purpose to attack, or even to criticise Socialism when legitimately advocated as a means of improving the condition of humanity. My object is simply to defend our position as Temperance reformers from the attacks made upon it by a section of the less thoughtful Socialists. Any sincere attempt to improve the lot of the honest toiler cannot fail to awaken cordial sympathy amongst all intelligent workers on behalf of moral, social and political reform. But when the advocates of new methods, yet untried, decry efforts at self reform and social elevation by means of sobriety, and contend that it is useless to expect satisfactory results therefrom, it is necessary to examine such statements to see if there be any truth in them, and if so, what measure of truth they contain.

The theories of the Socialist in their extreme form are undoubtedly attractively pretty, but they may after all be only fantastic and unrealisable dreams. No means has yet been found of working them out, or of giving practical effect to them. They are untried and untested. Why do the advocates of this new system so persistently attempt to discredit the beneficent results of abstinence from alcohol? In individual and also in family life the physical, moral, and material advantages of abstinence have all been tested and proved in millions of cases. In communities, and even in states where the principle has been generally adopted, its results have been wholly satisfactory in securing, to a very remarkable extent, those social advantages which the Socialists wish to see prevailing everywhere. It is difficult to understand why a system which has in some measure realised the dreams of the Socialist party should be so persistently decried by them. The writings of the more intellectual Socialists are comparatively free from attacks upon the Temperance party, but the more aggressive members, who constantly address their fellows on the subject, seldom fail to speak against abstinence as a remedy for social misery. Hence the necessity of examining some of their arguments.

2.—EARNING AND SPENDING.

The social difficulties which surround us do not all spring from one source, and it will not be possible to remove them by any single remedy. The distribution of wealth, as a whole, is a knotty subject into which I cannot enter. The equal distribution of property would not, however, solve the difficult social problems which are crowding upon us. The proper distribution of the well-earned wages of the masses would do more to remove social difficulties and disturbance than would the sharing out of the accumulated wealth of the nation. It is not as difficult to earn money as it is to spend it wisely. Professor Marshall, of Oxford, truly says that a woman with capacity will make ten shillings go as far as another woman without capacity will make twenty shillings go. Out of every pound earned by the industrial classes, the sum of four shillings is spent upon intoxicants, or one-fifth of the total wages earned. This misuse of wealth honestly acquired has created the great drink traffic, which is the most cruel and deadly monopoly that ever existed. The spending upon alcohol of one-fifth of the wages earned means so much loss of money which should have added to the comfort of every-day life, or have been reserved for future use. The loss of all this money to the holders of it is not the only evil; the spending of it upon alcoholic drinks produces a terrible crop of evils of the most deadly kind. Drinking means waste of time as well as money. It engenders ill-health and shortness of life, destroying the power to earn. It is largely responsible for the crime, pauperism and lunacy which burden the nation, and it weighs heavily upon all who are honestly striving to do well. That

abstinence from alcohol promotes health and longevity is now clear to everybody, except to the wilfully blind, who persist in using the pleasant poison with callous indifference to its baneful effects upon individual and national life.

3.—DRINK AND POVERTY.

That drinking leads to poverty has been a recognised fact since the days of Solomon, who wrote: "The drunkard . . . shall come to poverty." The new teaching of some social leaders is that it is poverty which leads to drinking, but there is little, if any, evidence to support the theory. Drinking is not confined to any class. The rich drink quite as much as the wage-earning classes—and probably more in proportion to numbers. There is as much excessive drinking amongst the rich as amongst the poor, but the well-to-do classes have greater facilities for hiding it. The victims of drink who find themselves at last in the workhouse and gaol are drawn from all classes. There is also incontestible evidence that when trade is most depressed and the people are poorest there is much less drinking than when trade is good and wages are high. In 1876, at the close of a series of years of unexampled good trade, the national drink bill was £147,288,759, but after a short spell of bad trade it fell to £122,279,275 in 1880. If it be true that poverty causes or leads to drinking, instead of the drink bill being twenty-five millions less in 1880 than it was in 1876, it ought to have been twenty-five millions more. In isolated cases of great reverse from wealth to want a man may "drink and forget his poverty," but these are exceedingly few compared with the steady run of people who, in comfortable circumstances and favourable conditions, drink themselves into poverty. No intelligent social reformer thinks of asserting that all poverty is caused by drinking or thriftlessness. There is a good deal of what Robert Burns termed "honest poverty." All who have an intimate knowledge of the people know that there are many cases of hardship and suffering in existence not directly attributable to any fault on the part of the sufferers. But for one case of really honest poverty there are many cases of what may be fairly termed dishonest poverty. Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., speaking at a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in October, 1892, said:—"Some of our friends declare that if we had no drink we should have no poverty—no pauperism. The problem is not so simple and easy; but our poverty, our pauperism, all that is not self-inflicted, would, at any rate, be manageable by the philanthropic and other agencies, which were never so active as at the present moment." Thus, by getting rid of the drink evil, the workhouse system could also be dispensed with—a delightful vision to over-burdened taxpayers.

4.—EFFECT OF DRINKING ON WAGES.

It is hinted by Socialists (and sometimes even boldly asserted) that men, by becoming abstainers, tend to lower wages. Mr. Tom Mann indicated that in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Labour. The argument in brief is simply that if the employers find out their employees can live upon less wages they will accordingly pay them less. This theory, in fact, recommends the workers to live up to the full limit of the wages received, and is an argument against all thrift. Pushed to a logical conclusion, it means that a man who drinks and has not a shilling in his pocket can make a better bargain for his labour than the abstainer, who has six or twelve months' reserve fund to fall back upon. The theory is an absurd one, and every-day facts proves it is a fallacy. Unscrupulous employers readily take advantage of the poorest applicants for labour, knowing that in their poverty-stricken condition they will work at almost any price. On the other hand, the sturdy teetotaler, knowing that he can for a time live upon the benefits of his savings, refuses to demean himself by working at an unfair wage. It is, therefore, very clear that the thrifty abstainer will help to maintain a high standard of wages, while the drinker, who lives up to his income and may have to borrow a few shillings before the end of the week, tends to lower the standard of wages. My attention has lately been called to a strike which occurred in a West End firm, the leader in the movement for higher wages being an

abstainer. Having been out for some time without having their demand fairly met, the men resolved to go in again. But the leader refused to resume work upon such terms, and started in business for himself.

5.—CROWDING THE LABOUR MARKET.

One of the direct results of drinking is to crowd some sections of the labour market. When the head of a family gives way to drink, he fails to support his wife and children, who, in order to get bread, are driven into competition with other workers. Thus the labour market is flooded to-day with women and children who fall the ready victims of those who pay unfair wages. Charles Booth says:—"Factory girls are frequently daughters of drunkards," and "Life to a large number of married women in the East End of London is nothing more than procrastination of death." This cruel and unnatural state of things is a standing obstacle in the way of a satisfactory solution of the labour problem. The glut in the labour market now caused by so many women and children seeking work at low wages would, to a very large extent, be cured if those who ought to support them ceased to squander their money upon drink.

6.—THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

Abstainers are sometimes accused of lowering the standard of living. This is a mistake. It is the standard of drinking we are anxious to lower, and by doing so we inevitably raise the standard of living. It is drinking that lowers the standard of living more than any other factor. Drink dulls and deadens all the faculties, and under its stupefying influence men and women become reconciled to their surroundings, however low and degrading. Abstinence, while adding to health, brightens the faculties and leads to higher culture, with increased comfort. This may easily be proved by first visiting a few homes of those who are liberal supporters of the public-house, and then visiting a similar number of teetotal households. In the one case there is too often merely the means of bare subsistence in the roughest and rudest form; in the other there is generally to be found order, variety, and plenty, combined with comfort—and, in many cases, refinement.

7.—A STRANGE THEORY.

The teaching of some Socialists is that the abstainer has an advantage only while he is in a minority, and that if all became abstainers they would fall back into the same low level as before. We look in vain for any evidence in support of this delusive theory. Take, as an illustration, a small community of one hundred persons, having twenty men who are producers, and the rest women and children. Two of the men are incapacitated and unable to produce. The task of supporting these two men and their dependents is thrown upon the other eighteen men. The eighteen are handicapped by this incapacity of those who thus become a burden upon the community. The earning power of the eighteen is reduced by 10 per cent., and the reduced earnings are further taxed to support the two and their families. This is our position as a nation. The "submerged tenth," who are almost wholly the result of spending a fifth of the wages earned upon drink, form a dead weight upon the nation. The drink-made criminal and pauper classes are kept at great expense to sober workers. And we are told that the condition of the worker would be no better if he were relieved of this burden! Who can believe it?

8.—THE TEACHING OF EXPERIENCE.

Many thousands of individuals have happily proved in their own experience that abstinence from alcohol has been a powerful factor in helping them to attain success in life. Mr. John Burns, M.P., recently said, "What strength of mind and strength of constitution he possessed was due to the fact that in the earliest period of his life he had poured into his mind many illustrations of the value of Temperance from a physiological point of view." The majority of the labour representatives in Parliament are well-known teetotalers, illustrating by their presence in that assembly that abstinence as certainly helps men to the front as drink drives men to the rear. The adoption of Prohibition by communities, cities, counties, and States has proved equally successful in raising and improving their social condition. The dismal croakings of those who say that general abstinence

would lead to less work and lower wages is falsified by the experience of many places where the common drink-shop is totally suppressed. Abstinence is the most powerful lever at present in existence for raising the toiler's condition. Where adopted, the money which used to help to swell the publican's takings, and make millionaire liquor-selling peers, now goes into other channels of honest trade—creating work, increasing the demand for workers, and raising wages. There would be more than enough work for all, and better wages, if all the money now squandered on drink were spent in more useful ways.

MUNICIPALISATION OF THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

The municipalisation of the drink traffic is freely advocated by Socialists as a remedy for intemperance. There is no evidence in favour of the theory that the sale of alcohol under municipal or State authority would destroy or even seriously diminish drunkenness. Those who look to municipalisation as a cure for our greatest national evil are simply running after a Will o' the Wisp. The distribution of this irritant narcotic brain poison cannot be rendered innocuous by any special system of selling it. Its sale by a cultured parson will do the consumer as much harm as when sold by an ordinary publican. The distribution and use of alcohol by persons of the highest education and culture leads to disorder, as was produced by the experience of the Army and Navy Stores, London, where its sale for consumption by members on the premises had to be prohibited. Those who advocate the sale of alcohol by municipalities argue that it should be placed on the same level as water, light, good sanitary arrangements, and the means of conveyance. These false friends of society forget that water, light, and good sanitation mean life, health, and prosperity, while the spread of alcohol results in misery, disease, and premature death. Some thirty years ago Mr. Gladstone was being shown over the large Co-operative Stores at Oldham, when he missed something and asked the Members of the Committee, who were his guides, if they did not sell wines and spirits. "Oh! no, sir," was the prompt reply. "But why not?" asked the great statesman and financier; "they would be a profitable source of revenue to you." "Yes," said one of the workmen, "we know that, but we do not sell each other things that do harm." This, in brief, is our case against Municipalisation. We cannot consent to elevate the traffic by municipalising it; the only cure for the evils it brings is to prohibit it. In order to prevent the defilement of the minds of the people, we have made it illegal to sell impure literature. The traffic in alcohol, which now poisons the bodies of the people, must also be made contraband. It can never be regulated satisfactorily.

CONCLUSION.

In writing thus, I wish to be distinctly understood that I do not desire to express any opinion upon the merits or otherwise of Socialism, Capitalism, or Individualism. My sole aim has been to briefly indicate what I believe to be false teaching on the part of some Socialists, who would have the workman believe that it is not to his own interest, or the interest of his class, that he should become sober, and have the means of realising in an individual way that which it is hoped may in time be realised collectively. The spread of abstinence principles is constantly proving that this means of self-reform is the most successful method in existence for real improvement. Teetotalism carries a blessing with it wherever it goes, and never fails to improve the condition of those who adopt it. Prohibition will do for the nation what abstinence has done for the individual. The principles of Temperance Reform do not run counter to true Socialism, as I understand it. What is wanted is light!—more light! Drink fosters darkness, and any socialistic teachers who in any way encourage drinking are false to the high ideals of Socialism. Drink is the ally of anarchy and disorder, and those who would promote or prolong its use are the enemies, and not the friends, of genuine social improvement. Total abstinence is not the enemy of any real reform. It conduces to true manliness; it ensures a clear brain; it enables a man to bring a sober judgment to bear in the consideration of difficult questions. It thus contributes to the wise settlement of problems affecting the future welfare of individuals and communities.

SECTION III.

DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION.

The CHAIRMAN said Dr. Dawson Burns would undoubtedly have been present to read his paper had it not been for the death of his wife, whose demise was a great loss to the cause of Temperance, and especially to the able author of the paper. He was sure they would unite in conveying to Dr. Burns the thanks of the Convention for his paper, and their deep sympathy with him in his bereavement. (Hear, hear.)



MR. F. W. DIMBLEBY.

Mr. F. W. DIMBLEBY, J.P. (Richmond, Surrey), said in reference to the relation between drink, crime, and pauperism, he used to think before he became a magistrate that those who said that nine-tenths of the crime was caused by drink were exaggerating. But he now could repeat the statement from his own experience. He had no hesitation in saying that at least nine-tenths of the cases that had come under his own notice had the drink as the necessary factor of their production. But those who thought the arrests showed the amount of drunkenness were indeed mistaken. He had found that when a constable gave evidence against a man who had been drunk and incapable, his testimony generally ran like this: "I asked the man to go home; I tried to get him to go home, but because he could not (or would not) I was obliged to take him into custody." That was the kind of evidence which constantly came before the magistrates, and the police did not apprehend if by hook or crook the drinkers could get home. What the police gave them by the arrests was a sample of the drunkenness, and if there was more drunkenness there were more arrests. As to pauperism, he could say, from his experience as a Guardian of the Poor, that he had never met a real teetotaler in the workhouse. (Applause.) He had met people who were once teetotalers, but became false to their pledges and returned to drink. More pitiable cases he never saw. He had met with those who had been ruined by drink, and then became teetotalers—when it was too late to recover themselves. (Hear, hear.) He could quite understand how it was that pauperism did not occur just at the time when much money was being spent on drink and the drink bill was high. Men spent their money, and the poverty followed. It did not come just at the same time. (Hear, hear.) So they could have a period of prosperity, with careless spending and careless drinking, and it was not at that time that the pauperism came in, but later on when the drink bill might be lower. (Applause.)

Mr. E. TENNYSON SMITH (London) said he thought the Convention would be much more valuable if they had an interchange of thought as well as the very valuable papers. He should like to supplement what had been stated with regard to the connection of drink with crime. Some time ago a publican met him on the platform and contended that the teetotalers continually exaggerated the matter. He challenged a statement made by Mr. Lewis Williams at Cardiff that nine-tenths of crime was caused by drink, and was delighted to find that the Governor of Cardiff Goal had said that was incorrect. He (the speaker) telegraphed to Mr. Williams, who in his reply said that it was true that Major Knox, late Governor of Cardiff Goal, told him most distinctly that his statement was incorrect—because it was under the mark—(applause)—and that three years' observation showed that drink was the cause of crime in 95 per cent. of his prisoners. (Hear, hear.) The publican did not want to disprove the fact after reading that telegram. (Hear, hear.) He should be very sorry if from this Conference there should go out an opinion that they were not in sympathy with the working men to better their fellows. He

wanted war against the liquor traffic, and he was glad to hear the sound of war in Mr. Skinner's paper. They should dispel the fallacy that drink can be sold without doing any harm. He was the sworn foe of every brewer, licensed grocer, and publican in the country. They were told public opinion was against them, because it was said the liquor seller was a good man. What did it matter to him whether he was a good or a bad man if he injured his (Mr. Smith's) boy? If he was a good man he was engaged in an abominable traffic, and it was time they declared war against him.

Mr. CHARLES ROBERTS, M.A. (Naworth), said he did not want to attack the Socialists—he wanted to understand them. (Hear, hear.) He thought Mr. Skinner had shown pretty conclusively that the theory of the Socialists would not square with the facts. How did it come about that a theory which would not square with the facts got into their heads? (Laughter.) The answer to that lay in a bit of the history of political economy, and he thought it was well that teetotalers should know it. Fifty years ago, in England, there was a doctrine of political economy which was now utterly obsolete. It was the doctrine of Ricardo, who held that it was utterly hopeless for the working classes to ask or to expect any increase of wages. He held that there was only a limited quantity of wealth in the community available for wages, and that if a certain part of the working classes got more than their share, somebody else would have to take less. That was why political economy was called a gloomy science. It was, indeed, a gloomy one, because it was a false one. Karl Marx, the founder of German Socialism, took up his discussion of social subjects from Ricardo. Marx said “your political economy presents the working classes with a prospect of despair. So long as capital remains in the hands of private individuals, there is all the result that the orthodox economy can show. Then,” said Marx, “what is to be done is to put the capital into the hands of the nation. It cannot lead to anything worse.” The doctrine of the Socialists was perfectly logical on the position of Karl Marx—“so long as capital remains in the hands of private individuals, there is not going to be any increase in wages and no rise in the standard of comfort; then why should the working classes save, as the money will go out of their pockets sooner or later by the inevitable effects of competition?” This was the reason why they said it was no use men saving by becoming teetotalers—because the money would leak out of the men's pocket by this so-called iron law. The answer to this was that the political economy of the Socialists was a response made to an utterly false, reactionary, and out-of-date political economy, which has been hopelessly knocked to pieces by the later political economists. The amount of the wealth of the country available for the wages was not a limited quantity. It depended upon the total product of wealth, and that total product of wealth depended very largely on the efficiency of the labourer. How were they going to raise the standard of life? Largely by total abstinence and prohibitive measures. How were they going to raise the efficiency of labour? By total abstinence for the labourer, and by Prohibition for the State. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. H. RAPER (London), said he did not intend to deal with the statement made by Mr. Roberts. The paper was suggestive in all departments of the great questions which were now affecting thousands of the people of the country, and it was no use trying to ignore the existence of anxiety upon these points. They could not wonder at those who were making the fortunes of the great men of the land wishing to share it more completely than they did—(loud applause)—but at the same time he did not think the Convention could profitably enter into the discussion of those points. The social principle was in operation in the municipalisation of the tramways, gas works, water works and other concerns. Some of the wiseacres suggested municipalisation, or State control of the liquor traffic. The grave point in this matter was that the traffic in liquor was so essentially bad, that none of them could enter upon it without being in danger of defilement, and without promoting one of the greatest dangers to the safety of the country. (Hear, hear.) He thought the party were making a mistake in refusing the principle of local veto, when accompanied by modifying conditions. He was so satisfied that if they could get the veto alongside of anything they should take

it—because he firmly believed that they could educate the people up to the veto. If they got a Bill, even with the option of adopting local veto, they should take it, for the crime itself would educate the community up to local veto.

Mrs. HARRISON LEE (Melbourne, Australia) said they had to remember that they had got not only the classes but the masses, yet to educate. Let them, wherever it was possible, find the points of agreement with their Socialist friends, and whenever they could, let them try to win them. The Socialists said that poverty led to drink, but they, of course, knew that drinking led to poverty. It was not the pig-stye that made the pig, but the pig that made the pig-stye. When the boot trade had a good week, some people had got boots; when the meat trade had had a good week, some people had got meat; but when the drink traffic had had a good week, somebody had come short. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, realising that Socialists really wished to benefit their fellow-men, they said to them: "If you wish to lift up the working classes, foster the trades that lift up the working classes, and then we will go all the way with you in your efforts."

The Rev. C. F. AKED (Liverpool) said that since Mr. Raper's speech something should be said at once, without five minutes' delay, as to whether or not it was conceivable, even remotely conceivable, that this Convention would tolerate for one moment the principle of municipalisation. (Applause.) Let them go back to the first truths which had brought them there. (Cheers.) They had come there because for a long, long while now, wherever teetotalers were gathered together, they had listened to reform. Now they were not listening to reformers. They wanted to give the counterblast to all these licensing reforms. (Cheers.) They were license destroyers. (Loud cheers.) They had seen quite enough of the weakening of the knee and watering-down process, and now, in God's name, they would have no more of it. (Cheers.) They would accept nothing that led in the direction of municipalisation, but would not rest until they had got prohibition from shore to shore. (Cheers.) They suspected the *bona fides* of some of the men. (Applause.) He would admit that such a remark was a little uncharitable, but they could not help it. They must be a little intolerant now and then. (Cheers.) They stood for destruction and annihilation, and so far as municipalisation was concerned, they must denounce it. In the language of Isaiah, it was "a league with hell and a covenant with death." (Loud cheers.) The lie was dead and damned, and truth stood up instead. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Mr. EDWARD PEARSON (Manchester) advocated the closer union of the Temperance party and the Socialist body. He thought that from amongst that Convention they could pick out half-a-dozen men who were known for their sympathy with Socialistic principles, and who could arrange some means by which the two bodies could work together for a common end.

Mr. LIEF JONES, M.A. (Castle Howard), who spoke as one who had to contend with the Socialists at open-air meetings, said they had to combat two great fallacies. One was that poverty was the cause of drink, and the other was that total abstinence would cause a decrease in wages. The Socialists were right when they said that the miserable surroundings of many of the working men drove them into the public-houses, but they forgot too often that the very poverty and misery which caused this was due to drinking habits. How often did the drunkenness of the husband drive the poor wife into the public-house, and the drunkenness of the parents in turn force the children into intemperance. (Hear, hear.) Then, in regard to the wage question. The rate of wages depended upon three things. It used to be supposed that wages were paid out of the capital. Wages were advanced out of capital, but paid to the labourer out of the work he himself did. It therefore stood to reason that if they could increase the total product of labour, they would have a fund from which the wages could be increased. Hence they could see at once that if total abstinence were adopted, the efficiency of the labourer would be increased—it had been calculated that it would be increased by one-sixth—and there would thus be an increase of one-sixth in the total amount of the fund from which wages could be drawn. The second thing upon which the amount of wages depended was the standard of life of the working classes. The drink-sodden

labourer would put up with hours of labour and rates of wages that he would never be satisfied with were he leading a proper and sober life. As his standard of life rose so also did the standard of life rise and his wants become greater, and as the standard of life of the working classes rose so also did their rate of wages rise. The third point affecting the rate of wages was the power of combination, and that power was very directly affected by the drinking habits of the working people, the universal testimony of labour leaders being that the drink was the one great enemy of successful organisation. The labour leaders with one accord said that the blacklegs were mainly recruited from the drunkards and from the men who loafed about public-house doors. He thought that it was evident from those three points that by the adoption of total abstinence there would be a large rise in the rate of wages paid to the workmen of the country. (Applause.)

Mr. THOMAS HARDY (Stoke-on-Trent) made a few remarks.

Rev. A. GRAHAM BARTON (Crook) said that some of the Socialist leaders had spoken in the strongest terms against the liquor traffic, and some of the strongest phrases in use by Temperance orators were culled from the writings of Socialist leaders. They should attempt to work in sympathy with the Socialist leaders, and strive to come to a better understanding with them. He trusted there would be no carping criticism at that Convention to dissociate them from the leaders of the movement. (Hear, hear.)

FOURTH RESOLUTION,

Mr. J. WILCOX EDGE, J.P. (Hanley, Staffordshire), moved the following resolution:—

“That, as the perversion and waste of an immense amount of food yearly in the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic liquors is a grave national danger, as it diverts from legitimate industry many million pounds sterling, diminishes industrial energy, decreases home trade, limits national resources, and tends to intensify the problem of the unemployed, this Convention is of the opinion that it is the duty of political economists and financial and social reformers to unite with Prohibitionists to secure the abolition of this dangerous traffic.”

Mr. ROBERT MACKAY (Glasgow) seconded, and the motion was unanimously carried.

The CHAIRMAN, after declaring the motion carried, said they had heard most excellent papers, and they had had some most excellent discussion. They had also some balmy breeze with the chairman—(laughter)—and every person who had expressed a desire to speak had been accorded a hearing—(applause)—and, in addition, they had passed a most important resolution.

The Convention then adjourned.

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1876.

Year.	British Spirits. Gallons.	Foreign Spirits. Gallons.	Wine. Gallons.	Beer. Gallons.	British Wine and Cider. Estimated Gallons.	Total Gallons.
1876	29,950,288	11,487,795	18,660,846	1,133,444,754	17,500,000	1,211,043,683
1877	29,888,176	10,618,564	17,671,273	1,089,635,094	17,500,000	1,185,313,107
1878	29,358,715	10,438,637	16,272,295	1,117,316,754	17,500,000	1,190,886,401
1879	27,936,651	9,540,851	14,945,093	980,768,124	17,500,000	1,050,690,719
1880	28,457,486	8,477,512	15,854,335	905,088,978	15,000,000	972,878,311
1881	28,730,719	8,295,265	15,644,757	970,788,564	15,000,000	1,038,459,305
1882	28,554,264	8,292,125	14,431,282	976,780,224	15,000,000	1,043,057,895
1883	28,548,489	8,299,985	14,210,141	977,092,776	15,000,000	1,043,141,391
1884	28,012,380	8,168,552	14,130,120	999,032,796	15,000,000	1,064,343,848
1885	26,619,488	7,935,085	13,848,748	975,644,568	15,000,000	1,039,047,889
1886	25,954,251	8,551,811	13,252,503	976,828,104	15,000,000	1,039,586,669
1887	25,969,776	8,581,767	13,694,476	998,140,212	15,000,000	1,061,486,231
1888	25,963,593	8,117,533	13,500,109	1,003,422,789	15,000,000	1,066,004,024
1889	27,183,351	8,552,310	14,158,851	1,073,655,828	15,000,000	1,138,550,340
1890	29,440,431	8,913,707	15,018,840	1,124,956,728	15,000,000	1,193,329,606
1891	30,744,209	8,420,553	14,855,753	1,140,021,648	15,000,000	1,209,042,163
1892	31,355,267	8,147,189	14,623,345	1,134,311,436	15,000,000	1,203,437,237
1893	29,857,897	7,869,836	14,163,771	1,137,396,600	15,000,000	1,204,288,194
1894	29,893,576	7,642,039	13,845,620	1,142,836,632	15,000,000	1,209,217,867
1895	30,830,230	8,252,553	14,635,568	1,160,126,748	15,000,000	1,228,845,099
1896	31,899,950	8,218,270	15,861,251	1,219,136,400	15,000,000	1,290,115,871

SECTION IV.

HINDRANCES TO PROHIBITION.

The Convention resumed in the Town Hall at half-past two o'clock on Wednesday, April 7th, 1897, Rev Principal Hutton, D.D., Glasgow, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

PRINCIPAL HUTTON, D.D.

PRINCIPAL HUTTON said: Speaking of the state of the legislative question, I speak as an abstainer, and one who believes that sound views and practice on the matter of intoxicants lie at the basis of all progressive legislation as to the public-house. The public-house has become an enormity of evil, challenging universal attention. It was from the first of the Temperance movement a recognised factor of public drunkenness, but now for long years it has also exercised a powerful financial and political influence. It is impossible to be indifferent to its threatening dimensions and ramifications. To the great brewing and distilling lords are now added by the operation of the limited liability system a multitude of investors, swelling the ranks of the interested among the respectable and influential, while the host of customers, from the moderate drinkers to the sots who make it their rendezvous, maintain the hourly traffic in our streets,

with its attending multiplying scandals and miseries. Politicians temporise in view of the voting power which the public-house can rally, now sitting on the fence or balancing on alternate feet. Justices and magistrates hate the licensing bench, and would gladly leave its decisions to the people by any option which would release themselves from the irksomeness of judgment. All this may not be morally healthful, but it has worked out two clearly defined attitudes and parties. We have a strong body of men in and out of Parliament who are united in the policy of giving to the people in localities a veto on public-houses. These include the major portion of all abstainers and many other earnest persons seeking the solution of this public-house question. On the other hand, we have an alliance more miscellaneous, but doubtless embracing sincere and patriotic citizens who favour what they call "management" of the public-house. These have of late sought to persuade the vetoists to combine with them to urge a three-fold option. Their symbol is a triangle, with its sides marked limitation, and Prohibition, and its base management. It has appeared in Scotland with the recommendation of some eminent names, but with little public acceptance. A few Temperance men have associated themselves with it, but it is not approved by the general Temperance sentiment of this country, which has long set itself to obtain the simple popular veto. I cannot but think the attempt to add on to the option of the veto an alternative of management, unwise, and impracticable. What we ask the legislature to do or to submit to the electors should be something we can approve, it should be a cure so far as applied, and it should not divide our ranks on a matter of principle. Besides, being introduced at the eleventh hour, and with something of political collusion, it is objectionable as an attempt to unite in appearance those who hold quite opposing views of the public-house; those who think it a necessary

convenience to large numbers of the public, and, therefore, to be maintained with improvements, and those who think that on the ground of its demonstrated incurableness as a source of public and social evils, its demoralising and dangerous character, its menace to the best interests of the country, it should be repressed and, as soon as may be, prohibited. Which of these policies should prevail? And can we really combine them? Is the public-house to be continued for the sake of the convenience of the moderate drinker, or abolished for the sake of the multitude to whom it is a snare and ruin? These are the two ways of it. Management is an attempted third way, but it is in principle a deliberate adoption and promotion of the public-house. It would transform it into a public interest, and make it a means of gain to municipalities and national exchequers and benevolent institutions, and give it a legal establishment with claim to compensation. And with a view to what? To the decrease of drunkenness, as it is marvellously supposed, by the continuance of the public-house—not by its discontinuance, but by its continuance under new conditions as a public trust and interest, with such supposed improved regulations for its conduct, as may or may not be attained. When we are told of what is hoped for in the way of better regulations, which is not essential to the idea of public responsibility or management, or to its working, we cannot but recall the fact that the licensing system, which implies the private responsibility and interest of the publican, accompanied by repressive regulations of the trade, has itself, with all its defects, been able to coerce the public-house system, in accordance with local public opinion, by various limitations. We have in Scotland one whole day in seven rescued from the traffic, and early closing made possible in a large part of the country, with various restrictions as to the granting or retaining of licenses, and other punitive measures. There is no reason to believe that management will work miracles in this direction, or accomplish more than public sentiment operating through present channels, or so much. But whether or not, management is not altered in its principle by any superficial success of regulation. It is still the assumption by the community of the responsibility of maintaining and conducting a business demoralising and ruinous in all its tendencies, for alcohol loses none of its properties, indulgence none of its seductions by being patronised. It is said that it would be so great a matter to terminate private interest in public-houses by making it public property; but by management you give every man and woman in the community a personal interest and character as a publican—a doubtful improvement. It is also said that you prevent a monopoly of public-houses falling to a small number of persons by the gradual suppression of public-houses, should that method locally prevail. I do not think that there is any injury inflicted on those who are not in the traffic by reduction or refusal of licenses. They are spared a great snare by being out of it, and as to the monopolists, they are not made stronger by their position, but otherwise. They will be the more easily dealt with. It was an imperial personage who wished all his enemies to have but one neck, that he might behead them at a blow. And I would not be afraid if the public-house should be concentrated in a single firm of private interests. The fewer invested with privilege, the sooner invidious monopoly is likely to take end: while a system which panders to the vices of the people cannot but acquire a new strength and status by its public adoption, through pecuniary interests and the speciousness of law. By management we are told we shall show our trust in the people. I do not wait here to discuss the question, Who, in law, are the people? But there is a false note in this language. The people, in the sense of the majority of voters, do and must settle all legislation by their representatives. We may or may not trust to their wisdom. Happily, there is a great soul of justice and common-sense amongst them. They are not, and are not necessarily, always right. But trust or not trust in the people, they have their rights, and this is a question of the rights of the people. It is a social and political right of people, of whatever grade of life, to be legally protected from the invasions of a demoralising traffic planting its drink shops at their doors and in their neighbourhoods. It ought not to be in the power of local or other licensing authorities to satisfy the interests of land-

lords, and publicans, and producers, by the continuance of such a system. Even chemical or other physical nuisances, dangerous or explosive works, are not promiscuously allowed. We hear of employers' liability. What would be thought of a liability of owners and occupiers of public-houses for the accidents attendant on their trade, or, as President Kruger would say, for the material, moral, and intellectual damage accruing from their practices? It might not be amiss. The veto may not be an ideal method. Direct legislative action by the representatives of the nation may be more in accord with perfect theory, but public opinion has gathered round the principle of local veto, and there is a ripeness for an experiment of this kind. Why introduce another option to divert, to weaken, to retard? We are not marplots. Local Veto would at least enable the people to defend themselves from the aggression of the public-house upon their amenities and rights. They are on the defensive in all the interests of morality, social happiness, public decency and welfare. What is the justification of the triangle? Why should those who believe in management not go for it on their separate account? Why should they wish to ride on the back of the old Temperance movement to their object which is really so different from that of the reformers who do not believe in the public-house? All honour to their sincere endeavours for the decrease of drunkenness. Who does not wish that? But, alas, for their method. Is it come to this that when a traffic or practice of vice has become a public trouble and nuisance and scandal, instead of repressing and punishing its efforts we should in despair take over its management and make it a public business? There are illustrations that occur in connection with other attempts to deal with vice and lucrative immoralities and inhumanities by which we should be admonished. As it is, management is a proposed organisation of the public-house—a rehabilitating, renovating, whitewashing, painting, and papering of it, to make it less offensive to the eye or nostrils, but in nothing altering its character as a traffic in alcoholic drinks, which must from the nature of these drinks, and of human nature, bring in its train destruction and misery, personal, domestic, social, moral, and religious disaster. This is no cure, present or prospective. Why should we send it down? We must needs set our faces in the direction which makes for repression, and sooner or later abolition, but management is the contrary direction. We must send the question, whether to the people or to Parliament, with a clear indication of the alternative we seek. We must so represent it that the issue shall be for or against the public-house. It is said we must do "something," but this is mere bewilderment. Let us do the right thing. It is folly to talk despair. We may need to wait and fight long, but that is the condition of all moral warfare. Let us do our part in our generation. The country will live after us. Let us cast our bread on the waters, and we shall find it after many days. We are reminded that the present relations of law to the public-house and the profits of excise already involve us in public responsibility, and it seems argued that we need not scruple to go further. But the consciences of those do not accuse them in this matter who have maintained a constant protest and warfare against the drinking usages and the public-house; who seek to retrace wrong steps of law tending to building up an evil system, and to substitute better law. We may not allow the state of law to become worse—which we believe it would be by management—if we cannot at once make it better. And it is not to be forgotten that, with all that is yet wanting or wrong in the law, its historical attitude to the traffic in strong drink has for long been that of restriction and repression, as towards a traffic dangerous, and not to be granted the latitudes of free trade. Much of what accrues from the excise may be said to have the character of fines paid to society, and all that is most recent in license law points to stricter supervision and short time certificates. It is this attitude—repressive, restrictive, jealous, prohibitory—that wise reformers will seek to encourage and advance to its issues, so far as the law is concerned; while prosecuting with increased energy the educational, moral, and religious agencies, advancing the principles and practice of total abstinence, as fundamental to solid temperance reform.

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION.

BY GEORGE BLAIKLOCK, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, LONDON.



MR. GEO. BLAIKLOCK.

IN ancient Greece, before the orator addressed the people upon any public question, a priest made this solemn invocation to the gods, "Let that man perish and his family, let his name and memory be blotted out for ever, who shall say or do anything to injure the State"! But in our own country, at the end of the nineteenth century, there are men who are reducing electoral corruption to a science, and making purity of election increasingly difficult, and while possibly the letter of the law is obeyed, its spirit is sometimes flagrantly violated.

Events have proved the possibility of driving the proverbial coach and six horses through the mazes of the Corrupt Practices Act, but the individual who attempts to cycle through them, may find himself badly thrown.

In one case, a member of Parliament was allowed to retain his seat, who had given dinners to the voters, while another member was unseated because he had given food to the horses which brought the voters to the poll.

But I do not, on the whole, take a pessimistic view. There have been times in the history of our country, when not only were votes bought by the highest bidder in the electoral market, but when Governments themselves spent thousands of pounds yearly in bribing members of the House of Commons for their support.

That time has gone, I believe for ever; members of Parliament, and of our other public bodies are no longer to be bought with a bribe, and I unhesitatingly say, that the gold does not exist, that could purchase the unjust favour of any one of Her Majesty's judges. Nevertheless, there is a gross amount of electoral corruption in some parts of our country, but this is not now carried on by bribing the constituents, but by "nursing" the constituency. Rich men, anxious to get into Parliament, sometimes take a fancy to live in a certain district, and at once begin to purchase interest and influence by pseudo-charity and interested philanthropy, they then get themselves adopted as the parliamentary candidates for the districts where they carry on their benevolent and malevolent works of charity, prostituting that holiest virtue by gifts that are twice cursed, cursing him who gives and him who takes. This system, which I fear is growing, is making it impossible for poor men, or for any men who respect themselves and their fellows too much to stoop to dirty trickery, to contest for seats in Parliament.

The liquor traffic is a convenient and potent engine of political debauchery, and often on election days a stream of cheap beer is flowing, the pecuniary source of which is almost as difficult to trace as the source of the Nile. Experience has shown that it is almost impossible to prove to the satisfaction of a legal tribunal, the knowledge or complicity of either candidate or agent, in relation to the supply of such beer, and so we are bound to admit, legally at any rate, that such knowledge or complicity does not exist, and we are driven to the conclusion that the disinterested brewer, and the generous hearted publican, give the liquor to the people from simple, guileless good nature, and merely with the innocent desire to stimulate the thirsty voter, so as to enable him to reach the polling booth and go through the laborious exertion of putting a cross against the name of his favourite candidate.

I.—I shall, as briefly as possible, state what the present law is, then,

II.—Show what are possibilities of corrupting the electorate under the present law, and

III.—Suggest some remedial legislation.

I.

We will first look at a few of the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act, and you will see the apparent stringency of the Statute.

The Corrupt Practices Act 1893. (46 and 47 Vic., Cap. 51).

Section I.—Sub Section I, provides that, “Any person who corruptly by himself, or by any other person, either before, during, or after an election, directly or indirectly gives or provides, or pays wholly or in part, the expenses of giving or providing, any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision to or for any person, for the purpose of corruptly influencing that person, or any other person to give, or refrain from giving, his vote at an election, or on account of such person or any other person having voted, or refrained from voting at such election, shall be guilty of treating.

Section I, Sub Section II.—Provides that, “Every elector who corruptly accepts or takes any such meat, drink, entertainment or provision shall be guilty of treating.

Section 20.—Provides that—

(a). Any premises on which the sale by wholesale or retail of any intoxicating liquor, whether the license be for consumption either on or off the premises, or (b) any premises where any intoxicating liquor is sold or is supplied to members of a club, society or association other than a permanent political club, or (c) any premises whereon refreshments of any kind whether food or drink is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises shall not be used as a committee room for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at an election, and if any person hires or uses any such premises, or any part thereof, for a committee room, he shall be guilty of illegal hiring, provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any part of such premises which is ordinarily let for the purpose of chambers or offices, or for the holding of public meetings, if such part has a separate entrance, and no direct communication with any part of the premises on which any intoxicating liquor is sold or supplied as aforesaid.”

Section 39, Sub Section 8.—Provides, that, if any publican knowingly allows treating or other illegal practice on his premises, or is convicted of any illegal or corrupt practice, the fact of such illegal act or conviction shall be brought to the notice of the Licensing Justices, and it may be a ground for refusing to renew the license.

Section 22.—Provides, that if any corrupt or illegal practice be committed without the knowledge, consent or connivance of the candidate or his agent, and contrary to their orders, and the offences in question be a limited character, then the candidate or member will not be subject to any penalty or incapacity.

II.

You will, I think, agree that *prima facie*, the law seems stringent and far reaching enough, but now let us see what it is possible to do in the way of electoral corruption, and yet to avoid the penalties of the Statute.

In a northern town one of the Parliamentary candidates had a soft heart and a sympathetic mind; he was very anxious to relieve the poor in his own constituency, and at his expense they were provided with blankets, and tickets for coal, and soup, which were distributed by a Committee. In this town there is a street, one side of which is in the particular constituency referred to, the houses on the other side being just outside the boundary; the people on both sides are equally needy, but the kind hearted candidate in question, feeds the hungry and clothes the naked who happen to live on the side of the street within his own constituency, leaving the equally poor who live on the other side to go hungry and cold. Take another instance; a certain Borough had always returned a progressive member, the opposition party determined to secure the seat; they had fought and lost in the ordinary way for many years, but a new and less honourable method was at last adopted. A gentleman took a large house and went to reside in the constituency, and forthwith began to create influence in various ways. All the voters in turn, and their wives and children were invited by him to “At Homes,” Supper Parties, and Garden Parties.

He became much interested in the welfare of the local poor, soup tickets and coal tickets were freely distributed, and blankets were lent, with the name of the lender stamped upon them, to keep the chilly voters warm in winter. His interest in them remained just as warm in the summer, and some of the voters and their families were sent to the sea-side, and to convalescent homes at reduced rates. This gentleman also took a lively interest in athletic sports, the young men of the Rowing Club received a new boat, and the youths of the Football Clubs received new jerseys. Floriculture also had his patronage; and prizes were given for the best display of flowers. Although this man was such a philanthropist, he was neither a moral ascetic nor a temperance fanatic, and so he was frequently to be found at public-house smoking concerts, where some mysterious beery benefactor paid for drinks and smokes all round. In the supply of his family's daily needs, he was like the Sun, and expended his benefits alike upon the just and upon the unjust, and the butchers, and bakers, and fruiterers were legion.

Do not let it be said that this good man was guilty of corruption, these benefactions were not paid for by him, but by his wife, who drew the cheques upon her own banking account. Although it was known and understood that this philanthropist was to be the candidate, he had not been officially adopted, but was adopted just before the nomination. What was the inevitable result of this long course of nursing the constituency? After several unsuccessful attempts to win the seat, he finally succeeded, and to-day represents that constituency in the House of Commons.

You will remember that shortly after the General Election of 1895, there were several famous election petition trials. I take these excerpts from the evidence given in some of these cases, as reported in *The Times*.

In the Haggerston case of *Cremer v. Lowles*, a Mr. Bouchard said, "In 1895 there was great distress in Haggerston and Hoxton, he had taken part in trying to relieve it. Mr. Lowles authorised him to get cards and distribute them. Mr. John Lowles' name was on the cards, and they were for food. Witness gave the tickets away, but bore in mind that they were to be given in preference to the electors of Haggerston. One man looked at the ticket, and said, 'This is Mr. Lowles who is standing for Parliament, I'll give him a vote when the time comes, he is a jolly good fellow.'"

In the St. Georges-in-the-East case of *Benn v. Marks* the following testimony was given. W. Bradford said, "I am a voter, I went to the smoking concert at the Constitutional Club, I had drink there which I did not pay for, there was whiskey put on the table, and all those around me had drinks without paying for them. I was not a member of the Club."

J. Donovan said, "I am a voter, I remember going to the Constitutional Club, on a Thursday night in December. Mr. Leader, who was in the chair, invited me to go, he said he could not treat me, as an election was coming on, but he would introduce me to Mr. Francis, who would give me anything I wanted, I had drink which I did not pay for. All the people round me had cigars and whiskey which were ordered by Mr. Francis."

W. Mills said, "Mr. Lewis took me into the 'Ship' public-house and gave me a drink, he then took me to a place in Cannon Street, and gave me another drink, then we went to the Committee Room. We went to the 'Kettle Drum' from there, then to the Constitutional Club, where Mr. Lewis gave me another drink. I was promised that I should get some money at the Committee Room, but did not get any. I had some drink with Mr. Morris Docker at Bromley's, on the election day, no money was paid for it. I saw six or eight pots of beer drunk by myself and a lot of others. The beer was drawn by the barman. We went about in a van, and had to throw out bills and books."

John Morgan said, "I am a voter for St. George's, and voted at the last election. I went into Bromley's and saw several men there, I asked for a glass of ale and a man said, 'put your money in your pocket, there's lots of beer, drink Harry Marks' health.' I had a drink, and did not pay for it, there may have been seven or eight pots on the counter."

Then take the Southampton case. In that trial there was evidence of drinking and treating in the neighbourhood of the docks, and a barrel of beer stood on the roadway, and people helped themselves to it, men holding up pots of beer and shouting, "Vote for Chamberlayne and beer."

These things have taken place, but it was not proved that the members of Parliament in question, or their responsible agents had guilty knowledge and connivance sufficient to unseat them, the member for Southampton being unseated because of a small illegal payment having been made. But now let us see what happened at Lichfield; there the elected member, through his agent, had been found guilty of the high crime and misdemeanour of paying for food eaten by some of the horses which were lent by his friends to bring voters to the poll; and on that account he was unseated.

It will thus be seen that very considerable electoral corruption can be carried on under the present law, without inevitably incurring its penalties. I do not for a moment dispute the legal righteousness of the judgments in the cases cited, I mention them to shew that the arm of the law requires lengthening and strengthening, to enable it to grasp firmly those who violate it, and thrust them forth into deserved obscurity.

III.

I have now to briefly indicate some necessary amendment in the law, and if my suggestions seem to be drastic, it must be remembered that experience has proved the futility of half measures, and nothing will suffice but a really radical remedy.

I.—One most important measure that should be adopted is the oft advocated one, of an Act to provide that at the time of a General Election all the elections in the country shall take place on one day, and on that day all drinking-bars and public-houses shall be closed.

II.—It should be made illegal for any Member of Parliament, or his own immediate family, or agent, to subscribe to any fund, charity, church, or chapel in any constituency he represents, with the possible exception of a hospital or an orphanage. Charity may be good, but purity of election is better.

III.—No man should be eligible for nomination to represent any constituency if he, or his own immediate family, or agent have subscribed to any charity, or organisation of any kind in the particular constituency within the period of at least a year before such nomination takes place.

IV.—That any bribery, treating, or other corrupt practices on the part of any members of the party, with a view of influencing an election, shall, if proved, nullify such election.

V.—That all canvassing for votes from house to house be made an illegal practice.

The drink debased voter, with his chronic alcoholic thirst, his will power paralysed, his moral nature stunted and blunted, is the ready tool of unscrupulous place hunters, and the spread of total abstinence principles, with the resultant increased sobriety and thoughtfulness of the people, will do much to destroy electoral corruption. Let us also remember the importance and the need of a higher education of our people in relation to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The corruptible voters must be taught that a vote is a sacred trust, to be used in accordance with the conscience and conviction of the voter for the common good. Our citizens should be uncorrupted and incorruptible. It must be made as easy for the poor man, who has character and brains, to be elected to the House of Commons as it is for the rich man, who has, sometimes, nothing but his full purse or his empty title to recommend him.

Only by some such remedies as I have ventured to suggest shall we preserve our poor from electoral debauchery, our national character from dishonour, and our empire itself from danger.

By moral teaching and wise laws we must prevent the needy from being bribed with beer, cajoled with coals, and from having their independence of thought and action sapped with free soup.

COMPENSATION.

BY EDWARD PEARSON, WILMSLOW, CHESHIRE.



MR. EDWARD PEARSON.

THIS subject naturally divides itself into two sections, each a hindrance to Prohibition:—

1. The Teaching of the Doctrine of Compensation ;
2. Compensation put in practice (which we can only study in anticipation).

No. 1 may be viewed from three different stand-points, according to the character of that which is taught, which may be—(a) The doctrine that no license may be refused renewal without injustice (except on the ground of misconduct), unless the full market value attaching to the license be paid ; (b) The doctrine that though there be no legal claim to compensation, there is a moral claim for it ; and (c) That, though there is neither legal nor moral claim, it is well, on grounds of expediency, to grant compensation, with the view, to use a well-known simile, of “greasing the ways” to enable the good ship “Prohibition” to be launched.

Now, before we proceed any further with the argument, it will be well to define, with some degree of precision, what we mean by “Compensation.”

In the early years of this century the word had a much wider signification than to-day. Thus, if India had been visited, as to-day, with plague or famine, and Parliament had made a grant in aid of the Indian Government, that grant would have been described as “Compensation.”

No one would use the word in so wide a sense to-day. Used to-day, with a reference to legislation, the suggestion is always present that some right, custom, or privilege which has been of pecuniary value to certain interested persons, is in jeopardy—jeopardised probably by the prospect of some legislative enactment.

The underlying idea is : If the efficiency of some institution (as in the case of Army reform), if the moral sense of the nation (as in the case of the Liquor Traffic), demand the legislative enactment in question, the legislation must no doubt take place, but the private interests injuriously affected must be adequately cared for, and that is called “Compensation.”

Reverting, then, to “The teaching of the doctrine of compensation, viewed as a hindrance to Prohibition.” However good the intentions with which all or any of the three different classes of compensation are commended to the nation, their advocacy is from the very nature of the case obstructive to the advancement of the cause of Prohibition, for to advocate compensation cannot but distract the mind of the average citizen from the consideration of the Giant Wrong that the maintenance of the liquor traffic inflicts on the community, from the conviction of the rightfulness of the policy—nay, national duty—of Prohibition, and yet further, of the necessity, if the State is to be saved, for the adoption of that policy.

So dire is the injury caused to the material, moral, and spiritual welfare of the nation, by the liquor traffic as it exists to-day, that it is of the utmost importance that all thoughtful lovers of their country, should bend every energy to the formation of an overwhelming public opinion as to the absolute iniquity of the system—to the end that such Public Opinion should by faithfully recording its convictions at the polls, put those men in power, who shall be prepared to extinguish the traffic, as a moral abnormity, utterly incompatible with the Christian civilization of the day.

Such being the case, any action which turns aside the thought of the nation into the channel of pecuniary considerations, is, however well-intentioned, a most unfortunate and serious hindrance to the progress of Prohibition.

If this question is to be fought successfully, it must be fought on the highest grounds, and Prohibitionists must no more parley with the enemy with talk of compensation, than would Wilberforce have been content to discuss with Liverpool slave-traders the compensation which they demanded, but never got, though their slave-ships rotted in the Mersey, for lack of the human cargoes with which, at his instance, the law had declared it piracy to fill them.

While such considerations as these ought to be paramount in the minds of all loyal Prohibitionists, and should decide them never even to discuss the question of compensation, unless absolutely compelled to grapple with it—we are bound to recognise that arguments for compensation, coming from the enemy, must needs from time to time be manfully faced and dealt with.

These arguments are still being presented with the utmost *sang froid*, just as if the Sharp v. Wakefield decision had never been given—just as if it had not, as it has, swept away the argument of “a legal claim for compensation.”

At the same time we do not forget, that it is by true (if mistaken) friends to Prohibition that the other arguments for compensation are being put forth. Of these friends we cannot but admire the zeal and earnestness, yet at the same time we must needs regret, that in their loyal attempts to smooth the pathway of the Prohibitionists, they are raising up, although they discern it not, a retarding wave, which, forced up against the prow of the good ship Prohibition, is a serious hindrance to her speed.

There is another aspect under which proposals of compensation, coming from the friends of Prohibition, must needs be regarded as injurious to the cause of Prohibition.

We shall see, as we proceed with our argument, that it hardly matters from what source compensation is provided. Even if there is no charge, in the form of rates or taxes, on the community at large, the community locally does in practice resent, and resent intensely, the payment of large sums of money for the suppression of houses whose character, if not known in official circles, is well known locally, and points them out as richly deserving extinction, on the score of misconduct. But, altogether apart from this aspect of the question, the political economist will discern that it is a most dangerous thing to concede the principle of compensation—even if that compensation be conceded not on the ground of legal or moral right, but purely as a question of expediency—and that for the following reason. It is impossible to guarantee in any country the permanence of a legislative policy. The kindly-intentioned Prohibitionists may succeed in impressing on one Parliament their favourite view, viz., that compensation should be paid, but that a fund to pay it must be provided by the liquor traffic itself. We will presume that legislation on those terms is carried out. But the next Parliament is of a different type altogether. It is easily persuaded that it is utterly wrong to make the traffic pay for its own compensation, and forthwith enacts that compensation must be paid out of the Consolidated Fund. Under such circumstances, where will the smoothing-the-way Prohibitionist find himself? He has himself cut away from under his feet the sure standing-ground of No Compensation, and he finds himself powerless to raise a cry that shall affect in his favour the nation at large, on the mere question of the source from which the compensation is to flow.

Leaving now this Compensation-doctrine hindrance, let us turn to our second section.

Let us project our view across the intervening years of Parliamentary agitation, and consider what would be the effect of compensation, were it and Local Veto both the law of the land.

Unfortunately, we have for this forecast but slight guidance from actual experience, and we, therefore, turn the more readily to the anticipations of others. The adage, “*Fas est ab hoste doceri*,” is specially suggestive, when we find that such statesmen as Lord Salisbury and the late Lord Randolph Churchill, both jealous of the reforming zeal of those whom they regard as fanatics, have shown a special weakness in favour of compensation.

More than 11 years ago Lord Salisbury was prepared “to place the power of licensing in the hands of local authorities, to the extent which magistrates have it

now," but he coupled with this proposed change in the licensing authority, the condition "that if any unfair encroachment is made on the industry—(save the mark!)—of the publicans or others, fair compensation undoubtedly must be given," and he believed "that the terror of having to provide that fair compensation, would furnish no inconsiderable motive to induce the local authority to observe a wise and cautious moderation, in the exercise of this important duty."

Strictly construed, those words could be accepted by any Prohibitionist with perfect equanimity, for no Prohibitionist could wish that there should be any "unfair encroachment on the industry of the publicans," or of any one else. So, also, as long as there *is* any licensing authority wanted at all, we should wish it to observe a "wise and cautious moderation." The question is, who is to be the judge as to what is "unfair encroachment?" If the judges are to be the inhabitants in their several localities, no anxiety need arise, for while exercising Prohibition by Local Veto, the vetoists of course would not dream of making any unfair encroachment. They certainly would not condemn their own deeds as "unfair."

On our part, we aver that there can be nothing "unfair" in the State terminating, whether by Imperial or local action, the contract between the State and the publican, at the end of the period for which the contract was made.

That this is the fact, may be laid down as an absolute rule; but *a fortiori* must such a rule hold good, whenever the State shall conclude that, in the interest of the public welfare, it is necessary that the contract be not renewed.

But if the judge in the case is to be—not the people—but a Government that owes its return to power to the financial aid of the great brewers and distillers of the land, and if that Government is to use as its tool a Parliament that yields itself like wax to the hand of the Government, then the Prohibitionists might well fear that everything like genuine suppression of the traffic would be declared an "unfair encroachment,"—Lord Salisbury's "terror" would become a reality, and "Compensation," such as he contemplated, would prove an almost insuperable hindrance to Prohibition.

It is a remarkable, and at the same time melancholy, condition of things, that on almost every occasion in which the case arises, that there is a duty to hold the scales, as between the welfare of a people on the one side, and the property interests of the few on the other, the average statesman cannot see the claims of the nation, for to his eyes the moneyed interests of the few completely eclipse them. So at least have we found it to be in the case of Lord Salisbury.

Two years after the above occurrence, the late Lord Randolph Churchill became deeply interested in the great liquor question. He also inclined to place the powers for regulating the drink traffic in the hands of representative local bodies; he said that he sometimes put himself the question—"Would you give to the local authority power to prohibit totally all sale of drink within their district?" To which inquiry he would give the characteristic answer, "Well, I would, and I wouldn't." "In theory I would, and in practice I would not." He added, if you deal genuinely with the question, I do not think you could withhold from the local authority, practically unlimited powers with regard to the drink question; but I would introduce two very salutary checks upon any impulsive, or fanatical, or hasty action, and they would be checks connected with the pocket." The checks he proposed were:—

1st. To endow the local authority with all the revenue arising from liquor licenses of all kinds, and he thought that the danger of losing that income would be a powerful first check. 2nd. He would take steps to prevent a sweeping or rapid abolition of establishments for the sale of liquor, by enacting that in such cases compensation must be given.

Of course, these Statesmen only proposed compensation as a check on what they deemed the possible ill-considered action of the newly-created licensing authority, the creation of which they alike contemplated. Their forecast did not include the question of abolition by the vote of the people.

An almost parallel case was that of Mr. Chamberlain; he went beyond these proposals. Not content with a mere change of licensing authority, he proposed to give permissive powers to local authorities to dispossess the present holders

of licenses by purchase, and that the local authority should itself run the liquor traffic. In 1877, giving evidence before the Lords' Committee on intemperance, and unfolding his plan, he was challenged with the suggestion that under it the local authority would have power to close all public-houses. He admitted it, but added, "I am quite convinced that no Corporation in the world, having paid for this property, would fling it all away."

We find, then, that these three statesmen all concur in the view that no elected body, empowered to close liquor shops wholesale, would take such a step if it involved the sacrifice of large sums of money. In other words, with them compensation is not only a hindrance, but an absolute bar, to the Prohibition of the sale of liquor.

We said just now, that we the more readily turned to the views of these statesmen, in that we have very slight guidance from actual experience. Slight as it is, it becomes our duty now to examine that experience.

In the Colony of Victoria, notwithstanding the protests of the thorough-going Prohibitionists, a limited local option was granted, crippled by compensation clauses.

However, that compensation was not provided out of the rates. A fund was created for the purpose. That fund was fed from three sources:—1. Surplus money from increased license fees; 2. Fines paid by publicans for breaches of the law; 3. Should Nos. 1 and 2 prove insufficient, an additional tax on beer. If compensation could be unobjectionable, surely under these provisions it would be so.

What happened? Nearly three years ago they closed 13 or 14 houses under this Act, and paid from £15,000 to £17,000 in compensation. One of the brewers went round the town and averred that if anybody believed in the system it was he, for under it he had parted with the licenses of a number of houses that were simply a burden to him, and that the bulk of the money had gone into his pocket. The Victorian Alliance has had to advise no more closing of liquor shops until the arrangement as to compensation is set aside. Meanwhile, the Temperance workers of Victoria feel that they stand an object lesson to the rest of the world of the folly of coming to terms with the foe.

Although this is (and we are thankful that it is) the only guidance we get from actual experience, we do get a strong side-light from the experience of our Scandinavian neighbours. It is, however, only a side-light, for, notwithstanding the frequently-repeated utterances of the Bishop of Chester and others that when under the new system the renewal of licenses granted for a definite period was refused, compensation was given, it has been conclusively shown that compensation was not given. Nevertheless, these definitely-limited (triennial in fact) licenses were not the only kind of license.

Just as in England, in the days of the Stuarts, monopolies of various kinds were granted to favourites of the Crown, so in Scandinavia, service rendered to the country has not unfrequently been rewarded by a permit (sometimes for life) to sell liquor, the duration of these permits varying considerably. Now the system under which triennial licenses were refused renewal, could not touch these special permits. Here, then, comes in the side-light of which we have spoken. These permits, though not touched by the law, might have been dealt with by purchase. But did the *Bolag* in Gothenburg, or the *Samlag* in Bergen, in their zeal to discourage the cause of drunkenness, buy up these vested interests? They did not. The fact that purchase money, *alias* Compensation, would have to be paid was quite sufficient to check their zeal in this direction, and the result is that these life-long and other permits to sell liquor run to-day, and those premises sell liquor side by side with the establishments of the philanthropic associations.

Again the questioned Sphinx replies: "Compensation a hindrance to Prohibition."

Apart, however, from the experience of our Colonies—apart from side-lights from European neighbours, the exercise of our own reflective powers will easily enable us to discern that the menace of the payment of a heavy compensation, to be levied on a local community whenever it is ready on grounds of highest public morality to suppress the sale of intoxicating liquors, could not but paralyse the action of that community.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND THE POLICE.

BY COUNCILLOR T. R. THRELFALL, J.P., SECRETARY NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY.

ENGLAND employs an army of 41,000 policemen to maintain order, to check crime, and to reap the harvest the liquor trade sows. Their temptations are greater, and their duties are more delicate, arduous, and dangerous, than those of the regular soldier. But once abolish the drink and this force can be reduced to 10,000 men; judges, magistrates, and jailors would find their occupation all but gone; old age pensions and a host of other important reforms for the improvement of the people would at once be solved and a greater era of peace, prosperity, and plenty inaugurated.

It is, of course, obvious that unless even good laws are properly administered they lose their value and may even become instruments of oppression and degradation. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance to the well being of the State, that those who have to administer the laws should not only be above suspicion, but be keenly sensitive of the evils which law breakers cause.

Now, it is undoubtedly a regrettable fact that an impression prevails in many quarters that there is some sort of secret alliance between publicans and the police, and that the latter like the fabled figure of justice, perform their duty blindfolded. If that is so, then in the interest of good government it should be exposed at once; but, if on the other hand it is an error, then the sooner it is exploded the better. Now, I say most emphatically it is not true, and that the regrettable incidents at Wigan and Manchester are very rare exceptions. According to the last available police returns, out of the 25,747 officers employed in the Provinces, only 280 were dismissed or asked to resign, or a fraction over one per cent. It is impossible for there to be, except in very rare circumstances, any cohesion between the publicans and the police, for there are systems of checks and double inspections which would at once bring to light any serious evasion of law. In the Provinces the police are under the management of Watch and Police Committees, in the great majority of which, not a single publican or brewer has a seat, nay, in many the Temperance sentiment holds such strong sway that were any slackness shown in dealing with the trade it would bring serious punishment and possibly dismissal. The fact, therefore, that only a trifle over one per cent. of the police were dismissed should effectually dispose of the suspicion of any alliance between the bung and the Policeman.

If the licensing laws are full of loopholes, and if they are so framed as to punish the victim and not the cause, whose fault is it? Why the people's. If the law is an ass, the police have to make the best of it, and not exchange it, as many of them would like, for a more effective steed. Their duty is to administer, and not to interpret the law; that is left to the magistrates and the judges.

It should be remembered, too, that publicans know quite as much about the licensing laws as the police do; that they fiercely contest every licensing prosecution; and that they can obtain able pleaders and a host of witnesses. Take for instance the provisions against serving drunken people. In practice the police often have not only to prove that the landlord or his agent supplied the party, but that they knew he was drunk.*

Now surely among the many anomalies of the English law none is more absurd than that the police should fathom the knowledge of a man, or to be able to tell what was passing in his mind at a particular moment. This largely accounts for the fact, that for every three publicans brought before the magistrate for breaches of the licensing laws, only two are convicted.

According to the return of 1895 there were 104,216 public-houses and beer shops in England and Wales, of this number 2,507 were proceeded against, but

* The law, however, is clear that "knowledge" has not to be proved, if a publican is charged with the offence of selling to a drunken person (*vide* case of *Cundy v. Le Cocq*, 1884); but "knowledge" must be proved, if he is charged with the offence of "permitting drunkenness" (*vide* case of *Somerset v. Wade*, 1894). See Licensing Commission Minutes of Evidence, Vol. I., p. 224.

only 1,679 convicted, whereas 111,863 persons were convicted for being drunk. In other words, 66 people were fined or imprisoned for drunkenness for every one publican convicted.

The figures for the counties are still more remarkable. In the county of Northumberland, excluding the Boroughs of Newcastle, Berwick, and Tynemouth, for every publican convicted 214 persons were found guilty of drunkenness. In Newcastle itself the disproportion was even greater; 250 convicted for drunkenness against one convicted landlord.

In the boroughs of Lancashire the figures were, 122 convictions for drunkenness against one publican found guilty. In Lancashire county there were 115 convictions for drunkenness to every publican fined.

On the other hand, in the county of Gloucester, excluding Bristol, for every publican convicted only thirty persons were found guilty of being drunk, and in Norfolk the proportion stood one to thirty-three.

Now no one would for a moment say that the police of Northumberland, Newcastle, Oldham or Lancashire generally, are any more tolerant of the liquor trade or more lax in performing their duty, than their brethren of Gloucester or Norfolk. The fact is, that in the congested centres of the population, where the police have less ground to cover they can keep a sharper eye upon the trade. On the other hand, the publicans of the large towns are even more careful than those of the country districts, and can make infinitely more people drunk, without coming within the meshes of the law. Then there are clubs and grocers' licenses, and the swarms of *bona fide* travellers, all of whom add their quota to the great procession of drunkards in the big towns.

The liquor trade is of course generally credited with having a particular sharp eye in promoting its own interest, and a wide belief prevails that publicans and brewers have a very strong force on the great majority of Watch Committees. With a view to test the justice of this impression, I have recently collected information as to the constitution of these bodies.

Very reliable statistics were obtained from sixty-one towns in England with an aggregate population last census of 5,863,559.

No attempt was made to pick or choose the places, but a circular letter was sent to every borough with a Watch Committee, and as already stated, sixty-one replies were received.

It appears that out of 791 members of these sixty-one Watch Committees there are forty publicans, wine and spirit merchants, or brewers; twenty-two are grocers; thirty-five solicitors; thirty auctioneers; six contractors; ninety-two shopkeepers; eleven professors and journalists; seven labour representatives; twenty-two doctors; eighty-eight gentlemen, that is men of independent means; two-hundred merchants and manufacturers; two-hundred and thirty-one engaged in general trade; and seven pawnbrokers.

Although the trade only holds five per cent. of the seats on these sixty-one Watch Committees, this proportion is greatly minimised when the returns are further analysed. One town, Reading, has five members interested in the trade out of fourteen; another town has three members; three towns two members each, while twenty-six places have one member each. Thirty towns, or practically one-half the total referred to, have not a single brewer, publican or wine and spirit merchant on the Committee.

Amongst the most important towns where no one interested directly in the liquor trade has a seat on the Watch Committee, are Birmingham, Leicester, Liverpool, Bradford, Bolton, Stockport, Bootle, Burnley, Middlesbrough and Salford, or ten great centres with a population of 1,464,267.

While Leeds and Sheffield have each two members of the trade on their Committees, important boroughs like Nottingham, Gateshead, Newcastle, Oldham, Sunderland and Northampton have one each.

On the other hand, thirteen of the smaller boroughs whose aggregate population is only 507,375, have twenty members of the trade on their Watch Committees. Among these are Reading, Wigan, Exeter, Lincoln, Macclesfield, Maidstone and Kidderminster.

There are two important points which it may be well to emphasise. One is that there is a rapid growing tendency on the part of the large towns, which have signalled themselves in the matter of good local government, to exclude the trade from any part in administering the liquor laws; and the other is that the temperance sentiment is now making itself felt so keenly, that great public bodies do not care to run counter to it by placing members of the trade on the Police Committees. Now it is but fair to the police to say, that judging from the results in the police courts, the constitution of the Watch Committee does not appear generally to have any marked effect on the police in the carrying out of licensing laws. Take for instance Reading, where the publicans have five representatives now, and where they had a strong following in 1895. In that year there were 264 publicans, seven were proceeded against and all convicted. 187 persons were convicted for being drunk. In round numbers for every twenty-five persons convicted for being drunk, one publican was fined for a breach of the licensing laws. At Wigan where the drink influence is admittedly strong, there were in 1895, 245 public-houses and beer-houses. One publican only was proceeded against, 140 persons punished for being drunk. This it will be seen compares very favourably with towns where no member of the trade is on the Watch Committee.

Although the police generally are anxious to carry out their duties irrespective of the constitution of the Watch Committee, it is but fair to them to protect them from trade influence being used from inside that body. The Chief Constable attends its meetings; he knows its mind, and to some extent draws his inspiration from it. But as a matter of fact he is never influenced by it as to the publicans he shall prosecute. No, his general instructions are simply to apply the law all round. So far as I know, and I have made very careful inquiries, the Watch Committee are not even told or consulted as to taking proceedings against a land lord for breaking the licensing laws. The Head Constable is alone responsible. It must, however, be admitted that if a publican has a seat on the Watch Committee, the Chief's duties are made more difficult and disagreeable. Suppose, for instance, that the house of this particular member is reported for supplying drink, say, during prohibited hours. The publican may not say a word to the Chief; he may honestly wish to have the law fairly applied. But the fact of his being on the Committee, and that he is able, should he bear a grudge, to make things uncomfortable for that officer, is bound to have its influence upon the Head Constable, and from him permeate the rank and file. I believe that if the police themselves were canvassed on this point they would emphatically declare that it is not conducive to the public weal, or the interests of the police themselves, that any one interested in the liquor traffic should have a seat upon a Watch Committee.

So far as the Police Committees of the counties are concerned, little need be said. There are, I believe, a less proportion of members of the trade upon them than upon the Watch Committees, and the opportunities of influencing the higher police administration are reduced to a minimum. Still here, as in the boroughs, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

It is perhaps natural enough that Temperance advocates should be occasionally despondent; but I venture to think that the facts here set forth respecting Watch Committees alone will show that a vast salutary change is taking place in the local government of this country, and that this is bound very shortly to react upon Parliament.

But hopeful as this silent Temperance revolution is, it can be still further stimulated by the concentration of local Temperance forces upon particular points. For instance, a strong expression of opinion as the licensing session approaches has not only a very marked influence upon magistrates, but also upon Watch Committees. If local Temperance people only knew how strong is the desire of both bodies to effectually cope with extra objectionable houses, and how an expression of public opinion assists them, they would never allow a licensing session to pass without strongly memorialising them in favour of closing such houses. Then an active watchful Temperance sentiment in any locality has a very marked effect upon the police. It upholds them, keeps them on the alert, and assures them of sympathy in carrying out their difficult duties. Naturally enough they like to have public opinion behind them.

I also venture to suggest that Temperance reformers may with advantage turn their attention to the policeman. He sees so much of the seamy side of life that he appreciates kindness, and can under proper treatment be turned into a very sensible Temperance crusader. To appoint vigilance societies to do his work, or to treat him as a secret friend of the publican, ruffles him, rouses latent antagonism, and does infinitely more harm than good. Now it is undoubtedly a very regrettable fact that many young men who have been teetotalers for years cease to be so after they have been a year or two in the police force. This is easily accounted for. They are more subject to temptation than any other section of the people; the publicans and all jovial souls after closing time wish to stand well with them, and their rounds during the long winter nights are cold, comfortless, and exhausting. It needs some resolution in a man who is not a strict teetotaler to resist a glass of steaming hot whisky at four o'clock in the morning of a thick November day or of a piercing frost.

Now, I am bound to say that Temperance people can help the police very materially without in any manner interfering with discipline or duty. They can do so by adopting the following methods:—

- (1) By assisting to provide them with recreation grounds, gymnasiums, pleasant reading-rooms, and other methods of legitimate amusement.
- (2) They should endeavour to get a clause inserted in any new licensing bill prohibiting any pensioned policeman keeping a licensed-house.
- (3) They should so educate the public that private citizens will willingly come forward to corroborate a policeman's evidence in a licensed victualler's prosecution. Magistrates are very reluctant to take the evidence of an unsupported policeman where serious results may occur, and a chief-constable naturally hesitates to bring forward such a case, especially where the defence is keenly carried on and a host of rebutting witnesses forthcoming.
- (4) They should use their individual influence with members of the police force when off duty to sign the pledge.
- (5) They should call the attention of the policeman when they see a drunken man entering a public-house.
- (6) They should advocate such a decent rate of wages for policemen, as will entice into the force a most intelligent body of men. How on earth can anyone expect to get a plaistered saint for 24s. or 25s. per week. When a man has a wife and family to keep out of this it is obvious that poverty can easily open the door to temptation.

As the Chairman of a Watch Committee myself I may perhaps be permitted to point out that a year or two ago we arranged during the most severe weather to have hot coffee kept in the police stations for the men on duty from 12 to 6 in the morning. It was very greatly appreciated. Now I believe that if something like this were done in our municipal boroughs it would save many a poor fellow from getting into trouble, and would to some extent further the Temperance cause.

After all, the police are what the public make them. To a large extent they are the mirror of popular vices and virtues. A degraded, besotted, and indolent people will have a vicious corrupt police preying upon them; whereas an upright temperate vigilant race will have a body of truthful maintainers of order. Remember that many of them are men of indifferent education, that they are subject to great temptations, receive really poor pay, have to exercise considerable self-control, to frequently show great presence of mind, and often have to decide really delicate points at very short notice, and I venture to think you will agree with me in saying that the country may well be proud of them. But however good they may be, they can be improved if you and Temperance reformers throughout the country encourage and help them with active sympathy and support in effectually grappling with the evils of the drink traffic.

THE GOTHENBURG SYSTEM IN SWEDEN.

BY OSKAR PETERSSEN, GEFLE, SWEDEN.



MR. OSKAR PETERSSEN.

EARLY in this century spirit distillation was allowed in the homes of the people of Sweden, and the deluge of that commodity threatened to drown the country and people. In the year 1829 the number of spirit-stills that were taxed was 173,124, and the consumption amounted to 46 litres per head—a litre being seven-eighths of a quart. Ghastly figures indeed! The fruits were terrifying, too; poverty, distress of every kind, coarseness and brutality were in town and country.

Naturally, such a state of things could not long continue to exist without warm-hearted, patriotic men trying to erect dams against the overflowing tide of spirits. At first separated forces worked for this purpose, and at length in the year 1837 the Swedish Temperance Society was organised, the activity of which in the cause of sobriety and morality, though carried on according to the ideas of that time, cannot be over-valued. One of the most active among the agitators or, as they were called, "agents," of this society was Dr. Peter Wieselgren, Rector of Westerstad, in Småland, and afterwards Dean of Gothenburg. He worked indefatigably, with voice and pen, for total abstinence from intoxicants—especially from ardent spirits. He opened the eyes of thousands to take a new view of things, and left a name that will always shine as one of the foremost in the pages of the Swedish Temperance history.

The activity of the Temperance Society and its agents was crowned with success. Societies were organised, lectures given, and pamphlets circulated, till public opinion was aroused and called for legislation more and more favourable to Temperance. The Act of 1835 had already doomed the system of domestic distillation, and by the year 1850, there were only 43,947 spirit-stills, while the consumption of ardent spirits had decreased by the same year to 22 litres per head. But there is no doubt that the more advanced laws of 1855 were the natural result of the opinion called into being by the activity of the Swedish Temperance Society, and smaller societies connected with it.

In October, 1855, the Diet passed the following important Act. The domestic distilling of spirits was finally abolished and replaced by distilling on a larger scale, and subject to a higher Excise duty; the wholesale spirit trade was left free; the lesser spirit trade was divided into "off"* licenses and public-house trade; and each rural commune was left to decide not only in what manner and within what limits such a trade was to be carried on, but even whether such a trade might take place at all within their jurisdiction.

This radical change further greatly diminished the consumption of spirits, which by the year 1860 had decreased to less than 10 litres per head.

Thus the consumption had largely decreased by means of the Temperance movement and the legislation connected with it, years before the introduction of the Gothenburg system in 1865—far more than it has ever decreased under that system.

* Licenses for sale only for consumption "off" the premises are technically termed "retail" licenses in Sweden, while in England they are commonly called "off" licenses, just as licenses allowing consumption on the premises are similarly called "on" licenses.

CAUSES OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GOTHENBURG SYSTEM.

Through the spirit laws of 1855, the communes got a kind of "Local Option" passed,* which in the country areas (outside the incorporated towns) was exercised in a manner that clearly shows that there the Temperance movement had taken deeper root than could have been expected. One country parish after another got rid of its spirit shops. Even in the first year after the new legislation the country had gone so far in its work of cleansing that from having a "spirit-still in every cottage," it could show only 557 licenses, or 64 "off" licenses and 493 public-house licenses—and of these no less than 411 were held by right of former privileges under Royal warrants. Within ten years after, the number of licenses was further reduced to 469, or 126 "off" and 343 public-house licenses, of which 262 belonged to the privileged persons, whose life rights to sell were not subject to the Local Veto. It may be said that there are about 2,400 rural "communes" or parishes in Sweden, and they even now contain about four-fifths of the total population of about five millions, and only 250 licenses now remain among these four million residents outside the towns.

The state of affairs in the towns was totally different.

In 1856, the towns only contained 12 per cent. of the population, but they then possessed no less than 1,912 licenses for the sale of spirits—742 "off" and 1,170 public-house licenses—of which no less than 588 were privileged. As the liquor traffic was reduced in the country parts, it centred in the towns where the chief spirit-consuming classes assembled, and assemble still. Thither all dissipated people from the country gathered in conformity with the known proverb: "wheresoever the carcase is, there the vultures will be gathered together"; there the zeal for Temperance was far less than among the sober country people. Certainly even in the towns the number of licenses had decreased by the year 1858 to 1,782, and by the year 1860 to 1,613—but the condition of things, particularly in the greater cities, was nevertheless most serious, especially when compared with the country parts.

In Gothenburg, the state of things, as in other towns, was deplorable. Poverty, distress and misery prevailed amongst the working classes. This induced the before-mentioned Dr. Wieselgren to try to get the authorities to limit the traffic in spirits, which attempt, however, failed. Then editor S. A. Hedlund made proposals in the City Council for the appointment of a committee to ascertain the causes of the prevalent pauperism. The Council appointed a committee, which, in April, 1865, presented a report clearly pointing out spirits as a chief cause of pauperism, and formulating a new project for the regulation of the public-house traffic in the city. The project passed the Council. The Gothenburg Licensing Company was formed and got its public-house licenses granted by the Provincial Board in June, 1865, and on August 22nd of the same year its regulations were sanctioned by Government.

Such is the origin of the so-called Gothenburg System. It was originated to a certain extent to check pauperism, but, like certain physicians, it has used means which failed to remove the root of the evil. It has merely alleviated the one evil temporarily, while in other respects it has produced most baneful consequences.

THE PURPOSE OF THE GOTHENBURG SYSTEM.

Before the introduction of the Gothenburg System, and according to the laws of 1855, the licenses (except those not attached by royal privilege to certain halls and persons) were sold by auction to the highest bidders. These licenses, "owing to the disreputable character of this traffic, were mostly in the hands of persons who were neither by external nor internal conditions induced to take such a view of the duties connected with the traffic, as could furnish the public with security for their due performance";† but who were of such a kind as simply sought to "feather their nests," regardless of the public welfare. The holders of

* According to Swedish law, votes on parish questions have a *pro rata* value. This gives a multiplicity of votes according to the property held, and thus gives a majority of votes to the wealthier minority. In six parishes a single property owner in each has a majority of all votes. It does not, however, appear to be contended that the masses were less favourable to Temperance legislation than the classes. Even in the towns the votes of the wealthier minority are considerably more than the votes of the less wealthy majority.

† S. Wieselgren, *The Gothenburg System*, 1881 p. 21.)

“privileged” licenses, too, either “farmed them out” or often sold them for huge amounts to others, who in turn tried to increase the sales beyond measure.

