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PERIL in SCOTLAND

Arthur Sherwell

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THE DRINK PERIL IN SCOTLAND

BY

ARTHUR SHERWELL

AUTHOR OF "LIFE IN WEST LONDON," JOINT-AUTHOR OF "THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM AND SOCIAL REFORM," "BRITISH GOTHENBURG EXPERIMENTS AND PUBLIC-HOUSE TRUSTS,"

ETC., ETC.

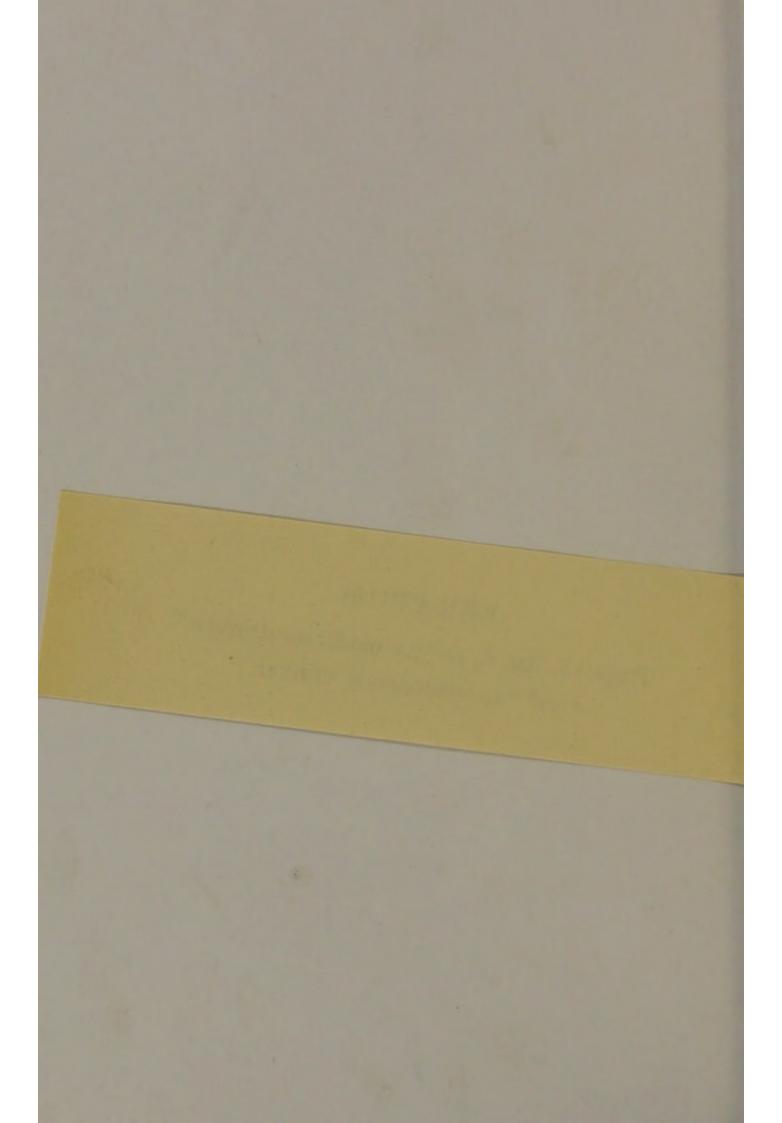
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ERRATUM

Page 18, line 8, for "a moderate drinker" read "an immoderate drinker."



PREFATORY NOTE

The following statement and plea represent the substance of a lecture delivered at Dunfermline on February 5th, 1903, and which is now published by request.

CONTENTS

				PAGE
Consumption of Alcohol.				5
INCREASE OF CRIME				8
GROWTH OF INSANITY .				18
DEATHS FROM INTEMPERANCE				20
THE ESSENTIAL POINT OF SUCCE	SS			23
REDUCTION OF LICENSES .				27
A NATIONAL TIME-NOTICE				32
LOCAL VETO				36
THE COMPLEMENT OF VETO				39
CONSTRUCTIVE REFORMS .				43

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL

In reviewing the present position of the Temperance movement in Scotland, one may justly say that the situation is compounded of facts both hopeful and discouraging. It is unquestionable that there is to-day a more widespread appreciation of the gravity of the problem than at any other period in the history of the question, and, probably, a greater measure of agreement as to the lines of reform. The conviction is doubtless still imperfect, but it is sincere so far as it goes, and it marks an important advance. It is no longer necessary for the Edinburgh Review to tell us, as it told us forty years ago, that the conclusion that "every teetotaler is a fool" is "falsified by facts," nor to add the assurance that "even the public meetings of Teetotalism" are not "scenes of unmitigated folly." But while there has been a great advance in what I may call the intellectual appreciation of the movement, there has been no corresponding advance in the sphere of practical reform, and, to quote the Majority Report of the recent Royal Commission, "it is undeniable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied."

It is sometimes urged that, while the problem

is admittedly serious in England, it is less serious in Scotland. But while it is unquestionably true that temperance sentiment is much more advanced in Scotland than it is in England, it cannot be said that the country has made any substantial progress during the last forty or fifty years, and the gravity of the evil is as evident in the national life of Scotland to-day as it was two generations ago. It is much to be regretted that no reliable statistics exist to show what has been the measure of progress -taking the consumption of alcohol of all kinds as the test-made by each division of the United Kingdom during the last fifty years. Certain rough estimates have recently been made by the Inland Revenue authorities of the proportions of wine, beer and spirits consumed in each of the three divisions of the United Kingdom, but these are too uncertain and conjectural to give us reliable figures even for the last ten years, while they are altogether unreliable for any earlier period. Judged however by the consumption of that which is the principal beverage in Scotland-viz. Spirits, for which, happily, reliable statistics are available, it is clear that Scotland has made no progress in the matter during the last forty years. I do not go back farther than forty years because no fair comparison can be made with an earlier period.1 Prior to the passing of the

¹ I may add that this view is shared by the Inland Revenue authorities to whom I submitted the matter before making the comparison.

Methylated Spirit Act of 1855, the practice of illicit distillation was carried on to a very large extent, while it was only in 1856 that the spirit duties were equalized as between England and Scotland. In 1820 illicit distillation had become so prevalent in Scotland and Ireland that more than half the spirits actually consumed were supplied by the smuggler, but in 1857 the Commissioners of Inland Revenue reported that in Scotland "smuggling may be said scarcely to exist."2 It is clear therefore that we are on safe ground in selecting the five years 1857-1861 for comparison with the five years 1897-1901. Comparing these two periods we find that no progress has been made in reducing the consumption of spirits in Scotland. In the five years ending December 31st, 1861 the consumption of spirits per head of the population in Scotland was 1.76 gallons, 3 while in the five years ending December 31st, 1901 it was 1.85 gallons. It cannot be doubted that if the consumption of beer could be added to the comparison the result would be even more discouraging.

But the consumption of alcohol is only one test of progress. It is conceivable—I do not say it is probable-but it is sometimes suggested that the

3 In the following quinquennial period (i.e. 1862-1866) the

consumption was 1.70 gallons.

² In 1823 there were 14,000 prosecutions in Scotland for illicit distillation and malting. In 1856 there were only 48 detections reported and many of these were of a trifling character.

present consumption of alcohol might be maintained without serious results in social disorder and physical disease, although to those of us who regard the ordinary expenditure of the working classes upon alcohol as an indefensible economic waste, the social loss would still be there. But will anyone pretend that this is more than conceivably true? Is it true in fact? Let us take a few tests.

INCREASE OF CRIME

The first test to apply is naturally that of the statistics of crime, and here the figures are certainly discouraging.

During the last twenty years there has been a marked increase in criminal offences in Scotland. In the last Report of the Judicial Statistics of Scotland, just published, the Commissioners say:—
"An examination, however hurried, of the tables which make up the Criminal Statistics for the year 1901, will show that the rapid increase in crime and disorder which began in 1897 has continued and has as yet received no check. Never, so far as we know, have so many prosecutions been initiated in Scotland, and never before have there been so many committals to prison. . . . We are forced by these statistics to acknowledge that small crimes and offences have increased enormously in Scotland since 1881. To such an extent is this the case that,

even if we take into account the increase of the population by three-quarters of a million, we have now 24,000 more offences recorded annually in Scotland than we ought to have, if the criminal records of the last two decades of the nineteenth century are to be taken as standards. . . . In making these general observations, we are only restating what has been the outstanding feature of Scottish Criminal records for several years. From whatever point of view the Criminal Statistics are regarded, the same fact stands prominently forward."

