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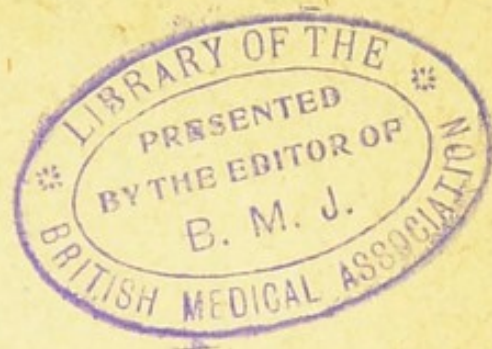
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# OUR NATIONAL DRINK BILL



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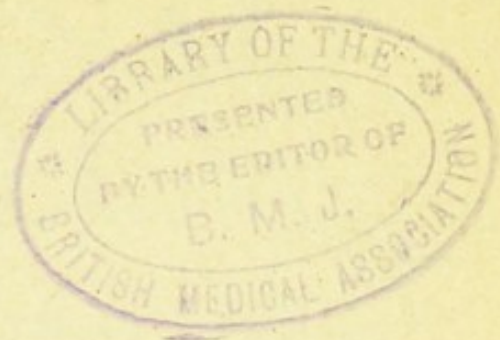
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# OUR NATIONAL DRINK BILL

*Written for the National Commercial Temperance League.*

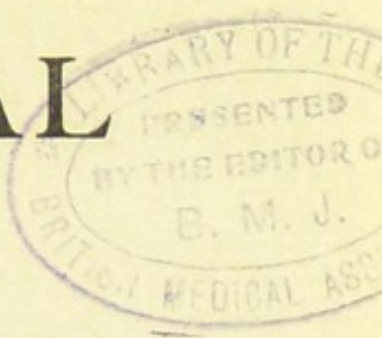
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# OUR NATIONAL DRINK BILL

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ITS DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS UPON  
NATIONAL HEALTH, MORALS, INDUSTRY  
AND TRADE

BY

JOHN NEWTON

AUTHOR OF "W. S. CAINE, M.P.: A BIOGRAPHY," AND "LIFE OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN OF HARPER'S FERRY."

London

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## FOREWORD

THE aim of the National Commercial Temperance League is to spread the principles of total abstinence amongst commercial, professional, and business men. This book has been written at the invitation of the League with a view of setting forth the cost and loss to the whole community caused by the enormous national expenditure on intoxicating liquors.

It is the hope of the League that the various classes to whom it particularly appeals will give a careful and unbiassed consideration to the facts and arguments herein presented.

THOS. R. FERENS,

*President of the National Commercial  
Temperance League.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
*September 1909.*

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## INTRODUCTORY

IT has long appeared to many earnest temperance reformers that British political economists and social scientists have paid insufficient attention to the economic, industrial, and social effects of our enormous expenditure on intoxicating liquors. The subject is, as the late Mr. W. Hoyle said, "a neglected chapter in political economy."

In the United States much more attention has been paid to the question. Many colleges have established either lectureships or professorships devoted to the study and teaching of the subject in all its bearings, and quite a small library of books is now in existence giving the results of the labours of many earnest students. Text-books on the subject are used in the secondary schools, and each year, in addition to the scholars of the elementary schools who are taught the physical effects of alcohol, thousands of young people are leaving the secondary schools and colleges with definite ideas as to the economic waste, and the damage to commercial prosperity and physical efficiency caused by expenditure on drink.

This systematic teaching is bearing fruit in the steady and at times surprising increase of territory where the democracy is seen voting out the saloon, or "going dry," as it is phrased. The people are realising that drink consumption is not merely bad physically and morally, but bad for business, for trade and commerce. That it cripples the worker, by reducing his productive and earning powers. That it hinders the capitalist from obtaining as good a return on his capital as he otherwise would have. That it is expenditure which is in the main non-productive, whilst at the same time entailing heavy burdens on the community

because of the evils which constantly flow from it. That as a "business proposition" it will not bear examination.