The theory was in the first place that such extortion should be abolished by charging for licenses only the smallest excise duty that the law would permit, but letting them to companies organised by persons who would not consider their own profit, but the good of the working classes—the profits of the trade (after deducting necessary expenses and the interest on the allotted stock) to go to the community.

The public-houses were to be turned into large, light and lofty eating halls for the working people; and there hot and cooked food was to be at hand—at least at meal hours.* The profit from food, malt liquors and coffee was to go as part payment to the manager, who should see that cleanliness, order and decency were kept up, and take care that spirits were not allowed on credit or exchanged for pawntickets. For the fulfilment of the obligations on both sides, a controller was appointed by the Municipality, but paid by the company. The company was granted the right of using part of the profits for other purposes beneficial to working people—but this regulation was, in 1868, excluded from the charter-documents. In the year 1874 the company also took over the “outdoor” spirit liquors, subject to the right to sell to certain wine-sellers’ licenses for the “off” sale of so-called finer spirits—to be purchased by them from the company.

The Gothenburg System was not directed against the use of spirits or intoxicants; but to regulate what is called the abuse of the same. No doubt its founders acted with quite good intentions and with laudable integrity, and we may acknowledge that, as it was conceived in the beginning to keep the spirit traffic within limits, it was by no means a contemptible measure of reform.

This, however, would be true only on the assumption that the system itself should be managed by persons who are honourable and unselfish, and that it should be prevented in every possible way from distorting and smothering the sense of justice in private persons and communities—without which the development of a better state of things is not possible. But if the good intentions of the originators of the system are wholly or partly abandoned; if in working the system the uttermost unselfishness and care for the chief consuming classes were not observed, it would not only fail to do good, but through causes to be mentioned below, it would be actually pernicious in its operation.

The so-called Gothenburg System looked very well at first. Other circumstances were also favourable: the successful religious, workmen’s and Temperance movements, which soon began, especially contributed to diminish the consumption of spirits, and so a success was attributed to this Gothenburg System which the system by itself did not merit.

But, to begin with, all appeared bright and good, and the system was subsequently introduced into many towns till in the year 1894 eighty-nine companies traded in the spirit traffic on what is called the Gothenburg System, but really by systems which are rather caricatures of it.

THE EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM.

To describe the effects of the system throughout the country is not very easy. It would compel us to quote many statistics, the value of which would be rather slight. We will leave the advocates of the system to adduce their chief arguments, and to these add only a few remarks.

These advocates principally plead two facts:—(1) The reduction of spirit consumption; and (2) the decrease of arrests and convictions for drunkenness after the introduction of the system.

Here, however, we must reckon with other circumstances, which are generally overlooked by the companies’ advocates. As to the reduction of spirit consumption, it ought to be noticed in this connection that the consumption of beer has increased in the same degree, and this has also been partly effected by the system, as we shall further show. Here in Sweden beer is scarcely regarded as an intoxi

* In point of fact the Gothenburg Company’s houses are almost wholly drinkshops—the attempt to make food a leading feature having met with comparatively little success—except at three specially conducted dining halls, and the coffee bars connected with several small reading rooms.

cating liquor, and there has been up to this time no real control exercised over its production and consumption. But had such a control been exercised, it would have been shown by the fullest evidence that, although the spirit consumption has been reduced during the existence of the system (partly through the increase in price of the article, and the greater difficulty in getting it) the consumption of intoxicants as a whole has not decreased—for which reason also pauperism (which the Gothenburg System was mainly originated to remedy) has not only not been counteracted but has instead shown a tendency to increase. Thus even if the system has not failed, it is clear it has not gained its point. “Be it so,” it is said, “but had not the deluge of spirits really been restrained and the system been established, would not misery have been still more prevalent?” Certainly. But the evil has not been abated by the Gothenburg System alone, but quite as much, if not more, by the perpetually increasing enlightenment of the people, by religious and popular movements, which, during the time of the system, though really quite independent of it, have arisen and gained ground. Not the least part has been done by the Total Abstinence Movement, and especially by the Independent Order of Good Templars. These are facts as precise and indisputable as any of the statistics of the advocates of the system.

As to the decrease in the number of arrests and convictions for drunkenness, the merit of that for the same reason cannot be attributed only to the Gothenburg System, for one notable cause for the decrease of arrests is the fact that the police have not now, as in the “good old times” just preceding the Gothenburg System, any share of the fines inflicted for drunkenness!

Yet, in the interest of truth, the fact must not be ignored that the system has really, especially in Gothenburg, done some good. It has produced reading rooms, libraries, and eating-houses where intoxicants are not served. But this good is so small in comparison with the evils accompanying the immense traffic that the company has carried on, and the large sums that it has gained, that in comparison with it this can be reckoned as a mere nothing. And just the same can be said about the small sums that companies in other towns have sacrificed for “charitable purposes” or presented to some Temperance Society “in the interest of sobriety.” They are as the small crumbs that fall from rich men’s superabundant tables; and with which the sacrifices made by private individuals for Temperance and Temperance Societies, chiefly formed by poor people, are grand in comparison.

If we thus acknowledge on one hand that the system had a commendable purpose in trying to dwarf pauperism and drunkenness, by ordering and regulating the spirit trade as an inevitable evil, we are compelled on the other hand to declare in fairness that by it pauperism has not been dwarfed in any degree worth mentioning, and that if the system has realised in any degree its motto, “Sobriety and Morality,” it has done so only by crediting itself with results which are really to be ascribed to other causes; and thus the whole system deserves little commendation, and in the promotion of real sobriety it plays only a very insignificant part.

From what follows it will be clear that there are rather strong reasons for these qualifying remarks.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS IN OTHER TOWNS.

Before we describe the different methods in which different companies are operating, we venture on two prefatory remarks.

In the first place most of these testimonies to the excellence of the spirit companies “working for sobriety and morality” are derived from reports of the Government Control Office to the Diet (Parliament) of 1895.

In the second place, the chief shareholders of the companies are often members of the Municipal Councils, in which they take part in electing the auditors, and they vote respecting their own discharge from liability, and this in spite of the clear statutes of the law that nobody who has financial dealings with the municipality shall have a seat or vote in its Council. The code of honour of these people, their unselfish consideration toward imbibers of ardent spirits, can easily be judged from the following facts:—

1st—As to Companies and their Number of Shareholders.

In the "selling" year, 1892-3, there were in full activity eighty-seven *companies, of which twenty-one were joint-stock companies, and sixty-six ordinary trading companies. Within the latter the number of the shareholders differed widely—from two each in eight companies, to twenty and more each in nine companies. Among the fourteen companies consisting only of three shareholders each was the company in Gefle, a town of 25,000 inhabitants. As one-third of the trading companies had two or three shareholders each, the other third four to eight each and the last third at least ten shareholders, it is quite clear that the zeal for decreasing drunkenness by means of regulating the spirit-traffic, was not high among "honourable and unselfish" persons.

2nd—The Mission for the Companies.

Among the regulations of the various companies there are various methods of describing their project. In several they simply declare the object to be the "taking over of the spirit traffic," but some add the phrase: "for promoting sobriety and morality." Others, and these are the largest members, especially emphasise the economic rather than the moral *raison d'être*. Some candidly point to the commercial value of the company to obtain for the municipality the profits on the traffic. Rather significant are the statutes of the spirit company in Ystad, in which it is said that the task of the company is "to set apart the largest part of the proceeds for helping the town to pay the interest upon and pay off a loan raised for taking shares in the railway joint stock company of Ystad—Elsöf." There will scarcely be any doubt that such companies are aiming at something different from what the originators of the Gothenburg System had thought of.

The regulations of some companies show that they are formed to secure to the municipality more than its share of the profits—to the reduction of the share to which the other two receiving bodies are entitled—the Provincial Council and the Agricultural Society. For instance, the statutes of the company in Mariestad indicate that the company should have the right to buy the licenses at auction, in which case all the proceeds should be transferred to the town. And the company in Södertelje takes upon itself to hire from the town, premises that are fitted up for this purpose. (See more about this below, under heading 5, on "Hiring and Letting Transactions.") Several companies reserve the right to decide themselves as to the disposal of the proceeds of the wine trade, and one company claims the right to dispose as it pleases of the proceeds of its own spirit refining. All this is rather significant, is it not?

3rd—The Directors of the Spirit Companies.

Naturally companies formed by only very few shareholders have no special directors—the shareholders themselves being their own directors.

For other companies the directors are generally from three to five in number, and these have their salaries paid in ready money by their respective companies. Let it be remembered that the keynote professed to be struck at the origination of the Gothenburg company system was the conducting of the traffic by managers having a fixed salary and no inducements to push the sale of spirits. Yet there are companies who pay their directors by commission on spirit sales. Thus the companies in Kalmar, Oskarshamn, and Karlshamn pay their respective directors from 6 to 10 per cent. of the net proceeds. In Ronneby, the chairman of the directors has 800 kroner and 2 per cent. of the net proceeds; in Strömstad the chairman gets 500 kroner and 5 per cent. of the net profits; in Skara the manager is paid 2,000 kroner and 10 per cent. on all net profits exceeding 20,000 kroner; in Östersund the manager gets free residence, 500 kroner, and 5 per cent. of the net profits; in Marstrand the manager of the traffic gets so much for every litre of spirits sold; and in Vestervik the administrator, as he is called, receives 1,000

* The municipalities permitting spirit traffic are not compelled to adopt the Gothenburg system, but can still sell the licenses to the highest individual bidder. In Sweden there are 2,488 communes, of which 2,386 are country parishes, and 102 are towns and boroughs. And of these, in the selling year 1892-93, only 87, and in the year 1893-4, only 89 worked by the Gothenburg System, these latter being towns or boroughs.

kroner a year, and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the prime cost of wares sold.* Can it be supposed that the hearts of these men are set upon diminishing the sales upon which they have a commission?

4th.—Capital, Stock, etc.

Most of the companies' capital stock is procured by raising a guarantee fund, or by discounting notes and bills of exchange. Several companies declare that they don't want any capital stock, because they buy their goods on credit, and sell for ready cash. In some companies the shareholders get as much as 8 per cent. interest. In five cases the municipality lends the money to the spirit company at 5 or 6 per cent. interest.

Parliamentary debates and public returns show that in not a few cases the chairman and directors have, in their private capacities, arranged to pay for the liquor by personal cheques and claimed a discount, which they have pocketed, and then charged the company funds with the full price. They have even charged "interest" too on the money they thus advanced, as is disclosed by the auditors of the accounts of the company at Sollefteå.

A few of the companies have retained part of the profits to form reserve funds—certainly in a manner quite adverse to the principle of the system—and use such funds as capital stock.

5th.—Hiring and Letting Transactions.†

Some few companies own their licensed premises, but most rent them. In the selling year 1892-93, 47 companies (more than half of all) rented their premises—especially the so-called town hotels, from the Municipalities. Some companies rent premises from some of their shareholders—one company has rented all its premises from one shareholder. What such transactions mean can be easily understood.

In Södertelge the company rents premises from the Corporation for 10,000kr.; the company in its turn rents out the same premises (a shop for "off" sale excepted) for 5,000kr., and thus itself pays to the Corporation 5,000kr. for only one shop for "off" sale.

Through similar transactions the company in Norrköping pays 9,000kr. for an "off" licensed shop; the company in Söderköping the same amount for two or three taverns; the company in Vexjö 4,000kr. for a shop with its adjoining tavern, and so on; and "last but not least" the company in Skara incurs, according to its balance sheet, by its rent transactions, a loss of 4,100kr. The company in Vimmerby rents the town hotel from the town for 5,000kr. a year, but itself sublets the same (a shop for "off" sale excepted) for absolutely nothing to an hotel-keeper, who is, however, required to buy from the company all the spirits he sells at the hotel.

It is quite clear that the real owners in these cases are securing an unjust profit. That private persons should do so is bad enough, but that Municipal Authorities should conspire to do the same is worse.

6th.—Transference of the "Off" Sale (Out-door) Trade.

The companies themselves generally conduct one or more of their "off" licences. Several of their managers of "off" licensed houses have, besides their salaries, an interest of $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. on the turnover. In Ystad the managers get a percentage on every litre of spirits sold; and in Arboga and Köping they are allowed to carry on the sale of wines and malt liquors for their own personal profit. The companies, however, farm out a good many of their "off" licences to private persons. This is especially the case with the so-called bitters and finer spirituous liquors. Even here very strange things happen. In some cases the wine seller has the right under the terms of transfer to sell whatever spirit he

* A kroner or crown is equivalent to 1s. 14d. in English money.

† It must be noted that the Municipality gets only three-quarters of the surplus profits, the other fourth going to the Agricultural Society and the Provincial Council. The Municipality can, by renting buildings at exorbitant rates to a consuming spirit company, draw from it large sums which are charged to the company's working expenses, and thus reduce the "surplus" profit of which the two provincial bodies have a share, while the local Corporation (by reason of drawing excessive rents) really secure a larger amount from the Liquor Traffic even though the apparent profits are smaller.

likes outside a certain district. In Ulricehamn absurdity culminated in the company agreeing to buy all goods wanted for its public-houses from a wine merchant to whom it transferred all its "off" licenses for a given payment.

A rather peculiar transaction may here be mentioned as throwing a light upon the morals of the system. The company in Alingsås requested the provincial municipal board to allow it to transfer its "off" licenses to a certain firm called "Nils Sandberg," but the provincial board refused its consent. On a further request, however, the company was allowed to transfer to the afore-mentioned Nils Sandberg the "off" sale of the finer spirits and wines, and the company itself was still required to manage the "off" sale of spirits. But the company thereupon appointed J. C. Sandberg, who was proprietor of the "Nils Sandberg" firm, to manage their retail spirit trade! And so, in spite of the provincial board, the whole trade was put by the company into the hands of one person.

7th.—Transferring of Public-House Licenses.

The companies have the right, with the consent of the provincial board, to sell to private individuals one or more of their public-house licenses for the term (not over three years) for which the company has secured the licenses. Yet it should be remembered that the main purpose of the Gothenburg System was—as proposed by them—to concentrate the traffic in these "beneficent" companies, so that they may themselves carefully carry it on under close supervision by appointing managers having no interest in the spirit sales. * Yet the companies in Norrtelge, Enköping, Ljungby, Eslöf, Kongelf, and Lund have made over every license to private speculators! Other companies have thus transferred only the restaurant licenses, although sometimes one or more public-house license has been allowed to go with them—as in Upsala, Falköping, and Söderhamn. Some public-house licenses are retained by companies who nevertheless require the manager they appoint to provide the premises and assistants at his own cost, and reimburse himself not only by the salary paid by that company, but by a commission on the sale of ardent spirits, etc. So much for the disinterestedness which is professedly the basis of the whole system.

Not less than 45 companies have farmed out licenses, and, of these, 34 companies have not retained a single public-house license under their own management!

The Companies in Kristianstad, Helsingborg, and Landskrona have sold all their "off" as well as "indoor" licenses, and are only monopolist brokers in selling the liquors to the managers. In the towns of Ljungby and Marstrand the company does not even deal in the liquor. In the former place the manager procures it himself, and in Marstrand the company delegate the duty to a "buyer," who gets a commission on every litre supplied.

8th.—Prime Cost and Sale Price, Net Proceeds, etc.

Some attention also might be paid to the trade prices of the companies. The prime cost of spirit (in the selling-year 1892-93) changed from 72 to 120 ore† per litre and the sale-price from 105 to 155 ore. In Hernösand—to quote a couple of examples—"Bräuvin" (Swedish brandy) was paid for in the mentioned year at the rate of 85 ore a litre or 10·5 ore more than the prime cost of it in the neighbouring town of Sundsvall. And in the Skanish town of Engelholm the company paid for its liquors 5 to 9 ore more per litre than companies paid in any other of the towns of Skane. These circumstances have been discussed in Parliament as pointing to corrupt action on the part of directors in paying more than market price—for some personal advantage of their own.

There is quite too much "business-aptitude" shown in selling under the company system—as otherwise. For instance, the company in Gefle pays 84 ore per litre for wine and sells it for 179 ore. Some companies sell spirits cheaper at Christmas time, to stimulate greater consumption!

* In general the companies profit by selling or "farming out" some of their public-house licenses to possessor of hotels, restaurants, and cafes, which are thus not managed by the company, but belong to private persons.

† 100 ore is 1 kronor or crown—equivalent to 1s. 1½d. English.

Taking all the companies in the selling-year 1892-93, the following figures are stated :—

Price of Goods	...	...	...	16,652,576	kroner
Expenses	...	...	...	3,150,687	„
Net Profit	...	...	...	7,095,898	„

In that year 19,136,181 litres of spirits were sold, with an estimated expense to management of 16·5 ore litre and an estimated profit of 34·2 ore per litre.

And in the selling year 1893-94 the same account shows :—

For Goods	...	...	...	16,682,417	kroner
„ Expenses	...	...	...	3,223,061	„
„ Net Profit	...	...	...	7,539,151	„

And in this year 19,589,569 litres of spirits were sold, at the estimated expense of 16·5 ore, and estimated net profit of 35·9 ore per litre.

Taking the companies all together, the average expenses, roughly speaking, amount to 37,000 kr., and the average profit, roughly speaking, to 81,500 kr.

The efforts to sustain or increase the profit are regularly followed by addresses of thanks from the partakers in the profit, especially from the Municipal authorities—who get two-thirds of the profits paid them. Thus the auditors of the company in Gefle made it a subject for praiseworthy comment that the company cleared in one year more than 100,000 kroner—or 20,000 kroner more than the previous year. And from a business point of view it is undoubtedly praiseworthy to increase the profit without increasing in a corresponding degree the amounts of prime cost and expenses. But from the view of morality? Oh! that view is now-a-days completely forgotten under the company or Gothenburg System that has been so highly commended. What does it matter whence the money comes? What does it matter in what way it is squeezed out, provided a larger sum of money comes into the cash-boxes of the municipalities without being taxed *pro rata*? No, the spirit-consuming class may get fuddled, its purse may be drained, so long as the wealthier minority profit by the proceeds that come from it! And so, “Long live the Gothenburg System!”

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM.

The Diet, as early as 1873, drew the attention of the Government to the fact that the law had not contemplated that the companies should make the traffic profitable to shareholders, or that a larger income should be procured for the towns; but that the original purpose was to make it possible for the towns to regulate the spirit-trade in the interests of morality. But as no effective remedy could at that time be proposed with any chance of success, it was allowed to be carried on in the old way.

And the companies went on in the same way, and even worse; as was subsequently shown in the Diet, where cases were cited of the traffic being entrusted to bogus companies, consisting in one case only of a master and the servant, whom he paid to let his name be used to complete the “company”; so-called companies without proper directors, auditors, or shareholders, or meetings, and, in other cases, crooked compacts with shareholders and municipalities in renting buildings on corrupt conditions, etc.; and, finally, the action of borough companies sending out agents to canvas for custom outside their lawful districts—even into districts which had, by vote, prohibited the traffic. Thus, the system became increasingly demoralising, until, in the Diet of 1894, Lord Bonde, and other members, proposed various enactments to check these evils, and citing many of the “improprieties” which we have mentioned above. Parliament (the “Diet”) called for a statement from the Government on the matter, and, in doing so, said :—

“In the first instance it seems necessary to the Diet that, from the statutes with regard to the sale of spirits, it may clearly enough appear that the object of these companies is not to provide profit for the shareholders, nor to procure larger income for the towns, but only to make it possible for the towns to regulate the spirit traffic in the interests of morality, and that in consequence of that the proceeding of the companies in receiving commission on spirituous liquors by means of agents in other places where they hold no license, may be for the future prohibited”

In addition, a declaration was requested as to the wisdom of transforming all such companies into joint stock companies, through which measure it was hoped to get a greater resemblance between the statutes of the different companies, to secure closer control, and particularly to create in the municipal authorities a greater interest in the moral welfare of the people—such an interest as would tend to lessen the evils of the traffic. This was expected to be produced by compelling the increase of the number of the shareholders and the appointment of regular directors, auditors, and meetings of the shareholders.

In response to the demands of the "Diet," the Government delivered a message to the "Diet" of 1895 with proposals that the shareholders of a company shall be at least 12 in number; that they shall have no higher interest than 5 per cent.; that sale through canvassers be forbidden; that rent transactions with interested parties be prohibited, and the payment of salaries by proportion of the profit on sales be discontinued, etc., etc. In the main these statutes (none of which would ever have been needed had the traffic been carried on in harmony with the professed purposes of the originators of the Gothenburg System) were passed by Parliament.

It is yet too early to judge what these regulations can really effect. But still greater efforts must be made for curbing the companies—whose protectors are the interested Municipal bodies who (as well as private citizens who have been financially interested) have become demoralised by this company system.

CONCLUSIONS ARRIVED AT.

(1) The Spirit Traffic Act of 1855 was a great step in the right direction, as the consumption of spirits by that Act was incredibly reduced, especially in the country districts where the traffic was generally vetoed.

(2) The Gothenburg System, which aimed at regulating the spirit traffic in the towns with the design of diminishing drunkenness and pauperism, is a sort of supplement to the Act of 1855, and did good as far as administered in accordance with its original intention—supposing the spirit traffic to be an inevitable evil.

(3) The Gothenburg System only exists in most of the towns, and where it exists its companies only manage the meaner taverns and public-houses, and sell the licenses for the larger premises to keepers of hotels and drinking saloons.

(4) The same system has been almost everywhere so distorted and deformed as to tend directly or indirectly to an increased consumption of other intoxicants; and has developed a money-greed on the part of shareholders and municipalities which has proved more widely demoralising in its effects than did the covetousness of the formerly disdained private publicans.

(5) At last a reform of the system has been attempted, the good intention of which must not be denied, but it can with reason be predicted that it cannot possibly eradicate the deep-rooted greed of the shareholders and of the municipalities.

To throw light upon this last assertion it might be enough to mention some cases that we very often meet with.

When, in a municipality blessed with companies, proposals for restricting the spirit traffic have been raised, considerations of finance have almost invariably prevailed against those of morality and sobriety, especially so in boards of communes, in which members of the company have seats and votes.

In towns and boroughs not under the system, but in which the municipality has become almost bankrupt by ambitious schemes, proposals immediately have been made to introduce the company-system of spirit-traffic for the sole purpose of municipal money-raising. Such proposals have not emanated from "the people," but generally from wealthy and prominent so-called "pillars" of the community. In that case the profit of the spirit-traffic comes into the municipal treasury, and wealthy people can not only become shareholders for "promoting morality and sobriety," but secure a rather considerable decrease in the municipal taxes on their properties.*

*Here may be mentioned a case, not very seldom found, where the commune has continued or reverted to the old system of selling each spirit license by auction. In such cases, where a commune has allowed spirit traffic, bids are made by competitors for the licenses—private persons or companies—to the board of the commune. One competitor offers to pay (in advance) the sale tax on a basis of 4,000 litres, another on a selling basis of 3,000 litres, a year. If the latter is a person with authority his offer is taken, and the other competitor is plainly declared to be unfit (however well qualified he may be) and although the Municipal Board very well knows that 4,000 litre and more will be sold by their favourite. In such a manner several of the municipalities have favoured private persons or companies at the expense of the public.

When the advocates of Temperance bring the best arguments against the traffic they are always met with the unanimous outcry of municipal authorities and shareholders :—" But where are we going to get our necessary expenses from if we follow your ideas ? " Nay, the system has worked such demoralisation that in many cases most respectable persons (and such as are in a certain sense friends to Temperance) have been so bewildered by the magic of those profits as to think them necessary, and can only shrug their shoulders pitifully at the misery and wretchedness that are closely connected with them.

Thus, through the pompous motto—so pompous, indeed, that people are thereby dazzled—the motto of "sobriety and morality" a lot of people have been so hypnotized as to think that such a dealing with spirituous liquors really promotes sobriety and morality, and have thus become spiteful enemies of the real Temperance Cause :

MUNICIPALISATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY THE REV. JAMES HUNTER, B.D., LAURIESTON, FALKIRK.



REV. JAMES HUNTER.

THE municipalisation of the liquor traffic presents itself in two forms. In the one the Local Authority would take over the traffic, conduct it, and put the profits into the public treasury; in the other, a company, board, or syndicate, empowered by Act of Parliament, would conduct the business, and make over the profits to the National Exchequer, the Municipal Treasury, or to objects of public utility. The principle is the same in both—direct public sanction and management, and the appropriation of the profits by the community.

Is municipalisation a hindrance to Prohibition? It is sometimes alleged that municipalisation and prohibition are not rivals, but friends, inasmuch as they co-exist in Scandinavia, the one being almost universal in the rural districts and the other prevailing in the towns. It would be as logical to argue that the total abstinence society and the public-house are not rivals

but friends, because they are to be found side by side in the same village.

On other grounds it is alleged that the public management of the traffic is a step towards Prohibition, that it would curtail the business, by shortening the hours, refusing drink to minors, and other restrictive arrangements by which the consumption would be diminished, and some of the worst evils prevented. This favourable view is being pressed on the attention of the Scottish people at the present time in a scheme entitled "The Three-fold Option," in which it is proposed that an Act should be passed to empower communities to adopt, by direct vote of the electors—(1) Limitation or restriction of the number of licenses; (2) Prohibition; (3) Local management or municipalisation, either by the direct action of the Local Authority or by an authorised company. It is not within the province of this paper to dwell on the defects of this scheme, such as the partial extent of its prohibition and limitation, and the recognition of the principle of high license by setting up licenses to auction. The main point is that Prohibitionists are urged to support this scheme on the ground that it would give them an opportunity of recording their votes at the poll in favour of local Prohibition. It is assumed that they may join hand in hand with the supporters of Municipalisation in submitting these three options to the electors as legitimate methods of dealing with the traffic. In all this it is implied that there is no difference in point of principle between Municipalisation and Prohibition to prevent such an alliance. Some are so sick at heart with hope deferred that they are ready to ask the question—"Is this public management not a step to local veto? May it not lead up to it? May we not reach the goal sooner by adopting it? In any case, should the people not have the opportunity of choosing between these three methods?"

This is the question we have now to answer. A principle is laid down by the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., which may throw light on it. "A small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement, unless the first is made on the lines, and in the direction of the second. And so it may, if it be successfully palmed off upon a society as actually being the second. In such a case as this, and our legislation presents instances of the kind, the small reform, if it be not made with references to some large progressive principle, and with a view to further extension of its scope, makes it all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction when improvement is again demanded. . . . In a different way the second possible evil of a small reform is represented as settling the question. The mischief here is not that it

takes us out of the progressive course, as in the case we have just been considering, but that it sets men's minds in a posture of contentment, which is not justified by the amount of what has been done, and which makes it all the harder to arouse them to new effort when the inevitable time arrives."

This statement was not written with reference to the question we are dealing with; but it is applicable to it. It suggests the question—"Is municipalisation or public management in the direction of Prohibition? Is it meant by its promoters to be a temporary arrangement which is to be abandoned as soon as the people can be persuaded to veto the traffic? There is no lack of evidence on this point.

The proposal bears on the face of it that it is a method of continuing the traffic. It has never been defended either in Norway or Sweden on the ground that it was designed to work towards its extinction. The Massachusetts Commissioners say:—"The aim was not even ultimately a prohibitive one, but an attempt at a better control of the sale of spirits." In the recent attempt to introduce the system into Mass., U.S.A., the leader of the movement avowed his desire to get it adopted as a substitute for prohibition by several cities which had voted Prohibition for a succession of years. No one can doubt that the Bishop of Chester's aim is to make the public-house a permanent institution. Three years ago the promoters of the scheme were loudly proclaiming that no community which had tried the plan had ever given it up, which in fact is not the case. They are constantly telling us that Prohibition has been a failure, that its total abandonment in America and elsewhere is only a question of time, and that we shall never get it on British soil. And in the three-fold option scheme, while they use the word *Prohibition*, they regard the retention of various kinds of licenses as an essential part of their plan, on the ground that they "must safeguard the public convenience."

Let Temperance men, who are disposed to accept municipalisation as an instalment of greater things to come, take careful note that the aim of the prime movers for this measure is to retain the public-house. In Scandinavia some were misled for a time. "In the beginning," says the Rev. Carl Elzholtz " (and before the people were really acquainted with the effects of this system), it was not an uncommon occurrence that earnest Temperance people bought shares in the dispensaries, and in some places they even had Temperance men to manage the business. So it was to begin with, but at the present time, when the fruits of this system have become well known in Norway, the Temperance people no longer regard these Government dispensaries as allies in the great combat with the drink evil, but rather as one of the most formidable obstacles in their way to success."

But apart from the aims of the promoters, municipalisation would ally itself with the great forces which maintain the traffic, and thus prove a serious hindrance to Prohibition.

The most formidable of these forces is the nature of the alcoholic liquor, its power to create an appetite which nothing but alcohol can satisfy. This quality is one which no system can control, and the highest excellence of character in the seller cannot remove. In public no less than in private hands the drink will go on in its career of enslaving the drinker by slow degrees till he is bound as in chains of iron. When the slain are laid in the grave, others will come forward to take their place. All the greater will be the danger when it is proclaimed that the liquor is free of all adulteration, healthful and pure.

Custom is another ally. The model public-house of the Municipality is to be one which will take the place of the working man's club, where friend may meet with friend, and family with family, in a pure moral atmosphere, and in such a refining environment that moderation in drinking will be easy and safe! It is not difficult to see what an impetus would thus be given to social drinking customs which, in recent years, have shewn a tendency to give way. Men and women in these philanthropic public-houses will help each other onward in the road that leads to drunkenness and the grave.

The system would also find a powerful support in the buttress of personal interests and the golden chain of public revenue. There would still be a host of men interested in the continuance of the trade. The distillers and brewers with their employees, the directors, managers, and salesmen, and a multitude of officials, such as auditors, treasurers, and secretaries, would after a few years begin to claim a vested interest. Then there would be the binding power of the vast public revenue. Who can doubt that in all lands one of the greatest hindrances to the abolition of the traffic has been the fact that the public treasury is more or less replenished by it? The State monopoly of liquor and opium in India is a case in point. It is alleged that this money power will be broken by taking the trade out of private hands. Instead of that it would be vastly increased. On this point we appeal to the testimony of one who is a strong advocate of the system, Mr. John G. Brooks, the prime mover in Massachusetts. "The masterstroke," he says, "lies in depriving the individual of profit; but the temptation to have much liquor sold is not, therefore, removed. We have only substituted *group* selfishness for an individual one. It is still for the direct advantage of the taxpayers to have the proceeds from liquor sales as large as possible in order that taxes may be lower. I heard a rich Swede discourse, at a sumptuous dinner over his bottle of champagne, upon these 'proofs of success.' 'We raise our taxes without any difficulty,' he said. It needed no illustration to shew what a subtle and all-pervading force of temptation is here brought to bear upon the average citizen. That the danger is real, not in theory alone, but in fact, no one will deny who has studied the situation. Is the selfish advantage of a collective body less dangerous than that of the single individuals who compose that body?"

Here is a case in point from the report of the American Commissioner, Dr. Gould:—

"On the whole they (the companies) have been conducted with integrity, though individual instances may be adduced of an opposite character. One of these, for instance, relates to the history of a company on the Sognefjord in Norway, which was always accustomed to close its bar-rooms and retail shops when the fishermen came home after successful catches. It so happened that a physician desired an appropriation for an hospital in which he was particularly interested. He laid the matter before the committee of management, but learned from them that their resources were not sufficient to carry out the object he had at heart. Accordingly, the proposition was made to the committee that the custom of closing the saloons and shops at the time just mentioned should be abrogated for a year or two. The suggestion was carried into practice, and the result was that the extra revenue derived from the sale of liquor during these periods brought sufficient to enable the committee to award a liberal sum to the object of public utility in which the philanthropic doctor was interested. It would be unfair, however, to cite this as more than a very rare instance."

Rare though such instances may be, the one cited is enough to show that underneath this system there lurks a sunken reef, on which some communities may make shipwreck.

Municipalisation would be strengthened by the philanthropic character which is claimed for its promoters. It professes to put the business in the hands of the best men in the community. It remains to be seen whether the best men would accept such responsibility. But when we see how good men put into the hands of their own sons the intoxicating glass which brings them to ruin, we need not be surprised if some of them were prepared to dispense it to others. At present one of the attractions of the public-house is its brilliant lights and gilded bars; but in the reformed public-house there would be a moral gilding, a philanthropic veneer, enough to attract the youth of the community, and hide from them the pitfalls which lie beneath. Along with this there would be the educative power of law, the sanction of the State and the vote of the people, which would give a status and an influence far beyond the attractions of the drink shop.

For another reason we must regard municipalisation as a hindrance to Prohibition. It would militate against the forces which make for Prohibition.

Foremost among these is the power of conscience. During the greater part of this century there has been a quickening of the conscience of the nation regarding the drink evil. Intemperance is universally regarded as our great national sin.

There has been awakened by the Spirit of God a deep conviction of the enormity of that sin, and of the evil of tampering with the temptation which leads to it. The total abstinence movement, the repeated efforts to obtain some legislative reform, the people's demand for power to veto the whole traffic, are all the outcome of this quickening of the national conscience. It is on the deepening and strengthening of this great moral force that we must rely for the triumph of our cause; for in and under it the Spirit of God is moving the hearts of men. Is there no danger of arresting this Heaven-born movement? Is there no risk of setting up such a barrier that we might, as a nation, deserve the rebuke given to the Jews: "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye!" How would this quickened conscience be affected by the public management of the drink traffic? In reply to this question, we can adduce the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. H. E. Berner, a member of the Norwegian Legislature, and a strenuous upholder of the system, who tells us that in recent years, "*a certain moral apathy*" had pervaded the people of Norway. What is this but the scouring of the conscience, the blunting of the moral sense, the scattering of the moral resources of the community? This apathy which sprang up under the system, showed itself in various ways:—

(1) In hostility to the Temperance movement. "Nor are signs awaiting," says Mr. Berner, "that the Temperance cause is not in as high favour now as formerly. More attacks on its supposed exaggerations are seen in the press than defences of its sound and beneficial principles. The gospel of pleasure is preached in the most modern literature, and is paid homage to in leading circles, within which, as a consequence, Temperance, economy, and frugality as habits have long since been regarded as things of the past."

(2) This apathy showed itself in an alarming increase in the consumption of intoxicants, and a corresponding increase of drunkenness, which "cannot be explained by passing outward circumstances." "The language of figures," says Mr. Berner, "is incontrovertible, and it speaks to a steady and marked increase of drunkenness during these last years." He further declares that "our legislation has opened sluices for the great flood of drunkenness."

(3) Another symptom was contempt for the law. "The existing laws against drunkenness can be trodden under foot without the public authorities raising a finger."

This moral apathy is the very result which was to be expected from the nature of the case. The influence of the traffic is the same on the community as it is on the individual. Men go into this business respectable and respected, with a good name and influence, and with best intentions to conduct it in a perfect way. The result is that they either leave the business, because they find it impossible to carry out their good intentions, or they come under the spell of the trade, their moral tone is lowered, and their inclinations for good are lost. Self-interest takes the place of benevolent desires. It cannot be otherwise with a *communauté*. To take such a business into its embrace is to become directly responsible for a trade which demoralises the seller and the buyer, to accept responsibility for a trade which by appropriating the profits to public use is to be a practical means of making sins to be the recipient of the wages of iniquity. Thus a trade is set on foot to silence the conscience and weaken the moral sense of a people. The contagion in the traffic which has spread itself apace in Norway has been bound to spread far and wide in municipalities which are the responsible parties in conducting it. It is also pointed out by Professor Dr. A. W. Brundtland, a prominent advocate of the system, that the trade has done its worst in those municipalities where the fear of municipal bankruptcy is greatest.

It needs no argument to show that any system of public management of the traffic blunts the moral sense, and vitiates the national conscience. The fact is that the very anticipation of the temperance movement, the fact that the public authorities are bound to organise a large system of the traffic, and to give it the sanction of the law, is a source of moderate drinking is a danger to the moral sense of the community.

It may be said, however, that the system of public management of the traffic in Norway, under the Act of 1894, the system of public management of the traffic,

down by the people in 16 out of 23 towns in which there has been an opportunity of taking a poll.

My answer is that the action of Norway is certainly full of encouragement to Prohibitionists. But the system may be, as I think it has been demonstrated, a very great hindrance to Prohibition, though it may not be an insuperable obstacle. It has stood in the way since 1876, when it began to take root. One thing is clear: it did not pave the way by gradually rooting out the evil, but afforded facilities for its extension. For a time it deceived many, and benumbed the moral sensitiveness of still greater numbers. Thus it hindered the progress of Prohibition, and kept it back for nearly a generation.

There are several things which go to account for the overthrow of the system in this instance:—

(1) The people of Norway had on their own soil the clearest evidence of the advantages of Prohibition, four-fifths of the population having adopted it in the rural districts. Great Britain has not the same object lesson.

(2) The system was carried on in Norway in a form which showed from the first a keener perception of the danger of the drink, and especially the danger of associating the sale of other things with it, and of affording facilities for social drinking. The bare forbidding of drinking bars, where nothing but drink was sold, and the drinker not allowed to sit down or to loiter, showed that the Norwegians were alive to the fact that there was a serpent in the cup.

(3) The Temperance organisations continued persistently at work. They claim that the decreased consumption in the earlier years of the companies was not due to the public management of the traffic, but to the active propaganda carried on by the total abstinence organisations and the influence of the dissenting churches.

(4) The power of the women's vote has been felt under the new law. Women, as well as men, above 25 years of age are allowed to record their votes, and they have used the franchise with good effect. They have, to a large extent, remained uncontaminated with the drink habit, though under the company system there has been some increase of female intemperance. But they must have been great sufferers, for 60 per cent. of the alcohol sold, while the system remained, was for home consumption. The women have shown themselves worthy of the franchise conferred upon them.

(5) But with all this to give us hope, there is a solemn warning in what remains. The Bergen Company, the one which was first formed, still flourishes, notwithstanding the astounding increase of drunkenness during the last ten years. In Sweden also the system seems to stand secure. Is it not possible that the moral apathy which it engenders may in some communities become so strong that nothing will rouse the people from their slumbers? There is a memorable saying of the late Dr. Bruce: "Conscience is like a cat; it will stand a great deal of ill-usage, but if you give it a right hearty kick, it will go away and never return." If this is true of the conscience of the man, may it not be true of the public conscience of the community, as the Lord said of his own chosen people: "Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone."

But it is said the people ought at least to have the option of saying whether they want this method of dealing with the traffic; it is only another application of the local veto principle that we ought to trust the people. The answer is that under the guise of trusting the people it tempts the people. It holds out a bribe. You tell them that if they municipalise the traffic, they will still be free to take their glass; they will have a reformed and purified public-house, where everything will be done to brighten and sweeten and elevate their life. They will have the profits devoted to works of public utility, with a substantial balance to the Imperial exchequer, which will lighten the taxes. It would be a distinct temptation to the people to retain the public-house. Many electors would doubtless rise superior to such inducements. But are there not many in all classes who would yield to them?

But the real question is not, "Can we trust the people?" The real question is, "Ought the nation to entrust any municipality, or any section of its people, with powers to take over such an inherently dangerous traffic into the heart of its

municipal and social life?—a traffic in which there would be boundless possibilities of municipal corruption, unlimited opportunity for secret commissions with their corrupting influence on municipal and county councils and their officials. There are certain institutions, such as lotteries and betting-houses, which the nation will not allow any municipality to set up. It gives powers to suppress them, but not to municipalise them. Why? Because experience has shown that they are prolific fountains of evil; that they would demoralise the citizens; and then moral contagion, like a foul pestilence, would not remain within the municipality, but would spread through the whole Commonwealth. For the same reason the State ought to grant powers to communities to suppress the drink traffic, but ought not to trust them to set up under public sanction this most prolific source of moral and physical evil. In refusing power to municipalise it, the State would be withholding no natural right, and no lawful privilege. That the nation should trust a community with powers to suppress an evil can be no reason for granting powers to make that evil part of its municipal life and work.

COMPROMISE—A HINDRANCE TO PROHIBITION.

BY TOM HONEYMAN, SECRETARY SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE FEDERATION, GLASGOW.



MR. TOM HONEYMAN.

THE other subjects of this important Section relate mainly to Hindrances raised by those outside the Prohibitory agitation. The subject we have to deal with affects the conduct and action of the movement itself. With the opposition of avowed opponents and the schemes of drink defenders we have no difficulty in coping. When proposals calculated to retard progress and postpone final victory come from our friends, from comrades in our ranks, our task is much more embarrassing.

What is the Liquor Traffic? The answer to that question must determine the attitude and action of Prohibitionists. The Liquor Traffic has been described as a sin against God, a crime against man, a disgrace to a Christian nation, and a curse to the world. It is affirmed that it is "a bitter, blighting, damning curse on everything decent, virtuous and pure, and that its history proves it to be the enemy of law, order, morality, Christianity and civilization." The United

Kingdom Alliance declares in unmistakable terms that the traffic in intoxicants is inimical to the true interests of individuals and destructive to the order and welfare of Society; that it is a system utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results. The Good Templar Order defines "the trade" as a crime of great enormity. The truth is that the horrors of the Liquor Traffic have never been fully portrayed, and but few minds have any adequate idea of its enormity. This Convention, we fancy, will not call in question the truth of this indictment.

How should this "enemy of the human race" be dealt with? The Alliance answers—that as it is neither right nor politic for the State to legalise such a system, and as history proves that it is impossible to satisfactorily limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous, it should be totally and immediately suppressed by legislation. The Good Templars' position is that the manufacture, sale, and importation of intoxicating liquors should be absolutely prohibited. There will, we take it, be perfect agreement as to this verdict and penalty.

The third query we have to submit is:—How soonest can the sentence of death be executed? Unhesitatingly we affirm by adhering rigidly to our formulated demands, turning a deaf ear to all proposals for compromise, and agitating solely for our maximum claim. To do other is to hinder success and retard victory. It is our firm belief that had the advanced Temperance Party, during the past fifty years or thereby, clamoured at the door of St. Stephen's for absolute Prohibition, our goal would have been reached ere this, or if not quite reached, there would have been secured a larger and much better measure (a full half loaf, and that of the finest wheat) than the miserable dole of coarse and possibly injurious material that is likely to be reluctantly given us some of these years. The philosopher of the Temperance movement, to whom it owes so much—Dr. F. R. Lees—declared many years ago, "Had we gone for the right measure and ventilated the whole system, appealed to the interests of the citizen and the moral sense of the people, by this time it is our belief, Old England" (he meant Britain) "would have set the example of Prohibition to New England."

The firm adherence to rock-bed principle does not preclude the acceptance of any instalment of our claim so long as it is not accompanied with any vicious condition that would make further progress almost impossible. The demand for the greater must of necessity help to secure the less. It stands to reason that if our maximum had been our only demand, we would have been offered something

as good if not better than our minimum, but in putting our minimum so constantly to the front and keeping our maximum, when dealing with politicians and statesmen, so much out of sight we will, we sadly fear, have thrust upon us something considerably less than our irreducible minimum. Had the agitation been for Prohibition instead of only for a weapon, and that a two-edged one, our goal would have been much nearer than unfortunately it is.

Those who believe the Liquor Traffic to be a crime should never ask anything save its removal. As against the retrograde proposals of the United Temperance Bill, and of the C.E.T.S. measure, we argue that it is not for us to propose compensation either by time limit or financial consideration. Equally so we should not put forward anything less than our whole demand—total and immediate Prohibition.

The specious scheme put forward by the Scotch Threefold Option Alliance for Municipalisation and Local Management of the Liquor Traffic, which we, in Scotland, have to face is the outcome of our own compromising proposals.

That we stand to lose by compromise was clearly evidenced but a few weeks ago, when those in charge of the English Sunday Closing Bill in the House of Commons weakly agreed to accept two hours opening. By so doing we question if they secured a couple of votes, but they succeeded in making it more difficult for a total Sunday Closing Bill to be introduced another time. All attempts to satisfy weak-kneed friends have ever ended in failure and are ever likely so to do. Concede one thing, compromise on one point, and they clamour for something more.

Having settled the initial point viz.:—That the manufacture, the importation, and the sale of strong drink is indefensible, that it is opposed to all that is good and true, the demand for its destruction should ring out from every pulpit, from every Sabbath school, from every day school, from every Temperance platform; and from this Convention the fiery cross should go forth from end to end of the country, summoning every lover of his or her God, and home, and native land, to do battle against the "devilish and destructive" thing.

Parliament has been described as the home of compromise, and it is said that only by compromise can legislation be secured. Even if that be so, it has to be remembered that compromise is mutual concession. What are our friends, the enemy, prepared to yield? They will not give up any thing. The yielding must come from our side. If we must be handicapped in our struggle for a sober country, it will be soon enough to accept the deadweight when it is inevitable. To suggest ourselves that obstacles should be placed in our path is unjustifiable. Through ever departing from the original and logical demand for total and immediate suppression, we have our legislators basing their compromising proposals not on our maximum demand, but on the lowest possible minimum we will accept. We have resolved that our compromise is to stop with the Direct Veto. Where we end statesmen begin.

Those who have adopted as their motto "our trade our politics" can do no more against absolute Prohibition than they have done against the proposal, which does not make liquor selling a crime, but teaches that a majority vote of the people can make it right or wrong in their own localities.

Not infrequently are we told that some day the demand must be for National Prohibition. Why not now? To defer or delay presenting our whole bill simply defers final settlement. John B. Finch, that noble Prohibitionist, whose life and work some of us have been recently commemorating ever affirmed that "A question is never settled until it is settled right." He also said, "Compromise, upon a question of principle, is always a victory for the devil. If you know you are right; if your conscience, your reason tells you so, and then, for the sake of temporary peace, you make concessions to the side you know to be wrong, you will find sooner or later that you have involved yourself in greater trouble, and probably in a worse fight, one that will not be settled until you retrace the wrong steps which you have taken."

Nothing rouses enthusiasm and kindles zeal like a bold determined line of action. The demand for the destruction of the Liquor Traffic strikes, more than

ought else, a responsive note in the hearts of true Temperance Reformers. Of old the common people heard the Gospel gladly. The rank and file are now ready and eager for the fray. In Church and State they want leaders who are prepared, if need be, to be ostracised, to lose preferment, to cast party ties aside, as Mr. Caine did on one memorable occasion, and free and unfettered go straight for a sober country.

We have penned these sentences under a deep sense of responsibility, but believing that the Liquor Traffic is a curse blighting everything it touches and demoralising everybody who comes in contact with it, and being convinced that by ever moderating our demands and departing from first principles we have hindered the realisation of our aims, we could do no other. We have been much strengthened in our position by that eloquent and unanswerable plea for National Prohibition—"Naked Lights," by Rev. C. F. Aked. With his burning words we close--"The common sale of intoxicating liquors is a crime against the nation. The license system is treason against the State. It is more: it is the typical crime of the universe--the crime which consists in seeking one's own pleasure or one's profit with absolute indifference to the cost of the pleasure or profit to other people. Its cost is human suffering. The price of it is the price of blood. This crime must be stopped. The law, which prohibits the use of naked lights in the coalpits, can prohibit the common sale of intoxicating drinks. And while we practice and preach Total Abstinence for the Individual, we shall cherish the ideal of Total Prohibition for the State. And if we do not live to see the final triumph of our cause, at least we can die fighting. We can save our souls alive, and we can spend our last breath in a war-shout in defence of the Right and in defiance of the Wrong."

SECTION IV.**DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION.**

Ex-Provost THOS. DICK, J.P. (Glasgow), said that the Corporation of Glasgow were formerly the owners of property in which there were 33 public-houses. By a resolution of the City Council, every one of the licenses for those houses had been allowed to lapse, and not one penny of compensation was due or paid to anyone. How had that case of municipal prohibition been accomplished? By electing the right men to the City Council. (Hear, hear.) He understood that the Newcastle authorities were about to sell their licensed property. A much better plan would be to allow the licenses to lapse. (Applause.)

Some portions of Mr. Threlfall's paper with regard to the relations between the publicans and the police gave rise to some discussion.

Mr. THRELFALL said he was a partizan of neither the police nor the publicans. When he started with those investigations his aim was to get at the truth. When he started out he believed the publicans "bossed" the watch committees of the country, and it was to him an astonishing revelation when those returns were sent to him by the Chief Constables of the country. He had got the facts, and he hoped, however much the Convention might differ from him, they would at least give him the credit that he had endeavoured honestly to get at the facts. (Hear, hear.) He might add that he was a temperance man, and he thought he needed to add no more.

The Rev. E. C. CHORLEY (London) said he denied Mr. Threlfall's statement that Chief Constables were not affected by Watch Committees. He knew at least one Watch Committee in this country that was possessed of at least three members of the trade, and that the Chief Constable dare not prosecute a publican without permission.

The Rev. R. F. BROOMFIELD (Stoke-on-Trent) said they did not desire to underestimate the value of the paper read by Mr. Threlfall. But there was a general feeling that in some way he had been misled, and that he had not received a sufficient number of replies to show the real situation in the country. (Hear, hear.) Figures did not by any means represent the true state of affairs. There were policemen and policemen; some were grand men, others were not. (Hear, hear.) That gifts were made to policemen, that they received drink sometimes on duty, could not be disputed. It would be a remarkably good thing if they could help the police. With the number of doors there were to public-houses it was difficult for the police to watch them. The sooner they had clear windows and one door to the public-house the better it would be. (Hear, hear.) It would help very much if the police would search for the places where men got drunk. They had their haunts, and these should be sought out, and those who promoted them proceeded against.

Mr. GEO. SHIRES (Derby) said he wished to offer a few remarks upon Mr. Threlfall's paper, because in his town, Derby, a wine and spirit merchant holding four licenses was chairman of the Watch Committee. It would be ungenerous to say that they reflected upon the accuracy of the information given by the writer of the paper, but still many of them thought that he had taken far too cheery a view of the situation. The Licensing Commission had been the channel through which a most deplorable state of things had been revealed, and these things had been going on for a long time, although it was impossible for them to make them so thoroughly known. Mr. Threlfall had referred to the low rates of pay given to the police. The police, from a natural desire for promotion, were anxious to secure the friendship of the members of the Watch Committee,

and not to offend friends of those members. Though he did not say that a publican or one interested in the brewing business would take an active part in suppressing prosecutions, their influence was nevertheless present. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. SLATER (Sheffield) said that they had been accused of lowering the flag with regard to Sunday closing. That he denied. The flag was lowered in the House of Commons, where they would do anything but what was right.

Mr. J. HARGROVE (Southport) said the reason they had a better state of things in Liverpool was because the police were just what the people made them. (Cheers.) Don't blackguard the police. They would do what was wanted of them, that was if they sent the right men to the Town Councils. (Hear, hear.)

Ex-Bailie KEMP, J.P. (Aberdeen), said he wanted at least one word to be said for Scotland. Such bother with the Watch Committees and constables would not be tolerated for one minute. Aberdeen was Prohibition to the core, and they must not believe otherwise. The Socialists had been down there and had tried to make capital out of it. (Hear, hear.) They must take this Prohibition to the polling booth, and must have no compromise. They must record their mark as if the well-being of their homes depended on it. (Loud applause.)

Mr. JAMES TAYLOR (Liverpool) asked the question whether policemen were likely to be friendly to teetotallers; would they do justice one with the other in regard to the good of the people? He said distinctly they did not. There were very few policemen or publicans who would do the people any good, or cared what became of the people.

Mr. S. A. SCARLETT (Norwich) said that in his city the police had free access to every public-house at any hour. This was with the connivance and knowledge of the Chief Constable and the authorities. Sergeants were found drinking with constables, and when earnest Temperance reformers called the attention of the Watch Committee to this they were met by the statement that the sergeants were only a grade above the constables.

FIFTH RESOLUTION.

Mr. ROBERT MANSERGH (Lancaster) moved the following resolution:—

“That this meeting regrets the many hindrances to the passage of a law for the prohibition of the liquor traffic arising from ignorance, interest, fashion, custom, and the formation of public joint stock liquor companies, together with the undeniable tendency of the traffic to demoralise the electorate and corrupt those authorities who are charged with its regulation, calls upon all good citizens to unite in a persistent agitation against the whole system; dispelling ignorance by special education, changing fashion and custom by refusing to conform to them, and on all occasions voting for the passage of a prohibitory law.”

Ald. W. BOULTON (Burslem) seconded,

Ex-BAILIE DAVID LEWIS, J.P. (Edinburgh), moved to add as a rider:—

“And further, this Convention calls upon all Temperance Organisations to resist any compromise of the prohibitory principle, and especially it protests against the municipalisation of the drink traffic being in any shape or form identified with the prohibitory agitation, inasmuch as it is a system likely to perpetuate the traffic, with all its baneful results.”

Rev. J. D. MCKINNON (Dumfries) seconded the addition of the rider.

The mover and seconder of the motion agreed, and the motion in its amended form was carried unanimously.

The Convention then adjourned.

SECTION V.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

The Convention resumed in the Town Hall, at Half-past Ten o'clock, on Thursday, April 8th. 1897. Rev. John Macmillan, M.A., Belfast, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

REV. JOHN MACMILLAN.

REV. JOHN MACMILLAN, after acknowledging the compliment paid to his country by his call to the chair, and urging that the Convention was maintaining the "Concert of Powers" to secure the well-being of their fellow-creatures throughout the country, said they would agree that they had come to the most important session of the Convention. National prosperity depended upon the physical, mental, and moral proficiency of the working men. In China they had a strange custom. They divided the entire population into three or four classes. The first consisted of the scholars who lived in the world of thought, and who had to communicate it so that it might be embodied and realised by the working men. The second class was that of the farmers and artisans who embodied their ideas. The lowest class consisted of the merchants and distributors, even though they were

millionaires (and rich as brewers), and their only hope of rising in the social scale was to throw off their goods and become working men and scholars. That was not so bad for the Heathen Chinese. They would remember that when the sacred tent was erected in the wilderness Moses was called to the summit of the mount and was to be shown the pattern. All he had to do was to use the agents and means he had to give it local habitation. But he was entirely dependent upon the artisan to carry out his designs. Every time the artisan lifted his hammer or drove his plane there was as much sanctity and dignity about his work as about the highest function discharged by the High Priest. An Englishman, who was very proud of his family, was said to have once asked a President of the United States of America— a man who had made his way from the log cabin to the White House— what his coat of arms was. The President replied, "My coat of arms is a pair of coat sleeves." (Applause.) That was one of the noblest coats of arms any man could wear. (Hear, hear.) They were met there to see how it was that this noble coat of arms was oftentimes trailed in the dust, discredited and dishonoured; they were there to see how they could raise it up and make it as illustrious as He who was the Carpenter of Nazareth would have it: He who was the best friend the working men ever had, and whose principles were within measurable distance of predominating the whole world. (Applause.)

MR. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Secretary) announced that, owing to illness, Mr. Lloyd George, M.P., was unable to be present. A telegram had been received from Mr. George expressing his great regret at not being able to attend. Mr. John Burns, M.P., and Mr. Charles Fenwick, M.P., were also prevented from attending. Mr. R. McGhee, M.P., wrote: "It is with sincere regret that I cannot attend. I rejoice to learn that the success of the Convention is well assured, and pray that its labours may give a fresh impulse to the national demand for such measures as will effectively stem the awful flood of intemperance now swamping our nation in vice and crime."

SUNDAY CLOSING FOR ENGLAND.

BY J. WOODFORD CAUSER, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL
SUNDAY CLOSING ASSOCIATION, MANCHESTER.

PERHAPS the most striking fact about this question is that the Sunday sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited in every part of the British Isles except England. A "Missionary Map" on the Sunday Closing question would show Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, and (with the exception of a few black spots) Ireland, all in bright colours, indicating that in each of those parts of the Kingdom the Day of Rest had been cleansed from the pollution of the drink traffic. England alone would be one dark patch. This cannot be accounted for by the absence of Sunday drunkenness, for, though there may have been some slight improvement in this respect in recent years, the streets and homes of English towns, on Sunday nights, furnish abundant evidence that an appalling amount of Sunday drinking still curses and blights the land.

The question naturally arises, why should there be this difference between England and the other parts of the Kingdom? England is a Christian country. No other country has a stronger claim to be so described. In its efforts to Christianise other lands it stands unrivalled. Yet on the day to which Christianity has given a very special character, a day which has been set apart for centuries for the promulgation of religious truth, and a day which even the non-religious tenaciously cling to as a day of rest, on such a day in such a country the traffic, which is a contrast to all other trades by reason of the evils which it produces, is specially sanctioned by national law. Viewed from such a standpoint it is difficult to understand why the Legislature has not long since of its own accord removed the anomaly, or why the Christian Churches of the land have permitted it to remain.

The anomaly is seen to be more remarkable when the character and habits of the English people are taken into account. Is the Sunday sale of liquor required by a majority of Englishmen? Do one-half or anything like one-half of the population visit the public-house on Sundays or use it in any way? By no means. The wealthy and the moderately "well to do" do not. And what about the others? Is it not a fact that on the part of a large proportion of the working classes there is a very commendable pride which would make them ashamed to be seen entering a public-house on a Sunday? It may, therefore, be assumed that the number of people who use the so-called "privilege" of purchasing beer on Sundays is very small.

And in considering for whom and why the traffic is still permitted on Sundays there must be further large deductions made. I mean the Sunday drunkards, and others who though they may not get drunk, yet spend more money on drink than their means and the requirements of their families will allow. Then there is the large and increasing class of mere pleasure seekers who, for their own doubtful enjoyment, do not hesitate to keep publicans, and thus thousands of employes have to work on Sundays. Surely it is not for such as these that the publican is allowed to ply his trade seven days a week when all other trades are legally restricted to six. Leaving out, then, those who do not require to buy liquor on Sundays, and those who ought not to be allowed to do so, the number of persons for whom the exception can be reasonably claimed is very limited. And the question comes with tremendous force, is the convenience of so small a proportion of the community a sufficient compensation for the misery, degradation, and social disorder which results from the Sunday liquor traffic?

But this is not merely a question of personal convenience and liberty. On a matter involving such serious consequences to the whole community, every citizen, even the man who never uses the public-house, has a right to be heard. There are few questions which have occupied more public attention than Sunday Closing. What is public opinion on the matter? Looking back over the time

since the Sunday Closing Movement has been organized, I find that about 6,000 public meetings, specially called to consider the question, have asked Parliament to pass a total Sunday Closing law. This number does not include the thousands of meetings called for other purposes, at which petitions for Sunday Closing were adopted. Many of these were gatherings of the first importance, such as the annual representative meetings of the great religious bodies.

Take another form in which public opinion has expressed itself. Exclusive of petitions to the House of Lords, and of petitions which never find their way to St. Stephen's (the number of which is far too large), there have been upwards of 66,000 petitions presented to Parliament, the signatures to which have reached the high figure of ten millions. Of these petitions County and Town Councils sent 116; Local Boards sent 109; School Boards sent 150; and Boards of Guardians sent 352. Some of these bodies have petitioned several times, but the figures represent the number of Boards, not the number of petitions. In 1878 a Clerical Memorial signed by 6,874 Clergymen, 6,696 Nonconformist Ministers, and 887 Roman Catholic Priests was presented to the Home Secretary, and in 1882-3, 3,598 Magistrates signed a like document. Both were in favour of total Sunday Closing throughout England. The following year (1883) 120 Members of Parliament signed an appeal to Mr. Gladstone asking him to grant facilities for the Sunday Closing Bill. It is usual for our opponents to pour contempt on petitions, but no one who has seen the excellent effect produced when large numbers are poured in upon the House can doubt their value. There is no cause in existence which would not be proud of such an expression of public opinion as that indicated by the above figures.

But a still more valuable test of public opinion has been applied, and with equally satisfactory results. In 1,203 places in England the householders have been canvassed. They were asked, "Are you in favour of stopping the sale of intoxicating liquors throughout England during the whole of Sunday, except to *bona-fide* travellers?" The replies were—Yes, 764,053; No, 108,664; neutral, 70,232. It has been said that the South is not as ripe for Sunday Closing as the North, but dividing the country by a line which runs south of the counties of Salop, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, the following result is obtained:—

Northern Counties—Number of canvasses, 515. Votes in favour, 500,117; against, 71,326; neutral, 40,630.

Southern Counties—Number of canvasses, 688. Votes in favour, 263,936; against, 37,338; neutral, 29,602.

These figures show that the proportion of votes, seven in favour to one against, is almost exactly the same in both North and South.

We are told that Sunday Closing could never be enforced in London. The canvasses taken by the Association disprove this. Of course, anything like a plebiscite of the whole of London is impossible, but wherever workers could be found in any part of the Metropolis, the district has been tested. The following list of places show the results. It will be observed that for the most part they are working-class districts:—

LONDON—	For.	Against.	Neutral.	
Belle Isle - - - - -	739	142	129	5 in favour to 1 agst.
Bermondsey - - - - -	1,154	194	132	6 " 1 "
Chelsea - - - - -	2,572	731	575	3½ " 1 "
(Greenwich (parish of Christ Church) -	850	160	83	5 " 1 "
Hampstead - - - - -	1,607	329	169	nearly 5 " 1 "
Islington (eight parishes) -	2,921	439	249	over 6½ " 1 "
Kensal Green (St. Jude's parish) -	914	152	69	6 " 1 "
North Bow (St. Stephen's parish) -	718	99	68	7 " 1 "
Notting Hill (St. James' parish) -	405	34	30	nearly 12 " 1 "
Poplar (St. Matthias') - - - - -	239	19	14	over 12 " 1 "
Vauxhall Ward - - - - -	1,739	421	187	over 4 " 1 "
West Ham (St. Thomas' parish) -	552	59	49	9 " 1 "
Westminster (parish of Christ Church) -	222	56	19	about 4 " 1 "
Wood Green and Bowes Park -	2,195	363	197	over 6 " 1 "
	16,827	3,198	1,970	5½ " 1 "

It is impossible to tabulate the other methods by which public opinion has been expressed in favour of Sunday Closing. In the recent debate in the House of Commons one Member said that while he had been deluged by letters from his constituents asking him to vote for the Sunday Closing Bill, the only communication he had received asking him to vote against was from a Licensed Victuallers' Association. No one who has read the newspapers could fail to be struck with the number of Members who, both during and since the debate, have felt it necessary to explain to their constituents why they voted against the bill. One of the Members for a Kentish constituency who in 1896 put down an amendment, with the intention of defeating the bill, withdrew it before the Second Reading came on, in response to the earnest appeals of his constituents. This year he voted for the bill.

With all this remarkable accumulation of evidence as to the state of public opinion, is it not strange that the House of Commons should refuse to give the country a Sunday Closing law? Had Sunday Closing failed where it has been in operation, the delay might have been more easily understood. But the reports of Commissions and Select Committees have settled that issue for ever. And if they had not, there is the remarkable fact that when once a country has adopted Sunday Closing it never goes back. Now and then a newspaper paragraph alludes to an agitation for the repeal of the Welsh or Manx Sunday Closing Acts, but such allusions must be put down to the inexperience of some paragraph writer who has mistaken the resolution of some trade meeting for an expression of public opinion.

There has been one return to Sunday opening in this country, the particulars of which are given in the following words of the miners' agent for the district:— "Upon the passing of the Sunday Closing Act for Wales, the whole of the public-houses in Beaufort, Rassa, and Dukestown were closed, and from that time forward it was a rare occurrence to see a person under the influence of intoxicants, although being on the border of Monmouthshire and open houses within half-a-mile or so to our neighbourhood. But upon the passing of the Local Government Act (1888), and our being transferred to Monmouthshire (for administrative purposes), the publicans thought they had a right to again open on Sundays, and they did so, and although the Temperance party secured a test case before the local magistrates, they (the magistrates) disagreed on the matter; and no further proceedings being taken, they have been open ever since, with the result that what was for a considerable time a peaceful, quiet village—an ideal of the sweet repose that the Sabbath day was intended to confer upon our toiling masses—is now transformed on some Sundays into a perfect pandemonium. The number of public-houses thus affected is about thirty. It has been said that a poor man should not be deprived of his beer, but my experience shows that it is far worse to deprive him of his Sunday or to give him temptations to spoil it."

Is there any wonder that the inhabitants of districts blessed by Sunday Closing tenaciously cling to it, or that Englishmen so strongly desire it?

The delay in securing Sunday Closing in England may be attributed very largely to the following causes:—First, to the slow and unbusinesslike way of dealing with legislation in the British Parliament. But for this cause Sunday Closing would very probably have been obtained long ago. The next hindrance I will name is the confusing of the question with other proposals about which there is a greater divergence of opinion. In this respect Sunday Closing sometimes suffers, though unintentionally, at the hands of its friends. The progress of the movement will be much accelerated if at all times, and especially when pressing its claims upon members of Parliament, it is kept as a simple issue clear of all others.

But the great hindrance in the present day is undoubtedly the enormous power of the organised drink trade. It is but fair to admit that there is some ground for the belief held by many that a majority of liquor sellers, if polled, apart from the influence of the trade organisations, would vote for Sunday rest. But the strong opposition of some licensed victuallers, whose profits would be largely reduced by Sunday Closing, forces their organisations into violent

antagonism. It was well said by a speaker at a recent Sunday Closing meeting. "The real objection to Sunday Closing is that it will lessen the amount of beer which will be drunk in England. It is a battle of pounds, shillings, and pence, and nothing else. The fact of the matter is that the drink interest of this country is gathered up into comparatively few hands, and the wealth of it is enormous. And they can bring that wealth in all its power to bear upon Parliament and upon Governments, and upon all kinds of people: and so we, who are working from different motives and for different ends, are at a great disadvantage when that concentration of effort is against us."

Though there are several Sunday Closing Bills, and many more Sunday Closing proposals, the whole of the Sunday Closing agitation has been for the original Sunday Closing Bill promoted by the Central Association, and with which the name of Mr. J. C. Stevenson (formerly M.P. for South Shields) was so long and so honourably identified. Other bills may lay claim to greater ingenuity, but they cannot claim a more faithful adherence to principle. Nor can any of them point to any general agitation in their favour that can be compared for a moment with the support elicited and organised by the Central Association on behalf of its proposal for total Sunday Closing throughout England. It may fall to the lot of one of these modified bills to get first through Parliament, and thus carry off the laurels, but the honour belongs to those who for 30 years have borne the burden and the heat of the day, and of whom it will have to be said "that they laboured, and that we have entered into their labours."

I conclude by quoting the words of three eminent social reformers. Mr. John Morley once said to a Sunday Closing deputation: "The public good is deeply involved in this question. The public good must override the considerations of the interests of a class, whether that class be with us or against us." John Bright said that "the settlement of the Sunday question rested with the churches." That is true, but it is not the whole truth. The responsibility must be shared by everybody. In the words of one of the most devoted and earnest reformers living—Rev. Charles Garrett—"We must make this a matter of conscience to-day and onwards until all the people stand up before high Heaven, and say in thunder tones, 'We will not have the Sabbath broken by Act of Parliament.'" It may be difficult to overcome the obstacles in the way of the movement, but it is not impossible. We must regulate our efforts by the strength of the opposing forces. If the difficulties are great our exertions must be correspondingly great. The cause is right, and must eventually prevail.

PROHIBITION AMONG THE NORTH SEA FISHERIES.

BY C. M. MUNDAHL, GRIMSBY.



MR. C. M. MUNDAHL.

THE fishing industry of this country has many claims to public consideration. It provides us with wholesome and nutritious food, the absence of which would be a serious want in the national food supply. It is an old trade without being antiquated; it has kept steady pace with the general progress of modern times, and, having adopted many of the advantages evolved in mechanical science, it has been enabled to extend its operations to such distances, and in such measure as forty years ago were not even dreamt of.

It gives healthy employment to a large number of our Coast population, who without this would lack the means of subsistence; it also acts as a voluntary training stage for youths and men who regularly pass from it into the Defensive, and the Merchant Navy.

There are several distinct branches of the trade, but for the purposes of this paper, we have to deal only with the trawling. For the last 30 years, certainly, trawling has been our most important fishery, whether as regards the capital invested, the number of hands employed, or the annual result in productiveness. Trawling is carried on all round the Coast, but the principal field is the North Sea, and almost every seaport from Ramsgate to Aberdeen has its fleet of trawlers, who regularly and constantly gather in the harvest of the deep.

The vessels and fishing gear are owned and equipped by individuals or companies who are termed smack owners; the skippers and leading hands work on the profit sharing system, while the younger hands are either apprentices of the owner or provided by him at fixed rates of wages.

There are two distinct systems in the trawling fishery, the one termed "single boating" refers to vessels proceeding to sea and fishing under the individual direction of the skipper until they have caught a cargo, when they return to port, deliver their catch, equip afresh, and sail again on another voyage.

The other is the "fleeting" system, under which a number of vessels, say from 20 to 120, form into a fleet, and are governed in their fishing operations by one, generally the most experienced of their number, who is styled "Admiral." Some of these fleets fish together all the year round, others only during the summer months.

They all work together within a circuit of from 5 to 10 miles, and daily forward their catch to market by a swift sailing, or on the most modern plan, by a steam cutter. The obvious advantage of this system is to supply the fish in perfectly fresh condition, and to save the time which it would take if each vessel had to carry its own single catch to port.

Vessels which work under the fleeting system, go to sea and continue their fishing voyage for a term of eight weeks; they then return to port, receive a new outfit, and, after a week in harbour, return to their fishing fleet again.

I need not point out the sacrifices of such a life, but they are numerous and constant. The frequent hardships and dangers which have to be encountered must often bring home to the mind of the fisherman that "there is sorrow on the sea!"

It would be difficult to give the exact number, but we may take it that for the last 30 years, during six months of the year, from 12 to 18 such fleets have been working in the North Sea, on grounds situated between the latitudes of Lowestoft on the south, and the Tees on the north.

About 25 years ago a strange craft made its appearance amongst these fleets. In build and rig it often resembled other fishing smacks, but there was something strange, and uncanny about it; it usually carried fishing gear, but very seldom fished; it was not a pleasure yacht, and not a working fishing craft; while the

fleet was heaving and hauling, this ominous object simply rolled about, lazily flapping its untrimmed sails, like an impatient vulture waiting for its prey.

It was termed a "cooper." Why it was so termed is not quite clear, but it is probably derived from the Dutch, "kuyper," and would imply a dealer.

It required only a short notice to introduce the "cooper" to the fleet, and trading, once begun, soon became brisk and flourishing. As one, at that time, largely interested in the fishing trade who suffered considerably by the nefarious dealings of these "coopers," I will not give my own description, but prefer to read to you the more important account given by Admiral Gordon-Douglas, and Mr. Malan, in a report on the North Sea Fisheries presented to the Admiralty, dated November, 1884.

Under the subject "coopers" they write: "The 'coopers,' or floating grog shops, chiefly hail from German and Dutch ports, and visit most parts of the North Sea where trawlers congregate. They are as a rule of the tonnage and rig of fishing vessels, some being registered and numbered as such, whilst others sail as trading vessels.

"One or two English smacks have been known to be engaged in 'coopering,' but they generally end by being sold in a foreign port, and trade under a foreign flag.

"The distinguishing mark of a 'cooper' is a flag or bit of bunting on the fore-stay. They trade in tobacco and spirits of vile quality, in scents, and latterly in immoral and obscene cards and photographs.

"A 'cooper' seldom remains more than three days with a fishing fleet, but passes from one to another until his stock is exhausted.

"The whole trade of the 'cooper' is most immoral and degrading.

"Fishermen are tempted to barter their owners' warps, nets, ropes, sails, and fish for the drink, and the boys and apprentices are demoralized by the obscene pictures and cards so freely disposed of.

"The drunkenness and debauchery consequent on a visit to a 'cooper' have often terminated fatally. We may instance the skipper of the *Mizpah* of Yarmouth, who was drowned in February, 1884, and the skipper of the *Columbia* of Grimsby, who was drowned or murdered in September, 1882, whilst more recently a murderous assault was made upon a Grimsby skipper during a drunken brawl."

The report from which this extract is taken is an account of a prolonged official voyage of inspection by the gentlemen named, which was ordered by the Admiralty upon the repeated solicitations of various fishing communities.

We have now seen the character of the "cooper," his mode of dealing, and the effect of his trade. I apprehend that with the exception of his unrestricted liberty to sell, or barter, you will not find a great difference between the floating grog shop and the stationary one in our midst.

It will not require many words to explain that the smackowners, as a body, and many of the fishermen themselves, looked upon the "cooper" as an unmitigated evil which ought to be removed. But how was this to be done?

The fishing communities, principally those of Grimsby, Hull, and Yarmouth, who were respectively the most interested, set themselves to work in the earlier years of the "cooper's" history. In season and out of season they made their request known to the Government of the day. It mattered not who were in power, Liberal or Tory, the smackowners were constantly on their doorsteps, and the "coopers" and all their works were more frequently denounced in some of the Governmental Departments than any other power of evil.

The various Ministers of State, their Secretaries, and Officials treated the subject with due importance and were earnestly desirous to help us; but any interference with the "cooper" could only be arrived at in conjunction with other interested nations. To this end exhaustive correspondence ensued, Diplomatic and Consular Agencies were invoked, with the result that an International Convention met at the Hague in May, 1882, for the declared purpose of "regulating the Police of the Fisheries in the North Sea outside Territorial Waters."

The Convention was composed of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, France, Denmark, and the Netherlands.

I will not say that the labours of this Convention were altogether unproductive. It confirmed the geographical position of the North Sea quite in accordance with the boundaries fixed in the beginning of the world. It laid down certain rules with regard to the painting of fishing vessels, and dealt with some other matters which could do no harm.

There was one evil, with an awful name, although of an intermittent character, which the Convention dealt with in a drastic manner. An instrument known in the fishery as the "Belgian Devil," and in the higher toned language of Diplomacy, referred to in the Convention as "an instrument for destroying fishing implements," was, by Article XXIII., absolutely prohibited.

This instrument was a sharp-edged blade resembling a reaping hook, or at times like a scythe, which unscrupulous trawl fishers, when working amongst the drift nets of herring fishers, would attach to their trawl warps in order that they might cut their way through the herring man's nets and so make a free passage for their trawl.

I believe they were almost as rare as the Sea Serpent, but they had a bad name, an unmixed character of evil, and it appears the Convention had no difficulty in arriving at a unanimous sentence of condemnation which was accordingly embodied in the Sea Fisheries Act, 1883, Article 9, whereby it is prohibited to manufacture or sell such an instrument; and in subsequent articles where the use is prohibited.

After this effort against the Belgian "instrument" it seemed the Convention was indisposed to deal with the "cooper," and they confined themselves to the expression of a desire for the suppression of the abuses from which fishermen suffer, and suggested that further information and instruction was needed in order to deal effectually with the matter at some future time.

So ended the Convention of 1882, and the "cooper" was left to continue his evil traffic. The fishing communities and their friends were greatly disappointed, but still they felt that something had been accomplished, and they renewed their efforts on former lines. The Government, in order to meet the wish expressed by the Convention, undertook to collect authoritative information, and in 1884, Admiral Gordon-Douglas, and Mr. Malan were sent on a cruise of inspection, at the completion of which they presented a most ample and excellent report, of which I have read an extract.

In due course another International Conference assembled at the Hague on June the 10th, 1886, at which Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, and Belgium were again represented. The English Delegates were Mr. Kennedy, C.B., Head of the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, and Mr. Trevor, C.B., Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trade, who ably and worthily represented their cause. Their services were afterwards acknowledged by special thanks from Lord Rosebery and from Mr. Mundella.

The stated subject for this Conference was: "To remedy the abuses to which the traffic in spirits in the North Sea gives rise." The Convention was opened by the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, after cordially greeting the Delegates, referred to the subject matter of the Convention, and expressed an earnest wish for its success. M. Rahusen, the First Delegate of the Netherlands, was elected President, and it only becomes me to say that the Delegates were fortunate in their choice of such a President.

Six points were submitted for consideration, which were in principle to the effect that a common understanding should be arrived at as to the legislative measures to be taken by each of the Powers for the purpose of imposing penalties on the sale of spirits to fishing boats in the North Sea.

To consider whether such penalties ought to be increased where the spirits were bartered for products of the fisheries or other goods belonging to the owner of a boat.

To arrange for the administrative superintendence and control.

To refuse any exemption of Customs Duty to suspected dealers, and to require special security from suspected vessels.

To restrict and fix the maximum quantity of spirits which fishing boats might be allowed to carry; and

To arrange the mode of procedure in the prosecution of offenders.

It will be noticed that, excepting the first, all these points are based on the principle of regulating the traffic; not a word is said about prohibition. Her Majesty's Consuls abroad had in advance expressed a doubt whether the Powers would agree to prohibit the traffic, and suggested various means for its regulation.

It was shewn at the Conference that about 20 floating grog shops had from time to time visited the fishing fleets in the North Sea. 8 or 10 of these sailed from Geestemunde or Bremerhaven, 8 from Schiedam and other parts in Holland, 1 from Denmark, and 1 from Belgium. It was also stated that the purchase price of a "litre" of gin, free of excise, was 8 cents Dutch money, whilst the selling price at sea was 80 cents. per litre—a difference of 72 cents, in other words, 900 per cent. profit.

The Delegates of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Great Britain at the onset declared themselves in favour of prohibition, whilst the first German Delegate strenuously opposed such a course, advancing as an argument the sober habits of the German fishermen, and the importance of preserving perfect freedom of trade. The Delegates of France and Denmark observed in the earlier stages a somewhat negative position, on the ground that they were not implicated in, nor did they suffer from the traffic, the evils of which had not presented themselves to their Governments.

Under the judicious and eminently able guidance of the President and by the cautious and skilful negotiation of the Delegates who favoured prohibition, the Conference did, however, after nine prolonged sittings, arrive at a unanimous agreement, and a Convention was accomplished by which the sale, purchase, and barter of spirituous liquors in the North Sea was henceforth prohibited.

The Convention was afterwards carried into effect in this country by the North Sea Fisheries Act, 1888.

The Convention sounded the death knell of the "cooper," and, so far as I am aware, there has never occurred any breach of the law since its first enactment. A very marked improvement has been the result amongst the fishing population, and no one desires the return of the floating grog shop.

I must not close this paper without a grateful mention of Sir Edward Birkbeck, M.P., who rendered such generous and valuable services in connection with the prolonged agitation of this subject. Nor must I forget a Society which has rendered immense service to the cause, both before and since the Convention was enacted. The "Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen," broad and humane in its character, generous and humanizing in its influence, is the greatest agent for good that ever attended to the wants of our fishermen at sea.