The following table shows the number of persons charged for all classes of crime since 1883. I have not chosen this period arbitrarily; I have selected it simply as the period which the Prison Commissioners themselves put forward as a basis for comparison in their annual returns. In order to eliminate, as far as possible, the influence of merely accidental variations such as sometimes affect the returns for single years, I have averaged the figures for quinquennial periods and, to make the comparison strictly accurate, I have calculated the figures in ratio to population:—

Five years.	Average number of persons charged for all classes of crime, per 10,000 of the population.						
1883-87			344				
1888-92			372				
1893-97			368				
1898-19011			402				

¹ The latest year for which statistics are published.

or an increase from 1883-87 to 1898-1901 of 17 per cent. The increase is most marked in the last five years for which statistics are published, the figures rising from 360 charges per 10,000 of the population in 1897, to 382 in 1898, 403 in 1899, 406 in 1900 and 417 in 1901. Comparing the totals of 1897 and 1901 we find that while the population of the country increased by only 4 per cent. the number of persons charged increased by 21 per cent.

If we take the four principal classes of crime (viz. crimes against the person, crimes against property with violence, crimes against property without violence, and malicious injury to property) the figures are much less serious, but even these show a slight increase in twenty years:—

Crimes against the person and against property.

No. of persons charged per 10,000 of the population.

1883-87			49
1888-92			48
1893-97	,		47
1898-1901			50
1901			52

But it is when we turn to the "miscellaneous offences," of which drunkenness and disorder constitute more than two-thirds, that we see where the real increase has been:—

"Miscellaneous Offences"
(including drunkenness and disorder)
No. per 10,000 of population.

1883-87		295
1888-92		318
1893-97		321
1898-1901		352
1901		366

or an increase from 1883-87 to 1898-1901 of 24 per cent.

Offences of "Drunkenness and Disorder (including Police Offences") have grown from an annual average of 262 per 10,000 of the population in the five years 1883-87 to an annual average of 294 per 10,000 of the population in 1897-1901, or an increase of 12 per cent.

If we turn from the general statistics of offences to the prison statistics, the gravity of the situation is made even more clear. The increase in the number of commitments to the prisons of Scotland during the last half century has been very great. The following table gives the average annual number of commitments per 10,000 of population for successive quinquennial periods since 1850:—

Five Years.	Average number of commitments to prison per 10,000 of population.						
1851-55			74				
1856-60			62				
1861-65			71				
1866-70			81				

Five Years.	Aver	Average number of commitments to prison per 10,000 of population.					
1871-75	- 10		100				
1876-80			130				
1881-85			128				
1886-90			119				
1891-95			122				
1896-1900	 ,		129				
1901			149				

The increase is certainly startling, although for a period of twenty years prior to 1880 certain special causes were at work which discount the figures for that period. The Police Act of 1862 and the Public-House Act of the same year greatly increased the offences punishable by fine or imprisonment, while the discontinuance during the same period of the practice of detaining drunken people overnight for "Protection" and liberating them next morning without bringing them before a magistrate, also affected the returns.

But no such explanations are available for more recent years and the figures for the last five years especially are so serious as to demand the gravest consideration from all who are concerned for the progress of Scotland. The following figures which give the particulars separately for each of the last five years, show how serious the increase is:—

¹ In Glasgow alone about 25,000 cases were so dealt with in a year.

	Total number of commitments.	Number per 10,000 of population.
1897	51,375	120
1898	56,561	130
1899	59,337	135
1900	60,503	137
1901	66,769	149

or an increase in five years of 24 per cent.

The figures for 1901 were far the highest on record and included no less than 15,000 persons who had never been in prison before.

What is the explanation of this deplorable increase? The Prison Commissioners themselves urge that "neither changes in Police Administration nor alteration in the law" can account for it. They give the real explanation in their last Report where they state that the rise in the Prison population between 1897 and 1901 was "due to greatly increased numbers of casual irregular workers who, owing to the comparative scarcity of labourers, had more employment than usual, and had, accordingly, more money to spend on drink."

They add: "From the nature of the offences and the occupation of those who have so largely increased their number, we can come to no better explanation of the extraordinary rise of the imprisonments last year than that it was caused by the disorderly conduct of the lowest class, who,

¹ Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland for the year 1901.

through an abundance of employment on public works, were placed in possession of wages which

they did not wisely expend."

The closeness of the relation between intemperance and crime has become a truism, but it is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the criminal statistics of Scotland. Take the single fact that out of a total of 179,821 persons charged with criminal offences in 1900, no fewer than 114,207, or 63½ per cent. were for offences directly connected with drinking.2 This lamentable figure, the Commissioners are careful to tell us, is no exaggeration of the "charges resulting directly from over-indulgence in alcoholic liquor." In their latest Report the Commissioners say: "In order that the causes which bring about the increased number of prosecutions may be clearly understood, we have set out side by side the criminal returns for 1897 and 1901 of one town, viz.:-the County of the City of Aberdeen, as it happens to stand first in the alphabetical list of localities, which affords a good instance of a town where crime and offences have largely increased."

An analysis of these returns shows that out of a

2	Breach of the Peace, etc	63,775
	Drunkenness	43,943
	Estimated number of cases of Drunkenness	
	and Disorder included under Police	
	Act Offences	6,489
		114,207

total number of 7057 persons proceeded against tor all classes of crime in Aberdeen in 1901, no fewer than 3579 were prosecuted for breach of the peace and drunkenness as against 2033 in 1897.

The Commissioners in commenting upon the figures say:-"From the foregoing table it will be seen that in the City of Aberdeen the number of cases of a more serious nature proceeded against in the Higher Courts increased from 79 to 95, while in the Summary Courts the number rose from 4339 in 1897 to 7057 in 1901, an increase of more than 61.8 per cent. The causes which have contributed to this rise, have probably been drunkenness and juvenile delinquency. The Chief Constable in his report for 1901 states that '4509 of the persons dealt with during the year were under the influence of intoxicating liquor when they committed the crimes or offences of which they were charged.' In 1897, he states, '2498 were found drunk at the time of offence.'

"Assaults by husbands on wives have gone up from 48 to 122. This large increase is probably entirely due to drunkenness.

"Theft and Reset of Theft rose from 405 in 1897 to 521 in 1901, owing, we believe, largely

to juvenile delinquency.

"The decrease in Malicious Mischief—1897, 291; 1901, 123—is accounted for by a change of procedure. Formerly all classes were brought before the Magistrates, but recently they very properly empowered the Chief Constable to deal with offences committed by juveniles. During 1901 the Chief Constable in this way personally admonished 400 boys and girls under twelve years of age, who do not appear in the statistics.

"There is a rise in drunkenness of 550, equal to 72 per cent., and also in Breach of the Peace and Petty Assaults of 996, equal to 78.4 per cent. The latter are, we understand, caused almost entirely by intemperance. Good trade and high wages amongst the working classes are, no doubt, chiefly responsible for the increase in drunkenness and disorder."

In considering these facts it must be remembered that Aberdeen is not to be regarded as an exceptional city but simply as "a good instance of a town where crime and offences have largely increased."

If we turn to the prison statistics the same truth of the close relation which exists between intemperance and crime is brought out with appalling emphasis. The statements made by a great number of men and women who have come into prison convicted of serious crimes have convinced the Commissioners "that the majority (probably 66 per cent. at least) of such cases are closely connected with, and have their real explanation in, alcoholism." A detailed examination of the life-history of fifty long-sentenced criminals, made by

Major Forbes, Deputy-Governor of the prison at Barlinnie, "shows conclusively," say the Commissioners, "that in at least 66 per cent." of the cases, "the crime was merely the accompaniment of excess in drink, as it was in so many thousands of minor offences." This inquiry established:—

- (1) That the great proportion of the criminals drink to excess;
- (2) That 34 per cent. of crimes were committed after the man had been drinking for some time, 32 per cent. when he was more or less in a state of intoxication, and 34 per cent. when sober. Only 6 per cent. of the total were abstainers. Some of the prisoners who admitted that they were drunkards, informed the Deputy-Governor that they carefully abstained from liquor for some time before committing some pre-arranged robbery, in order to ensure having their wits about them at the critical moment;
- (3) That the number of crimes committed by men having an insatiable thirst for drink, simply in order to obtain the wherewithal to get more drink, is very great;
- (4) That the number of those who began to drink as mere boys or youths is very notable: of those examined, 48 per cent. had been drinking from boyhood.