It is with the object of directing the attention of business men chiefly,—whether employers or employed—to these aspects of a great and intricate problem, that this little book is written. The purely moral and political aspects are not dealt with except incidentally.

It would be idle to deny that the writer has strong convictions on the subject under discussion, or that there is any doubt in his mind as to where the truth of the matter lies. He believes that our drinking customs are a huge blunder, an expensive mistake, a constant drain upon our national resources, and a serious check upon our commercial prosperity. At the same time every reasonable care has been taken to state facts fairly and accurately, to take nothing for granted where personal inquiry was possible, and to present the case in such a manner as no reasonable man need object to. Whatever our convictions may be, it is the truth of the matter which every honest inquirer desires to arrive at, and this book is put forward as an attempt to ascertain what some of the facts really are, what their consequences appear to be, and what lessons we as a people ought to derive from them.

# OUR NATIONAL DRINK BILL

## CHAPTER I

### A SURVEY OF THE PROBLEM

HE would be a bold man who would affirm that the present magnitude of our Drink Bill is a matter of small concern either to the social reformer, the commercial man, or the statesman. Even brewers themselves frequently admit that there are grave evils associated with the traffic which produces their wealth, although they usually allocate the entire blame to the consumers of alcohol, and in no degree whatever to the men who conduct the licensed trade in drink, or to the drink itself.

"In our view, there is no drink evil—though there is the evil of the drunkard."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Arthur Balfour expressed the orthodox "trade" view in a speech he made in the House of Commons during the debates on his Licensing Bill of 1904, when he said that the drink sufferers were "the victims of their own vicious indulgence." Even if that were entirely true, it does not seem to relieve of all responsibility either those who offer the means of "vicious indulgence," growing rapidly rich thereby, or the State which authorises the provision of opportunities for the said indulgence.

The enormous proportions of the problem presented by our national drinking habits were clearly recognised by those responsible representatives of the licensed trade—there were eight of them—who sat on the Royal Licensing Commission (1896-99), presided over by Viscount Peel.

<sup>1</sup> *Brewing Trade Review*, February 1909, p. 50.

In the Majority Report of that Commission, signed by each of the eight liquor traders, these remarkable words appear :

"It is undeniable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied, and hardly any sacrifice would be too great which would result in a marked diminution of this national degradation. Nor is Parliament likely to rest satisfied with leaving things as they are." <sup>1</sup>

The painful fact is that reform in our drinking customs has by no means kept pace with our progress in other departments of national life. Undoubted improvement has been made, but it is far from being commensurate with the necessities of the case, and its comparative failure has deprived many other reforms of a large portion of their expected results.

During the past few years there has happily been a diminishing consumption of alcohol, with but slight variation. Since our worst drinking years of 1872-76, when the average per head consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom was 35.06 gallons, our heaviest drinking year was 1899, with 34.56 gallons per head. From that year, with the exception of 1905, there has been a steady diminution of consumption, until in 1906 it had fallen to 29.48 gallons. But even so, the figures show a substantial increase on the years 1842-46, when the consumption was 21.12 gallons per head.

The obvious and disquieting inference is that with increasing earnings there has been an increasing expenditure—taking the whole sixty years—on liquor. Our best trade years have usually shown our heaviest drink bills, both actually and relatively to population. And concomitantly with this extra expenditure on drink, there has generally been an increase in the prosecutions for drunkenness, and usually for crimes of violence also.

In 1876 the prosecutions for drunkenness in England and Wales were 843 per 100,000 of the population, our highest recorded point. In 1899, another bad drinking year, as has already been pointed out, the prosecutions for drunkenness were 672 per 100,000 of the population, a substantial increase on the average of the previous twelve years. In 1905 the prosecutions had fallen, with a diminishing drink

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 2.

bill, to 642 per 100,000. Yet again, as compared with fifty years previously, there was a startling increase of drunkenness as compared with the increase of population.