DRINK IN RELATION TO THE MARITIME INDUSTRY.

BY COUNCILLOR F. YEOMAN, J.P., SECRETARY OF THE HARTLEPOOL SHIPOWNERS' SOCIETY, HARTLEPOOL.



COUNCILLOR F. YEOMAN, J.P.

THE effects of Drink upon various phases of life are to be dealt with at this Convention, but it may be safely assumed that few, if any, can be of greater importance than its relation to our maritime industry.

It has been said that we are a nation of shopkeepers. It might be said of us with equal truth that we are a nation of shipowners. So important and widespread are the ramifications of British shipping that this subject cannot fail to interest every town and village in the country. Our shipping is at once the necessity, the pride and the glory of the country, as it is the envy of other nations. We have so long enjoyed a reign of comparative peace, since the Crimean war, that we of to-day have little idea how much our whole national life would be interfered with if, from international strife, our mercantile marine was threatened.

Some slight idea of the magnitude of the interests bound up in this subject may be gathered from the fact that in the year 1895 there entered the ports of the United Kingdom, with cargoes and in ballast, from Foreign countries, British Possessions and Coastwise, no less than 384,330 vessels, of 94,306,394 tons. This by no means conveys anything like an approximate idea of the trade, inasmuch as the entries into U.K. ports form but an exceedingly small part of the work of our shipping, its duty being to serve commerce the wide world over. Wherever cargo needs to be carried, there, in all probability, will the ubiquitous British shipowner be an applicant for the work. But even from ports of the Kingdom the figures already given show an average of upwards of a thousand vessels entering these ports every day in the year.

To afford some little idea of how traffic converges upon certain ports of the Kingdom it may be mentioned that the entries alone for the year in question in some of the larger ports were as follows:—

London	...	...	...	...	...	53,916	vessels
Liverpool	...	...	...	...	...	19,457	"
Tyne Ports	...	...	...	...	...	15,672	"
Cardiff	...	...	...	...	...	15,353	"

In addition to which must be borne in mind that these entries give not the faintest idea of the innumerable fishing and small unregistered craft which at the entrances to these great highways endanger the conduct of the traffic. To look at the subject from just one other standpoint, in the year in question there were registered as belonging to the United Kingdom, 6,623 steamers and 9,482 sailing vessels. It would be a fair computation to say that the steamers would cover about two hundred and sixty-four million miles and the sailing vessels three hundred and forty-four million miles in a year. This in all weather, and, at least as touching the former, with comparatively the precision of a well-organised railway.

This leads up to the thought of how necessary it is that every man engaged in a trade of such magnitude should be always in the full possession of his every faculty, perfectly unimpaired from any cause whatever. As touching the great industry of our railways we have long ago arrived at this conclusion, and every nerve is strained to ensure that all employed therein comply, and that always, with this requirement. There was a time when it was possible to see a railway guard at least somewhat under the influence of intoxicants, but that is virtually a thing of the past, and to-day in a railway employé it is seldom we see anything of the kind. Sometimes comparisons are made between the life lost from shipping

and from such industries as railways and mines. But would it be tolerated for one moment that a man went into a mine, or to his work upon the railway, under the influence of liquor? Such a thing is practically impossible, for no such man would be able to retain his situation, to the endangering of his own life as well as the lives of others.

But when we examine the case of the mercantile marine we find an altogether different state of things. If drink is a curse and a nuisance anywhere it is surely on board a ship. On shore, if we come in contact with it in its various forms we can give it a wide berth, but on board ship it cannot well be escaped from.

No one more than the writer can be aware that, in discussing this phase of the drink question, we are touching upon ground which somewhat goes against the grain. We would fain cast a beautiful halo of sentiment around the sea, the sailor, and in fact all afloat, and there rest. We are not particularly grateful to anyone who ruthlessly tears away the veil and shatters our beautiful ideal. But the question demands a fair and dispassionate examination, and, if we find need for amendment, it is our bounden duty manfully to tackle the responsibility and ignore the sentiment except in so far as we can improve our much-prized mercantile marine. It may be that even this very sentimentality is responsible for much of what is to-day complained of. If, for instance, a man went to his work at one of our large industries in a state of intoxication, he would scarcely venture to appeal to us for sympathy after having lost his employment. In the case of the sailor it is palliated, and he is excused, because he is admittedly the idol of the whole country. It is no over-statement to say that in many cases vessels leave port with several of their crew under the influence of liquor. Engineers say sometimes that if they can only be sure of having one fireman to do the necessary firing for the first watch at sea, they can get through, inasmuch as by the next watch the others will have slept off the effects of their indulgence and thenceforward the work of the ship may be expected to run pretty smoothly. But surely this is not as it ought to be. It is of the utmost importance that, on leaving ports so thickly studded with shipping as we have seen is the case from the figures already quoted, every man on board is alive to his duty and at his full value. Incompetence due to drink is enough to rouse the anger of captains, who perhaps have had enough anxiety in port, in the hurry with which our steam shipping is turned round in the present day. The result is that the masters seem to arrive at the conclusion that docile Scandinavians and others at least before they become Anglicised -- are less given to this practice, and they often give them a preference in shipping their crews. All seem to be agreed that, for hard work and daring at sea, no nationality beats the British tar, but the idea seems to be that in the quiet humdrum life of the ordinary cargo steamer the foreign seaman fulfills every requirement, and he does not so grievously vex his officers upon this ground of unfitness for work on a sea tide. This outcome is naturally a grievance of the British seaman, but such is the principal reason given by witnesses before Commissions and elsewhere for the preference so given. The sailor will never attain his best position until he rules his conduct after the fashion of the men employed in our best industries on shore, and it would be doing him a service if all who have influence with him would do their best to get him to see it in that light. As to the matter of wages, it follows that the men will never be able to claim full value for their labour until they render themselves independent of the Boarding Master and the Crimp, and take at least the same position as their fellow labourers on shore.

There are two principal ways in which the drink question affects shipping. In the first place, if the captain indulges, it may result in the risking of the lives of all on board. Virtually he is king of his ship, and must necessarily so continue. Except for lunacy or something akin thereto, it is practically impossible to depose him, and he, therefore, carries with him the power of life and death over his subordinates. That ought to entail upon him the responsibility of keeping himself above suspicion on the subject of liquor. Crews do occasionally arraign their officers upon this question, but not often. On shipboard it seems to be a thing to

be tabooed, and perhaps rightly so. At the same time, by reason of its infrequency and the acknowledged difficulty of getting evidence upon such matters from a crew, when they do go the length of making formal complaint, it should be most carefully inquired into from this very standpoint of the comparative powerlessness of the crew.

On the other hand the Master and the ship in many ways suffer from the drunkenness of the crew, and no doubt much bad feeling is thereby engendered which otherwise would be totally absent.

But the loss of life due to drink forms the most serious count in the indictment against alcohol in connection with the maritime industry.

At sea it may be, but in harbour it undoubtedly is, responsible for much evil. Some years ago the Coroner for East Surrey, in holding an inquest upon the body of a seaman found in the Surrey Commercial docks, said that he was frequently called upon, sometimes three or four times a week, to hold inquests on the bodies of men who had been drowned in the same docks when under the influence of drink. Speaking generally, he was urging the better lighting of the quays round the docks. If, as undoubtedly is the case, the men have to frequent such docks, often hampered with stacks of wood, &c., there is all the more reason for impressing upon them the absolute necessity of keeping a clear head for the navigation of such dangerous places. There is, however, too much reason to fear that the experience of the Coroner is but too common,

In the merchant steamers registered in the United Kingdom, there were employed in 1895 (excluding Lascars and Asiatics) about 130,000 men.

An analysis of the causes of loss of life of this area, for the month of July in that year, gives the following, according to the official return of the Registrar-General of Shipping and Seamen:—

	LIVES.
By Wreck or Casualty (by one collision)	12
„ Other than Wreck or Casualty:—	
Accident (at sea 2, in harbour 8)	10
Cause unknown (at sea 3, in harbour 3)	6
Sunstroke	2
Overdose of Laudanum	2
Supposed Heavy Drinking... ..	1
Drowning (at sea 11, in harbour 28)... ..	39
	—
	60
„ Disease	51
	— 111
	—
Total	123

As further illustrative of the loss of life, by drowning in rivers and harbours, is appended an analysis of the Return for the month in question:—

RATING.	PLACE OF DEATH.	(OFFICIAL) CAUSE.
Mate	Strood Dock, Rochester	Accidentally drowned.
A.B.	Singapore	Fell off the gangway and drowned.
Cook	Genoa	Drowning.
Assist.-Steward	Off London Bridge	Supposed drowning.
Do.	Ship Canal, Salford	Accidentally drowned.
Ord. Seaman	River Guadalquivar	Do. do. while bathing.
Steward	Montreal	Drowned.
A.B.	Suez Canal	Fell overboard and drowned.
Carpenter	Ghent	Drowned whilst bathing.
Steward	New York	Drowned by falling overboard.
Fireman	Ostend	Drowning.
3rd Engineer... ..	Chatham N.B.	Drowned while bathing.
Fireman	Hamburg	Found drowned.

Mess-room Boy.	Prince of Wales' Dock, Swansea	Found drowned.
A.B.	... Singapore	Fell off the gangway and drowned.
A.B.	... Queen's Dock, Glasgow... ..	Drowning (found drowned Aug. 12th, 1895.
3rd Engineer...	Cessnock Dock, Glasgow	... Drowning.
Cook	... Colombo Harbour... ..	... Drowning.
Fireman	... Havre ... ..	... Found drowned
A.B.	... Buenos Ayres ... ..	... Drowning
Steward	... River Tyne ... ..	... Drowning.
A.B.	... Noumea ... ..	... Drowned.
A.B.	... Altona ... ..	... Drowned.
2nd Mate	... Antwerp ... ..	... Drowned : Accidentally fell from the quay into the dock.
2nd Engineer...	Lagos ... ..	... Drowning.
A.B.	... Anakria ... ..	... Drowning.
A.B.	... Leith Dock ... ..	... Cardiac failure following submersion.
Fireman	... Seville ... ..	... Accidentally drowned.

It is, of course, impossible to say if any, and in which case how much, of this life loss was attributable to drink, but in the light of the coroner's opinion already quoted, exercising every charity, we are driven to the conclusion that but for drink many bright fellows would still have been alive to support and comfort their families. A still closer study of these returns, as touching the crews of steamers registered in the Hartlepoons, has driven me to express the opinion that drink kills more than the sea damages. Recent returns show that over the last ten years an average of 379 lives were lost from U.K. steamers, by wreck and casualty at sea, whereas it may safely be assumed that at least an average of 200 lives per annum are lost by drowning in rivers and harbours. For the former loss there is at least the excuse of all the exigencies of the navigation of the world. Can anything like the same defence be offered for the latter?

As touching navigation at sea, it is not many days since an owner complained to the writer that on his vessel leaving port nearly every fireman and A.B. on board was more or less under the influence of liquor. It is to be feared this is by no means a solitary instance. About half the loss of life at sea from wrecks and casualties usually attaches to "missing" ships and steamers. If this kind of thing is anything like common, it need not be wondered at, if, soon after leaving port, some of these vessels suffer through the fault complained of, and two vessels together find a common grave.

Moreover, if drink is an evil on board cargo steamers, how much more so is it a menace to the gigantic passenger liners of to-day. These floating palaces have a most marvellous immunity from accident and loss, for which all honour to them. But with the tremendous responsibility resting upon them no one ought to place the temptation of liquor in the way of those navigating them.

In one of his inimitable addresses many may remember an apt illustration upon this subject by the late J. B. Gough. He first pictured a captain of a sailing vessel, quite free from liquor, taking every precaution against a "dirty night" and impending peril. In a moment descending to his cabin, he supposes the captain taking a pull at the bottle, and in a trice he comes on deck again, and not only does he not continue the precautions which prudence before dictated, but he set the very top-gallant sails he had ordered to be stowed, shakes out the reefs in the top-sails he had ordered to be taken in, and ultimately brings about the disaster which, in his normal condition, he would have averted. Mr. Gough denied the suggestion that the captain was drunk; his only claim was that he was changed, by the liquor, and that not for the better but for the worse. A truer illustration of its effect it would be difficult to portray.

In our excursion steamers also, plying round our coasts, without the liquor all goes merry as a marriage bell. With the liquor, years ago, I have seen it neces-

sary to lash two men on opposite sides of the boat to prevent their flying at each other's throat. In fact, taking the mercantile industry as a whole, a well appointed ship, minus liquor, may be a veritable Heaven. Put the drink on board, and she may soon become nearer related to a place which shall be nameless. Ship's log-books are often nearly filled with complaints against the crew on the score of drunkenness, and if that fruitful cause of disorder could be wiped out seafaring life would be improved beyond knowledge.

At present it is the duty of the Customs officials to most carefully search a vessel to ensure that she brings into port no excisable goods without paying duty thereupon. These men are put on at the wrong end of the voyage. It would be much more to the purpose if it was their duty to search every vessel proceeding to sea, and make certain that she carried no intoxicating liquor with her—no, not even for medicine. The law insists upon a foreign-going vessel carrying, as "medical comforts" a certain prescribed quantity of brandy and wine. It is not difficult to believe that, under certain circumstances, by the very fact of an officer having at hand this reserve of liquor, he is tempted to use it, and is thereby betrayed into conduct from which he would have been saved had it not been available to him. So far from its being a useful provision, the probability is that it is far oftener productive of much harm.

To sum up the whole question, there can be no doubt but that, valuable as Prohibition would prove in many and varied walks of life, there is none which could establish a better case for its adoption, and in the event of its being adopted none from which better results might be anticipated than from the maritime industry of the British Empire.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY JAMES MCKENDRICK, NEWCASTLE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.



MR. JAMES MCKENDRICK.

THIS paper is not an argument in favour of the co-operative movement as known to us at the present day, but rather an appeal for sympathy to a class of people who are working to the same end pursued by the friends of the Temperance reformation. About fifty years ago a few weavers in Rochdale originated the co-operative system on such a sound, economical, and ethical basis as has enabled it to stand the sifting of these years of practical application. They believed that the savings accruing from the distribution of the necessaries of family life would ultimately supply a fund which would enable them to engage in productive works, and thus at once become workman and capitalist. This idea, at that period only in dreamland, is now in process of realisation. When we contemplate the friction and open war continually raging between the workman and his employer, any hint which will tend to accelerate the solution of the problem, is devoutly to be desired. The co-operative body having set up a lofty ideal, the Temperance thinker may justly indicate how speedily and effectively it may be realised.

Thus may we claim co-operation as allies in uplifting the wage-earners of our country to a higher level, materially and morally. There are in Great Britain about 1,600 well-organised co-operative societies. Many of them set apart a portion of their profits for charitable and educational purposes. The trade of the whole amounts to about £50,000,000 annually, and having no losses, their profits are large. They inculcate sound methods of trading, concealing nothing from the buyer which he ought to know. It must be gratifying to the friends of Temperance to know that none of these societies, so far as I am aware, are engaged in the liquor traffic, nor is any grocer's license held by any of them. It is calculated that there are one and a half millions of heads of families trading at these stores, and no complaint is heard that anyone suffers from the absence of intoxicants. This is a fact of the very highest importance. Whatever may be the habits of individual members, as organised bodies they bear witness to the value of Prohibition.

Temperance reformers may address co-operators with sentiments such as these. You seek to improve the social condition of the wage-earners of the country by distributing amongst them the profits of trade and industry. We endeavour to show them that sobriety and wise expenditure is the highest wisdom. You look to the material accumulation of wealth for the people's advancement. We say that is not a blessing unless it is used wisely and well. You show skill in earning; we recommend judgment in spending.

We appeal to you who base your methods on ethical and economical principles, if you are not under obligations, collectively, to oppose and discourage the waste and misery caused by the liquor traffic as now carried on in this country. You are bound to look round and take cognisance of all the obstacles which obstruct human progress. You are builders of a huge system of profitable trading in the interest of the people, and the drink business tends to postpone or defeat your purposes by demoralising your members. It has been said, to your discredit, that publicans and pawnbrokers have learned the period when quarterly dividends are paid by the increased trade which come to their counters. This, if true, is disastrous to progress, and would justify special efforts in finding a remedy. But the ultimate aim of your movement is to become co-partners

or owners of many of the large industrial establishments of the country. You have several millions already at hand. Our recommendation, calmly given, is that your million-and-a-half of members should withdraw their share of the great drink bill of this country and appropriate it to the working out of the dreams of the Rochdale Pioneers. If you are to capture a share of the profits in the great industries of the nation and make yourself felt in the commerce of the world you must put your feet down on appetite and prejudice, and then you may expect a triumphant success. Your great success has blinded you to the difficulties and the high moral qualities of the founders of your movement. There was true moral grandeur about their character and efforts. They cultivated the faculties which mastered difficulties and triumphed over temptation. If you in your career of social development, manifest the courage of your convictions, you cannot fail to see that your principles demand the utter discouragement of the drink traffic. Your Annual Congress, your District Conferences, your trained directors, your million-and-a-half members, if thrown into the scale against this foe of the human race, would greatly help to turn the tide, and be a great encouragement to Temperance workers everywhere.

DRINKING AND GAMBLING.

BY ROBERT KNIGHT, J.P., SECRETARY BOILERMAKERS AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS' SOCIETY, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.



MR. ROBT. KNIGHT, J.P.

THERE is often much wisdom in an aphorism, and in thinking how one might apply "Out of two evils choose the least" to the subjects of this paper, "Drinking and Gambling," I felt as if they were so much on a par that our proverbial philosophy was unequal to the occasion. I do not say that they are one and the same—they are quite as likely to be separate and distinct indulgences that may become over-ruling passions—but separate or combined they are the two terrible cankers in our social system.

I view, and have viewed with deep regret and chagrin, the "grip" of these passions upon considerable sections of my fellow working men, whose small and hard-earned means can ill-afford such ruinous indulgence. My twenty-five years' experience in the factory, and twenty-six years' observation as the general secretary of a large labour organisation, has made the betterment of my class a life work, and what I say here I have again and again addressed to my fellow-workers, in the hope of influencing their judgment against such pernicious indulgence. Many are the homes and families in abject wretchedness and poverty to-day that, but for the foolish extravagance, over-indulgence, and wild speculation of their principals, might be in a comparative state of comfort and independence. Could we but persuade our misguided and thriftless brothers when earning good wages, and in regular employment, to study economy, think of and provide for the future by saving instead of spending their spare cash, how much better would be their surroundings. Can anyone conceive a more insane or foolish act on the part of any man than that of him who, after working hard from Monday morn to Saturday noon, having received the reward of his week's toil, takes it to the nearest gin-shop or bookmaker, and makes it over to them as indifferently as though its possession had never cost him an effort or a drop of sweat? This is repeated week after week and month after month while the flood tide of trade continues, and it is only when too late that the foolish fellow finds out that his earnings have been the savings of others rather than his own, that his investments have been foolishly and badly made—in the public-house instead of the Post Office. Capitalists, monopolists, and millionaires have each in turn been denounced and held up to obloquy as the greatest enemies of social progress and reform, but are we not safe in saying that intemperance and gambling are vices that present far greater dangers than either of them? Let those who differ from us go round the public-houses on any Saturday night and see for themselves. They will find every tavern crowded to excess, and trafficking in the wretched stuff for which the thoughtless workman exchanges his hard earned money. Let them pass down by the haunts of the betting men on any day during the racing season about dinner time, and what will they see? Workmen of all grades and classes rushing hither and thither scanning the latest arrivals before plunging their last dollar, or, it may be, pledging one not yet earned upon their favourite mount. They can barely spare sufficient time to swallow their scant allowance of dinner in their mad eagerness to back a horse of which they know nothing, not even the owner's name. Watch them again in the evening returning from their day's toil. There is another rush, but this time to hear "what has won," and mark the blank and painful look of consternation and disappointment when they realise that their horse, like their judgment, was nowhere. How much of the earnings go in the direction indicated that might be well applied at home, or used to form a reserve fund for the days of old age and adversity. It is against temp-

tations and evils such as these that I have urged my fellow-workmen to beware, and shun them as they would a plague-stricken spot. We have more to fear from the brewer and the bookmaker than from any combination of capitalists of whom we have ever heard. The blandishments of the one and the wiles of the other are conducted with such skilful subtlety and suavity of manner as may well throw even the wary off their guard and draw them within their toils. They should treat them as they do blacklegs in their trade, as persons with whom they can hold no communion. Let them be on their guard against the seductions of Booky and Bung; keep them as far away as possible, and time will amply reward them for their vigilance. "Temperance and Thrift" is the motto for the worker who would get on, and in combination work out their social emancipation. Let the "Sporting Life" and "Racing Calendar" make way for Smith's "Wealth of Nations," or George's "Progress and Poverty;" let their leisure hours be spent, not in the vitiated atmosphere and sickly surroundings of the tap-room, but in the pursuit of healthy exercise and mental culture, and they would not only find their lives the sweeter, their health the better, and their homes the happier and brighter for the change, but they would become more useful citizens, and respected and creditable members of society.

I have said that the evils of drinking and gambling may be dissociated; the selfish or avaricious man may try to outwit his fellows in gambling, while the good-hearted, easy-minded, expert workman, having no thought of the one, may, and does, too often fall a victim to the other. Yet both are too commonly combined. We know, by the recurring "raids" of the police in Newcastle and other towns, that the "betting men" find a public-house the fittest meeting place; but there is a wretched form of it with which the law does not interfere, namely, playing with dominoes for drink. Our young fellows are thus enticed into the back parlours of public-houses for "a round," and it degenerates into a wretched round of beer swilling Saturday afternoon and night, until the sickened and sickening inebriate staggers homeward. The atmosphere is pernicious, and from "playing for drinks" there comes the disposition to venture something on a horse or some other game of chance, so that they are soon on the downgrade, from which many are never able to recover.

A great evil in connection with both Friendly Societies and Trade Unions is the holding of their meetings in public-houses; it also leads their members into temptation. In many cases members of some societies are allowed a certain percentage of the money paid as contributions to be spent for what is called the "good of the house." This system prevailed in my society, and each member was allowed 5 per cent. Checks, and not money, were handed to him for the amount, which was exchanged by the landlord for drink. I saw that this system had a demoralising effect upon the members. I also knew that the money thus spent could be made a very much better use of, and on entering on my duties as general secretary—now more than twenty-six years ago—by persuasion and influence, I succeeded in getting the consent of our members to abolish the drink from the society's meeting rooms, and take the 5 per cent. and establish a widow and orphan fund with the money. The money thus saved has been given to the widows and orphans year by year, and they have thus benefited to the extent of £65,000 from the foundation of the fund.

Here, then, is a striking instance of how much may be done for others as well as ourselves by investing any possible savings otherwise than in the profitless ways of drinking and gambling, and which men must see enriched and fattened those only who minister to their indulgence.

Workmen suffer very much from periodical waves of depression, that cast their gloomy shadows o'er the land, and carry desolation and despair into their homes. We have recently passed through a bitter and trying time, and large numbers of men have been out of employment. There can be no doubt that much suffering and privation have been silently endured, especially amongst the indigent, though vast sums have been paid away by societies to many of them as out of work benefit, and money raised from other sources to meet the distress. What the condition of many must have been without the support thus rendered them is too

serious to contemplate. It is a terrible commentary upon, and indictment against, the present social system under which we live and labour, that men, capable and willing to work, are doomed to walk beneath the shadows of starvation in a land teeming with wealth, and "rich beyond the dreams of avarice." The State is spurred on by the voice of Labour, and with it must rest the responsibility of removing some of the causes ; but we believe it possible for the workers themselves to mitigate, to some extent at least, the sufferings and miseries of such conditions of life.

Self-reform is by far the most needful and pressing, as it is also the most practical and useful of the many reforms that engage public attention. Its advantages far out-reach any other, it works automatically, the mind supplies the motive power, there being no complex State machinery required to put it into operation, and its effects are immediate. If trades unionism has been successful in securing for its members, through organisation, fair wages and reasonable conditions of labour, then these advantages should in turn be put to useful account in moral and mental improvement, increasing the comfort of homes, and making provision according to means and opportunities during the periods of good trade, for the days of idleness, adversity, accident, and old age that may come to one and all. Increased wealth or leisure, unless properly used and wisely directed, is far more dangerous and fatal in the hands of an individual than the want of it, and unless good use is made of the means and opportunities within our grasp it were vain to sigh and struggle for others far removed beyond our reach, the dim outlines of which are perceptible only to the imagination. There is no use blinking or glossing over the fact that improvidence, thriftlessness, and loose living are largely responsible for much of the misery that we see around us, and that drinking and gambling, as I said at the beginning, are baneful evils to be exorcised from our midst.

DRINK AND THE LABOUR MARKET.

BY ALDERMAN GEO. WHITE, J.P., NORWICH.



ALD. G. WHITE, J.P.

THE extent to which labour, the true source of wealth, is crippled by the drinking habits of the nation is a subject which should repay the most earnest and searching inquiry. So far as it is affected by drunkenness, there will be but one opinion; but there is much habitual drinking short of drunkenness which, in our judgment, has a very disastrous influence upon the industry of the country; and as upon this opinion are more or less divided, it will be my business to attempt to show that the traffic, as a whole, whether viewed from the point of excess (as it is popularly considered) or from the more moderate standpoint, must be destructive in its effects upon industry and the interests of labour generally.

A traffic which boasts of a capital of many hundreds of millions must ever be a most important factor for good or evil in the industrial world. If the capital so employed carries with it a high proportion of wage-earners, then per se it will be an advantage to the community, but if the very opposite is the case, and this capital calls for a very small wage outlay, then its influence must be diametrically opposed to the interests of labour.

Labour may be directed in either of two ways—it may be exerted on objects in themselves valuable—in their turn these objects may be used to obtain what is still more worth possessing, or it may expend itself in ways which destroy and corrupt and drag the labourer and his industry down to degradation. A man works as a rule because he wants to possess; by his work he gains wages; if he spends his wages wisely, he produces a demand for more work, by which he or other workmen benefit, and thus the whole process of industrial society is built up and maintained. If this is correct, then the manufacture and traffic in strong drink stands absolutely condemned as a cruel burden upon industry and the greatest enemy to labour; for it produces what is worthless in itself, it absorbs many millions of capital with the very smallest amount of labour, and it destroys the savings of a community, a large portion of which would otherwise go to increase the wages fund and, therefore, the remuneration of the worker. It is, of course, necessary for me to assume and not stay to prove (because this will be done in other sections by abler hands than mine) that strong drink is not necessary or useful to the worker. I am aware there are a few still living who regard it as a good creature of God. I would reply to them in the strain of a tectotal lecturer at a fair, who being questioned by a Merry Andrew with a chalked face, who asked, "I say, Mr. Lecturer, what did God send barley for if it was't to make malt of?" replied, "I say, Mr. Merry Andrew, what did God send chalk for if it was not to chalk fools faces with." Before I go into the practical details necessary to establish my points it may be well to see what is our present position from an industrial point of view. Circumstances have been so favourable to this country in the past that we have been able to build up a great commercial fabric by which wealth has been accumulated and a portion at least of our population have lived, and are living, in prosperity and affluence. We cannot review the commercial history of our country for the past fifty or sixty years without feeling a measure of pride in the marvellous success which has followed upon the energy and resource of our people, for, if we go back only half the reign of our present Queen, we find in that thirty years an increase in exports and imports from £415,000,000 to £715,000,000, or more than 40 per cent., and, if we reckon it per head, from £14 4s. 3d. in 1865 to £18 14s. 10d. in 1895, and the labour market has felt this progress enormously; Adam Smith tells us that at the beginning of the century 1s. 6d. per day might be reckoned as the common price of labour in London and neighbourhood; 10d. in Edinburgh, and 8d. throughout the low lands of Scotland. Just compare this with wages in these districts

now, and even in my own experience, covering thirty years, I know departments of labour which have increased at least 40 per cent., and many others 20 to 25 per cent. But these advances have been obtained in spite of the great drawback occasioned by the ever increasing burden of the drink traffic, because we have had a monopoly of advantages which we can no longer retain. Inventive genius, mineral resources, maritime supremacy, the enormous productive power of machinery, and the constant opening up of new markets, have saved us from the entire consequences of our own folly, but even now, with all this prosperity, there is a state of things in our midst which may well cause us to stop and think—wealth increasing, even amongst the trading class alone, at the rate of fifty millions per annum, and yet pauperism not really reduced at all, and at present 823,000 actual paupers on our relief roll, with some five million others on the verge of pauperism and constantly recruiting the pauper ranks; trade in its entire volume enormously large, yet receiving rude checks, and the unemployed half starved, and to be numbered by thousands in all our large towns, there being actually at this moment in one large Midland town in one of the busiest seasons of the year an unemployed committee attempting to grapple with this sad problem. It is sometimes contended that this state of things arises from two causes—First, because machinery does the work of the human hand and brain, displaces the worker, and produces out of all proportion to the demand; and secondly, that population in the country increases at an abnormal rate and faster than the means of subsistence; it is obvious that to a considerable extent these two propositions are mutually self destructive, but the first is answered by the fact to which all can bear testimony that if there is not sufficient demand for commodities produced there is actual need of them. If the shoemakers of Leicester or the clothiers of Leeds are not fully employed, there are thousands of families in the country to whom the articles they manufacture would be a great boon if they could get them, and therefore over production is an absolute myth; neither is it true that population increases faster than the means of subsistence, as the wealth per head of the country to-day is greater than ever before. Socrates said, "He who knows what is good and chooses it, and knows what is bad and avoids it, is both learned and temperate." Let us therefore now inquire what is wanted to make industry prosperous and labour adequately remunerated.

The most serious fact we have to deal with is this, that before the real needs of the working classes are met, they spend many millions of their hard-earned wages in a harmful luxury. This is the one chief cause which produces the army of paupers to which I have before referred. God forbid that I should for a moment suggest that a working man should not, if he pleases, spend something in luxuries; but no man, least of all a working man, has a right to spend on hurtful luxuries, and all experience places alcohol in this class. Wastefulness is wantonness, as the dairymaid said when she pulled the kitten out of the pail of cream and wiped the cream off its back into the pail again, and nowhere is wastefulness so terrible as in the expenditure on drink. Earnings should be first used to provide the necessaries of life, and it is in the provision of these necessaries that the working man blesses his family and his class far more than does the wealthy millionaire by his extravagance, for the needful things of life add most to the wages fund, which is the source of much prosperity to the artizan class. True commerce consists in the exchange of commodities which we possess (it may be labour or money obtained by labour) for commodities which some one else possesses, and we desire to have, but whether such exchange is profitable from a labour point of view will depend entirely upon what we get in return. A man has been accustomed to exchange, say, an average of 6s. per week in money for its equivalent in drink and he determines to do so no longer, with what results? He either keeps the money with the idea of making a little capital, so that he can become an employer himself, or he finds so many little wants that he could not before supply, that a ready outlet is found for his money, and in very useful channels, too. It makes all the difference to the worker whether his money goes to the tradesman or the publican. Nothing is more pleasing and encouraging than to follow the history of drink money when devoted to other purposes. A

country blacksmith, who declared he had never been drunk in his life, but whose average expenditure on drink was 3s. per week, signed the pledge after a meeting at which I spoke, and some time afterwards told how passing rich he found himself with this extra 3s.; how he had purchased children's clothes, boots, garden implements, etc., little realising how, whilst thus adding to his family comfort and happiness, he was adding largely to the employment and prosperity of his class, for employment depends on expenditure. If these cases were multiplied by hundreds of thousands, as they might be, if men were wise, we can see how truly the working man could do for himself what no one else can do for him. We pass on from 5s. or 6s. per week and look at the figures in the aggregate. Fully 20 per cent. of the 500 millions of wages earned goes in drink; in other words, 100 millions are spent by the wage-earning class out of the 148 millions—which is our present drink bill. This sum now spent in drink provides for labour a wage of £7,500,000, but spent on the many useful articles of which the working man and his family stand in need, it would provide wages to the extent of £40,000,000. The difference between these two figures, 32½ millions, in the matter of wages alone would clear off all our unemployed, providing work for 500,000 at 25s. a week the year through, and this leaves the even greater question of the expenditure itself untouched.

These are big figures, and it is difficult to realise their full meaning and to enable you fully to understand them. I cannot do better than to repeat—in fact I have been asked to repeat it—a statement I made at a meeting in Exeter Hall, London, some years since. I took the balance sheet of a brewery company, and showed that this company earned a gross profit of £50,086, and a nett profit of £24,560, and that they paid for salaries and wages £6,402—their nett profit being four times as great as the wages paid. Comparing that with my own business, I find that wages are on the average about five times as great as my profits, *i.e.*, when a brewer pays in round numbers £6,000 I should pay £120,000 to earn the same profit, so that whilst having regard to the output the wages in ordinary manufacture are six times more than in the production of drink—in regard to profit they are twenty times more.

Some time since, on the Norfolk Coast, we had an excursion visit from the employés of the greatest brewery in the country—Messrs. Bass and Co.—and great things were spoken at a gathering they had before returning home. It was there stated that their turn-over was £2,400,000 per annum, that they employed 2,250 people, and paid £2,550 in wages per week, and a great flourish was made of these figures. I will not stay to inquire how many of these 2,250 people were employed in the actual production of the article for which the firm is celebrated. I accept the figures as given, but I unhesitatingly say that instead of employing one-sixth of the whole male population of Burton of working age, there are plenty of useful trades which, if they made a turn-over of nearly two-and-a-half millions as Bass does, would employ the entire male population of that great beer metropolis. Now this one year's return is very nearly the gross return of my own business ever since my connection with it, but to make that return we have paid just about the million in wages, whereas if you multiply Bass' weekly wages sheet of £2,550 by 52 you get £132,500 for wages as against the million in my own trade. These examples might be indefinitely multiplied on both a large or a small scale, but I have said enough to prove abundantly that the trade in drink is the greatest enemy to industry, and that every man who spends his money or any portion of it in supporting such a traffic, is doing it in opposition to the best interests of labour.

Demand for labour excites the labour market, and, as a rule, increases the wages paid—there will be a demand for labour in proportion as there is a demand for the commodities labour produces—hence how glad we are when we learn that in a distant part of the world some pioneers of civilisation or missionaries of religion have opened up new lands into which we may send our goods. But I assert there are no pioneers of civilisation or missionaries who can do half as much for trade and labour as the Temperance reformer can do at home. The South African Colonies, which for the past few years have been amongst the best

customers to this country, imported about 10 million pounds worth of manufactures from us last year. If we had another South Africa rise up to-morrow and make a similar demand upon us what activity there would be in our commercial circles, and what active competition to get the trade of such a colony ; but we have in our own country a colony of 500,000 families drunken, who spend at least £20 per family upon drink per annum, and never buy one shilling's worth of the products of our manufactures from one year's end to another. Many of you know the class I mean—customers to none but the pawnbroker, the second-hand clothes shop, and the publican. They abound in all our centres of population, and are the measure of the shame and degradation of the land. Eight years ago a man now in my adult school married—he had saved about £30, with which he furnished his cottage—after the first year of married life he got into bad company, and for five years, as he told me, he never spent one penny for any new article of clothing or furniture. Two years since he joined the school, and during 1896 (last year) he spent nearly £40 in furniture and clothes, etc., out of 3s. per week wages. The inventory of that man's purchases was an object lesson to me, showing how truly Temperance promotes industry and drink destroys work as well as the worker, and how beneficent is this great Temperance reform in its influence on the labour market.

We say that it is impossible, with this great expenditure in drink, for the demand upon the labour market to be equal to the supply, hence we must periodically have our great army of unemployed living in poverty and want. Then the expenditure itself prevents the wages fund increasing as fast as the labourers increase. How can a working man become a capitalist out of his present wages ? By saving the money he spends in drink, if he chooses so to do ; or, suppose we leave him his dinner and supper beer, and take off half his expenditure only, viz., £50,000,000, what a marvellous change this would make amongst the industrial classes, and what an increase of industrial and co-operative concerns would spring up in our midst, and until a larger proportion of our working men are possessed of some capital, however small, the general conditions of the people cannot be materially improved ; increase of wages of itself is no panacea for our difficulty, but, alas, often increases it. The true secret is the way in which the wages are spent. Another aspect in which Drink affects labour is in the amount of time lost by the workers through the habit of excessive drinking. Happily the average time given for recreation, and relief from the strain of labour is much greater now than formerly, and we should all rejoice in the fact. Where the time is spent in rational relaxation, it brings its recompense in increased vigour to the labourer, but the smoking fumes of a tap room, and the poisonous alcohol are not recreative agents but destructive ones, and under their influence 20 per cent. of working time is lost in business concerns that I am acquainted with, and factories have to be closed the whole of Bank Holiday week, because only a small proportion of the work-people could be got back to work during the week, and it does not pay to run the machinery ; and I fear similar testimony could be borne by foremen of the great mercantile establishments in the district. Shortened hours of labour are no burden upon our trade if properly used, but if not so used then they are a burden which handicap us heavily.

A much more difficult phase of the question is the influence of alcohol in impairing the efficiency of the labourer : there is abundant testimony to prove that the British workman under certain conditions can do more work than any other man in the world, but it is sadly too true that his brain and muscle, which bring him good wages, and which are really his capital, are often destroyed, because the better the wages the more money may go to the public-house, and this brings about deterioration of body and brain which seriously tells on his efficiency. Statistics are impossible on this point, but the fact is indisputable, as everyone can testify who has had to do with large bodies of work-people, and the effect is more serious amongst our work-people than in any other country. America, a country where labour is highly paid, is competing very severely with us in many branches of trade and in many markets, and from a series of investigations made when I was in that country three years since, I found the consumption per head on alcoholic drinks by the artizan class was not more than half our own, and in some

important factories where delicate and intricate machinery was at work they knew nothing about absentees through drink, but were able to depend on regular and efficient service from those in their employment. Whilst there I went through some factories in a town of nearly 40,000 population, and speaking to the manager of one of them as to the necessity for regularity and sobriety in working such machinery, he replied that a man has to go 21 miles if he wants to get a glass of beer here. How profoundly I wished that some of my workpeople had to go as far ; but here was a purely working-class town where the workers themselves had voted the drink traffic outside their borders.

And to show the effect of this upon our industries, I may say that within the last month my own agent in Australia reports the strides the Americans are making through the quality and neatness of their productions as compared with our own. Why, then, should we not give labour the power of voting out this foe to its own prosperity and efficiency ? not to curtail it, but, as the old Methodist local prayed God to do with the devil, to cut its tail off, so that not even the stump remained to grow again. I could add something about the rates which go to burden our industry, and are largely the result of our drinking habits—we have a poor rate of ten millions, and a police and asylum rate of twelve millions. These are very largely occasioned by our drinking habits, and are paid mainly by the commercial interests of the country. The sums so paid might far better go in an increase of wages to the workers, which the employer could then afford to pay, if they were not required in their present channels ; as it is they burden industry and handicap us in competition with the rest of the world. Verily, in considering this whole question, may we not say with Carlyle : Doth not this pewter pot oppress thee ; the so-called capitalist, who earns his 10 per cent., is often styled a sweater, but an Empire Music and Drinking Saloon can earn its 70 per cent. amid the acclamation of the unthinking crowd. The question before us to-day is this—whether the tendency of industry shall be upwards or downwards ; whether the prosperity of the working classes is to be for ever curtailed and its blessings turned into curses by this gigantic foe ; it is not a question of wages merely, but behind the material lies the social and moral. Indeed the abject poverty, the miserable dwellings, and the thousand licensed temptations which have so large an influence in producing those material wrongs, are the outward signs of a moral degradation and uncleanness which we are in vain trying to remove. The main agent in producing these awful conditions is being pillorised before the eyes of the world during this Convention, and I trust there is yet grit enough in our people to demand from the ruling power the right to strangle it before it lays its blighting hand still further upon the commercial and moral life of our nation.

SECTION V.

DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTIONS.

Rev. R. F. BROOMFIELD (Stoke-on-Trent) said a good deal had been said about beggars. As a minister he had been frequently applied to for help ; ministers were always regarded as innocent people—(hear, hear)—and were not expected to ask questions. He had frequently inquired what was the cause of the poverty, and the uniform answer had been the drink. Employers of labour there were who permitted in many instances drink to be taken into their works. Would it not be possible to ask these employers not to permit this? (Hear, hear.) Many men would thus be prevented from falling into the habit of drinking. As to the sailors, who was to blame for the damage?—The licensing magistrates who permitted such a number of public-houses in their immediate vicinity. (Hear, hear.) He went the other night to see what was being done for the sailors in Newcastle. He walked along the Quayside, and was astonished at the number of the public-houses. There was only one place free from drink, and which was a recognised home. They must do their utmost to prohibit the drink places on the Quayside. No reference had been made to the drinking passengers on board ships. He once watched the unloading of a pleasure boat at the Isle of Man. He was surprised at the way in which the people tried to walk. (Laughter.) Very few could go straight ; most of them had a sort of a corkscrew walk. He hoped they would send a resolution to the employers of labour. (Applause.)

Rev. J. SLATER (Sheffield) mentioned that he was present as a representative of the Sheffield Social Questions League, which sought to deal effectively with industrial questions, social purity, the gambling curse, Sunday closing, and the power of the Local Veto. He was a Conservative—(laughter, and hear, hear) — and a good one. He went in for conserving everything worth conserving, both in Church and State. (Hear, hear.) But he was also a Liberal—(laughter)—and an advanced one, for he went in for the reform of every abuse both in Church and State, and that which could not be mended he went in for ending. (Loud applause.) Sunday closing was ripe for settlement, and when the moral sense of England reached its proper heat and height, as it did in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, then they would not be long before the men of St. Stephen's gave them Sunday closing. He submitted that this was a working man's question, and working people, he declared, were more in favour of Sunday closing than any other class ; a canvass showed that seven to one of the people were in favour of it. What they wanted was not simply applause, but votes to keep them agitating till public opinion everywhere was ripe for it, and the Local Veto. (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES WHYTE (Manchester) said : I have been very much impressed by the excellent papers which have been read this morning, and especially impressed by the strong and admirable paper read by Mr. Alderman White, of Norwich. Really we must all feel that this Temperance question demands a vast deal more attention and study than it has hitherto received even from most of those who reckoned themselves well instructed Temperance reformers. Take this one aspect of it—the economic aspect. It is a big, but not the biggest part of the question. Yet look at its importance. Drinking and its concomitants are the main causes of pauperism in this country. And what is the extent of our pauperism? Ill informed people assure us that now-a-days there is but little of it, and that that little is fast passing away. Little of it! There are about 40,000,000 of people in this country, and no fewer than 5,000,000 of them will die paupers. That is one out of every eight persons now living in this "rich and prosperous country" will die a pauper. This looks a wild statement by a wild teetotal advocate, but it is a statement that is well within the limits of truth. I know a Lancashire colliery village where no liquor is sold, and where there is not a single pauper. I also know an Irish manufacturing village of 4,000 inhabitants, in which there is no

drink shop and no pauper. Now, is it not inexpressibly sad that so large a proportion of our people as one in every eight should die paupers? Who can measure the misery, the sinking of heart, the despair which this one great terrible fact shows must constantly exist among masses of the people? Now I desire this to be very specially noted. I do *not* say that all pauperism is the effect of drinking. I merely call attention to what is notoriously the fact, to what no honest and instructed man can deny, that a very large proportion of the pauperism, and very much of the deep poverty existing in this country are the results of drinking, I don't say drunkenness. The question of the amount of ill-health caused by drinking is one of grave importance. It will be remembered that Dr. Sir Andrew Clark said that, in the great hospital under his care, seven out of every ten of the patients were brought there through drinking. The doctor was careful to say through drinking. Let us remember, and let us remind other people that we are not fighting merely against drunkenness, but also against that terrible widespread intemperance, short of drunkenness, which, on an enormously wide scale, saps the minds of our people, lowers their morals, undermines their physique, and fills their homes with misery. I am strongly of opinion that even the Temperance men—the leading Temperance men—have not half bottomed this great question. They have not at all adequately realised the extent to which our drinking customs are throttling all that is best in the nation. (Applause.)

MR. E. C. BRAMBLEY (Bristol) spoke as an agriculturist, and urged the greater consumption of milk in this country. Last year the Government had given the agriculturists two millions per year for five years. He thanked them for their generosity. It was a present of £20 per year to him. But he would prefer that the people drank more milk. If every seven persons would drink one and a half pints of milk per day per year, that would give them forty-one millions. They wanted to just double their milk consumption, and that would give the agriculturists far more money at once than any Royal Commission. It would also wean the people from the liquor habit. (Cheers.)

Councillor W. WHITTLE (Stockton) said he wished to say a few words on Mr. Knight's paper. They would secure prohibition only in proportion as they could persuade the labouring classes to recognise it. A great many of the views working men held with regard to drink were born of preconceived notions in which they have been brought up and trained. Many of them looked on the public-house as a semi-sacred institution, and this was fostered by their being compelled at present, in many instances, to hold their meetings in public-houses. (Hear, hear.) There were many schools that could be got. But, if they were going to do anything for the working man in this direction he hoped they would not treat him in a patronising way, but as a man. (Applause.) In his town certain persons had secured an old theatre and three dwelling-houses, and they were going to alter them and make efficient club rooms, so that those who wanted to leave the public-houses could hold their meetings there. (Hear, hear.) This could be done by the temperance society if they would only take the matter in hand. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE asked if Board schools could be legally used for this purpose.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that they can.

MR. P. T. WINSKILL (Liverpool) said he was sorry to hear that the papers by Mr. John Burns, M.P., and Mr. Charles Fenwick, M.P., had not come to hand, because he was more especially interested in the question of the unemployed. He went on to say that he had made it his business to let the Socialists and I.L.P. men understand what they meant. He had attended their meetings and told them some of their errors, according to his judgment. He had pointed out to them, that the real cause of pauperism and degradation was the drink that they wished to remove. (Hear, hear.)

MR. GEORGE JOHNSON (Scunthorpe) argued that drink had done more to increase crime than anything else.

MR. F. APPLETON (Gateshead) spoke strongly against drink being sold on pleasure boats. He believed that on the London boats of the Tyne Steam Shipping Company no spirits were allowed. (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES WINNING (Paisley) dealt with the duty of employers in this matter. They had a great manufactory in Paisley, he said, where there were 10,000 men employed. It was insisted that the employes should be sober. If a man asked for leave of absence to attend a funeral, he had to explain what funeral it was he was going to. (Laughter.) If he should be found under the influence of drink he was warned. If it happened a second time he was dismissed. Another employer had told him that the boys in his works got a premium twice a year if they neither smoked nor drank. (Applause.) He (the speaker) was a fanatic, and when people came to him for subscriptions, he told them all the money he could spare went to help the prohibition movement. (Applause.) He was a house agent. Some time ago he offered to pay the rent of two houses on condition that they were occupied by people who had been teetotalers and members of a Christian church for two years, and were in necessitous circumstances. He put that in the papers a year ago, and again since, but up to the present, no one had come forward to accept the offer.

Mr. JOHN STEEDMAN (Whitehaven), as a seagoing engineer, told of two fatalities to companions on board ship through their indulgence in drink. He said he had always signed papers to join the ship at six o'clock in the morning "sober." He did not know if that was the law. He wished it could be made both the law and the practice. (Applause.) They wanted a second Plimsol to bring about the enforcement of teetotalism on board every British ship before she left a British harbour. It was said they could not work their steamships without traffic in drink. One of the biggest steamship companies (the Allan Line) did so, and they could not get a single glass of whisky on a single ship unless from the medicine chest. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In the little maritime port of Whitehaven they could count fourteen public-houses along the quayside within an area of 500 yards. It was the easiness and the "happy-go-luckiness" of the British seamen that made them fall so easily victims to the publicans and the abominations on shore. (Applause.)

Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING (London), who was received with cheers, said as she was starting out for this Convention she had a revelation—something was shown to her—a message for this meeting. It was that if every man and woman pretending to pray and follow Christ were all united, and each one made as pleasant places for the people they called "drunkards" as did the publicans and those who catered for them, they would soon bring about a reformation. (Cheers.) Let them all unite, everyone who knew the Christ, and come forward and love these drunkards. (Hear, hear.) They despised them, they did look most abominable, but until they loved their neighbours as themselves they could not expect their conversion. They would save a man if his body was burning, they would go to his help if he were drowning; let them be done denouncing the brewers, let them call upon God, who was omnipotent, who was omnipresent, who was omniscient, and all-loving, that He should wake up the Christ in them until they had brought home their brothers and sisters who had wandered away. (Applause.) They had plenty of churches! Let them stop preaching, let them stop going to churches, let them go out on to the highways and gather in the poor lost sheep. (Applause.) She was an outsider, but for years she had felt this. Let them go and make resorts for the people honest and beautiful; let them meet the degraded with so much love that they would love their saviours in return. Now they only loved the liquor and stifled their consciences. Do as Jesus, the Christ, would teach us to do. (Applause.) Madame Sterling now broke forth into song, "The Lord is our Shepherd," and at its conclusion explained that her little daughter, only eight years old, was out picking flowers one day, and she came in and said she had something. The mother told her that God gave everybody everything. They wrote down this little hymn, verse by verse, and she thought, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings cometh wisdom." (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said that it was enough to make that session memorable for all time to have had the presence and inspiring message of Madame Antoinette Sterling. (Applause.)

Rev. JAMES HUNTER, B.D. (Falkirk), remarked that Mr. McKendrick's statement that none of the English Co-operative societies were engaged in the liquor traffic, or held a grocer's license, was a credit to the working men of this country. He regretted to say that it was not to the credit of Scotland—perhaps they boasted a little too much about their progress—(hear, hear)—that at least one Co-operative Society had a grocer's license. He mentioned this because it was an illustration of the demoralising influence of the traffic, and afforded a side-light on the question of municipalisation. One result was that no Temperance organisation could exist in that community. Efforts had been made, but they had utterly failed. Another result was that the society was underselling the bakers and other private traders through the profits of drink. He had great sympathy with the Co-operative movement—he would not enter, however, into the question of co-operative and private trading—but he said it was a disgrace to co-operation that the profits of the drink traffic should be used in that way. (Hear, hear.) He appealed to the leaders of Co-operation throughout the United Kingdom to take steps, if possible, to put an end to this, and let it be known that no such society would be recognised by the societies of the country. (Applause.)

Councillor JOSEPH AUTY, J.P. (Batley), said in his town they had offered rooms to the trades' unionists in which to hold their meetings, but they would not come there, preferring the public-house. The only remedy seemed to be the Prohibition of the drink.

Mr. THOMAS HARDY (Stoke-on-Trent), alluding to the question of approaching the people, said he liked the idea of making men equal so far as they were decent and endowed with common sense. He described an unsuccessful attempt to found a club in his town. Rooms were provided for the working men, but they would not come. There was no evidence, he contended, to show that the problem could be solved otherwise than by annihilating the traffic.

Mr. T. P. SMITH (Burnley) urged that whilst they were prohibitionists, they must not forget rescue work.

Mr. JONATHAN HARGROVE (Southport), asked members of the Convention to analyse the voting lists upon divisions affecting the drink traffic, and when they found their people voting for the drink traffic to give it them "hot and strong."

SIXTH RESOLUTION.

Rev. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS, B.A. (London), moved the following resolution:—

"That, inasmuch as the Sunday sale of intoxicants is a special source of intemperance, and is fraught with manifold evils to the community, not the least being the infliction of seven days' toil in the week upon the persons who are employed in such sale, this Convention respectfully urges Her Majesty's Government and the House of Commons, in view of the great benefits resulting from Sunday closing in other parts of the kingdom, to take steps for conferring this boon upon England without delay. This Convention also urges the Sunday Closing Association and the friends of Temperance generally to lose no opportunity of pressing this subject upon the attention of the Legislature and of the nation at large, in order that in England the Sunday sale of intoxicating liquors may soon be entirely prohibited; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the leaders of the Government, and of the Opposition in the House of Commons." (Applause.)

Miss M. E. DOWRA (Kelvedon, Essex) seconded, with willingness, the resolution, as it explained that prohibitionists were not unwilling to accept something that led on towards prohibition. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously carried.

SEVENTH RESOLUTION.

Rev. DANIEL ROWLANDS, M.A. (Bangor), moved the following resolution:—

“Whereas the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill had been earnestly and with practical unanimity demanded by the people of the sister country for more than a quarter of a century; whereas it has been supported by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and passed second readings by increasingly overwhelming majorities whenever brought to a vote—the last occasion being on 24th April, 1895, when the majority was 99; and whereas the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, when Chief Secretary, and the Right Hon. John Morley, when filling the same office, declared the present position of Temperance legislation to be ‘scandalous,’ this Convention urges the Government to render all possible facilities for the passing into law of this long-delayed and much-needed measure, thereby conferring a universal boon upon all creeds and classes of that country.”

Rev. ROBERT JAMIESON (Newry) seconded, and the motion was unanimously adopted.

EIGHTH RESOLUTION.

Mr. W. BINGHAM (London) moved the following resolution:—

“That as the traffic of intoxicating liquors is the greatest foe to the development of industry in this country; tending to commercial depression, congesting the labour market, increasing the hopeless mass of the unemployed, and reducing the power of the people to purchase the necessities and comforts of life; this Convention, fully convinced that the suppression of this traffic would ensure constant and well-paid employment, adequate profits, and the solution of the problem of labour, calls upon all who value the expansion of our trade and commerce, and the peace and contentment of our people, to unite in a strenuous effort for the commercial outlawry of the drink system in the great industrial interests of the nation.”

Mr. BINGHAM urged that if traders of the country understood their own interests they would unite to strike a blow at the existence of the drink traffic. If they took this poverty-producing cause out of the way he was perfectly satisfied that this nation would rise industrially and commercially to a far higher level than it had ever occupied before. (A Voice: “Maine is an illustration.”) Yes; he agreed. The system that had to be maintained at the price of the working man was one they should rebel against, and never rest until it was entirely swept away. (Applause.)

Mr. W. CLOUGH (Keighley) seconded the motion.

The Rev. D. L. RITCHIE (Newcastle), in supporting, said it was sometimes said that the movement was carried on under the leadership of shrieking parsons. He objected to shrieking parsons as much as any man, but that morning they had solemn business men putting before them facts and arguments that went to the very root of the matter. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Convention then adjourned.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

BY CANON HICKS, M.A., MANCHESTER.

THE duty of the Church towards the Temperance movement is, first, to understand it, and then to lead it. Thus led, the movement would be irresistible.

I use the word "Church" in the largest sense. I know that all Christians cannot yet be one without sacrifice of principle: but I know also that this great movement has drawn Christians together as nothing else could. And no wonder, for the work of the Church is to destroy the work of the devil and extend the kingdom of Christ: then it is the plain duty of the Church to head the Temperance movement. All civilisation, and especially Christian civilisation, springs from the home, and the drink demon is always and everywhere the corrupter and breaker-up of homes. It attacks the body politic at its very heart: it poisons the springs of national and religious life. Therefore the Church can have no truce with it, nor rest till the demon is slain.

I take the Temperance movement to comprise four kinds or degrees of effort:—

(1) *Abstinence.*—The teetotal movement has always found its chief strength in social strata wherein it first arose, viz., the middle class and the upper working class. Those least responsible to our movement are the two extremes of the social scale—club-land and slum-land, the half-employed rich and the half-employed poor, those who possess too little and those who possess over much. In both directions a difficult work has to be done, and the Church must do it.

(2) *Vigilance.*—The stern enforcement of the licensing laws is a much more difficult matter than people often imagine. It can only be secured by educating public opinion, and this is the duty of the Church. We ought to begin with our Watch Committees. These control the police, and the activity of the chief constable, and the vigilance of his men in enforcing the law, will greatly depend upon the known sympathies of the Watch Committee and the Town Council. What vigilance can we expect of the police when the Council is influenced by the liquor interest, and when the chairman of the Watch Committee is actually a liquor dealer? Our municipal life needs to be purified and strengthened by a vigorous tonic of Christian principle. The Church must interest herself in municipal elections. Religion, we are told, should not interfere with politics. This is not a question of politics, but of public and social morality. Many devout people shrink from the rough-and-tumble of municipal life, and even from anything so secular as the ballot-box. But there are less creditable reasons for the apathy of the Church. The local brewer's subscriptions, the publican in the pew, and the young people of both among the Church members, and perhaps the holding of brewery shares by the Church officers, and even by the ministers—these are circumstances which dull the conscience and seal the lips of the Church.

(3) *Restriction.*—We must hail with pleasure the evident signs of the convergence of all Christian bodies in this direction. A settled conviction is everywhere expressed that the licensed temptations to drink are far too many, and that legal powers should be granted to localities to diminish them. The agitation conducted by the Prohibitionists and other advanced reformers is telling upon the consciences of religious people, and making them anxious to disavow any complicity with the drink.

(4) *Prohibition.*—It is certainly true, as Canon Wilberforce said in Manchester, "If Local Option does nothing else, it will provide a testing agent for the conscience of the Church all over the country." The prohibition movement in Great Britain is a momentous moral issue, in which great financial and great national interests are at stake. The Christian conscience of England, and especially the National Church, is called upon to decide whether to espouse the cause of the poor or the rich, the interest of the capitalist brewer or of the children of the slums, the cause of the weak or the cause of the strong. Can we doubt for a moment which side to take? We say that the common sale of drink is so frightful a mischief to the community, so perilous to individuals, so destructive to home happiness, that—like other noxious trades—the locality ought to have the power to exclude it.

SECTION VI.

THE CHURCH AND PROHIBITION.

The Convention resumed in Olympia at half-past two o'clock on Thursday, April 8th, 1897, The Very Rev. G. W. Kitchin, D.D., Dean of Durham, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

THE DEAN OF DURHAM.

The Very Rev. G. W. KITCHIN, D.D. (Dean of Durham), in introducing the topic of the Section, "The Church and Prohibition," said it was a very great pleasure to anyone, he thought, it ought to be at least, to come to a meeting of this description where people of all manner of opinions were joined together for one good object. He remembered many years ago, when quite a young man, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) sent him a message asking him if he would join a certain society then being formed—the Church of England Temperance Society. He replied that he had hitherto been in the habit of going to meetings on Temperance where people, without belonging to any branch of the Christian Church were welcome, and where Father Mathew, then an active Temperance reformer, could join with one aim and purpose. With that view he had remained and hoped to remain. (Applause.) Surely this was the better way. If they could only persuade men that the object of Christianity, that the object of all the churches, was to raise their brethren and not keep them grovelling below, then, he thought, they would feel that there was a certain amount of truth in the Christian church, and not that it was an "old affair, half worn out," as some people thought it; but that it had a real power to strengthen men in what was good and stop men from what was evil. (Hear, hear.) They had to make their homes better for goodness, simplicity, and truthfulness, and so bring people one degree higher in the course they ought to follow, and make life easier to live, with less of the evils that surround it at the present moment, and less of the misfortunes accruing to sin and drink which had done so much to destroy the best aims of the Church. (Applause.) One read continually deplorable stories of the evils done by drink. One read three times a year, at those dark meetings of the Assizes, how it was due to the immense power drink had that almost all the crime that existed in England had its roots in that great evil. He knew that people said they overstated this. Let him tell them that it was not overstated one bit. (Applause.) Almost all the crime committed in this country was distinctly traceable to drink. He was sitting the other day by the side of one of the judges of the land, and he asked him if he really found that so much of the crime was due to intemperance and drink. He turned round and replied: "I have said it again and again, that almost the whole of the cases that come before us in the criminal courts may be traceable to drink." (Hear, hear.) That was the opinion of a man who is at the head of his profession, and his words should be written in letters of fire on the hearts of the people in this country. (Applause.) Let him hope that the work they were engaged in would be very much promoted by these meetings, and that people, besides those who are determined on the subject, would see that they meant business, and that they were determined not to cease their labours until power is given to the English people to judge for themselves in the matter (Applause.)

THE CHURCH AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY REV. J. C. STREET, BIRMINGHAM.

I AM not responsible for the title of this paper. It was chosen for me.

The conjunction of the Church with the liquor traffic is a strange one. What have the two to do with each other? Wide as the poles are apart the title brings them into close companionship. Is this proximity anything more than a literary one? Let us try to understand what each of the terms stands for, and then we can discuss their relationship to each other.

What do we mean by the Church? And what is connoted by the liquor traffic?

I doubt not, that in the minds of those who suggested the general title of the section now assembled, the Church meant the various denominations into which christendom is divided, and the desire was to ascertain the attitude of each towards the liquor traffic. I draw this conclusion from the fact that I see attached to the names of the various readers of the papers, a denominational term which defines the position of the readers. This, no doubt, would be a useful inquiry, and would throw a good deal of light on the denominational attitude towards the drink traffic, but this is not the idea that I have in view in submitting this paper to you. I do not in any sense represent a denomination, nor would I here, even if I could, discuss the relationship of any particular section of the Christian Church to the traffic.

To my thinking the Church is something different from, and immeasurably above any and all denominations. It is so broad and comprehensive that it includes them all, and still finds room for the souls of men who are included in none of them.

What, then, to my thinking, is the Church?

As I understand the term it is that vast spiritual organisation which holds in fellowship all the pure, the lofty, and the devout souls of all times and lands, which keeps clean and sweet the lives and aims of its members, which pours the inspiration of the Living God into the life and conduct of man, and which by its transcendent energy acts as a purifying fire cleansing all dross from the individual, the nation, and the world. I cannot think of it as having any communion with darkness, disorder, or demoralisation. It is "without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." It knows nothing of policy, compromise, or expediency. I cannot think of it as holding any parley with evil, or making any excuses for sin. For evildoers and sinners it has immeasurable compassion, and with a wealth of love will deal with them until it wins them to repentance and holiness; but towards the wrong itself it stands in firm opposition, and offers no quarter. It is, in my judgment, the divine agency for the regeneration and salvation of the world. The denominations form parts of this spiritual reality in proportion as they rise to its level, and enter into its pure and lofty spirit. By this standard they may be tested, and by this standard all the pursuits and aims of men must be measured.

What, then, is this liquor traffic, that in some strange way has been brought into nominal connection with the Church?

Apparently, and at the first blush, it is simply an ordinary business, regulated by the usual laws of supply and demand, and carried on for the convenience and comfort, as well as the pleasure of the people. I was present a few weeks ago, at a meeting over which the vicar of the parish presided. We had met to discuss whether public-houses should be closed on Sundays. Among our auditors were several notable parishioners who were publicans. One of them addressed the chair. He said: "I cannot understand why this meeting is called, and why you, sir, are in the chair. You, and other gentlemen on the platform, are ministers. Well, so are we. You serve the public, so do we. You work on Sundays, so do we. We do not interfere with you in getting your living, why should you interfere with us in getting ours. Our business is as lawful as yours, and I am sure we are quite as useful as you are in supplying the wants of the public. Let us alone,

and we will let you alone." This all sounded very plausible, and its very *naivete* was as interesting as it was refreshing. Is there any fallacy in it? If a baker, a grocer, or fruit-seller had made the speech, who would have challenged the contention of the speaker? There are certain common, elementary, necessary wants of men and communities which must be supplied, or the communities would perish. The trader must exist; his business is not only useful, but essential. He is a minister, and serves a great purpose. He is the nexus between the producer and the consumer. He brings the needful commodities close to the hands of those who cannot live without them. His position is as necessary to the well-being of a state as that of the schoolmaster or the parson. Wherein, then, is there any difference between this trader and the liquor dealer? In some respects, at all events, his business is on all fours with that of his neighbour. He does not keep open his house for himself only—though he lives by its prosperity—but because people want the liquor he sells, and the convenience his house affords. It is evident he supplies a need; for no matter where he opens his house customers come to him. But we are aware that in some way there is a difference, for while no one objects to the opening of a new baker's shop, many people object to the opening of a new public-house. Why this difference? There is no contrariety between the Church, however exalted our notions about it may be, and the supply of food, or raiment, or furniture, or works of art. All these are compatible with one another. The vendors of these commodities are useful and valuable ministers to the life and well-being of the community, and such trading is as honourable and as necessary as the function of the minister of religion. There may be extravagance on the part of some purchasers, and luxury may be inordinately developed, but a loaf of bread does not in itself suggest to a man another when he has satisfied his hunger. It creates no craving; there is not in it of necessity what we call "excess." But in this lies the *essential* difference between the ordinary trader and the liquor dealer. There is something in the drink itself which *creates* appetite, which *stimulates* excess, and this appetite and excess inevitably and inexorably lead to poverty, riot, disorder, crime, and premature death. You cannot separate these consequences from the drink trade. No matter where, by whom, and in what circumstances the drink is sold, or given away, the consequences are as infallible as the succession of night to day. The difference is not between the bread-seller and the drink-seller—they may be equally good and ready to serve the world—but it is in the article that they sell, and the result will be the same if you make the baker into the publican and the publican into the baker. It is not the man, but the thing. The baker may be a bad man, and the publican a good man, but the baker's trade will be innocent, useful, and for the good of the community, and the publican's trade will bring about evil of every kind, and will produce immorality and vice though the publican's heart may be full of sorrow.

Herein lies the touch-stone. The thing sold by the liquor dealer, however apparently innocent to many people, is, of necessity, not simply a peril and a snare to multitudes, but *infallibly* leads many to absolute ruin of body and soul in this world. You cannot separate the drink trade from its consequences—the workhouse, the asylum, the brothel, the blasted home, the gaol, and the scaffold. Other fruits of pleasure and passion and selfish delight there may be, but these hideous and appalling evils are absolutely unavoidable.

Given the Drink Traffic—no matter who the trafficker—and sin and crime are the consequences. No angel or archangel can prevent this. It is the unalterable law of God. "Excess" is involved in the drink so long as human nature is what it is.

These are plain, definite, and uncompromising statements. Can anyone deny them? It may be said there are thousands of people who take the drink and are no worse, if, indeed, they are not better in consequence; and there is much innocent pleasure associated with the exhilaration of the cheerful glass. I am not disposed now to say whether I think this is true or not. It may be. But it does not touch my point. Can anyone point out any public-house, anywhere, and by whomsoever conducted, where the drunkard, the profligate, and the cast-away is

not found? Can anyone point to a house, an institution, a palace, where there is free access to strong drink, where there is not also the sot, the secret drinker, the fiery passions, the depraved appetite? I challenge an inquiry into this.

Evidently, then, there is a difference—a root difference, between most trades and this drink trade, and the difference lies in the articles sold.

Other trades are innocent, useful, and beneficial, no matter who conducts them. This *trade* is hurtful; producing sin and death, even if it could be carried on by saints and angels.

What, then, can be the association or connection between the *Church* and the *Liquor Traffic*?

I ask no questions as to Church membership, or who belongs to it. This is no business of mine, and I do not presume to determine. God alone knows the "living stones" in His mighty temple. But I ask a few other questions.

Let every man judge for himself, whether he belongs, or desires to belong, to God's Church; and when he has settled this matter, then let him ask— "Can I be a drink-seller? Can I countenance drink-selling? Can I be a shareholder in any drink business? Can I be a participator in any profits from this deadly trade? and, if I belong to any organised section of God's universal Church, can I agree to receive drink-made money for Church purposes? Ought I ever to participate in the choice of a drink-dealer for office in the Church, or for any public office in the community?"

I grant that these are searching questions, and that the answers to them may lead to discomfort and friction. But ought we to avoid answering them?

If the drink trade, in its very nature, leads to evil, and cannot be dissociated from evil, what part in it can the Church of God have? Can night and day be intermingled? Is it possible that sin and purity can go hand in hand?

The Church is the reforming, energizing, life-giving power of God in the world—its progress means the diminution, the retreat, and the destruction of sin among mankind—must it not necessarily follow that whatever is in itself evil-producing must, therefore, diminish and finally pass away.

Brothers and sisters! do you not see your way, your duty? Do you not hear the trumpet call of God? I call upon you to rise to the level of His saints, and to refuse all contamination with the unholy traffic that bars our way, and prevents the advance of the Kingdom of God.

THE CHURCH AND PROHIBITION.

BY REV. C. F. AKED, LIVERPOOL.



REV. C. F. AKED.

AN eminent professor of theology once told me that he had just met a certain other divine in the cosy bar-parlour of a country public-house, and that they had discussed the Divinity of Christ over a pot of beer. To do him justice, he seemed to feel that it was not a thing to brag about. Fifty years ago nobody would have called that a notable occurrence. The lawyer, doctor, schoolmaster, and parson met for their nightly rubber at the "Golden Fleece," the publican, whose buxom wife smiled upon them, was himself a churchwarden or a deacon, and the attitude of the Christian Church to the Liquor Traffic would no more have seemed a subject for debate than the attitude of the Christian Church to the coal trade or the book trade.

We have changed all that. To-day there floats before the inspired vision of the greatest souls in Church of the Living God the ideal of the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic from shore to shore.

But, in specific detail, along what lines of practical effort ought we to expect the Church to advance towards its far-gleaming ideal?

1. The Christian Church must not itself encourage the trade in intoxicating drink. It must not, as a Church and with money raised for Church purposes, buy liquor. And it must not, as a Church, and in the ordinary course of its devotions, employ intoxicating drink and distribute it to its members. The use of intoxicating wine at the Lord's Table is entirely without defence. There is no single argument capable of sustaining five minutes' examination which can be adduced in its favour. The determination of any section of any church to persevere in the practice of providing intoxicating wine for sacramental purposes, in the face of a legitimately expressed repugnance to it on the part of another section of that church, grows out of one or two things. It grows out of a love of the liquor—which is dangerous; or it grows out of hate of the Temperance sentiment—which is damnable. Conscience is concerned with the protest against it. Conscience cannot be concerned with the demand for it. The man who protests says, "This intoxicating wine has brought upon the nation the accumulated miseries of war, pestilence and famine; it has stained the proudest names and laid the mightiest low; it has proved itself, amidst groans and tears and mortal agonies, the foulest foe of the Church of God: that Church cannot lend to it the sanctity of her benediction in the awful celebration of her Saviour's sacrifice." There can be no answer to such a plea but one of wicked selfishness or of more wicked spitefulness.

2. The Church must preserve an attitude of open, unflinching, uncompromising hostility to the liquor traffic, root and branch. It must offer no quarter as it looks for none. At home or abroad, wholesale or retail, in aristocratic club or filthy boozing-den, it must regard the liquor traffic as all evil and all hateful. Dowered with a scorn and hate of hate, the Church must pray for an ever deepening capacity of burning indignation, and it must fling itself in holy rage against the forces of wickedness comprised within the ranks of the baleful trade.

The American churches are far in advance of us upon this question. They have distinctly seen the position, and have taken it with determination. We are only beginning to realise the responsibility and the duty of the hour.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of America adopted, on May 24, 1888, an address which had been submitted by their bishops, and which contained the following declaration:—

“The liquor traffic is so pernicious in all its bearings, so inimical to the interests of honourable trade, so repugnant to the moral sense, so injurious to the peace and order of society, so hurtful to the homes, the Church, and to the body politic, that the only proper attitude towards it for Christians is that of relentless hostility. It can never be legalised without sin. License, high or low, is vicious in principle, and powerless as a remedy.”

In May, 1889, the Baptists of the Southern States met at Memphis, Tenn., representatives being present from Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and the Indian Territory. They carried a resolution in the following terms:—

“Whereas, the liquor traffic is a most powerful hindrance to the Gospel of Christ, and an aggressive enemy to social order; and whereas this traffic is steadily encroaching upon all that Christian men revere and the human heart holds dear.

Resolved, by the Southern Baptists in Convention assembled,—That we favour the speedy and entire prohibition of the liquor traffic; that we oppose license for this traffic in any and all its forms, through which men buy the right to destroy human hope and happiness and blight human souls, as an offence against public morals and a sin against God.”

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, in session at Chicago, May 27, 1890, adopted a resolution submitted by the Special Committee on Temperance:

“Whereas, we recognise in the liquor traffic an enemy of satanic and appalling force, menacing the purity of the Christian Church, the virtue of society, and the safety of government; and

“Whereas, we believe it true policy, principle, and duty to antagonise with uncompromising zeal its presence and ravages; therefore

“Resolved, that we declare ourselves among its most pronounced and relentless foes, believing that it has no defensible right to exist, and that it can never be reformed, and that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing unchristian, un-American, and perilous utterly to every interest in life.”

3. Opposition to the Liquor Traffic must be regarded as an integral part of the Church's work. There are many people who suppose, or who act as though they supposed, that churches exist for the purpose of providing for a parson a beggarly or a princely living. There are others who think that their prime object in life is to afford a comfortable Sunday lounge, with good music thrown in, for respectable people who pay pew-rents. Some people fancy that churches are merely fire-insurance agencies, and that for a premium you can be by them secured against the “wrath to come.” In the minds of these last estimable and orthodox people it is a virtue to preach about the many mansions in the sky, and a crime to talk about the better housing of the poor on earth. It is an effort of sublime spirituality to rhapsodise over the pearly gates and golden streets, but the clear indication of a carnal mind and an unregenerate heart to consider the slums or them that dwell therein. They love to think of the River of Life, flowing, pure as crystal, from the Great White Throne of God and of the Lamb; they are shocked if you call to their recollection the River of Death, flowing, black as hell, from the open flood-gates of the brewery, and the distillery, and the public-house. It is right and wise to impeach Balaam, denounce Eve, and open fire from an unmasked battery of penny pop-guns upon “extinct Satans;” but to enter into a hand-to-hand encounter with real Satans, with blind ignorance, legalized oppression and political crime is a blasphemous endeavour to get God's will done on earth as it is in heaven, at which all the old women of both sexes in all the Churches—in pulpit and in pew—must needs cackle to all eternity! May God forgive such people their canting, for strong men never will!

But what are Churches for? Well, for one thing, they exist in this day to kill the public-house. That is one object of their living at all: they live to fight the liquor trade; to fasten upon it the shame of its unspeakable infamy; to speak

against it, work against it, pray against it, vote against it—to overthrow it. And this not as the extra-work of a few of its well-meaning zealots; not as the over-time put in by its indiscreet labourers; but as part and parcel of its essential purpose, part and parcel of its divine mission. Naked little Churches, shivering in their congenial obscurity, may for some little time to come still tell themselves that they have nothing to do with these concerns. But the future is not with them. The future belongs to those Churches which lead the van in the world's march onward to life, liberty, and God.

The Church which does not set itself, as a part of its essential mission, for which it is endowed with divine strength, to destroy the liquor traffic with the native races abroad, and to kill the public-house at home, is traitor alike to God and man.

True to those inspiring principles which have made them heroes in the struggle for human liberty, the Baptists have shown themselves alive to the imperative call for practical service. To them belongs the honour of taking the boldest step which has yet been taken by any denominational assembly on this side of the Atlantic. At the annual meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, held at Colne, on June 16th, 1892, the following remarkable and far reaching resolution was adopted, with only two opposing votes:—

“This Assembly, deploring the injury done year by year to the work of the Church and Sunday School by the public-house, declares that the time has fully come for the Churches as Churches, in their organised and corporate capacity, to take a firmer and bolder stand against the liquor traffic, and urges upon the Churches, earnestly and affectionately, the duty of utilising every available resource in securing the return to Parliament of those candidates who are pledged to vote for the Direct Veto of the Liquor Traffic.”

No such pronouncement upon the attitude of the Christian Church to the liquor traffic has been made by any representative body of religious people in this country. In the judgment of the ministers and delegates of the Baptist churches of Lancashire and Cheshire, aggressive Temperance work can no longer be regarded as the zealous effort of well-meaning men, with which the Church is bound to maintain some sort of sympathy, but to which she does not otherwise stand committed. Temperance propaganda, and that of the most determined and militant character, is to be undertaken as part and parcel of the essential purpose of the Church, part and parcel of the object of her existence. The time has come “for the churches as churches,” so the resolution declares, “in their organised and corporate capacity,” to set themselves against the trade in strong drink; and they are urged to utilise every available resource in securing the election of candidates pledged to the Direct Veto. Our chapel and school premises, our best work, our prayer meetings, and all the strength of our pulpit advocacy—“every available resource”—all alike are to be brought into the arena of political conflict in a consecrated endeavour to promote the Temperance reform, and so to bring nearer the day when God's will shall be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

4. And clearly, therefore, the Church must refuse to hold communion with any man or woman who manufactures or sells intoxicating liquor. No man making his money by the liquor traffic must be admitted to church membership. The money made in the trade must not be accepted, knowingly, by any Christian community. The acceptance of chapel, Sunday school, church, or cathedral from the brewer or distiller must be stamped as a monstrous blending of the grotesque with the infamously, possible only amongst men who are yet in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity.

5. “Then,” it is contended, “the attitude of the Christian Church to the moderate drinker must be similarly conceived. You cannot have a trade without a buyer and a seller. If the man who sells the liquor is to be so regarded you must so regard, as well, the man who buys it! If it is wrong to sell, in all logic, it is wrong to buy!”

Well, perhaps so. But a plea may be submitted for suspense of judgment. “It hath not pleased God to give His people salvation by dialectic,” and in many-

sided moral questions there are sentiments most real and potent which must be considered, but which can no more be expressed in syllogism or sorites than love can be measured with a yard-stick or faith weighed by *avoirdupois*. Between the earnest Christian toiler, on the one hand, loving God and loving men—genuinely misled into taking stimulants and sincerely ignorant of his duty—and the publican and brewer on the other whose sin is not accidental, but a trade—who earns a living by wrecking the bodies and damning the souls of men—and who accumulates more money as he accomplishes more iniquity—there roll unfathomed oceans of moral distinction. Some of the best men and women the Church has ever known have been non-abstainers; and a movement intended to un-church the man who has not properly grasped God's purpose for this generation would justly be regarded as intolerable.

But total abstinence must be regarded as the working theory of the Christian Church. And just as surely as it must be held and taught that the Church's mission includes the destruction of the public-house, so surely must the Church, sooner or later, become a total abstaining Church—absolutely free from every touch with the unclean thing. And it may be, also, for those Churches which make much of organised fellowship, and observe rules of membership and systems of discipline, that in the near future total abstinence will be demanded as a condition of entering its ranks.

So the attitude of the Christian Church to the moderate drinker is in the present one of loving, prayerful anxiety, and *pleading*, leading in the future to an equally loving and prayerful *demand*, that he abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquor as beverage, and join hand and heart in consecrated endeavour to secure the prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drink.