* GROWTH OF INSANITY*

Or let us take another test of progress. No one now doubts the intimate relation that exists between intemperance and insanity. Dr Clouston, who speaks in this matter with unrivalled knowledge and unquestioned authority, has recently told us1 that there is "no doubt that a competent pathologist can show under the microscope the definite effects on the brain of a moderate drinker, just as clearly as an astronomer can show one of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites." And he further told us that "One thing which has impressed itself on the members of the medical profession is this, that a larger consumption of alcohol has led to a larger proportion of cases of insanity and to a larger number of deaths from nervous diseases." Elsewhere 2 he says, "I cannot myself get over the conclusion that the excessive use of alcoholic stimulants during times of brisk trade and high wages has, to a large extent, been the cause of the undue amount of mental disease which we have been called on to treat this year (1900). We had, as a matter of fact, 115 cases, or about a quarter of our whole number of admissions, in whom drink was assigned as either the sole or as a contributory

¹ October 16th, 1901.

² Annual Report for 1900.

cause of the disease." And he adds: "It is certain that for every man in whom excessive drinking causes absolute insanity there are twenty in whom it injures the brain, blunts the moral sense, and lessens the capacity for work in lesser degrees." "My alcoholic lunatics," he continues, "have risen from an average of 151 per cent. in the years 1874-1888 to 211 per cent. in 1889-98, to 221 per cent. in 1899, and now to 241 in 1900."

The published returns do not enable us to determine the growth of alcoholic lunacy for Scotland as a whole, but they show conclusively that there has been a striking increase in insanity during the last half century. Since 1858 the number of lunatics under the jurisdiction of the Scotch Board has increased 180 per cent., while the increase of population during the same period has been only 49 per cent. The increase, moreover, has not been intermittent; it has been continuous throughout the entire period :-

Five years.	Average number of lunatics per 100,000 of the population.								
1861-65	9			205					
1866-70			0.00	215					
1871-75				229					
1876-80				248					
1881-85	2.			272					
1886-90				290					
1891-95				313					
1896-1900				337					

In the face of these figures it may well be asked if society has no remedy for one of the most prolific causes of mental disease. The Medical Profession, as Dr Clouston reminds us, "is unanimous in demanding some effective legislation on the matter. . . . Only a few of us preach Teetotalism to all men, or Total Prohibition, or any other such strong measure. But from our experience in practice, our knowledge of human nature, in its dual relationship of body and mind, and its hereditary weaknesses, doctors are able to speak with authority in regard to the diseases-potential and actual, present and future—which the excessive consumption of drink is causing in our population. A consumptive race might conceivably be absolutely cured in two generations, or even in one, by good conditions. I don't believe a drink-sodden race could be fully cured in a hundred years."

* DEATHS FROM INTEMPERANCE *

I will add only one other test—the deaths from intemperance. The official figures in this case are not exhaustive since it is certain that many more deaths result from alcoholic excess than are officially assigned to this cause. The Registrar-General in his first Report, referring to the fact that of every 100,000 males in Scotland, 37 died from diseases of the urinary organs as against 13 females, said:—

"It seems at first sight difficult to account for this great disparity in the fatality of these diseases in the two sexes; but any one who has had tolerably extensive practice among the natives of Scotland well knows that many of the kidney and urinary diseases own their origin to the abuse, as well as to the use, of alcoholic drinks; and to this cause it seems reasonable to refer the peculiarity referred to." And, again, in describing the deaths from diseases of the digestive organs, he said that the rate of mortality from these diseases "was greater in the male than could be accounted for by the different rate of mortality in the two sexes, seeing that males died in the proportion of 173 in every hundred thousand males, but only 144 females in a like number of females; whereas, had the relative proportion of deaths in the sexes been the same as from all causes, the female deaths would have been 161, and not only 144. It can scarcely be doubted," he continues, "that the higher mortality in the male sex from this class of diseases is caused by the much larger quantity of ardent spirits which the men consume, and which, with them, is a fruitful cause of stomach complaints."

But while the official figures of deaths from alcoholic excess are certainly not exhaustive, they have a significance which cannot be overlooked in estimating the problem of intemperance in Scotland.

Taking the first two Reports and the last Report of the Registrar-General for Scotland, I find that the number of deaths from alcoholic excess in the years 1855, 1856 and 1900 were as under. For the purpose of comparison with similar figures for England published elsewhere I have worked them out in ratio to population on a basis of one million persons living:—

		185	5.		185	6.	1	900.	
Deaths from			million living.						illion iving.
	M.	F.	Total.2	M.	F.	Total. ²	M.	F. '	Total.2
Delirium Tremens	40	10	24	36	5	20	52	39	45
Alcoholic Excess	26	13	20	37	17	27	26	7	15
Total deaths from Intemperance	66	23	44	73	22	47	78	46	60

It will be thus seen that there has been an increase in the total deaths from alcoholic excess of 36 per cent. since 1855. The increase, as in England, has been most marked in the case of women, the increase in their case amounting to no less than 100 per cent. as against an increase of 18 per cent. in the case of males. Part of this apparent increase may be due to stricter classification, but it is impossible to suppose that it is wholly so caused³

1 The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.

² The figures in this column are based upon the total population, and those in the other columns upon the total of each sex separately.

3 In answer to my inquiry on this point the Registrar-General states that "there has been no important change in the classification of deaths from Alcoholism and Delirium Tremens in recent years."

and there seems to be no escape from the depressing conclusion that the increase is largely due to greater alcoholic indulgence on the part of women in Scotland.

THE ESSENTIAL POINT OF SUCCESS

But it is unnecessary to test the matter further. The facts that I have given are all too eloquent. They show that, despite the zeal and enthusiasm of your Temperance organizations, and despite the magnificent self-devotion of individual workers, Scotland is making no substantial progress, nay, that in some deplorable directions matters are steadily getting worse. Surely the time has come when the best thought and the best courage of the nation must assert itself and a determined national effort be made to secure an effective remedy for the present condition of things! At present we are on wrong lines. I go so far as to believe that all through we have been acting on wrong lines. "The history of the Temperance question," as Mr Asquith said in Edinburgh in 1901, "is a history of lost opportunities." "What we want," as John Bright told us twenty years ago (1883) "and what all temperance reformers should now consider, is some plan which will unite the temperance feeling of the country, give it power, and make its advance and progress possible." The temperance opinion in

this country, as Mr Bright then reminded us, if we can combine, "is very powerful," but if we cannot combine "the essential point of success is lost." Why cannot we combine? Why should the Temperance question be the one conspicuous social question where combination is impossible? In Scotland you have within the last two years come nearer to unity of action than ever before in the history of this question. The Scottish Temperance Legislation Board, founded to secure legislation on the lines of Lord Peel's Report, has done magnificent service in uniting thought and purpose in a common scheme and a common effort. That scheme, embodied in Lord Peel's Report, is an admirable scheme and it deserves even more than the splendid support that has been accorded to it. But it has the defect of its limitations. It is avowedly a tentative and preliminary scheme of reform and as such it has failed to attract to itself the whole-hearted support and enthusiasm of the two main currents of temperance conviction in Scotland - that which is passionately devoted to local veto on the one hand, and that which is no less sincerely devoted to the principle of publiccontrol on the other. I am well aware that many supporters, including many of the most influential supporters, of both schemes are strongly supporting the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board, but it is an open secret that complete unity is not yet achieved. Now if these two proposals were

chimerical, if they were supported only by a minority of the nation, or if they were impracticable, then there would be nothing for it but to rule them out and to keep them out. But are they impracticable, and are they supported only by a small minority of the nation? Such questions do not require a categorical answer. Every one who knows anything of Scotland knows that they enlist the most widespread and enthusiastic support and that they are the live questions in Scottish Temperance politics. Why then not bring them in? The Peel scheme must be the minimum of reform. That we are all agreed upon. But why not extend it? Why not include its main proposals in a more comprehensive measure which shall unite in its support all the progressive temperance sentiment of the country? I urge this not because I am impatient for the maximum of reform-although any one reviewing the present situation might be forgiven for betraying impatience; it is hard to see a nation wasting life, which is its only real wealth, and not to be impatient. But I urge it because I believe it to be the highest political wisdom; because I see that a thoroughly comprehensive scheme of reform will rouse the country to a great effort as no smaller scheme can do; and because I am convinced that if we continue to fail in this great battle we shall owe our defeat not to the forces that are arrayed against us but, as so many times before, to the

absence of forces that we have failed to attract. The political opportunism that is current to-day, which limits the lines and scope of reforms, and measures their practicability by the moral temperature of Westminster, is, I am bound to believe, a passing shadow, and it will disappear in the day when we lift these great questions of national well-being to their proper place in our devotion and enthusiasm and have the full courage of the faith that is in us. It is not for Westminster to imprison and mutilate the ideals of a people, but for those ideals to become the living and formative principles of current politics.