The *Criminal Statistics of England and Wales* for 1905 show that whereas the population had grown in half a century from 18,000,000 to over 34,000,000 (1857-1905, both inclusive), an increase of nearly 92 per cent., the cases of drunkenness dealt with had risen from 84,358, the average of the years 1857-61, to 219,652, the average of the years 1902-5 inclusive, or an increase of 160 per cent.

Neither is there much encouragement to be found from an examination of the Registrar-General's returns dealing with the deaths from alcoholism.

The lowest recorded percentage was in 1870, when the certified deaths from alcoholism were 29 per million living. By 1880 they had risen to 37 per million, by 1890 to 70 per million, and by 1900 to 113 per million living. That is to say, whilst the population in thirty years had increased by 44.7 per cent., the deaths from alcoholism had increased by 289.6 per cent., or nearly seven times as fast as the population. Allowing everything possible for more accurate statement of the causes of death, by medical men of the present day, when issuing death certificates, enough remains to give grave concern to every one who has the least care for the welfare and progress of the nation. Happily, since 1900 there has been a gradual and steady diminution. The Seventieth Annual Report of the Registrar-General gives the deaths from alcoholism as 65 per million living in 1907, but this figure does not represent the complete total, for cirrhosis of the liver ought also to be included, as will be shown in the chapter on "Drink and the Death-Rate."

From the point of view of expenditure, our Drink Bill assumes colossal proportions, and dwarfs into comparative insignificance most of our other items of national expenditure. Indeed, the whole yearly cost of Government falls short by at least fifteen millions sterling of our average annual Drink Bill.

The *Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom* for 1907 gives the entire revenue receipts for the United Kingdom for 1907-8 as £156,537,000, and the expenditure as

£151,812,000 (financial year 1st April 1907 to 31st March 1908), an amount which has previously been exceeded only during the four years of the South African War, 1900-4, when the average annual expenditure was £187,393,000. But whilst we spent £151,812,000 on the government of our vast empire, we spent on intoxicating drinks in 1907 (calendar year) £167,016,000, equal to £3, 15s. 9d. per head of the population.

The *Statistical Abstract* enables us to make other suggestive comparisons.

Two months' drink expenditure would pay for our army. Nine weeks' drink bill would more than pay for our navy. The whole yield of our property and income-tax is not quite equal to a fifth of our drink money.

We spend on elementary education barely one-eighth of the amount we spend on drink.

The whole of our outstanding loans for local works undertaken by our local authorities, amounts to about two-fifths only of our annual Drink Bill.

The annual yield of the local rates of the United Kingdom—a steadily increasing amount—including water undertakings, does not equal the cost of six months' drinking. Indeed, the entire receipts of the local authorities from rates and other sources, such as water, gas, electric light, tramways, light railways, rents and interest, tolls and dues, equal only about ten months' drinking.

The total annual cost of our highways, bridges, and ferries could be met by one month's drink money.

Whilst the L.C.C., the various Metropolitan boroughs, and the City of London are collecting in rates over ten millions per annum, the citizens of London are paying into the till of the publican and the wine and spirit merchant no less than eighteen millions.

Our fiscal relations with our colonies are matters of deep interest at the present time to many of our politicians. The value of the whole of our imports from all our children beyond the seas in 1907 fell short of our Drink Bill by nearly £10,000,000, and our exports to those same colonies by nearly £20,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Statistical Abstract*, 1907, p. 77. Exclusive of bullion and specie.

Put in another form, our Drink Bill is more than twice the value of our imports of grain and flour; more than twice the value of our imported butter, cheese, eggs, fish, fruits, and vegetables; and more than three times the amount of our imports of meat.

Our cotton imports, the raw material of one of our greatest industries, valued at £70,803,000, equal about five months' drink expenditure.

One school of fiscal reformers are devoting careful attention to the free importation of articles wholly or mainly manufactured to which they take exception. The total value of these articles, important as they are, does not come within a dozen millions of our Drink Bill.