And while the forces of ungodliness array themselves against us on every hand, while pauperism, and lust, and crime, flanked by vested interest and supported by the sacred rights of property, drawn around us a very cordon of hell, still press we on—on to the destruction of every form of suffering and guilt, to the world-wide, age-long victory of a divinely guided and divinely inspired Church over a hideous traffic whose skirts are red with the blood of countless millions of its victims, and

“Blazoned as on heaven's immortal noon,
The Cross leads generations on.”

WESLEYAN METHODISM AND PROHIBITION.

BY REV. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS, B.A., LONDON.

(Secretary of the Temperance Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference).



REV. G. A. BENNETTS.

In many respects the leaders of the great Religious movement, which has been called Methodism, were greatly in advance of their age. Their attitude towards the drinking customs of the nation is an instance of this. It would, of course, have been impossible for anyone to undertake the work of a great effort to revive religion in this country without discovering that drunkenness and heavy drinking were amongst the chief barriers to the evangelization of the people. The work of the Wesleys began in 1739, and from the outset the Societies which they established were Temperance organisations, the Rules prohibiting "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." These Rules have never been repealed, and every member of our church is expected to live in general conformity thereto. It is, however, only fair to say that since the death of John Wesley the portion of this rule referring to the traffic in spirituous liquors and their use, except in extreme necessity, has in English Methodism been treated as a dead letter. The explanation of this is probably because the rule did not enjoin total abstinence. By "spirituous liquors" Mr. Wesley only intended distilled spirits. It is true he was suspicious of fermented liquors, and often wrote and spoke disparagingly of their use. But it is doubtful if he himself ever quite abandoned them: probably not. Indeed, he seemed to vacillate in his views as to their harmfulness. In the preface to a medical work which he published, he spoke of wine as "the finest cordial in nature," and though at times he came to the verge of denouncing *in toto* the use of all intoxicating liquors, he never quite crossed the Rubicon into the territory of total abstinence. This probably explains why the rule fell into abeyance in this country. The English Methodists found that the prohibition of spirits alone was no safeguard against drunkenness, and instead of taking the course followed by their American brethren, and extending the rule to fermented liquors, they fell back from it altogether. The Rules were published under the signature of the two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, in the year 1743, but they were in existence before that date, as may be learnt from the fact that in 1740, in this very city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was the scene of some of the earliest and most glorious triumphs of Methodism, John Wesley records in his Journal that he expelled two persons from the Society for retailing spirituous liquors.

While John Wesley probably never himself reached the terra firma of total abstinence yet no one who pursues to their logical issue the principles which led him to the abandonment of spirits can, as it seems to me, in the light of the present scientific teachings concerning the physiological action of alcohol, stop short of the entire renunciation of their use as beverages. Consequently teetotalism has found a very abundant harvest in Methodism. Wherever there is a strong leaven of Methodism, the Temperance movement is strong. The Salvation Army, which has been founded by a Methodist, which accepts the Methodist standards of doctrine, and which is pervaded with the Methodist spirit, insists upon teetotalism as an essential qualification for membership. A large number of the ministers and people of Wesleyan Methodism are abstainers, and in the other Methodist Churches teetotalism has a stronger hold than in the parent body. Across the Atlantic, both in Canada and in the United States, Methodism is almost as teetotal as the Salvation Army. The Methodist Episcopal Church, which in magnitude is the premier Methodist Church of the world, and which has 17,026 ministers and 2,766,656 church members, makes teetotalism a condition of church membership. Its view on this subject is set forth in the two following

extracts from its Book of Discipline:—"Both science and human experience agree with the Holy Scriptures in condemning all alcoholic beverages as being neither useful nor safe." "The word of God, the teachings of science, and the lessons of experience, all combine in declaring total abstinence from intoxicating beverages to be the duty of every individual."

John Wesley attacked not only the drinking customs of the nation, but also the traffic. In all Temperance literature there is probably not a more terrific indictment of the liquor traffic than that which is contained in his sermon on the use of money. That passage is so well known and so often quoted that, as my time is limited, I will refrain from reciting it here. But no man who believes that "all who sell" spirits in the common way to any who will buy, are poisoners-general; that "they drive men to hell like sheep;" that "the curse of God is in the midst of their dwellings, cleaving to the stones, the timber, the furniture of them;" that "the curse of God is in their gardens, their walks, their groves, a fire that burns to the nethermost hell;" that "blood, blood, is there, the foundation, the walls, the floor, the roof are stained with blood," can stop short of the doctrine of Prohibition. Accordingly, we find that John Wesley was the first person to moot the Legislative Prohibition of the liquor traffic. In a tract which he published in 1773 concerning the scarcity of provisions from which this country was then suffering, one of the principal remedies which he suggested was "By Prohibiting for ever, by making a full end of that bane of health, that destroyer of life and virtue—distilling."

In loyal devotion to the principles of John Wesley, the Methodist Episcopal Church is intensely Prohibitionist, as the following extracts from its Book of Discipline will show:—"The business of manufacturing and of vending such liquors is against the principles of morality, political economy, and the public welfare. We, therefore, regard voluntary total abstinence from all intoxicants as the ground of personal temperance, and complete legal prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic drinks, as the duty of civil government." "We reiterate the language of the Episcopal Address of 1888: 'The liquor traffic is so pernicious in all its bearings, so inimical to the interests of honest trade, so repugnant to the moral sense, so injurious to the peace and order of society, so hurtful to the home, to the church, and to the body politic, and so utterly antagonistic to all that is precious in life, that the only proper attitude toward it for Christians is that of relentless hostility. It can never be legalized without sin,' "Believing, as we do that the traffic in intoxicating beverages sustains the relation of an efficient cause to the vice of intemperance, we hold that no member of the Methodist Episcopal Church can consistently contribute by voice, vote, or influence to the perpetuation and protection of that traffic. We declare before all the world that the Church of God ought to be known always and everywhere as the relentless and uncompromising foe of this ungodly business, and that it is the duty of every Christian to wage ceaseless warfare against it. We emphatically declare that men engaged in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages ought not to receive the commercial patronage of Christian people, nor should those who either directly or indirectly sustain the liquor traffic receive the suffrages of Christian men. License laws are the liquor traffic's strongest bulwark of defence. They are wrong in principle and impotent for good. We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that propose, by license, taxing, or otherwise, to regulate the drink traffic, because they provide for its continuance and afford no protection against its ravages. We will accept no compromise, but demand the unconditional surrender of the rebellious business."

For some reason which I have never yet been able to fathom, although a very large number of Wesleyan Methodists became teetotalers in the very commencement of the movement, my own church in its official organs for a while placed itself in antagonism to total abstinence, and the Conference, even went so far as to prohibit the use of our buildings for temperance meetings. But this attitude did not continue long. In 1867 the Conference passed a resolution which described the *liquor traffic* as a "legalized hindrance to the work of the Christian churches," and

expressed an opinion in favour of giving the ratepayers control of licenses. This resolution was re-affirmed in 1871. In 1872 the Conference adopted a petition in favour of the Permissive Bill and Sunday Closing, and from that time forward it has steadily supported the principle of local option. In its addresses to its members the Conference has constantly urged the people to support all wisely-directed efforts in the direction of the legislative restriction of the traffic, and at the time of the great compensation struggle our Synods spoke out with an almost unanimous voice against the proposals of the then Government for the endowment of the liquor traffic.

On one point especially the Wesleyan Conference has been extremely emphatic, viz., in its indignant condemnation of the trade in intoxicating liquors on the Christian Sabbath. I cannot here refrain from expressing my own personal regret that the Temperance party has not concentrated upon this as the first thing to be aimed at. An Act for National Sunday Closing would in my judgment be a more effective prohibitionist weapon than a local option measure, because it would at once secure prohibition for one-seventh of the year, not in patches, but throughout the nation. Moreover, Sunday prohibition would touch far more than one-seventh of the traffic, inasmuch as the leisure of the day affords great facilities for drinking. Besides, a Sunday Closing measure would, on the ground of religious conviction, and also on the ground of the importance of a day of rest as a sanitary provision command the support of a large number of persons who are not in favour of any other form of Prohibition. It is very distressing that England is so far behind other parts of the Empire in this matter. While, however, expressing my regret that the advocates of temperance legislation have not combined to make Sunday Closing their first object, I must recognise the fact that Sir William Harcourt's Bill would at once have given Sunday Closing wherever a majority of those holding the franchise desired it.

Methodist prohibitionists agree with all those who hold prohibitionist views in their recognition of the fact, that in the present state of public opinion, National Prohibition in this country is an impossibility. Some of my friends have on this ground rather objected to associate themselves with a Conference which set Prohibition in the front. I have assured them, however, that we who are promoters of this Conference merely set Prohibition before us as the goal to be ultimately reached, and that there is not a man amongst us who would not cordially support any measure for the real restriction of the Liquor Traffic, *so long as that measure did not contain elements likely to act in the direction of the permanent establishment of the traffic, and to prove an obstacle to the progress of the prohibitionist idea.* The past history of the movement shows that this is the attitude even of the most extreme amongst us. With scarcely a dissentient voice, the most ultra temperance reformers supported Sir William Harcourt's Bill, although, it was only a very partial measure, and proposed to put but a very limited power of veto into the hands of the people, excluding, as it did, a large number of licenses from the sweep of the veto. Still, we hailed it as being by far the best proposal that any Government had yet made to us, and heartily supported it as a step in the right direction.

I know that I am expressing the general sentiment of my Church when I say that they hope the advocates of temperance legislation will continue this policy, and will be prepared to win their way inch by inch, where more thorough measures are impracticable. We put Sunday Closing in the front of our programme, and should like to see a National Measure for Sunday Closing for England; but if this is impracticable just immediately, we should hail with delight any restriction of the hours of Sunday opening. We think that great good would accrue from shortening the hours of week-day sale; from prohibiting the sale to children below a certain age, even when sent to purchase for their parents; and from other similar measures which are of the character of prohibition, though only partial.

For myself I wish here as a Christian minister to record my deep and undying conviction that the prohibition of the liquor traffic is destined to become

an accomplished fact. I believe in the enthronement of Christ. I accept with unswerving faith His own declaration, "*All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth.*" I believe with Paul, that God "*Hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be head over all things to the Church which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.*" I look, therefore, for the advent of that day when "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as a rose," when "the Lord shall comfort Zion. He will comfort all her waste places; He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord." He is "expecting till His enemies be made His footstool." When that glorious consummation shall arrive, "None shall hurt nor destroy in His holy mountain," and He will effectively prohibit all devilry, the liquor traffic amongst the rest.

COMMUNICATION FROM REV. DR. JOSEPH PARKER.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Secretary) read the following from Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker (London):—"If all Christian communions would unite in denouncing the liquor traffic, in twelve months there would be no liquor traffic to denounce. The question is in the hands of the churches."

THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY COLONEL WRIGHT (OFFICER COMMANDING NORTHERN PROVINCE
SALVATION ARMY).



COLONEL WRIGHT.

INVITED to read a paper before the Convention, I would rather have a seat at the feet of champions of Prohibition than such a prominent place as is thrust upon me. Nevertheless, individual feelings must not stand in the way when opportunities for good word and work and corresponding responsibility present themselves. It is in this spirit that I venture to submit to this Convention a little personal experience and one or two suggestions that may be worthy of serious consideration. I have no commission from headquarters to treat on this subject, yet as the leader of the Salvation Army in the Northern Counties of England, I may be excused if I take this opportunity of bringing before you the strong position taken up by the Salvation Army as a body, throughout the world, against the drink traffic. I am proud to say I represent an organisation (and, as far as I know, the

only religious organisation) that accepts the full Prohibition programme, and refuses to recognise as members any who, in practice, are not fully with us. Every member of the Salvation Army is a total abstainer and opposed to the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors, root and branch. Before being enrolled as a soldier (or member) every person is presented with a printed form, known among us as "Articles of War." One clause reads: "I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors." Another reads: "I do here declare that I will spend all the time, strength, money and influence I can in supporting and carrying on this war, and that I will endeavour to lead my family, friends, and neighbours, and all others whom I can influence, to do the same." These "Articles" are discussed by the applicant and the officer in charge of the Corps, and it is only when the former can see his way to fully endorse them that he is accepted and enrolled as a soldier in the Salvation Army. Our position has remained ever the same, from the inauguration of the movement by our General until now, and yet God has blessed us and increased us mightily in the world. May not this be some sort of evidence that the Church need not be dependent upon the patronage or favour of those engaged in the drink traffic? I submit that the present standing of the Salvation Army in the world is positive proof of this. "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?"

This question presents itself to us, and to the Church, perhaps more forcibly to-day than ever before, and waits an answer. During fifteen years of service, I have laboured throughout the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, I have seen service in Japan, as well as in my own land, yet nowhere have I seen it possible to reconcile the Brewery and the Church. They are natural enemies and can never be anything else. The sooner the Church recognises clearly the situation, and accepts it, the nearer we shall be to the day when the Church will more perfectly acknowledge and represent the great Head of the Church in the world.

It was my privilege, five years ago, to take charge, as the first Governor, of our Social Farm, at Hadleigh in Essex. During the first year we had 800 men on the place. The majority of them had been dragged to the gutter by the drink, but were struggling to rid themselves of that habit, and we were labouring night and day, to encourage them in their efforts. Our greatest trouble ~~was~~

from the presence in our village of three drink shops, and often have these places frustrated our efforts and dragged our men down again. We were the largest farmers in the neighbourhood, and I should say we paid more than half the wages bill of the village, yet we were subject to the menace of these wretched drink shops, and could find no remedy. It would not have been difficult to raise a two-thirds vote in favour of the closing of these places, but the voice of the people was impotent and the licenses secure. There was no law empowering us to say whether we would or would not have these houses among us, and so we had to endure what could not, in the present state of the law, be cured.

I have just returned from a short residence in "The Land of the Rising Sun." Japan is a glorious little country, and its people remarkable for their gentle, kindly disposition. The drink fiend, however, has gained a footing in the country, and it is lamentable to observe the first signs of that selfish, brutal disposition that is ever in evidence where the drinking of intoxicants becomes the habit of the people. The Japanese are ready to accept anything the foreigner presents to them that can be shown to be to their advantage. Would to God the English were in a position, as the nation they most admire, to give them an object lesson of the blessings of Prohibition. Then might we hope to contribute something toward the bringing about of a great preventive work in that country, and thus save them from all the wretchedness and misery through which we ourselves had to wade to our present experience.

The Church is, from a Salvation Army point of view, under obligation to support the Prohibition Movement in the interest of the Publican. He has a soul to save, and it is the special business of the Church to endeavour to bring him into such circumstances as will be most likely to contribute to that end. If his business were abolished, and he directed his undoubted talents to other and more honourable occupations, the best that is within him, delivered from the trammels of unholy greed, fostered and encouraged by the drink-selling business, would have an opportunity of exerting itself, and placing him in a far preferable condition. If the Church continues to give any measure of countenance to this business, thus throwing around it some semblance of respectability and encouragement for one to remain in it, upon whose skirts shall the blood of these men rest? "It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." I firmly believe that the withdrawal of the Church from any shape or form of countenance would be the signal for the withdrawal from the trade of many valuable men not as yet altogether lost to feeling and self-respect. Prohibition means salvation for the brewer and the publican, for who are more demoralised by it than they and theirs?

I hear with dismay that some Prohibitionists are wondering if the time is yet ripe for the Church to render to their principles full allegiance and service; I must confess I could never understand the time being anything else but ripe. We ought not to consider consequences when a righteous cause is in question. The cry of "No Compromise" is as much needed in the Church—aye, and more needed than in any other phase of life affected. When the Church presents an unbroken front against this snare the day of emancipation for the bond-slaves of the drink traffic will have drawn perceptibly nearer. This is the experience which the Salvation Army can bring as a contribution to the Convention.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND PROHIBITION.

BY REV. CANON BARKER, M.A., CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN, LONDON.



REV. CANON BARKER, M.A.

"The Church and Prohibition," such is my subject. It is not one covering much ground. My paper, therefore, need not be long.

The Church has taken a very active and earnest part in the Temperance reformation. She knows the injury that the drink traffic is to religion, and the reports of the two Houses of Convocation, viz., of Canterbury and York, are a proof of the thorough and complete way in which the Church has tried to grapple with the drink traffic. Perhaps the two most valuable contributions to the question are the two reports just mentioned, and while they cover the whole question and are prolific in suggestions as to remedies, I have to confine myself to what they say upon the question of Prohibition. Since the reports are authoritative they may be quoted as the deliberate voice of the Church. It is somewhat remarkable that the recommendation contained in the Canterbury Convocation Report afforded words for the Preamble of the "Permissive Bill," frequently introduced into Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Lawson. Let me quote the exact words: "Your Committee—the report says—are of the opinion that as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public; therefore a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, viz., the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system." Turning to the report of the York Convocation, in reference to this point, I read: "Your Committee regard, as worthy of the gravest consideration, the recommendations of 'numerous correspondents,' who 'represent that as the rate-payers are vitally interested in a traffic which so largely increases the taxes and entails such dire evils on society, they ought to have a voice in deciding whether any, or what number of public-houses should exist in their midst.'" These are clear utterances, and voice the opinion of the Church upon the rightfulness and expediency of placing into the hands of the ratepayers the power of deciding the question of licenses in their own localities. Besides all this, the Church of England Temperance Society has prepared a Bill called the "Licensing Boards Bill," in which power is given to persons who are entitled to vote for the election of Parish Councillors, to vote at the election of a Licensing Board. The right of the people is here recognised to exercise an authoritative control over the character of the licensing authority. Whether a direct or indirect popular control is best we have not time to discuss. It is enough for our purpose to show that the Church of England is in favour of popular control carried to the extent of Prohibition. And lastly, the Church of England Temperance Society's "Sunday Closing Bill" is most satisfactory, and contains the principle of the right of the people to be protected from Sunday trading in intoxicating liquors. It is with the utmost satisfaction that we are able to show that the Church of England, at least, is in the van of this great movement for placing in the hands of the people themselves the curtailment or prohibition of the liquor traffic. This cannot be too widely known, for if the powerful organisation and influence of the Church of England can be enlisted upon the side of Popular Control in this matter, a good step in advance is most undoubtedly secured.

It is satisfactory to see that the two Convocations—in common with all Temperance reformers—grasp the great principles and fact, viz., that unless the

temptations and facilities for obtaining drink are greatly reduced, the expectation of a true Temperance reform is remote. The future is undoubtedly brighter, for there is a growing feeling on all sides that the limit of the drink curse has long been reached, and that the present state of things is intolerable, under which it is possible that such evils as we know can prevail. It is the great and wise policy of the Temperance party to work together in unity, to keep clear and distinct the issues before them, and to forget points of difference in religious and political opinion. The Temperance cause is above party, and the objects and purpose of it are so noble and unspeakably blessed that any sacrifices are cheap to secure them.

I have no doubt that this National Convention will have great effect in educating public opinion, and stimulating all good Christians, and all good citizens, to make the greatest possible efforts and sacrifices in order to bring about a true Temperance reform, which would bring with it unnumbered blessings and abundant prosperity and happiness to the million hearths and homes of our dear country. May God speed the day, and purify our land for ever from the corruption and evil of the great drink monopoly and curse, which too long, alas ! has blighted the lives of millions which, but for it, might have been happy and useful.

I have confined myself in this paper to the briefest possible statement of the attitude of the Church towards this most momentous question, and it is with the utmost satisfaction that I note that its attitude is one entirely in favour of the principle of Local Control in the matter of the liquor traffic. And since, in our judgment, the breaking down of the liquor monopoly is dependent upon the people securing in their own hands the control of the issue and renewal of licenses, it is a most hopeful sign that the Church of England is at one in principle with the most advanced and thoughtful Temperance reformers. We may anticipate, therefore, that at no distant date the sound and constitutional principle will become almost universally recognised, and that our Statute Book before long will contain an enactment carrying it into effect, and, it is needless to add, that when this is accomplished the greatest results will follow in the direction of national sobriety, the most essential antecedent for the future progress and prosperity of our country.

SECTION VI.**DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION.**

Rev. C. DUXBURY (Woodstock), who remarked on the Catholic character of the platform, on which he was glad there was room for a dean of the Church of England—(applause)—and a Canon of the same Church, a Unitarian, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist ministers—(applause)—and a Salvationist. (Hear, hear.) He was sure this was a forecast of things which were coming to pass. (Hear, hear.) He was glad Mr. Aked had spoken forth with no uncertain sound on this wine question. He (the speaker) was fighting the battle on this question 40 years ago. He was threatened that he would be turned out of a Christian Church because he would not take intoxicating wine at the sacrament. Others who followed his example in the same church were also threatened. But in the end it was the intoxicating cup which was turned out—(applause)—and the unfermented juice of the grape introduced. At Tamworth, when he was there, he refused to administer fermented wine, and it was ultimately rejected. His experience had been similar in other places, and he would never use intoxicating wine as an emblem of the Blessed Lord Jesus. (Hear, hear.) He loved the ministry of the Gospel, and felt that God had called him to it. But he could not use the intoxicating wine. He would sacrifice his place rather than administer a thing which was blighting and blasting the fair fruits of industry all over the world. Let them be united. He was glad of the tone which had pervaded the papers. Let them be charitable to those who differed from them, and they could depend upon it they would win these over. People sometimes said he was a moderate man. Well, he was moderate in manner; but extreme in principle. (Laughter and applause.)

Rev. A. GRAHAM-BARTON (Crook) desired to say that everyone recognised the influence of those ministers of the Gospel who belonged to the Temperance Party, and what they were doing in this work. He found, however, that there was a large number of ministers who were classified as total abstainers, but he did not see many of them on the Temperance plan, nor did he find many of them on the Temperance platform. He also found that whilst their ministers were converted, the churches were not converted. It was the churches who were trying to come to a compromise, by having what were called Bands of Hope. He fancied that the hopefulness of these bands depended upon the adult members of the congregation. Their Church members wanted to be more clear and definite on this matter, for he believed that the churches lost in interest in proportion to the drinking members in the congregation. (Hear, hear.) He was satisfied there were members and preachers who were indulging in this traffic, and damaging the work of the Gospel by the position they took up. They must be aggressive. Ministers might talk as they liked about "a happy land far far away." The happy land was wanted here. (Hear, hear.) They as ministers ought to be seen on the platform for the direct veto, Sunday closing, and every measure that was for the soberment of the people. (Applause.)

NINTH RESOLUTION.

Mr. JOHN SLACK, B.A. (Birmingham), moved the following resolution :

"This Convention recognises with satisfaction the progress which has been made among the Christian churches of this country; but in view of the unmistakable evidence of irreligion and immorality which still exists wherever the liquor traffic and drinking customs prevail, the Convention expresses its conviction that Christian churches everywhere should take a decisive stand on the side of Prohibition and advocate such legislative measures as will ensure the entire removal of the liquor traffic from localities and the entire country."

He had sometimes heard, he said, in Temperance meetings that there was no passage in God's book that says, "Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquors." That was true, but there was something that came very near it. He would propose a syllogism. Take this in the new version, "Abstain from every form of evil," as the major premise. As a minor premise they might take, "Drink is a form of evil." The natural conclusion was, "Abstain from drinking." (Laughter and applause.)

Rev. H. J. BOYD (Sheffield) hoped that they did not feel that they had such an evil in the churches that there was no chance to get rid of it. A great change had come over the churches. Nearly all their churches were in favour of the principles they had been advocating. It was quite true that here and there were rich men in their churches who prevented them from speaking out, but there was a great deal of brave speaking in their churches. (Hear, hear.) He hoped they all felt that the heart of the churches were right on this question. The fact that the Salvation Army was doing so much in their line was full of hopefulness for the success of their cause. (Applause.)

Rev. A. B. TEBB (Winlaton) said he thought that, as the North of England Temperance League had given the services of Mr. Guy Hayler in getting this Convention up, the organisation that he represented had contributed as good a share towards their object as any class of temperance workers in the country. He went on to say that he had desired very much to say a few words on the previous day on the paper dealing with the Police, but he had been called out of the Convention at that time. He happened to be a member of the Standing Joint Committee of Durham County. They had a return of the crime in the county presented to them every quarter, and he noticed that, while there were between two and three thousand convictions for drunkenness, only twelve publicans had been convicted. He moved that a letter be sent to all policemen in the county asking them to exercise more supervision over the public-houses. That was carried out, and he was glad to say that it was doing good. (Hear, hear.) But, from cases that had come before them, he thought that they wanted something said about the magistrates as well. (Applause.) He was there to say that, in his experience, there was nothing that so retarded the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the liquor traffic. (Applause.) A little time ago they had a revival in their village. Two young ladies came to help them, and the ministers all assisted. They got together a large number of men who had been addicted to drink. When it was over they had a meeting to decide where these were to settle down. Ninety of them agreed to come to his church, and he was glad to say some of them were there still. One man who fell was asked how it was, and he said that he could pass the first public-house, and he could pass the second, but, when he came to the third, he fell. What right had that third public-house to be there, and what right had the second or the first? (Applause.) He would conclude with the words of the late Dean of Carlisle. "If he had a thousand hands they should all be lifted up against the liquor traffic." (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES WINNING (Paisley) said he had two boys, and he dare not ask them to become Church members, because they would get drunk at the Lord's Table. For fifty years he had been a teetotaler, and looking back over those years, he found after all that they now stood for the same principles as they originally adopted. (Applause.)

AN AMENDMENT.

Mr. E. TENNYSON SMITH (London) moved an amendment to the resolution as follows :—

"That after the words 'The Convention expresses its conviction that,' these words be added—'the time has arrived when the Christian Churches should adopt a more active and aggressive attitude towards the liquor traffic; and to declare it is inconsistent for a Christian man to be engaged in or financially interested in the liquor traffic; also that they should earnestly endeavour to cultivate such a sentiment in the Church that eventually it would be felt to be inconsistent for any Christian to take intoxicating beverages.

The CHAIRMAN said they were met there that day as a Prohibition Convention. That was their business. He did not think that they could pronounce upon the question of personal abstinence. (Applause.) He must rule the amendment out of order. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. TENNYSON SMITH then struck out the latter part of the amendment, beginning with the word, "also," etc., and suggested that the first part stand, which the Chairman accepted.

Mrs. M. J. PEARSON (Nottingham) said she should like to second the amendment, and she did it on moral, scientific, and Scriptural grounds. It was high time that the Church of Christ ceased to place before the people as their representative men anyone dealing with drink. It was high time that the Church of Christ ceased to place before children at Communion that which God said was an evil and a curse. (Applause.) No blessing that could come from man could turn that into a blessing which God said was a curse. (Applause.)

The mover and seconder of the original motion agreed to accept Mr. Smith's amended amendment.

NINTH RESOLUTION AS AMENDED.

The CHAIRMAN then read the resolution as amended as follows:—

"This Convention recognises with satisfaction the progress which has been made among the Christian churches of this country, but in view of the unmistakable evidence of irreligion and immorality which still exists wherever the liquor traffic and drinking customs prevail, the Convention expresses its conviction that the time has arrived when the Christian churches should adopt a more active and aggressive attitude towards the liquor traffic, and to declare it is inconsistent for a Christian man to be engaged in, or financially interested in the liquor traffic, and that Christian churches everywhere should take a stand on the side of Prohibition, and advocate such legislative measures as will ensure the entire removal of the liquor traffic from localities and the entire country."

The Rev. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS, B.A. (London), submitted that any church that declared it was inconsistent for any Christian man to be engaged in the liquor traffic, and thereby excluded him, would hinder the progress of the Temperance movement. He was bound to vote against the resolution, and would hold his hand up if he was the only one. He had the courage of his convictions, and had suffered for them in the Temperance cause in the Wesleyan body, and he did not mind. Mr. Aked, in his paper, asked for suspension of judgment, and he (Mr. Bennetts) would not be a party to the resolution.

The Rev. C. F. AKED (Liverpool) said his plea was for a member of a congregation who had not made up his mind to become a total abstainer, but he made no such plea for a man who was making his living out of sin. If there was a crime in the register of hell it was the encouragement of vice for the sake of gain. (Applause.)

Mr. JONATHAN HARGROVE (Southport) was quite in sympathy with the Rev. G. Armstrong Bennetts. It was all very fine to talk about the men who were making their living out of the trade, but what about the men who patronised the trade and made this possible?

Mr. JOHN SLACK, B.A. (Birmingham), urged that the Convention by passing the resolution would be simply making an educational declaration. They had not to take account of difficulties which might arise in its application. In the resolution they asked the churches to side with Prohibition and advocate measures for entirely removing the liquor traffic. Were they going to ask Parliament to do that which, as Christian men, they would shrink from applying themselves? If

so, they were practically asking the secular Parliament to take up a higher moral position than the Christian churches themselves were going to do. His belief was that the Christian churches ought to be in the van of the movement, and to water the resolution would be stepping down to a lower position than Parliament was to occupy. That, in his judgment, would be a disgrace and an infamy to the Christian churches. (Applause.)

Mr. THOMAS HARDY (Stoke-on-Trent) urged that they should go back to the principles of the days of the Wesleys, when neither brewers nor distillers were in the Methodist Church.

The motion was then carried, the only vote recorded against it being that of the Rev. G. Armstrong Bennetts. The result was greeted with much enthusiasm.

The Convention then adjourned.

TENTH RESOLUTION.

The following resolution was also adopted :—

“That the Dean of Durham be respectfully requested to take charge of the resolution adopted by the Convention under his chairmanship, with the object of bringing the subject under the notice of the two Convocations, and that the Secretaries to the Convention take similar action with respect to the annual synods, conventions, assemblies, &c., of the other churches.”

SECTION VII.

PROHIBITION ORGANISATION.

The Convention resumed in the Town Hall, at half-past ten o'clock, on Friday, April 9th, Rev. J. D. McKinnon, Dumfries, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

REV. J. D. MCKINNON.

Rev. J. D. MCKINNON (Dumfries) said in the earlier part of this Convention they had been supplied with a body of facts and figures, and they had had most admirable plans submitted to them, and they were coming nigh to the close of this Convention, and naturally they expected that they would look to the practical. "Prohibition Organisation" was to be the subject of their discussion that morning. They must make the fullest use in the days that lay before them of the facts and figures that had been supplied, and they were, with the Divine blessing, to go forth and forward in their plans and in the fulfilment of the purposes that had been submitted. It might be said that they had many organisations. If they took a map of their country they would observe running right through it on every side of it lines of railway. Let them suppose for a moment they desired to go to London. Why not just have one railway? They must have many, because there were many starting points; but they noticed that, separated though they were, they were all converging towards the capital, and so in the same way Prohibition was their goal, and there might be many men and many minds and many organisations; but they were not rivals. They were simply working along the line that was most suitable to the place and for the purpose and for the people. Take England: they had their United Kingdom Alliance, their Good Templars, their National British Women, their Women's Christian Total Abstinence Union, their North of England Temperance League, and so on. In Scotland they had a League, Permissive Bill Association, Good Templars, British Women, and so on also.

They were not opposing one another; but some of their organisations moved along the line of moral suasion, the ultimate goal of which, they believed, would be Prohibition. Through other organisations they moved along the line of political action, which was absolutely necessary in order to crystalise the thoughts and the purposes of the kindred associations. They had the line of the Church, they had their dear sisters in their spheres and in their places working nobly and well. Would anyone for a moment say that there was antagonism? Far be it from them to say so. They saw these various lines of work; but in the map that lay before them there was the one goal, Prohibition, when their beloved land should be free from this accursed traffic. (Applause.) He asked them, then, that day to listen to these interesting papers which would be submitted morning and afternoon, these various lines converging to a centre, these God-like plans culminating in their great desire and prayer, which was Prohibition, and the extension of Christ's Kingdom from north to south, from east to west. (Applause.) He felt that this Convention would be epoch-making and epoch-marking in the history of the Temperance cause. (Applause.)

PROHIBITION AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

BY JOHN KEMPSTER, CHAIRMAN LONDON AUXILIARY UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.

PROHIBITION THE ONLY TRUE AIM.



MR. JOHN KEMPSTER.

THIS Convention will readily accept my opening proposition—that the Prohibition of the liquor traffic is the only true and righteous aim, in this relation, of earnest Temperance reformers. The politician who ridicules and derides the notion of “stopping folks’ drink,” as though that sort of talk disposed of the case, must be either wilfully ignorant or culpably indifferent. The wrecked and ruined lives of the drinkers, and the anguish of innocent victims, together with all the social degradation, commercial paralysis, and spiritual destruction which follow in the train of the drink curse, these make a record, in relation to which Armenian atrocities, Indian famines, shipwrecks at sea, and pestilent plagues on land—terribly distressing though they be—are but ephemeral and transient horrors. Why are these fearful evils of preventible alcoholic intemperance ever present in our midst? Only because of the indifference or enslavement of the drinkers, and the greed of the makers and sellers of the drink. To the friend of humanity the law is supreme—“Thou shalt not kill.” By the law of Moses and the law of Christ; by the prohibitions and penalties of the older dispensation, and by the loving constraints of the newer revelation; the patriot, the Christian, nay, the man of common human instinct, has no choice but to stand clear of all complicity in the scourge and slaughter of alcohol. Prohibition, then, is the only true aim, in this relation, of the friend of humanity.

THE DIRECT LOCAL VOTE.

Whether we regard principle or only policy as our guide, the most popular, the most easily attainable, and the most approved method of attaining to Prohibition, is to apply the process of Local Self-Government. And we must not forget that all forms of Local Government are invariably and of necessity prescribed and regulated by the State. Parliament never permits unlimited license or lawlessness to localities; but always prescribes the limits and sanctions the details of local autonomy on the lines of permissive authority to confer benefit. It is the province of Imperial law to restrain and prohibit locally the spread of ignorance, disease, crime, and death. The very genius of Local Self-Government is the power delegated by the State always to enlighten, to purify, to heal, to prosper; never to benighten, to poison, to ruin, to kill. The only permissive measure we can tolerate, then, as Temperance reformers, must be a measure of self-protection from

THE DANGERS OF LOCAL CORRUPTION.

It would be subversive of the recognised conditions of good government to empower any Local Authority to curse the community. All we ask of the State is that it will give power to the local inhabitants, by direct vote, to emancipate themselves from the drink curse, without let or hindrance, step by step, it may be, as dictated by the wisdom and virtue of the people; but so that no Local Authority shall be empowered, anywhere, to force a drink shop into any locality, in defiance of the votes of the people themselves. The grant of this local prohibitory power in the form of the direct vote is an absolute necessity of the case. It is in favour with all right-minded people wherever intelligently understood, and it is acknowledged to be the easiest, the speediest, and the soundest method, backed by the strongest force of public opinion, and with this added advantage—that it encounters the smallest, the weakest, and the most venal measure of popular obstruction.

THE EVILS OF PARTY GOVERNMENT.

How on earth are we to extract beneficent legislation from that Parliament of ours? We are tempted to vituperate, when we contemplate our Parliamentary system of legislative strangulation, by which all salutary enactments are delayed and obstructed almost beyond human endurance. Parliamentary incompetence is indeed responsible for fearful consequences in the misery and enslavement of millions of our people. If we could at one fell swoop destroy the whole system of government by party, we might perhaps more speedily see an end of many wrongs and oppressions. But at present we have to take Parliament as we find it—the arena of “the ins and the outs”; the bear-garden of debate; the charnel-house of righteous aspirations. It is, however, an assembly intensely subservient to votes. And to render one party or the other dependent upon the votes of its supporters is the only chance of success to a righteous cause. As local optionists, I think we may say that we have reached this stage of Parliamentary progress.

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF PARTIES.

At the last General Election, the Liberal party, pledged as a party to our policy of the Direct Local Veto, polled 1,620,917 votes, and the Conservative party, including some candidates favourable to our policy, polled 1,704,594. Thus we were within 83,677 votes of a majority in our favour in the contested constituencies. Only some 80,000 to the bad, out of a total of three millions and a third of votes. How has this stage been reached? By many years of education and advocacy, and by making our votes dependent upon the promises of trustworthy Parliamentary candidates. This method has been so extensively acted upon throughout the kingdom that now only an eccentric madcap here and there, just exceptional enough to prove the rule, presumes to defy the votes of the consistent local optionists of his constituency. The practical result is that one great party in the State, just now in a minority, is with us; and the other great party, just now in power, is against us. And yet all the supporters of the present Government are not opposed to our measure, in their hearts and consciences, certainly not. But just as the Liberal party now depends so largely upon the votes of the Temperance electors, to the same extent the Conservative party also depends upon the votes of the brewers, distillers, wine merchants, publicans, and the hosts of their shareholders, devotees, and dependents; and yet—sad to say—that same party enjoys also the preponderating support and confidence of

THE ESTABLISHED CLERGY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY,

and of all those who are subject to their political influence. It must not be said that the mass of the clergy are opposed to Temperance legislation; nor even to our simple specific—the Direct Local Vote. They vote Conservative, because they rely upon that party, including the great liquor interest, to buttress the Church; to establish and to maintain denominational education; and thus, by the exigencies of party government, the State clergy are ranged on the side of liquorism. If this statement be challenged, on the plea that whilst not ready to support our measure, they would willingly vote for such a Bill, for example, as that adopted by the Church of England Temperance Society, the plea refutes itself, inasmuch as the mass of the clergy have never even made their Parliamentary votes dependent upon the support of their own measure, by their own party candidates. And no wonder, when they see how their strongest Bishops trifle with the subject in the House of Lords. What greater proof possible of the evils of party government, when the sacred cause of delivering the nation from the horrors of the drink curse is thus frowned upon by the most powerful and wealthy religious communion in our realms. Ranged with the liquor interest, because it deems its own existence as a State Church to be dependent upon its political alliance with the agencies of sin and death! Would to God these good and godly men, as many of them undoubtedly are, could be assured of the folly of such a partnership! Would that they could see that any cause which depends on the support of so evil an ally must, sooner or later, fall in ignominious defeat! Then what have

we to fear? If with the Drink Legion they fight, with the Drink Legion they must fall. They may talk sympathy; let them vote sympathy. Pious opinions, in politics, without corresponding votes, are an impious inconsistency.

LIKE THE CONCERT OF EUROPE,

gazing motionless upon Turkish atrocities, our State and Church stand jointly paralysed in view of the drink slaughter in our land. But as soon as Temperance patriots, like intrepid Greeks, move a little finger for relief and liberty, in they rush, these concerted powers, for the protection of the Pashas, the Turkish troops, and the Bashi-Bazouks of liquordom. Let them know, and let us know, that those are our enemies who fight for our enemies. The sooner we wage open war upon them, the speedier will be our triumph. We must take no timid stand. Our army must be iron-sided, and our attitude aggressive and irreconcilable. Every obstacle must be removed, every difficulty surmounted. Though parties have to be broken up, and Parliaments have to be dissolved, we must go right onward, and never accept defeat.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS PARTIES.

It is necessary, then, for the friends of Temperance, of all sects and parties, to unite upon this simple issue of claiming the Direct Local Veto. It is absolutely essential to make our votes dependent upon the promised votes of reliable Parliamentary candidates. The doctrine of Burke, good teaching in his day, is still more needed in our own:—"When bad men combine, the good must confederate, else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." As a general rule, it is alike our duty and our policy to

SUPPORT THE PARTY THAT SUPPORT US,

and to go against the party that opposes us. Of course they will say that we exist for the support of one party—"They say! Let them say! Who cares what they say?" Do they exist for no party? We have risen above party. Let the Temperance reformers of the Conservative party do as we have done, and make their votes equally independent and powerful, and their party equally subservient to righteous claims. Our cause would then rise above all party considerations, and would speedily and gloriously triumph. No party can have our votes except for votes in return. The power to vote down the drink curse is the condition of our votes. Our opponents, on the other hand, pledge and pay their votes to the upholders of the drink scourge. They swear their allegiance to their party at whatever sacrifice of the bodies and souls of the people by drink. Theirs, not ours, is the attitude of party political slavery.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES.

It may be urged that as we have secured the support of one great party of the State, we should, in return, loyally uphold that party at every election, whatever may be the attitude of any individual candidate. Our reply is—that a party is made up of individuals, and that principle and policy alike reject this superficial plea. Our hands must be clear of blood-guiltiness. On principle, we must not vote for any man who will, in our name, and as our representative, vote for the maintenance of the liquor traffic. As a matter of policy, also, we must not weaken or dilute any party by an admixture of individual elements of an opposing tendency. Once let it be known that Temperance electors are so weak-kneed as to vote for an opponent, on the plea of party gratitude or subserviency, and scores of candidates will follow suit, and palter with plausible excuses. Naturally they would say, that if they could get the Temperance votes without losing the drink votes, it would be good business for them; and the result would be, that we should lose votes enough to bring failure to our cause. Temperance politicians are not so young as to be caught by such chaff as this. So long as party government prevails, there must be party discipline. To give up one vote is to betray the citadel. Whether we are Liberals or Conservatives, no candidate is worthy our party, or deserving our support, who will not give power to the people to rid themselves, at their own doors, of the flaunting temptations to intemperance.

ABSTENTION NOT DISFRANCHISEMENT.

In cases where there is no candidate who favours our cause, do not let us be misled into voting, by the false notion that by abstaining we disfranchise ourselves. That is a delusion. The franchise means the freedom to vote ; and equally the freedom not to vote. It is our duty to vote when we can do so conscientiously in a good cause. It is as much our duty not to vote, when our vote would betray a sacred obligation. Our votes should be guided by the issue we hold supreme. And is not

THE TEMPERANCE REFORM SUPREME ?

What cause can prosper, what progress can be effected so long as drink enslaves the people? For ages we have seen every needed reform foiled, frittered, and frustrated by this masterful and mischievous power of drink. If we believe with Cobden—"That the Temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform ;" and with Cowen, Newcastle's distinguished citizen . "That sobriety must precede all moral, mental, and political reformation ;" then we have no choice but to back our convictions by our votes. This, then, is the righteous principle, the winning policy —to vote only for those who will vote for us ; to vote for the political party with which our convictions upon other subjects are most closely allied, if their candidate will give us his vote ; but, if not, to rise superior to party ties, and to vote for the candidate who will help us, first and foremost, to place the people's enemy at the people's feet.

SYSTEMATIC ORGANISATION.

By ROBERT MACKAY, SECRETARY SCOTTISH PERMISSIVE BILL ASSOCIATION, GLASGOW.



MR. ROBERT MACKAY.

THE time has surely come when Temperance reformers ought to thoroughly assert themselves. They did not take enough trouble to do so at the last General Election, and yet they were amazed at meeting with a repulse which in some parts of the country was little else than a disaster. But that was the natural consequence of their repeated deviations from a course of action which alone could secure them the victory they aimed at. Had they worked and voted from 1886 for their own veto as they did for other questions, which however important in themselves, were after all merely side issues to theirs, they would have in 1905 asserted themselves in such a way as to have occupied a commanding position in politics from which they never could have been dislodged, and from which they might have easily advanced to the storming of the last resisting redoubts of the enemy.

Upon surveying the temperance field, one is surprised at the fertility of invention shown in methods of working, the magnitude of resources showered upon the work, and at the active and abundant service so cheerfully rendered. Nothing like the results of such a survey is to be found in any other field of social reform. There is, for instance, the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union with its unsurpassed educational appliances; the National Temperance League, with its propaganda on the medical aspect of the Temperance question; the North of England Temperance League, with its aggressive temperance meetings; the United Kingdom Alliance and Good Templars, with their gigantic network of effort extending over all the country. Still all show a want of union and of system in working, which is not conducive to that solidarity without which success will fail to crown the efforts of the great Temperance enterprise.

It will, we think, be evident to every thinking person that something more is needed than equipments and energy to make the Temperance hosts "dress up" for a decisive brush with their sworn enemy, the liquor interest. An undisciplined horde may have patriotic aspirations, be as brave as the bravest of the brave, but if they have not been taught their drill, the use of their arms, the value of union, and to move in battalions, they become in the face of a highly organised foe merely like the chaff of the threshing floor.

Now such is the present condition generally of the Temperance army. Its youthful adherents are not trained as a branch of its effective strength; its adults are rarely drilled for active service; the Temperance elector has yet to be educated to assign the first place on his political ticket to the veto. Consequently that feeling of solidarity so desirable and so invincible in a campaign, has to be created and diffused throughout the whole of the Temperance enterprise.

This is quite a possible course for the leaders of the agitation to follow. It is one which will more than anything we know of give lasting impetus to the agitation and raise it to those heights of enthusiasm which distinguished it prior to 1886.

The question is, in what way can this wished for consolidation be attained? We say by work wisely planned, by union of effort well devised, by enthusiasm rightly directed, and by efforts fitly adapted. But we first need enlightened reason to direct. The need of education in our movement is extreme. Knowledge is not sought for by nearly all that direct it, as hid treasure, nor cultivated as it might and should be. In too many temperance societies the lecture is not the chief object of the ordinary temperance meeting. Indeed in some societies it has been denied that education is the imperative need of the agitation. The lecture is too often deemed an intrusion, a skeleton at the feast. If it is arranged for, it is at the same

time merely tolerated, and the smallest space and the briefest time are allotted to it on the programme. The evil consequences flowing from such a mistaken course are sadly evident. Reputable lecturers do not care to waste their leading and shed their light in such a chilling atmosphere, and committees are not so zealous about the necessities of their platform as to demand properly qualified teachers. Far too many audiences may be pardoned if they lose interest in the hackneyed and shallow utterances of many Temperance platforms, and need the fillip of a song.

This defect can be easily remedied by the institution of a Temperance College for the special training of teachers and advocates. Here every one aspiring to the position of teacher should graduate. A diploma from such a seat of learning should be held the prerequisite to an appearance on any Temperance platform. Teachers going from such a place should be thoroughly equipped with the best educational appliances. Gentlemen of the highest ability would then be induced to enter upon our advocacy, so that those in the learned, professional, and higher circles might feel no difficulty in becoming listeners to men no less learned and cultured than themselves. Those who have studied the question with some thoroughness, will easily anticipate the pleasure which audiences of higher or lower status in society would derive from an advocacy at once competent, cultured, and enthusiastic.

But we must not be misunderstood. The past of the agitation bears historical testimony to the ability of the early heroes of the movement, as observation can testify to the high educational value of the advocacy of our day, which has profited so much from the abundant labours of Lees, Richardson, Kerr, Munro, Hoyle, and by the evidence of Clark, Gull, and numerous others, who whether on bench or from hospital, prison or union, have laid the temperance world under the deepest obligations. But an advocacy is desirable which can enlighten the ministerial, the medical, the manufacturing, the building, and the artistic classes. We need to be shown, as the working classes have been shown, that there is no interest in the country with which the liquor interest is not at war.

With the advent of such skilled and accredited teachers would come first the extension and then the restoration of our platforms to the purposes of special education. Lectures would not have to be always intensely amusing and extremely brief. Many meetings would no longer be degraded by being turned into concerts, and the mental stamina of the audience no longer deteriorated by constant frivolity.

Literature is at present scarcely a feature of our meetings. Not a shred of pamphlet, leaflet, or newspaper is to be found, except at New Year seasons, the whole session through. In the early years of the agitation this was not so. This disinclination to special Temperance knowledge might be removed by the provision of a literature bureau in every meeting place, which should be held as indispensable as the pledge-book or the meeting itself. Reading clubs, ever-circulating, magazines, prize essays, courses of study, and discussions should be all a part of the equipment of thoroughgoing and aggressive Temperance societies. A Temperance library in every town might be instituted and maintained by all the local societies therein, and its freshness and variety easily maintained by having it affiliated with a great central Temperance library. Home libraries should be encouraged, and the weekly or daily visits of a sterling newspaper in the interests of Temperance should be urged as indispensable to counteract the virus of newspapers which never miss an opportunity of assailing the principles and the methods employed in the agitation. No one who has had a fair experience of Temperance societies and Temperance adherents but will at least admit that a systematic course, such as has been outlined, is urgently called for in the abiding interests and speedy triumph of the agitation.

Under such a special education as referred to, the great realm of Temperance knowledge would be fully explored and its wonders made manifest to an interested auditory. Chemistry, physiology, pathology, and economy would bring together their spoils to enrich the Temperance platform, and the diagram, blackboard, and lantern would everywhere assume their true place in this special education. The

hearers of such higher truths would be able to give abundant reasons for their adhesion to the cause.

It has been already said that the young are not being sufficiently and properly trained to be each a soldier in the strife. They may be able at present to gather from recitals or medal contests, or from some of the addresses delivered to them, the nature of the evil of intemperance, and they may also, under the incalculable educational advantages which the teaching of Temperance in schools affords, or in competing for prizes, attain to such a knowledge of Temperance scientific truths as to be fortified against the allurements of the drinking system. But we contend that unless they are also drilled into the actual warfare of the Temperance enterprise, the education imparted will be more of an academic than of a practical character. This may be easily remedied, however, by forming the young people into a literature brigade, and setting them to deliver leaflets, meeting notices, polling cards, and the like. In this way they would prove a valuable arm of the service, and be initiated into the more important work of the visitation and electoral committees. The hope of sowing the country knee-deep with Temperance literature, which has been so longingly entertained by enthusiastic Temperance workers, would be easier realised through such a brigade aiding in spreading the light of Temperance over the darkness of ignorance which enshrouds so many of our people.

Another essential is the Visitation Committee. This was one of the most successful of all the methods of the early Temperance reformers, and its desuetude has told disastrously upon the movement. An intemperate man or woman driven by apprehended ruin or by the entreaties of friends to take the pledge, takes it, gives a false address, and all trace of him is lost, but there are large numbers who would have proved staunch and true to their obligation or their pledge, if they had been under the supervision of a Visiting Committee for a short period. A society with no such Committee has only a name to live. Such a Committee could meet with other committees in the same area, and devise measures for increasing the efficiency of their efforts. District by district, any town could be overtaken by such Visitation Committees, and a strength imparted to those who have been plucked from the burning, which is too generally lacking at present.

But a Temperance society has to do with more than moral suasion—it has a citizen's duty, and until it has instituted an Electoral Committee, it is far from being properly equipped for the discharge of its responsibilities. It may arrange for lectures till the Greek Kalends, it may institute committees, its organisation for moral suasion may be as perfect as can be, but if it does not enter upon such political action as will abolish the licensing laws, any hope of a termination to its Temperance labours will be delusive in the extreme.

An electoral committee to every Temperance Society is indispensable. The active work required would be in consonance with the interest which most people take in political affairs. Rising above party, however, there would be no divisive feeling on party politics. Each would be for his country and all for the State. Such a committee would secure the electoral register, map out the district in which it works, indicating every place where drink is made, or sold, take a plebiscite of the area, and otherwise secure such an estimate of the Temperance electoral strength at the disposal of the party in its division that all uncertainty as to the amount of support which the Temperance candidate could command would cease. Such a committee would also provide suitable local candidates in anticipation of a Parliamentary contest. When a Parliamentary vacancy occurred it could take immediate action with other Prohibition committees in the division. These could interview the candidate, if a stranger, with the proud consciousness that there was no doubt with regard to their numbers, or better still of their ability to place the candidate of their choice at the top of the poll. This would be the way to meet the Liberal party were it to take any steps towards withdrawing the veto from its programme, notwithstanding the righteousness of that demand.

Committees founded for such a patriotic purpose have found pleasure in the arduous work pertaining to electoral effort. They have been signally successful

at local elections. They have also been able to secure local candidates and place them at the top of the Parliamentary poll. What has been done by such committees in the early years of the agitation can be done as easily at least to-day. Canvassing was carried on then in a way which elicited the admiration of Social as well as Temperance reformers.

But we are told that all this thorough and systematic organisation in every Temperance society, lodge, division, or tent must prove a costly affair. That surely should be an objection easily met by all true prohibitionists. He that sows sparingly can but expect to reap sparingly. Would it not be better now to be animated with the spirit of a more generous enterprise? The Temperance movement, alas, like most voluntary movements, is sent to war with resources inadequate to the work given it to do, and hence its vitality though unquenchable is kept always low. There is all the difference between the rate at which our progress is urged and should be urged and the rate which is attained between a steamer going full speed ahead and her progress under easy steam. In the one case our progress would be immense and our triumph speedy; in the other, although it is quite evident to every Prohibitionist that we are moving, an outward observer hardly sees progress at all.

A party moving in a solid phalanx, every part of it animated with one mind, working out its purpose on a well defined basis from centre to circumference towards the same goal, appealing to the country day by day on platform, in the pulpit, and in the press, meeting in conference or convention to formulate its resolutions, and neither grudging effort nor means to obtain its object, would be invincible. A movement in which every unit or society was organised in this systematic manner— in which there was a special education adhered to, and a combination maintained to resist the influence of the drinking customs and unflinchingly directed to secure the passage of a law for placing the traffic in alcoholic liquors unreservedly in the hands of the ratepayers affected by it, would be a power which would require to be reckoned with by politicians, and whose triumphant issue would not be long delayed.

SCOTLAND'S CLAIM TO PRECEDENCE.

BY EX-BAILIE JAMES L. SELKIRK, J.P., GLASGOW.

IN conducting a great national movement such as that in which we are engaged, the question of principle necessarily receives the first consideration. And so, when the pioneers of the Temperance movement entered upon the crusade against the common sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage, their uppermost thought was to create, throughout the British Isles, a strong, intelligent, and earnest public opinion on the subject. Accordingly, in 1853, they invited the co-operation of kindred spirits in all parts of the country, and instituted the United Kingdom Alliance. Prior to this, however, various Temperance organisations had been actively at work—north, south, east, and west—inculcating total abstinence, and disseminating sound Temperance teaching in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquor, and thus laying the foundation on which the superstructure of the Alliance was to be reared.

The political aspect of the question, which necessarily appealed to the citizen, as such, on the broad ground of injury done to the community which only Parliament could adequately redress, was heartily and widely espoused, and vigorously advocated. This was the constitutional course open to all reformers, whatever their grievance. A free press and a free platform secured the right and liberty to appeal to the people, who, in due time—in the case of a good cause—might be expected to rally to its support, and demand the needful change in the law.

For the first ten years or so, the propaganda was directed exclusively to informing the people about the principle of Prohibition, and on its successful application in the State of Maine, due in great measure to the marvellous energy and zeal of the venerable pioneer, Neal Dow. All parts of the United Kingdom shared in this important work, and everywhere gratifying results were produced.

Attention was then turned to the subject of legislation. It was reckoned that the progress made justified action being taken in this direction. And here the practical question presented itself: What form should a legislative proposal take? How may the principle of Prohibition be most satisfactorily and speedily embodied in law? Hitherto it had simply been the abstract question of Prohibition that had been discussed; the best mode of applying it had not been seriously considered. In the case of Maine a prohibitory law had been enacted, there and then coming into operation throughout the State, and with the best possible results. It was felt that, for obvious reasons, such a course would be expedient in this country, but only after the foundations had been laid by a measure of Local Option. This led to the adoption of what was commonly known as the Permissive Bill, or as it is now designated, the Direct Veto, by which local communities would each have the power to give effect to its own convictions on the subject. Sir Wilfrid (then Mr.) Lawson introduced into the House of Commons, in 1864, his famous Permissive Bill, and in the first division no fewer than forty hon. members gave the measure their support.

The movement from this time forth took a distinct step forward. The fact that the Temperance party had embodied their views in a Bill arrested the attention of politicians, and aroused widespread interest in the country. For a series of years Sir Wilfrid courageously kept his Bill before Parliament and the country, its supporters meantime steadily increasing in numbers and influence. By and bye a new departure took place. Veto Bills for each of the four nationalities were introduced, each backed by representatives of its own. Apart from the question as to what led to this step, the introduction of four separate Bills tended greatly still further to quicken the public interest in the whole subject of Temperance legislation and to bring it distinctly within the range of practical politics. Hitherto the progress of the movement in the constituencies and in Parliament, and particularly among leading politicians, had been remarkably encouraging,

especially in view of the difficulties and complications inseparable from Parliamentary procedure. Indeed, a candid and intelligent retrospect of the history of the Prohibitory movement compels the admission that no public question in modern times has taken such a firm hold on the public mind, or is riper for settlement on the basis of a direct reference to the people, than that in which we claim to take a special interest. This brings us to the specific subject of the paper.

SCOTLAND'S CLAIM TO PRECEDENCE.

Obviously, this suggests that, on the whole, it may be highly expedient, as a matter of wise tactics, to concentrate, as far as possible, the strength of the united Temperance forces on the most hopeful field of operation, with a view to secure legislation for at least a portion of the United Kingdom at the earliest possible moment. If we argue, as we very properly do, in favour of the Direct Veto rather than an Imperial Prohibitory Act, on the ground that it would enable districts that are ripe to secure at once the benefits of local Prohibition without waiting for the other districts that are less prepared, may we not, in like manner, plead that, as a matter of prudent policy, we should unite in support of that portion of the British Isles which offers—all things considered—the best prospects of speedy success? Much of the agitation of the last ten or fifteen years, in support of the various Veto Bills, has been conducted specially with the view of maturing public opinion, and without any very definite expectation of seeing any of them passing early into law. We are now entering on a distinct stage beyond that. We consider that the time has come when the labours of upwards of forty years in favour of a great measure of social reform, affecting the best interests of the people, and which has resulted in the creation of an amount of public opinion without a parallel in modern times, should be registered on the Statute Book.

Believing, as I do, that the policy indicated is one that commends itself to Temperance reformers generally, I venture to submit a plea on behalf of "Scotland's claim to precedence."

First.—Temperance legislation was earlier and is more advanced in Scotland—and always has been—than in any of the other portions of the United Kingdom. This will, no doubt, be admitted. To go no further back than 1854, the year in which the Forbes-McKenzie Act came into operation, Scotland has enjoyed the great boon of Sunday Closing, as well as earlier closing on week days. Whatever may be said regarding that Act by strangers paying a flying visit to the northern part of the kingdom as to the manner in which it is observed, there is practically but one opinion on the subject in Scotland itself, and that is that it has conferred incalculable benefits on the country. Moreover, so satisfied have the people been with the results of the Act, during that long period, that they have hailed with hearty unanimity, from time to time, further legislation in the same direction. Each successive Act has increased the stringency of the liquor laws, and each has been called for and justified by the state of public opinion, and that without reference to party politics. To the people of Scotland the law has proved a valuable educator. It has taught them that the inculcation of Temperance truth and the advocacy of total abstinence require to be followed and fortified by a diminution of the facilities and opportunities for drinking. It has, also, taught them that the welfare of the population must always be a prior consideration to the interests of a class or of an individual.

Second.—Temperance sentiment is stronger in Scotland. The principle of total abstinence has been more widely and thoroughly inculcated, and has met with a more general adoption, than, in proportion to population, it has elsewhere. There is still, it must be admitted, a considerable amount of drinking, especially among the labouring classes, many of whom appear to have no higher idea of pleasure than what is afforded by regular indulgence in strong drink. But, at the same time, the great bulk of the well-to-do artizan class have come to see that, on every ground, they are better off by abstinence from strong drink, than even by moderate indulgence, and they are seeking, in larger numbers, to remove their dwellings as far from the contamination of the public-house as possible.

An important factor in the promotion of Temperance sentiment in Scotland, in recent years, has been the greatly increased interest of the Christian Church, of all denominations, in the whole question. The rapid extension of the movement in favour of unfermented wine in the observance of the Lord's Supper, is a notable and significant indication of this. In addition, Christian workers have, in greater numbers, been led to take a more decided attitude in favour of total abstinence, and against the licensed temptations to drinking, from a growing conviction that the liquor traffic is a powerful and ever-present obstacle in the way of accomplishing much permanent good among the lapsed masses of our large cities and towns. And let it be borne in mind, that all this gratifying progress has followed upon the advanced Temperance legislation which Scotland has, from time to time, secured. And inasmuch as there is still an enormous amount of preventible evil resulting from the ordinary operation of the liquor traffic, the people of Scotland are eager to secure the power to lay an effectual arrest upon it.

Third.—Scotland regards strong drink largely as a luxury; England and Wales, largely as an article of diet. This fact explains much. The population of the latter countries take beer several times a day; of the former country, spirits at much longer intervals. Very many of those who consume the stronger liquor are conscious that it is doing them an injury, and would be glad of an opportunity of protecting themselves from the temptation which it offers. On the other hand, the beer drinker has faith in the wholesome character of his favourite beverage. Until better educated on the subject, he will, consequently, be very slow to adopt any proposal which would involve the surrender of that which he believes to be needful and beneficial.

Fourth.—In a question with England and Ireland, Scotland has throughout proved much more advanced in the matter of Parliamentary support. In the first division on the Permissive Bill in 1864, out of the forty hon. members who supported the measure, no fewer than ten represented Scotch constituencies. And for a great many years, a majority, in some instances a considerable majority, of the Scotch members supported the Direct Veto Bill. With England and Ireland the case has been very different. As a rule large majorities have been on the other side. To some extent this may have been due to a prevalent feeling on the part of the representatives of these countries that, so long as the more moderate proposal of Sunday Closing was still in abeyance, it would be premature seriously to entertain a more drastic measure. So far as Wales is concerned, the case is somewhat different. It has, for the most part, almost as satisfactory a record as Scotland. And yet there are considerations which ought to determine the issue in favour of the latter.

1. Scotland is a more distinct nationality than Wales. Its history, its laws, its courts, its customs, and its habits, all bear this out. It offers, therefore, a better field for the experiment of a Direct Veto Act.

2. Scotland has had more advanced Temperance legislation than Wales; has had experience of it for a much longer time; and has shown a more general and complete approval of it. There is, therefore, a greater likelihood that a Direct Veto Act would be more acceptable and successful in Scotland than in Wales.

3. Scotland has among her Parliamentary representatives a much larger proportion of leading statesmen who are favourable to the Direct Veto, and their influence would count for much in the future, as it has done in the past, in furtherance of the principles of the movement.

4. According to a recent Parliamentary return, there are upwards of 200 parishes in Scotland without a single public-house or other licensed premises. This represents a more favourable state of matters, proportionately, than is to be found in any other portion of the kingdom; and although, in many of these parishes, the population is comparatively small, the general absence of drunkenness and its usual attendant evils within the parochial limits, must undoubtedly tell for good on the surrounding districts.

The views advanced in this paper are respectfully submitted for the consideration of those who are charged with the general policy of the Prohibitory Movement by means of the Direct Veto. The primary question is—In what part of the United Kingdom is the Direct Veto most likely to receive earliest and fullest recognition at the hands of the Imperial Parliament? In our judgment the argument in favour of Scotland is strong and indisputable. It rests on a variety of grounds which, taken together, constitute a formidable plea. It will, doubtless, at the proper time, receive the consideration which the extreme importance of the subject demands, and should the National Prohibition party decide in favour of a vigorous and concentrated movement in support of the Scottish Direct Veto Bill as their wisest and most hopeful policy, they will find that, so far as their fellow-workers in that part of the United Kingdom are concerned, their confidence has not been misplaced, and that the advanced position hitherto held will make success in that country all the more certain.

THE DUTY OF PROHIBITIONISTS.

BY HENRY HIBBERT, BRADFORD.



MR. HENRY HIBBERT.

THE Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., once declared that the "House of Lords required either ending or mending," but Prohibitionists have come to the conclusion that as all attempts to mend the liquor traffic have been abortive, the true policy with regard to it is *not to mend* it but *end* it. To attempt to improve the drink traffic is even more foolish than that of a virtuous woman marrying a vicious man in the hope of improving him; the latter is possible although not probable, whilst the former is not only improbable but impossible. God's plan with regard to all wrong doing is total and immediate Prohibition. It is good things that require regulation and management; but as regards bad things, abstinence and Prohibition are the Divine methods, and all human experience have abundantly proved that they are the only safe and wise ones. It is this everlastingly trying to manage that which is wrong that has been the bane of human affairs through all history. At one time it was thought possible to manage slavery, but it had to be abandoned as hopeless, and the sooner it is realised that it is quite as hopeless to have a satisfactory licensing system, the better it will be for everyone. Just as books of a demoralizing nature are to be shunned, the sale of unwholesome food forbidden, and cruel sports abandoned, in like manner intoxicating drinks ought to be prohibited, and pure, wholesome and refreshing drinks sold in their stead. Such are the opinions of Prohibitionists, and it becomes their duty to endeavour by all legitimate means to inculcate such views in season and out of season until their wisdom is acknowledged and the law of the land becomes a reflex of such sentiment. To this end we shall do well to lay to heart the advice of the poet:—

"Broadcast thy seed,
Although some portion may be found,
To fall on uncongenial ground,
Where sand, or shard, or stone may stay
Its coming into light of day,
Or when it comes, some noxious air
May make it droop and wither there.
Be not discouraged, some may find
Congenial soil and nurturing wind,
Refreshing dew, and ripening shower;
To bring it into beauteous flower.
From flower to fruit to glad thine eyes,
And fill thy soul with sweet surprise.
Do good, and God will bless thy deed.
Broadcast thy seed."

If we are fully convinced that Prohibition is the TRUE remedy, it becomes our duty to remain "steadfast and immovable," turning neither to the right hand nor the left until the goal is reached for which we started. We are not (as some ignorantly suppose) against this drinking system because of the manner in which it is carried on, or because of the supposed vileness of those who are engaged in it, because all history in all countries testifies that wherever it flourishes humanity decays; crime and immorality are invariably associated with it; whilst there are blood marks all along its track indicative of the *brutality* that is taking place, and its presence is always assured by the pitiful wailing of unsheltered waifs and strays that is borne along the midnight breeze; with as much certainty as the bell proclaims the whereabouts of the flock.

Our duties may be summed up under three heads :—1st. Our duty towards ourselves. 2nd. Our duty to others, and 3rd, our duty towards the cause we are seeking to promote. First, we owe a duty to ourselves. "To thine ownself be true." True to your own convictions. Like the Psalmist, declare "My heart is fixed." We have thought the subject out. We have solved the problem. We have probed the wound to the bottom, and it behoves us to stand unflinchingly by that which we have proved to be true, and whoever may tempt us to forsake the high road of truth for any bye-path meadow, however smooth and fascinating to tread, must be bid—"Get thee behind me, Satan." We must be on our guard against nice plausible men; who appear to vainly imagine that this victory is to be won without fighting by soft, dulcet, honeyed phrases, uttered in nice rounded periods, in which attempts to alter the law are disparaged; who talk grandiloquently about Gospel Temperance as though there were two kinds of Temperance, whereas all truth is Gospel truth, and Prohibition is as much Gospel Temperance as any other. The Temperance movement in some respects resembles a bird, and requires two wings to fly; one is personal effort and the other legal enactment, each being equally necessary. Another kind of individual whom it is wise to avoid is the self-called practical man, who seems to think he can improve upon common sense, and can find a shorter cut than a straight line, and always knows a more convenient season than the present. He invariably turns out to be one who has greater faith in legerdemain than earnest, honest, hard work. We must never forget that cause and effect are inseparably connected, and "we do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles," even in this epoch-making and record-breaking nineteenth century, so it is madness to expect to reap sobriety from the sale of intoxicating drink. We must be on our guard against those who are suggesting a compromise. They affect to be great admirers of Jesus of Nazareth, who never effected a compromise in His life, preferring to climb Calvary's Mount, and yet they are amongst the first to declare that compromise is the soul of English law. However, I can never see why we should suggest compromise, or fanciful and intricate schemes for compensation, christened by some other name. Let us give the friends of liquorism credit for having sufficient shrewdness to look after their own interest without our assistance, "whilst we hold fast that which we have, viz., the truth, and see that no man takes our crown."

2nd. We owe a duty to others. "Freely have ye received freely give," "to do good and communicate, forget not," are Divine commissions, but in order to teach others, it is of vital moment that we should know our own mind; "a double-minded man is unstable in all his ways." We must not only know what we want, but the means that are essential to accomplish it.

To say "something must be done" is only an evidence of a weak, uncertain, inconclusive state of mind. Persons of this kind are like badly-tempered steel, that won't cut; it either breaks or loses its edge, and is practically useless. Like the German bayonets which were supplied to our soldiers a short time ago, they looked very well, but bent and doubled up in using. To say something should be done is to admit that we don't know, or lack the necessary courage to say what should be done. Just as harder metals are used to cut and fashion the softer ones, in like manner, intelligent and well-informed men, with definite ideas of what requires to be done, have to impress the ignorant, undecided, hesitating portion of society as to what is the best thing to be done, and thus we are bound either to impress others or receive impressions from them. It falls to us to prevent others from pursuing any "will o' the wisp" licensing schemes, no matter who is the author of them, by reminding them that every kind of licensing, in all ages, in all countries, when weighed in the balance of experience, has been found wanting. We must not wait for others to teach it, but do it ourselves. It may turn out that it is not always the shortest way to become a Town Councillor, or even a Member of Parliament; yet, what is of infinitely greater importance will be manifested, viz., that we have not sacrificed this cause for position and self-aggrandisement.

Only recently a M.P., speaking at an Alliance meeting, which he supposed was an election meeting, said it was altogether Utopian to expect to do away with all

public-houses. It was only the excessive number that we were seeking to reduce; than which nothing could be much more misleading. We never talk of the excessive number of places where they sell milk containing the germs of typhoid; we should object to one; so we Prohibitionists who desire to see this terrible scourge of drunkenness swept away, object to a solitary place selling drink which contains the germs of what we are seeking to remove. I see no more fanaticism in the one than the other.

It is our duty to see that all candidates for Parliamentary honours know clearly the issue before us; we must not be put off with empty meaningless phrases about popular control of the licensing system, and deploring the frightful evils of drinking, etc. I know a case of this kind where the Temperance friends were working hard to secure the candidate's return to Parliament, until a private letter came into my hands, written by this same candidate, in which he spoke of the Direct Veto as a "chimera that he would never support." However, we had to put him through a course of education that completely altered his conclusions. Another gentleman who has fought three contests with the full strength of the Temperance party behind him, and was looked upon as being sound upon our question, when speaking on behalf of the candidate at the recent bye-election in Bradford, said "that he believed that the publicans were in more danger from the support given by the Conservative party to the great brewing interest than they could even be from the Liberal party. The publican's business was a legitimate calling, and the policy of the Liberal party would rather be to establish him legitimately in his calling." It is our duty to teach every party that if the liquor interest is in no danger from them, they have no claim to our support, as we Prohibitionists believe it is the duty of Parliament to look after the people's interests, and that whatever does not harmonise with such interests ought to be under ban of the law rather than be licensed in our midst.

3rd. The duties we owe to the cause we are seeking to promote ought to be held sacred by us; it is no mean heritage to have fallen heirs to a cause aiming at national sobriety, and without doubt it demands fidelity at our hands. He who thinks more of his party, more of his own interests and position, than he does of this cause is unworthy of it. Sacrifice is still an essential in order to win the victory we seek. When we find persons advocating the Direct Veto, when they think it means success to their party, and then recommending its abandonment when the success they hoped for has not been secured, it is evident that it is convenience rather than conviction that is the motive power, and it becomes our solemn duty to inform all such, that we are resolved to—

"Whether losing, whether winning, trust in God and do the right."

I am sometimes amused at the deep concern manifested by some, who are always afraid that our fidelity and persistency will damage the cause we are seeking to promote. They seem to forget that if the cause had had no better friends than they in the past, it would never have had an existence at all. They now assume to be great admirers of us; but they are very wise and exceedingly judicious, and filled with grave anxiety for the future of the cause; they simply advise caution and only decry undue haste. Well, I am disposed to freely admit that it is wise to exercise prudence in the promotion of this as in every other good cause, but when I remember that 2,000 lives are being sacrificed every week, when idiocy, crime, and poverty are stalking through the land, and yet the insatiable maw of this monster is crying give! give! it becomes us to be courageous rather than cautious; and when men, in the face of these frightful but preventible evils, exclaim to us: Hush! gently! don't hurry! keep quiet! we are justified, I think, in doubting their anxiety to grapple with the "enemy of the race," and we shall do well to turn a deaf ear to their entreaties. There is nothing to be gained by being quiet; how are false ideas to be removed or ignorance to be dispelled by our being dumb? If they who understand the question are to remain silent, and the ill-informed are allowed to explain, confusion must ensue. Keep quiet! when men are being unmaned; when women (God's best gift to man) are being ruined, and the hopes of the next generation blighted from their birth; to be quiet under such circumstances is either imbecility or fiendishness, and altogether unworthy of the promoters of a great moral reformation. It is our duty to teach men that we are

in earnest, that we do not exist to help them into positions of distinction, but rather to remove a huge curse. We must not be content with being a sort of make-weight for the Liberals to oust the Tories from office, and then stand aside whilst they attend to Home Rule, Land Reform, the Disestablishment of the Church, or the overthrow of the House of Lords, etc. What we want to see is a sober country, and I wish all Prohibitionists would declare "this one thing I do," and give themselves and others no peace until the people in their own districts are entrusted with the power to bring this about. Personally, I object to see our movement continually shunted into a siding whilst the main line is occupied with express trains loaded with freights not anything near so important. Perhaps I could not better illustrate my views than by reading you some correspondence that passed between the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and myself nearly ten years ago:—

September 16th, 1887.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,

Honoured and Respected Sir,

I have just seen your reply to an Oldham correspondent with regard to grocers' liquor licenses, in which you say, "If we had been allowed to proceed in our Irish policy the country would, by this time, have had a Local Government Bill under our action, and large powers would have been enjoyed by the people of the respective districts for the regulation and restraint of the drink traffic." Kindly allow me to ask you why you should exact from us such a price as the yielding to your Irish policy before you would endeavour to obtain for the people of the United Kingdom the power to get rid of the huge species of iniquity known as the "Drink Traffic?" I have heard you declare that you solemnly believed "it inflicted more calamities on this country than the three great historical scourges—war, pestilence, and famine."

At the General Election of 1885 the country sent the House of Commons 350 duly elected representatives, pledged to vote for Temperance legislation in some form of Local Option, but because 86 Home Rulers were returned from Ireland, you preferred to grapple with what was asked for by the 86 rather than that solicited by the 350, and because a majority of the representatives would not adopt your Irish policy you dissolved—probably the best Parliament ever elected from a reformer's standpoint. Now, I ask most respectfully, why should not the 86 have stood to one side until the wishes of the 350 had been attended to? It could not be that they had a more sacred or necessitous cause, as your own admission as to the results of the drink traffic place that fully beyond dispute; then it could not be that the country is more ripe on the Irish question, as the 350 representatives sent to promote national sobriety supply unmistakable evidence to the contrary, and the subsequent election only confirmed it. Then why should a greater question, and one for which the country is more ripe, be put on one side for one not near so important?

Your Irish policy is at best but an experiment, no one can say whether your hopes with regard to it, or the fears of its opponents would be realised; but on this drink question there is no room for any manner of doubt. If the drinking system is doing all the mischief you say, its removal would be the greatest boon that could possibly happen, and so far as the people are concerned, an unmixed good; a few interested parties would be somewhat hindered in obtaining their blood-stained wealth, but the money of the people would flow into the tills of those engaged in laudable and necessitous industries, and as a consequence be better fed, better clad, better housed, better educated, and better in their morals. Why blame the non-adoption of your Irish proposals for the drink traffic being allowed to remain and inflict these terrible evils on the country, whilst you attempt to settle a minor question?

We sent you the men to grapple with this drink traffic, why not have done it? It has been said that the Duke of Wellington mistook the demands of the nation, for whilst it asked for a Reform Bill, he gave it a Beer Bill; in like manner the nation asked for Temperance reform in 1885, but you said no! this Irish question must be settled first, and the division thus caused amongst both your and our best friends has retarded our movement very considerably, for which I feel bound to say, that in my judgment, you are mainly responsible. The nation called, and you refused, we stretched forth our hands, but you disregarded us, and every year we see men and women, youths and maidens, and even little children slain by tens of thousands, by this frightful scourge of humanity. Homes are being desolated, children are famishing, trade is paralysed, and morals are corrupted, but still we must grin and bear these things until the nation endorses your Irish policy. Personally, I believe moral and social reform are of far more importance than mere political reform, and that sobriety and industry would alike bless both Ireland and England; as the immortal Colclen declared (after he had spent his energies in securing commercial reform): "Every day's experience convinces me more and more that the Temperance

reformation lies at the basis of all true social and political reform." What a halo of glory would have surrounded the declining years of your (in many ways) illustrious career, had you but truly discerned the signs of the times, and endeavoured to wipe out some of the evils which have been made all the greater through the Wine Licensing Bill, with which your name has been so lamentably associated since the year 1860.

I am, yours most respectfully,—HENRY HIBBERT.

To which Mr. Gladstone replied on a post-card as follows :—

Dear Sir,

You must be aware that the majority of the House of Commons, in despite of us, gave to the Government virtually the whole disposal of its time for 1887. How, then, can you ask me, one of the minority, why I allowed Irish questions to supplant Local Government and Temperance? Rely upon it, until the Irish question is settled, British legislation will remain in confusion. You are free to publish this.

September 20th, 1887.

Your faithful servant,—W. E. GLADSTONE.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

Honoured and Respected Sir,

Your postcard is to hand. I am fully aware that as you say "the majority of the House of Commons despite of you gave to the Government virtually the whole disposal of its time for 1887," but this is nothing to the matter in hand; if you will do me the favour of reading over my letter again, you will see I make no reference whatever to what you or the Government did in 1887.

In reply to your Oldham correspondent you say, "If we had been allowed to proceed in our Irish policy, etc." Now this I take to mean your policy of 1885, as I am not aware of your submitting any policy to Parliament in 1887, I repeat in 1885 you were at the head of the Parliament in which sat 350 representatives pledged to support Temperance legislation on the basis of Local Option, and although you admit being fully aware of the terrible evils that the drink traffic is inflicting upon the country, you did not attempt in any way to deal with it, but commenced to deal with a subject of infinitely less importance, and for which the nation was not prepared. I asked you why you made choice of the Irish question. Parliament had three times over by increasing majorities carried a resolution in favour of Local Option, and you had declared that if you were returned to power, you would deal with this much needed and persistently demanded reform.

Now, you were returned to power, and 350 representatives, all pledged to "Local Option," and yet you did not attempt to deal with this question, preferring your Irish policy, and you smashed up your party, delaying Temperance legislation, and other useful reforms, for what at best is only an experiment. You have many great admirers amongst Temperance reformers, but your persistency in carrying the Wine Licensing Bill, of 1860, despite the warnings and entreaties of the Temperance men at the time, made it difficult for some to shout "Gladstone for ever"; but we were told to stick to you and your party, and you would soon remedy that terrible blunder, we did stick to you and rallied our friends to your standard; but oh! how our hearts sank within us, when we were told to stand on one side, whilst you looked after this comparatively smaller matter of "Irish policy." Do you wonder at us now thinking the poet wise when he counselled us to

Trust no party, Church or faction, trust no leaders in the fight;

But in every word and action, trust in God and do the right.