Let me rapidly outline the scheme of Temperance Reform which Scotland could wisely adopt. I omit from this outline all detailed mention of such matters as the constitution of the licensing authority and the court of appeal, grocers' licences, the registration of clubs, the treatment of confirmed drunkards and other similar questions. All these are provided for in Lord Peel's proposals and it is needless to discuss them here. I will only say this, that much larger powers should be entrusted to the proposed licensing authorities than the present authorities possess. Local sentiment should be really and not nominally released. Progressive communities should not be tied hand and foot to non-progressive communities. In such matters, for example, as the hours of closing, full discretion should be given. It is an impressive fact that in the last Report of the Inspector of

Constabulary for Scotland, out of one hundred and eleven counties, cities and burghs reporting on the "effect of early closing on peace and order," no less than one hundred and five send favourable reports and only in six cases is the effect said to have been "nil."

```
I reports an "improvement."
             a "great improvement."
  2 report that the effect was "salutary."
                                 " satisfactory."
  8
                       22
                                 "quite satisfactory."
  4
                                 "beneficial."
 51
                       29
                                 "very beneficial."
  8
             22
                                 "most beneficial."
  4
             99
                       99
                                 " good."
 24
                       99
                                 "very good."
                       99
             99
105
                                 " nil."
                       39
             99
```

There is here so sweeping a consensus of opinion as to destroy the last vestige of an argument for maintaining the present exceptions.

REDUCTION OF LICENSES

Among the points upon which we may claim that there is general agreement is the proposal for a large reduction of the present number of licensed houses. The excess is not so marked in Scotland as in England, but everyone knows that even in Scotland the supply is greatly in excess of the legitimate need. At the present time you have 11,409 licensed premises in Scotland (omitting the Orkney and Shetland Isles), or one to every 387 of the population. In the country districts (i.e. county licensing jurisdictions), the proportion is one to every 445 persons, and in cities and burghs, one to every 344 persons. Now when one remembers how large a proportion children form of the population and that more than one-half of the adult population are women, it is not difficult to see that the total number of licences in the country is largely excessive. But the national figures give a very inadequate view of the situation. It is when individual localities are taken that the real excess appears.

It is, I know, commonly objected that a mere reduction of licences will not accomplish much and many persons are sceptical as to the part which an excessive number of licences plays in the production of intemperance. I do not myself regard a reduction of the number of licensed premises as a great panacea. I believe that its probable effect is often unconsciously exaggerated and I do not anticipate that, standing by itself, and unaccompanied by more radical changes, it will materially lessen consumption. But taken in conjunction with other reforms I am

convinced that it will do good. If it does nothing else it will put a stop in many localities to a competition which is seriously inimical to sobriety and progress. It is tolerably easy to prove from statistics that there is no apparent connexion between the number of licensed premises and the amount of drunkenness in a town; but this is simply. because we do not cover all the facts concerning the size and trade of the houses when we tabulate the numbers, but, so far as Scotland at least is concerned, it is significant that out of thirty-four towns which are enumerated in the last Report on the Judicial Statistics, the ten towns having the largest number of public-houses in proportion to population show a greater volume of drunkenness than the ten towns having the lowest number of public-houses.

In the former group, which has an average ratio of 26.1 public-houses for every 10,000 of the population, the charges relating to drunkenness show an average of 40 per 1000 persons; while in the latter group, which has an average ratio of 8.9 public-houses for every 10,000 of the population, the charges relating to drunkenness show an average of but 22.6 per 1000 persons.

But the matter is not one of statistics but of reasonable probability and common sense. It is impossible to suppose that by multiplying the number of public-houses beyond the legitimate needs of the population, you do not thereby stimulate competition and increase the force of temptation

for the weak. Mr Arthur Chamberlain, the Chairman of the Birmingham licensing justices, whose words on this point are entitled to special respect, says1:-"Competition among Licence Holders to extract a living for two where there is only room for one is the most important cause [of drunkenness] and this can best be dealt with by reducing the number of licences. The practice of giving the 'long pull' is always an indication of the absence of a legitimate demand, and is most objectionable. I have heard of cases where the business of a house has been increased from three to thirty barrels a week by this method-of course the quality of the beer suffers, and the neighbouring licence holders must in their own defence follow suit, thus an area of drunkenness is at once created."

Nor does the experience of Mr Chamberlain stand alone. It is confirmed in the most explicit terms by the Trade itself. Mr James, the President of the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Protection Society, who was also formerly a member of the Executive Council of the L.V. National Defence League, writing in 1885 said:—"Any person of ordinary intelligence who has been in the trade for a period of twelve months must and does know that the large number of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquor is the principal cause of a considerable portion of the

convictions for drunkenness." In a further statement he declared that "to remedy the evils connected with the consumption of alcoholic liquor a large reduction in the number of licences is absolutely necessary."

The Spectator in a recent issue 2 put the argument for reduction in an admirably succinct form, "The point of legislation," it stated, "is that, pending the removal of the deeper causes which result in drink, it is essential that men should not be tempted at every turn, that the publican and the grocer should not entice all and several to come in to a feast which in innumerable cases has proved the feast of death. If the continual temptations to excessive drinking are removed, the problems that produce the desire for drink will be simplified, and the class of the very poor will not receive continual recruits, in the shape of ruined drunkards' families, from all the other classes."

Lord Peel and his colleagues have given great prominence to this question in their Report, and the proposal there made to fix a statutory maximum for all "on" licences is deserving of the warmest support. The proposal has been objected to in certain quarters on the ground that the limit proposed would not materially improve the present condition of things in Scotland; but such an objection can only be based upon imperfect knowledge of the

¹ J. James, Temperance Legislation and Licensing Reform.

² January 17th, 1903.

facts. Taking the whole of the Royal, Municipal and Police Burghs of Scotland and applying to them the limit suggested by Lord Peel for urban communities, I find that it would involve the closing of no fewer than 1509 "on" licence premises." This result, which is based upon the actual figures for every burgh in Scotland, will help to show how important and valuable the proposal is.

A NATIONAL TIME-NOTICE

But it is impossible to effect such a reduction until the vexed question of compensation has been dealt with. It is of no use to try to evade the question of compensation: it has to be faced frankly and resolutely as a preliminary and essential factor in the problem of reform. Everyone who has considered the matter from the point of view of practical politics is aware of this. Mr Bruce was aware of it in 1871; Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright insisted upon it in every discussion of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Local Option Bills and Resolutions; Mr Ritchie and Mr Goschen were aware of it in 1888 and 1890; Sir William Harcourt was aware of it

¹ i.e. one "on" licence for every 750 persons.

² It is important to keep in mind the distinction between the number of *licences* and the number of *premises*. In some cases licensed premises have more than one licence.

in 1893 and 1895, while Lord Peel and his colleagues have shown themselves aware of it since.

The real point to be solved is a practical one. Parliament will never consent to a widespread reduction of licences apart from some scheme of compensation. What that scheme of compensation shall be it is for temperance reformers to decide. They have a better opportunity of deciding it now than they are likely to have ten years hence. Mr Rowntree and I, in the scheme which we published a few years ago, suggested that the line of least resistance was that chosen by Mr Bruce in 1871, namely, a national time-notice, and Lord Peel has adopted the same principle in his proposals. It is becoming increasingly evident that the principle commends itself as, upon the whole, the simplest and best, to politicians and reformers of all schools of thought, and the Temperance party in Scotland will do well to give it their united support. Let us not deceive ourselves. The matter cannot be shirked. It stands at the very threshold of reform. It blocks the way to all substantial progress. We cannot any of us carry our reforms until it is disposed of. That being so, it is folly for us to hide ourselves behind phrases and pretend that the difficulty is not there. That way lies not only the indefinite postponement of reform, but also complicity in a serious responsibility for prolonging the present condition of things.

I am not now concerned to discuss the length

of the time-notice that shall be given. That is a matter which will have to be fixed finally upon the floor of the House of Commons. But I will say this, that under no circumstances can it have regard to extravagant claims based upon inflated values of licensed property. That large and even preposterous sums have been paid in recent years for licensed houses is well known, but that is a matter of speculative and competitive enterprise which concerns the Trade alone and for which the country has not one atom of moral or legal responsibility. If a brewing corporation is willing, despite sections 7 and 9 of the Act of 1828 (9 Geo. IV. cap. 58), which is the basis of the present Scotch licensing law, to pay thirty or forty or even fifty thousand pounds for a public-house, that is its own concern and the transaction must not be put forward as a basis for the "equitable compensation" to which Mr Gladstone referred. The trade has shown itself fully sensible of this. Its great scheme of licence insurance is based upon a recognition of the risks attendant upon such private speculation. As the "Blue Book" of the Trade in its latest issue well puts it, "there is more in the institution than meets the eye." "The idea was a great one and, like most great ideas, was simple. Capital was invested in a defective security: property which depends for its value upon a Licence. The defect, judged by past experience, was not a very serious one; but there it was: licences, by legal and judicial methods might be destroyed. The exigencies of a brewer's business compelled the investment in licensed property, and the force of competition practically drove the whole of the capital into such business. With all their eggs in one basket, and that radically defective, what more necessary than a sound scheme for remedying the defects?"