The total gross receipts of all the railways of the United Kingdom, including steamboats, harbours, canals, and hotels connected therewith, are only about three-fourths of the drink expenditure. The money saved by eight months of abstinence would run our railways free for a year, both for passengers and traffic, and pay the average rate of interest to the shareholders at the same time.

We have been for long the greatest coal-producing country in the world, yet over a period of fifteen years—1893 to 1907 inclusive—the average value of the coal produced in the United Kingdom has never exceeded two-thirds, and has often been barely more than one-third, of our drink money. In this estimate the value is taken “at the place of production.”<sup>1</sup>

Even the whole of the deposits in the savings bank of the Post Office, happily steadily increasing over a long series of years, fall short by nearly ten millions of this really terrible annual expenditure, whilst the deposits of any particular year usually do not much exceed one quarter of the Drink Bill.

Indeed, our expenditure on these articles of injurious luxury amounts to no less than one quarter of our entire imports from the whole world, and is more than a third of the value of the manufactures of the United Kingdom which are exported year by year to every part of the globe. Whilst if this vast amount of money was devoted to the purpose of

<sup>1</sup> *Statistical Abstract*, 1907, p. 312.

the extinction of debt, in less than five years the whole of our funded and unfunded debt could be wiped out, and the nation freed from any National Debt whatsoever.

These comparisons, which could, but need not, be extended further, enable us to form some definite idea of the truly colossal proportions of our annual Drink Bill, and how frightfully injurious and wasteful, if the contention of this book is sound, such expenditure must be. Even if it were an expenditure upon a harmless luxury merely, it would be indefensible from the point of view of sound economics. For no expenditure is justified which does not yield, either directly or indirectly, an adequate return of benefit. Money spent on healthy recreation, which rests and invigorates mind and body, returning a man to his work in a more efficient condition, is a profitable investment. Money spent on a luxury which leaves a man neither better nor worse, is money uselessly spent. But money spent in a manner which positively injures nerve and brain, deflects judgment, reduces energy, makes a man come stale to his work and often to stay away altogether, is an absolute waste of national resources, a waste which would actually be less if the money were thrown into the sea, for it is waste which involves much further cost and loss.

"The skill and the energy and perseverance of the artisans of a country are reckoned part of its wealth, no less than their tools and machinery."<sup>1</sup> Therefore drink expenditure, which injures the skill of the artisan, depresses his energy, and weakens his perseverance, is a waste of national wealth, and such waste is absolutely unjustifiable. Whether the desire to expend money upon this harmful luxury provides an adequate motive for labour, which its elimination would remove, will be discussed later. It is sufficient here to say that it is the substitution of a higher for a lower motive which is aimed at, and not merely the destruction of an existing one, without leaving anything in its place.

It is not only, however, contended that drink expenditure is money lost to the nation because in its results it is unproductive of economic good. It is the purpose of this

<sup>1</sup> Mill, *Political Economy*, p. 30.

book to argue, and to endeavour to demonstrate, that the actual injury inflicted, in numerous ways, is of enormous magnitude, far greater than any possible benefit which might be alleged to accrue on the most liberal estimate. The results are both negative and positive—negative for good, positive for evil. In the first place, there is the absence of any tangible national benefit; and in the second place, there is the presence of palpable injury on a gigantic scale, gross and unmistakable.

It is beyond question that a large proportion of our crime—particularly crimes of violence—of our pauperism, of our lunacy, of our diseases, of our social distress, of our premature deaths, of child suffering, of cruelty to wives, of loss of employment, is the direct product of the national consumption of alcoholic drinks.

It may be a debatable question as to what proportionate share of these evils is due to drink. But that drink is a prolific cause of them all is no longer doubted by any serious student of the social condition of the people.

It is urged by the apologists of the liquor traffic that the revenue which the national exchequer derives from the sale of drink represents a handsome profit, and that any substantial diminution of drink expenditure would seriously incommode the Chancellor of the Exchequer, rendering new taxes necessary, and that in no other way could so large an amount of money be so easily raised, and with so little irksomeness to the people.