It looks as though the Irish were attended to, because they trusted to Home Rule, and we were neglected because we trusted in you and the Liberal party.

If it has the same influence on Temperance reformers generally that it had on me, they will not, in the future, shout "Gladstone for ever," nor the "Liberal party for ever," but "Prohibition for ever," until we obtain the means to exterminate this evil, "the only enemy that England needs to fear."

I am, Yours truly,

September 22nd, 1887.

HENRY HIBBERT.

This is what I conceive to be the duty of Prohibitionists. I don't disguise from myself for one moment that it will tax all our strength, and often be attended with great difficulties, but such is the road that all reformers have trod in the past. Strength has been given, difficulties have been overcome, and triumphs secured. Let Prohibitionists respond and so we will again.

"Tis but a coward who will say,

"There is a lion in the way!"

Where Duty calls, you must obey,

For ever pressing on.

And he who strives to run a race,

Toward the prize must set his face,

And never try a slower pace,

Until the goal be won!

THE PROHIBITIONISTS IN POLITICS.

BY JAMES WHYTE, MANCHESTER, SECRETARY UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.



MR. JAMES WHYTE.

It is now pretty generally taken for granted, that the reason why an effort is being made by a section of Liberals to secure the exclusion of the Veto from the programme of the party, is that, at the last General Election, it was found that the mass of the electors were fixedly hostile to Sir William Harcourt's Bill. This assumption is, however, very insecurely based. The movement amongst certain Liberals against the Veto began many months before the General Election. It had its origin, not at all amongst the masses of the electors, but amongst men both inside and outside of Parliament who were financially interested in the liquor business. The object of these good men—so they informed us—was to “free the Liberal party from the bondage in which it was held by the Temperance fanatics.” Mr. Mark Beaufoy, M.P. for Lambeth

(Kennington), was a conspicuous pioneer in this work of emancipation, and associated with him were such men as Mr. Evershed, M.P. for the Burton Division, Captain Fenwick, M.P. for the Houghton-le-Spring Division, Mr. Hugh Hoare, M.P. for the Chesterton Division of Cambridgeshire, and Mr. M'Ewan, M.P. for Edinburgh (Central), all of whom were in the liquor trade. Another of a type of men who in the House of Commons and elsewhere intrigued and agitated against the Bill was Mr. Courtenay Warner, then member of Parliament for North Somerset. The pretext for his action was that he found a very strong hostility to Sir William Harcourt's measure among his supporters in his own constituency. His supporters themselves, as we know, made clear to him and the public how very little of substance or solidity there was in his alleged basis of action. But that is not the point just now in question. What I am at present anxious to make clear is that whatever the merits of the controversy as to the alleged unpopularity of the Veto were, that controversy had begun and had raged somewhat fiercely for months before the General Election.

Now of course it would not have suited either these liquor men or their allies to confess publicly that they opposed the Veto on the ground that, if it should be embodied in law, their craft would be in danger. A cry that the people themselves were hostile to the Veto, and that because of this hostility Sir William Harcourt's measure constituted a great danger to the Liberal party at the polls, was, in the circumstances, essential to the success of the conspirators. Was it on the principle that the demand creates the supply that the cry was got up? At any rate the cry *was* raised, and was echoed in a certain class of newspapers and a certain class of Liberal meetings all over the country. Besides, a rather considerable number of Liberal agents in various parts of the United Kingdom—some of them honestly and some of them through the influence, brought to bear upon them by the liquor interest—lent themselves to the promotion of the purposes of the conspirators. Besides, the liquor interest used its enormous resources and influence to promote discord in the Liberal party on the question of liquor legislation, and to produce the most exaggerated conception possible as to the extent and importance of what actually existed. These efforts were fairly successful. The policy in question soon manifested itself at bye-elections. In spite of the fact that the Veto was a plank in the official Liberal platform; in spite also of the fact that the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons had himself taken charge of a measure embodying the Veto, intrigues against that measure, often conducted through the paid agents of the Liberal party, took place at almost every election contest. The methods adopted were, as a rule, pretty much alike in the various constituencies. This suggested that they had a common origin—that, indeed, they were dictated by the combination for “the emancipation of the Liberals from the denomination

of the Temperance fanatics." Usually efforts were made by the party wirepullers to prevent the Liberal candidate from giving a definite pledge to support the Veto. When, however, a considerable section of the Temperance party in the constituency refused to accept a "hedging" answer, and, in spite of cajolery and denunciation alike, insisted on obtaining a declaration in favour of the Veto as clear and definite as the declarations made on other items of the programme, a promise on the sly that he would support the Veto would be given. In such cases, however, a stipulation was usually pressed for that little or nothing should be said publicly about the promise, and that during the contest the Veto should not be openly defended or advocated. It was permitted that all other items of the Liberal programme should be supported as openly as any advocate of them might desire, but this measure, which had been promised in the Queen's Speech, which the leaders of the party had fully and formally accepted, had to be tabooed. In fact, it was often privately denounced by Liberal wirepullers and agents, while on the other hand the liquor party *always* papered the hoardings and the dead walls throughout the constituencies with the grossest misrepresentations of Sir William Harcourt's measure, and every Unionist platform thundered against the Veto; but the supporters of Sir William Harcourt's Bill were required to be dumb on the subject. And all this the public were expected to believe—and many did believe—was done in the interests of the Liberal party.

All this, I say, was professedly done with the object of forwarding the electoral interests of the Liberal party. If such was indeed its object, the policy was a huge blunder; for it has to no extent whatever benefited the Liberal party, electorally or otherwise. On the contrary it has done much real harm to that party. It has shaken the faith of many electors in the honesty and straightforwardness of the party. It has conciliated exceedingly few, if any, of those Liberals who voted against their party because of its support of the Veto. Besides, I have not heard of a single case in which an anti-Vetoist Tory voted Liberal because of Liberal attempts to drop the Veto. It certainly disheartened and disgusted a great many earnest Temperance Liberals, and it enormously weakened their influence with those of their Temperance friends who were either Unionists or social reformers caring little or nothing for party politics. It did so because it greatly strengthened the suspicions which were more or less definitely entertained among non-Liberal electors, that the Liberal party was, after all, merely scheming, somewhat dishonestly, to retain the support of Temperance Liberals and to gain the support of Temperance Unionists. That in such circumstances some Conservative as well as some Liberal Unionist Vetoists voted for the Liberal candidates on account of the party's support of the Veto,—and a good many did so vote—shows how very staunch such men were in their convictions on the Temperance question. But many other Temperance Unionists who, being thoroughly dissatisfied with their own party on the Temperance question, would willingly have supported an honest and straightforward Temperance candidate, even although he was a Liberal, turned away in disgust from such shuffling, and registered votes which have been reckoned as given against Sir William Harcourt's measure, while actually they were cast in condemnation of the shuffling policy of those who were "emancipating" the Liberal party. In fact this policy was, and was seen to be, a fraudulent policy, its object, in so far as it was not merely designed to damage the movement for the Veto, being to obtain for the Liberal candidate the support of both such Vetoists and anti-Vetoists as were earnest enough to make their votes dependent on the position of the candidate on the Veto question; and the method by which it was sought to be attained being that of cheating one or other of these two antagonistic classes of voters. When Liberal Temperance canvassers urged Unionist or neutral Temperance men to vote for the Liberal candidate on the ground that he would support the Veto, they laid themselves open to a crushing rejoinder. Why should Unionists trust a political opponent who, as was clear, was trying to cheat somebody?

Now it seems to me that, looking at all these things—at the *source* of the policy described, at the methods by which it has been carried out, at the discredit which, had it been successful, would have fallen upon the leaders of the Liberal party,

and at its actual effect on the electoral fortunes of Liberal candidates from the time of its inception to the close of the General Election—an earnest Liberal might well be excused if, in summing up his judgment on what had actually been accomplished, he had said “An enemy hath done this.”

I do not say so. I do not believe that those who have lent themselves to this dishonest and inept policy have been influenced thereto by any desire to injure the Liberal party. What seems to me to be the case is that they have too easily and too credulously allowed themselves to become the tools of men who, while it was not their *purpose* to defeat and injure the Liberal party, were nevertheless fully determined to wreck the Veto measure and to do so, if necessary, at the cost of any amount of injury to the Liberal or any other party. No open and declared enemy *could* have done the Liberal party as much harm as has been done to it by these men who claim to be its best, and, above all, its wisest friends.

I have shown that the policy which played so conspicuous a part throughout the General Election had been in full operation before that event. It is therefore clear, I take it, that the disasters which overtook the Liberal party at the election cannot have been the cause of their *adoption* of that policy. And this is noteworthy: Although it was in very full operation indeed during the whole of the General Election, it signally failed to save the Liberal party from “overwhelming defeat.” Further, I contend that even if this “overwhelming defeat” had been entirely due to Sir William Harcourt’s Bill, that fact would not have proved any necessity for the abandonment of the measure. It would not have proved that the majority of the electorate were fixedly hostile to it. Indeed, regarded as an indication of the judgment of the electorate on any subject whatever, the “catastrophe,” so-called, was a rather small and inadequate affair. It was brought about, so far as British contested constituencies were concerned, by a transfer of only three voters out of every 200 from the one side to the other. That is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the voters passed from the Liberal to the Unionist side. When, in this connection, it is noted that, in 1895, in the contested constituencies, $23\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the electors on the roll did not vote at all, while, in 1885, in contested constituencies, only $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. did not vote, it will be seen how much room for bringing about an altogether different result had existed. And it must be remembered that at the 1895 contest the electioneering of the Liberals was, in a large proportion of cases, wretched. Hence the catastrophe may very well have been due to their maladministration and neglect. It has always seemed to me a piece of boundless audacity on the part of the Liberal election managers, who actually went into the General Election with over one hundred British seats uncontested on their side, and grossly mismanaged a large proportion of such contests as occurred, to charge their defeat on Sir William Harcourt’s Veto measure. But even had the electioneering been as well as it was badly conducted, and had the transfer of votes been, as it was not, the true measure of the injury done to the party by Sir William Harcourt’s Bill, it would have afforded very inadequate ground indeed for the abandonment of the measure. So very slight a matter as the removal of a portion of the prejudice against the Bill, manufactured by the Trade and largely contributed to by traitorous Liberal agents, might very well have been sufficient to prevent the loss to the Liberal party of so small a proportion as three in every 200 of the votes cast, a loss which changed their majority of 1892 to their minority of 1895.

Indeed, as everybody who has any real knowledge of the facts of the General Election is aware, the Veto could have contributed very little indeed to the rout of the Liberals. In fact it is now on all hands acknowledged that special influences other than the Veto worked powerfully for the Liberal defeat. Among these were the following:—The Liberals were ill-prepared for the struggle. The fact that they left 127 British seats uncontested is alone sufficient to show this. Then, numbers of constituencies which were contested were supplied with candidates only at the last moment. In many places, too, the registers had been neglected by the Liberals, while they had been well cared for by the Unionists. In short, in everything connected with electioneering that is dependent upon money, the Liberals were at a much greater disadvantage than they had been at

any previous General Election; and those who are intimately acquainted with electioneering matters know how very much that implies. A section of the British electorate, which is not at all inconsiderable in number, is at the mercy of those who can bring the greatest amount of illegitimate pressure to bear upon them. Through want of money the Liberals at the last election could do much less with this class than usual. Now, it will be noticed that these are all influences which operate independently of political convictions, beliefs, aims, or purposes. But there were also influences of a political nature which told heavily against the Liberal. The question of Welsh Disestablishment determined the votes of not a few Liberal Churchmen against their party. Another influence, the potency of which is beginning to be realised, was the question of denominational education. Both with Churchmen and Catholics this question determined a large number of votes. Then trade had been exceptionally bad, and this was boldly attributed to the maladministration of the Liberals and to the fear with which their supposed sympathy with Socialism and the aims of the extreme Labour party had inspired capitalists. Besides, there was the promise of old age pensions so ostentatiously made, and so eagerly believed. Numbers rose to that bait, and it is beyond question that in certain centres it lost the Liberals many votes. But, further, in Lancashire the supporters of bimetallism, and those anxious for the repeal of the Indian cotton duties, gained the Unionists much support. Again, there was the loss of Mr. Gladstone's personality—in the circumstances a great loss. Then there was the influence, on the religious conscience, of Lord Rosebery's racing proclivities, an influence which, among certain of the religious classes, determined a good many either to vote for the Conservative or not to vote at all. On the other hand, but operating in the same direction, the Sporting League, particularly in London, did its level worst to wreck the party supposed to contain the largest proportion of "Puritans" and anti-gamblers. Probably, however, the most important single cause of the Liberal defeat was the defection of the Independent Labour Party. For a time remarkably little reference was made to the effect of their action. Recently, however, it has come into greater prominence, and its importance has been more fully acknowledged. In fact, that action alone is sufficient to account for a considerable proportion of the defeats sustained by the Liberals. At any rate, in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and, indeed, in the North of England generally, the action of the party in question was itself sufficient to account for most of the Liberal defeats.

As it required all these things together, and others like them, *plus* the Veto, to cause the transfer of so small a proportion as three votes out of every two hundred cast, from the Liberal to the Unionist side, I question whether any moderately rational man, with these facts before him, can bring himself to believe either that the Veto really was the predominant factor in causing the defeat of the Liberals at the polls, or that, even if it was the sole factor, it would be prudent, not to say honest, on the part of the Liberals to drop it out of the party programme.

But, then, what about the strong statements of so many of the defeated Liberal candidates? Did not these demonstrate that, in a large proportion of cases, the Veto was the cause of the Liberal reverses? Well, I, for one, certainly don't think so. It is now beyond question that these statements were much too big for the facts. Most of them were a ludicrous misfit. Had they been true, they would have been sufficient to account for the transference of, at least, one in every three voters from the side of the Vetoist to that of the Anti-Vetoist; while, as a matter of hard fact, only three voters in every two hundred were, through all the influences that operated at the election, so transferred. Hence, it is certain that, at most, only a portion, and that not a large one, of those who changed from one side to the other, *can* have done so because of their objection to the Veto; and that the proportion of votes lost to the Liberals through the Veto *must* have been *a good deal less* than three for every 200 of the total cast.

It is, of course, the business of the men who made and promulgated the substantially false and misleading statements in question, to explain how they came to make them. All that Vetoists need to do in the matter is to show that

the statements are in fact and substance untrue. That I have done. But I am not altogether satisfied with merely having achieved this. I should like to *account* for the blunders, exaggerations, and mis-statements respecting the effect of the Veto on the Liberal electorate, into which so many of the defeated Liberal candidates fell. Should I not succeed in this, I shall have failed, not in a necessary undertaking, but in a work of supererogation.

Before and during the election there was undoubtedly a great clamour in the country against Sir William Harcourt's Bill. It was also the business of the Unionists to so clamour. All the electoral machinery of the Unionists was run in the service of the liquor party, and almost every public-house was run as a part of the electoral machinery of the Unionists. There was a beautiful reciprocity of services between them. And those large sections of the Unionist party controlled politically by the liquor interest, either through the degrading allurements of the public-house or through the money influence of the trade, were taught to rage and rave at large against Sir William Harcourt's Bill. It is now certain that their raging and raving altered few votes. It is undeniable that it made a great noise. It was echoed in the Unionist press and on Unionist platforms. Some Liberal papers made as much of it as they could. A large number of Liberal wire-pullers made far more of it than was honest to their Temperance allies or loyal to their own leaders.

Another thing which had a great effect in strengthening the delusion produced by this clamour was the fact that the Liberal canvassers, in going amongst the electors, necessarily encountered a large number of the class controlled by the liquor interest, who in any case would have voted for the Unionists, but in talking to the canvassers put the Veto well to the front as a reason for voting against the Liberals.

The talk of these people was reported to the Liberal agents, and by them to the Liberal committees and candidates. Hence, it is easy to see, it must have been largely through the operation of these causes that the liquor party managed to get it believed among the less perspicacious of the Liberal wire-pullers and of the rank and file of the party, that most of the electors of the working class who denounced the Veto would, but for Sir William Harcourt's measure, have voted for the Liberal. In getting this belief so widely accepted the liquor men did, from their own point of view, an excellent bit of work. For, had the leaders of the Liberal party been as gullible as a section of their followers have shown themselves to be, it might easily have been a grave matter for the country. The Liberal party, as a party, might have succumbed to the liquor ring, abandoned the idea of effective Temperance legislation, and so have enabled that ring "to throttle the commonwealth itself."

There was yet another circumstance which tended to bewilder and mislead Liberal candidates. It was this: No fewer than 391 British Unionist candidates, who with few exceptions were hostile to the Veto, were returned to Parliament, while only 178 Liberals, who as a rule were pledged to support that proposal, were returned. A huge-looking fact like this seemed to need a correspondingly huge explanation. Hence the effect of the Veto had to be enormously exaggerated. Most of the Liberal candidates, "tapped" by the newspapers as to the effect of the Veto in defeating the Liberals, seemed to have lost sight of the very formidable fact that 127 seats were left uncontested by the Liberals, and only a very few by the Tories, and that it could not possibly be the adverse votes of Liberals, estranged by the Veto, that in these constituencies, sent the Unionists to Parliament. And they also seemed to forget the conclusive fact that the total number of voters transferred from the Liberal to the Unionist side was in round numbers 100,000. Manchester and Salford taken together returned nine representatives, only one of whom was a Liberal. The total number of votes cast for the Unionists in the nine constituencies was 38,192, the number for the Liberals 35,403. The Liberals supported the Veto, the Unionists opposed it. Many Anti-Vetoists still talk and write as if the electors of Manchester and Salford had voted against the Veto by a majority of 8 to 1, the actual fact being that they voted against the Vetoist candidates by a majority of $4\frac{2}{3}$ to a minority of $4\frac{1}{3}$. Would any amount

of asservation on the part of the defeated Liberal candidates that the Veto had ruined the Liberal party in Manchester and Salford, and that the working classes were so fixedly hostile to it that there was no hope of their accepting it, be regarded as credible in the face of such facts as those I have just given? It certainly would not; and the principle which applies to Manchester and Salford in this matter is also applicable to the whole of the country. The truth is, that the Liberal candidates who testified so strongly against the Veto made their statements to account for a state of matters that had never existed.

Now even if these facts stood alone they would suffice to show that in attributing the defeat of the Liberals to a great and widespread re-action amongst Liberal voters against the veto a huge blunder has been made. But they by no means stand alone. There are certain other facts, which, even if *they* stood alone, would make cautious men hesitate to accept the testimony on the point in question of Liberal candidates and Liberal agents without first subjecting it to very close examination. For example, it will be remembered how completely Mr. Courtenay Warner misrepresented the wishes of his supporters on the question of the Veto. At the time when it was expected that Sir William Harcourt's Bill would be voted on in the House of Commons, Mr. Courtenay Warner spent a good deal of his time in endeavouring to persuade Liberal members that there was a very hostile feeling among Liberal electors to that measure, and that a very large mass of his own supporters in particular were exceedingly unfavourable to it. How little Mr. Courtenay Warner was warranted in making such representations was demonstrated at a meeting of his supporters, called for the express purpose of stating their views on the subject. They expressed, by an overwhelming majority, their desire that he should vote for Sir William Harcourt's Bill. In a very large proportion of cases the Liberal candidates at the General Election knew much less about the constituencies which they contested than Mr. Courtenay Warner knew about his.

Then, while in some cases, and to some extent Liberal agents were misled, and reported their misconceptions as facts to their employers, in other cases numbers of them lied copiously and deliberately on the subject of the detrimental influence of the Veto on the fortunes of the Liberal party. Here is a case in point. At a bye-election, which took place shortly before the dissolution of Parliament, the Liberal agent, who throughout the contest did what he could to discredit Sir William Harcourt's measure, stated that in one town in the constituency in question 300 Liberal working men had bound themselves together to vote against the Liberal candidate on account of his support of the Veto. The Alliance agents were present in the constituency helping the Liberal candidate. When they heard this statement, which was being made much of, they determined to get to the bottom of it. They over and over again begged for the address of a few of this large body of men or some clue to their identity, but from time to time they were put off with the lament of excuses and subterfuges. Ultimately, however, they received the address of one man—a policeman—who, so far from being a Liberal workingman, was a strong Tory, who had never in his life given a vote for a Liberal. Is it wonderful if men frequently coming up against facts of this sort are not disposed to accept implicitly the tales of Liberal agents?

A day or two after that of the poll in the High Peak Division of Derbyshire I was in Glossop and met a number of working men, who had been canvassers for the Liberal party in that division during the election. At that time the revolt of the Anti-Veto Liberal working man was a favourite theme in certain quarters. I have received many letters about it. I inquired of these Glossop men whether they had found many Liberals who refused to vote for Mr. Symonds on the ground that he supported the Veto. They laughed at me, and one of them said "Oh, that's all rubbish. I didn't meet with one of that sort. A lot of old Tory lushingtons gibed about the Veto, but they knew nowt about it. They had just the common jerry shop gag about it. They said what they have been towld. No. *That's* all gammon." The other men corroborated them and spoke as if the idea were too absurd for serious discussion.

As still further showing the influence of the Veto on the fortunes of the Liberal party at the polls, Mr. Caine has proved that candidates who are well known to be prominently connected with the Veto movement did not fare worse but better at the General Election, on the average, than did those Liberal candidates around them who kept the Veto question in the background. Then there is the experience derived from the contests in British constituencies in which contests have taken place since the election, and in which contests also took place in 1895, are as under:—

	1895.		Bye-Elections.	
	L.	C.	L.	C.
South St. Pancras	1,223	2,433	1,376	2,631
Lambert, Brixton	2,199	4,199	2,131	4,493
Moutrou Burghs	3,594	2,462	4,566	2,574
Southampton	5,181	5,924	5,557	5,522
Staffordshire, Lichfield ...	3,902	3,858	4,483	3,955
Somerset, Frome	4,660	5,043	5,062	4,763
Wick Burghs	889	913	1,054	842
Bradford, East	5,139	5,843	4,528	4,921
Yorkshire, Cleveland ...	4,762	4,175	5,503	4,080
Salisbury	1,187	1,404	1,278	1,425
Forfar	5,159	4,718	5,423	4,965
Romford	6,430	8,257	8,031	8,156
Walthamstow	4,523	6,876	6,518	6,239
Glasgow, Bridgeton	3,161	2,712	4,506	4,381
Halifax	5,085	4,475	5,664	5,252
	57,044	64,299	65,682	64,199

In the cases in which, as compared with 1895, a Liberal gain has been made the Veto question was well to the front. Those were Southampton, Frome, and Walthamstow. There has been no loss at a bye-election of a seat won or retained by a Vetoist in 1895. Taking these bye-elections as a whole, not only has the total Unionist majority of 1895 of 6,855 been wiped out, but the Liberals have now a majority in the constituencies in question of 1,483. That is, the Liberals have improved their position, as compared with that of the Unionists, to the extent of 8,338 votes. The same rate of improvement throughout the whole of the British constituencies would put them in a large majority. And, more notable still, of the fifteen constituencies named above, nine are represented by members definitely pledged to support the Veto, and six pledged to oppose it. It is to be noted that ever since the General Election the imbecile Anti-Veto policy, so much in vogue for a time, has been more and more discounted, with traceable damage to Liberal candidates as a result. Brixton adopted this policy in its entirety, Halifax repudiated it in its entirety.

In the circumstances of the hour I have thought it necessary to demonstrate that the Direct Veto has not brought irreparable disaster or anything resembling it on the Liberal party. I have shown that the defeat sustained by the Liberals at the General Election was in no rational sense of an overwhelming character, and, further, that there is no evidence, capable of bearing close examination, to show that the defeat, such as it was, was brought about by the people's antagonism to the Veto. I do not mean that nobody changed his vote on account of Sir William Harcourt's proposals. We know that a small number of rich men, directly engaged in the liquor trade, who up to the time of the election had been Liberals, may very reasonably be suspected of having followed the example of most of their fellow-liquor tradesmen and gone over to the opponents of the Veto. It is also probable that a number of Liberals who had become shareholders in liquor concerns had received new light on their duty to the nation in relation to the much abounding temptations to intoxication, and acted accordingly. Further, a few of the least rational among Liberals of the working classes may have been imposed upon to the extent of believing that the Veto was a class measure, intended by the rich to injure the poor. All this, I say, may have taken place to some extent. But on the other hand, it is a matter very well known to me and to many others engaged in the Temperance reformation that a considerable number

of Conservative and Liberal-Unionists felt so strongly on the Temperance question that they registered their votes against their own party and in favour of Sir William Harcourt's measure. It is, of course, impossible to say to what extent this transference of Unionist support compensated the party responsible for Sir William Harcourt's Bill for the loss of Liberal support, but one thing is clear, the majority of voters who supported the party hostile to the Veto was not a large one. Another one is that it is rapidly diminishing, and that Liberal support of the Veto is accelerating rather than retarding the rate at which that diminution is going on.

Never again will the "Prohibitionists in politics" meet so powerful and strenuous an opposition as they encountered at the last General Election. On that occasion the Liquor Ring and their allies put forth their utmost electoral power, and that power is not increasing, but diminishing. A very considerable section of the Unionist party is sick at heart at being dragged at the chariot wheels of a Traffic which they really detest and fear. On future occasions when the Liquor Ring is on the war path, some of these will abstain from voting, and others will vote against the Ring. The Liberals have encountered the utmost violence of opposition which the Trade can put forth, and the more clear-sighted of them have seen that it is much less formidable than they had feared. What the more clear-sighted see now the others will see by and by. The concentration, through the joint stock company system, of the wealth of the Liquor party into a comparatively few hands, and the displacement of men carrying on their own business to make way for mere often-changed managers, will considerably impair the value of the public-house itself as a centre of political influence. Further, a great change is taking place in the numbers and in the political training and bias of Temperance reformers. It is amongst the young that the Temperance reformation has been most largely successful, and the rising generation of abstainers have been far more fully educated in the principles of Prohibition than were their predecessors. Every year is increasing the number of educated young men who are Teetotalers and convinced Prohibitionists who are entering the electorate. Even now in many districts the Liberal party is largely composed of young Teetotalers who are also Prohibitionists. Amongst the Unionists also, Temperance education which is going on in the country is telling with considerable effect upon the younger clergy, as well as the younger laymen engaged in missions and Sunday school work. What is most required, for political purposes, among Vetoists, is an increase—not necessarily a great increase—of men with definite views, definite and sound policy, and a strong determination to give it effect in their respective parties. It was the "wobblers" amongst the Liberal Temperance men at the last General Election who gave the Anti-Veto conspirators such influence as they possessed. At present the most dangerous men to the Temperance reformation are the invertebrate compromiser—the men who can be tossed about by every wind of doctrine, who are led hither and thither by every shifty, insincere, dexterous phrasemonger and hunter after deceptive expediences. Temperance reformers of this kind are always yearning after something that is not before the country; something that there is no party behind. They are not "warriors for a working day," but for a gala day. But they are too much admired of the Anti-Veto Liberal wire-puller. They are known and much praised as sensible and "moderate" men. The urgent need of the hour is that these men and their influence should be appraised at their true value, and that people with clear views and strong convictions should leave them out of the reckoning as helpers, and let all whom it may concern know that there are no exponents of the views of the effective section of the Temperance party.

SECTION VII.**DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTIONS.**

The Rev. JAMES CLARK (Salford) opened the discussion, remarking that he thought Mr. Mackay made a little mistake in speaking so disparagingly of the operations of the Temperance people and societies in these days. It might be useful enough when they were speaking in camera to make very prominent every fault and shortcoming they had, but when they were talking where their words would go forth to the public this construction might be put on them—that the Temperance cause, even according to its own advocates, was fading away, that the men of the past said the present was feeble in comparison with the past. That would be a wrong construction. (Hear, hear.) Why, the day before they declared unanimously that very satisfactory progress had been made, and was not that the general impression of all Temperance people? (Hear, hear.) Whilst they did not forget their shortcomings, and were not cross with those who reminded them of them, they did not admit that there was any abatement of heart, or hope, or labour, or wisdom in the conducting of their Temperance operations. (Hear, hear.) At the present moment they had a press far in advance of anything the movement had yielded before. He did not under-value what was done in the old days, but he did say they kept up their heads now, they were doing well, and that those who came after them would not feel any need to be ashamed of this generation. (Hear, hear.) He only desired to utter the caution that they must be very careful where, to put it bluntly, they cried “stinking fish.” (Applause.)

Mr. WM. CORKEY (Londonderry) wished to emphasise what Mr. Mackay had said about banding together the young men for Temperance work. It was an awful fact that one-half of their young men were still ruined for time and eternity by this evil, which some called the creature of God. Were the children marshalled together when they left the Bands of Hope they would strike a mighty blow for Prohibition. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. C. STREET (Birmingham) said an appeal had been made to put Scotland in the forefront. Very good; but if Scotland was to be put in the forefront, Scotland must go there herself. She had, no doubt, led the way in many directions in the past. Let her still lead on. They were not going to hinder her. On the contrary, they would do in the future as they had done in the past—in every effort Scotland made to go in advance they would help her, only they were not going to forget that the same question and the same battle were for themselves in their own localities; and while they helped Scotland, they would not forget England, Ireland, and Wales. It was impossible that they should recommend Englishmen, Welshmen, or Irishmen to suspend their operations in order to help Scotland. He believed that, by working the hardest in their own centres to forward Prohibition, they would be best helping Scotland to achieve her purpose. They were agreed, then, that Scotland should lead the van. They would help her, and in the meantime they would march on and do their own work as well. (Applause.) Other people seemed to be playing for party and for power, but the Temperance party seemed to him to be composed of men who were in earnest and who seemed to be determined to carry their point. (Applause.)

Mr. TOM HONEYMAN (Glasgow) said he did not think much of the Local Option resolution passed by the House of Commons, for the special reason that the motion was too vague. He believed that a great mistake in tactics was made when such a resolution was put forth under their name. (Hear, hear.) He also wished to say that they wanted to deal more firmly with the Liberal party than they had done. (Hear, hear.) They would be put off no longer. They were prepared to run their own candidates, and if that would not do they would form a party of their own. (Applause.) They would also have to deal more firmly with candidates.

It was not sufficient for candidates merely to promise to vote for the second reading, and then make alterations in Committee. (Applause.) They would also have to improve their Scotch Local Veto Bill. It was said that they must have a two-thirds majority before they could secure Prohibition. Why should they? Why should they have two Prohibitionists to equal one drinker? It was not just. (Applause.)

Mr. THOMAS WHITTAKER, J.P. (Scarborough), was introduced by the chairman as going to achieve the record of his life "by making a speech in three minutes." (Laughter.) Mr. Whittaker said the old advocates had not so much material to work upon as now; but he would give them a little piece of history. (Hear, hear.) They were not far from Castle Garth. A meeting of Temperance friends met once in a Temperance hotel, and they sent Thomas Wilcke, one of their members, in to examine his head—to see if he was equal to speaking from the waggon alone. (Laughter.) The report was favourable, and then they got into the waggon with him. At that meeting a man in the crowd called out, "Look here, canny man!" I looked there—(laughter)—he was drunk. "Look here, canny man!" I looked again. "A quart of ale is better than a quart of water for a working man." I said, "Say it again, brother; say it again." I was not quite ready for him. (Laughter.) He did so, and then Mr. Whittaker said, "You have not put it right. A quart of ale in that hand costs you sixpence; a quart of water in this costs you nothing. To start fair, you must have sixpence in the hand where the water is." (Hear, hear.) George Charlton, the butcher, was in the waggon. I said, "Now, take the sixpence and go to my friend George Charlton's and ask him to give you as nice a piece of steak for 4d. as he can. Then go to Mrs. Bell, next door, and get a pennyworth of nice potatoes. On your way home go into a baker's shop and get a pennyworth of bread. Now, you have spent your sixpence. I hope your wife can cook your potatoes and beefsteak, and serve it hot with a hot plate and a little pepper and salt, and while you are eating your beefsteak and hot potatoes, tell me, waggon men of Newcastle, whether a quart of ale is better for a hard-working man than a quart of water, and the multitude cried out, "Beef steaks for ever." (Loud laughter and cheers.)

Ald. J. M. KERNICK (St. Ives), another veteran, who has been associated with the movement some sixty out of his eighty years of life, next contributed some reminiscences of Temperance work in St. Ives. Through the crusade commenced by another young man in conjunction with himself in two years they got the thirty-four public-houses of the borough reduced to less than half that number. At the end of sixty years he would challenge any one to go through the streets of St. Ives and see a drunkard or hear an oath. (Hear, hear.) For forty years they had but one policeman, who was the only real gentleman of the place, for they could not tell what to do with him. (Laughter.) He (the speaker) had four times been Mayor of the ancient borough, the motto of which was an ivy leaf bearing the words "Nil Desperandum." They had never despaired in their work. (Applause.) Give them a prohibitory measure and he would bring up more than half the population of St. Ives to vote for the abolition of the public-houses.

Mr. THOMAS GRINDLE (Patricroft) urged the need of giving a practical training to their advocates, so that they might challenge discussion on the Scriptural, scientific, and legislative aspects of the question. The Good Templars had instituted such a course, he stated, with admitted benefit. A week of instruction, as well as of convention, he urged, would be of value.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the Scotch Good Templars had a special course of instruction also.

Mr. ROBERT MACKAY (Glasgow) explained that, in his paper, he paid a very high tribute to their present and past advocacy. What he wanted was that that should be extended. If they had men such as they had heard that week—men like Alderman White (Norwich) and Mr. Knight (Newcastle) to speak to men in their own Town Halls, the employés would be brought to see that it would be well not to invest so much money in the liquor trade. (Applause.)

Mr. J. H. MUSK (Manchester) spoke of the difficulties in Temperance work from an electioneering point of view. Some of those attending the Convention had a deal to do with election work from a prohibition point of view, and they were now told that it was the Veto measure which defeated the Liberal party. In his own district, he had a great deal to do with elections, and he said that defeat did not arise so much from the Temperance party as from the way in which the Temperance people were received by the officials of the Liberal party when they approached them. He was in a position in his own district to offer, and he did offer, to forty election agents posters placing Temperance questions before the constituencies and contradicting abominable mis-statements made on the other side. Even in the interests of the Veto, not ten of those agents accepted his offer, although the posters were offered gratuitously. They were taunted by the Liberal party with not having enlightened the electorate. How could they do that when they were refused the opportunity of doing so?

Mr. C. W. GARRARD (London) said there was a great need for educating the members of their Bands of Hope; and he thought after listening to the splendid papers that he had heard this week, and trying to get some practical proposals to take away with him, he had come to the conclusion that at the next meeting of their executive he would submit that it was time they took a forward step in dealing with this question. There was a good deal that they could do, and Mr. Mackay's paper dealt with it very largely. He could assure them from the bottom of his heart that Bands of Hope needed organisation on the subject.

Mr. C. DAIN (Sunderland) said the last speaker had touched on the subject on which he had intended to speak. He was afraid the children were being forgotten altogether. In the whole programme there was not a paper bearing on the children. They should educate their children in this direction, for they were the men and women who would hold the power of the ballot-box, and he suggested that at the next Conference the children should not be overlooked. (Hear, hear.) There were other two societies which might have been represented—the Rechabites and the Sons of Temperance. They should have had papers from these societies. He trusted that these suggestions would be considered for the next Conference.

Mr. W. J. WOOD (Glasgow) explained that Bailie Chisholm was unable to be present owing to his attending a Conference at Edinburgh.

Mr. JOHN SLACK, B.A. (Birmingham), emphasised the importance of educating the children. It was said that, in America, practical temperance education was part of the regular curriculum in the schools of nearly all the States, and in fact there were only four or five States in which it was not accomplished. This had been done almost entirely by a lady with a backbone. (Applause.) They had no fear of the teaching of the scientific aspect of temperance, for science was on their side. He was afraid that the Band of Hope lecturers could not do the work, for one lesson a year was not sufficient, and the teachers would have to do the work. (Applause.)

ELEVENTH RESOLUTION.

Mr. JAMES WINNING (Paisley) moved the following resolution:—

“That, as in the opinion of this Convention the battle of Local Prohibition must be fought and won in the registration courts and the polling booths, it declares that it is the duty of prohibitionists everywhere to combine their energetic efforts and their voting strength, so as to secure a decisive victory, and, therefore, calls upon them to see that their names are on the electoral register, to assign the first place on their political programme to the Direct Veto, and to vote only for those Parliamentary candidates positively pledged to support the passage of a law to confer such power upon the inhabitants of every area as will enable them to exercise an unrestrained Veto on the issue of all licenses for the sale of alcoholic liquors.”

Mr. WINNING said their Convention would have been of very little use if they had not come to some practical issue, and as a Temperance man, who had been attending meetings for years, there was a great deal of lightning flashing about ; and when the time came, they found a great number of their people, who had been talking largely were absent from the polling booth. Now, this resolution pledged them, when they went home, to do something in their separate spheres, to act as centres in order to combine and use every means to accomplish this end, and it taught them they must not allow Parliamentary representatives to give evasive answers. They were very good at giving evasive answers ; but they wanted, when a candidate appeared, to know where he was, to know this not only when he was before a deputation, but to have him declare it in public where he was so that there might be no evasion. It asked them to vote square on the question of licenses. They, in Scotland, felt very much that in Sir Wm. Harcourt's Bill there were several licenses which were omitted from the scope of the Bill. They wanted that altered in future Bills, that the issue of all licenses should be in the control of electors. This was a fighting resolution. He liked to fight, and he wanted the folks all over the country to fight for the resolution before them. (Applause.)

Mr. THOMAS WYLES, F.G.S. (Coventry), seconded the resolution, stating that twenty years ago he advised the same thing. On a minor question such a resolution would not be justifiable, but it was justifiable now, for the question was all-important for the political, social, and moral welfare of the country. The question was of such importance that it was obviously a necessity that they should not give their votes to those who would not give them a vote in return. (Hear, hear.) Let them organise, for it was not a matter of numbers ; but a balance of the majority would do what was wanted to affect an election. Proceeding, he said they might calculate on less Temperance votes going wrong at the next election, for they would not be influenced by other questions as they were in 1895. He commented on the necessity of checking magistrates against multiplying drink shops in slum neighbourhoods, and expressed his pleasure at the advance of the cause amongst the young men who would be the future occupants of their pulpits.

TWELFTH RESOLUTION.

Mr. DAVID RICHARDSON (Newcastle) moved the following resolution :—

“That this National Prohibition Convention, recognising the signal services which the Right Hon. Sir William Harcourt has rendered to the cause of the Direct Veto, tenders its heartiest thanks to him for his uncompromising devotion to that cause, and pledges itself to do its utmost to support him in carrying the Direct Veto to victory.” (Applause.)

Mr. WILLIAM BINGHAM (London) seconded, and the resolution was heartily agreed to.

The Convention then adjourned

SECTION VIII.

WOMEN'S HELP FOR PROHIBITION

The Convention resumed in the Town Hall, at Half-past Two o'clock, on Friday, April 9th, 1897. Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke, Southampton, in the chair.

OPENING ADDRESS.

MRS. ELIOT YORKE.

HON. MRS. ELIOT YORKE (Southampton) said that this was a Convention that would live long in the memories of all who had at heart the question of Temperance reform. It had been educational in the highest degree. It seemed to her that women's work in the future should be also educational; that their efforts should lie in the direction of dispelling the ignorance and misconception that lay around the great subject of Prohibition. (Applause.) During this week they had heard facts and arguments which had fallen on sympathetic ears and hearts, and she thought it would now be the duty of women to disseminate those facts so that they would reach less sympathetic ears and hearts. (Applause.) They had come there that afternoon to listen to words and papers by women who have been specially working in this department of Temperance reform, both in this country and some of the Colonies, with great success. Before calling on the first speaker she would merely once again tell them that women were in the front, and she hoped they would remain so in all great work of Temperance reform. (Applause.) There were a great many organisations in connection with women's work, but whatever their differences might be, they were at one in their wish to further this great question. (Applause.)

FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (hon. secretary) read the following telegrams which had been received:—

Basle, April 9th, 1897.

To National Prohibition Convention.

Hundred Swiss students, all decided abstainers, look up to England and to England's valiant champions for liberation from the liquor traffic. England, freedom, science, and prohibition for ever.—BLOCHER and GRAETER, Secretaries.

Inverness, April 9th, 1897.

To National Prohibition Convention.

St. Andrews Reformed Templars, Inverness, in Session, send hearty greetings and wishes for successful meetings.—WORTHY MASTER.

Lady HENRY SOMERSET wired to Mrs. J. D. McKinnon as follows:—Please convey to great meeting my heartfelt greetings and deep regret at absence. The right to prohibit must be given to the people and the education of women as citizens and patriots will ensure ultimate success. So long as half the population have silence imposed upon them on great national questions the voice raised to demand righteous Government can be but feeble. "Educate, organise, agitate" must be the watchword for women in these anxious days.—ISABEL SOMERSET.

Each communication was received with loud applause.

Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING rose at this point and sang, with great effect, "Don't cry, little girl, don't cry."

“WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE FOR PROHIBITION?”

BY LADY ELIZABETH BIDDULPH, LONDON, PRESIDENT WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION.



LADY BIDDULPH.

I AM asked to tell you what “Women have done for Prohibition?” I should like to answer, “Much every way,” but I am nailed by this Convention to one branch only, of the many ways by which women may raise the standard of life and repression of vice by prohibiting the use of alcoholic drinks and “stimulants.” Unfortunately it has been abundantly proved that such beverages as beer and cider and light claret have failed to prevent intemperance, because quantity has taken the place of quality, and those Acts which were passed, in order, as was believed, to replace stimulants by milder drinks, have failed in their purpose, and have only led to the substitution of one for the other, and in many instances the admixture of both; and this drink bill of England, which now stands at nearly 149 millions of pounds, shows an increase in 1896 over 1895 of six millions and a half. The increase in British spirits was over one million; in beer, over four millions; in wine, over one million of pounds—thus showing that beer may fairly be termed the most popular drink of this great country.

Why the people of the United Kingdom should in 1896 have spent 6½ millions more than in 1895 upon alcoholic liquors is a question not easily answered, but it indicates a greater prosperity amongst the working classes, and with grief and shame one is obliged to confess that this ingratitude to a bountiful Providence can only bring with it a sad retribution.

I have no doubt myself that drunkards, in proportion, have sown the seeds of all those woes, so plainly described by the Prophet Isaiah in his 5th chapter, and that the crimes against homes and wives and children, and the generation that is “yet to come,” are written down in the ineffaceable laws of the Lord of Hosts, which they in their wantonness have “cast away” and “despised.” And what has the temperance reformer done? Who cries day and night, and with unflinching zeal, against this mighty curse?

They have done “what they could,” and are in no way responsible for this “greater drinking.”

Lord Brougham pointed out long ago that the influence of education in intemperance is slow and indirect, while the causes which make for intemperance are direct and powerful. Such a dominion and despotism cannot be overthrown by platitudes about education, or the hopes of a future generation!

“Pluck it out and cast it from you” is the drastic remedy commanded by the Saviour of Mankind.

The conditions of its perpetuation must be nullified. The false ideas of the value of strong drink must be rooted out by stronger exertions, and the fuller organisations of both women and children. Mistaken legislation—legislation which facilitates indulgence and multiplies temptation—must be attacked, and for this purpose more united council and subsequent action must be attained.

The law must afford protection in the hands of willing communities, and thus set a bright and purifying example to others who are still in darkness, and “The Throne” of the liquor trades, which the State has set up in the midst of the people, must be knocked down by the will of the people itself. This seems to be the case for the plaintiff, and is there any defence? I am not a licensed victualler, nor do I subscribe to their association, so I cannot tell; and instead of a “defence,” I would rather say, “Women have done much in this cause, but they can do still more.”

The best and shortest remedy is to make every home a centre of more or less prohibition, according to its possible surroundings, and for every woman in her own person to set that example through "Total Abstinence" which is certain to carry weight with it. To her this form of self-denial is comparatively easy, and will conduce to that quietness of demeanour, that bright intelligence and even temper, which is so necessary to her own existence and her influence with men. It will, moreover, secure to her a measure of "self control," without which her highly strung nervous system is hardly safe. The desires and emotions carefully guarded, and the apathy and somnolence which alcoholic stimulant gives, will disappear, and life to her, with its anxieties and daily duties, will smile instead of being a cankering care. The public-house and "gin palace" should be to her a "pagan temple," for which she should show her loathing openly. There is need for an open confession of her faith. The Crown of Life is not reached till that life has revealed its energy. Numberless temptations are removed by the mere fact that "our part is taken." The obligation of our cause is upon us. We are tempted in the signs of our fresh convictions to isolate ourselves, to confine our sympathies to those who see the truth as it appears to us, to measure the message by our own power of apprehending it. In order to meet these temptations, the reserve and the narrowness, we need the courage of confession and the inspiration of sympathy. Young women have all these powers to perfection, by a simple pledge to their great duty of opposing a great vice, they can, therefore, most effectually aid us in this work of prohibition. So far for the individual, but associations have done and can do far more. The sympathy I alluded to is here called out and supported to a far greater extent, and what is almost impossible for an individual, is comparatively easy where units are associated to form one grand whole. Out of compliment to the Union, which I have the honour here to represent, let me give you a sketch of its work during the last three years:—

LEGISLATIVE AND LEGAL ACTION.

"At the request of 'The Women's Total Abstinence Union,' a Bill was drafted to abolish the retail sale of spirits, wine, and beer by grocers and other shopkeepers. This was introduced to Parliament by Mr. David G. Thomas, M.P. for Merthyr Tydvil, and read a first time on Thursday, April 5th, 1894. Petition forms and instructions were posted to all federated societies, and within three days seven petitions were presented to the House of Commons in favour of the Bill. Many similar petitions quickly followed. In May, 1894, Miss M. E. Docwra read her paper on 'How to Secure the Abolition of Grocers' Licenses,' followed by an animated discussion, representatives of the Off-License Holders' Associations being present. On June 11th, 1894, the second reading of this Bill was blocked by Mr. Fry, M.P. for West Kensington. A declaration followed which was issued by our Union, recording the strong conviction of superintendents and officers engaged in 'Inebriate Homes,' that the sale of wine and spirits, &c., by grocers, &c., is a prolific source of intemperance amongst women. W.T.A.U. is federated to the National Temperance Federation: it has been represented at every meeting of that society which has since been held. Petitions and resolutions were sent to Parliament in favour of Sir Wm. Harcourt's 'Local Veto Bill' and 'Liquor Traffic Local Control Bill' (only another name, I presume). We were further represented at the Grand United Kingdom Temperance Convention in Covent Garden Theatre, Dec. 5th, 1893; and also on the deputation to the Prime Minister next day; also at the meetings of the United Temperance Conference in Parliament, Feb. 1893, April, 1894, and Nov., 1895, and in Feb., 1896; at the Local Veto Demonstration arranged by the London Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance at the Albert Hall in May, 1896; and on this occasion Mrs. H. J. Wilson, our president, spoke very effectively. At the time of the General Election in 1895 a letter was addressed, and all our Federated Societies suggested questions for Parliamentary candidates. The Sunday Closing Bill for England has been constantly before us, and we have sent representatives to the annual meeting of the Sunday Closing Association. In May, 1896, two special prayer meetings were held by W.T.A.U. at Exeter Hall for the success of the Sunday Closing Bill. In February, 1897, a whip to every M.P. in the kingdom was sent by our association. On the appointment

of the Royal Commission we united ourselves with the Central Temperance Evidence Board. A circular was sent in January, 1897, to the clerks of County and Town Councils, begging that the Councils would make arrangements for coroners to have the use of suitable rooms wherein to hold inquests in apart from licensed houses. Action has been often taken at Brewster Sessions by many of our Federated Societies, notably in Clapham, where in 1895, 21 applications for new licenses were refused ! In 1896, all the new licenses, 18 in number, were refused ! and at this year's Sessions 9 were refused. Clapham has also this year opposed successfully 4 new applications for licenses. This and much more will give some idea of our work for prohibition."

The details I have given you of the public work done by the "Women's Total Abstinence Union" are probably only a sample of that which is being done by kindred societies in this country and in others—especially America—but it would take a volume to describe them all. Besides I prefer speaking of that only with which I am personally acquainted. Personal endeavours to bring home personal responsibility, to fire him or her into the importance of "moral duty," and to put others "in the way" of self respect, and self control, are the prohibitive aims of one and every Temperance Union !

WOMEN'S ELECTORAL WORK FOR PROHIBITION.

BY MRS. A. HENDERSON, GLASGOW, SECRETARY LADIES' AUXILIARY SCOTTISH PERMISSIVE BILL AND TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.



MRS. A. HENDERSON.

At this time of day any apology for the part being played by the women of our land in the great Prohibitory movement is wholly unnecessary. The time has come rather for the indifferent among our sex to defend their position in view of the ravages strong drink is making among our women and children everywhere. All through the history of the Temperance movement there have been women with prophetic vision who have lived before their time, and who have fought side by side with men, never losing sight of the goal of the true Temperance reformer, viz., the total Prohibition of the liquor traffic. Those who are now bearing the burden and heat of the day are under a deep debt of gratitude to the pioneers of the Women's movement for paving the way and making their work not only possible but comparatively easy and pleasant.

The latter part of this century has, however, seen the Women's movement take a definite and organised form, and now in almost every city, town, and hamlet women have rallied under the Temperance banner for the complete overthrow of the liquor traffic, the enemy of hearth and home.

The great principles underlying this grand movement which have stood the test and tear and wear of the greater part of a century are unchangeable as is their Divine author, but the methods of seeking the embodiment of these principles in the lives and actions of men and women must naturally change as time advances and as new heights are reached in the ever upward and onward progress of this great reform. Pledge signing, convening of women's meetings for education, especially on the personal aspect of the question, the nine days' wonder of women taking to the platform when public sentiment relegated them entirely to the precincts of the home, are now common-places and create no opposition, although they must continue to form an important part of the machinery for carrying on the movement.

Speaking generally, I have no doubt that the hearts of the women are sound on this question, which makes their espousal of the Temperance Reform a terror to the "trade," but I am compelled to believe at the same time that their intelligence on the subject is as yet comparatively meagre. "Truth fears nothing but concealment," and to know the truth will set our people free in regard to the drink system, which has lived and flourished for centuries on the vice, ignorance, and greed of our people. The Venerable Dr. Lees has called the Temperance question the study of the century, and to train intelligent, constant, and undeviating Temperance reformers it will not be enough to bring them to correct conclusions, but the premises must be sound.

A season's work ought not to be of a scattered, desultory nature, but definite, and comprising all the aspects of the question—Alcohol in relation to the body, home, children, heredity, crime, pauperism, insanity, labour, commerce, Church, State, and many others that might be named. These great truths, faithfully and earnestly propounded, will lay a solid foundation of truth, the logical outcome of which will be personal abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the State.

In these later days a new privilege has come to every woman ratepayer, that of recording her opinions at the ballot-box through the Municipal, School Board, and Parish Council franchise. With this new privilege has come additional responsibility, and how to educate and utilise this new force so as to make it largely contribute to Temperance Reform is worthy the earnest consideration of all interested in the movement.

The time, I believe, has come when women should take a wider outlook, and should seek to focus the sentiment that has been created, and bring it to tell in a definite way on the public life of city and country.

Electoral organisation will be the best means whereby this can be attained. In this as in other matters, a grain of practice will be worth a pound of theory. The Glasgow Municipal Election in November, 1896, furnishes an illustration of what can be accomplished by organised effort. By the extension of the city boundaries a re-distribution of the wards became necessary. This in turn caused the withdrawal of the whole 75 Town Councillors. The publicans quite realised the importance of the occasion, and were not slow to organise and subscribe their thousands for the return to the Council of men favourable to the liquor interest. The women were also alive to the opportunity that presented itself to them to maintain and, if possible, improve the constitution of the Council as far as the Temperance question was concerned. Nine months previous to the election a conference of women was held in connection with the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association, when it was resolved to organise the women ratepayers of Glasgow, 20,000 strong, in the belief that they held the balance of power, and that if they could be induced to go to the poll victory was assured. To secure this desirable end, meetings were held all over the city, women's privilege and responsibility in this connection were earnestly presented, and the invitation was given to form ladies' committees to canvass, distribute literature, and to take personal supervision of the women ratepayers in each ward. As the election drew near sitting councillors were interviewed, and their attitude to the Prohibitory movement was ascertained, and where unsatisfactory, new candidates were secured. The lady canvassers enthusiastically set to work. They earnestly appealed to their ratepaying sisters to consecrate the precious privilege which had been won for them at great cost, to secure the return to the city parliament of men who were up to date on the paramount question of the day, and who would exert their influence to restrict the liquor traffic, in order that the power to deal with the same by means of the direct veto might be placed in the hands of the people. An able appeal to the women of Glasgow, from the pen of Miss Florence Baggart, was distributed in thousands, and rendered invaluable service. On the polling day the lady canvassers were at their posts, and did their best to bring their sisters out to record their votes for Temperance men. At the close of the poll, notwithstanding the herculean efforts of the publicans and their friends, it was found that of the seventy-five councillors returned, 35 were personal abstainers, 15 favourable to Temperance reform, 10 neutral, and only 15 opposed. At the first meeting of the Council, when the election of magistrates took place, eleven out of fifteen raised to the magisterial bench were personal abstainers, two favourable to Temperance reform, and only two opposed.

Many influences conduced to bring about these splendid results, but it was granted by all that they could not have been achieved without the valuable contribution given by the women's work. In some wards so complete was the organisation that every woman elector was accounted for.

Doubt may be entertained as to the direct value of such efforts for Temperance Reform, but the Scripture proverb is not yet obsolete that "When righteous men are in authority the people will rejoice." In ancient Rome the candidates who went out to seek the suffrages of the people wore white robes to indicate the purity of their character, and in Christian Britain, with such a drink problem to solve, men having personal interest in or sympathy with the iniquitous drink system should be held morally unfit to hold any public position of trust. In Scotland, however, in our Royal and Parliamentary Burghs our magistrates are our licensing authorities, and, thanks to the successful labours of Sir Charles Cameron, Bart., M.P., have the power to veto all new licenses without their action being subject to review by the Justices of the Peace where justice and peace are so conspicuous by their absence, and where so often the decisions of the magistrates are wholly overturned. As the direct result of the potent influence of Temperance men in the Glasgow Town Council, for eight years no additional license has been granted, and over thirty licenses in the Corporation property have been cleared out.

In the recent School Board Election the same Electoral Committees were available, and the women again gave a good account of themselves, canvassing and distributing literature and securing the return of those members who had fought the battles of the little ones in regard to Temperance teaching in schools. In the Bridgeton Parliamentary Election the Temperance women were amongst the hardest workers in the field in support of the Veto candidate, although through the present position of the law the "better half" of the community is denied the right of representation. In these various ways the Temperance machinery is kept clean, and the question is brought before the public in a way that compels the attention of men who would disregard prayers and tears but who are not quite impervious to the logic of the ballot box.

Electoral organisation supplies, besides, many missing links in our ordinary work for Prohibition. Unity is the strength of any movement, and never was this better illustrated than in the November Elections when the women of all sections of the Temperance Party presented an unbroken front, and their efforts for the common cause bound them as nothing else could have done in a close and tender sisterhood.

It further furnishes an opportunity for aggressive work, and would tend to remove the charge that is often brought against our Women's Unions that they are largely Psalm-singing and Mutual Admiration Societies. The Temperance Cause has too many idle members, and, as a modern divine puts it, "An evil thing is idleness, it must always sit with coldness, and the two together must keep one another in evil countenance."

There are also many in every community to whom the Temperance meeting has no attraction, charm you never so well, but if John Ploughman will not come to you, you must go to John Ploughman, and the personal visit to the homes gives a special opportunity of presenting the great Temperance truths and of enforcing the duty and privilege of the electors in relation thereto by no other means available.

To many women workers the fruits of the traffic to be witnessed in the homes in all their blight have fired their hearts and have proved the best argument for redoubled effort for Temperance Reform. To others has come the joy of a new power realized and the blessing that is most surely the reward of all disinterested service for others. I would earnestly impress upon all present the need for such electoral work over the country as a great means of education for our women in view of the not far distant time when they will have the Parliamentary Franchise extended to them. It will also prove the best preparation for the wise use of power to be committed to them when the Local Veto Bill will be placed on the Statute Book, and when the death blow will be given to the great drink curse, for no immoral institution, however hoary, however powerful, or however rich will be able to stand before an enlightened and emancipated womanhood.

Canvassing may be regarded by some as most undesirable. At present it is a great educative weapon, and when, as in the case of Temperance Reform, it is raised above the din and turmoil of party strife it becomes a real and sacred mission.

I trust that as the result of this memorable Prohibition Convention a baptism of self-sacrifice will be given to our women, so that they will not fear a hard day's work for their Master and for His loved but lost ones. There are many "talents yet laid up in the napkin"; there are many still "keeping back part"; there are many "dumb spirits" to be cast out and a new consecration of the gifts of persuasive speech to be made.

We need an enthusiasm that makes us not only willing to labour, to suffer, and to die if need be for the great Temperance Reform, but, what seems to many far harder, we need to be willing to pay for it. It has been said with too much truth that Christian giving has become a branch of dentistry.

When there is a truer consecration of person, purse and vote for the Prohibitory movement, the dawn of a better day will have come, the walls of this modern Jericho, the drink system, will fall, and God Himself will give the complete victory.

WOMEN'S HELP FOR PROHIBITION.

BY MRS. BLAIKIE, EDINBURGH, PRESIDENT SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN UNION.



MRS. BLAIKIE.

"PROHIBITION," it must be owned, is **not an attractive** word. We do not like to be told "Thou shalt not." Human nature likes to have liberty to do as it pleases, and so to many, we Prohibitionists appear a tyrannical, unreasoning, unreasonable set of people. And when we women lift up our voices in its favour, the very climax of absurdity appears to be reached; surely it must be a lost cause that is advocated by these impulsive, screeching, hysterical creatures.

And yet we are thoroughly disposed to argue the matter on the principles of common sense. We most entirely believe that reason is on our side. Nay, we are confident that we can turn the tables on our opponents, and show that it is the present policy of drink manufacture, and drink distribution, that outrages reason, and defies common sense.

It is admitted on all sides that drink in one way or other is the great curse of the country. It is the great agent for the devil's work. Year by year, it raises a most plentiful harvest of pauperism, disease, crime, and insanity. Nowhere are its ravages seen so terribly as in the home. Quarrels between husband and wife, ever miserable as they proceed, and ending in separation, divorce, or even in murder, are its frequent results. Neglect, starvation, blows, oaths, and curses are the heritage of children, born to be loved and cherished. Sons, that ought to be the joy and pride of their parents, become their torment and their shame. Daughters, that should be as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace, sink into filthy profligates. The curse is all over the country. And yet every facility is given for obtaining drink! Physicians, judges, ministers of the gospel, every human being that is working for the good of others can find no language strong enough to describe its ravages. Yet Bacchus reigns on every side. Is this the fruit of reason? Is this the policy of common sense?

Every one says something must be done; and many things have been tried. But for all that has been tried, and for all that may be tried in the shape of milder measures, nothing effectual has been or will be accomplished. When a physician has tried all manner of remedies for a patient suffering from a malignant disease, there are but two alternatives, either the patient must be left to die, or an operation must be performed which will root out every trace of the disease, and leave not a germ behind. Well, we have been trying all manner of mild remedies against the deadly alcoholic disease, and we have failed; either the patient must be left to die or we must perform that drastic operation, Prohibition. Oh, if we could but get the chance! Great Britain minus alcohol—what a blessed change it would be! What endless fountains of misery would be dried up!

And why should the people not have that power to prohibit which the land-owners of the country possess, and in many cases exercise with the best results? In Scotland, out of less than 1,000 parishes, 200, or about one-fifth of the whole, are absolutely destitute of any place either for the sale or the manufacture of drink. Prohibition to make or to sell reigns absolute. And what is the result? The people are contented, prosperous, and happy. The parish of Dumbblade, in Aberdeenshire, where my husband was once minister, is one of these prohibition parishes. On the occasion of a late visit which he paid to it, he found that in a population of about one thousand, the whole sum spent in relief of the poor was but one hundred pounds; the paupers consisting of two very old women, a lunatic, and a few orphan children.

Let the people have but the power to introduce Prohibition in the places most ripe for it; let such prohibition places be seen here and there; thus let the results of freedom from strong drink be brought under the public eye, and the sense of its benefits spread on every side—Prohibition would undoubtedly cease to be denounced, it would be approved and honoured as a blessed change.

As my paper bears specially on the influence of **women** in promoting Prohibition, I would desire to emphasise the **fact** that woman has the home for her special domain, and that in **that sphere** she has very much in her power. In the first place, she must **endeavour** to establish prohibition there. That may call for much **tact**, and it may involve others in self denial for which they are not prepared. But I think it highly inconsistent for any woman who believes that there is danger in drink to place it before her guests, among whom she cannot be sure that it will not inflict deadly evil. It greatly injures our cause when our temperance friends are inconsistent in this matter. Let the spirit of love and conciliation rule all our endeavours to succeed in this sphere, and let **prayer** for divine direction and blessing accompany every step; and when once the practice is established let it be consistently and unflinchingly carried out.

But not in her own home only should women strive for Prohibition. It is generally allowed that she excels the other sex in the power of persuasion. Among her friends and acquaintances, as well as among others to whom she has access, she has abundant opportunities for the exercise of this gift, and for mingling the gentle influence of Christian love with her arguments, first to induce others to become total abstainers, and then to enlist them in the ranks of prohibitionists. In this as in all other work, she will succeed best when she does it as a service to her Lord and Saviour. Let her feel that He who redeemed her is calling her to this work, and her nerves will be better strung, her heart better strengthened, and her lips better guided. And in dealing with others let her not act nor feel as if all the battle consisted in making them abstainers. That is comparatively little; the end is to get men and women into living union with the Lord Jesus Christ. It is to get them pervaded by the spirit of life, so that not one habit only, but their whole lives may be inspired by His Spirit, regulated by His will, conformed to His example, and directed to His glory.

WOMEN AND THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

BY MRS. HARRISON LEE, MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA.

Brewer : " We shall lose a million dollars by such a law."

Mother : " We shall save a million boys by such a law."



MRS. HARRISON LEE.

As this is not a Temperance mission, but really a conference to find out how to get Prohibition, how to enforce it when got, and whether it is worth having when obtained, I must endeavour to steer clear of the well-worn arguments used on every Temperance platform. And yet this is difficult, for as all roads lead to London, so all Temperance effort leads logically to Prohibition; and arguments for one naturally lead themselves to the other.

I find a great many people are afraid of the word Prohibition, and others declare that "Prohibition is a failure." To us women the word Prohibition rings sweetly out in the two words, "Home protection." As for Prohibition being a failure—"No, it is not Prohibition that is a failure: that is an undeniable success: but it is the breaking of the law that causes the trouble." It seems to me one of the coolest of cool things that men go to States where Prohibitive laws are on the statute books, deliberately break those laws, and then go all over the world declaring that Prohibitive laws do not prohibit. In other words, they brand themselves as worthy of the contempt of all honest, right-minded, law-abiding citizens. There are others who are just and good, and grieve when they find the laws are infringed, and with deep and sore regret say, "Prohibition does not prohibit." But I come to your own grand country, and find immense gaols in every part. I ask, "What are these places for?"

I am told, "For criminals."

I ask, "Do you not prohibit crime?"

"We do," is the reply, "but the law is broken every day."

Am I, then, to go away and fight against the laws that prohibit crime, pointing to Great Britain as my reason for so doing, and sadly but emphatically asserting that Prohibition does not prohibit? Indeed the obvious duty would be to first get Prohibition, and then enforce it as far as practicable, all the time teaching the people to be a law unto themselves against the wrong and for the right.

Now for woman's help for Prohibition in the home, the Church, and State. Every woman can have Prohibition in her own home. In many cases it may have to be tactfully managed, but a wise woman can do anything. In Proverbs xxxi., v. x., is a beautiful portrait of a model woman, and there we learn that "her merchandise is good." No strong drink sent home in her parcels from the grocery. "Her children rise up and call her blessed." Her boys say, "There are temptations for us wherever we turn outside, but there is one safe place for us in the world, 'our mother's home.'" "She looketh well to the ways of her household," and her daughters say, "Our mother's hearthstone was the first step to Heaven for us, for all temptations to evil were put away by her firm, strong hand." Her husband praiseth her, for she has been his true helpmeet, helping him to live his grandest, truest life, and to rise to the highest height of his manhood. Woman's help can be mighty for Prohibition of the liquor traffic in the home, and by her intelligent grasp of the Temperance question she can so educate her children as to make them ardent Prohibitionists for the future. In this work there must not only be "sweet reasonableness" on the part of earnest women, but gentle persuasiveness; wise silence often, and unyielding but ever winsome persistency. Knowledge must be acquired from the Bible, from history, from personal experience, and from every other source, for the words of the prophet are as true to-day as they were two thousand years ago—"For lack of knowledge my people are destroyed." And the Apostle's command still holds good—"To virtue add knowledge."

Woman's help in the Church, in all social and philanthropic movements, is now so valued that we can only believe that her help for Prohibition would be vast. In one matter alone we have seen the marvellous influence of women in the Church in Australia. Alcoholic wine ten years ago was in almost every church in Victoria. Now, in the celebration of the Passover, pure grape juice is used most generally, and so the thousands of pounds once going from the Church to the liquor traffic are directed into other avenues. In Great Britain I learn that from £25,000 to £70,000 is spent every year in alcoholic wine for churches, which, of course, means building up the traffic to that extent. So women can help immensely in getting Prohibition by having unfermented wine substituted for the intoxicating cup. In the Sabbath schools in the Bands of Hope connected with churches, by supplying good, sound literature to Church members, and by a thousand other tactful ways, women can help the often over-weighted good men to purify and exalt the Churches.

In the very beginning God brought the woman to the man as a helpmeet. This is what the women of to-day should be. Men alone will never get Prohibition; neither will women alone; but together they will manage it by God's grace.

Some women may ask—Is it not enough for us to work in the home without going out into the world? No doubt it would seem so; but when we remember that women's children have to go out into the world, we believe that we have to not only fit the children for the world, but the world for the children, and until drink is prohibited the world is a dangerous place for the bairnies. (Hear, hear.) And home is often wrecked by the temptation of the outside world. Then, again, we women, to quote Miss Willard's words, must alter the old motto of "Every man for himself and devil take the hindmost" to the grander, nobler motto, "Every man for his brother, that there be no hindmost for the devil to take." (Hear, hear.) How this is to be done, if women have not equal privileges and powers with men, I cannot see. A vote at the ballot box is an expression of opinion where it will carry most weight, and whether women have the vote for members of Parliament or not, surely no one will deny that they have a right to vote on the liquor question and other great social matters closely affecting woman's home life. This does not mean that woman will take the man's place, for that the true, real woman will never desire to do—(hear, hear)—but she will take her own place as man's helpmeet—(hear, hear)—and help him to remove the hindrances that are now in the paths of the people.

"Would you wish to vote like a man?" crossly demanded a big lord of creation of a sweet little lady who dared to say she would like to vote.

"No, like a woman," modestly replied the little lady.

We should like to vote like women on the liquor question, and help the good men in the State to secure Prohibition when the poll of the people is taken. Woman's help for Prohibition is worth securing, and every woman here who is a Prohibitionist should try to influence her lady friends to take an intelligent and hearty interest in this burning question by wise reasoning, by lending or giving good literature, by inducing them to attend Temperance meetings, and by every other means possible; and here let me again disclaim any desire to do woman's work by man's methods. Men are so big, and strong, and fiery, and aggressive, that they can shoulder guns and draw swords, and march beneath the banner. "We come to destroy evil." But women are to come with lint and bandage and healing ointments to that great open sore of the world, and tenderly, lovingly "Seek to save."

In home and Church and State
 Woman shall yet arise
 To help remove this stumbling block
 That in the pathway lies.

A helpmeet sweet and true
 For noble men and brave,
 Whose watchword, "Prohibition," means
 We come to bless and save.

SECTION VIII.

DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION.

MISS H. Q. BROWN.

MISS HALLIE Q. BROWN, M.Sc. (Ohio, U.S.A.), opened the discussion. She had attended this Convention with a great deal of pleasure. She had been at many in America, but none so successful. After referring to the labours of the late Frederick Douglas to secure the freedom of the American slaves, she said that the last words uttered by that champion of freedom were, "For a long time I doubted the benefit of Prohibition, but now I am fully convinced that the liquor traffic must be abolished before the people can attain full liberty. I am heartily in favour of Prohibition." (Applause.) He had seen the cruel slave trade abolished in America, and afterwards he saw this cruel drink serpent entwining itself round the people. When the slaves were in bondage the masters would not let them have drink because it prevented them from doing so much work. But, as soon as the slaves were freed, gin shops sprang up all

over with the object of getting the small pittance that the black men earned from him. These people were to be pitied, because they were struggling against ignorance. She was glad to be able to stand before them as one of the women who started the great whisky war in Ohio. She was one of those who went into the little town of Ohio and helped to break up the casks and barrels in the saloons. (Applause.) They were pelted with rotten eggs, cabbages, etc., but, thank God, they had lived to see the day when roses were thrown at them. (Applause.)

Mrs. J. D. MCKINNON (Dumfries) said she spoke to them as a member of the National Executive of the British Women's Association. They had a telegram from Lady Somerset, their beloved president, and they all regretted very much that she was unable to be present with them. They all recognised that they were banded together as different corps of one army, all engaged in the same work, the moral influence of which would only be fully known in the light of eternity. They had well organised forces, and they were beginning to realise that they could be of no mean importance in the great work of Temperance reform. (Applause.) "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world;" every soul that was born was a casket of possibilities, and it lay with the organisations so to influence the rising generation that they would go into the work realising the terrible power that they had to face. (Loud applause.)

THIRTEENTH RESOLUTION.

Mrs. R. SPENCE WATSON (Gateshead) moved the following resolution:—

"That the obvious duty of the Legislature being to protect women and children who suffer terrible injustice and cruelty by reason of the legalised sale of intoxicating drink; this Convention, while gratefully recognising the eminent services which women have already rendered to the Prohibition movement, urges them to redouble their efforts to secure the Prohibition of such sale, and this the more earnestly, inasmuch as the Convention realises that the up-bringing and education of those who will ultimately enforce a prohibitory law is mainly in the hands of the women of this country."

She said the Convention had been a most interesting one, and the lessons which many of them had already learned had been impressed with added force and earnestness upon their minds. (Applause.) She thought they might be very much encouraged, and just as the anti-slavery workers in America dared to hope that slavery would end, so they dared to hope that the slavery which was the ruin of this country would end almost before they ventured to think it would. (Applause.) So women who had learned the effect that alcohol had on the body and mind, must resolve to work heart and hand and soul against this terrible evil. (Applause.) They should have Prohibition in their houses as far as possible: they should be Prohibitionists themselves, and endeavour to influence others to follow their example. Deeply and earnestly they had appreciated the good of that great Convention. (Applause.)

MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE (London) seconded the motion. How women should act in this matter had been well told to them in the admirable paper by Mrs. Henderson. They had their Temperance Schnadhorst here, and what had been done in Glasgow might be done in every city and town throughout the length and breadth of this land. How were they to do it? There was one thing, and she was speaking to women not only as social reformers, for to-day women were working in politics, the women should try to carry their Temperance into their politics; but, above all, let them never work, never speak, or canvass for any man, even if he be an ex-Cabinet Minister; unless he be thoroughly sound on the liquor question. (Applause.) They might be tormented by the local secretaries and wire-pullers; but if they believed in this question, as they were professing that day to believe, let them never lift up a finger for any man until he had promised, and not merely promised, for candidates sometimes promised a good many things, and forgot them afterwards when they got to the House of Commons; but until he had proved by his action and by his life that he was really in favour of this Prohibition being given to the people. (Applause.)

MISS E. L. CONNELL (Gateshead) supported the motion. So far as she had heard there was an omission at the meetings. Appeals had been made to reason, and to heart, and to imagination, and to sympathy; while the question had been revived from the standpoint of the duty of the Church and the duty of the Legislature, the duty of the merchant and the duty of the manufacturer, there had been one important standpoint left out, and it was this—the standpoint of the Christian worker. Whether that Christian worker be enrolled in the great army of the Master of the Church, or one of the divisions known in the Temperance army of this world, the standpoint of the Christian worker was this, that Prohibition would create better conditions for the worker for Christ. (Applause.)

The motion was put from the chair and carried by acclamation.

DR. JON JONSSON (Reykjavik, Iceland) said he had only a few words to say. He believed that was the most splendid meeting that had ever been held in connection with the Temperance cause. For fifty years the Temperance workers in Iceland had been trying to influence public opinion to Prohibition, and they hoped that they would be the first nation in Europe to accept a Prohibition Law. (Applause.) He would tell them why—because they had no manufacture of spirit in their land—(applause)—and for that reason they would be able more easily—than in any other country—to get the enemy out of their country. The enemy had to be imported and therefore they could more readily get rid of him. He knew how difficult it would be for other nations to do so, but he hoped that the time was near at hand when England, the greatest of them all, would be able to accept a Prohibition Law. They knew how important it would be to the world when the greatest nation set the example and accepted a Prohibition enactment. (Cheers.)

MRS. YORKE said they were delighted to have heard Dr. Jonsson. The officials of the Convention, however, seemed to have been determined that the women should not have the last word. (Laughter.)

MR. JOHN MURRAY then played the "Hallelujah Chorus," with which the Convention concluded its business. The entire assemblage of delegates and visitors standing during the playing of the chorus.



DIVISION II.

~~CONTENTS~~

DEMONSTRATIONS

AND

SPECIAL SERVICES.

1

GREAT JUVENILE DEMONSTRATION.

On Saturday Afternoon, April 3rd, 1897, a Juvenile and Young People's Demonstration was held in Olympia.

Mr. G. B. Hunter in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.



MR. G. B. HUNTER.

Mr. G. B. HUNTER said the five or six thousand boys and girls who were present were very fortunate in having got tickets for that demonstration, for there were ten or twelve thousands of other children in Newcastle and Gateshead who would have been glad of the opportunity to be present. However, as that had proved to be a success, perhaps they would be able to give an opportunity to others to hear the lecture with which they were to be favoured. They were also fortunate that afternoon in having the honour of opening the proceedings of the great National Convention which they hoped would be the means of helping the boys and girls as they grew up to keep from some of the temptations of drink. (Hear, hear.) The Convention which would open on Tuesday next was a Prohibition Convention; that was a gathering of men and women represent-

ing almost every kind of organisation throughout the country, who were supporting an agitation in favour of closing, by law, all liquor shops throughout the land, either by means of the Direct Veto, that meant the people in each district having a vote to say "yes" or "no," or by an Imperial enactment, that was by an Act of Parliament prohibiting the common sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. (Applause.) The liquor traffic, the acknowledged producer of all kinds of evils, was nothing but a curse to the people, and he was glad to see so many boys and girls and young people present, for, doubtless, the large proportion would be members of the Bands of Hope and thus taught never to touch alcoholic liquors. In after years if they remained true to their pledges they would reap the advantages of total abstinence. (Applause.)

The hymn "Hold the Fort" having been sung,

Mr. J. T. OLIVER gave an address. He said they were gathered there for two reasons. The first reason was that they wanted to deepen in all their hearts and minds the purpose of the pledge they had made to be life-long abstainers from strong drink. Then another reason why they were there was to demonstrate to others that they were not ashamed of that pledge and of that purpose. But somebody would reasonably ask why they should take such a pledge—why should they who were young have such a purpose as to abstain all their lives from strong drink. They should never be either unable or unwilling to give a reason for the hope that was in them. Strong drink, more than anything else to-day in England and in the world destroyed health, destroyed wealth and destroyed happiness. It was for those reasons that they pledged themselves never to touch it as long as they lived. (Applause.)

Miss ALICE MOFFITT then sang "The Holy City," which was illustrated by lantern views.



MR. C. DAIN.

Mr. C. DAIN, of Sunderland, then gave an illustrated lecture on "The Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement: 1847—1897. Looking Backward Fifty Years." The lecture was principally pictorial, a number of portraits of founders and workers in the Band of Hope movement being shown, as well as a number of historical incidents connected with the movement. Among the portraits shown was one of Queen Victoria, and its exposure was the signal for the entire audience joining in singing the National Anthem. Mr. Dain asked those present to remember that it was not only the Jubilee of Queen Victoria they were to celebrate during the present year, but the jubilee of the Band of Hope movement. This year the Band of Hope movement was fifty years old, although it was quite true there were juvenile temperance societies before 1847. The portraits shown included those of Mrs. Ann Jane Carlyle, and the Rev. Jabez

Tunncliffe, founders of the movement, and their successors in the work down to the present hour. The development of the movement among the young had been most wonderful, as may be seen from the summary of the last annual report of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. This showed there were 284 county, town, and district Band of Hope Unions, comprising no less than 19,773 societies, with 2,690,166 members. Thirty lecturers and agents were employed by these Unions; 2,554 meetings had been addressed by special deputations in addition to tens of thousands of ordinary meetings. 755 cities and towns had been visited in one year by the school lecturers; 4,391 day school lectures delivered to 439,464 scholars and 14,889 teachers; 1,530 lantern lectures had been delivered; 792,951 publications had been sold; £1,206 collected for the Temperance Hospital, etc., making a total of £18,908 since the effort originated. Thus, the movement was extended, and useful institutions as well as the nation benefited. It was estimated that the total strength of the Juvenile Temperance Organisations amounted to 22,993 societies, with 2,902,605 members, all pledged to total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors, and one great feature of the Jubilee celebration would be a "million more." (Applause.)

Miss MOFFITT then sang "The Children's Home," which was also illustrated on the screen.

After this a number of views were shown by means of the Cinematograph.

The meeting was closed with singing and prayer.

GREAT

SOCIAL TEMPERANCE MEETING.

On Saturday Evening, April 3rd, 1897, a great Social Temperance Meeting was held in Olympia. Alderman W. D. Stephens, J.P., in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.



ALD. W. D. STEPHENS.

Alderman W. D. STEPHENS, J.P., said it was exceedingly appropriate that the National Convention should be held in Newcastle. It was a sort of Royal Commission, with a great deal more sense than the Royal Commissions of which they heard a great deal. They were often told that many swallows made a summer. In Newcastle they ought to have continual summer from the number of "swallows" that they had in the city. (Laughter and applause.) He hoped that the Convention would do a great deal of good. They had many influential workers for the cause who had come to attend the Convention from all parts of the country. He was glad to find that every country was represented. They had a great many friends from Scotland. They were always glad to welcome friends from Scotland.