That, I venture to suggest, is a saner and more business-like summary of the situation than the extravagant appeals for "full compensation" which sometimes are urged, and it is one which the commonsense instinct of the nation is likely to have in mind when the question is finally disposed of. But what I want now to insist upon is the imperative need of united action to solve this question once for all. At present it blocks the way and somehow it must be got out of the way. We cannot afford to sacrifice large issues for the sake of small ones. Sir Wilfrid Lawson himself was alive to this twenty years ago. Replying in 1880 to Mr Gladstone's criticism that

¹ Mr Gladstone's criticism was as follows :-

Resolution if my hon. Friend had included in it some reference to the principle of equitable compensation. I do not want my hon. Friend to commit himself upon that point; but I want a frank recognition of the principle that we are not to deny to publicans, as a class, the benefits of equal treatment, because we think their trade is at so many points in contact with, and even sometimes productive of, great public mischief. Considering the legislative title they have acquired, and the recognition of their position in the proceedings of this House for a long series of years,

he had omitted from his Local Option Resolution all reference "to the principle of equitable compensation," he stated that he "did not want to condemn compensation," and that if the right of the people to say whether they would have public-houses or not could not be granted "without compensation, let us have compensation." That is the only spirit in which the matter can be disposed of. It is a question not of personal preference, yours or mine, but of political exigency and of relative values. If a man is determined to sacrifice the greater for the sake of the less, then the movement of reform must go on without him and he must be left to bear alone the exceeding great responsibility of his attitude and position.

LOCAL VETO

I turn to a further proposal which, in Scotland at least, carries with it so large a volume of conviction and enthusiasm as to make its inclusion necessary in such a comprehensive scheme of reform as I am now suggesting. I refer to the proposal to confer upon localities, under such safeguards as Parliament may

they ought not to be placed at a disadvantage on account of the particular impression we may entertain—in many cases but too justly—in relation to the mischiefs connected with the present licensing system and the consumption of strong liquors as it is now carried on. *Hansara*, vol. 253, p. 363.

determine, a permissive power of veto. That the proposal, if granted, will achieve all that its advocates hope, I cannot bring myself to believe; but that it would find a distinct sphere for its exercise in many sparsely populated districts in Scotland is, I believe, incontrovertible. It is also probable that, as in the United States, it could be operated successfully in wards or suburbs of towns where there was a "safety-valve" in adjoining districts. In any case the question is one which must be decided by the people of Scotland alone. It cannot wait upon the interests or convictions of England. The conditions in the two countries are entirely dissimilar. Not only is temperance sentiment much more advanced in Scotland, but physical and economic conditions are entirely different. The distribution of population, which in England is so largely unfavourable to the prospects of prohibition, is in Scotland much more favourable. The average density of population in Scotland is only 150 persons to the square mile: in England and Wales it is 558 persons to the square mile. In Scotland the least densely peopled county (Sutherland) has only 11 persons to the square mile, while three others do not exceed 25 persons to the square mile, and no fewer than ten, out of a total of thirty-three, do not exceed 60. In England and Wales, on the other hand, the least crowded county (Westmoreland) has over 80 persons to the square mile. It will be thus seen that, in the distribution of its population, Scotland approximates much more nearly than England to those sparsely peopled American States where, as Mr Rowntree and I have shown, prohibition by local option has found a fruitful sphere for its operation. It is in the highest degree unjust, therefore, that Parliament should refuse to grant to the people of Scotland the power to decide this question for themselves. The force of the old a priori objections to local veto has long since been destroyed by the precedents of our political procedure in respect to other questions, nor are the objections themselves valid in the sphere of practical politics. The "natural liberty of man" is necessarily limited by his social condition. Society is bound to impose limitations "either to protect itself against evil or to farther the ends for which it exists." Further, already, as the Edinburgh Review long ago pointed out, "any trade, employment or use of property, detrimental to the life, health, or order of the people, is by English law a public nuisance. And in suppressing it the State assumes the right of sacrificing private interests to the public good. And this not only when the detriment is physical or economical, but also when it is moral."

Dr Clouston, who is certainly qualified to speak dispassionately on this question, has expressed the common-sense view of the matter with admirable clearness and force. "I can imagine," he says, "a politician or lawyer of the doctrinaire sort saying that a true conception of liberty necessarily implies

the liberty for a man to drink himself to death if he can afford to do so at his own expense. But it looks to even a plain man an irrational application of the doctrine of liberty to say that every man has the inalienable right to render himself a burden on other people, and a source of degradation and danger to the community, by any means whatever."

THE COMPLEMENT OF VETO

But while it is certain that permissive powers of veto must be included in a final scheme of Temperance reform, it is no less certain that such powers will not of themselves prove a universal panacea. It is unquestionable that when they have accomplished their utmost result, there will still remain, in the larger towns and cities especially, a considerable volume of traffic in intoxicating liquors. The urgent question for every reformer is: How, and under what conditions, is this traffic to be conducted? Is it to be conducted on ordinary commercial principles and with the ordinary inducements of private gain? or under conditions which set the interests of the community above the interests of individuals, and the increase of sobriety and moral health above the increase of private gain? A large and evergrowing portion of the community, without whose cordial co-operation veto and everything else is

impossible, is convinced that the only possible answer to this question is to confer upon localities, under adequate statutory safeguards, the right of public-management, through philanthropic companies or in some other form, of the whole of the retail liquor trade in their midst. The suggestion is not one that can be disregarded. It has behind it such powerful support and such deep and widespread conviction as to bring it at a bound within the range of practical politics. It is indeed the inevitable logical and political complement of a permissive power of local veto. It is inconceivable that localities will ever consent to construe local option in terms of veto only. They will rightly demand that, where veto is impracticable, they shall be left free to introduce an alternative system of restriction and control. The demand does not arise out of antagonism to veto, but simply from a knowledge of limitations which every responsible vetoist admits. As the Alliance News,-the official organ of the United Kingdom Alliance-pointed out in 1894, "there are many districts in which Prohibition by Local Option would not take place even although the people possessed the full power to prohibit," and, this being so, "the question as to whether some modification of the Scandinavian system of public-house management can be advantageously introduced into this country is certainly worthy of full and candid consideration." For one section of Temperance reformers to attempt to rule out public-management

in the supposed interest of local veto is for that section to condemn itself to political impotence. The matter has gone too far for that. In Scotland, as elsewhere, it has passed the stage of discussion and theory and has entered the sphere of practical experiment. What the development of those experiments shall be it is for the country now to determine. Rightly directed and wisely controlled they will certainly do more than any alternative licensing method to prepare the way for more drastic reforms. But no amount of hostile criticism of particular experiments can stay the growing conviction that the incentive of private profit in the conduct of the public-house is opposed to the moral and economic interests of the community and must be eliminated. No one has put this more forcibly than Sir Wilfrid Lawson. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 13th, 1877, he said: - "We have been told on good authority that the licensing system was intended for financial and for police purposes. Sir, for one of these purposes it has been the greatest and most triumphant success; we raise an enormous revenue by its means. But for the other purpose I maintain that it is a deplorable failure. It has failed utterly; and why? Because every individual trader in this business is paid by results. He is paid exactly in proportion to the amount of drink which he can get his fellow-creatures to consume." 1

Three years later, on June 18th, 1880, Sir Wilfrid

¹ Hansard, vol. 232, pp. 1881-1882.

put the matter with equal explicitness:—"If you license a man to a trade," he reminded the House of Commons, "of course it is only in human nature that he will do as much trade as he can; and you would set yourselves an impossible task if you were to say 'thus far you shall go, but no further.' It is only natural that the Licensed Victuallers will do what

they can to make money and push trade."