Two or three important considerations may be urged in reply to this. There is, of course, an inevitable and at times considerable difference between the point of view of the moral reformer and that of the politician. In the one case moral considerations alone decide a question, irrespective of consequences. In the other case, political and other consequences have to be taken carefully into account, and to the earnest reformer the course decided upon may not unfrequently appear, at the best, unmoral. It is profoundly true, as Lord Morley said in one of his essays, "Action in politics is one long second best." Hence arise, at times, not unnatural conflicts between the two types of mind.

But it is a proposition sustainable by sound argument, that this is not such an inevitable case, and that such a conflict need not necessarily arise.

In the first place, it will probably be generally admitted that it is undesirable to derive revenue from the vices of the people. "Vice, my lords," Lord Chesterfield is reported to have said in debate on the Gin Act of 1743, "is not properly to be taxed, but suppressed."

Admit, as Lord Chesterfield proceeded to argue, that high taxation may sometimes prove a most effective means of suppression. The object in such a case is suppression, and the means to obtain that object are matters of argument. It is a different case from that of taxation with the single object of raising the necessary revenue, where care is always taken to preserve the subject of taxation, and not to place such heavy burdens upon it as to crush it out of existence.

If by any change of law, or improvements in the habits of the people, resulting from their better moral education, such a falling-off of drink expenditure should occur as would seriously deplete the Exchequer receipts from the taxation of liquor, it by no means follows that the revenue would be permanently the loser. The money comes in the first instance from the people, and, passing through the publican's till, reaches the Chancellor's hands in very much diminished volume. If it ceases to go into the publican's till it does not cease to circulate. All other trades immediately feel the benefit of a transference of expenditure, and a much greater demand arises for those products of industry which require much more labour for their preparation and distribution than drink does, as it is one of the least costly of articles to produce and distribute.

At the same time, the drink-inflicted burdens would grow lighter, and the consequent expense of dealing with them would diminish. The improvement in the homes and morals of the people, their greater efficiency for labour, their enhanced power of purchasing the necessities of life, would add materially to the national wealth and well-being. It cannot reasonably be argued that a sober people would be less able to bear the taxation necessary for the national

services than a heavy-drinking or drunken people would be. Obtaining money from liquor may be a comparatively easy way of raising revenue, but a careful examination will show that it is as costly as the method of the Chinaman who burnt down his house to roast his pig.

Mr. Gladstone said to a brewers' deputation which waited upon him to urge this revenue argument, that they need give themselves no concern about the revenue, as with a sober democracy he would find no difficulty in raising the necessary money. A similar opinion was expressed by Sir Stafford Northcote when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

But even supposing some additional taxation became necessary, it would indeed be a cheap price to pay for the enhanced morality, prosperity, peace, and happiness of the masses of the people.

## CHAPTER II

### CRIME AND ITS COST

OF certain classes of crime—particularly crimes of violence, such as assaults, stabbings, woundings, wife beatings, child cruelty, and assaults on police—it may be said that they are practically the specific product of drink. They usually roughly approximate in number to the fluctuations of the Drink Bill. A heavy drinking year is generally a heavy crime year, and a lighter drinking year is a lighter crime year, in the categories above named.

Judges, magistrates, and police have borne constant and emphatic testimony to the close relationship between drink and crime, as cause and effect. It is indeed a twice-told tale, yet one which needs re-telling until its full significance has sunk into the public mind.

Mr. Justice Grove put the case in biting epigrammatic form when he said: "Men go into public-houses respectable and come out felons."

Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England, speaking in the London County Council Hall on February 5, 1909, said it was almost impossible to overestimate the percentage of crime due to drink. It approximated 80 to 90 per cent. A quarter of a century earlier a similar testimony was borne by Mr. Justice Hawkins at the Durham Assizes, July 16, 1883: "Every day I live, the more I think of the matter, the more firmly do I come to the conclusion that the root of almost all crime is drink, that revolting tyrant which affects people of all ages, and of both sexes; young, middle-aged, and old; father and son, husband and wife, all in turn become its victims. I believe that nine-tenths of the crime in this country is engendered inside the doors of public-houses."