The Scotch had always been very kind to him, for every time he went to their country they offered him their whiskey—(laughter)—but he had always kept true to his pledge. He was as sound as ever on the Temperance cause, and he hoped he should continue to be able to lift up his voice and do all he could to stop the demoralizing effect of the drink traffic. (Applause.)

Mr. JOSEPH MALINS, C.C., G.C.T. (Birmingham), then addressed the meeting. He said of all places in England Newcastle was the right place in which to hold that Prohibition Convention. Twenty-five years ago the late William Hoyle told him that the North of England was the garden of England for temperance. That was true now, as it was at that time. It was true that Convention was projected for the purpose of public enlightenment, but it was projected on a downright uncompromising basis; and it was intended to gather them together, to hoist their standard, and to let the people know that they had not changed, that their policy was the same that it had been for many a year past, and that they were not discouraged by such a little event as a General Election now and then. They were of the sort who never ran away; although they got a rebuff now and then they came up smiling every time. They were not Utopians. It was true they believed that there ought to be no place in the world for intoxicating drink. It was actually true that they believed that all the human race were born teetotal, though some had broken the pledge since. They did venerate the name of Joseph Livesey as the father of the modern Temperance movement on this side of the Atlantic, but they held that teetotalism was as old as humanity itself. They believed there was no danger in adopting personal abstinence, that it was easy enough to live without drink, that the danger came when they tried to live with it. They believed that in practising abstinence they were adopting no new thing, that they were trying no dangerous experiment, but that they were living as God intended men and women to live. They could not expect to achieve any reform without somebody being hurt. He did not believe that the Bishop of

Chester or the Angel Gabriel, if either were placed in charge of a public-house, could conduct it in a manner tending to the sobriety of the customers. It was so dangerous a traffic that for centuries it had been under a ban and had been loaded with chains. It was encumbered year by year with numerous restrictions and that because the carrying on of the trade was inimical to the welfare of the people. If the sale and consumption of drink could be carried on without producing drunkenness they should not have such regulations. They who were working for the cause had learnt patience from many a conflict. They had never known defeat as yet. Their path had not been a smooth one, but difficulties only made them stronger and more resolute. (Applause.)



MRS. J. D. MCKINNON.

Mrs. J. D. McKinnon (Dumfries) said it gave her great pleasure to be present at that great Convention, and she thanked them for their welcome. She gathered that there were hearts there that were sympathetic for those who were tempted by strong drink. She did not know of any other question that could gather together so many people from all parts of the country as the great cause of Temperance reform. They were met to discuss and try and contrive plans, whereby they could remove the drink traffic. They were called fanatics and agitators; but they were not afraid of hard names. One of their greatest statesmen, Sir Robert Peel, had said that "Agitation was a marshalling of the conscience in moulding laws." (Applause.) And those Convention meetings were to help to mould righteous laws. So long as the drink traffic existed in their midst so long would there be victims. Every year they had a crop of victims and the people stood appalled and wondered why it should be so. Where did they come from? Not from the ranks of the total abstainers. The great harvest they were reaping from the moderate drinkers. Men and women would not acknowledge they were in danger, and by and by they fell under the influence of drink and became drunkards. They, as reformers, realised that no reform based upon moderation would ever succeed. History proved it. Drinking and drunkenness were inseparable. So total abstinence was the plank of their platform. People considered they were Utopian in their ideas and that they could not carry Prohibition, but they "would" carry it, God willing. (Applause.) Local Veto had been well described as "the automatic register of public opinion." Mrs. McKinnon then proceeded to show the results that had followed the restriction of the traffic in the State of New York, showing the tremendous diminution in crime, in the number of homes of infamy, and in gambling. She pleaded for their support in the cause with a view to saving the women from the drink habit. In no other country did the drink traffic prevail to the same extent as it did in this. That, too, despite of it being such a Christian, Bible-reading country. She went on to speak of drinking parents giving to their children an inborn taste for drink, and then said that it was stated that the Government was to blame for the drunkenness that prevailed, but, added: "No government dare perpetuate such an evil if the conscience of a Christian people were fully aroused." (Applause.) It was a great disgrace that that country should draw such a huge revenue from such a traffic, and that that country was the most drunken on the face of the earth. She asked to unite with them, and so remove from out of the people's way such a stumbling-block to their happiness and prosperity, and to a better life. (Applause.) When they were working in the great anti-slavery struggle in America they were told it was useless, because they could never succeed; but they said that even if they did not succeed they would train up a race of children that would hate slavery with a perfect hatred, and to them would be given the victory; and so they who were working in that Prohibition movement to-day would train up a race of children that would hate strong drink as the enemy of the race, and victory would be theirs. (Loud applause.) They now saw that until they dealt with the evil of drink they could not deal with any of the social questions that were affecting society, and in this work woman recognised her responsibility. (Loud applause.)



REV. R. W. DOBBIE.

The Rev. R. W. DOBBIE (Glasgow) said that when he looked round and saw the names on the walls he could not help being inspired. Who could help being inspired by such names as Lawson, Caine, and Wilberforce, and others? But he had a bone to pick with the committee which selected the names. Why had they not some Scotch names? (Laughter.) Where was Peter MacLagan's name; where was the name of John Wilson, of Govan? (A voice: "In the programme.") Thank God, in Scotland they had Sunday closing; and if there was one thing they were glad of it was that the holy day of God was observed even by the publicans. The publicans had been so educated that even they would not open out on the Sabbath if they got the chance in Scotland. Some of them might doubt that statement, but he had reason for expressing that opinion.

There never was a time when Temperance reformers had more anxiety than they had at present. They cared very little for their enemies; they did not fear them, for they knew God's curse was on the great business. But they had a little anxiety on account of the namby-pamby so-called Temperance man, who had only awakened up from his long sleep during the last twelve months, and who, in his ignorance and darkness, had the audacity to say to them: "Be pleased to adopt my little plan." "Will you walk into my parlour?" said the spider to the fly. (Laughter.) Some of the clergy—Queen's chaplains—were not afraid to patronise the festive board of the liquor associations. ("Shame.") Shame on the man who did it. Yet such men wished the Prohibition party to give up all the work of the past years in order that the liquor traffic might be municipalised. Suppose it were municipalised to-morrow what better would the drink be? That was the point. The drink was the enemy of manhood, womanhood, and childhood, and was utterly opposed to the law of Christ. What was Christ manifested for? That He might destroy the works of the devil; and he thought it was an easy thing to prove that the drink traffic was one of the works of the devil. They needed inspiration for their work, for sometimes they wearied of it. Sometimes they went home almost broken-hearted because of their having seen someone fall by the way. Well, Jesus himself was weary of his work. The inspiration they needed most was the inspiration of truth by the Holy Spirit. Never let them divorce their Temperance work from the power of the Holy Ghost, for the latter gave them an enthusiasm born of God and of truth. Their aspiration must recognise that the cause of God was bound to win, and that God approved of their work. The extinction of liquordom was a divine cause. He concluded by urging them to continue the work, and so give an example to those who will follow. (Loud applause.)

Capt. VAN ETEN (South Dakota, U.S.A.) gave a few of what he called "knockdown arguments" on the subject of Prohibition. It was said they could not make a man good by law. He denied the assertion. What he said was that, if they could not make a man good by law, they could stop making him bad by law. Every time they licensed a drink shop in England they were licensing an institution to make men and women bad by law. (Applause.) There was no doubt about this, their workhouses, gaols, and lunatic asylums proved this to the hilt. In the two Dakota's there had never been a legalised or protected liquor saloon. They were the only States in the American Union so blessed. The result had been everything they could have desired. These two States came into the Union on the 22nd February, 1882, with Prohibition in their constitution. (Applause.) Prohibition was ratified at their first election, in October, 1883, by large majorities in each State. In both North and South Dakota the liquor seller was an outlaw—(applause)—just as you in England outlaw a thief and a murderer. Surely this was better than making him an equal, or placing him upon the same footing as the school teacher and the minister of the gospel. (Applause.) To license and

protect the liquor traffic was criminal—(applause)—but to prohibit it was the highest possible statesmanship. (Applause.) States are made up of men and women, and all he had seen and heard in England only confirmed the conviction that good States were made up of good men and women and that great States could not be made up of bad men and women. (Applause.) Rotten timber was not fit for any ship of state, and nothing rots character like the liquor traffic. Therefore, the only safety for a nation was to adopt Prohibition. (Applause.) And having secured Prohibition, the next thing was to enforce it with all the power at their command. They might rest assured that the liquor seller would endeavour to violate the Prohibition law, just as the thief and murderer violate the common law. It was part of the liquor man's business. He violated God's laws in brewing and selling the drink, and he would violate, if possible, man's laws in prohibiting the traffic. Go in for the real thing, and victory was sure. (Applause.)

During the evening music was rendered by the special choir and band, under the conductorship of Mr. J. Murray. Madame Bellas, who was in splendid voice, delighted everybody by her singing.

PROHIBITION SUNDAY.

On Sunday Afternoon, April 4th, 1897, a Great Gathering assembled in Olym pia. Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P., in the chair.

The Rev. E. J. BRAILSFORD (Newcastle) opened the proceedings with the reading of scripture and prayer.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Mr. W. S. CAINE said that Newcastle this week presented a very strange spectacle. Eleven hundred people had come from different parts of the country to Newcastle, and 700 hospitable people in Newcastle had made homes for them; and the object of this strange gathering was to suppress one of the staple industries of the country. (Hear, hear.) If that Convention had been called to put down the flour trade or the drapery trade, they would have had to rake the country a very long way indeed, they would not have been able to get 1,100 people to leave their homes to discuss the practical outcome of suppressing any other trade but that particular one of the liquor trade. (Hear, hear.) It was a trade which was now universally condemned by all Christian men and by all good citizens, and condemned almost as largely by those who kept it up by their own personal habits as it was condemned by those of them who never dealt in the article at all. (Applause.) In Newcastle where they were met in conference, there was a liquor shop provided for every 300 people, old and young, including the last born baby. And yet, within an hour's journey of Newcastle, there were three or four places that had had the good sense to prohibit the liquor trade altogether. Then they were met to consider what was the best way to deal with what was universally recognised to be a most serious social problem—a problem which had puzzled and baffled the Christian church, the politician, the good citizen, the economist, and the reformer of every description. It had been regulated from time immemorial, and that regulation had had no effect whatever upon the products of the traffic. It was no use trying to regulate bad things. No similar attempt was made to regulate small-pox, the plague, or cholera. They only talked of regulating vice and the liquor trade. He did not believe in regulating anything evil. He was a Prohibitionist—(applause)—and had been since he began to think about the question. When they considered the effects of the liquor trade, the pauperism it caused, the crime, the immorality, the social and moral degradation, the insanity, the disease, and premature deaths—all these evils which fell on society as the result of the traffic, then he thought wise and practical men would come to confer with them at that great Conference, and would resolve that, so far as they were concerned, they would do their utmost to return a Parliament to pass a law to the effect that the common sale of that which was productive of such evil results would be stopped. (Applause.) Their movement was growing in public opinion, and was convincing men more and more, and especially those who had the question in their hands. Everyone had a remedy, and the latest had been a Royal Commission, of which he was a member. (Applause.) Not that he had himself any need to inquire into the subject. He had inquired into it twenty-five years ago on his own account, and he had then come to the conclusion, which all subsequent experience had confirmed. The Royal Commission had no remedy, however. After referring to the practical uselessness of inquiries of the kind, he said the more one inquired the more was it brought out in lurid character the effect of the liquor trade, the effect of the drinking customs of society upon mankind. It was the great curse of the world, (Hear, hear.) Go where they would, Europe, Asia, or America, they would find that drink cursed more than anything that was introduced into the nation's social fabric. They were met in convention to see if they could not prohibit altogether

the common sale of the liquor that produced so much mischief. They had proved that man could live without it. They had seven millions in the country into whose homes it did not enter, into whose social life it had not a place. And they had presented in the country the object lesson of a vast community of people who because of their teetotalism had freed themselves from the bad results of the liquor trade. The Temperance movement had done more for national progress than any other force in their midst. The time had come when they should insist that the power to stop the sale of the liquor should be given to the people. He referred to the lesson which had been furnished by the Earl and Countess of Carlisle in giving the people of Hallbankgate, a place near Naworth, the power to say whether a certain public-house in their midst should be closed, and the result, he said, was that they decided by four to one that it should be closed. The people should be given the same power with regard to the closing of similar places. He trusted the Conference would do good. The Temperance party of Newcastle was a live party, and there was need of it being so. He had come into Newcastle Station by the 11-15 o'clock train on Saturday night, and he then saw a terrible amount of drunkenness. And he had thought that Newcastle was about the right place to come to hold a Prohibition Conference. (Applause.)



MR. JOHN MURRAY.

He knew of no place in the United Kingdom where the Temperance army was better organised than there, and they were grateful to the city of Newcastle for inviting them. They would get strength by meeting the people whom they would come across there. (Applause.)

The special choir and band, conducted by Mr. JOHN MURRAY, rendered several sacred and temperance hymns, anthems, etc., including "All hail the power of Jesu's Name," "When the weary seeking rest," "Oh Father whose Almighty power," and the following:—

"GO FORTH AGAIN."

The old year's long campaign is o'er,
Behold a new begun ;
Not yet is closed the Holy War,
Not yet the triumph won ;
Out of his still and deep repose
We hear the old year say,
"Go forth again to meet your foes,
Ye children of the day !"

"Go forth ! firm Faith on every heart,
Bright Hope on every helm,
Through that shall pierce no fiery dart,
And this no fear o'erwhelm !
Go in the spirit and the might
Of Him who led the way ;
Close with the legions of the night,
Ye children of the day !"

So forth we go to meet the strife,
We will not fear nor fly !
Love we the holy warrior's life,
His death we hope to die !
We slumber not, that charge in view
"Toil on while toil ye may,
Then night shall be no night to you,
Ye children of the day !"

THE DEAN OF HEREFORD'S ADDRESS.



THE DEAN OF HEREFORD.

The Very Rev. the DEAN of HEREFORD (Dr. Leigh) then addressed the gathering. He said this was going to be a most important week. It would be one of the most important gatherings that had taken place there, or anywhere in England he supposed. And it was well, he thought, that they should commence the week on the Lord's Day, and with prayer and thoughtful consideration. The movement began in this place 60 years ago or more; and he was glad to think that there were still one or two of the old pioneers left who were there at the commencement. (Applause.) And he was glad to see that they would listen to his old friend Thomas Whittaker and to Dr. Lees. (Applause.) This was, as they had been reminded, the Diamond Jubilee year of the Queen, and they were to meet to rejoice and to pray for her; and he trusted that they would look back to the glorious reign of Her Majesty the Queen. It was contemporaneous

almost, they might say, with the history of total abstinence in the country. They had much, therefore, to be thankful for in what had taken place during the last 60 years. But, at the same time, whilst they might rejoice, they had a great deal to mourn over. Prayer—earnest, hearty prayer—on the part of all Christian people, was never more wanted than at the present time; and he thought that ministers and clergy of all denominations should, at such a time as this, pray earnestly to God—that they should, as the Prophet Isaiah said, “Cry aloud and spare not, and lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions.” We were a religious people, a church-going and chapel-going people. But that was not sufficient. (Hear, hear.) It was a danger of the present day—not church-going, not chapel-going, but not doing their duty as Christians and as church people. The Prophet went on, in the same chapter, to warn the people of the great danger of hypocrisy. They found the Holy Scripture full of warnings; they found Moses in his book, and the Psalmist, and the Prophets, all warning people against not doing the will of God or obeying His statutes. And they found Holy Scripture full of promises to those who were faithful. It was sometimes a habit—he believed it had not been very long ago there—to have wrangles over certain texts of Scripture, and argue whether there was any total prohibition of drink in the Scriptures, or whether there was rather advice to moderation. Well, he did not think that any profit was to be got from that—from wrangling over this or that text with regard to the interpretation. He took the Holy Scriptures as a direction to religious people, and he took the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and the apostles and His disciples, and he went by them. He cared not what might have been the practice of the Jews, the chosen people of old, though he knew that for 40 years they were in the wilderness, and were total abstainers. (Applause.) But he said they had to act as Christians in these days. The question was, were they acting according to the rule of the Lord and His disciples? St. Paul cautioned them not to eat or drink in such a way as to be a stumbling block to their brother, or an offence to the weak. The question for them was, were they fulfilling their duty as civilised people and as Christian people? What was their position? They boast of their greatness; they were the “the light of the world,” “the salt of the earth”; to them especially was given the last charge of their dear Lord and Master—“Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every country.” And how were they fulfilling that mission? At the end of this month, and next month, they would be having great missionary meetings in Exeter Hall and elsewhere, and they would be told of the amount of missionary work that was being done by their bold missionaries sent to all parts of the world. And it was a grand work they were doing. But how did they stand, as a Christian people, in supporting that

work? The societies of the different sects—Roman Catholic, unsectarian, Church of England, Nonconformist—subscribed something like £1,500,000, in round numbers, annually. That might seem a large sum. But what were they now spending upon the consumption of one article, which none of them there thought necessary and most of them thought highly injurious—how much were they spending in this, their own country? £150,000,000! A million and a half to carry on the work of the Lord Jesus Christ in extending His Kingdom throughout all the world, and 150 millions in satisfying their own lusts and appetites in this their own country! But that was not all, as they knew—not all, by any means. What was the greatest obstacle that their missionaries had to encounter when they went into those countries, carrying the word of the Lord? Why, they found that the “pioneers of civilization,” he believed they were called, had gone before, carrying the gin bottle and fire-water, destroying the body and soul of these poor Heathens whom they were supposed to convert to habits of Christianity. What they wanted now were honest, earnest men, enthusiasts, who would be ready, regardless of opposition, to inculcate the doctrine of Temperance, of total abstinence, of purity and honesty, amongst us. Preachers of reform in past days met with opposition, and always would, from those who had vested interests. They must expect to be met with opposition. What they had to fight against was a mass of well-regulated selfishness. They saw ladies and gentlemen bowing down before the golden calf, made through the degradation of the people, and only too glad to be noticed by those who had heaped up riches at the expense of the working classes. (Applause.) And not only so, but the greatest obstacle they had to encounter was from these same ladies and gentlemen, who had invested in shares in these limited liability companies, so that they had to look for a good dividend for their own investments, and never thought of inquiring how that dividend was got. They were responsible for a good deal of the wretchedness in our country. It was a deplorable condition. People were governed by well-regulated selfishness. That was the order of the day. And they had this liquor traffic sanctioned by custom and protected by law; and many of them, when they opposed it, were looked upon as fanatics and wild enthusiasts—and when they advocated the rescue of Christians, whether in England or elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) Let them not despair. They believed their work was a work of God’s. They believed they had all that was right and honest on their side, and, therefore, they need not fear the reproach of men. They wanted the support of the masses of the people in the great movement that they were undertaking, and they trusted that in this city of Newcastle, full of intelligent working classes, they should have their support. He trusted that that important Convention would be productive of good results to this place and the country generally. (Applause.)

The proceedings concluded with singing and prayer.

GREAT PROHIBITION DEMONSTRATION.

A Great Demonstration was held, in Olympia, on Sunday Evening,
April 4th, The Very Rev. J. W. Leigh, D.D., Dean of Hereford,
in the chair.

After singing, the Rev. R. W. DOBBIE, (Glasgow) offered prayer.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Secretary) read the following letter from Mr. John Wilson, M.P. (Mid-Durham), who had been announced to preside :—

“I am exceedingly sorry that I am unable to fulfil my promise to preside over your meeting in Olympia to morrow (Sunday) evening, but trade business of great importance calls me from home, or I would have been with you. I am delighted to see that you have so good a programme and trust that in every way it will turn out successful. There is no doubt in my mind that the liquor traffic will have to be dealt with in a most drastic manner, if the moral and social problems have to be solved. I, therefore, trust that the outcome of your great Convention will give an impetus to the Temperance cause throughout the land.”

Mr. GUY HAYLER also announced that Mr. Jonathan Samuel, M.P. for Stockton, who was to have addressed the meeting, was unable to be present ; but his place would be taken by Mr. James H. Raper, of London.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Very Rev. J. W. LEIGH, D.D., briefly opened the meeting. He said that it was a grand sight that they saw before them that evening, and it was a grand event they were called upon to celebrate during the week. Newcastle, he supposed, from the map that had been put before him, was not free from the terrible evil and curse with which England was overwhelmed at the present time. They did not seem to be getting on very fast at the present time. But they were not despondent, because they knew that all those who were assembled there—all that long list of delegates—were not half-hearted men in the cause, but were good and true men, determined to carry on the warfare, however great the opposition might be. And they would rather have a small army of very determined men than a large army of half-hearted men. (Applause.) They knew how it was once—in a case in the Old Testament—how there was a certain judge, of the name of Gideon, who had to attack a host of the enemy. Many assembled round his banner to go forth to the war. But amongst them were many who were not really heart and soul in the cause which Gideon had at heart. And so an order was issued—“Let the half-hearted ones return to their homes.” And he believed that something like 20,000 left and went to their homes, and 10,000 remained behind. To those 10,000 another test was given, and that was a test by water—(laughter)—and there was only in the end 300 left. Those 300 went forth to battle, not depending upon their own strength and courage, but depending upon the strength from on high. And so, trusting in the Lord God Almighty, they went forth and had a glorious victory. And that would be the case with them. However many obstacles there might appear to be at the present time, they would still press on, and, trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ, gain a victory in the end. (Applause.)

The Choir, under the conductorship of Mr. JOHN MURRAY, rendered several anthems, and Miss HALLIE Q. BROWN, M.Sc., of Ohio, U.S.A., and Mr. ARTHUR W. LAMBERT (Newcastle), sang solos during the evening.

MR. WILLIAM SUTHERLAND'S ADDRESS.



MR. W. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. W. SUTHERLAND (London) said the conception of this great Convention marks an epoch in the Temperance Movement; but whilst our thoughts are largely turned to the means of prohibiting the Liquor Traffic; it is meet that we should remember that the Convention itself is the outcome of the work of such men as James Rewcastle, George Charlton, James Howie, and George Dodds.

When we think of this great series of meetings, the importance of which has called to this city Temperance workers from all parts of the country, it seems almost impossible that the movement can have commenced and have attained such proportions during the lifetime of living men. But great as have been the victories, there lies before us greater battles than those yet waged, and the "drink bill" calls loudly for workers fired with a zeal and enthusiasm that will know no rest until the final victory is assured. (Applause.)

Every hundred pounds spent in alcoholic liquors represents so much misery to some, and it is a great mistake to suppose that it is only the poor, uneducated, or degraded classes who thus suffer—though if only these classes suffered, it would still be the duty of the better educated ones to root up an evil that was destroying their less fortunate brethren. But this drink was no respecter of persons, as a visit to the common lodging-houses in any large town would conclusively demonstrate. Year by year there was a continuous sacrifice of intellect upon the shrine of Bacchus. And not only intellect, but happiness, morality, and even religion. With it ebbs the very life blood of some who are themselves free from the blighting curse, but are going down to the grave through the tormenting worries the demon alcohol is inflicting upon them, by striking down one whom they love.

Search the homes of some great divines, who are themselves models of moderation, and you will find a proportion eaten up with anxiety for the welfare of some near and dear to them—and that often amongst the ladies of the family. Consult the family physician and you will find that alcohol has a great deal to do with the maladies from which his distinguished patients are suffering. How many merchants but what can tell of lives wrecked and reputations ruined, brought about in the first instance by the fatal habit of nipping? What large employer of labour but that can tell of some of the most hopeful workers who have fallen through drink? Where is the working man who does not know of some who have left the workshop, or pit, through the drinking habit? Is there any hospital, prison, or reformatory but what contains the record of lives wasted by this fell destroyer? It attacks not only the old, but by its insidious wiles the young and pure become its slaves. Many who have themselves apparently escaped its effects, transmit the appetite to their descendents, some of whom are dragged down till they fall into the lowest depths of degradation. (Applause.)

Everything that ingenuity can devise has been tried to prevent the effect of drunkenness following the cause of drinking—but without avail! Where there's drink there's danger! A generation of child life has passed away since the passage of the Elementary Education Act. That great measure was designed to cure ignorance, and it has largely succeeded. But many thought that it would solve the drink question whilst permitting general drinking. Sir, the only solution of the drink question as regards the individual, is total abstinence. We are all moral suasionists here! But we are not content to labour year after year snatching a comparative few brands from the burning, and preventing a comparative few from falling, whilst a great onslaught is made upon the morality of the people by a combined and wealthy traffic, some of whose merchants grow rich men and climb to positions of distinction, upon the suffering of their customers and their relatives. (Applause.)

With an arrogance born of fancied security, the Traffickers have abandoned a policy of defence, and are seeking to keep Temperance men, if not from the Bench,

at all events from Licensing Committees. To suggest that active, living, often self-sacrificing labours upon behalf of the sobriety and morality of the country, is to be counted upon a level with the mean, sordid, pecuniary gain of those engaged in the Liquor Traffic is a perversion of reasoning quite worthy of those who can engage in such a traffic. (Loud cheers.)

But who is it that is engaged in this traffic? It is not only the great brewer and distiller, the wealthy malsters, the wholesale owner of public houses, but the very respectable—sometimes God-fearing people, who would be shocked at the notion of being in the public house trade, but calmly pocket a dividend from a brewery or distillery company. These also are engaged in the traffic.

A great, stupendous admitted evil of this kind cannot exist without responsibility lying upon some one. Here on the Sabbath Day, in this Christian country—it is going on, and it is idle to deny that responsibility does not attach to some. The House of Lords cannot deny its share, for among its members are many who own houses where drink is sold. Some have even been admitted to the peerage *via* the “beverage.” The House of Commons cannot truthfully dispute its share, for theirs is the principal part in making the law. The elector cannot evade his responsibility, for he makes the popular House of Parliament. The Christian Church—cannot—*shall not* escape its share, for upon it lies the duty to warn the people against this evil, yet it has allowed itself to be patronised by the Traffic, quieted by a dole, and in some instances at least, actually found a partnership with what has been justly termed “The devil in solution.” Quite recently in a working man’s parish in the West of London, a Vicar has divided his Curate’s duty on Sunday, so that he spends part of his time in Church, and part in a club where intoxicating drinks are sold under his superintendence, to the young men of the Parish, whilst a skittle-alley is in full swing in the building which is owned or leased by the Church. The case is made worse from the fact that the premises in which the parson carries on this unlicensed drink trade, have on several occasions been denied the privilege of a license by the local magistrates.

Surely Temperance men have a right to expect that the Church will not actually oppose them, or become partners in the traffic. As far back as 1869, the Church, through a Committee of Convocation, inquired into the matter, and declared that the inhabitants of a district should have power to prevent the issue of licenses where they did not want them; and yet in 1897 we are still without this power. Is it to be said that the Church is less alive to the need of reform now, than it was in 1869? Surely not. Are not the Church clergymen, the congregation, the parishioners as dear now as in 1869? If so, the Church must not remain passive, but use its strength in the cause of righteousness, not only for the people, but for itself, for that section of the Church which shews the greatest eagerness and activity in the matter, will become dearer to the people, and if others stand aloof, the usefulness of such will steadily decline. Some are looking and praying to bring about a reunion of the Churches in matter of doctrine, if this be possible, great good may ensue, but Temperance men claim that the Church can unite in this practical measure, for the reform of the people, and if the Christians of all denominations will cease their differences—and unite upon this matter—all the wealth and power of the traffic would be unavailing to stop the triumphant progress of the Church in this matter, and a deadly blow would thus be given to the greatest cause of sin and misery the world has ever seen. (Applause.)

“Take courage, Temperance workers,
 Ye shall not suffer wreck,
 While up to God the people’s prayers
 Are rising from your deck!
 Wait cheerily brave toilers,
 For daylight and for land;
 The breath of God is on your sail,
 Your rudder in his hand.

COUNTY COUNCILLOR J. R. HOGG'S ADDRESS.



MR. J. R. HOGG, C.C.

County Councillor J. R. Hogg (North Shields) said, a month or so ago, he had the pleasure of hearing an address in the Newcastle Town Hall, by Lord Tweedmouth. Speaking of certain measures that had been passed into law (he would not say by whom) Lord Tweedmouth said, "They were first denounced as revolutionary, then laughed at as ridiculous, then they came to be premature, but worth consideration, then they passed consideration, and were finally taken up and passed into law." He (Mr. Hogg) thought to himself then, and he still thought, that that description admirably portrayed the history of their movement. It had been laughed at as ridiculous, it had been denounced as revolutionary, it had been considered premature, it was at that moment considered worthy of consideration, and in the words of the song, they had just "one more river to cross," and that was to take it up and pass it into law. (Applause.) The stage they were at just then, was where it was considered worthy of consideration. Yes, and who could dispute that! Where was the statesman that was not compelled to consider it? Where was the newspaper or the journalist that was not dealing with it? Where was the candidate for Parliamentary honours that was not forced to consider it? Yes, and they might go further, and say, in the light of recent elections, that just in proportion as the Parliamentary candidate did consider it, and was candid and explicit about it, so were his chances of election, good or bad. (Applause.) The newspapers throughout the country had been commenting pretty generally upon last year's drink bill. Different people formed very different conclusions from the same set of facts, just as different people look at the same picture from different standpoints. He heard of two men looking at a picture some time ago, one was an artist and the other a self-made critic, though Byron told them "critics all were ready-made." The critic said to the artist, "My good sir, you paint birds beautifully, you should never paint anything else but birds, those ostriches are most life-like." But the artist turned to him sadly and said, "These are not ostriches, they are angels." (Loud laughter.) Now the view one of the Newcastle newspapers took of last year's augmented drink bill, was exactly opposite to their views. The moral that newspapers wished to draw from the increased figures was, that they should give up clamouring for Parliamentary interference, and apply themselves more to the task of argument and persuasion. Now, in his humble judgment, the moral to be drawn from the terrible increase of 6½ millions last year was, if with all their teaching and preaching, in spite of all the time and energy of the Temperance reformer, if in spite of all the prayers and all the tears of the Temperance party their drink bill was still going up by leaps and bounds, was it not a proof that instead of wearing out their lives in merely dealing with the effects of the traffic, they should now attempt to grapple with the cause, and stamp out that! (Loud applause.)

He rejoiced that the Convention upon which they were just entering, was a Prohibition, and not a local option Convention. He believed most heartily in the principle of local option. He believed most sincerely that the people themselves, and not a handful of magistrates, should have the power to decide upon the requirements of a neighbourhood; but their opponents were welcome to the admission, that local option of itself would call forth little enthusiasm, did they not believe that in some places immediately, and in nearly every place ultimately, the people would exercise their option to stamp out the common sale of drink. (Applause.) It was Prohibition of the sale that was the goal of the Temperance reformer, not regulation, not restriction, not Royal Commissions, not pure beer inquiries, but an out-and-out "bag and baggage policy" with regard to the sale of strong drink. (Applause.) And they made bold to say, that their policy was not only a good policy, but the only solution of the great drink problem. Nearly every one in that hall must have seen the sad, but too common

sight of the drunkard's baneful life, and the drunkard's tragic death. The whole scene was being enacted every day. The beginning of the life in a veritable garden of promise, the entrance of the tempter in the shape of drink, the tightening of the chains of appetite, the loss of situation, the loss of position, the misery, the cruelty, the starvation, the despair, and finally the drunkard's grave. And standing by the open grave of the victim, as surely killed by alcoholic poison as if it had been strychnine or arsenic, did they tell him they had done the whole of their duty when they shrugged their shoulders and said, "Poor fellow, he ought to have known better." Did they mean to say that civilization had said its last word, and there was no more to be done! They said "No, no," that bruised and broken lifeless clay lying in that coffin, was the victim of his own appetite, but an appetite created by and fostered by a legalised temptation. They said that moral shipwreck was the finished article of a traffic established by law, and which they sought to disestablish by law. (Loud applause.) They contended too that Prohibition was in harmony with the general trend of legislation. For years back, legislation had aimed at saving and protecting life. At saving men from the cupidity of employers, saving men from their own ignorance or their own carelessness. They compelled manufacturers to fence up dangerous machinery, they compelled special health regulations in leadworks, they prohibited the sale of explosives, and of some kind of poison except under stringent conditions, and it was a black spot upon their boasted civilization that in their licensing laws they reversed all that, they traded upon men's weakness, they tempted men to their destruction by legalised temptations at every street corner. (Applause.)

He dared say that with 150 majority against Prohibition in the House of Commons, their opponents might think they could afford to despise that Convention. But Parliaments did not last for ever, and majorities took to themselves wings and flew away. He heard of an American some time ago whose wife was killed at a railway collision. He was naturally terribly cut up over it, and he had carved on her gravestone—"The light of my life has gone out." In less than three months, like Hamlet's mother, he was married again, so someone took a piece of chalk and wrote upon the first wife's gravestone—"The light of his life went out, but he struck another match." (Loud laughter.) Some people thought that the light of Temperance had been well nigh extinguished in the General Election of 1895, but they had struck a good few matches since then. The Temperance Party had been striking matches at nearly every bye-election since, they were going to strike a few more matches in that building that week, and, to borrow the historic words of Cranmer at the stake—"They hoped with these matches to kindle such a flame in England as should never be put out." (Applause.) They did not under-estimate the forces arrayed against them. They were not unmindful of the increase of 6½ millions, they were well aware that with the multiplication of brewery shareholders men were found with a direct interest in the sale of drink where they never expected to find them, but they remembered too that Shakespeare had said—"Thrice armed is he that hath his quarrel just," and a greater than Shakespeare had said—"He that is with us is more than all those that be against us." They knew it was no easy task to which they had set their hands, they knew that the harvest was great and the labourers comparatively few, but they also knew that "Though the road be rough and dreary and its end far out of sight,"

"Though age wearies by the way,
And hearts break in the furrow,
We sow the golden grain to-day,
The harvest reap to-morrow."

Mr. J. H. RAPER (London) said he had been pressed to fill up a gap because of the fact that he resided not far from the House of Commons—(laughter)—one or two of the members of that body being compelled to remain in London for business which was to come on to-day. An anxious week was before them, inasmuch as on Wednesday week they had got possession of the day by fortune of the ballot. Two Bills to give the people power to deal with the drink traffic stood first and second on the orders of the day. But that Wednesday was the Wednesday before

Easter Sunday, and at that time Members of Parliament became oppressed by sense of the necessity of getting to the seaside—(laughter)—and the chances were that the Government would be so sympathetic with them that they might give the members of the House of Commons a holiday before the day was reached. In some way or another he hoped the promoters would be advised aright. They might resist, but resistance was not likely to be of any great value alongside of a majority of 150. But a consultation had taken place during the last fortnight with regard to whether the English or the Scottish Bill should be taken, and was unanimously decided to let the Scotch have the chance, for the very good reason that the Scotchmen had once and again been hindered from bringing their Bill. So if the Scotchmen would come up and kick up a glorious row, and everybody be in their places, there was no knowing what might happen. (Heard.) The Scotch constituencies had sent a representation to Parliament in favour of giving the people the power of saying whether they wanted liquor sold or not. No majority of 150 could abolish that power. Scotland had tried nearly all the experiments for regulation, and now said that it was impossible to satisfactorily regulate the sale of intoxicating liquor, and asked for Prohibition. (Applause.) Let them have Prohibition, so that respectable people might clean the skirts of their garments from the blood of their neighbour. (Applause.) I wanted to see something that would touch the conscience of the Christian Church. (Applause.) Let it be understood that the moment the Church of Christ was aroused to take their proper stand, the question was settled. (Applause.) Therefore, he hoped that the ladies and gentlemen would allow them to press upon them that they had duties, that they had citizen duties, that they had domestic duties. And he wanted everyone in the hall that night to clear the enemy out of their houses. (Applause.) If the women objected, and wanted something on wash-day, the husband should see that she got something else, and so prevent them from running the risk of setting a doubtful example, and the more ready would they be to practise local option when they got it. (Applause.) They were there to encourage the greatest moral reformation of the century. He next referred to his early experience in the work, some of his anecdotes in this connection creating a deal of laughter. The fallacies concerning teetotalism were disappearing one by one, and the people were beginning to see that the country could do without liquor. He impressed upon the young people particularly that prevention was better than cure. (Applause.) If they were not to be victorious over this work of the devil, Christianity was a mistake. He believed in the despised Nazarene. No higher criticism shook his faith. But if the liquor power was to be greater than the despised Nazarene was a mistake. They did not believe anything of the sort. (Cheers.) Their work was to weld the Church into the movement. Every Christian ought to be on the side of Temperance and Prohibition. That was the work they had to do, and with God's blessing it would be done. (Cheers.)

The meeting closed with singing and prayer.

PROHIBITION SUNDAY.

**On Sunday, April 4th, 1897, Special Sermons were preached
in the following Places of Worship in Newcastle, Gateshead,
and District.**

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

JESMOND.—10·30 a.m., the Hon. and Very Rev. J. W. Leigh, D.D., Dean of Hereford ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. E. S. Savage, M.A., Vicar.

BAPTIST.

HEATON.—10·30 a.m., Mrs. Henderson, Glasgow ; 6·30 p.m., Dr. Amos Scholfield, London.

OSBORNE ROAD.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. Thos. D. Landels, Newcastle.

RYEHILL.—10·30 a.m., Rev. Walter Walsh, Newcastle ; 6·30 p.m., Mrs. J. D. McKinnon, Dumfries,

WESTGATE ROAD.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. J. W. Hunter, Kirkcaldy.

GATESHEAD, DURHAM ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. J. Lamb Harvey, Berwick ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. D. P. Packer, Gateshead.

BERWICK-ON-TWEED.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. James Jack, Newcastle.

CONGREGATIONAL.

BATH LANE.—10·30 a.m., Mrs. J. D. McKinnon, Dumfries ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. John Cameron, Linlithgow.

BEECHGROVE.—10·30 a.m., Rev. James McNab, Carlisle ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. Donald Fraser, Newcastle.

HEATON ROAD.—10·45 a.m., Rev. William Glover, Newcastle ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. Charles Davidson, Strathmiglo.

ST. JAMES'.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. D. L. Ritchie, Newcastle.

ST. PAUL'S.—10·30 a.m., Rev. Robert Rae, Edinburgh ; 6·30 p.m., Mr. J. Martin Skinner, G.E.S., London.

PANDON.—11 a.m., Mr. Robert Watson, Carlisle ; 6·30 p.m., Mr. J. T. Nowell, Derby.

GATESHEAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. J. G. Binney, Gateshead ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. D. C. Mackellor, Denny.

WINLATON.—10·30 a.m., Rev. A. B. Tebb, Winlaton ; 6·30 p.m., Professor G. W. E. Hill, Iowa, U.S.A.

RYTON.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. W. Rose Rae, Ryton-on-Tyne.

PRESBYTERIAN.

BLACKETT STREET.—10·30 a.m., Rev. James Hunter, B.D., Falkirk ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. William Newton, Dent.

HEATON ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. R. W. Dobbie, Glasgow ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. J. Rorke, Newcastle.

JOHN KNOX.—10·30 a.m., Rev. A. Phimister, Newcastle ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. Jas. Hunter, B.D., Falkirk.

ERSKINE (RYE HILL).—10·30 a.m., Professor G. W. E. Hill, Iowa, U.S.A. ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. Robert Rae, Edinburgh.

TRINITY.—10·30 a.m., Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P., London ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. R. W. Dobbie, Glasgow.

WESTMORELAND ROAD.—6·30 p.m., Rev. W. S. H. Wylie, M.A., Newcastle.

GOSFORTH.—10·30 a.m., Rev. Charles Davidson, Strathmiglo ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. James McNab, Carlisle.

WILLINGTON.—10·30 a.m., Dr. Amos Scholfield, London ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. C. Duxbury, Woodstock.

WESLEYAN METHODIST.

- BRUNSWICK.—10·30 a.m., Rev. G. A. Bennetts, M.A., London ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. W. R. Bevan, Newcastle.
- BLENHEIM STREET.—10·30 a.m., Rev. C. H. Murray, Manchester ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. Albert E. Salmon, Newcastle.
- DILSTON ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. John Morgan, Chester ; 6·30 p.m., Mr. Thomas Hardy, Stoke.
- JESMOND.—10·30 a.m., Rev. E. J. Brailsford, Newcastle ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. G. A. Bennetts, M.A., London.
- CLARENCE STREET.—10·30 a.m., Rev. John Cameron, Linlithgow ; 6·30 p.m., Ex-Bailie Lewis, Edinburgh.
- ELSWICK ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. J. Brooksbank, Workington ; 6·30 p.m., Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P., London.
- HEATON ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. John Cairns, J.P., Kilmarnock ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. J. B. Thornley, Nottingham.
- PARK ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. C. Duxbury, Woodstock ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. W. H. Booker, Dunston.
- DUNN STREET HALL.—11 a.m., Mr. D. McMillan, Sunderland.
- WESLEY HALL.—10·30 a.m., Mr. John Hutchinson, Newcastle ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. E. J. B. Kirklan, B.A., B.D., Newcastle.
- BENSHAM ROAD, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m., Rev. J. Rorke, Heaton ; 6·30 p.m., Mr. Henry Hibbert, Bradford.
- HIGH STREET WEST, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. David I. Waller, D.D., London.
- REDHEUGH, Gateshead.—6·30 p.m., Rev. H. Hodder, Gateshead.
- MOUNT PLEASANT, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m. and 6 p.m., Mr. Thomas Bell, Felling Gate.
- GOSFORTH SOUTH.—10·30 a.m., Rev. G. C. Chisholm, Newcastle ; 6·30 p.m., Rev. B. Gawthorp, Heaton.
- SEATON BURN.—5·30 p.m., Rev. T. Ferrier Hulme, Newcastle.
- BELLS CLOSE.—10·30 a.m., Mr. J. B. Thornley, Nottingham.
- LIME STREET.—6·45 p.m., Mr. W. G. Bruce, Edinburgh.
- WEST MOOR.—2·30 and 5·30 p.m., Mr. D. A. Holdsworth, Gosforth.
- ST. ANTHONY'S.—6 p.m., Mr. A. Pascoe, Newcastle.
- PRUDHOE STATION.—2 p.m., Mr. T. Donkin, Prudhoe ; 6 p.m., Mr. Robert Rowell, Walbottle.
- HIGH USWORTH.—2·30 and 6 p.m., Mr. George Nevins, Washington.
- WRECKENTON.—10·30 a.m., Mr. William Swan, Gateshead.
- FELLSIDE.—6 p.m., Mr. Richard Dent, Gateshead.
- PONTELAND.—2·30 and 6 p.m.—Mr. D. W. Richardson, Newcastle.
- PRESTWICK.—6 p.m., Mr. John G. Nixon, Newcastle.
- WALKER GATE.—10·30 a.m., Mr. R. W. Hodgson, B.A., Newcastle ; 6 p.m., Mr. P. M. Gillians, Newcastle.
- WASHINGTON.—6 p.m., Mr. H. F. Fellow, Gateshead.
- NEW BENWELL.—10·45 a.m., Mr. E. Boreland, Liverpool ; 6·30 p.m., Mr. J. Moseley, Birmingham.
- WINLATON.—2·30 p.m. and 6 p.m., Mr. J. Teasdale, Gateshead.
- FELLING.—10·30 a.m. and 6 p.m., Rev. F. Platt, B.A., B.D., Gateshead.
- SPRINGWELL.—10·30 a.m., Mr. Robert Wilson, Gateshead.
- DENTON BURN.—6 p.m., Mr. George Lynas, Newcastle.
- CLARA VALE.—6 p.m., Mr. W. Pickering, Newcastle.
- DUNSTON.—10·30 a.m., Mr. W. Hood, Newcastle ; 6 p.m., Mr. Teasdale Dixon, Gateshead.

PRIMITIVE METHODIST.

- DERBY STREET.—10·30 a.m., Mr. Sam Pilling, Scarborough ; 6 p.m., Mr. F. Cowley, London.
- HEATON ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Mr. John Newton, Norwich ; 6 p.m., Rev. J. C. Chisholm, Newcastle.

MAPLE STREET.—10·30 a.m., Rev. John Thornley, Sheffield; 6 p.m., Rev. T. J. Gladwin, Mexboro'.

NELSON STREET.—10·30 a.m., Rev. A. T. Guttery, Newcastle; 6 p.m., Mr. E. Tennyson Smith, London.

STRICKLAND STREET.—10·45 a.m., Rev. J. H. Taylor, M.A., Newcastle; 6 p.m., Rev. J. H. Brooksbank, Workington.

KINGSLEY TERRACE.—10·30 a.m., Mr. J. T. Nowell, Derby; 6 p.m., Rev. J. H. Taylor, M.A., Newcastle.

BALLAST HILLS.—6 p.m., Mr. John Wilson, Longtown.

DURHAM ROAD, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m., Rev. M. Bruce Meckleham, Glasgow; 6·30 p.m., Councillor W. Whittle, Stockton.

PRINCE CONSORT ROAD, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m., Rev. T. J. Gladwin, Mexboro'; 6·30 p.m., Rev. J. Lamb Harvey, Berwick.

SUNDERLAND ROAD, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m., Mr. F. Cowley, London; 6·30 p.m., Rev. John Cairns, J.P., Kilmarnock.

VICTORIA STREET, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m., Mr. C. Dain, Sunderland; 6·30 p.m., Mr. D. McMillan, Sunderland.

BLAYDON-ON-TYNE.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Mr. J. H. Barker, Newcastle.

BLAYDON HAUGHS.—6 p.m., Mr. James Lawson, Blaydon.

CRAWCROOK.—10·30 a.m. and 6 p.m., Mr. R. J. Simpson, Hexham.

HEDGEFIELD.—2·30 and 6 p.m., Mr. W. Holmes, Blaydon.

WALLSEND.—10·30 a.m., Mr. Francis Purvis, South Benwell.

METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.

RENDEL STREET.—10·30 a.m., Mr. John Wilson, Longtown; 6·30 p.m., Mr. C. W. Garrard, London.

SALEM.—10·30 a.m., Rev. Maclean Brown, Gosforth; 6·30 p.m., Rev. John Thornley, Sheffield.

ST. PETER'S.—10·30 a.m., Rev. J. Craig, Willington; 6·30 p.m., Mr. R. Watson, Carlisle.

SNOW STREET.—10·45 a.m., Rev. C. H. Murray, Manchester; 6 p.m., Mr. Sam Pilling, Scarborough.

BUDLE STREET, SOUTH BENWELL.—10·30 a.m., Mr. J. Moseley, Birmingham; 6·30 p.m., Mr. E. Boreland, Liverpool.

WHITEHALL ROAD, Gateshead.—10·30 a.m., Rev. D. C. Mackallor Denny; 6·30 p.m., Rev. M. Bruce Meckleham, Glasgow.

NORTH SHIELDS—MILBURN PLACE.—6 p.m., Mr. Tom Honeyman, Glasgow.

METHODIST FREE CHURCHES.

GLOUCESTER STREET.—10·30 a.m., Rev. B. W. Rose, Newcastle; 6·30 p.m., Rev. H. Holgate, Newcastle.

HAMSTERLEY ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. H. Holgate, Newcastle; 6·30 p.m., Mr. J. Nixon, Newcastle.

PRUDHOE STREET.—10·30 a.m., Ex-Bailie Lewis, Edinburgh; 6·30 p.m., Rev. John Morgan, Chester.

SHIELDS ROAD.—10·30 a.m., Rev. William Newton, Dent; 6 p.m., Mr. Geo. Shires, Derby.

ST. PETER'S.—6·30 p.m., Mr. T. G. Hughes, Newcastle.

GOSFORTH.—10·30 a.m., Mr. Thos. Hardy, Stoke-on-Trent; 6·30 p.m., Rev. J. G. Binney, Gateshead.

KILN PIT HILL.—2·30 p.m., Mr. John Dickinson, Shotley Field; 6·30 p.m., Mr. Wm. Hudson, jun., Mickley.

DUNSTON.—6 p.m., Mr. J. Walter Wilson, Heaton.

PRUDHOE.—10·30 a.m., Rev. W. H. Faulkner, Prudhoe.

WEST WYLLAM.—5·30 p.m., Rev. W. H. Faulkner, Prudhoe.

BARLOW.—2·30 p.m. and 5·30 p.m., Mr. James Herron, Wylam.

COXLODGE.—6 p.m., Mr. Thos. J. Godfrey, Newcastle.

KENTON.—10·30 a.m. and 6 p.m., Mr. John F. Todd, Newcastle.

NEW CHURCH (Swedenborgian).

PARK ROAD.—10·30 a.m. and 6·30 p.m., Rev. J. Elstob, Newcastle.

FRIENDS.

MEETING HOUSE.—6·30 p.m., Mr. John Hilton, London.

GOSPEL TEMPERANCE SERVICES.

CENTRAL HALL.—3·0 p.m., Mr. W. Sutherland, London ; 7·0 p.m., Mr. T. Jones Parry, C.C., Abergavenny.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—United Service, 7·0 p.m., Rev. W. Glover, Newcastle Gospel Temperance Hall, 8·0 p.m., Mr. W. H. Hall, Sheffield.

PLEASANT SUNDAY AFTERNOONS.

ART GALLERY Y.M.C.A.—3·0 p.m., Mr. John Newton, Norwich.

WESTGATE ROAD BAPTIST.—3·0 p.m., Mr. J. Martin Skinner, G.E.S., London.

ST. PAUL'S CONGREGATIONAL.—3·0 p.m., Mr. Sam Pilling, Scarborough.

GATESHEAD CONGREGATIONAL.—3·0 p.m., Mr. T. Jones Parry, C.C., Abergavenny.

NEW BENWELL.—3·0 p.m., Mr. E. Boreland, Liverpool.

- GREAT
CIVIC RECEPTION IN OLYMPIA.

On Monday Evening, April 5th, an Official Reception by His Worship the Mayor of Newcastle (Councillor J. Goolden, J.P.) and the Mayoress (Miss Goolden) took place in the Olympia.

One of the pleasantest gatherings in connection with the Convention was that held on Monday evening, April 5th, in Olympia. It was a gathering that combined business with pleasure, the social element in it largely predominating. And the speeches—except, of course, the presidential address—were rather complimentary than aggressive. A choir, aided by instrumentalists, under the direction of Mr. Murray, occupied a considerable portion of the platform, above which was an inscription in white upon a blue ground—"Welcome to the National Prohibition Convention." Beneath the balcony, on one side of the hall, were the names of famous local Temperance people—Rewcastle, Charlton, Dodds, Mawson, Benson, Rutherford, Burt, and Lady Carlisle; and these were opposed by the names of Lawson, Caine, Wilberforce, Lees, Raper, Malins, Whittaker, and Lady Somerset. At the further end, beneath the gallery were inscribed—"Neal Dow, the Father of Prohibition, .Etat 94"; and "Joseph Livesey, the Father of Teetotalism, .Etat 92."

The Assembly was, however, a very happy preliminary to the more serious discussions of the Convention. The chief object of the gathering was to give a welcome to the delegates attending the Convention—a welcome in which the representatives of the municipality joined with the Local Reception Committee. Some three thousand invitations had been issued for the reception, and long before six o'clock—at which hour the proceedings were to begin—the guests flocked to the hall, where they were admitted by the east corridor.

At the entrance to the hall were the Mayor of Newcastle (Councillor John Goolden, J.P.) and the Mayoress (Miss Goolden), the Sheriff (Councillor John Beattie) and Mrs. Beattie, and the Mayor of Jarrow (Councillor George Johnson) and Mrs. Johnson, and these received the visitors as they came into the hall. Their task was not altogether a sinecure, for it is tiring work, shaking hands with two or three thousand people, but it was graciously performed. The Mayoress and Mrs. Beattie, and the Mayoress of Jarrow, all looked charming, and their pleasant welcome added greatly to the agreeableness of the gathering.

The hall rapidly filled, and at seven o'clock was crowded. Among those present were Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P. (President of the Convention), Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P. (London), Mr. J. Malins, G.C.T. (Birmingham), Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P. (Chairman of the Local Reception Committee), the Very Rev. J. W. Leigh, D.D. (Dean of Hereford), Mr. J. H. Raper (London), the Rev. R. W. Dobbie (Glasgow), Mr. W. Sutherland (London), Rev. G. Armstrong-Bennetts, B.A. (London), Mr. W. Wilkinson (Belfast), Mr. Tom Honeyman (Glasgow), Mr. John Hilton (London), Mr. Fielden Thorp, B.A. (York), the Rev. J. D. McKinnon (Dumfries), Mr. Lief Jones, M.A. (Castle Howard), Mr. John Wilson, M.P. (Govan), Ald. W. D. Stephens, the Rev. E. Sidney Savage (Vicar of Jesmond, Newcastle), Mr. Maberley Phillips, the Rev. J. Hamilton Paterson, Councillor J. H. Rodgers, Councillor C. C. Elliott, Ald. E. S. Hindmarsh (Gateshead), Mr. Walter Runciman, Mr. Thomas Herdman, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. A. W. Wilkie, Mr. W. J. S. Scott, Mr. R. Watson, Mr. Tennyson Smith, Mr. David Moffat, Mr. Ed. Watson, Mrs. J. D. McKinnon (Dumfries), Mrs. David Richardson, Mr. Whitehead, the Rev. J. Boone Cantley, Mr. G. B. Hunter, Dr. Vickerman Rutherford, Mr. J. R. Hogg, C.C. (North Shields), Mr. T. S. Birkby, Ald. L. H. Armour (Gateshead), Mr. Fred Burn, Mr. J. H. Watson, Mr. W. Runciman, Jun., Councillor Hugh Crawford Smith, the

Rev. Joseph Rorke, the Rev. T. D. Landels, Mr. Geo. Tomlinson and Mr. C. Hayler (Hon. Secretaries). Refreshments were served from five o'clock until seven o'clock, by Messrs. Lockhart, Smith and Co., Temperance Caterers, Newcastle.

During the evening a programme of music was performed by Spencer's St Works Temperance Prize Band, under the conductorship of Mr. R. Binnie.

The Reception lasted until after seven o'clock, and then the Mayor and Mayoress, the Sheriff and Mrs. Beattie, and the Mayor of Jarrow and Mr. Johnson, came upon the platform; and the audience rose to their feet, and joined the choir in singing the National Anthem. Soon afterwards, the President of the Convention, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., came upon the platform, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P. (Chairman of the Local Reception Committee), Mr. S. Caine, J.P. (London), and others, and were greeted with enthusiastic cheers. Sir Wilfrid Lawson took the chair.

LETTER FROM THE MAYOR OF GATESHEAD.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Secretary) announced that Alderman J. T. Scott, J. (the Mayor of Gateshead), had written as follows:—"I am very sorry I will not be able to be present to support his Worship the Mayor of Newcastle to-morrow evening, as I promised. I have had, during the last week, a sharp attack of influenza, and have not yet been able to leave the house. This is to me a great disappointment, as I had fully expected to take some little part in the Convention of the next few days. I sincerely trust the Convention will be all that you expect."

WELCOME BY THE MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE.

The Mayor, received with cheers, said: Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As the Mayor of this city, and representing the inhabitants of this city to-night, I offer you a cordial and hearty welcome to the city of Newcastle. (Cheers.) Newcastle is always delighted to see distinguished strangers, and when we take into consideration that many of you have come from great distances, from all parts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and some from abroad, I can only say on behalf of the inhabitants, we are delighted to see such a large gathering. (Applause.) The subject you have come here to deliberate upon is worthy of such a gathering. (Cheers.) It is not my duty to-night to criticise a word or method; it is sufficient for me to say as Mayor of this city that any effort that is made to stop the sale of intoxicating drink and the way it is sold, and to diminish the drinking habits of the people, ought to have the support of all people in authority. (Cheers.) Our homes would be happier—(hear, hear, and cheers)—the people would be better clad—(hear, hear)—religion would flourish more, and ladies and gentlemen, our workhouses would be almost empty—(applause)—our gaols would not be so well filled, police court magistrates would have very little to do if it were not for the abuse of intoxicating drink. (Cheers.) I hope, ladies and gentlemen, that your deliberations in advancing the cause of true Temperance will be most successful, and when you go back to your various homes you will be satisfied with the reception you have received from the people of Newcastle, and satisfied with the work you have done in the interests of Temperance. I will not occupy you longer, but simply once more welcome you to this ancient city of ours and to say how pleased we are to have such an immense gathering for discussing such an important question. Once more I offer you a hearty welcome to the city. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. S. CAINE, J.P. (London), said he had been requested by the committee of management of the Convention to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor for the splendid reception he had given to the 1,100 delegates who had come to Newcastle from the four corners of the United Kingdom. (Applause.) As President of the British Temperance League, he had, at its annual gatherings, partaken of the hospitality of the Mayors of the cities and towns in which the League held its meetings, but never had temperance workers been accorded such a welcome as that which had been given them that night by the Mayor of the ancient city of Newcastle. Sometimes their receptions were perfunctory. That was not the case

that night, for, in the ringing speech which they had just had from the Mayor, they could see that he welcomed them not merely as chief magistrate of that great city, but that his heart was with them. (Applause.) He ventured to say that the Mayor of no great city could find himself in a fitter position than that in which the Mayor of Newcastle found himself that night. (Applause.) For he was welcoming earnest men and women—men and women not met to promote trade interests, or to promote anything of a selfish character, but men and women met in the interests of public morals. (Applause.) And the Mayor of Newcastle, as guardian of public morals, was, he thought, in the right place in welcoming to Newcastle such a gathering as that. (Applause.) Their object was to rid the country of its greatest social evil. They were at war with the liquor trade. He had always avowed himself a Prohibitionist. He believed that the trade was so evil in its influences and so ruinous to society at large that sensible men ought to insist upon the legislature passing laws to prohibit the manufacture and sale of strong drink. They were not alone in taking up that position. They were following the example of other nations. Prohibition was no new thing in the United States, and in Canada it had proved successful. There was a prohibitory liquor law upon the statute book of our own country. It was not so long ago that a measure was passed prohibiting the sale of liquor on the North Sea, and that law was passed in conjunction with all the countries of Europe whose coasts abutted upon the North Sea. (Applause.) This was the starting point of Prohibition for this country. What was good for the fishermen was good for those who ate the fish—(laughter)—and they were there to claim that the same protection, the same privileges, which were conferred upon the fishermen of Hull and Scarborough and Leith, Yarmouth, Lowestoft, and Penzance should be conferred upon the people who lived in the towns from whence these men sailed to sea. They were protected when they were at sea; they wanted the power to protect them when they were on shore. They were all practical men. They did not ask the State, at the present moment, to pass the law of Prohibition, to legislate in advance of public opinion. But in the interval of the ultimate passing of this law, they claimed that each community should have the power, by direct veto, to protect itself from having liquor thrust upon it against its will. They proposed to prohibit in this direction by districts. They had already succeeded in convincing one-half of the political division of this country; what lay before them now was to convert the other half. He believed they should do it. (Applause.) He thanked the Mayor and Mayoress again for their hearty welcome of a Convention, which, he held, represented all the elements of society that made for righteousness and good government. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOHN WILSON, M.P. (Govan), seconded the resolution, remarking humorously that Scotchmen were generally to the fore when any good work was to be done, especially when it was temperance work. (Hear, hear.) As Scotchmen they were pleased to come to that ancient city; they were come there, not as did their forefathers in bygone days—(laughter and applause)—when the Highlanders were disposed to ease the citizens of Newcastle of their surplus money and goods. (Laughter). They had come with the olive branch of peace and goodwill—(hear, hear)—and he hoped his countrymen would go back strengthened and sustained in their great temperance principles, for these constituted one of the greatest reforms of this or any other age in the country. (Hear, hear.) That great gathering satisfied them that the cause was making progress—(hear, hear)—in the Church, the State, and amongst the judges of the land. With the Mayor he had no doubt that by closing the public-houses they would also close the workhouses; that instead of misery, poverty, wretchedness, and crime predominating, there would be prosperity in the land from one end to another. (Applause.) In the North they led the van of this temperance movement. They had had for forty years Prohibition on one day in seven. (Applause.) He wished he saw this in England. (Hear, hear.) In a few days he hoped the Irishmen in the House of Commons who had charge of the Sunday Closing Bill would be successful in getting Sunday Closing enacted for the whole of Ireland—(applause)—with no exempted cities. They might be told that they could get drink on Sunday in

Scotland if they went to a shebeen. Yes, they found men ready to break the law as burglars, and also where there was prohibition. But this he could say for the authorities in Scotland, that they were strongly impressed with the necessity of dealing very hardly with those who broke the law. The publicans themselves as a general rule never thought of going back on Sunday Closing. (Hear, hear.) It had been a benefit to them and their servants. (Hear, hear.) So far as Prohibition was concerned in Scotland he believed the country was ripe for a further instalment for every day in the week. (Applause.) They would never rest content until the people of the kingdom had the power to determine whether or not these licensed public-houses should be put down in their midst as a temptation to their families. (Applause.) He hoped the country would soon stand forth in all the grandeur of Prohibition which would bring peace and prosperity to it. (Applause.)



MR. THOS. BURT, M.P.

Mr. THOS. BURT, M.P. (Newcastle), welcomed the delegates on behalf of the various Temperance societies in the North of England. He thought those of them who had been associated for many years with the Temperance movement must feel that a great honour had been conferred upon them by such a large number of delegates from all parts of the kingdom, and also some from abroad, responding to the invitation to be present. He believed that was the third Convention of the kind held in the United Kingdom; but the present gathering was beyond doubt the largest and most representative Convention that had ever been held in the history of the Temperance movement. (Hear, hear.) In the Convention of 1846, Dr. Lymen Beecher was one of the speakers, while Elihu Burrett, the learned blacksmith, was another. Dr. Beecher was not only a distinguished man himself, but was father of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Mr. Burt said Dr. F. R. Lees, he believed, took part in those early Conventions, while another veteran, whom he was glad to see present, was Mr. Thomas Whittaker. The 1862 Convention was somewhat marred by difference of opinion between the older Temperance societies and the United Kingdom Alliance on the question of legislative action. The present Convention was thoroughly united. He had never seen why there should be the slightest antagonism between those who aimed to reform the individual and those who directed their efforts to lessening temptations arising from the traffic in drink. No doubt if they could inculcate habits of self-control that was the higher work; but, on the other hand, there was still great need for diminishing, and, if they could, abolishing altogether the incitements to intemperance. In Newcastle there was still a good deal of work to do. The Newcastle magistrates that day had 67 cases of drunkenness before them. Civilisation could not be regarded as perfect when a terrible fact like that stared them in the face. (Hear, hear.) In the name of all sections of the Temperance Party in the North of England he heartily welcomed the delegates attending that Convention. (Applause.)

Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P., then gave the Presidential Address (see page 35.)

Canon HICKS (Manchester) rose to move that the very heartiest thanks be given to Sir Wilfrid Lawson for his inspiring address. He (Sir Wilfrid) had set an example to all who were engaged in this or any other great moral and social agitation of perpetual courage and unflinching good humour. (Applause.) Canon Hicks went on to say that they were confident in the reasonableness of their demands. They had confidence in their arguments, and they had thorough confidence in their great leader. (Applause.) The year in which this Convention was being held was in many respects a wonderful year. It was a year which

reminded them of the long reign of their glorious Queen. (Applause.) They (the Temperance people) also knew it as the jubilee year of the Band of Hope movement. (Applause.) And was it not strange that just at this time there should be so many circumstances conspiring to call attention to the Temperance question all over the land? Was it not remarkable that the Commission which was now sitting should be accumulating evidence of the outrages upon civilisation daily committed by the liquor traffic, and should be enlightening the minds of the community upon this great question, so that, very soon, the demands which are being made on behalf of Temperance shall meet with hearty acceptance? He hoped that the Convention being held that week would bring before the minds of their countrymen precisely what they demanded. He believed that, though appetite was against them; though there was an enormous accumulation of interest against them; though the House of Lords was against them; though a great number of the churches were against them; and though, worse than all, there was an almost impenetrable ignorance which was a great obstacle to their success, yet they would win. (Applause.) That Convention, he trusted, would dissipate the ignorance that existed and make people understand what it really was they desired. They were not one-ideal men. There were many other subjects which deeply touched their hearts, especially at this critical moment in the history of their country. (A voice: "Three cheers for Greece," followed by applause.) This was not a Cretan meeting, and he would therefore ask them not to cheer. There were many subjects which touched them at every point, but there was no subject which they held to be so vital to the happiness of the people, no subject in which so great a wrong was being done to the homes of the people, no subject for the reform of which there was so great a demand for accessions to the opposing ranks as was the case with this liquor question. (Applause.) He would tell them that the trade flaunted itself before public opinion. It used every kind of means and influence in order to turn even the law of justice on its side. He should like to know something of the doings of their Watch Committees in private, and to have a shorthand copy of what was said in the retiring room of the Justices on licensing days. He was such an impudent sort of person as to dare to ask questions. Supposing it were in their power to meet together and decide that the whole trade should be cleared out from amongst them he was sure that the trade would use all its influence. But they would be extremely careful to keep clear of the claws of the law; very careful indeed not to outrage public opinion, because they would know there was a potent engine ready to clear them away, and that was the voice and vote of a determined, enlightened, and reforming public opinion. They maintained that the law, as it at present existed and was administered by the magistrates and Watch Committees, was a law which put gross temptations in the way of people. They had their Factory Acts and Employers' Liability Act, and they were going to protect the working man—and he sadly needed it—but he wanted to protect them just outside the factory. (Loud applause.) These great brewers who boasted of their benevolence and spoke of the thousands they gave in charity, were glad to purchase and bid against one another for the corner house just where the workmen rushed out of the great works, so that they might tempt them. Many a man went out from his work on a Saturday afternoon, tired in body and excited in mind, to the public-house where the brewer had set as a trap to catch him. He stayed there all the afternoon till not a penny of his wages was left for his wife and family. And that was the tragedy which had been acted in thousands and thousands of homes. Take away the temptation, they said. (Loud applause.) It had also been urged that they were infringing on the liberty of the individual. A good old Archdeacon of his had asked him what he would do if he wanted a glass of wine in the event of prohibition being adopted. He (the speaker) replied, "You won't die if you don't get your glass of wine." (Laughter and applause.) In what way, Canon Hicks continued, were they going to interfere with individual liberty? The more complex our civilisation was, the more completely we advanced in real civilisation and humanity, the more we became a state, a brotherhood, a sisterhood, and a family. (Loud applause.) There was

an interlacing dependence of one upon the other, and they were tied together with invisible and innumerable links. They were full of obligations to others. In their scheme of prohibition they were following out just the front movement of their national life. There never was a thing so natural in the development of their democracy as this—whether or no the people should have the power to prohibit the common sale of strong drink amongst them. He exhorted them to keep the question well to the front, and to enlighten themselves on every aspect of it. 99 per cent. of the hideous cruelties to little children in England, he said, was due directly to the drink traffic. Abolish the drink traffic, and nearly the whole of it vanished away. They were marching for the deliverance of children and women, and for the most helpless of their fellows. Let them close up their ranks, let them be vigilant, and before long God would crown their campaign with a great and triumphant victory. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS, B.A. (London) seconded the proposition. He said he had heard it said, before and since he came to Newcastle, that they were impracticable men, who were talking about immediate, national, entire prohibition, a thing which was only to be dreamt of as possible in the distant future. He was glad the President had stated plainly that that platform was in favour of every real restriction of the liquor traffic. (Cheers.) It had been said in that meeting that if the churches were faithful, the question would be settled. He dared to declare on Sunday, as he had declared for many years, that the principle of the prohibition of the liquor traffic was wrapped up in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They had Temperance Sunday, and he was glad of it; but he was afraid that having Temperance Sunday was made by many ministers an excuse for being dumb upon the other fifty-one Sundays of the year. If a minister of the Gospel was not a Temperance man, he would like to know what he was. He was there to destroy all the works of the Devil; and if he was not doing that on all the fifty-two Sundays of the year, he was unfaithful to his charge. (Applause.) The least a Christian minister could do was to speak often and faithfully concerning the frightful prevalence of intemperance, and to warn his flock against the temptations. When they ceased to have a dumb pulpit, a cowardly pulpit, because men of position and enormous wealth were against the Temperance movement—then, when the Church of God led the Temperance movement in this country, they would have not only Local Option, but Prohibition. (Cheers.)

The vote was cordially given, and the meeting then ended.

**GREAT
DEMONSTRATION IN OLYMPIA.**

On Tuesday Evening, April 5th, 1897, a Great Demonstration was held in Olympia. Dr. R. Spence Watson in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.



DR. R. S. WATSON.

Dr. WATSON, who was received with cheers, said that perhaps they would pardon him if he began with a confession. When he first saw the title of this Convention he must acknowledge that he shared some of the fears which had been expressed about it. It seemed to him to be a somewhat restrictive title, in one sense at all events. He feared it might lead to the supposition that there was a strong tendency to go for Prohibition and nothing else, and that it might discourage some of those who had loyally but unsuccessfully fought for a smaller measure. When his friends, who knew that on certain matters he did not see eye to eye with them, asked him to preside at a meeting of the Convention, his feelings were somewhat similar to those that would be experienced by a blackleg who was asked to preside at a meeting of trade union—(laughter)—or of a burglar who was asked to take the chair at a meeting of the Criminal

Law Amendment Society. (Renewed laughter.) But, on second thoughts, he came to the conclusion that a few words from an outsider might not be altogether unacceptable—(hear, hear)—and he thought there was need of a closer knowledge of each other, and of the strength which comes from unity of action. (Applause.) Going about the streets during the last few days he had constantly heard it said that this movement, and other movements of the kind, were an interference with individual freedom. He was not going to deny it. Interference with individual freedom was by no means an uncommon thing in civilised society. (Hear, hear.) What was the freedom which a man who belonged to civilised society possessed? He possessed the freedom so to use that which was his own that he did not injure other people. (Hear, hear.) The man who got drunk, or made another man drunk, did injure other people. (Hear, hear.) He injured them in a way most men felt most keenly, and that was pecuniarily. The drunken man went home, and maybe beat his wife—by no means an uncommon incident—he fell into the hands of the police, he was prosecuted, and the cost of all this came upon the persons who did not get drunk, who did not want to go home and beat their wives, when they got there. (Hear, hear.) It was, after all, an old, old story that one of two must obey. Either in all these matters the majority must obey the minority, or the minority must obey the majority. And which was the rational mode of action he left his hearers to determine. (Hear, hear.) They had heard it said by a high Episcopal authority that he would rather have Britain free than Britain sober. That, perhaps—if he might speak with reverence upon such a subject—was a stupid thing for a bishop to say. (Applause.) It raised the false inference that Britain could not be both free and sober. (Loud applause.) For the slavery of vile lusts and appetites was the worst of all slavery. (Hear, hear.) And now might he say with what pleasure he read the splendid address which they listened to the night before from the grand champion of Temperance—Sir Wilfrid Lawson—who sat on his right hand. (Applause.) He—the chairman—especially enjoyed the plea the president put in for what might be called the day of small things. They were not small things really. There were two or three

measures which, compared with the greater measures which had been advocated, might seem small, but which, too, were of immense importance. To his mind one of their great reforms, one of the great practical electoral reforms, would be that which they would gain when they carried the closing of public-houses on the polling day. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It was simply monstrous that upon the polling day they should have these barracks in every part of their great cities for the promotion of that which was at the very least undesirable—they would go further and say entirely degrading—and, which made the proper exercise of the right to the franchise an impossibility. (Applause.) There was the closing of the public-houses on Sundays and holidays. He had had an opportunity within the last fortnight of having much conversation with that celebrated traveller, Nansen, who had recently delighted the whole country. (Applause.) He had been delighted to hear from him the story of the state of affairs in the native lands. Nansen told him that his country derived the greatest blessing from having the public-houses closed from five o'clock on Saturday afternoon until eight o'clock on Monday morning. (Applause.) He would like to say a word or two upon the political position of this-movement. It was encouraging from one point of view. For the first time in history a great temperance reform had been attempted by the introduction of the Local Veto Bill by one of the greatest and best leaders in the House of Commons. (Applause.) For the moment that Bill was defeated; but what then? Surely we must improve it and strengthen it. (Applause.) They must not be discouraged by defeat. Defeat was the testing time for true men. Defeats must be as teachers. He firmly believed that if the Bill had been fully and thoroughly explained throughout the land they would have been spared that great defeat. (Applause.) He had said the majority must rule. They had not a majority at the last general election. They admitted it. They must look facts fully in the face. They had got to gain a majority by wisdom and prudence; and above everything gain it by education, and as well as wisdom and prudence they must have courage and faithfulness. (Applause.) They must explain the great underlying truths that this Bill was really government of the people by the people. (Applause.) That was the great point and principle which, if fully brought forward, the people, depend upon it, would rise to. (Applause.) They would not be discouraged by defeat. They would take heart of grace, and endeavour to be of those--

“Who never turned their backs but marched breast forward;
 Never doubted clouds would break;
 Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
 Held, we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
 Sleep to wake.

(Loud applause.) It would be a good day for their true old land when they realised the mighty reforms which they were met to advocate. (Loud applause.)

The Choir then sang “Excelsior” and were loudly applauded.

MRS. HARRISON LEE'S ADDRESS.

Mrs. HARRISON LEE (Melbourne, Australia) said that sixty years ago she did not think they could have had such a meeting as that for Prohibition. (“No.”) The seven men had become seven millions. If they went on at that rate, and if the one had become a million in sixty years, what would the seven millions become in another sixty? (Applause.) They would not be able to have such a gathering as that sixty years to come, because there would be no need for it:

“We are mounting through the darkness,
 And our eyes behold the light,
 That is mounting up the eastern sky,
 And beating back the night.”

(applause) —and they, Britishers, when they were beaten down, they were like the india-rubber ball, they bounced higher—don't you? (Laughter and applause.) A gentleman asked her, “What good have you teetotalers done with all your work, what good have you done, the drink bill is larger than ever?” The good they had done could only be measured by the evil they had prevented. (Applause.) She

thought that was something tremendous. Out in her land she knew the teetotalers had done wonderful things, and she said this now impartially, for she had only been a teetotaler, a personal prohibitionist, herself for some thirteen years. She, therefore, spoke for the others, and knew they had done wonderfully. When they had got prohibition here they must help them over there at the Antipodes. (Applause.) Capital had been made out of the question of prohibition in New Zealand. Now, the first vote there was 40,000 for prohibition, and this year there were 90,000. (Applause.) The appearance on the face of the matter, that they had been set back, was this: three years ago it required a certain number of the voters to go to the poll to make a poll. It was the policy of the liquor party to keep the people from voting at all so as to make it an invalid poll. There had been other legislation since, and now it meant a majority, and so the liquor party went to the polls and polled their fullest strength, 130,000 votes. So they knew now what they had to count on, and if they (the teetotalers) doubled their numbers for three years before the new century they should have prohibition in New Zealand. (Loud applause.)

Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING sang two ballads in her most effective manner.

MR. LEIF JONES' ADDRESS.



MR. LEIF JONES, M.A.

Mr. LEIF JONES, M.A. (Castle Howard), said they were not in Newcastle to make terms with the liquor traffic. (Applause.) They were in Newcastle to draw up an indictment against it. It was not only the cause of misery, pauperism, and crime in every shape, but it was the very measure and index of the scourges of their race, and the measure of the degradation of any neighbourhood was the amount of alcohol that was consumed in it. (Applause.) Their hearts were full with a burning anger against this destroyer of our race. Their opponents said that their language was exaggerated. It was impossible to exaggerate the evil caused by the drink traffic, and it was impossible to exaggerate the strength of the hatred which they felt towards the traffic. (Applause.) The time for bandying argument with the liquor traffic was now gone. They were at close grip with "the trade" now, and they must either master the evil or it would master them and the nation; and if it mastered them the nation would sink into degradation and demoralisation from which there would be no redemption. The prohibitionists were not against the regulation of the liquor traffic. He read a letter from the Rector of Gateshead, in which Canon Moore Ede said, "We must aim at diminution, at curtailing the hours, and reducing the number of licensed houses so far as public opinion will permit, and, if possible, in every way to clip the privileges and diminish the volume of the drink traffic." He (the speaker) did not know a single Prohibitionist who would not support with all his heart every one of those proposals. Why, every one of those were Prohibition proposals. (Hear, hear.) But they remembered that regulation had been tried for a very long time in this country, and their contention was that, regulate it as stringently as they would, regulation did not succeed in stopping the evils that flowed from the public-house. The Rector of Gateshead seemed to forget that the present law was very stringent. It was administered by the magistrates who took every pains to choose the fittest men and the fittest houses for the trade to be carried on in. The licensed victuallers were a very enlightened body of men. He read a speech by the Rev. Dr. McLeod, who responded to the toast of the clergy at a dinner of a Scottish Licensed Victuallers' Benevolent Institution. Well, Dr. McLeod was a Scotchman, and he agreed with the remark that much might be made of a Scotchman if he were only caught young. (Laughter.) Dr. McLeod said he had all along been convinced that the tendency to ostracise the trade was not only the stupidest but the wickedest thing for the

country. If they desired to make the trade what it ought to be they should, said Dr. McLeod, get the highest toned men into it, and get it worked by such men. But he did not know where Dr. McLeod had been living. The trade was at present carried on by the highest toned men. Dealing with the necessity for legislative interference, Mr. Jones said they found in this country that they were just able by means of their agitation, without the restrictive legislation they wanted, just able to stem the tide of intemperance, and that was all. All the work of all the Temperance missionaries only availed to stem the torrent of intemperance that swept over the country. They made no headway against it worthy of the name, and they demanded to be put on a level with those more favoured countries like Canada, Scandinavia, and many parts of America, where they could call in the hands of the law to strengthen the hands of Temperance effort. Temperance Societies were day by day doing good, and the publicans day by day were tempting teetotalers back to their den. They were sick and tired of this unequal contest, and they demanded the right to protect themselves and their children and homes against this iniquitous traffic which gave them no peace. (Applause.) They were told that they were extreme because they demanded this power. And they were reminded of what happened at the next election, and the Liberals were being invited to drop the Local Veto question. He thought the presence of Dr. Spence Watson, the chairman of the National Liberal Federation, was an answer to these anonymous scribblers in the press, because it was to be noticed that neither Dr. Watson nor any of the leaders have uttered one single note of hesitation in regard to this measure. These invitations came from gentlemen who signed themselves "Thirty Years a Liberal," "Tynesider," "Teetotaler for Fifty Years," and such like. But very few of these advisers of the Liberal party seemed to have any baptismal names—(laughter)—though he did not know whether or not, when unveiled, they would be found on the signs of public-houses. There was no sign of wavering among the leaders of the Liberal party, and if there were he could only say that this Temperance movement was independent of the Liberal party. (Cheers.) They were Prohibitionists before the Liberal party took up this Local Veto question, and they would continue to be the same after the party had dropped it, or rather if they were foolish enough to try to do it. The Temperance question was not one to be trifled with. It went down to the very foundations of their national life. It had to be settled, and great would be the glory and certain the ultimate triumph of the political party which made this question its own. He was not blind to the obstacles in front of them. There was a vast deal of indifference on the part of many people; there was the ignorance on the part of many who ought to know better; there was a great deal of prejudice which attached to the Local Veto; and there was the immense interest and wealth of "The Trade." With all these enemies, the battle was no kid-glove affair, but a life and death struggle. (Applause.)

Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING next contributed an unaccompanied solo, which was encored.

REV. CANON HICKS' ADDRESS.

Rev. Canon Hicks, M.A. (Salford), said he would like to say a few words as a British clergyman upon what seemed to him the core and centre of the Temperance question—namely, the influence of the public-house upon the homes of the people. The whole of the Temperance question, as it presented itself to prohibitionists, centred in this: were the people or were the publican and the brewer to dominate the situation? That was the question, and he wanted to give them reasons why it should be absolutely necessary that power should be given to the people to deal with this traffic just as they pleased. They were not met together in Newcastle in order to diminish to some extent drunkenness; they had to deal with that institution which was so absolutely necessary for the comfort and happiness of the people that the law had hedged round it all sorts of safeguards. Was, therefore, the public-house a necessity? ("No.") Was it a place where any self-respecting working man would take his wife? Of course, they were told that the workman, forsooth, must have a place to go to. They were met with the philan-

dering nonsense about the workman being glad to escape from his home, disturbed and disordered and rendered uncomfortable by so many squalling children. Well, whose children were they? (Cheers.) The fact was the brewer wanted the men's wages. Let them consider how the public-house worked with regard to the homes of the people. How did it work on the children? (Applause.) Were they better clothed as a consequence? He could tell them of charitable institutions that were obliged to loan clogs to the little ones because they knew that otherwise they would be gone the next day for drink. Christian men and women were face to face with an insuperable difficulty in dealing with the poor destitute children in the slums. They could only work upon them by means of the home, and the home was being destroyed absolutely by the liquor traffic. If they wanted to create or support homes for the people it would be a stand up fight between the home on the one side and the brewer and public-house on the other. The worst curse was not the drinking in public-houses after all. The worst mischief was done by the home drinking. The children were familiarised with the public-house. Some friends in Liverpool had utilised the kodak to take a few snap-shots of children in the act of carrying drink home from the public-houses. What a lecture could be given from these snap-shots thrown on the screen!—ragged, ill-clad little children, some of whom were caught in the act of tasting the drink as they came out of the public-house. With such results, their Prohibition Convention became really an anti-slavery meeting. (Applause.) They had met to abolish that white slavery, and they meant to do it. He noticed that the magistrates of Liverpool had been meeting together, and announced that they were going to stop that kind of thing. More power to them. He was watching it, because what the magistrates of Liverpool were doing in Liverpool he did not find within the four corners of the law, and there might be some technical difficulty in carrying out the will of the magistrates. The Liverpool magistrates wanted to make it impossible for any publican to serve any child under thirteen years of age with drink, whether it was for the consumption of the child or anybody else in the world. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JONATHAN HARGROVE (Southport)—from the audience: The licensed victuallers have agreed to it.

Canon HICKS, continuing, said he understood the licensed victuallers were so impressed by the action of the magistrates that they were conceding the matter. He hoped Liverpool would be a bright and shining example to other parts of the country. But he was not content with that. He wanted prohibition—that was the power vested in the people to say, "We will have this emancipation: we will have it because we have a right to demand it." That was the pith of the prohibition question. But that public-house about which they were fuming was a very sacred thing. They were laying their hands on the sacred ark of the covenant. The brewers said theirs was a most respectable trade. It was, if respectability meant the accumulation of wealth. The brewing trade was a most respectable trade. It would lift a man quicker than almost anything else in the world to the House of Lords itself. (Laughter.) Then there was another thing. All sorts of great and dignified persons were found at the annual meeting of the licensed victuallers. Why the Duke of York himself—"shame"—considered it an honour the other day to dine with the licensed victuallers. Oh! yes, the licensed victuallers had royalty among them, and so they saw what a dangerous thing they were doing in speaking of that traffic without bated breath and whispered humbleness. He attended brewster sessions and heard there what a sacred and necessary institution the drink traffic was in the country. They wanted to let in a little Christianity, a little humanity, a little justice and mercy like fresh air upon the licensing benches. How were they going to do it? There was, he believed, only one way. He believed in law. And if they could only infuse into the law a little more of the principles of Christianity he thought they should do much better. They, as prohibitionists, were the most thorough-going democrats in the community, and they said that government in this matter should be the government of the people for the people and by the people. And whether the public-house were a good or a vile and an abominable institution they wanted, by their Direct Veto Bill, their Permissive Bill, or whatever they liked to call it, the facility of informing the

licensing justices as to the wishes and wants of the neighbourhood in which they lived. (Applause.) That was all. Let a poll be taken in every ward of a town and in the districts in the country, and let the people for whom the licenses were to be granted instruct the licensing justices whether they wanted them or not. But there were people who said that, if this power were given to the people they would not use it. The brewers and publicans thought it would be used. As democrats and reformers they wished to give the people this liberty of choice. And so great were the issues bound up in the granting of this power that he said it was no exaggeration to say that that Convention was to all intents and purposes an anti-slavery demonstration on behalf of liberty, of the wives, the children, the homes, and the manhood of our people. (Applause.)

COUNCILLOR JOSEPH MALINS' ADDRESS.

Councillor JOSEPH MALINS (Birmingham) said that as he had in his paper, read at the opening of the Convention, indicated the legislative and other advances made in the United Kingdom, he would briefly indicate the legislation of other lands.

Of the forty odd States constituting the United States Republic, about eight had enacted State Prohibition in a more or less drastic form, while twenty-seven States had given each locality Local Veto power, and under the existing manhood suffrage many hundreds of counties and townships had ended the license system by prohibiting the common sale of intoxicants. Thus the State of Massachusetts was divided into 349 cities and "townships," including rural areas, and nearly 300 had voted and secured Prohibition. Sunday closing and closing on election days was the law in nearly every State. In 1878 the Dominion Parliament of Canada passed an act giving a bare majority of those voting the power of suppressing the traffic in their respective counties and cities, and many were thus under voluntary Prohibition to-day—and closing on Sundays and election days was rigidly enforced. In Central and South America the Good Templars were working for the same end; in British Honduras, Argentina, Uruguay, Chili, and in the West Indies—in Jamaica, Bermuda, St. Lucia, and the Bahamas, where they enacted Local Option long ago.

In Europe much was achieved. All rural Sweden possessed Local Option, and out of its 2,400 parishes about 2,200 had prohibited the common sale of spirits at least. In rural Norway it was commonly prohibited, and in 1894 an Act gave men and women over twenty-five years of age in towns the power to veto all spirit, all public-shops, and out of the twenty-four towns polled up to now, sixteen had suppressed the traffic.

In Iceland and Denmark the Good Templars were fighting towards Prohibition, and they had a good hold in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland—the latter country having a *referendum* power, under which any division can demand a poll on Prohibition or any constitutional question.

In Asia, the Good Templars had a footing in Arabia, Malaysia, Ceylon, China, Burmah, and especially in India, in which Empire a great reduction in drinking facilities had been achieved, under a resolution adopted by our House of Commons as advocated by Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., and Mr. W. S. Caine who also led an immense total abstinence movement among the natives.

The Continent of Africa was being missioned by Good Templar and other fraternities and societies in Egypt, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Lagos, Cape Colony, Natal, Rhodesia, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and other parts—Cape Colony and Natal giving a Local Veto over additional licenses, and the Orange and Transvaal Republics now prohibiting drink-sale to native races. Indeed, all the European powers possessing African dependencies had, by treaty, agreed to check spirit-sale in border territories, and to keep the uncontaminated interior, with its millions of square miles and millions of inhabitants, still uncontaminated by the liquor-traffic.

As to Australasia, every colony had its Good Templar and all other forms of Temperance organization; each colony closed drinking-shops on election days, and also on Sundays, except that South Australia allowed two hours sale on Sundays

unless locally prohibited. New South Wales gave local option to prevent additional licenses, while Queensland had adopted the Bill proposed for Scotland—allowing localities to restrain, reduce, or prohibit all licensing. In New Zealand they had enacted local option, and had given men and women a right to vote upon it, by which they had suppressed all public-houses in various parts, while the natives in the “King Country”—after he (Mr. Malins) had made the King and Chiefs into Good Templars—got leave to expel all drink-sellers from their reserved territory.

Thus, all round the world Temperance organization was achieving legislative reforms in advance of our own slower land, although it was our offshoots and our literature which had greatly contributed to these victories. (Applause.)

VOTE OF THANKS TO CHAIRMAN.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said he thought they would not like to separate without passing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and, therefore, he rose to make the proposition. (Applause.) The Chairman had put him into a little difficulty—he had confessed himself a “blackleg”—(laughter)—but as that did not seem to meet with their approbation, he went on and said he was a “burglar.” (Renewed laughter.) Now he would tell them what the Chairman was. He was a fanatic. (Loud laughter.) They must not be afraid of being a fanatic. (Applause.) He once went to hear the Dean of Canterbury preach, and in that gentleman’s opinion the most good was done in the world by fanatics and faddists. (Laughter.) He (Sir Wilfrid) went home that night and slept soundly. (Laughter and applause.) They all honoured their friend in the chair. (Applause.) Mr. Jones had alluded to Dr. Watson as being the head of the great Liberal organisation. There were no Liberals or Tories there—they were, however, Prohibitionists. There might be Liberal or Conservative Prohibitionists; but his friend was a Liberal, and a distinguished Liberal, because he believed the Liberal party to be an instrument for good. (Cheers.) That was the only reason why they should belong to any party. (Applause.) The Tory belonged to his party because he thought it was an instrument for good. Great was his faith. (Loud laughter.) He could only express the hope for himself and them all that Dr. Watson’s useful life might be prolonged so that he might see his heart’s desire finished. (Applause.)

Mr. W. S. CAINE, in seconding the resolution, expressed the pleasure he felt in seeing Dr. Watson in the chair. Society had come to the conclusion, said Mr. Caine, that the temperance reformers were the people to put this thing right, but society wanted to dictate the method of doing it. If they were to have the responsibility, and were to be the people always singled out to carry forward this temperance movement they must be allowed to choose their own methods. (Applause.) They could not allow any one who took the matter up in an amateurish kind of way to filibuster their movement. (Applause.) They would help everything that tended toward Prohibition and total abstinence, but everything that traversed their path they would crush out of existence if they could. (Applause.) Some people suggested that they should only work for total abstinence. The time however had gone by when they should content themselves with a mere policy of teetotalism. (Applause.) That great Convention was in favour of the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. They must be armed at every point. They had not only to defend themselves against their direct enemies, but against false friends—against admitting the enemy into their camp. They were constantly being invited to enter into partnership with milk and water reformers who did not go to the root of the matter. But they were too old birds to be taken with such chaff. (Applause.) They were not going to be the monkeys to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. He said to this class of men—“The problem you are trying to solve is how you can get a decent supply of liquor without the community being demoralised.” He (Mr. Caine) had been trying in vain to puzzle that out for the last twenty-five years, but had failed. He did not know by what method drink could be sold without demoralising the community. (Applause.) They were not fighting systems; they were fighting the drink; they did not trouble themselves about methods, they looked to results. (Applause)

The method advocated by that great Convention was Prohibition, and the results of Prohibition were ever effectively carried out, were favourable to the best interests of the community, therefore they supported the method that gave them the most favourable results. (Applause.) Teetotalers did not refuse the help of any, if they could get help from them, but it must be help and not simply criticism. Anybody could find fault. (Applause.) It was sixty-three years since the Temperance Standard had been hoisted, and they had got eight millions of abstainers; if they could get the other thirty-two millions every social and economic question at present troubling the social reformer would be brought to a solution. (Applause.) They had also made marvellous progress in legislation as indicated in the speech of Mr. Malina. (Applause.) Another striking fact was that in our Indian army out of 75,000 men over 25,000 were total abstainers. (Applause.) If the whole Empire was considered it would be found that more than two-thirds of the population were total abstainers. (Applause.) In the Society of Friends there were only about 20,000 members, but he believed that fully 18,000 were total abstainers. (Applause.) Let them go forward from that Convention more and more determined to secure the power to prohibit the Liquor Traffic. (Applause.)

The motion was carried with acclamation, and briefly acknowledged by the Chairman.

The proceedings closed with the singing of the Doxology.

GREAT
DEMONSTRATION IN OLYMPIA.

On Wednesday Evening, April 7th, another Great Gathering was held in Olympia. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON, who was loudly cheered, said he did not know what more there was to say. They had had four or five days of speaking, discussing, and singing. If they did not know all about it now he could not make them any wiser. In fact he did not know how they could contain all that had been given during the week. It was almost a miracle. He remembered a tale of a boy in school who was asked what was the miracle when the five thousand were fed, and he said, "Please, sir, it was a miracle they didn't burst themselves." (Laughter.) What could he say? There was a candidate in the old days along with Mr. Burke, the well-known statesman. Mr. Burke made a speech, and the candidate got up and said, "I say ditto to Mr. Burke." (Laughter.) He could say "ditto" to Canon Hicks, Mr. Malins, Dr. Spence Watson, and all those who had given them advice during the week. He thought this had been a very good and satisfactory Convention. (Applause.) So far as he had witnessed its proceedings, he thought there had been less twaddle talked at it than at any he had ever attended. (Applause and laughter.) The speakers had said what they meant. They had told the truth, and truth was not always popular. He saw that some writers in the newspapers condemned and criticised them. They were always anxious to keep right with the newspapers. They were not like the Americans. A child in America was asked where all the liars go to, and she replied, "They go to New York to write in the newspapers." (Laughter.) They went to New York—not to England. (Renewed laughter.) But what he rather found fault with was that his friends in the newspapers had no sense of humour. (Laughter.) Here was a system of licensing which had been going on for 400 years, and they kept backing it up with argument and with letters in the papers, and all the time it was filling the country with mourning, lamentation, and woe. And because they (the Temperance people) tried to alter the system in a small degree, they said, "What fools these Prohibitionists are, working away and not succeeding." (Laughter.) Why did not they say that they had been at work 400 years, and had totally failed? If any people were to be called fanatics they were the people who wrote in the newspapers and defended a system for which they could find no evidence to show it had done good. On the contrary, they (the writers) laughed at the Prohibitionists, and said they had not succeeded. No, they had not succeeded, because their opponents would not try their remedy. (Hear, hear.) But they were prepared to say that their remedy—Prohibition—had succeeded wherever it had been fairly tried. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the reporters would mark that word "fairly." (Laughter.) Otherwise they would go off, and to-morrow write long articles about the people in Maine going down a back street, down some steps to a hole of a cellar to get some whisky, and say that there is a total failure of the Maine law. What he said was that Prohibition had succeeded wherever it had been fairly tried; wherever the people had sense enough to enforce it and see it was carried out. They would have something more there in Newcastle before long. In that very assembly place he understood that on May 20th the licensed victuallers were to hold a great meeting. (A hiss.) He would express a hope that the press would report the licensed victuallers as fully and as accurately as they

had kindly reported them (the Prohibitionists) during the week. (Applause.) It would be a pleasanter thing to report the licensed victuallers, because they were not objectionable people like those present. (Laughter.) They were intelligent, hard-headed, benevolent men. He knew that, because he had read their speeches. (Laughter.) And their speeches were very entertaining. He could tell them what the licensed victuallers would say, although it was six weeks in advance, for their speeches were stereotyped. First they would say that they were there to defend their property. Who wanted to touch their property? He had never heard of anybody who wanted to touch their property. They did not want to interfere with their licenses. All they wanted was that they should not get new licenses. Every old license was nothing more than what he heard a speaker call it the other night—an old almanac. It was worth nothing more, and to take away an old almanac was only ridding a man of a nuisance. Then they would say they were not going to be trampled upon by the teetotalers. They seemed to think that this country was full of the most extraordinary people. One of their great orators said the other day: "Was the trade to be made the sport of the social fanatic, the political juggler, and the paid agitator?"—they hated anybody being paid except themselves—(laughter)—"and the political hypocrite?" What a description of their fellow-countrymen. (Laughter.) They did not want to confine the vote to these curious people. They wanted everybody—the moderate drinkers, the teetotalers, the drunkards, and the liquor sellers—to have a vote and say whether they would have the drink shops there or not. (Applause.) Why were they afraid of the teetotalers? Why, Mr. Caine himself, even in his most enthusiastic moments, could not add up the teetotalers in the country to more than seven millions, out of forty millions in the country. They could easily ride over them if they were only such a small number as that. Next they said: "What do these local veto men want? Nobody will adopt their plans, even if they get the law to carry them into effect." Then why were they so afraid to let them get the chance. (Hear, hear.) Did they remember that story of the miner who went to get married, and whose bride had learnt the service. Directly they came to the word "obey" she hesitated when the clergyman stopped. "Go on," said the miner, shaking his fist; "Go on, go on, we will settle that among ourselves." (Laughter.) Then he knew what they would have to say. They would have a turn or two at him. (Laughter.) They never could let him alone. (Laughter.) Why, he could not tell—(renewed laughter)—because they wrote in one of their papers not long since that in Sir Wilfrid Lawson the logical faculty was entirely wanting. (Laughter.) Why, they meant he was an idiot—(laughter)—and why they should be afraid of an idiot he could not make out. Ah! "Conscience makes cowards of us all." (Applause.) They were afraid of something coming upon them, as the negro brother said. He said, "The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth, but he flies a great deal faster if somebody is after him with a great whip." (Laughter.) Well, now, he knew how they would go on. They would pluck up their courage, and boast of the general election, and say how they swept the polls, carried their men in, and made the House of Commons a tied House in their favour. They would say all that, but he could tell them one thing they wouldn't talk about. They would say nothing about the four seats which the teetotalers had won at the by-elections from the publicans in favour of the public. (Cheers.) And then after that they would talk about themselves a bit, and say what grand men they were. How they had got through another year without any of them being sent to gaol. (Laughter.) Now he wanted them to get the papers six weeks hence and read the account of their gathering, and if it was not very much like what he described he would be very much surprised. What a strange thing it was that the people of this country should allow themselves to be ruled by a lot of men who talked such stuff as this. Lord Rosebery had said, "This trade threatens to throttle the commonwealth." Why threaten? It was a free country, and they could do what they liked. They could cast off this burden if they choose. But, alas! it was pitiful to see how the people of this country throw away the advantages which they might gain. When Sir William Harcourt—(cheers)—offered them that great measure it would have

emancipated the working men of this country, and put them on the same footing as the magistrates ; but they put it on one side. They said, "No, we prefer to grovel at the feet of this great monopoly ; we prefer to go on giving our hard-earned money to the support of those capitalists whom we are all denouncing." (Applause.) Now, what was their duty ? Their duty was what Dr. Lees said in his paper, "Educate, agitate, legislate." Teach the people what was right ; set them up to do what was right, and get them to embody it in legislation, for in a free country legislation was nothing more than the crystallisation of public opinion. They had had all these at work. They had had the position, the prospect, and the duty laid clearly before them. What were they doing in the House of Commons ? Night after night they poured out money to keep up a great army and navy. And for what use ? Other people were honestly and earnestly working to maintain the National Church. Quite right ; and while they did that, why did they establish the drink traffic to counteract the work of the Church ? (Applause.) They were also getting ready for school ; and then, why keep up these liquor schools to teach debauchery and degradation ? He would ask them to think of the men that had passed away. They had spent their lives in fighting this great enemy of the human race. They must follow in their footsteps and complete their great work. (Loud cheers.) They would then feel in years to come that they had done something, though perhaps not much, to lay the foundation of a happier and better England. (Loud cheers.)

Ex-Bailie SELKIRK (Glasgow) was the next speaker. He said he represented the Scotch contingent, which was well represented at the Convention. The Scotch people were as interested in that great question as the English people were interested in it, and they had been fighting side by side on behalf of the emancipation of the country from the liquor traffic. In Scotland they were a little bit ahead of England. They managed to get Sunday Closing on the statute book forty years ago. It had wrought immense good in Scotland, and, notwithstanding what sundry English members of Parliament might say as to the Act being largely inoperative, he could say with perfect confidence that no Scotch member of Parliament would be foolhardy enough to propose either its repeal or amendment. He did not think there was any question in Scotland that would more solidly unite the people than the protection of that Act. But, although they had secured that Act and some other restrictions upon the liquor traffic, they were not thereby satisfied. They had the conviction that they could not, under a licensing system, get adequate protection from the effects of the drink system. There were some people who told them they were on the wrong tack, that the Temperance movement was a distinctly moral movement, and that it ought to be conducted and prosecuted by moral means. That was quite true ; but it was not the whole truth. It was a moral movement, and those who were satisfied that strong drink was a bad thing for the human body did what they could to inculcate and promote those principles. But there was something more than that, for this liquor traffic invaded their liberties. Mr. Selkirk proceeded from this standpoint to justify legislative action.

Mr. J. H. RAPER (London) dealt with the necessity of educating the electorate in order to secure support from members of Parliament. An M.P. was a bundle of electors rolled into one, and if they wanted to cure him, they must cure his electors. (Laughter.) He could assure them that what they were doing had some common sense in it. (Hear, hear.) "Thank you," replied Mr. Raper. (Loud laughter.) People who wrote about the decision of 1895 being caused by the Temperance party should go amongst the Church people and hear them talk about the splendid defeat of disestablishment it had been, and they should hear others say that the Voluntary Schools Bill had had a great deal to do with it. (Applause.) He would like to warn those who wrote and spoke now not to make any mistake. In 1854 he saw John Bright burnt in effigy in the cotton district. Then England was doing its best, with France and Italy, what to do ? To keep up the Turk. There was a column which he and the chairman passed very often near Westminster School. On it were the names of a number of men who were killed in the Crimea. Where were the people who would justify the action that England took then ? (Hear, hear, and applause.) He would take them into the House of Lords on the

first night of this session, and they should see and hear Lord Salisbury as far as he could represent him. (Laughter.) They were discussing the crisis, and Lord Salisbury was explaining to the best of his great ability. (Laughter.) Hear what he said: "The parting of the ways was in 1853 when the Emperor Nicholas' proposals were rejected. Many members of this House will keenly feel the nature of the mistake that was made when I say that we put all our money on the wrong horse." (Laughter and applause.) It was not very easy to withdraw from a step of that kind when once taken. For forty-three years this country had been going on as a helper and auxiliary of the "sick man," and now legislators were in a difficulty as to how to shift the man that ought to have gone in 1854. (Applause.) He wanted them to remember this forty years hence, and he warned them to beware of falling into the trap described by Lord Salisbury. (Laughter and applause.)

Principal HUTTON (Glasgow) was the next speaker. Dealing with the ravages of strong drink, he said these had alarmed the conscience of the people and made them say there must be some stop put to them. Drink had many voices; it had a multitudinous constituency. It called to the unreflecting, "Come here and enjoy yourself." It called to those who were fond of being in the fashion, "Come and be in the fashion." It said, "Come and follow this custom; come and make money." It was beginning to say—indeed it was saying with very strong accent—"Come and let us sail the ship of State." Yes it was the publican interest that had dared now to take hold of the helm of the State; and if they were not alive to the political aspect he was sure they would suffer for it speedily. Principal Hutton denied that drink was "a good creature of God," and urged that it was the duty of all to make the best of this world and prepare for the next. The drunkard, however, was not preparing himself for the next world, and in this he was spoiling his own life and the lives of others. He hoped their meetings would not be in vain; and that the Convention would carry a mighty power into the provinces to encourage the hearts and strengthen the hands of men such as their excellent chairman. (Applause.)

Professor G. W. E. HILL (Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A.) addressing the meeting said if he were to tell them one fraction of the advantage of Prohibition to his own State and to his own land he should keep them until the morning. He was there as the representative of a Commonwealth in the far West, with an area of 56,025 square miles. One-half of that area was under perfect Prohibitory control. (Applause.) He was there as the representative of 1,200,000 people, a goodly majority of whom spoke death to the public-house. For the past ten years he had been going up and down the State of Iowa, holding something like 400 meetings a year, coming in contact with thousands of her people, and studying the conditions and the working of the Prohibitory law. They had heard that the law in the State had been repealed. (Applause.) They had been told often enough, but not by a friend of Prohibition, that the law was not enforced. He was there to hurl that falsehood back in the teeth of the men who circulated it. (Applause.) In every section of the State, where the law had a fair and honest trial, it was thoroughly enforced, and was thoroughly enforced that day. He denied most emphatically that the Prohibitory law of the State of Iowa had been a detriment to the interests of its people. He proceeded to show this by reciting a personal incident of the benefit of the operation of the law had brought about in the life and home of one labouring man, previously tempted by the drink shop. They were told, he continued, that the law was violated, and they admitted that it was violated. But Prohibition did not prohibit; Prohibition prevented. He wanted them to realize and understand that they, in the Far West, possessed some of the Puritan blood that they sent in 1620, and it was working in the veins and was stirring the energies of the people. And through and by that priceless gift that the Motherland gave them one day—the prize of a splendid citizenship—they were going to throttle and kill that which had so long killed all their energies and all their hopes. (Applause.) Did he think the time was coming when the public-house would cease to exist? He believed the day was coming. Never yet had God meant that a certain plan should be carried into effect but He had raised up a Joshua to lead

the forces. When God Almighty got ready to free the slaves in America he raised up an Abraham Lincoln to do it. Standing there before that splendid audience he said he believed God Almighty had come to the time and the place when He had by His decree declared that the public-house, the brewery, and the distillery must die in Britain, and he had lifted up a general to lead them on to that glory. God needed a general, and he made a Lawson for that general. Let them be brave of heart. Before him were hundreds of praying men and women. Let them cease the prayer of the past "Oh God, wipe out the public-house"; and let their prayer be the newer, grander, splendid prayer, "Oh God Almighty, help me to wipe it out."

Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING here sang Mendelssohn's "O, rest in the Lord," and was loudly applauded.



REV. JAMES WATKIN.

Rev. JAMES WATKIN (Liverpool) also addressed the meeting with considerable vigour on behalf of Prohibition. The doors of the new life before the country, he predicted, would be unbolted and unbarred by the hands of the teetotalers, and the success of the Temperance movement meant the happiness and prosperity of the whole country. One of the greatest perils of our country was the love of liquor and the love of money, the greed of gold, the readiness to sacrifice every principle of manhood, and honour, and integrity, in the passion for gain. Where would the limited liability brewing company be if it were not fed by this passion for money, which alas! was to be found in Christian circles and religious communities in this country? The man who could see nothing else but what was actually present asked if the community so honey-combed as ours with vice, could hope to hold its own in the fierce competition of the people. But

there were others who saw not only what was present and actual, but also what was possible, who recognised that in the heart of society there were great regenerative forces at work, and that, if these could have full play, a happier state of things was possible for our country. All reformers had been dreamers of dreams and seers of visions; and they had laboured to realise their dreams and make their visions realities in the life of the people. If there was a pessimist in that meeting he would like to convert him. Great causes had their wintry periods, their seasons of pause and rest, of the gathering together of great vital forces; but the pause only preceded a greater advance, a nobler victory for the principles of those movements, if they were based on God's justice and righteousness. (Applause.) Burke said that "reforms long delayed become revolutions." He was perfectly willing to wait ten years if at the end of that time the Temperance reform would become a revolution, if it would so stir and move the national conscience that when this great race did move it would move to some effect, to sweep before it the whole of this bad system, this evil trade, and lift from the country the shadow of this liquor curse for ever. (Loud applause.) They could not arrest a living stream, and did any one imagine that even "the biggest majority of modern times" was going to do what the devil and his angels had not succeeded in doing during the last fifty years? (Renewed applause.) One advantage of the back-set would be to send them back to first principles. Were they there to take back any of the principles that the pioneers of the movement had advocated? His creed was the creed of Mr. Thomas Whittaker. There was not a single article in the creed that Mr. Whittaker had advocated with such fervour, such fine power, and with such great success, for over half-a-century that every earnest teetotaler could not say "Amen" to with all his heart. (Applause.) Liquor, the waster of national resources, was one of the articles of that creed—liquor, bad for conscience, heart, brain and nerve. No Act of Parliament could make that principle false if it was true, no big majority could make truth a lie, or turn light into darkness. (Renewed applause.) Another first principle was that liquor was the enemy of

child-life. The horrible martyrdom of the child-life of this country at the hands of this bad trade was one of the darkest pages in its black history. The slow martyrdom of little children was constantly going on. In concluding, Mr. Watkin reminded the followers of Jesus Christ that His supreme lesson was that the public good was the end and purpose of every good life and fine career, and that self-sacrifice was the path to immortal honour and favour. He asked young people who had not previously been associated with the Temperance movement to join it, and he assured them that happiness, satisfaction, and peace beyond his power to describe would be their reward. In joining in the assault on the national enemy and the national curse, they would be taking the first step towards a high and noble life, and when they were dead, good men would thank God that they had lived. (Loud applause.)

The singing of the Doxology closed the meeting.

GREAT
DEMONSTRATION IN OLYMPIA.

On Thursday, April 8th, another Great Gathering was held in Olympia. The Very Rev. Dr. G. W. Kitchin, Dean of Durham, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Very Rev. Dr. G. W. KITCHIN said it was really not much he had to say at this moment. There were behind him a number of speakers who would speak with far more force than he could speak from their knowledge and very hard work on behalf of the Temperance programme before them. They were met together that evening once more to drive a nail, as it were, into the coffin of that form of evil they deprecated—intemperance. It would live a long time. It was no easy matter to do away with the habits of a country. This country had always been in the way of eating and drinking just as they liked, and there were men, even bishops, he believed, who had said that that freedom was even more important than temperance. He begged leave to differ with that altogether. (Applause.) The great mission they had to perform was to make their proceedings suit with the work they had to do in life. They had to live for their neighbour, and not for themselves—(applause)—and he did not know that there was any point in which they could do more good to their neighbour than in standing beside him in the temptations of life, and giving to him the truest and best teaching they could give him, namely, the good example of themselves. What was the good of their going into the pulpit to talk about the great principles of Christianity if, in their private life, they were to allow these things to go on side by side—this mischief and folly which had brought their nation, not at any rate to destruction, but was liable to do so at any moment. Why should they not be perfectly able to manage themselves and rule themselves in this matter? Let them endeavour to command themselves in this matter, and prove to others that at any rate they were not only earnest in their cause, but determined that their cause should prosper and succeed and save the world around them. (Applause.) They had that very business laid upon them that was to save their English people. It was a couple of centuries now since the use of spirits first became known in this country. It was about the reign of Charles the Second. It had lasted from that time to this, gradually undermining the people and doing harm in every direction. Let their time—the time of Queen Victoria—be the time when the English people shall turn over a new life and determine that they will put a stop to this thing which is undermining the people and making our religion vain. Yes, he would go so far as that. If they could not persuade themselves that the whole truth lay in self-control, as men ought to control themselves who have nailed the colours of Christianity to the mast, he was sure that nothing they could do to save the country from drifting would be of any use. Some men thought that, if they were rich, it was all right. That was not so. A man must be true to himself and his best nature. (Applause.)

Miss FLORENCE BALGARNIE (London) next addressed the meeting. She said they were there with a very definite purpose. There was no man, woman, boy, or girl in the room who did not understand exactly what they were after. (Applause.) They were in a very different position to the man she once heard about in Yorkshire. He used to visit his lady love on the way home from market. Some months afterwards he got married, and one day coming home from market he went to the village to see his former lady, and asked if Miss Simpson was at home. (Laughter.) He had lost his bearings. (Laughter.) But they knew what locality they were

in, and where the evil lay. (Hear, hear.) They knew the consequences and the cause. The non-prohibition of the drink traffic was the cause of all the evils. (Applause.) The brewers occasionally dealt with the consequences. They would probably establish a charitable cot, or subscribe to some home, but they, as Prohibitionists went to the root of the matter. They were fighting the drink traffic alone. (Applause.) It was a great struggle between despots on the one hand and liberty on the other. Drink was a despotism, and absence from drinking was liberty. (Cheers.) They were struggling to get the weapon of Direct Veto, and glad were they to fight for it. (Cheers.) Drink was the great assassin. (Cheers.) There were many struggling that night to overthrow the Turk in the little Island of Crete. She was glad of that. (Applause.) They, as Prohibitionists, were blockaded that night. They did not hesitate to struggle with the drink, and were running the blockade of custom, and prejudice, and opposition both in the House of Lords and Commons. But they would win. (Cheers.) Some people seemed to think, with the Powers, that the Turk could be reformed by keeping up the integrity of the Turkish empire, and that the drink trade could be reformed by keeping up its integrity. They found people talking about municipalisation of the trade, but that did not mean destruction. It meant rather mobilisation and increased force. There was another suggestion—the Chester Reformed Liquor Company, Limited. But that would never go. (Laughter.) Reforming would not do. The only way to annihilate the drink—was to give the people power to prohibit drink. But so long as the Direct Veto was kept from the people, so long would drink go unannihilated. They must trust the people and give them that power of veto, and the end would be attained. (Cheers.) They entered into the fight against drink with the sword of the Lord and Prohibition in their hand, and they would win that great crusade. (Cheers.)

Rev. J. D. MCKINNON (Dumfries) next spoke, detailing what had been accomplished north of the Tweed on behalf of the Temperance cause. The denomination to which he belonged had, he said, some 1,100 ministers, of whom no less than 800 were personal abstainers—(hear, hear)—and in their communion they had no less than 150,000 of both adults and juveniles pledged abstainers. Besides, the ministers, their wives, and daughters had given their services. The Manse Ladies' Association had a membership of close upon 1,000. (Applause.) The hope of the future was in the students, of whom 97 per cent. were pledged abstainers. Of the U.P. ministers, 400 out of 600 were pledged abstainers. (Hear, hear.) They had one denomination in Scotland wherein every minister was a pledged abstainer. (Applause.) The Assembly or Synod of the Free Church year in and year out had passed a resolution which had about it the true ring such as that which came from the Convention that afternoon. (Applause.) The U.P. Church at its May meeting during the last two years had carried a similar resolution. Alongside of these things they had supported by a unanimous vote the three resolutions of Sir Wilfrid Lawson and all the veto measures that made for the prohibition of the traffic. (Applause.) They brought up their children to fear the evil not only in their Sunday schools, and in Bands of Hope, but also in the public schools to which the Temperance lecturers had access. This was as it should be. No less than 700 congregations had banished from the table of the Lord intoxicating liquor, so that henceforth they as a Church would have no complicity, their hands would be clean; no longer would they be a party to the Church becoming a trafficker in the soul-ruining liquor. (Applause.) He regretted that one denomination had taken a retrograde step, but he regarded it as merely a passing aberration, and believed that when the Church got hold of a few ministers these latter would hear on both sides of their heads at once that they had gone wrong. He hoped to see this, the oldest denomination in Scotland coming back to lead them as she should. He urged them to rise in their might and strength and cry for all the churches, north and south of the Tweed, indeed, the wide world over, to be like the Master and go forth and say "Here is the scourge with which we will cast you forth from our Church, from the Lord's Table, from holding office in the Church—aye, from being members of the Communion at all." (Applause.) This was the position that not a few of them

had taken up, and he was prepared to step out of the pulpit rather than those engaged in the traffic should partake of the Lord's Supper. (Applause.)

Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING followed with an impressive song—"The Tide of Life is Surging," followed by "Hark to the Call of the Quail," in response to an enthusiastic expression of appreciation.



MR. THOS. WHITTAKER, J.P.

Mr. THOS. WHITTAKER, J.P. (Scarborough), was the next speaker, and he had a warm welcome. He came before them, he said, as an old soldier, and he wished to be historical. He liked to shoulder his weapon of war. After 62 years war with the enemy of God and man in this land, his armour was still on. (Hear, hear.) He went into a very large and handsome sanctuary in this town in the month of June, 1836. That was a few years ago. (Laughter.) He went into that place of worship, which was not far from there, and sat in the gallery. The preacher of the day was a very wise and good man, no doubt, but on this question of Temperance he was as blind as a bat. (Laughter.) Apparently looking straight at him (the speaker), the preacher said in his sermon, "Teetotalism is a trick of the devil." (Laughter.) That was the other side of the question. (Laughter.) "I thought that everyone was looking at me," continued Mr. Whittaker. "He was putting me in bad company." (Laughter.) They knew the old adage, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." If that man did not mean to hang teetotalism what did he mean? The devil was said to go about like a roaring lion. Well, he was going about like a roaring lion, seeking to save. (Applause.) He got very red in the face, and he could almost imagine that he smelt brimstone. (Laughter.) A few days after he went to Darlington. There the committee told him that there was a reformed drunkard in the town, and they would like him to go and have tea with this man and his wife. He was there. (Laughter.) He told the couple about what the minister in Newcastle had said, and the old lady looked at him over the top of her spectacles—it seemed queer that many people who wore spectacles glanced over the top when they wanted to look hard at anyone—(laughter)—and she took up her apron and said, "Well, sir, all I have to say is—if the devil can play such tricks as this, I wish he would play two or three more with my husband." (Applause.) He afterwards conveyed that old lady's opinion to the clergyman, and it did him good. He became a teetotaler, and lived a teetotaler, and died in the town of Sunderland at the age of 90 years. So Temperance did not kill him. (Laughter and applause.) He went to Sunderland, too, in 1836. He was there—(laughter)—and he attended a church. He was again in the gallery. (Laughter.) A very good and popular man was the preacher. He was not only good, but he was handsome, and it was worth a great deal to be handsome, especially in a man. (Laughter.) It did not matter so much in a woman—(laughter)—she could "make up"—(renewed laughter)—but, when a man was plain, it was a case with him. (More laughter.) His (Mr. Whittaker's) Temperance friends wanted to save him the necessity of walking down that long street from Bishopwearmouth to the Barracks, but he insisted on walking with his "rattler" announcing a meeting that they proposed to hold. When they got to the church he sent a bill up to the minister asking him to announce the meeting from the pulpit. He opened it in front of some sixteen hundred people, and, added Mr. Whittaker, illustrating with a piece of paper he held in his hand, "He folded it like this, and then like this, and then like this, and then tore it up like this, and threw it away like this." Then he folded his hands and said, "Let us pray." (Loud laughter.) And he (Mr. Whittaker) was there. (Renewed laughter.) He did not throw a hymn book at that minister, nor a Bible. He had often had hymn books thrown at him, and Bibles, too, also cushions and hassocks, and once some gasfittings. (Laughter.) He went out of that place, a raw

Lancashire lad, and no one sympathised with him. Worse than that, no one asked him to dinner. (Laughter.) Suddenly warming up, Mr. Whittaker asked, "Have we done anything; has any change come over the feelings of the people?" There was no pulpit in the land that would hold a man who dared to do a thing like that now. (Applause.) If that were true something had been done, and if there had been something done there had been somebody about doing it. Where had they been, and where were they now? (Loud applause.)

At this point Madame Antoinette Sterling sang two solos, and was vociferously applauded.

Rev. C. F. AKED (Liverpool) opened with a story of Abraham Lincoln, who, when he first saw a slave auction—God's image carved in ebony put upon the auction block, bought and sold—was filled with hate, and declared to a friend, "If ever I get a chance to hit this thing, I will hit hard, by the eternal God." (Applause.) Afterwards he was discussing the movement that had brought them there that night, and contrasting it with the Declaration of Independence eighty years before, and said "Turn we to another revolution, the Temperance revolution. In it you will find no widows weeping, no orphans starving, no injured in interest or wounded in person; but you will find a viler slavery manumitted, you will find a popular tyranny deposed, you will find a darker bondage broken; and yet when the day of joy and gladness dawns the drink maker and the drink seller shall have glided so insensibly into honest occupations, that they will never feel the change, and so join in the universal song of gladness that will go up from a regenerated earth." When that day of joy and gladness dawned and the mountain of human misery had been lifted off the heart of a waiting world; when the millionaire brewer was no longer permitted to live a life of luxury won by force and fraud; and when they had no more the hideous traffic that desolated their homes, ruined their manhood, debauched their womanhood, and damned ten souls for every one that all the churches saved, then in that day of gladness and delight it would be their immortal consciousness that in this Titanic conflict between the forces of heaven and hell here, in this Convention, and in their lives, they had struck hard in the name of the eternal God. (Applause.)

Canon BARKER, M.A. (London), said an assembly such as that, was to him an exceedingly solemn incident. Most of the people in the hall seemed to be people of mature age, and they had come together for serious business and to discuss the great problem for which that great Convention had been called to consider. If everyone was really impressed with the truths which had been uttered from that platform, and had received a strong conviction of the truth of their reality and interest, they might also expect instantly a revolutionary movement in Newcastle which would travel on throughout the country. (Applause.) He had asked himself what they were about, and his reply was to lessen drunkenness—to make that evil practically impossible, and to abolish the cause which led to it. (Applause.) Was that their aim? ("Yes," and applause.) Why had they such an aim, and why did they want to abolish drink—why do away with a most lucrative trade, and trouble children to gather in hundreds in their Bands of Hope? What was it all for? Men did not act like that, or take such trouble without an inspiring cause. (Cheers.) Never, in his judgment, would he and they feel profoundly moved unless they had planted their feet upon a truth which nothing could contradict but facts alone. (Hear, hear.) That was not an experience of excitement. If it depended simply upon the mere inspiration of the moment, they might say never could they hope to win the victory; but if they were sure that they were right, and that the ground was firm upon which they stood, and that no one was able to shake it by argument, knowledge, or experience, then there was no more doubt of the ultimate and complete triumph of the cause in which they were engaged than there was of the sun rising in the morning. (Cheers.) Yes, someone would reply, we expected that of you. But upon what did they base that hope, or ground their expectation? Mere prophecy would not do. And when they said a thing they were obliged to give a reason. Now, he was going to give them a reason, and it was this. There was something inherent incidentally in the nature of truth that made one believe that it did ultimately

prevail. If that was not true, there was then no basis of morals, no basis of religion or senses, or basis of logic. (Applause.) If truth was not the basis upon which to carry this to its ultimate end, then it was not a truth. The great man, the inspired man, the God man, announced the truth to the world for all time. He dealt in principles and not details. No matter could do anything against that which was true. (Cheers.) If it was true that two and two made four, no power in the world could alter that mathematical principle. What was their truth; what was that upon which their whole movement stood? If what he was about to say was not true, they were not justified in meeting there, and total Prohibition of the liquor traffic was a mistake. The truth which he held—and he challenged any man to contradict him—was wholly and simply this: Alcohol, which was the direct cause of all the mischief, was no good whatever for any man, either in health or in disease. (Cheers.) Not only was it no good for man in health or disease, but it was absolutely pernicious according to the degree in which it was taken. The weak and the lukewarm in the room would say again, "We expected you to say that." God forbid that he should say before his fellow man that which he was not prepared with argument and logic to prove to be true. (Cheers.) Scientific analyses by the most experienced scientific men corroborated to the full the statement, and what could be more satisfactory to reasonable minds? (Cheers.) Hundreds of men could spring up and say, "Ay, but scientific men differ, and scientific men make mistakes;" but after all science had discovered that it was true absolutely in seven million cases in our land. (Cheers.) Their movement hung upon that. If that was true, abandon drink altogether. (Cheers.) He was most grateful for that great Convention. People had got it into their heads that the veto was dead, that the proposals with regard to Prohibition were defunct, and that it was never going to revive. The drink party were acting upon that belief; houses were being improved, and values had gone up 40 and 50 per cent. ("Shame.") The persons in the trade feared nothing except the right of public control. (Hear, hear.) It showed weakness and want of strength to think that the veto was gone. (Cheers.) This was the jubilee of the Band of Hope movement, and a million children, he hoped, would be added to the ranks. A million meetings were held each year of the children on behalf of Temperance reform, and behind this there was a great moral agency and spiritual power. Dr. Kitchin (who at this period had relinquished the chair to Alderman E. S. Hindmarsh) had, Canon Barker said, written to say that he rejoiced Durham Cathedral would be one amongst the sixteen Cathedrals of England which had consented to open their pulpits in connection with the Band of Hope jubilee. (Applause.) He hoped they had not come there simply to enjoy the speeches, or the beautiful songs of Madame Sterling. He hoped they would take to heart all that they had heard, for the speakers were not there as orators or politicians, but as men speaking to fellow men, imploring them as men to do all that lay in their power to break down the greatest evil that had ever cursed a free people. Until they had got rid of this terrible curse the strength of England would never rise to the point it might otherwise easily attain; the working classes would still be in the position in which they complained and fretted; hundreds of homes would still be poor which might be enriched; many intellects would be darkened that might be bright; many hearts might be filled with purity, peace, and godliness. In God's name he implored every one of his hearers to take their part in this great battle of good against evil, heaven against hell, right against wrong. (Applause.)

Colonel WRIGHT, of the Salvation Army, also addressed the assembly. He was very much encouraged, he said, by the passing of the resolution at the afternoon Convention, and as the representative of a movement which had always lived up to the terms of the motion, he felt that their friends were drawing nearer to them in adopting it. (Hear, hear.) The Salvation Army had never lost sight of this point; they had lost no time or opportunity since they had influence in this and other countries in promoting the principles which had been so ably discussed and considered by the Convention. (Applause.) The drink question should be considered not as a party matter, but on its merits. (Hear, hear.) The manufacturer of the drink should have his share of the blame, but not all of it; the user of it must be

content to carry his burden too—(hear, hear)—and both of them were deserving of their sympathy. But if men inside the church, claiming to have superior light, were dabblers in this accursed stuff, then they must take the greater blame. It was said in defence of this class that though they had light—he supposed just enough to be church members—they had not sufficient light to see the necessity of giving up their connection with the drink, but there is hope that by and bye, by a gradual process of education and the growth of a Temperance sentiment everywhere, they may be brought to the desired haven. Salvation Army methods were only rough and ready and lacked a good deal of polish, but in his opinion they were the only methods to save this class from their wretched selfishness which was, after all, really the true explanation of their position. Connection with the Church, no connection with the drink. (Hear, hear.) There was a false idea that the Church might suffer if they had no association with those concerned with the drink, he thought the history of the Salvation Army might be accepted as some assurance on this point. From its inception thirty-three years ago, through all its strugglings and fightings, often beset and hindered by poverty, it had always shown an uncompromising front to the drink and all those engaged in its manufacture or sale, and had not feared to denounce any who made gain out of this national disaster, in any way. Yet God had honoured them, and increased them, until it could be said that no other religious movement of the century had made such rapid progress. Great material wealth had not come to them, they were still as their Master was on earth—poor, but their power to do good and stand for righteousness in the name of Jesus Christ had made itself felt throughout the civilized world. They had kept their garments clear of the drink taint, and he believed this had much to do with the prosperity that had attended them. The real Church was spiritual, and that could never be strengthened by any compromise with an evil thing. He urged the removal of temptations for the sake of the weak in the Church as well as the reclamation of those outside. (Applause.)

The singing of the Doxology brought the meeting to an end.

GREAT

MEETING IN THE TOWN HALL.

FINAL PROCEEDINGS.

On Friday, April 9th, the Final Meeting was held in the Town Hall. Mr. Charles Roberts, M.A., in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Mr. CHARLES ROBERTS said they should have these series of meetings repeated at due intervals, north and south, east and west. (Applause.) Don't go to favoured localities where they had the prophets. The Convention had been needed to show the moral force, the power, the determination at the back of the men who were determined to get rid of the liquor traffic by every practical means. (Cheers.) Yes, but there was something to be said against allowing themselves the luxury of the emotions born of great public gatherings unless they were prepared to translate what had been inspired in them into practical action. They should go away from there determined to go on with a personal propoganda and the work of moral suasion, in order that when they got more legislative facilities they would be better able to use those facilities. Wherever they got a chance they had to show, where a party went sound and straight for their questions, they could earn the recognition on the part of the candidate that it was the Temperance workers who were winning him the day. (Hear, hear, and applause.) There was one other point in these meetings he should like to emphasise. A high authority had said to them that they had been marked by their tolerant and practical attitude. There was still much misconception about their attitude towards Prohibition. They advocated it as a living principle to be applied and worked out into practical detail. It was not one law to be imposed irrespective of public opinion, but it was the principle they had got to apply in a hundred practical ways in order that they might achieve that goal that lay before them.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO THE MAYOR, &c.

Mrs. J. D. MCKINNON (Dumfries) then moved the following resolution:—

“That the Convention offers its most earnest thanks to the Mayor and Mayoress of Newcastle, the Sheriff and Mrs. Beattie, the Mayor and Mayoress of Gateshead, and the Mayor and Mayoress of Jarrow, for the graceful reception accorded to the Convention on Monday night, and especially to the Mayor of Newcastle for his cordial and inspiring address of welcome, and that this Convention also tenders to the citizens of Newcastle and surrounding towns its most sincere expression of grateful appreciation for the prompt and generous hospitality accorded to the largest and most representative gathering of Prohibitionists ever held in this country.” (Applause.)

That resolution, she said, required no words of hers to commend it to them. Those who had been privileged to be present on Monday evening realised what a very graceful and kindly welcome was accorded to them on that occasion. The address on that occasion gave the keynote to the meetings that followed, for the work that lay before them. To the citizens of Newcastle they also expressed their thankfulness for opening their homes and hearts to them. This, too, despite the fact that temperance people were often misunderstood; for some people did not know whether they drank tea or coffee, or whether or not they were vegetarians. She desired to express their sincere thanks to the citizens for their kindness, and asked the audience to show it by a Scottish cheer. (Applause.)

Rev. J. C. STREET (Birmingham) seconded the resolution, feeling that as a former resident and worker in Newcastle, he might appropriately join the strangers in expressing their gratitude for the reception accorded them. They were grateful to the municipal authorities, not simply for receiving them in State, but also for the admirable speech which fell from the Mayor of Newcastle, who was not supposed to be always in sympathy with faddists like themselves. They were taking leave of each other that night. They were gathered from all parts of their empire, and in all human probability they would never again all form the component elements of such another Convention. Although they were saying farewell, there was not one of them who was going to take leave of the grand principles which had drawn them together. (Applause.) These they were pledged to hold until they were carried into victory. (Applause.) It had been said they were a very feeble folk, a feeble part of the Liberal party. Well, he was not in the habit of despising feeble folk. One thing, Christ's Christianity ministered to the feeble folk. God chose the small things of the world to accomplish His mightiest work. His instrumentalities, though they might seem small to men, were large enough to accomplish that which he desired. (Hear, hear.) Still he must take a little exception to the description of themselves as feeble folk, for it seemed to him they had linked themselves with the Eternal One. Let them look at the week's gathering, and could anyone—could the writer of the sentence referred to—tell them what other cause could have drawn together night after night, five or six thousand people, the representative people of the town. (Applause.) What passing phase of politics, Tory, Liberal Unionist, or Liberal would have drawn such audiences. (Hear, hear.) These meetings should not be described as the efforts of feeble folk, but as the efforts of men and women in earnest, and determined to carry their cause to success. (Applause.) Another of the papers said—“We knew exactly what these people would say before they came, and they have not disappointed us. They have just said what we expected they would say.” Was that any condemnation of them? (“No.”) A greater compliment could hardly have been paid to them. They knew what they wanted, and had made the people of the kingdom know also. They had said that that which they meant was the prohibition of the liquor traffic by any instrumentality which would give larger power to the people. That was what they had said, what they expected to say, that was what they were going to say until they had embodied in legislation what they demanded. Mr. Street expressed his sorrow that a Newcastle paper should have suggested that they had abandoned the old system of working by moral suasion in favour of seeking the aid of the law. He denied that they had altered their plans: they had not in any degree departed from the old plan of using moral suasion. Indeed, never was the instrument of moral suasion so effectively used as it was to-day by the Temperance party. But was moral suasion the end? Did Mr. Whittaker mean to be content with simply persuading men to give up the drink? Was there no desire in his heart that men should have the power to close the public-house? They had never altered their programme. They were using moral suasion to convince the nation, and when they had convinced the nation then they would embody in legislation what they had preached and taught. (Applause.)

The resolution was then submitted and adopted.



COUNCILLOR GEO. JOHNSON.

The MAYOR of JARROW (Mr. Geo. Johnson, J.P.), in the absence of the Mayor and Sheriff of Newcastle and the Mayor of Gateshead, returned thanks. He said that the great object this Convention had had in view was to influence the public on the necessity for Prohibition, and all men who were interested in public business and the administration of justice found that there was one great evil in existence that gave them more trouble and more work than any other, and that was the drinking customs of the people. (Applause.) Whatever positions the Mayors of this country might be called upon to occupy, they could not do anything more important than to give a hearty reception to the delegates who had been attending the meetings held during this week. (Hear, hear.) The work and the effect of the Convention would live. He hoped that the time was not far distant when this great blot on

the country—the drink traffic—would be removed, for it was a fact that, if they did not destroy drink, drink would destroy them. (Applause.)

RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO OFFICIALS.

Hon. Mrs. ELIOT YORKE (Southampton) moved the following resolution :

“That the best thanks of this Convention be presented to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., for the signal service he has rendered to the Movement as President of the Convention, and for the valuable speeches delivered by him during the week, and to Thomas Burt, Esq., M.P., for his admirable address of welcome to the representatives ; also, that hearty thanks be given to the chairmen and speakers at the various conferences and meetings ; to the ministers and officers of many churches in Newcastle and neighbourhood for kindly permitting sermons bearing upon Prohibition to be preached last Sunday ; to the officers and members of the National Executive, Reception, Business, Press, and Credential Committees ; to the conductor, choir, and band for their excellent services, and to the Newcastle press for the extensive reports given the proceedings of the Convention.”

She said the meetings would not have been so successful if it had not been for the hearty, willing, and enthusiastic co-operation of the individuals and bodies mentioned in the resolution. There had been some criticism regarding the Newcastle press, and though, as a stranger, she could not pronounce any opinion on what had been said, she could readily say that she had read with profit and pleasure the extensive reports which had been printed in Newcastle regarding that Convention. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN KEMPSTER (London), in seconding the resolution, said he did not think the workers would feel that they needed thanks, for his experience of workers in this great cause had been that the more they worked the more they liked it—(laughter)—and this Convention showed what could be done by division of labour. He had never heard anything better than the papers and speeches that they had had that afternoon. Really, if this were the new woman—(laughter)—he would say, “Let us have some more of it.” (Laughter and applause.) They could hope to raise the men when they got good women, and they could not hope otherwise. All the good men he knew had good mothers, and they must get the women to work with them. (Applause.) He did not quite like the women’s associations, because he could not join them—(laughter)—but if they did not get the women to work with them their cause was absolutely hopeless. (Applause.) These meetings had done a grand work, more especially in educating the masses of the people who had been brought together in Olympia. Their thanks were due to Mr. Guy

Hayler, to Mr. David Richardson—but he must not mention all, there were too many—and their best thanks would be received in the success of the Convention and in the future results of the great work. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE said there was an omission from the resolution which he would like to see put right. The name of Madame Sterling was not in the resolution. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure the name of Madame Sterling ought to have been in. The resolution, however, did include the vocalists and musicians who had been kind enough to give their services.

The resolution having been enthusiastically carried,

Mr. DAVID RICHARDSON (Treasurer) thanked the meeting heartily for their vote of thanks.

Mr. GUY HAYLER (Hon. Secretary) returned thanks, and said that was the first Convention or Conference that he had attended during the last few years without speaking on the subjects before the House, but his other work there had prevented him. He would, however, say that he believed they would have more work in the future. Their work for the destruction of the liquor traffic was not finished with that Convention. Some of them had asked what else they could do. He would reply that they must look after their votes. Some people said that the Government with a majority of 150 was as stable as could be; but things in Europe were not as stable as they would like, nor in this country either; and Prohibitionists must work in the towns, in the village, in the church, and among their friends, so that at the next general election the 150 majority might melt away like snow before the sun of Prohibition, and a majority would then arise that would destroy this iniquity. Work, vote, and pray, and God would give them the victory. (Applause.)

Mr. GEO. TOMLINSON (Hon. Secretary) also replied to the vote of thanks, and said he would like to mention the names of the workers on the various committees, and he would mention the name of one—Edward W. Watson. (Applause.) They could not have done without the assistance of the ladies with regard to the hospitality, and he wished the delegates to appreciate the work that had been done by their lady friends. (Applause.) On behalf of the Press Committee of the Convention, he returned thanks to the members of the Press, who had sent up the following resolution signed by the whole of the representatives of the Press attending the Convention:—

“The Press Representatives desire to thank the Press Committee for their many courteous attentions, which have considerably facilitated the work which has had to be executed; at few analogous assemblies has the convenience of the Pressmen been more completely studied.” (Applause.)

Mr. THOS. WHITTAKER (Scarborough) made a few remarks and read a short poem, “Don’t Drink.”

Mrs. FOGGIN (Newcastle) then sang “God be with you till we meet again,” the vast assemblage joining in the chorus, after which the Convention united in singing the Doxology.

Madame STERLING again delighted her hearers in singing “Trust in the Lord,” and prayer by the Rev. G. ARMSTRONG BENNETTS brought the Convention to a close.

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KINDRED MEETINGS.

During the course of the Convention a number of Meetings and Social Gatherings were held in Newcastle and District, of which the following is a brief summary.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE FEDERATION.

On Monday morning, April 5th, 1897, the thirteenth annual meeting of the National Temperance Federation was held in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Northumberland Street, Newcastle. The President, Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P., occupied the chair. Representatives were present from nearly all the affiliated organisations. Councillor Joseph Malins submitted the annual report, which was adopted. Resolutions bearing on phases of political Temperance work were discussed and approved. The Federation officers were re-elected, and the meeting closed.

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL.

A meeting of this Council was held on Monday afternoon, April 5th, 1897, in the same Hall as above. Rev. James Clark (Salford) presided, and thirty-six out of forty members were present. The proceedings were conducted in private, but it was announced to the Press that important business was transacted bearing upon the furtherance of the movement throughout the country.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.

Taking advantage of the visit of many Grand Lodge officers to the National Prohibition Convention, the Executive Committee of North Durham arranged for a series of special meetings, at Gateshead, Hebburn, Washington, Sunderland, West Stanley, and other places. The speakers included Messrs. F. W. Dimbleby, J.P., G.Co. (Richmond, Surrey), J. M. Skinner, G.E. Supt. (Beckenham, Kent), Wm. Sutherland, G. Sec. (London), and others. The meetings were very successful, and much interest was manifested in the gatherings.

RECHABITES' RE-UNION.

The delegates and members of the Independent Order of Rechabites attending the Convention were entertained to tea by the Northumberland and Durham District officials, on Tuesday, April 6th, in the Brunswick Hall, Newcastle. About 100, including a few ladies, were present. Mr. Richardson Campbell, of Manchester, High Secretary of the Order, made a few appropriate remarks, and was followed by Rev. C. H. Murray (Manchester), Mr. Robert Lewis (Manchester), County Councillor Jones Parry (Glamorgan), Mr. J. R. Weatherall (Oxford), Mr. J. W. Whyte (Glasgow), Mr. Sam Pilling (Scarborough), Mr. H. Wardropper (Sunderland), and others. In every way the gathering was successful.

ADVOCATES' TEA.

The official agents of the various Temperance societies attending the Convention were entertained to tea by the Northern Association of Temperance Advocates, on Thursday, April 8th, at the St. James's School Room, Northumberland Road, Newcastle. About 150 attended, including some ladies. Mr. Wm. Lapsley (Marske), President of the Society, welcomed the agents, and urged a greater consolidation of the Temperance forces. Miss Hallie Q. Brown, M.Sc. (U.S.A), Mr. James Troup (Newcastle), and others addressed the gathering, after which a vote of thanks was passed, and a very agreeable meeting was brought to a close.

LADIES' CONVERSAZIONE.

The delegates of the Women's Total Abstinence Union attending the Convention held a *Conversazione* on Wednesday, April 7th, at the Roma Cafe, Grainger Street, Newcastle. Lady Elizabeth Biddulph (President) received the ladies, some sixty being present. Tea was provided, and brief addresses were given by Lady Biddulph, Mrs. Brookes, Mrs. Buss, and Miss Docwra. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded, on the motion of Miss Pitt, seconded by Mrs. Meek, and supported by Miss Connell. The gathering was in every respect a very successful one, and added much to the interest and enjoyment of the ladies attending the Convention.

WORKERS' PIC-NIC.

On Saturday, July 3rd, 1897, the Choir, Orchestral Band, and workers who helped at the Convention and who contributed so largely to the success which attended the gathering, held an enjoyable pic-nic to "Wheelbirks," Stocksfield, the country residence of Mr. David Richardson (Treasurer of the Convention), who accompanied the party. About two hundred accepted the invitation, these including Ald. E. S. Hindmarsh, Miss E. L. Connell, Mr. R. L. Hay, Mr. Guy Hayler, Mr. John Murray, and others. On the motion of Mr. Guy Hayler, hearty thanks were passed to Councillor H. Crawford Smith for providing the railway fares, and to Mr. David Richardson for providing the hospitality at Wheelbirks.

THE LIQUOR PRESS ON THE CONVENTION.

"In a period of 'damned defeat' the body of the Temperance Party behaved magnificently, with unsurpassable loyalty. The leaders and the led alike deserve this tribute. The rank and file met defeat like men, and the leaders took their cue from Sir Wilfrid Lawson, who bravely, boldly, asserted that the disaster was 'merely an incident in the campaign.' But if there was no mutiny at the time—and to the credit of the Temperance Party be it admitted there was not—there was bound to come the day of reckoning when the scattered forces were re-collected, when the broken ranks were once more serried, and when officers met to consider the moral of the campaign, to learn, if possible, from the bitter lessons taught by experience and better the instruction. The day came; the cry went forth that the old methods were unsuitable, that the old cries failed in their rallying power, that the times required other methods than those which had proved futile. . . . But peruse the programme of this National (?) Prohibition Convention, this parade of U.K.A. exploded nostrums, and Alliance played-out leaders; have the only possible methods of dealing with this great question 'a look in'? Not a bit of it. There is writ large over the whole proceedings, there issues from the mouths of the speakers, there looms in the minds of the promoters one word, one idea, and that—Prohibition."—*Licensed Victuallers' Trade News* (Birmingham).

THE PRESS & THE CONVENTION.

Below we give some opinions of the Press on the Convention, roughly collated from the principal newspapers.

The proceedings of the Convention were telegraphed daily through the medium of the Press Association, Central News, and other press agencies to every newspaper in the British Isles. Thus the deliberations of the great gathering could be perused day by day in all corners of the kingdom. Several newspapers had special correspondents present, notably *The Echo* (London), *Brighouse News* (Brighouse), *Methodist Times* (London), *Alnwick Guardian* (Alnwick), *Methodist Recorder* (London), *British Weekly* (London), *The Alliance News* (Manchester), *Scottish Reformer* (Glasgow), and others. The religious newspapers gave, in most cases, good accounts of the gathering, while practically all the Temperance papers and magazines in Great Britain gave descriptive reports, some being excellently written. The Convention was also "noticed" by the organs of the liquor traffic. The local press gave most extensive reports, the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* published a two page supplement daily, and the *Newcastle Daily Leader* gave a daily report of nearly two pages.

DAILY AND WEEKLY PRESS.

"For some days to come Newcastle will be the scene of a strenuous Temperance propaganda. A conference numbering 900 delegates formally opens its sittings to-day, and will continue in session all the week. Temperance Congresses were held in London in 1846 and in 1862, and in Manchester in 1853. Each of them met for specific purposes. Their organisers had new programmes to propound and new schemes to initiate. But the promoters of the present gathering propose no fresh doctrine or policy. They merely seek to subserve the cause of Temperance by bringing it under public notice with more than usual power of interest. Newcastle is not an inappropriate place for such a Convention, as its population has been bibulous propensities. In so far as the delegates enjoin the principle of personal abstinence by explaining the pernicious effects of drinking, we are cordially with them. Our physical well-being, our moral worth, our social happiness, our national tranquillity, all depend upon that control of our appetite and passions which is designed by the cardinal virtue of Temperance. It is the guardian of youth and the support of old age; the physician of both body and soul. No nobler cause ever enlisted the aid of tongue or pen. It is both vast and vital, and adapted equally to man's wants and circumstances. It is alike benevolent and patriotic, practical and practicable. It touches us at all points of our everyday life, and is pre-eminently a question of morals, civilisation, and liberty. The movement is of American origin, and dates from the publication, in 1786, by Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, of an essay on the effects of ardent spirits on the human body and mind. But no organised effort against intemperance was made until 1826, when Dr. Lyman Beecher, father of the authoress of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' awakened his countrymen's attention by his six brilliant and instructive sermons. Their delivery led to the forming of the first Temperance Society. In 1829 Mr. John Dunlop introduced the American plan into this country, and societies on its model were established at various places. They, however, only aimed at suppressing the consumption of distilled spirits. They permitted the use of fermented liquors in moderation, but they soon died out. The movement, as we

know it, was inaugurated in Preston in 1832, by the late Mr. Joseph Livesey and a group of working men, who, believing that the habitual use of intoxicating beverages is a prolific source of misery, and that perfect health is compatible with total abstinence, began the first teetotal association. Mr. Livesey and his coadjutors, inspired by a generous love of their fellow men were intensely in earnest. Their souls were on fire, and they set others aflame. They spoke with force and fervency, but with much knowledge and practical good sense. Society was startled by the evidence they adduced of the deplorable progress of dissipation, and the consequent waste of national wealth and individual means. Many cures for the evil were suggested, but they all failed. By the mouth of its most influential spokesman, society confessed itself baffled, and almost gave up the contest in despair. When the Preston pioneers proposed the simple principle of individual abstinence they were denounced as fanatics. A speedy downfall was predicted for their monstrous folly, whilst their exuberant promises were scouted with derision. Strong in their sober sense, they clung to their creed unshaken, unseduced, and unterrified. If they were sneered at, their principles survived. The number and power of the obstacles they had to overthrow were stupendous. Drinking could plead high prescription in its favour. It was encompassed by the world's respectability, the tradition of ages, the avarice of the interested, the passions of the vicious; and the pusillanimity of the pharisaical; in a word, conventionalism, usage, and fashion were all in its favour. Yet the advocates of Temperance argued its way upwards and onwards with impassioned zeal, noble self-denial, and undaunted courage. The movement has not destroyed drinking it is true, but it has lessened drunkenness, and it has softened and sweetened our social customs. The principle has been tested by all the recognised canons of criticism and discussion, and men of science have been compelled to render homage to it. It has been proved in myriads of cases that perfect health is compatible with abstinence, and the hardest work can be accomplished when practising it."—*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*.

"The Prohibition Convention now in Session in Newcastle has made a promising start. We are not of those who condemn every class of reformers because we do not approve all the methods they employ. The Temperance question is vast and many sided, and very often good is done in most unexpected ways. A man who in diverting heart and soul to the diminution of the evils of drinking is certain to do useful work, whatever his political creed may be. He is a force making for order in the country. We, therefore, welcome the Prohibition Convention to Newcastle, although, to speak frankly, we do not like the name that has been given to it. There are, of course, many ways of promoting Temperance, but all may be conveniently divided into two great classes. One of these classes includes all the agencies that are striving to create within men higher principles and nobler ideals, that are seeking to purify the pleasures and sweeten the lives of the people, and that are by these means adding daily to the number of those who are temperate in habit and thought. The second class contains those whose chief aim is to remove by numerous devices the temptations that are now placed in the way of vast multitudes. Now, we do not suppose that among the delegates to the Prohibition Convention there will be found many who will deny that the work done by the first class of reformers is of a higher order than that done by the second. It is more durable, and its influence on character is immensely superior. A man who is temperate from conviction has reached a higher platform of life than the man who is temperate because there exists no facility for getting intoxicating drink. And what is true of the individual is true of the nation. The supreme end of Temperance reformation is the creation of a people so strong in will and so enlightened in mind that no temptation can assail them. If they have not this strength and enlightenment they may be subject to violent reactions, and their last end may be worse than the first.

We do not wish for a moment to convey the impression that the superiority of the moral side of the Temperance movement is lost sight of by some such reformers as are gathered in Newcastle just now, or by the numerous Temperance bodies they represent. All these bodies more or less are engaged in healthy moral work,

which, being less obtrusive, is sometimes overlooked. We owe to their zeal the increased interest of the churches in Temperance reform, the Bands of Hope, and innumerable other agencies by which the tone and sentiment of the present generation, and the generation that is rising up to follow this, are being raised and purified. When, however, men become wedded to one idea or to one system there is a great danger of their losing the breadth of mind and the catholicity of spirit which are necessary for effective work, be it in the cause of Temperance or any other cause. We have had many illustrations of this danger of recent years. Extreme men, thoroughly convinced in their own minds of the vast importance of their legislative projects, have not only given the first place to what should be secondary, but have refused to associate with and have even striven to impede, those who are working by different methods. We shall not, however, attempt to judge the present Convention before its work is done. It may, and we believe will, prove itself worthy of a more comprehensive name. A good deal of time is to be taken up with the discussion of the various aspects of Prohibition, and these meetings cannot fail to have a high educative value. The principle of Prohibition has been applied in many different ways in different countries—here by local veto, there by district or county vote, and, in one or two cases, by State vote. Men who have direct experience of the working of the various laws are to speak on the subject, and although they may not be received as wholly impartial witnesses, we do not doubt that they will record facts worthy of study by all interested in the Temperance movement.

“The Convention in reality is much broader than its name. The delegates and speakers will place before the public many other phases of the Temperance question besides those directly connected with the Prohibition campaign. Papers will be read by men who have earned distinction as leaders of their fellows on such questions as ‘Drink and Commerce,’ ‘Drink and the Revenue,’ ‘Drink and Wages,’ ‘Drink and Trades Unionism,’ and ‘Socialistic Theories and the Liquor Traffic.’ We shall also have the vexed question of ‘Compensation’ discussed, as likewise the ‘Municipalisation’ projects favoured by many who oppose Prohibition, although these projects have in them elements of greater danger. Then, too, a part of a day is to be devoted to the Temperance work of the churches. These are all phases of Temperance work in which unity is possible, and from the consideration of which much good will certainly come. As to the other and larger division of the work of the Convention, that directly connected with Prohibition, we need not at the present moment say much. The tone and temper of the Convention cannot yet be adequately gauged. We have noted, however, many favourable signs of a return to more conciliatory tactics. The ‘all or nothing’ attitude has been discredited by the barrenness of the results. Certainly there never was a time when unity was more needed. The evidence given before the Licensing Commission shows the existence of innumerable law-made evils which are daily increasing. A united attack on these is possible; and it is at least worthy of the consideration of Prohibitionists whether greater progress might not be made by co-operating with others for the removal of abuses about which all are agreed than by an uncompromising advocacy of Prohibition.”—*Newcastle Daily Leader*.

“As it is the fashion in these days for every party and set of people who desire the success of any movement to hold general gatherings of their adherents, which they call conventions or congresses, we take it as a matter of course that the advocates of a national prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors should also have their annual outing, at which there is a big muster of their friends, and plenty of meetings, demonstrations, and oratory. The one thing which is emphasised about the Prohibition Convention, meeting in Newcastle this week, however, is that it is not a gathering for freely discussing the problem of how to mitigate the evils of intemperance, but for affirming with all the vigour possible the foregone conclusions of the party. A more concise definition of its objects could, we suppose, not have been given than that of Mr. Joseph Malins, in the course of an address in Olympia on Sunday afternoon. ‘That Convention,’ he said, ‘had been projected to

enable them to hoist their standard, and to let the people know that they had not changed—that their policy was the same as it had been for many years past, and that they were not discouraged by such a little event as a General Election now and then.’ This reminds us of what was said about the Bourbons—that they learned nothing and forgot nothing. We do not know that a General Election is a ‘little event,’ but, in any case, it is the only effective expression of the opinion and will of the people in this country; and it is admitted that it has been given against the Prohibition party and their policy. Under these circumstances, what Mr. Malins describes as the object of the Prohibition party—namely, to let the people see that they are of the same opinion as ever they were, and that their views are stereotyped past all possibility of being affected by any manifestation of public conviction, to our mind only shows that those who are thus displaying their unalterable views are not particularly wise. Without questioning the right of any man or set of men to believe what they please about the best way of reforming the habits of the community in this matter of intemperance, it is, at any rate, certain that in a free country it can only be done by the assent of the people. If, then, it is shown that the majority of the people, or even, for that part of it, a substantial minority, are resolved not to have the choice denied them of drinking or refraining from drinking alcoholic liquors, merely because a certain number of persons abuse the liberty, it seems to us to be proved to a demonstration that not by that means, at any rate, is the end to be secured. It might, for the sake of argument, be admitted that everything the Prohibitionists say is true—yet, as the success of their policy depends wholly upon the willingness of the people to submit to be placed under bonds, in order to carry out the plan of the reformers, the absence of that willingness settles the matter at once.

“If the Convention about to be held had been a gathering for the purpose of considering the cause of Temperance as a whole, and the most practical and expedient method of mitigating the acknowledged evils, and improving the habits of the people, we should have wished it nothing but good speed. But every means is taken to disabuse our minds of such belief. The Convention is a Prohibition Convention, and appeals to no one but Prohibitionists. It is held in order to register a foregone conclusion—or rather, it would be more accurate to say, it is held to enable the already convinced friends of this movement to raise their voices as loudly as ever they can.”—*Newcastle Daily Journal*.

“The week has been notable for the meetings in Newcastle of the National Prohibition Convention. However much some of us may disagree with the views advocated by this, the most uncompromising section of the Temperance party, we cannot at least refrain from admiring the vigour and whole-heartedness with which those views have been expressed. To hold such a Convention in these days of reaction, to attract no less than eleven hundred delegates from all parts of the United Kingdom, as well as from abroad, and to keep the enthusiasm up to a high pitch for a whole week is no mean achievement, and speaks eloquently of the tremendous vitality which seems to be inherent in the Temperance cause. There will be a general agreement that the time is opportune for the propagation of these principles upon which the Convention is founded. At a time when the forces of apathy and indifference are triumphant every movement towards progress must be encouraged, and should be welcomed. We know, of course, that universal prohibition of the sale of drink is not likely to be realised in our time. But the prohibitionists are not altogether uncompromising. They are not so narrow-minded as to oppose measures which may fall short of the goal at which they aim. Therein they display true wisdom. A Temperance reformer who despises any measure tending to diminish drunkenness on the ground that it does not realise his ideals is not merely short-sighted, but is actually a dangerous enemy of the cause he professes to support.”—*Northern Weekly Leader* (Newcastle).

“The representative character of the Convention is proved by the dialects of the delegates. Yorkshire and Lancashire are evidently well represented. As the Northumbrian moves amongst them he has no reason to be ashamed of his burr.

By mingling in such gatherings one realises how our variety of diction makes our national life more picturesque. There is a distinct charm in the harsh 'scrape' of the Lancashireman, in the drawl of the weaver from the county of broad acres, in the staccato notes of the Cockney, and in the sonorous drones of the Scot. Now, this harmonious blending of speech and sentiment in support of common purposes is in itself an evidence that the Temperance movement is a powerful factor in the national life, and one feels that, assuming the ideas of the Prohibitionists to be entirely mistaken, their policy impracticable, their arguments unsound, yet their earnestness and loyalty to what they consider to be right form a welcome protest against the enslaving customs and Mammon-worship of the day."—Special Correspondent of the *Newcastle Daily Leader*.

"The interest manifested in the Newcastle Convention is marvellous; indeed almost without parallel. For six successive nights Olympia has been packed from end to end, orchestra, galleries filled, and hundreds standing in the gangways. Enthusiasm has been unbounded, and last night even the counter attractions of an oratorio in the Town Hall and a new play at the theatre caused no diminution in the attendance. . . . But these evening meetings are merely as the dessert after the feast. For ten mortal hours per day the delegates are assembled; for conference all day and demonstration at night. Nothing seems able to damp the enthusiasm or cool the ardour of the cold water drinkers! The Convention is an object lesson which may be recommended to the study of Liberals as well as of Conservatives. Those Radical wire-pullers who would like to throw the Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill overboard at the next election will do well to pause. This assembly testifies that they will have men in most constituencies to deal with who place Temperance first and Party second."—Special Correspondent of the *Echo* (London).

"The vitality of the Temperance Party has been abundantly shown at the Prohibition Convention, which held its concluding session at Newcastle yesterday. The presence by the 'coaly Tyne' of a thousand representatives of the Temperance work that is going on in every part of the country is an important fact. These delegates do not represent selfish interests, but moral enthusiasm. This is an element in public life with which all Governments have to reckon, and which wise statesmen know and value as a mighty power for good. The Newcastle Convention has brought out a remarkable body of evidence, and the appeal made has been to testimony and reason. Fact and not rhetoric is the dominant note of the discussions. A thousand men never assemble to discuss any question without something more or less injudicious being said, but the testimony of Sir Wilfrid Lawson as to the small amount of 'twaddle' is justified. One fact comes out with great clearness. So far from being dismayed, the result of the last general election has been to incite the Temperance Party to increased effort for the education of the public mind as to the dangers of the present licensing system. And they are undoubtedly right in their conviction that in a country like our own the control of the liquor traffic must in the last resort be placed in the hands of the people."—*Manchester Guardian*.