It would be impossible to put the case for publiccontrol more clearly or unanswerably. It was this aspect of the question that appealed so powerfully to Mr Gladstone. "It is absolutely impossible," he told the House of Commons on March 5th, 1880, "to reconcile efficient and stringent administration of police laws in connection with liquor houses to this system of monopoly. . . . I am sorry that the House lost an opportunity of trying a useful experiment by rejecting the Resolution of my hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr Chamberlain), which was accompanied by a plan which he had, with sufficient care, drawn up to become the foundation for working it-I allude to the Gothenburg system, modified by my hon. Friend, allowing the sale of liquor, but separating it entirely from private property, and placing it in the hands of a public body. That was an experiment which it would have been most desirable to try in the condition of darkness and blindness in which we are endeavouring to grope our way. . . . I must own it appears to me, notwithstanding its executory difficulties, to be in its idea a very happy conception, as it is one which has worked perfectly harmoniously in the country of its origin."1

CONSTRUCTIVE REFORMS

But those who have read the proposals which Mr Rowntree and I have put forward will be aware that we regard the public-management of the liquor traffic as but one-half of the problem of reform, and we have laid considerable emphasis upon our conviction that, unless it be complemented by efficient constructive agencies in the shape of counter-attractions to the public-house, it will fail largely of its full effect. So long as no really effective challenge is given to the public-house, so long will it be comparatively useless to expect an improvement in popular tastes and an appreciable diminution of intemperance. It can hardly be doubted that the policy of the earlier temperance reformers, admirable as it was in many directions, left something lacking on the constructive side of reform. The removal of temptation by the limitation of the number of public-houses was wisely recognised as a necessary element in their programme, but, as the Birmingham Daily Post pointed out twenty years ago2 "all this, good as it was,

¹ Hansard, vol. 251, p. 472.

² August 30th, 1883.

left a gap in the fence which has been but tardily recognised. With whatever regret we may admit it, the fact is that the opportunities of enjoyment and of social and friendly intercourse open to a very large portion of the community have centred in the public-houses. It was there that custom had taught people to go in their hours of relaxation—it was there the social club and the benefit society held their meetings. Now, men are so constituted that social enjoyment is a necessity of their nature, and the reformers who wanted to close the tavern did not for some time see that it would be wise to find some other places less dangerous to meet in than the tap-room or the bar."

It is sometimes urged that the function of the public-house as a centre for social intercourse is much exaggerated and that, as a matter of fact, public-houses are now used almost solely as houses of call for what is known as "perpendicular drinking." But such a suggestion can hardly be accepted as a full statement of the facts. It is no doubt true that the evolution of the modern "gin-palace" has led to much dram drinking by customers who spend but a few minutes at the bar, taking their departure as soon as they have consumed their dram; but evidence is accumulating that the public-house still fulfils a very important function as a social centre in the United Kingdom as elsewhere. Nor is there reason to doubt that much

even of what may be called "casual" drinking could be avoided if our social arrangements admitted of a satisfactory alternative resort. Mr Seebohm Rowntree, in his valuable study of the conditions of social life in York, has shown very clearly the great use which is made of public-houses for social purposes. "Almost every public-house," he says, * "has one or more parlours behind the bar, which are reserved for the use of privileged and regular customers, who spend the evenings there, smoking, chatting and drinking. In a few of the small publichouses dominoes and dartboards are provided in these rooms, and some of the largest provide billiard tables, which prove a great attraction. The casual customer who drops in for a glass, and the less respectable customers, are served in the tap-room or bar, and it is here that the bulk of the heavy drinking is done. People who drink standing at the bar are termed 'perpendicular drinkers.' In many of the new public-houses no seats are provided in the bar.

"Formerly public-houses in York were largely used as meeting-places at which the business of Football Clubs, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, etc., was transacted. The use of public-houses for these purposes is, however, less general than it was, as some suitable and inexpensive rooms for such meetings can now be obtained in coffee-houses and elsewhere, and many of the members of the clubs and societies concerned prefer to hold their

meetings in these rooms rather than in public-house parlours. The demand for such rooms is, however, still in excess of the supply.

"Only about a dozen public-houses have music licences, but there is music and singing in a great many others. No doubt many of the musicians who perform in the latter are paid for their services; but when questioned by the police they state they are not paid for singing, but are engaged as waiters or waitresses and 'only sing a little to oblige the company,' an assertion which is very difficult to disprove, especially as all the company present are up to the trick and support it.1

"The number of persons present in the singing rooms attached to six public-houses in the central parts of York were counted at about 9 P.M. on two nights, viz. Monday, September 30, 1901, and Saturday, October 5, 1901. The former was a warm and fine night. Saturday was also fine but not quite so warm. Thus on neither night would people be driven into public-houses by weather.

"The numbers present in each singing room at the time the enumeration was made were as follows (these numbers do not take account of persons who were in the bar or other parts of the publichouse):—

1 It is illegal to engage professional musicians in a public-house without a music-licence, and this is only granted in the case of public-houses containing a room of a certain size.

IN SCOTLAND

S.R. Study of	Jork	Num	Monday. ber of persons nging-Room	Saturday. Number of persons in Singing-Room.	
Public-house No.	I		27	32	-14
"	2		64	62	×
"	3		75	90	
"	4		28	. 72	
,,	5		22	45	
"	6		17	41	
				NAME OF STREET	
			233	342	

"The form of entertainment furnished in those public-houses where music (either professional or otherwise) is provided, is one well suited to the tastes of those for whom the publicans cater. The rooms are, as a rule, brilliantly lit, and often gaudily, if cheaply decorated. In winter they are always kept temptingly warm. The company is almost entirely composed of young persons, youths and girls, sitting round the room and at small tables. Often there are a considerable number of soldiers present. Everyone is drinking, but not heavily, and most of the men are smoking. At intervals one of the company is called on for a song, and if there is a chorus, every one who can will join in it. Many of the songs are characterised by maudlin sentimentality; others again are unreservedly vulgar. Throughout the whole assembly there is an air of jollity and an absence of irksome restraint which must prove very attractive after a day's confinement in factory or shop.

"In a round of the public-houses which the

writer made one Saturday evening in May 1901, the fact of their social attractiveness struck him very forcibly. It points to the need for the establishment on temperance lines of something equally attractive in this respect."

Nor is the social function of the public-house peculiar to the United Kingdom. It is found to exist in the United States, the British Colonies and in practically all the chief European countries. The Rev. George L. M'Nutt, who spent two years as a working man with working men in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York, sums up the situation in America in the following terse statement:—

"For five hundred dollars men join exclusive political and social clubs on the Avenues of the metropolis. For five dollars and up some men join Young Men's Christian Association Clubs. For five cents the multitude of men, whom only God and the saloon-keeper and the ward boss know, nightly join the one democratic club in American life—the American Saloon."

He continues:—"An increasingly large per cent. of working men live in tenement-houses. . . . What happens? Going out of New York almost daily for months to or in search of work, I have been amazed to see the magnitude of the preparations of the saloon-keeper, and of nobody else, to meet the summer rush of working men away from the city furnaces. Not only at democratic Coney Island,

but all along the trolley lines, wherever the five and ten cent. fare reaches, there in nature's cool and cosy nooks the saloon-keeper was making ready for music, games and comradeship. His bank account grows as much by satisfying the best social instincts as by gratifying the baser appetites of men. . . Primarily a place to dispense alcoholic drinks, the saloon has become the great democratic social settlement."

In considering this question I do not lose sight of the fact that the home is the ideal centre of social life, but can we pretend that under the present economic conditions and with the present conditions of overcrowding, a true home life is possible? We have to remember that three-fourths of the families in Scotland live in houses of three rooms or less. That 40 per cent. of the total number of families in the country have only two rooms, and 18 per cent. have only one room each.

In the principal cities the figures, as the following table shows, are somewhat worse:—

Municipal Burghs.		Proportion of total families living in one room.	Proportion of total families living in two rooms.	Proportion of total families living in one or two rooms.
01		per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
Glasgow		26	44	70
Edinburgh		17	31	48
Dundee		20	52	72
Aberdeen		10		
	•	13	37	50
Paisley		22	49	71
Leith		15	44	59
			D	

Even these figures, however, give an imperfect idea of the situation. We gain a clearer impression of the real conditions of housing if we take, not the number of families, but of persons, living under crowded conditions. To deal for a moment with one-room houses only, we find that in Scotland no fewer than 493,000 persons, or 11 per cent. of the total population, are living in one-room houses. That is to say, one in every nine of the population in Scotland is either a solitary occupant of a single room, or a member of a family which has but one room for all the purposes of life. But even this statement does not cover all the facts. The proportion of one-room houses, although an important test of overcrowding, is not an exhaustive one, inasmuch as many of the occupants of the larger houses live under crowded conditions. While, for example, 493,000 persons in Scotland live in oneroom houses, more than two million persons, or 46 per cent. of the total population of Scotland, live under crowded conditions, i.e. more than two persons to a room. In Glasgow 48 per cent. of the total population live more than two persons to a single room; in Edinburgh 33 per cent. and in Dundee 49 per cent.1

In the face of figures such as these it is surely

¹ In the towns of Scotland the average number of persons to each room is 1.59; in the villages 1.44, and in the rural districts 1.21. Taking the whole of Scotland together the average is 1.48 persons to a room.

not necessary to insist upon the comparative futility of restrictive reforms that have not their complement in efficient counter-attractions to the public-house. It is not sufficient to say that part of the overcrowding is due to moral rather than to economic causes. That this is so is unquestionable, but it does not cover more than a part of the facts. Most of us will agree with Mr Arthur Chamberlain, the Chairman of the Birmingham Licensing Justices, when he says on this point:1 "The position continues in a vicious circle. Slum conditions lead to drunkenness, and drunkenness leads to the creation and toleration of slum conditions." Or it is enough to say with the New York Outlook 2 that "while the saloon thrives chiefly upon the craving of men for intoxicants, its field of influence is enormously widened by the way in which it ministers to social needs not elsewhere met."