The late Lord Coleridge said from the Bench of the Supreme Court in 1881, that: "But for drink we might shut up nine out of ten of our prisons." On January 25, 1909, Mr. Justice Walton put the case higher than any of his predecessors. He was reported to have said: "More than 99 per cent. of the trials for crimes of violence have their origin in intemperance."<sup>1</sup>

Similar testimony has been given on various occasions, covering a long period of time, by Justice Denman, Justice Lush, Justice Keating, Justice Hannen, Justice Bovill, Baron Amphlett, Baron Martin, and many others.

The Visiting Justices of the Birmingham Borough Prison, in their Report for 1886, showed that during the years 1880-86, out of a total of 24,418 prisoners committed, no less than two-thirds were in prison mainly through drink. The House of Lords Committee on Intemperance printed in an Appendix to their Report, a return supplied by the Governors and Chaplains of gaols in response to inquiries submitted to them by a Committee of the Convocation of York. Not one of these officials estimated the crime due to drink at less than one-half, and 19 out of 24 estimated it at no less than two-thirds.

The Committee on Intemperance of the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, 1869, in the course of careful investigations, received replies from over two hundred judges, magistrates, governors, and chaplains of prisons, chief constables, &c. Nearly the whole of these officials placed the amount of crime due directly or indirectly to drink at from 60 to 80 per cent. of the total, and some exceeded even that proportion.

The Chief Constable of Liverpool, in his evidence before the Royal Licensing Commission presided over by Lord Peel, estimated the drink-caused crime of Liverpool at 51 per cent. of the whole.

Mr. Harold Wright, stipendiary magistrate of the Potteries, said in 1908: "If you were to take away the effect of drink in my district, I do not think I should practically have any work to do."

The Scottish Prison Commissioners, in their Report for

<sup>1</sup> *Westminster Gazette*, 26th January 1909.

1905, published brief biographies of sixty persons then in prison, thirty of each sex, in order to show how criminals were made. Needless to say, drink was again found to be a powerful factor in the manufacture of criminals.

A few samples are worth reproducing.

Man, aged 26.—Father a labourer, sometimes drank. School education fair, though parents quite neglected his religious and moral education, but when a child he went to Sunday-school for about two years. Attended day-school till 13, and on leaving acted as plumber's labourer. *At the age of 17 began to drink.* Two imprisonments—drunkenness and robbery with housebreaking.

Man, aged 35.—Father a mechanic. Parents were rather apathetic over his moral welfare, though their personal example was good. Fair education; attended school till about 14, then got employment in waterworks. Both parents died when prisoner was about 18; *at that age he began to drink with his fellow-workmen.* Stayed at waterworks till 25, earning 33s. per week. *Lost his post through drinking heavily;* then worked on railways. Has taken the pledge at various times, but never kept it for more than a year. A weak character, and easily led. Finds it more pleasant to give way to drink than to resist. Three imprisonments—drunkenness, robbery and house-breaking.

Man, aged 38.—Father a mason. Fair education, went to Sunday-school till 14, and remained at day-school till 15. Then for three years did odd jobs. At 18 went to England without parents' consent; worked in a boat-yard for about three months, and *began to drink with his fellow-workers.* When about 19 returned to Scotland, and has since worked as a labourer. *Says when he has the money he must spend it on drink.* Two imprisonments—both for offences connected with drink.

Man, aged 38.—Father a miner, drank; mother had eight children, who were left much to themselves. Fair education, was at day-school till 15. On leaving school was employed in a dye-works till 19. Then worked as a general labourer, and has continued to do so since. Fell in with bad companions, and *at 29 began to drink with them in*

*public-houses.* He is a single man, and likes company. *Says he now must have drink when he has the money.* Five imprisonments—drunkenness.