"The National Prohibition Convention, which is holding its meetings at Newcastle-on-Tyne this week, and which is attended by eleven hundred delegates from all parts of the United Kingdom, is a striking proof of the vigour and inherent vitality of the Temperance cause. The members of the Convention represent the most uncompromising section of the Temperance party. They have not assembled, as Sir Wilfrid Lawson said last night, for the purpose of laying down the law as to the best licensing system, for apparently they do not admit that there are degrees of comparison in such a matter as the sale of intoxicating drink. Nothing short of total abstinence for the individual and of Prohibition for the State will satisfy the ardent social reformers now in conference in the capital of Tyneside. Of the zeal, earnestness, and self-sacrifice of those Temperance workers who ridicule the notion of subjecting the liquor traffic to any limitation and regulation there

cannot but be general admiration in these days, when nothing is cheaper than commonplaces regarding the evils of drunkenness. There will also be general agreement that the time is particularly opportune for the propagation of the principles upon which the Convention is founded. Never was it more necessary than at the present day to educate the people upon questions of political and social reform. When the forces of reaction, apathy, and indifference are asserting themselves so strongly, every effort to bring about a change in public feeling and opinion—to effect some progressive movement—is to be welcomed and to be encouraged. But it is impossible to ignore the lessons of experience, and the history of the human race shows us that the moral ideal in society is realised only by slow and sometimes imperceptible degrees. Universal total abstinence and universal prohibition of the sale of strong drink, however desirable in themselves, will never be reached at a bound. Perhaps only once, in a long space of years, will there be any sign of approximation to these ends visible in the United Kingdom. Temperance reformers who aim at the attainment of the goal of national prohibition, if they are wise, will make use of every means likely to help them thither, and they will not despise (much less fight against) measures which fall short of what they wish. A Prohibitionist who opposes any scheme calculated to diminish the opportunities for intemperance, merely on the ground that it does not represent all that he would like, and that it recognises as legal the sale of what he regards as ‘poison’—is really no friend of the Temperance cause. For the action of such an impractical and visionary mortal can only postpone further the realisation of that ideal upon which he has set his heart but not his mind. But the speeches delivered at Newcastle yesterday do not suggest that the Convention contains many if any such irrational extremists.”—*Leeds Mercury*.

“The ‘biggest thing’ in the Temperance world for a generation has been the great Prohibition Convention which concluded its week of earnest teetotal propaganda last Friday. There is no doubt about that. Teetotalers are agreed on the point, and so are many who are not Temperance people. For a solid seven days there has been held a brilliant series of meetings. Over a thousand delegates have attended from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, the Continent, and the Colonies. The leading Temperance men in every walk of life have been represented: Papers have been read by specialists, and many of the most eloquent exponents of the faith have spoken. Huge audiences have filled the largest hall of Newcastle night after night. And what is the result? Certain it is that a great impulse has been given to the Temperance and Prohibition movement. A united Temperance party has re-affirmed that the people themselves must settle whether the public house shall be permitted to have a license to exert its baneful influence in the district in which such people live. Local Option in one form or another is the finding of the largest gathering of Temperance reformers that Britain has ever seen. . . . The reading of papers and the discussion of them was the business at the Conferences. Here was the happy hunting ground of the philosophical, the statistical, the historical teetotaler. Armed with the Convention Blue Book and sheafs of papers the average specimen made himself at home all over the place. One minute he would be speaking to an old comrade whom he had not seen for twenty, thirty, possibly fifty years. The next thing one would see would be the veteran popping about on the platform solemnly arguing with the officials or smilingly acquiescing in some fair lady delegate’s arguments. The papers read surveyed mankind and the liquor traffic from China to Peru.”—Special Correspondent of the *Alnwick Guardian*.

“In a paper on the relation of the co-operative movement to the liquor traffic, read at a meeting of the National Prohibition Conference, last week, Mr. James McKendrick argued that Temperance people might claim co-operators as allies in uplifting the wage earners of the country to a higher level materially and morally. Mr. McKendrick’s paper, a summary of which we print elsewhere, should have special interest in view of the recent discussions of the question of the establishment of co-operative breweries.”—*Co-operative News* (Manchester).

TEMPERANCE PRESS.

“The Convention in furtherance of Prohibition, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne last month, will be a landmark in the history of the movement.”—*Abstainers' Advocate* (Beckenham, Kent).

“The Convention opened most auspiciously, and proceeded with increased interest. The papers were admirable, and will form a valuable addition to our permanent Temperance literature. Many of our finest speakers were present at the public meetings, and gave splendid deliverances, which were enthusiastically received by the immense audiences, and there can be no doubt that the movement will receive an impetus from the event which we thankfully acknowledge and would not undervalue.”—*The Temperance World and Prohibition Herald* (London).

“The National Convention for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, which was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, from Saturday, April 3rd, to Friday, April 9th, marked a distinct historical epoch in the onward march of the movement. It was significant for being really the first National Convention of all Temperance organisations held without a compulsory entrance fee, the Convention being open to all. There was no ‘rest and be thankful,’ for while all heartily approved, step-by-step Temperance reform, it was made abundantly clear that there would be no ‘rest and be thankful,’ until the Prohibition goal was reached.”—*Temperance Witness* (Newcastle.)

“The recent Prohibition Convention at Newcastle-on-Tyne will mark a forward step in the history of the Temperance Reformation. From the opening meeting on April 3rd to the closing session on April 9th, the interest and enthusiasm was well maintained. Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke, one of our vice-presidents (of the Women's Total Abstinence Union), presided over the Section when Women's Help for Prohibition was under discussion, and the President of the W.T.A.U. (Lady Biddulph) read the first paper. It is gratifying to note that this meeting was one of the best of the series, eliciting a great amount of interest and enthusiasm and specially favourable notice from the Press.”—*Wings* (London).

“The Prohibition Convention recently held at Newcastle was a great success in every way. Upwards of a thousand delegates were present from all parts of the world, and the papers read were of the most varied and interesting character. There was a free discussion of every subject, and the resolutions were of a strong nature, the delegates being all agreed that there could be no compromise in any way with the drink traffic. The Convention was for Prohibition, and nothing short of that would suit the enthusiastic Temperance workers who took part. The public meetings were attended by about 5,000 each night, and better speeches have never before been heard on the Temperance platforms in Newcastle. There was unbounded enthusiasm throughout, and the Convention must have resulted in much practical good to the Temperance cause.”—*Temperance Chronicle* (Darlington).

“The Convention certainly cannot complain of any want of attention or respect on the part of the Press. The zeal and earnestness of the Prohibitionists are adequately acknowledged on all hands. Their high, pure motive—the good of their fellows—is held to be worthy of the highest praise. If newspaper editors, generally speaking, will not go further than this, it is not very surprising, and Prohibitionists, conscious as they are that there is a missionary effort, will not complain that their main object and aim is not viewed sympathetically by those who look at matters from an entirely different standpoint. Tolerance is a virtue or not, just as the system to which the word refers is tolerable or not. The standpoint of the Prohibitionist is that the drinking system of the country is intolerable. It is not likely, therefore, that they would appreciate, even if they desired—as they certainly do not—the adjective ‘tolerant’ to be applied to themselves.”—*The Temperance Companion* (Manchester).

"Upwards of a thousand delegates attended from all parts of the United Kingdom and a few from abroad. These represented every phase of the movement and every form of Temperance effort. The interest was well maintained to the end, indeed, there was a larger attendance at the Conference on Friday devoted to 'Women's Help for Prohibition,' than on any previous day.

"The interest and enthusiasm manifested both at the Conferences and at the public demonstrations were very great, and formed notable features of the Convention. The fifty papers read at the Conference under the eight sections covered a wide area, and embraced every aspect of the Prohibition movement. Many of them were of special interest and value.

"The Convention cannot but give a great impetus to the cause, and the stimulus imported will, through those attending and the Press, be communicated to all interested in Temperance reform."—Special Correspondent of *The League Journal* (Glasgow).

"The great Convention has come and gone. Though held in the far North of England, remote from the habitations of most leaders of Temperance men, more than a thousand signatures to its roll of membership, sent in from East, West and South, as well as North, testified to the vivid vitality of the advanced Temperance movement in all parts of the United Kingdom, and almost all these members are leading and active men in the Temperance movement. From the first conception of it, it was to be distinctly a Prohibition Convention, and such unmistakably it remained to the last. Alike, whether in its widely comprehensive range of subjects (so humourously described by Mr. Leif Jones) it dealt with the historical and legislative, the foreign and colonial, the economical and statistical, the impedimental, the industrial and commercial, the Christian Churchly, the organisational, or the women's special aspect of the movement, it affirmed in every section by distinct resolution its staunch adherence to the principle of Prohibition, and when each evening it admitted the public to its most spacious hall, delighting them with speech after speech from its leading men and women, its voices still had the true ring in them, proving the steadfastness of its fealty to what is to the foe 'the dreaded name' not of 'Demogorgon' but of Prohibition."—*The Alliance News* (Manchester).

"Thirty-five years have come and gone since the last Prohibition Convention, so it was only to be expected that the present one would be a big and imposing display of our Temperance forces. Had it not been so, it would have done more harm than good. Over one thousand persons were appointed as delegates; a remarkable number, especially when it is remembered that canny Newcastle is so far north.

"Newcastle has a reputation for strong Temperance sentiment, although, like all other big towns, there is much evidence of the grip of the drink demon. It is the headquarters of the North of England Temperance League; and its secretary, Mr. Guy Hayler, with our old friend, Mr. George Tomlinson, of the Alliance, divided the duties of secretaries to the Convention. The labour and correspondence involved was enormous; but earnestness, enthusiasm, and love for the cause lightened the load, triumphed over difficulties and obstacles, and resulted in a glorious success.

"The Convention has served its purpose. The main object was to make clear our position to the country. This has been clearly defined. We stand for the destruction of the body and soul destroying liquor traffic, and, as a means to that end, we advocate permissive prohibition in localities by means of a direct vote by the people."—*Temperance Bells* (Derby).

"From the opening demonstration on 3rd April to the farewell meeting on 9th April, the Prohibition Convention at Newcastle was a great success. All the confident anticipations and expectations in regard to it were more than realised. The gathering was truly a national and historical one. Representatives were present from almost every constituency in Britain, and no Temperance Association of any consequence was unrepresented.

"The Convention proper was marked by deep earnestness and abounding enthusiasm. The dominant notes were absolute Prohibition and no compromise. A casual observer could not but be struck with the fixed determination manifested, at every section, to push the battle more and more to the gate, and to prosecute the war against the liquor traffic with more zeal and boldness. If any attempt had been made to secure support for half measures, it would have received a very hostile reception. Indeed, when one old veteran even hinted that, after all, there might be something worth having in 'local management,' the Convention promptly and emphatically repudiated the idea, and would have none of it. For a 'disorganised, discredited, and discouraged party,' the Convention was a wonderful display. The last General Election cast no shadow over the deliberations. The next one received more attention. All evidently

'Held, we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.'

"The fifty papers read were remarkably able and instructive, and when published, as they will be, along with reports of the discussions, speeches, etc., will form a most valuable addition to the literature of the movement. The volume of proceedings no Temperance reformer can afford to be without.

"Of the many demonstrations held it is impossible to speak too highly. The speeches were admirable, pitched on a high key, and breathing intense moral earnestness. The audiences were very large, warmly responsive, and cheered to the echo the strongest statements against the liquor traffic, and the demands for its annihilation. It was noteworthy all through that nothing met with such a hearty response as the demand for simple, unconditional, and immediate Prohibition. It was a *Prohibition* Convention.

"The influence of the Convention will be long felt throughout the country, and must tell for good. If properly followed up by earnest aggressive work on the part of every Temperance Association, a great impetus cannot but be given to the cause."—*The Good Templar* (Glasgow).

"The National Convention for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic is but a memory, but there need not be the slightest hesitation in believing that it will be a lasting one. The gathering drew together a large number of the most active workers in the movement in the present day. Friends known to each other only by name met face to face, and the hearty clasp of the hand and warm recognitions spoke volumes as to the feelings which animated all in this war against the saloon. Women to a greater degree than we remember thronged the meetings, and lent a bright aspect to the proceedings.

"The Convention brought together papers on Prohibition which in their way are unsurpassed for the information they afford, especially in regard to Australia, Canada, and Scandinavia. This must be as great an encouragement to the genuine Prohibitionist as it must be a discouragement to those who faint and are weary or who have turned out of the way. The thorough-going sentiments reiterated which were pressed home with eloquence were proof, if proof were really needed, that the genuine Temperance reformer is in no way daunted by the so often paraded Local Veto defeat and reaction. Indeed, he seemed to be never more alive. He has no interest in impossibilities and difficulties. He had surmounted too many of the so-called first and had overcome too many of the second to be despondent. He wants, like the hound in the leash, to be let go that he might strike another blow, fire another shot, or 'ram' another obstruction, and in the way so bravely cleared run the Temperance race. This is the spirit in which the friends appeared to be animated.

"Everywhere the English speaking race is assailing the public-house. Silently but effectively the cause is marching on. Australia, Canada, the United States, and Britain are showing proofs of the constant warfare to which the saloon, the speak easy, the dive, the dram-shop in all shapes and forms are being subjected. The territory of the liquor traffic is being occupied by the Prohibitionist, slowly, we cheerfully grant, but certainly. Its fate is clearly evident. No evil can stand the persistent attacks being made by the Prohibitionists. We do not see day by

day the change which is taking place, but at intervals observation shows that change has taken place. To-day the publican with difficulty holds his own, to-morrow he may be flying before the assaults of his opponents. This Convention will emphasise this change, and in the not distant future over every inch of the territory upon which the publicans are squatters will float proudly the unsullied flag of effective Prohibition. These sentiments which owe their strength to the Convention will, in consequence of their wider diffusion, animate the varied hosts of Prohibition, and impart power and hope and courage to every true and sincere Temperance reformer."—*The Scottish Reformer* (Glasgow).

"If all Christian communions would unite in denouncing the liquor traffic, in twelve months there would be no liquor traffic to denounce. The question is in the hands of the Churches."

"This was the message sent to the great Prohibition Convention at Newcastle by Dr. Joseph Parker; but while it contains a great deal of truth, still it does not entirely dispose of the question. Of all the topics dealt with at Newcastle, perhaps the most important was 'The relation of the Christian Church to the Prohibition movement,' and we fully agree with the closing sentence that we have quoted, that 'the question is in the hands of the Churches.' The liquor traffic to-day lives and thrives because the Church of Christ wills that it should live and thrive. The ruined homes, the blighted manhood, the degraded womanhood, and the enfeebled and dwarfed childhood, which are the despair of the social reformer, exist to-day in no small degree, because the Church of Christ is willing that they should exist. It will not be enough that the Church should 'denounce the liquor traffic,' though that will be a wonderful step in advance for many Churches, but the individual Christian must *vote against the traffic*.

"Our Conferences and annual assemblies will adopt general resolutions, and will even vote in favour of local option, but we cannot call to mind any single religious denomination that has during the past year, seriously and resolutely set itself to discuss the best methods to rid the Church of all complicity in the guilt of the traffic. Why is this? There can be but one answer. It is because nearly every branch of the Christian Church has in its fellowship men who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. The debate at Newcastle has done good, and we hope the widest possible publicity will be given to the discussion.

"It is no doubt true, as the President of one of our largest Free Church Councils said a few days ago, that the duty of the Churches is to try and develop the spiritual life of the people, but how can the spiritual life be developed when the Church permits the liquor traffic to grow up right at the very doors of our mission rooms, and when the men who are engaged in pushing their infernal business, are churchwardens, class leaders, elders, or deacons? It is all very well to hold Conventions for the deepening of the spiritual life in our Churches, but unless the deepening of the spiritual life of the individual members leads to a more passionate hatred of every form of legalised evil, and a stronger determination to fight against that evil, we see very little evidence of a higher spiritual life. When a Christian man prays 'Thy kingdom come,' and votes to send into Parliament a distiller or a brewer, there is something wrong either with his prayer or his vote. The Church of Christ can kill the liquor traffic whenever it likes, and every day that it is permitted to continue its deadly work it disgraces and discredits the Church."—*The Good Templars' Watchword* (Birmingham).

"The National Prohibition Convention, consisting of eleven hundred representatives from all parts of the United Kingdom, and of visitors from America, Australia, Iceland, and the Continent of Europe, was inaugurated on the afternoon of Saturday by a juvenile demonstration in Olympia, which was attended by six thousand Band of Hope members resident in the city. It was certainly a good idea to begin with the children, for the golden key that will open the door of the future lies in their hand; and not one whit less so was the happy thought which suggested 'Onward Christian Soldiers' as the first hymn that would echo through

the vast auditorium. We are engaged in a fierce conflict, and the sooner we recognise its serious and even desperate character the better for us and the cause. We are all familiar with the story of the Roman hero who had done his day's work, and who wished to see the army march past him once more before he bade farewell to earth.

"Whilst we feel profound reverence for the veterans of the Temperance army, who have dared and done more than we know; whilst we cherish deep gratitude towards the present standard-bearers, our success and safety are only assured when our recruits, in point of numbers, quality, and spirit, are commensurate with the momentous issues of the battle we are waging.

"It is a pity that more attention was not given to the work among the young. On the last day of the Convention Mr. R. Mackay, of Glasgow, touched on the subject, and threw out one of the very finest suggestions offered during the entire week, when he advocated the founding of a Temperance College for the training and equipment of speakers. Were such a course adopted Temperance meetings would not be discounted, the speaker would never have to address a beggarly array of empty benches, and the tendency to crush the Temperance element in the programme into an ignominious corner would be effectively arrested.

"It is not too much to expect in a speaker a certain amount of culture. A misplaced h, a false quantity of an erroneous allusion is not calculated to favourably impress an educated auditor. And why should he not be captured?

"But besides general culture, the speaker ought to be a specialist who is at home in the whole field, and is particularly well made up in the aspect of Temperance which he is discussing. General Temperance addresses, which supply facts that everybody knows, and stories of which everybody is sick, and which every member of the audience can tell perhaps better than the performer, even though he localises them and represents them as being connected with himself, ought to be discontinued.

"We hope that the suggestion made by Mr. Mackay will prove to be a seed-thought which will give due account of itself; and that its fruit will be seen in the shape of an institution which will provide facilities for the training of those who are called to devote themselves to Temperance platform work."—Special Correspondent of *The Irish Temperance League Journal* (Belfast).

RELIGIOUS PRESS.

"The great Prohibition Convention is attended by over eleven hundred representatives drawn from every county in England and Scotland and many parts of Ireland. The Municipality and the Nonconformists have heartily welcomed the Convention, but the members of the Anglican Church are conspicuous by their absence, although the Bishop is a strong teetotaler. Only one Anglican pulpit was opened to the representatives, and Dean Leigh of Hereford and Canon Hicks of Manchester are the only leaders of the Established Church who are taking any part in the proceedings."—*The British Weekly* (London).

"The canny city of Newcastle is just now the scene of the largest and most representative gathering of Temperance workers held in this country for the last fifty years. The occasion is a great National Convention of those who have inscribed on their banner the total Prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. Their creed may be summed up in a sentence—'Total Abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the State.' The attendance exceeds the wildest hopes of the most sanguine of the promoters. Eleven hundred delegates are here assembled, drawn from every country, and representing all the great National Temperance organisations, except the Church of England Temperance Society. The North naturally has the predominance, but the South and West, as well as the Midlands and Wales, are well represented. Other countries, such as Norway, the United States, and Australia, have also sent some of their most gifted workers.'—*Methodist Recorder* (London).

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PRESS.

"Such Conventions encourage the faint-hearted, strengthen the despondent, and awaken new zeal among those who are working against public sentiment and the tide of passing events."—*Kentucky Star* (Georgetown, Kentucky).

"The sacred cause of Prohibition is by no means set back in the world at large, although just now by reason of political manœuvring and the influence of foreign emigrants, it is in our country trodden under feet of men. In England Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his compatriots have called a National Prohibition Convention out and out, which is to be held in April next. They have found that they cannot carry any measure or get the slightest aid or comfort from the Salisbury Government, and this condition of things has led them to higher ground. Prohibition was always their objective point, but they hoped to reach it by the Local Option route. Perhaps conditions are somewhat analogous in our own country, and for ourselves we should like to see all the Temperance organisations unite in a similar call. We believe nothing would put heart and nerve into our people like it, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union stands ready to do its full share in the working up of such a movement."—*Union Signal* (Chicago, Illinois).

"The National Prohibition Convention that was held in April clearly showed that the question of more effectively dealing with the liquor traffic is living and burning. The men who have taken it in hand are courageous and resolute. Though the forces against them are so wealthy and powerful, they refuse to admit the possibility of defeat, and their manifest confidence ought to be inspiring. At this distance of time we do not intend to give anything like a report of the Convention or of the speeches delivered thereat, but the spirit that pervaded it and the significance of such a gathering ought not to pass unnoticed."—*Alliance and Temperance News* (Adelaide, South Australia).

"The liquor question has no mercy on the peace of the churches. In relation to the drink trade, God is already 'searching out the hearts of men before His judgment seat.' It is rapidly becoming impossible for a Church to occupy a neutral position. *For* or *against* must be the record, and the moral courage of the Church will be measured by the sharpness and decisiveness of that record. In the great Convention held at Newcastle, England, in April last, no question excited such lively interest as the relation of the Churches to the traffic. Dr. Joseph Parker, of London, than whom no one in England commands a wider or more attentive hearing, was unable to attend the Convention, but he sent a message which was refreshingly pointed and pungent."—*The Prohibitionist* (Dunedin, New Zealand).

"The great Prohibition event of 1897 in Great Britain was the great Prohibition Convention held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, commencing Saturday, April 10th. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., was President. Many thousands of people attended some of the meetings. Addresses were delivered and papers read by leading Prohibitionists from different parts of the United Kingdom, and some from other countries. All the proceedings were intensely interesting. A full report will be published in a volume containing these addresses and papers, which will be an invaluable compendium of Temperance and Prohibition information."—*The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Canada).

The Free Public Libraries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, taking advantage of the sittings of the Prohibition Convention, prepared a special list of the Temperance works in the Central Library (New Bridge Street), and it was announced that such books were available for reference or study. It is pleasing to know that much use was made of these books by the general public.

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The following is a List of the Convention Delegates, with name of Society represented, and whose credentials were submitted and accepted. Those marked with an asterisk (*) were present and registered, but many more were present who did not register.

ENGLAND.

NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

- NATIONAL TEMPERANCE FEDERATION.**—*Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P. (London), *Councillor Joseph Malins (Birmingham).
- UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.**—*Rev. Canon E. L. Hicks, M.A. (Pendleton), *Rev. James Clark (Salford), *Rev. C. F. Aked (Liverpool), *Mr. John Crumblehulme (Bolton), *Mr. Edward Pearson (Manchester), *Mr. G. W. Sharman (Sheffield), *Mr. T. P. Smith (Burnley), *Mr. James Whyte (Manchester).
- BRITISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.**—*Mr. W. S. Caine, J.P. (London), *Mr. Fielden Thorp, B.A. (York), Mr. J. C. Clegg (Sheffield), Mr. E. S. Bramwell (Sheffield), *Rev. H. J. Boyd (Sheffield).
- UNITED KINGDOM BAND OF HOPE UNION.**—*Mr. Jacob Earnshaw, F.S.S. (Ashton-on-Mersey), *Mr. C. W. Garrard (London), Mr. C. J. Whitehead (Sheffield), *Mr. W. E. Bell (Newcastle-on-Tyne), *Rev. John Thornley (Sheffield).
- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS—GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.**—*County Councillor Joseph Malins (Birmingham), *Mr. F. W. Dimpleby, J.P. (Richmond, Surrey), *Mrs. B. Shipman (London), Rev. J. A. Lee (Liverpool) *Mr. J. A. Harrison (Sunderland).
- THE ORDER OF SONS OF TEMPERANCE, NATIONAL DIVISION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**—*Mr. James Gibson (Newcastle).
- NATIONAL BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.**—*Mrs. Margaret McKinnon (Dumfries, N.B.), *Mrs. David Richardson (Newcastle), Miss A. E. Slack (Ripley), *Mrs. Knox Lyal (Stocksfield), Miss Bertha Mason (Ashton-under-Lyne).
- NATIONAL WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION.**—*Lady Elizabeth Biddulph (London), *Mrs. W. S. Caine (London), *Miss M. E. Docwra (Kelvedon, Essex), *Mrs. S. Buss (London), *Mrs. Brookes (Grays, Essex), *Miss E. L. Connell (Gateshead).
- NATIONAL UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.**—*Rev. Canon Barker, M.A. (London), Mr. A. F. Hills, D.L. (Woodford, Essex), *Mr. W. Sutherland (London), *Mr. Charles Pinhorn (London), *Mr. H. J. Osborn (London).
- CENTRAL ASSOCIATION FOR STOPPING THE SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.**—*Rev. Canon Lowe, M.A. (Haltwhistle), Mr. J. Woodford Causer (Manchester).
- THE CONGREGATIONAL TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION.**—*Rev. W. Spensley (Sunderland), *Mr. Robert Mansergh (Lancaster).
- THE BAPTIST TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION.**—Rev. Dawson Burns, D.D. (London), *Mr. S. B. Burton, F.R.G.S. (Newcastle), Mr. S. P. Derbyshire, F.C.A., (Nottingham), *Rev. Walter Hanson (South Shields), *Alderman Geo. White, J.P. (Norwich).
- THE TEMPERANCE COMMITTEE OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONFERENCE.**—*Rev. G. Armstrong Bennetts, B.A. (London), *Alderman E. S. Hindmarsh, J.P. (Gateshead), *Rev. W. Sackett (Wallbottle), *Rev. E. J. Brailsford (Newcastle), *Alderman W. D. Stephens, J.P. (Tynemouth).

- FREE METHODIST TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.**—*Rev. J. B. Stoneman (Gateshead), *Rev. H. Holgate (Newcastle), *Rev. F. Lamb (Newcastle), *Rev. John Thornley (Sheffield), *Mr. J. G. Walker (Newcastle).
- THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.**—Rev. T. H. Hunt (Leeds), Rev. G. F. Johnson (Gateshead), Rev. R. Shields (Hartlepool), Mr. C. H. Leach (Darlington), Mr. R. Pickering (Sunderland).
- THE BIBLE CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.**—Rev. J. Luke (Plymouth), Rev. J. Dymond (Bristol), Rev. W. B. Lark (Devonport), Rev. D. Murley (Bristol), Rev. A. Trengove (Bristol).
- THE NEW CHURCH (SWEDENBORGIAN) TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.**—*Mr. John Brown (Newcastle), *Mr. John Redhead (Newcastle), *Miss C. M. Elliott (Newcastle), *Rev. John Elstob (Newcastle).
- THE CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE LEAGUE OF THE CROSS.**—Mr. T. A. Kelly (London).
- FRIENDS TEMPERANCE UNION.**—Mr. Frank Dymond (London). *Mr. Edward Pearson (Wilmslow, Cheshire), *Mr. Fielden Thorp, B.A. (York).
- LEAGUE FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN.**—Mr. George R. Allison (Liverpool).
- UNITED KINGDOM RAILWAY TEMPERANCE UNION.**—Mr. A. C. Thompson (London).
- THE WORKHOUSE DRINK REFORM LEAGUE.**—Mr. W. C. Amery (Birmingham).
- THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE DEMORALIZATION OF NATIVE RACES BY THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.**—*Mr. A. W. Bodger (London).
- SOCIETY OF THE TEMPERANCE IRONSIDES.**—*Mr. E. Tennyson Smith (London), *Mrs. E. Tennyson Smith (London), *Mr. J. G. Cunningham (London), *Mr. Howard M. Tyrer (London), Mr. G. S. Wray (London).

ASSOCIATED COUNTY ORGANISATIONS.

- NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.**—*Rev. A. B. Tebb, C.C. (Winlaton), *Mrs. Henry Davison (Newcastle), Lady Cecilia Roberts (Naworth), *Mr. E. Snowball, Hexham, *Mr. J. C. Drury (North Shields).
- MIDLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.**—Alderman John Harper, J.P. (Bilston, Staffs.), *Mr. John Slack, B.A. (Birmingham), *Mr. Thomas Coop (Birmingham), Mr. T. G. Beamish, J.P. (Coventry), *Mr. E. A. Slack (Birmingham).
- WESTERN TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.**—*Mr. William W. Turnbull (Bristol), Mrs. W. W. Turnbull (Bristol).
- DORSET AND SOUTHERN COUNTIES TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.**—*Mr. John Barker (Blandford), Dr. A. H. J. Crespi (Wimborne, Dorset), County Councillor Daniel Ballam (Lyttchett Minster, Poole).
- LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE BAND OF HOPE AND TEMPERANCE UNION.**—*Rev. Canon Hicks, M.A. (Pendleton), *Mr. Jacob Earnshaw, F.S.S. (Ashton-on-Mersey), Mr. Thos. E. Hallsworth (Manchester).
- DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND BAND OF HOPE UNION.**—*Mr. S. B. Burton, F.R.G.S. (Newcastle), *Mr. W. Brackenbury (Darlington).
- NORTHERN ASSOCIATION OF TEMPERANCE ADVOCATES.**—*Mr. W. Lapsley (Marske), *Mr. James Troup (Newcastle).

COUNTY OF BERKS.

- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS—ROYAL BERKS DISTRICT LODGE.**—Mr. Stephen Hobbs (Abingdon), Mr. G. C. Hobbs (Didcot).

COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE.

- NORTH CAMBRIDGE TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.**—*Rev. J. W. Campbell (Wisbeach), Rev. J. Lloyd James (March), *Mr. J. R. Gray (Whittlesea).
- CAMBRIDGE—Deus Vult Lodge I.O.G.T. :** Mr. S. H. Wing.
- WISBEACH :** Total Abstinence Society, Ladies' Committee: Mrs. Geo. Dawbarn, *Mrs. J. J. Anderson.

COUNTY OF CHESTER.

- BIRKENHEAD TRANMERE AND ROCK FERRY.**—Branch R.W.T.A. : *Mrs. Langman.
CHESTER.—Christian Temperance Society : *Rev. John Morgan, *Mr. J. W. Travis. City of Refuge Tent I.O.R., *Mr. R. W. Carter.
NORTHWICH.—Circuit Temperance Union : *Rev. G. F. N. Sherwell.
MACCLESFIELD.—Wesleyan District : *Rev. R. F. Broomfield (Stoke-on-Trent), *Mr. A. Shorter (Stoke-on-Trent), Mr. J. Rathbone Edge, J.P. (Newcastle-under-Lyme.)
STOCKPORT.—Gospel Temperance and Band of Hope Union : *Mr. Henry Faulder, *Mr. James Smith.
WILMSLOW.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. Edward Pearson.

COUNTY OF CORNWALL.

- PENZANCE.**—Direct Veto Association : Mr. R. Dale.
REDRUTH.—United Methodist Free Church Temperance Society : *Rev. R. W. Rose.
ST. IVES.—Direct Veto Association : *Councillor John M. Kernick.

COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND.

- NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE—CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND.**
 *Mr. Arthur Houldershaw (Workington).
UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE—CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND.—*Mr. Robert Watson (Carlisle).
CUMBERLAND BAND OF HOPE UNION.—Mr. William Etchells (Carlisle), *Mr. Geo. Winterbottom (Carlisle).
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES—CUMBERLAND DISTRICT.—*Mr. John Penn (Mealsgate), *Mr. J. Fletcher (Cockermouth).
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS—EAST CUMBERLAND DISTRICT LODGE.
 *Mr. J. L. Wilson (Wigton), *Mr. Norman J. R. Butler (Penrith). **WEST CUMBERLAND DISTRICT LODGE.**—*Mr. John Williamson, C.C. (Allonby), *Mr. Arthur Houldershaw (Workington).

- ALLONBY.**—British Women's Temperance Association : Miss Annie Williamson.
ASPATRIA.—Band of Hope Union : *Miss M. E. Williamson.
BRAYTON.—Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P.
CARLISLE.—Total Abstinence Society : *Rev. James McNab. Beacon of the Border Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Geo. Mason. British Women's Temperance Association : *Miss Boyd, Mrs. Macintosh. United Kingdom Alliance Auxiliary : *Mr. Isaac Teasdale. Lowther Street Congregational Church : Mr. Jas. Robinson, sen. Evangelical Union Church Band of Hope : *Mr. John Robinson. Shaddongate Wesleyan Temperance Society : Mr. Jas. Beuty. Hope of Carlisle Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. Jas. Blackburn. Lowther Street Congregational Church Band of Hope : Mr. Joseph Bell.
KESWICK.—Temperance Reformation Society : *Mr. R. Hogarth.
LANERCOST.—Total Abstinence Society : *Rev. T. W. Willis, M.A.
LONGTOWN.—Temperance Society : *Mrs. Wilson. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Gilfillan. Hope of Longtown Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Rev. Jas. Gilfillan, M.A. Band of Hope : *Mr. John Wilson.
NAWORTH.—Total Abstinence Society : *Lady Dorothy Howard, *Mr. Charles Roberts, M.A., *Miss Lewis.
SEASCALE.—St. Cuthbert's Temperance Society : *Rev. Chas. E. Johnston.
SILLOTH.—Juvenile Temperance Union : Mr. John J. Martin.
WARWICK BRIDGE.—Women's Total Abstinence Union : Mrs. Dryden, *Miss Pitt.
WHITEHAVEN.—Sailors' Rest Temperance Society : *Mr. W. H. Preece. I.O.G.T. *Mr. John Steedman.
WIGTON.—Enterprise Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mrs. Wilson.

WORKINGTON.—North of England Temperance League Committee: *Mr. Thos. Duffield, *Mr. W. Carlton. Band of Hope Union: *Mr. C. H. Walker. Baptist Band of Hope: *Rev. J. H. Brooksbank.

COUNTY OF DERBY.

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BUXTON.—British Women's Temperance Association: Miss M. H. Morten.
DERBY.—Temperance Society: Mr. Wm. Mart, *Mr. Geo. Shires. California Rescue Lodge I.O.G.T.: *Mr. W. L. Newton. Shaftesbury Division, Sons of Temperance: *Mr. G. Fitchett Parker. United Kingdom Alliance: *Mr. J. T. Nowell.

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LONG EATON.—Band of Hope Union: *Mr. I. Fry.

RIPLEY.—British Women's Temperance Association: Miss Agnes E. Slack.

SWADLINCOTE.—Primitive Methodist Band of Hope: Mr. Samuel Shepherd.

TOTON.—United Kingdom Railway Temperance Union: *Mr. I. Fry.

COUNTY OF DEVON.

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TORQUAY.—Excelsior Lodge I.O.G.T.: *Mr. James Williams.

PLYMOUTH.—Total Abstinence Society: Mr. Francis Smith.

COUNTY OF DORSET.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS—DORSET DISTRICT LODGE.—Mr. A. Allen (Poole), Mr. Alford (Poole).

BLANDFORD.—Temperance Association: *Mr. John Barker.

COUNTY OF DURHAM.

NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE—DURHAM DISTRICT.—*Councillor R. Goodwin (South Shields), *Mr. D. McMillan (Sunderland).

DURHAM COUNTY UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.—Dr. Morgan, J.P. (Sunderland), *Rev. A. Graham Barton (Crook).

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FREE METHODIST TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—*Rev. J. B. Stoneman (Gateshead.)

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- BIRTTY.**—Primitive Methodist Temperance Society : Mr. Bertram Bolam. Sobriety Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. R. Pickering.
- BISHOP AUCKLAND.**—Temperance Society : Mr. Joseph Lingford, J.P., *Mr. Gabriel Dyson. Auckland Reformer Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Samuel Jay.
- BINCHESTER BLOCKS.**—Heart and Hand Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. Robert Plews.
- BRANDON COLLIERY.**—Mount Beulah Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. H. V. Nesbitt.
- BARNARD CASTLE.**—British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Howson. Band of Hope : *Mrs. George Burn. Wesleyan Methodist Church : *Mr. John Howson.
- BILL QUAY-ON-TYNE.**—Women's Total Abstinence Union.—*Mrs. Embleton, Mrs. Ridley. Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. W. Ridley, Mr. T. W. Murray.
- BLAYDON-ON-TYNE.**—Temperance Society : *Mr. Thomas Beveridge.
- CONSETT.**—North of England Temperance League Centre : *Mr. G. T. Egglestone. Star of Hope Division Sons of Temperance : *Mr. E. Hobday. Rose of Derwent Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. Thomas Martin. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. R. C. Foster, *Mrs. Septimus Brodie.
- CROOK.**—Temperance Society : Mr. Isaac Wilson, jun. Gem of Truth Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Rev. A. Graham Barton. Flower of Truth Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Robert Adamson. Hope of Billy Row Lodge I.O.G.T. : Miss Mary Joyce. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Isaac Wilson. Charles Garrett Tent I.O.R. : *Mr. James Dickinson.
- CHESTER-LE-STREET.**—Primitive Methodist Band of Hope : *Mr. John Wilkinson. Florida Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. James Laidlaw. Primitive Methodist Temperance Society : Mr. Henry Pringle, Mr. John Clark. Florida Rosebud Temple I.O.G.T. : *Mr. J. E. Gimblett, *Mrs. J. E. Gimblett. Hero Division Sons of Temperance : Mr. Thomas Storey, *Mr. Joseph Hayhoe.
- CASTLE EDEN.**—Women's Total Abstinence Union : Mrs. Mossop, *Mrs. H. Thompson.
- CORNWAY COLLIERY.**—Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Mrs. John Clark, *Mrs. J. B. Browell.
- CROFT.**—Hope of Croft Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Arthur Riseboro'.
- DARLINGTON.**—Edward Pease Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mrs. Carr. Hope to Prosper Temple I.O.G.T. : Mr. C. W. Featherstone. Darlington and District Band of Hope Union : Mr. W. Cox, *Mr. W. Brackenbury. Temperance Society : *Mr. A. Henderson, J.P., *Mr. J. F. Latimer. Unitarian Band of Hope : Mr. A. Woodward. British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. Pratt.
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- DUNSTON-ON-TYNE.**—Dunston Unity Tent, I.O.R. : *Mr. Wilford Faldon. Faithful Juvenile Tent I.O.R. : Mr. Walter Young.
- EDMONDSLEY.**—Wesleyan Temperance Society : *Mr. W. Grieves, *Mr. John Hodgson, Mr. Thomas Clayton.
- FORCETT.**—Temperance Society : *Mrs. William Ayton.
- FELLING-ON-TYNE.**—United Temperance Council : Mr. Matthew Pattison, Mr. R. Hay. Methodist New Connexion Church : *Rev. J. E. Mackintosh. Methodist New Connexion Band of Hope : *Mrs. J. E. Mackintosh. Abraham Lincoln Division Sons of Temperance : *Mr. Nicholas Marshall. George Dodds Tent I.O.R. : Mr. Stephen Shilan, senr. Nonconformist Council : *Mr. Hedley Dixon. Equal Rights Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. J. W. Woods, *Mrs. J. W. Woods, *Mr. J. W. Edgar.
- GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE.**—Temperance Council : *Councillor J. Bradshaw, J.P., *Mr. R. Brewis. North of England Temperance League Centre : *Mr. T. J. Grainger. North Eastern Railway Temperance Union : *Mr. Edward Boyne, *Mr. W. H. Wood. Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Miss E. L. Connell. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Marshall, Miss Ethel Lyeal. Methodist New Connexion Band of Hope Union : *Rev. J. Young, *Mr. R. G

- Oliver. Pleasant Saturday Evenings : Rev. Fred Platt, B.A., B.D., *Mr. W. P. Parkin. Friends Teams Band of Hope : *Miss G. M. Edmundson. Low Fell Methodist New Connexion Band of Hope : *Mr. W. Collin. Bensham Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. D. R. Goodyear. John Mawson Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. J. W. Hood. Hugh Bourne Division Sons of Temperance : *Mr. James McMorran. High West Street Wesleyan Circuit Temperance Society : Rev. J. J. Smith, Rev. Fredk. Platt, B.A., B.D. Victoria Road Primitive Methodist Church : *Councillor John Thubron. Sunbeam Tent I.O.B. : Mr. Frederick Vickers. Teams Pioneer Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Thomas Riddell. Victoria Tent I.O.R. : *Mr. J. S. Newton. Ely Street Primitive Methodist Band of Hope : *Mr. Geo. Bowran. Dare to be a Daniel Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mrs. Blacker. Bands of Hope Association : *Mr. Thomas Paxton. Society of Friends : *Mr. F. Appleton. Temperance Committee of Wesleyan Circuit : *Rev. H. G. Payn. Whitehall Road Methodist New Connexion Band of Hope : *Rev. John Young.
- HEBBURN.**—Hebburn Hope Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Thos. Caswell. Dawn of Hope Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. Robt. Jas. Rutherford. Hope of Hebburn Temple I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Thomas Scott.
- HUNWICK.**—Friendly Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Jack Raine.
- HEDLEY HILL TERRACE.**—Star of Hedley Hill Division Sons of Temperance : *Mr. J. G. Barron.
- HARTLEPOOL.**—May Queen Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Rev. Walter Armstrong. Hope of Hartlepool Temple I.O.G.T. : Miss E. C. Larmuth. Throston Sunbeam Temple I.O.G.T. : Mrs. Eliza Oliver. James Rewcastle Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Edward Oliver. Primitive Methodist Temperance Society : Rev. R. Shields, —*Councillor F. Yeoman J.P., *Mrs. F. Yeoman.
- HETTON-LE-HOLE.**—*Councillor M. Yelder.
- HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING.**—*Mr. Thomas Galley.
- JARROW-ON-TYNE.**—Temperance Council : *Councillor Geo. Johnson, J.P. (Mayor), *Mr. Robt. Shepherd. Jarrow and District Band of Hope Union : Mr. Jas. Treiving, Mr. John Daglish. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Longmore, *Mrs. Geo. Johnson. Hope of Jarrow Tent I.O.R. : *Mr. Jas. J. Hatley. St. John's Terrace Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. Joseph W. Cook. "Y" Branch British Women's Temperance Association : *Miss Reavley. Loyal Exchange Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. W. Raiton.
- LUMLEY.**—Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. Hy. Bolton, *Mrs. Henry Bolton. Sir Wilfrid Tent I.O.R. : *Mr. Joseph Curry.
- LANCHESTER.**—Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Mrs. Browell, Mrs. J. Clark.
- LANGLEY MOOR.**—Lady Boyne Lodge I.O.G.T.—Mr. Thos. Needham.
- MEDOMSLEY.**—Anchor of Hope Temple I.O.G.T. : Mr. Wm. Stephenson.
- MONKWEARMOUTH.**—General Havelock Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. W. E. Marshall. General Havelock Temple I.O.G.T. : Mrs. M. A. Marshall.
- MARLEY HILL.**—Primitive Methodist Chapel : *Mrs. Thos. Brabban.
- MIDDLETON-IN-TEESDALE.**—Band of Hope : *Mr. Geo. Pinkney.
- NEW WASHINGTON.**—Sir Wilfrid Lawson Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. J. F. Jones, *Mr. Francis Knox.
- PELTON FELL.**—Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. David Dyson, Mr. Richard Eddy, junr.
- RYTON-ON-TYNE.**—Congregational Church : *Rev. H. Rose Rae. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Rae. Congregational Mission : Mr. David Thwaites. Ryton's Hope Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. Robert White. Hope of Ryton Temple I.O.G.T. : Miss Aggie Steel. Congregational Church Young Men's Bible Class : *Mr. John Cocks. Congregational Sunday School : *Councillor Robt. Middleton.
- STOCKTON-ON-TEES.**—North of England Temperance League Centre : *Mr. George Henderson. Temperance Society : *Councillor W. Whittle, *Mr. William Dodshon, J.P., *Mrs. W. Whittle. British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. Meggeson, *Mrs. Howe. Independent Order of Good Templars—Sub-District : *Mr. Thomas H. Howe, Mrs. C. Newton. Hope of Success Juvenile Tent I.O.R. : *Mrs. Mary Cummings. Stockton, Thornaby and District Band of Hope Union : *Miss Brown, *Mr. C. H. Bainbridge.

- SPENNYMOOR.—Triumph of Hope Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. John W. Fleming, *Miss Janet Fleming. Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Mrs. M. A. Pearson. Friend in Need Division Sons of Temperance : *Mr. Isaac Peart.
- SUNDERLAND.—Temperance Society : *Mr. W. Bolton, *Alderman Robt. Swan. Band of Hope Union : *Mr. G. N. Arnison, Mr. G. S. Pollock, *Mr. C. Dain. Town Mission Band of Hope : Mr. J. P. Beel. Pottery Buildings Band of Hope : Mr. Wm. Burnside. Young Abstainers Union : *Mr. E. M. Hooper. Southwick Primitive Methodist Band of Hope : *Mr. J. B. King.
- SOUTH SHIELDS.—Gospel Temperance Union : *Rev. Walter Hanson, *Mr. Edward Major. Band of Hope Union : *Mr. Geo. R. McKeith, *Mrs. R. Ramsay, *Miss Hannah Williams. Glebe Primitive Methodist Band of Hope : Mr. J. W. Billing. Johnson's Hill Band of Hope : *Mr. Henry Gordon, jun. Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Mrs. Bell Robson. — *Mr. Robt. P. Moncrieff.
- TOW LAW.—North of England Temperance League Centre : Mr. J. E. Dixon. Beacon of Hope Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mrs. Anderson.
- TUDHOE.—George Dodds Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. John Pattinson.
- WINGATE.—Rose of Wheatley Hill Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. Richard Fathers. Primitive Methodist Band of Hope : *Mr. Fred Glass.
- WHITBURN.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. J. B. Short.
- WEST STANLEY.—Refuge Senior Temple I.O.G.T. ; *Mr. James Baker.
- WATERHOUSES.—Dearness Valley Temperance and Prohibition Association : *Mr. Thomas Binns, *Mrs. Thomas Binns.
- WINLATON-ON-TYNE.—Temperance Society : Mr. William Latimer. Sons of Temperance : *Mr. W. Scott.
- WEST HARTLEPOOL.—Temperance Society : Mr. William Noble, *Mr. T. Spoor, Mr. Henry Weatherall. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. T Spoor, M.S.B.
- WILLINGTON.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : County Councillor A. W. Elliott.

COUNTY OF ESSEX.

- FOREST GATE.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. F. Cowley.
- GRAYS.—Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Mrs. Brookes.
- ILFORD.—*Mr. Daniel Long.
- NORTH WEST HAM.—United Temperance Council : *Councillor G. Saunders Jacobs, Mrs. Saunders Jacobs, B.A.
- KELVEDON.—Women's Total Abstinence Union : *Miss M. E. Docwra.

COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

- CHELTENHAM.—Temperance Federation : Mr. J. Playle. British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. J. Playle.
- BRISTOL.—United Kingdom Alliance Auxiliary : *Mr. A. E. Jones. Women's Total Abstinence Union : Mrs. A. E. G. Hawkes.
- BEDMINSTER.—Original Grand Order, Sons of Phoenix : Mr. S. C. Llewelin.

COUNTY OF HANTS.

- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS—SOUTH HANTS DISTRICT LODGE : *Mr. W. P. Hunt (Bournemouth).
- CHRISTCHURCH.—Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union : *Mr. Geo. Herbert Marshall.
- SOUTHAMPTON.—Temperance Council : *Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke. Band of Hope Union : *Mr. W. Williams.

COUNTY OF HEREFORD.

- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Hereford District Lodge : Mr. Adams.
- HEREFORD.—*Very Rev. J. W. Leigh, D.D. (Deaf of Hereford).

COUNTY OF HERTFORD.

HITCHIN.—Total Abstinence Society : *Mr. Henry W. W. Russell.
 WATFORD.—Temperance Union : Dr. F. R. Lees, F.S.A.

COUNTY OF KENT.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS—MID-KENT DISTRICT LODGE.—Mr. Jas. Richards (Tunbridge Wells). EAST KENT DISTRICT LODGE.—*Mr. Jabez Nelson (Folkestone), *Mr. Alfred Scott (Folkestone).

BECKENHAM.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. J. Martin Skinner.
 DOVER.—United Temperance Council : *Mr. C. E. Blakston.

COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

MANCHESTER, SALFORD, AND DISTRICT TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Mr. Robert B. Batty (Manchester), *Mr. John Mather (Manchester), *Mr. Robert Lewis (Manchester), *Mr. B. J. Murney (Salford), *Mr. Edward Nield (Manchester), *Rev. C. H. Murray (Manchester).

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—North Lancashire District Lodge : *Mr. Robert Mansergh (Lancaster). South-East Lancashire District Lodge : *Mr. John H. Musk (Manchester), Mr. J. G. Tolton (Manchester). South-West Lancashire District Lodge : *Mr. Geo. Clarke (Earlestown).

ACCINGTON.—Temperance Society : *Mr. Benjamin Thornton. Autley Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. Edward Edwards.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—Ashton's Hope Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Councillor J. Whitehead. British Women's Temperance Association : Miss Bertha Mason.

BARROW-IN-FURNESS.—United Kingdom Alliance Auxiliary : Mr. J. W. Paitson. Furness Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. H. P. Bell.

BOOTLE.—British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. Cowie.

BOLTON.—Temperance Union : *Mr. John Crumblehulme.

BURNLEY.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. T. Porter Smith. British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. T. P. Smith.

COLNE.—Temperance Society : *Rev. A. L. Barley, Mr. Jas. Stansfield.

CHORLEY.—Anti-Narcotic League : Mr. A. E. Eccles.

CLITHEROE.—British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. T. G. Latham. Church of England Temperance Society : *Mrs. Bellhouse.

FARNWORTH.—Women's Total Abstinence Union : Mrs. G. Barnes.

HEYWOOD.—Temperance and Band of Hope Union : Mr. Arthur Todd.

HORWICH.—British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. Orrell.

LITTLEBOROUGH.—United Methodist Free Church Band of Hope : *Mr. Daniel Hartley.

LANCASTER.—Total Abstinence Society : *Mr. R. Roe. County Palatine Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. J. C. Haydock.

LIVERPOOL.—United Kingdom Alliance Auxiliary : *Mr. Edward Boreland, *Rev. James Watkin. Wesleyan Band of Hope Union : *Mr. Jonathan Hargrove. Gospel Temperance Mission : Mrs. J. Twentyman. Temperance Ironsides Circle : *Mr. Charles W. Elam, M.R.C.V.S. Pembroke Temperance League : *Miss Helen Duthie. Rock Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Fred W. Hall. Norwood Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. James Taylor. Toxteth Tabernacle Men's Bible Class : *Mr. Peter T. Winskill.

MANCHESTER.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. James Whyte. Christian Abstainers' Union : Miss M. B. Ramsay. Independent Order of Rechabites, Grand Encampment : *Mr. R. Campbell. Young Abstainers' Union, South Manchester Branch : *Mr. William Willett. Concilio et Labore Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. W. G. Jones. British Women's Temperance Association, Rusholme Branch : *Mrs. Earp. Clayton, Bradford, and Beswick Temperance Association : *Mr. W. Knowles, Mrs. W. Knowles. Alliance Press Agency : *Mr. R. A. Jameson.

- NELSON.—Temperance and Band of Hope Union : *Mr. James Edmondson. Cooper Street Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. Thomas Waite. Salem Temperance and Band of Hope Society : *Mr. Anthony Higson. Carr Road Wesleyan Temperance Society : *Mr. Edmondson Dixon.
- OLDHAM.—British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. McGowan. Temperance Society : *Mr. Joshua Dixon, *Mr. Peter Taylor. Temperance Mission : *Mr. George Johnson.
- PADIHAM.—Temperance and Blue Ribbon Society : *Mr. Henry Bridge.
- PATRICROFT.—Patricroft Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Thomas Grindle.
- PRESTON.—Temperance Society : Mr. Paul Walmsley.
- PENDLEBURY.—United Kingdom Alliance : County Councillor T. W. Postlethwaite.
- ST. HELENS.—Excelsior Temple I.O.G.T. : *Mr. A. Francis. St. Helens Pioneer Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. James Lindon. Great Heart Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. George Pinshon.
- SOUTHPORT.—*Councillor T. R. Threlfall, J.P.
- SALFORD.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Rev. James Clark.
- TRANMERE.—British Women's Temperance Association : Mrs. Longman.
- UP-HOLLAND.—Band of Hope Union : *Mr. James Holland : Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. Peter Chadwick. Tontine United Methodist Free Church : Mr. Joseph Boyers.
- WALSDEN, NEAR TODMORDEN.—Lanebottom Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. Greenwood Sutcliffe.
- WARRINGTON.—Wesleyan Circuit Temperance Committee : Rev. W. G. Triggs.

COUNTY OF LEICESTER.

- LEICESTERSHIRE AND DISTRICT TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Mr. W. Fowkes (Leicester), *Mr. E. Windross (Leicester),

- LEICESTER.—Temperance Society : *Mr. J. Matson.

COUNTY OF LINCOLN.

- GRIMSBY.—*Mr. C. M. Mundahl.
- SCUNTHORPE.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. George Johnson. Wesleyan Adult Temperance Society : *Mr. Thomas B. Pickup.

COUNTY OF LONDON.

- LONDON UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.—*Rev. Canon Barker, M.A., *Mr. H. J. Osborn, *Mr. W. Sutherland, *Mr. Charles Pinhorn, *Mrs. Charles Pinhorn.
- UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.—London Auxiliary : Rev. Dawson Burns, D.D., *Mr. Edward Crawshaw, Mr. E. Chubb, Mr. E. A. Gibson, *Mr. John Kempster, *Mr. Amos Scholefield, LL.D., *Mr. J. H. Raper.
- METROPOLITAN TEMPLAR FEDERATION.—*Mr. J. Martin Skinner.
- ORDER OF SONS OF TEMPERANCE.—London Grand Division : *Mr. Matthew Gill.
- THE ORDER OF TEMPERANCE CRUSADERS.—*Mr. John Hilton.
- LONDON TETOTAL FEDERATION AND ADVOCATES' LEAGUE.—Mr. James Woollens, Mr. James Bedford.
- NATIONAL PROHIBITION LEAGUE.—Mr. D. T. Down.
- HACKNEY AND EAST MIDDLESEX BAND OF HOPE UNION.—*Mr. William E. Knight, *Mr. Charles Brown, *Mr. Charles W. Garrard.
- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—London Olive Branch Lodge : *Mr. A. W. Bodger.
- BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.—Muswell Hill, East Finchley and Highgate Branch : *Miss Florence Balgarnie.
- SERMON LANE (CLERKENWELL) MISSION TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETY AND BAND OF HOPE : Rev. Edward C. Cuthbert.

WHEATSHEAF HALL TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETY.—*Mr. Frederick Grubb.
 HORNSEY WESLEYAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.—*Rev. E. Clowes Chorley.
 BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.—Fulham Branch : *Mrs. Shaen.
 SOUTH HACKNEY.—*Mr. George Blaiklock, B.L.

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Middlesex District Lodge : *Mr. Samuel Insull (London), *Mr. W. Sutherland (London).

EALING.—St. John's Branch C.E.T.S. : *Miss Ada M. Hutchings. Wesleyan Temperance Society : *Rev. G. Armstrong Bennetts, B.A.
 WILLESDEN.—Pioneer Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mrs. Annie Symonds.

COUNTY OF MONMOUTH.

NEWPORT.—Newport and County Total Abstinence Society and Gospel Temperance Union : Mr. Richard Mildren.

COUNTY OF NORFOLK.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Norfolk District Lodge : Mr. Thomas Goate (Yarmouth), Mr. Geo. Lane (Wymondham).
 INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES.—Norfolk and Suffolk District : *Mr. S. A. Scarlett (Norwich).
 NORFOLK AND NORWICH GOSPEL TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Mr. John Newton (Norwich), Mr. Wm. Hird (Norwich).

NORWICH.—*Alderman Geo. White, J.P.

NORTH WALSHAM.—Total Abstinence Association : Miss E. M. Porritt.

COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Northamptonshire District Lodge : Rev. J. J. Cooper (Northampton).

NORTHAMPTON.—Temperance and Band of Hope Union : Rev. J. J. Cooper.

COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—Northumberland District : *Mr. Guy Hayler (Newcastle), *Mr. Edward Snowball (Hexham).

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.—Northumberland and Durham : *Mr. Geo. Tomlinson (Newcastle).

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Northumberland District Lodge : *Rev. T. W. P. Taylder (Newcastle), *Mr. J. Fawcett (Gosforth). Northumberland District Council of Juvenile Temples : *Mr. Thomas King (Newcastle), *Mr. J. Young (Tynemouth).

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES.—Northumberland District : *Mr. Thomas McKenzie (North Shields), *Mr. Geo. Bowden (Newsham). Juvenile Section : *Mr. W. R. Stephenson (Walker), *Mr. Jas. N. Kerr (Throckley).

SONS OF TEMPERANCE.—Newcastle-on-Tyne Grand Division : *Mr. Andrew Hall (Howdon-on-Tyne), *Mr. Jas. Towart (Gateshead), *Mr. Thos. W. Huntley (Felling), Mr. Joseph Lightfoot (Felling), *Mr. Jas. Gibson (Newcastle).

NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE FESTIVAL ASSOCIATION.—*Mr. A. W. Wilkie (Newcastle), *Alderman W. D. Stephens, J.P. (Tynemouth).

FEDERATION OF EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCHES.—Newcastle, Gateshead, and District Council : *Rev. William Glover (Newcastle), *Dr. Vickerman H. Rutherford, M.A. (Newcastle).

SALVATION ARMY.—Northern Province : *Colonel Wright (Newcastle).

- ALNWICK : British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. M. Turner.
 BLYTH.—Temperance Union : Rev. Jas. Westwater, *Rev. M. T. Pickering, *Councillor Henry Patterson. Sir W. C. Trevelyan Lodge I.O.G.T. : Miss C. Reed, Mr. J. W. Turnbull.
 BEDLINGTON.—Sleekburn United Band of Hope : *Mr. Thos. Walton.
 BERWICK-ON-TWEED.—United Temperance Council : Mr. S. Oliphant, Mr. John R. Wild. St. Mary's Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Joseph D. Grey. Border Union Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. David Hobbs, Jun., Mr. J. B. Beveridge. Baptist Church - *Rev. J. Lamb Harvey.
 CULLERCOATS.—Primitive Methodist Church : *Mr. J. Jefferson. Band of Hope : *Miss Dawson.
 CORBRIDGE.—*Mr. George Charlton.
 EARSDON.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. John T. Johnson.
 FELTON.—Temperance Society : Mr. George Taylor. Band of Hope : Mr. G. Taylor, Jun.
 GOSFORTH.—U.M.F.C. Temperance Society.—Mr. James Thompson. United Methodist Free Church : *Rev. Henry Mann. Hope of Gosforth Tent I.O.R. : Mr. Wm. Brunskill. — *Mr. Fred. Burn.
 HEXHAM.—United Temperance Council : *Rev. M. Johnson, *Mr. J. Sparke. British Women's Temperance Association, "Y" Branch : *Miss Kate Snowball. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Robson, *Mrs. Snowball.
 HORSLEY.—Temperance Society : *Mr. John Mordue.
 HAYDON BRIDGE.—United Band of Hope : *Mr. J. Davidson, Mr. J. Watson.
 MICKLEY SQUARE.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. S. Little.
 MORPETH.—*Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P.

Newcastle-on-Tyne :—

- TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.—*Councillor Hugh Crawford Smith, *Mr. E. W. Watson, *Mr. Geo. Lynas, *Mr. John Johnson.
 TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.—*Mr. George Hall, *Mr. C. W. Davenport, *Mr. John S. Roberts.
 UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE AUXILIARY.—*Mr. Arthur B. Plummer, F.R.I.B.A., *Mr. Jas. S. Featherstone, *Mr. David Richardson, *Mr. Wm. Whitehead.
 NEWCASTLE AND GATESHEAD BAND OF HOPE UNION.—*Mr. G. B. Hunter, *Mr. James Troup, *Mr. Geo. Whitfield, *Mrs. Tweedy, *Mr. J. Chippendale.
 BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION (2).—*Mrs. Crawford Smith, *Miss Rule, Miss Helen Moffat.
 NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE CENTRE.—*Mr. Guy Wilfrid Hayler, *Mr. Walter Trevelyan Hayler.
 NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Mr. J. Hetherington.
 COMMERCIAL TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—*Mr. Robert A. Charlton.
 INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Sub-District : Mr. M. Lynn, *Mr. Wm. McCabe.
 GOSPEL TEMPERANCE UNION.—Central Hall, Nelson Street : *Mrs. Lambert, *Mr. R. Laing Hay, *Mrs. R. L. Hay, *Mr. John Murray.
 METHODIST NEW CONNEXION BAND OF HOPE AND TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.—*Rev. Enoch Hall, *Rev. John Shaw, *Mr. Thomas Graham.
 MEDICAL TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.—*Dr. F. C. Coley, *Dr. T. W. Hay.
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.—*Rev. E. S. Savage, M.A.
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.—St. Silas' : *Mr. Anthony Newton.
 PRESBYTERIAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.—*Rev. W. McLean Brown.
 PRIMITIVE METHODIST CIRCUIT.—*Rev. A. T. Guttery, *Mr. Robert Foster.
 WESLEYAN METHODIST DISTRICT TEMPERANCE COMMITTEE.—*Mr. W. H. Scott.
 NORTHERN LIGHT LODGE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. John Arrowsmith.
 CENTRAL LODGE, I.O.G.T.—*Mr. Alex. McLeod, Mr. A. Parker.
 MANORS LODGE I.O.G.T.—Mr. W. Matheson, Mr. Brown.
 HEATHER BELL LODGE I.O.G.T.—*Mrs. Mary Munro.
 PERSEVERANCE LODGE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. M. R. M. Irvine.
 LIGHT-ON-THE-HILL LODGE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. George Innes.

NEW PANDON MISSION LODGE I.O.G.T.—Mr. Robert Harding.
 COME AND WELCOME LODGE I.O.G.T.—Mrs. Dixon.
 CITY OF NEWCASTLE LODGE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. W. G. Clark.
 CONVENTION LODGE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. Robert Felton.
 GRACE DARLING TEMPLE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. Wm. Codling, jun.
 DR. RUTHERFORD TEMPLE I.O.G.T.—*Mrs. Clarke.
 SPRIG OF HEATHER TEMPLE I.O.G.T.—*Mrs. Haver.
 CITY OF NEWCASTLE TEMPLE I.O.G.T.—*Mrs. Leach.
 SPRING BLOSSOM TEMPLE I.O.G.T.—*Mr. Jas. Bell.
 NEWCASTLE PIONEER TENT I.O.R.—Mr. Joseph Smith.
 W. D. STEPHENS TENT I.O.R.—Mr. John J. Edgar.
 ARTHUR'S HILL PRESBYTERIAN BAND OF HOPE.—*Rev. A. S. Berrie.
 ST. GEORGE'S PRESBYTERIAN BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. Mark Easton.
 GLOUCESTER STREET UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCH BAND OF HOPE—*Mrs Dryden.
 BROWN MEMORIAL CHURCH METHODIST NEW CONNEXION BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr.
 J. H. Anderson.
 NELSON STREET PRIMITIVE METHODIST BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. James Holmes.
 BATH LANE CONGREGATIONAL BAND OF HOPE.—*Rev. J. H. Paterson.
 ST. JAMES'S CONGREGATIONAL BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. J. T. Oliver.
 HEATON BAPTIST BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. C. J. Hopkins.
 WESTGATE ROAD BAPTIST BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. R. Rule.
 RYE HILL BAPTIST BAND OF HOPE.—*Miss Smith.
 HINDHAUGH STREET MISSION BAND OF HOPE.—Mr. John Watson.
 WENLEY HALL BAND OF HOPE.—Mr. Thomas Parmley.
 WESLEYAN BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. G. W. Weatherhog.
 LIME STREET MISSION BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. E. M. Mosley.
 LIVERPOOL STREET MISSION BAND OF HOPE.—*Mr. John G. Graham.
 ST. JAMES' CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.—*Rev. D. L. Ritchie, *Mr. Robert Knight, J.P.
 PANDON MISSION CHURCH.—*Rev. James Jack.
 FRIENDS' ADULT SCHOOL.—*Mr. Joseph Dennison, *Mr. Thomas Davidson.
 CO-OPERATORS.—*Mr. J. McKendrick.

NORTH SHIELDS.—United Temperance Action Association : *Mr. E. W. De Russett,
 *Mr. A. G. Barker. British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. E. W.
 De Russett. Pioneer of the North Tent I.O.R. : *Mr. Thomas Patterson.
 Northumbrian Pioneer Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. J. T. Dodds. True Friendship
 Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mrs. M. A. Anderson. Olive Branch Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Miss
 J. Fenton, *Mrs. M. J. Brown. Northumberland Street Mission Temperance
 Society : *Mr. John C. Drury. Methodist New Connexion Band of Hope :
 Miss M. Potter, *Miss J. Brown. Norfolk Street United Methodist Free Church
 Band of Hope : Miss Jane Grant. Milburn Place Methodist New Connexion
 Chapel : *Mr Joseph Coates, *Mr. James Brown. Pleasant Saturday Evenings :
 *County Councillor J. R. Hogg.
 NEWSHAM.—John Manderson Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Mark Procter. John Manderson
 Temple I.O.G.T. : Mr. William Bell. Hope of Newsham Temple I.O.G.T. :
 Mr. George Strong.
 NEWBROUGH.—Temperance Society : Mr. J. Bamborough.
 NORTH SUNDBRILAND.—Total Abstinence Society : Mr. John P. Ewing.
 PRESTON.—British Women's Temperance Association "Y" Branch : Miss Carr.
 PALMERSVILLE.—Wesleyan Methodist Church : Mr. William English.
 PRUDHOE-ON-TYNE.—United Temperance Society : *Mr. William Pickering. Prudhoe
 Castle Tent I.O.R. : *Mr. John Philipson.
 PONTELAND.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. Henry Stobert.
 SHANKHOUSE.—Women's Total Abstinence Union : Mrs. Ord, *Mrs. Grieves.
 ST. ANTHONY'S.—Mars Hill Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. William Lindsay.
 STOCKFIELD-ON-TYNE.—British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. J. Knox
 Lyal.
 SEATON DELAVAL.—Reformer Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Miss J. F. Robertson. Robert
 Stewart Temple I.O.G.T. : *Miss E. Robertson.

- TYNEMOUTH.**—Band of Hope Union : *Ald. J. Elliot, J.P., Mr. John Smith. British Women's Temperance Association : *Miss Brewis, *Mrs. Kirkwood. Tyne-mouth Division, Sons of Temperance : *Mr. John G. Thompson, *Mr. R. Whinfield. Stand Like the Brave Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. R. A. S. Morton, *Rev. J. W. Ogden, F.R.G.S.
- TWEEDMOUTH.**—Tweedside Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. James Stokoe. Future Hope of Tweedmouth Temple I.O.G.T. : *Mr. J. B. Beveridge.
- THROCKLEY.**—Rescue of Throckley Lodge I.O.G.T. : Mr. William J. Cowen. Pride of Throckley Temple I.O.G.T. : Mr. Fred T. Jennings. Pride of Throckley Tent I.O.R. : Mr. William Wilson.
- WILLINGTON QUAY.**—Robert Nicholson Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Matthew F. Wright.
- WALBOTTLE.**—Wesleyan Band of Hope : Mr. Robert Rowell. Wesleyan Temperance Society : Mr. John Carrick. Perseverance Juvenile Tent I.O.R. : Mr. George Dawson.
- WHITLEY.**—British Women's Temperance Association : *Miss Rennison.
- WALKER.**—Presbyterian Total Abstinence Society : Mr. Ralph Guthrie, Mr. Samuel Buchanan. Wesleyan Sunday School : *Mr. E. W. Lake.
- WALLSEND.**—Edward Moore Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. James Anderson. Edward Moore Temple I.O.G.T. : *Mr. George G. Miller.
- WYLAM.**—British Women's Temperance Association : *Miss A. Dixon.

COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM.

- ARNOLD.**—“Friendly Help” Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Samuel Ward.
- BEESTON.**—Temperance Society : *Mrs. Clower.
- NOTTINGHAM.**—Temperance Federation : *Mrs. M. J. Pearson, *Mr. J. B. Thornley. New Basford and Hyson Green Branch British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. M. J. Pearson. Arboretum Branch British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. A. W. Black. United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. J. B. Thornley.

COUNTY OF OXFORD.

- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.**—Oxfordshire District Lodge : *Mr. J. B. Weatherall (Oxford).
- OXFORDSHIRE BAND OF HOPE AND TEMPERANCE UNION.**—Mr. Winter Williams (Oxford), Mr. Amos G. George (Oxford).
- UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL FOR OXON., BERKS., AND BUCKS.**—*Rev. C. Duxbury (Woodstock).
- OXFORD.**—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. J. B. Weatherall. City of Oxford Lodge I.O.G.T. : Rev. J. H. Moore.

COUNTY OF SALOP.

- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.**—Salop District Lodge : *Mr. E. B. Benson (Shrewsbury).
- PULVERBACK.**—Temperance Society : *Mr. E. B. Benson.
- SHREWSBURY.**—Union of Peace Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Edwin B. Benson.

COUNTY OF SOMERSET.

- INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.**—East Somerset District Lodge : *Mr. Robt. Hogg (Bath), Mr. R. E. M. Lawrence (Weston-super-Mare). West Somerset District Lodge : Mr. Samuel Stanton (Bridgewater).
- MARTOCK** —*Mr. B. G. Benson

COUNTY OF STAFFORD.

STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY UNION.—British Women's Temperance Association :
Mrs. Elijah Jones (Hanley), *Mrs. Parker (Stoke).
UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL FOR NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE AND SALOP.—*Mr. J.
Wilcox Edge, J.P. (Huntley, Wolstanton).

BURSLEM.—Charles Garratt Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Alderman Wm. Boulton, J.P.
HANLEY.—Temperance Society : Mr. Elijah Jones, M.S.A.
LINGTON.—Temperance Society : Mrs. Catherine Wilson. British Women's
Temperance Association : Mrs. A. Wilson.
LEEK.—Ball Haye Green Band of Hope : Mr. William Hassell.
STOKE-ON-TRENT.—United Kingdom Alliance : *Mr. Thomas Hardy.
WOLSTANTON.—British Women's Temperance Association : *Mrs. Shorter.

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

SUFFOLK TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Mr. E. Asquith Rands (Ipswich).
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Suffolk District Lodge : *Mr. E.
Asquith Rands (Ipswich).

COUNTY OF SURREY.

HATCHAM.—*Mr. W. Bingham.
RICHMOND.—Star of Richmond Hill Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. F. W. Dimpleby, J.P.
SYDENHAM.—*Rev. James Mackenzie.

COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE.—Band of Hope Union : Rev. F. T. Gregg, B.A.
WORTHING.—Temperance Society : Mons. A. de Loirgerie.

COUNTY OF WARWICK.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Warwickshire District Lodge : Mr.
John B. Collings (Birmingham), Mr. James J. Woods (Birmingham).
BIRMINGHAM.—United Kingdom Alliance Auxiliary : *Rev. James C. Street,
*Mr. Joshua Moseley. Gospel Temperance Mission : *Mr. T. H. Butler, Rev.
John G. Hopkins. Colombia Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Thomas Barnfield.
Moseley Road Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. John Shaw.
COVENTRY.—Temperance and Band of Hope Association : *Mr. Thos. Wyles, F.G.S.

COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND.

FREE METHODIST TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—*Rev. J. Ball (Appleby).
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES.—Westmoreland District : *Mr. John C.
Carlisle (Kendal).
NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—Westmoreland District : *Alderman J.
Graham (Appleby).

KENDAL.—Temperance Society : *Mr. F. W. Cragg.
VALE OF EDEN.—Band of Hope Union : *Alderman J. Graham (Appleby), *Mr. C.
Liddle (Dufton).

COUNTY OF WORCESTER.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Worcestershire District Lodge : Mr.
Sydney B. Gibbs (Birmingham).
WORCESTER.—Total Abstinence Society : *Mr. E. C. Brambley.
YARDLEY.—Gwyther Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mr. Joshua Derrington.

COUNTY OF YORK.

NORTH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—North Yorkshire District : *Mr. Sam. Pilling (Scarborough), Captain H. Wilson (Middlesbrough).

YORKSHIRE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Miss Pumphrey (York).

YORKSHIRE BAND OF HOPE UNION.—*Mr. John Sanderson (York), Mr. J. J. Hatch (Halifax).

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.—Cleveland District Lodge : *Councillor John Benfield (Middlesbrough), *Mr. R. T. Milner (Middlesbrough). Central Yorkshire District Lodge : Mr. Wm. Newton (Leeds), Mr. Wm. Scott (Leeds). South-West Yorkshire District Lodge : *Mrs. H. G. Warren (Rotherham), *Mrs. J. Hampshire (Rotherham). North Yorkshire District Lodge : Mr. George Dodgson (Whitby).

HEAVY WOOLLEN DISTRICT TEMPERANCE UNION.—*Mr. Mark Walls (Batley).

ALDBROUGH.—United Methodist Free Church : *Mr. William Ayton.

ARMLEY.—Temperance Society : *Mr. Manvah B. Calvert. James Thornton Lodge I.O.G.T. : *Mrs. Mary Rhodes. Band of Hope : Mr. F. W. Rhodes. Junior Temperance Society : *Mr. Wm. Henry Duckett.

ATTERCLIFFE.—Band of Hope Union : *Mr. Jas. Taylor. Friends Band of Hope : *Mr. Samuel F. Berks.

BOWES.—Wesleyan Band of Hope : *Mr. John W. Pinkney.

BRADFORD.—United Kingdom Alliance Auxiliary : *Mr. John Walker, *Mr. Henry Hibbert. Temperance Society : *Mr. Samuel Sykes. Temperance Confederation : *Mr. John Feather. Bethel Methodist New Connexion Band of Hope : *Mr. G. A. Womersley. Working Men's Teetotal Association : Mr. Thomas Ashworth. Bethesda Wesleyan Temperance Society : *Mr. Percy Heap. Otley Road Wesley Guild and Band of Hope : *Mr. Geo. Maddison.

BRIDLINGTON.—Temperance Society : *County Councillor John Sawdon.

BATLEY.—Temperance Society : *Councillor Joseph Auty, *Mr. Mark Walls.

BRIGHOUSE.—Temperance Society and Band of Hope Union : *Mr. John S. Jowett.

CALVERLEY.—Primitive Methodist Band of Hope : Mr. P. H. Pearson.

CROSS HILLS, NEAR KEIGHLEY.—Ebenezer Temperance Society : *Mr. Wm. Crossley. Ebenezer Band of Hope : *Mrs. Mary Crossley.

CASTLE HOWARD.—North of England Temperance League Centre : *Mr. Leif Jones, M.A.

DRIFHLINGTON.—Band of Hope : Mr. Henry Smith.

DRIFHLINGTON AND ADWALTON.—Temperance Society : Mr. Fearnley Garforth.

DEWSBURY.—Band of Hope Union : *Mr. Wm. Barraclough. Ebenezer Band of Hope : *Mr. Barraclough.

DENT DALE.—Band of Hope and Temperance Society : *Rev. Wm. Newton.

ECCLESHILL.—Temperance Society : *Mr. Thomas Thornton.

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Tanner, Mrs. M. A., Bristol
 Tathersall, Wm., Blackburn.
 Teasdale, Isaac, Carlisle
 Tebb, Rev. A. B., C.C., Winlaton
 Temperley, Coun. N., J.P., Gateshead
 Thompson, John G., North Shields.
 Thorp, Fielden, B.A., York
 Thorpe, Fredk., Ashton-under-Ribble
 Tomlinson, George, Newcastle
 Topham, John, Kew
 Townsend, Mrs. T., Shipley

Upjohn, Edward, London

Vanner, James E., Chislehurst
 Varty, John, Newcastle
 Vero, William, J.P., Dewsbury
 Vincent, James, London

Wardlow, Charles, Sheffield
 Walker, Mrs. B., Southport
 Walker, C. H., Workington

Walker, John, Tyersal
 Walmsley, J., Preston
 Wandleforde, R. H. O., Kilkenny
 Watson, T. Carrick, Newcastle
 Watson, W., London
 Watson, Mrs. Spence, Gateshead
 Weatherill, Henry, Hartlepool
 White, Ald. George, J.P., Norwich
 White, Miss, Glasgow
 Whitehead, James, Halifax
 Whiteley, George, Scholes
 Whitting, John, Leeds
 Whyte, James, Glasgow
 Wilkinson, John, Hull

Williams, W., Southampton
 Williamson, John, C.C., Allonby
 Wilson, John, M.P., Govan
 Wilson, Henry J., M.P., Sheffield
 Wilson, T. A., Newcastle
 Windross, Edward, Leicester
 Winning, James, Paisley
 Wood, William James, Glasgow
 Woodhead, James, Halifax
 Womersley, Mr., Bradford
 Wright, William, Newcastle

Yeoman, Coun. Frank, J.P., Hartlepool
 Yorke, Hon. Mrs. Eliot, Southampton

SOCIETIES.

Aberdeen Temperance Society
 Alnwick—British Women's T.A.
 Australia—Victorian Alliance

Belfast—Irish Temperance League
 Belper Temperance Society
 Birmingham—G. L. I.O.G.T., Eng.
 Bishop Auckland Temp. Society
 Bristol—Western Temp. League
 Burnley—Blue Ribbon T.S.

Cartsdyke Temperance Society
 Colne Temperance Society

Derby Temperance Society
 Derby—British Women's T.A.
 Dublin—Irish Association for the
 Prevention of Intemperance..

Edinburgh—British Women's T.A.

Falkirk Free Church Temp. Society

Gateshead Temperance Council
 Gateshead—Railway Temp. Union
 Glasgow—Scottish P.B.T.A.
 Glasgow—Scottish Temp. League
 Glasgow—Scottish Temp. Federation
 Glasgow—G. L. I.O.G.T., Scotland

Halifax—Stannary Cong. B. of H.
 Huddersfield Temperance Society
 Hunslet Temperance Society,

London—New Church T.S.,
 London—U.K. Band of Hope Union
 London—Women's Total Abst. Union
 London—Wesleyan Temp. Committee

Manchester—United Kingdom Alliance
 Middlesex District Lodge, I.O.G.T.

Newcastle—North of England Tem-
 perance League
 Newcastle Temperance Society
 Newcastle and Dis. Band of Hope Union
 Newcastle Sub-District Con., I.O.G.T.
 Newcastle Northern Light Lodge, I.O.G.T.
 Newcastle—Railway Temp. Union,
 Newcastle—Y.M.C. Association

Northumberland Dis. Lodge, I.O.G.T.
 Northumberland Juv. Council, I.O.G.T.

Penzance Direct Veto Association
 Port Glasgow Abstainers' Union

Sheffield Auxiliary U.K.A.
 Sheffield—British Temp. League
 Sheffield—Free Meth. Temp. League
 So. Durham Dis. Lodge, I.O.G.T.
 Stockton Temperance Society,

Tunbridge—British Women's T.A.
 Tynemouth—British Women's T.A.

York Temperance Society

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