The recognition of this truth is not a thing of yesterday. So far back as 1854, the Edinburgh Review laid emphasis upon it. "The working classes," it was then pointed out, "are now attracted to the tippling-houses by finding there (what they seldom find at home) both comfort and amusement; in the shape of well-lighted rooms, newspapers and social intercourse. Now all these things might be supplied them without ale or gin. We would therefore urge upon the benevolent agitators who

¹ Licensing in the City of Birmingham, 2nd ed.

² September 14th, 1901.

seek to suppress the ale-house and the gin palace, the necessity of providing the poor with public reading rooms and coffee-houses, free libraries and museums, cheap concerts and exhibitions for the winter season; and open parks, zoological gardens, and cricket grounds for the summer. If in the petitions for restrictive legislation which they are now preparing, they would incorporate proposals for supplying innocent recreation to the people, they would obtain a far more extensive support from those whom they desire to benefit, but who now too often regard all enactments tending to the promotion of public morality, as the tyrannical interference of the rich with the amusements of the poor."

Much has been done since then, and a generous recognition should be made of the innumerable educational and recreative agencies which have since been established. But it would be idle to pretend that they have kept pace with the movements of the population, especially in the larger towns, or that they are at all commensurate with the need of Scotland to-day. The simple truth is that the need is beyond the scope of private philanthropy, or—in the present condition of local taxation—of ordinary civic enterprise. The counterattractions to be effective must be conceived and maintained on a liberal and even on a lavish scale. The calculations which Mr Rowntree and I have made, and which represent probably the

minimum necessary expenditure, would involve an annual grant of £1000, for every 10,000 of the population. This sum would be equal to a rate of threepence in the pound in Edinburgh, of fourpence in the pound in Glasgow, and of fivepence in Dundee. Taking seventeen representative towns of Scotland, it would represent an average rate of more than fivepence in the pound. One has only to state such figures to see how futile it is, under existing conditions of local taxation, to look to ordinary municipal enterprise to meet such a need. It is due to the suggestion of Mr Joseph Rowntree that we now see how the need can be met. He was the first to show us a satisfactory way out of the financial difficulty.

A convinced Temperance reformer, Mr Rowntree saw nearly twenty years ago that two things were essential to reform, namely, the elimination of private profit from the retail sale of liquor and the provision of efficient counter-attractions to the public-house; and, a few years later, in 1892, he published a pamphlet in which both proposals were incorporated and in which he made the further suggestion that the funds necessary for the maintenance of the counter-attractions should be a first charge upon the surplus profits of the proposed Public-House Companies. That suggestion we have since developed with much detail in the last chapter of *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*.

¹ A Neglected Aspect of the Temperance Question.

Our proposal is that where a monopoly of the local retail liquor trade is granted to public companies (as in Norway and Sweden), the whole of the surplus profits shall be sent direct to a central fund to be created for the purpose, and that out of the aggregate profits a fixed annual grant shall be made to localities for the maintenance of efficient counter - attractions to the public-house. These grants, however, are to have no relation to the amount of the profits earned, but are to be strictly in ratio to population, our suggestion being that they shall be made upon a fixed basis of, say, £,1000 for every 10,000 of the population. These grants, moreover, are not to be restricted to localities adopting public-management but are to be made equally to prohibition areas. Now against this proposal only two objections have been raised. It is said in the first place that the counter-attractions, if established, would probably largely fail of their object since they would not attract the ordinary frequenters of the public-house. That they would not, except in rare cases, attract the confirmed tippler may be conceded at once, but the confirmed tippler represents but a small part of the problem to be solved. The real problem is to prevent, so far as we can, the formation of the habit of tippling, and especially to offer the youths and girls who pass from our primary schools into our workshops and factories, some other alternative than the crowded tenement or the street. It is an impressive fact to which I

have already called attention, that of fifty Scotch criminals whose life-histories were examined in 1901, 48 per cent. had been drinking from boyhood! The success of the counter-attractions will depend entirely upon the efficiency with which they are maintained. If they are conceived and maintained on liberal and comprehensive lines they may be trusted to do their work. Their value has already been shown wherever they have been tried. As far back as 1860 the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the sale of Exciseable Liquors in Scotland, in discussing the causes of "a marked improvement in the habits of the people of Scotland in regard to sobriety," declared that "The spread of education and the extension of a cheap literature adapted to the wants and requirements of the people, aided by the establishment of lectures, readingrooms and schemes of rational recreation, have done much to withdraw the operatives from the publichouse."

But it is possible to furnish much more recent, as well as much more direct, evidence of the practical value of such counteracting agencies. The Edinburgh Evening News, in its issue of January 2nd, 1903, gave a brief account of what it called "A New Edinburgh Movement" inaugurated in that city on New Year's Day:—

"Some Church organisations in Edinburgh have at last awakened to the necessity of doing something on the social side to attract the people from dangerous paths at this season of the year. The way has been led by the Fountainbridge mission of St George's United Free Church. That mission, which is under the charge of the Rev. H. M. Ross, is planted in a populous district, and the ramifications of the work undertaken show that Mr Ross is an enthusiast in the cause of social reform, and that he has the qualities which are adapted for that special work. The mission workers, in their new venture of providing an attractive gathering place for the New Year holidays, express full satisfaction with the result of their efforts so far.

"The church and the adjoining halls were opened on the last day of the year and will remain open until to-morrow night. Refreshments are provided at current prices, so that there is no attempt at underselling the shops, and there are concerts and cinematograph exhibitions, besides other amusing entertainments. The band of stewards had a very busy day yesterday. All day long there was a large company on the premises, both men and women, many from the immediate district and not a few from other parts of the city and the country, who while passing had been induced to step in. There were a few rough types among the attenders, but the ladies say they seldom heard a nasty expression. One or two men entered the hall under the influence of drink, and remained nearly all day, in fact till they were again sober. The music of the

cornet and the violin was a source of great pleasure to the gathering. There was also a supply of periodicals with which the time could be beguiled away, and the pretty decorations added to the attractiveness of the place for those whose lives are mostly spent amidst squalid surroundings. The experiment has been attended with a success which is very gratifying to the promoters."

A similar experiment, organized by Miss Macgregor of the Women's Home Mission Committee of the United Free Church, met with equal success. "A vacant shop of large accommodation at the corner of St Giles Street, off High Street, was opened by the ladies on Tuesday, and will be kept going until Monday night. In a centre like the High Street, where crowds of country people flock on holidays, there was a good field for the operations of the committee. The great aim of the organisers was to supply a resting-place for these visitors, where they could get refreshment and also enjoy good music. Special provision was made for the accommodation of women with children, and in many respects the ladies say their endeavours have been crowned with success and have been a boon to the people who would have either sought rest in a public-house or have wandered aimlessly about the streets. There was no lack of willing hands for the work, and yesterday especially, when there was a steady stream of visitors from morning to night,

all those assisting were kept busy making their guests as comfortable as possible."1

Now these experiments were of a simple character and they covered but a small part of the need of the city, but the result in each case shows conclusively how wide are the opportunities and how clamant the need for a well-devised scheme of counter-attractions to the public-house in Scotland. The educational value of such a scheme, and the importance of the contribution which it would make to the national life, can hardly be exaggerated. I do not under-estimate the force of present economic

1 The best comment upon the need of such experiments as the above was contained in the same issue of the Edinburgh Evening News which stated that:—

"The New Year celebrations appear from the police and infirmary statistics to have been accompanied by rather more than the usual amount of drunkenness. The streets were lively all day yesterday, and despite the exercise of the usual leniency which accompanies the festivities, the police had a busy time up to an early hour this morning conveying 'drunks' to the Central Police Office, transferring them from out-lying stations, or taking the 'wounded' to the Royal Infirmary for treatment. The ambulance waggon lent invaluable assistance, especially in the latter cases. Between midnight on Hogmanay and midnight last night, 72 cases were treated at the Infirmary, showing a considerable increase over the corresponding period last year. None of the cases, however, were of a serious nature. In regard to apprehensions, up to midnight 45 prisoners had been brought in at the High Street, and when the Police Court started this morning there were 61 cases down for disposal of whom 37 were 'drunks' as against 59 of a total, and 28 incapables the second day last year."

conditions in their effect upon personal development and social life, but I believe that it is true in Scotland, as elsewhere, that "the substitution most deeply needed, now as always, is less the substitution of a wholesome for an unwholesome environment than the substitution of wholesome for unwholesome tastes and interests."

The community has a responsibility in these matters which it cannot wisely neglect. Primarily no doubt its responsibility is connected with the preservation of individual liberty and the legal protection of property; but it does not end there. By its interference in the education of its children the State has shown its sense of wider obligations and its concern for other than merely economic interests; and while there are just limits to its coercive action which none of us desires to overpass, it is bound by the aims and ideals of social life so to contrive its social arrangements as to give the utmost encouragement to the development of the best faculties of its citizens. As Mr Gladstone reminded us forty years ago,2 "it does not follow that because you have made additions to the means of subsistence and the comfort of the people, you can safely cease to care for the supply of other wants which demand your consideration." The Temperance question is a great physiological and economic question; but it is more: it is a

¹ New York Outlook, September 14th, 1901.

^{2 1864.}

great moral and educational question which stands vitally related to the ultimate ideals of national life.

I know that some earnest Temperance reformers fear to support a scheme of public-management even in localities where they are convinced that local veto is impracticable, lest it should give them a moral complicity in the traffic. But while I know that such objections are sincerely held, I cannot but believe them to be remote from the urgent practical aspects of the question and to rest upon a misunderstanding of the real nature of the proposals which Mr Rowntree and I have made. Under our proposals the fullest possible liberty is given to localities to work out their salvation in their own way, and absolutely no inducement is offered to any locality to continue the traffic for a single day longer than public opinion demands. Moreover, the complicity which is feared has not to be created, it already exists. In addition to the large sums which it contributes to the Imperial Exchequer in the form of Excise Duties, Scotland annually receives considerable sums from licence and additional excise duties, which are spent in direct relief of education and other local rates. No one proposes to abolish these taxes or to refuse the aid which they afford. Even the late General Neal Dow, the "Father" of the Maine Prohibition law, writing on October 30th, 1888, in reference to similar taxes in the United States said:-"I have been unable to see how

it is that this tax, levied by the United States Government, in any way encourages, permits, approves, or supports the liquor traffic." Sir Wilfrid Lawson, again, speaking in the House of Commons on March 13th, 1877, in support of Mr Chamberlain's proposal for the municipalisation of the liquor traffic, said:—"As far as I can see we are not more implicated in the moral and social degradation which flows from the public-house by adopting the plan of my hon. friend (Mr Chamberlain) than we are already implicated in it by our existing legislation."

But the question is really a practical one. We are all agreed that for some time to come a considerable volume of trade in alcoholic liquors will continue. Is it better that it should continue under a system which aggravates the evils of the traffic and produces the maximum amount of social demoralisation and loss, or under conditions of restriction and control which reduce the evil effects of the traffic to a minimum?

As Lady Henry Somerset, in discussing the proposals which Mr Rowntree and I have made, pertinently asks 1:—"Are we to be regarded as 'having complicity' with a trade for the reason that when we cannot suppress it altogether we desire so to change its form and character that we deprive it of three-fourths of its power to harm, but permit a fourth of that evil to continue for a time? I hold

¹ Contemporary Review, October 1899.

that it is our duty to restrict the evil as far as we can, and I hold that we are responsible only for the amount of harm which we could prevent, but allow to continue." 1

Here then, it seems to me, there is a basis for co-operative effort on the part of all who are concerned for the moral and economic progress of Scotland. In disunion there is weakness and in isolation inevitable defeat. Neither the supporter of public-management on the one hand, nor the vetoist on the other, can afford to stand alone, and in the present condition of Scotland disunion is something akin to crime. As Sir Wilfrid Lawson pointed out in a letter to the Times in July 1894, the two methods are not mutually exclusive. "I am not aware," he said, in referring to the Bishop of Chester's scheme of public-management, "that many of them [i.e. the prohibitionist members of the United Kingdom Alliance] would wish to prevent Mr Chamberlain, the Duke of Westminster, and the Bishop of Chester trying their new system in districts where the population wished the experi-

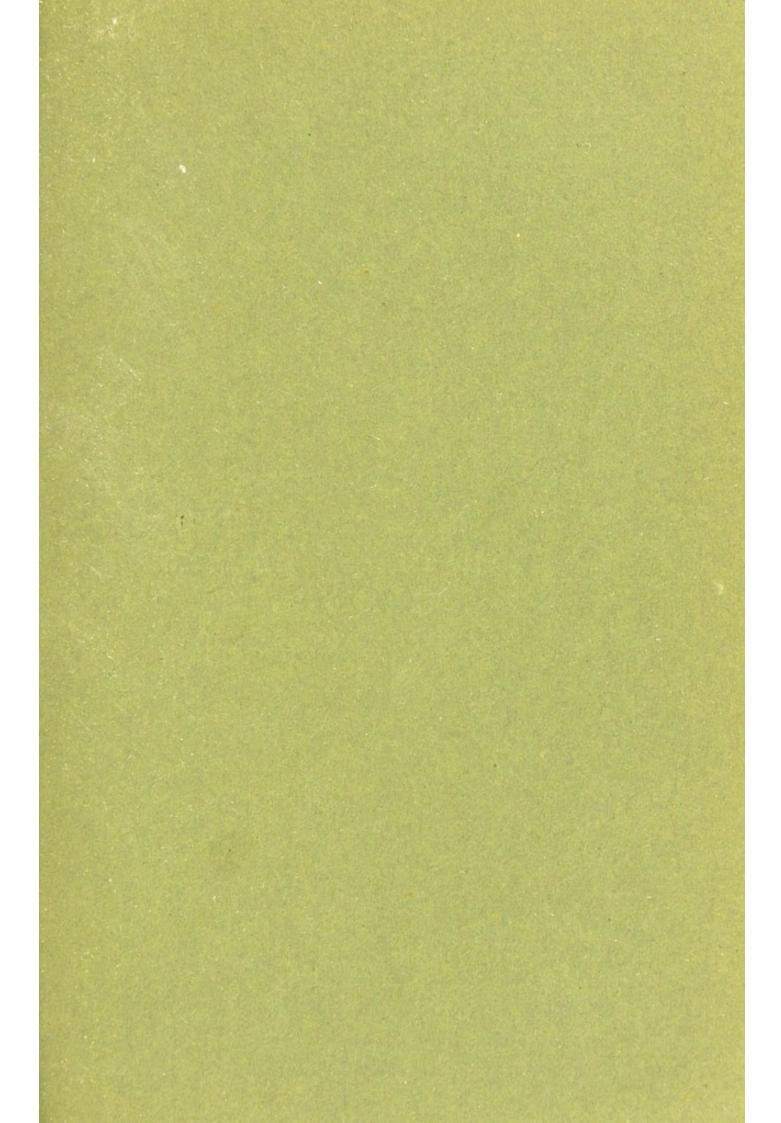
of the Prohibition movement have expressed a similar view. The Rev. C. F. Aked, in a Paper read at the National Council of Free Churches in March 1900, said:—" I have argued for years against every form of municipalisation. I have denounced it in a hundred towns. But Messrs Rowntree and Sherwell's scheme has met all the objections which I have ever urged, and for the first time we are presented with a plan which the sworn prohibitionist can adopt without compromise of deep conviction and without fear of ultimate danger and loss.

ment to be tried. Antagonism only arises if these licence reformers say that while they are to be allowed to try their experiment, we, Prohibitionists, are to be prevented from trying ours. And I feel very sure that, when they think it out, they will not take such a dog-in-the-manger line. So far as my own position is concerned it is this. Give the licence reformers a free hand. Let every district be allowed to work out its own salvation. 'Trust the people,' as Lord Salisbury says. Trust them to protect their homes and families from the public-houses which you say 'degrade, ruin, and brutalise' them, as well as to maintain these places on Mr Chamberlain's improved system if they wish to do so. That is all which I have ever advocated."

This attitude is eminently reasonable and it is the only attitude which can command success in the great struggle that is before the nation. Both methods, it is safe to say, are inevitable in the selection of the final scheme of reform. The principle of local option involves them both, and both have won too deep and sincere a sanction in popular conviction in Scotland to make it possible for either to exclude the other. The drift of conviction in both directions is as sure as it will ultimately prove irresistible and nothing but disunion can postpone the inevitable ultimate legislation. "This drink legislation," said Lord Bramwell, is a half-hearted legislation and ever will be so." That statement is a true description

¹ Laissez-Faire, p. 12.

of the past; it holds true also of the present; but it will be falsified as a prediction in the day when Temperance reformers of all schools of thought agree to combine.



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