Man, aged 62.—Irish, father a weaver. One of a family of eight. Very poorly educated; never went to day-school, but attended Sunday-school till 14. Went to work in a rope factory when eight years old, continued there till 17, and was badly influenced by his associates. Then worked as a weaver for thirteen years. *At 22 took to drink.* For thirty-two years has been a homeless vagrant. *Drinks when he has the money.* Five imprisonments—breach of peace.

Man, aged 48.—Father a labourer; mother outdoor worker, had eight children. Irish, education fair, attended day-school till 12, and Sunday-school till 15. At 27 had £10, but between that age and 30 *he gave way to drink* with fellow-labourers. *He is now a confirmed drunkard.* Thirteen imprisonments—drunkenness.

A few examples may now be given from the other sex.

Woman, aged 23.—Irish, father a gardener. Parents drunken and continually quarrelling. Both had been in prison. Prisoner's upbringing of the very worst description. On leaving school left home and worked in mills for two years, then returned home and got outdoor work. At 16 went to live with a man, and *commenced to drink.* Remained with the man till 22. Twenty-one imprisonments—drunkenness.

Woman, aged 33.—Father a mine manager, died when prisoner was 2, and mother when prisoner was 14. Was the youngest of a family of fourteen. Education poor, attended day-school till 14, also went to Sunday-school. Got married, and four years afterwards husband gave way to drink, and began to ill-use her. Prisoner was then about 27, and *began to drink.* At 31 prisoner and her husband separated. *She drinks a great deal, and often gets into prison.* Fifteen imprisonments—drunkenness.

Woman, aged 39.—Parents died when prisoner was about 16. At 18, in company with other girls of bad character, *took to drinking* as an accompaniment to profligacy. An almost hopeless case. Never attended church. Fifty-seven imprisonments—theft and drunkenness.

Woman, aged 56.—Father a carter. *Both parents used to get drunk.* They had eleven children. Upbringing very indifferent ; very poor education. Began to work in mills as “half-timer” at 7, but continued to attend day-school irregularly until 10. Worked in mills till 19, then married. Her husband died a year after, and left her with one child. Prisoner *took to drinking* “to drown her grief.” Took to hawking for a year, then lived with another man. Since then she has gone from bad to worse. Has no church connection. One hundred and seventy-one imprisonments at least—two for theft, others for drunkenness.

And the squalid story might be prolonged indefinitely. Whilst it cannot be said that these social wrecks are the result of one single cause, it is quite clear that the drink factor is common to them all, and that the presence of this common factor makes the work of all the other injurious influences and untoward circumstances tending to the production of criminals, much easier and more certain of success. Drink makes smooth the way into prison.

According to the annual returns in our *Criminal Statistics*, more than two out of every seven of the charges dealt with summarily by our local courts are cases of drunkenness. Many of the other cases arise out of drunkenness also.

A review of the past fifty years does not give us much encouragement, under present conditions, to hope for a reduction of this terrible evil, the parent of so many other evils.

The following Table<sup>1</sup> shows the number of charges for drunkenness in quinquennial periods, covering fifty years :—

1857 to 1861 . . .	84,358	1882 to 1886 . . .	185,847
1862 „ 1866 . . .	99,880	1887 „ 1891 . . .	176,101
1867 „ 1871 . . .	121,669	1892 „ 1896 . . .	175,628
1872 „ 1876 . . .	185,862	1897 „ 1901 . . .	204,940
1877 „ 1881 . . .	184,099	1902 „ 1906 . . .	219,652

Stated proportionately, these figures mean that whilst the population has increased in fifty years by nearly 92 per cent., the cases of drunkenness have increased by over 160 per cent. Or, in another way, whilst there was one drunken

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 3929. *Criminal Statistics England and Wales*, pp. 34 and 35.

case for about each 213 of the population in 1857, there was one to each 183 of the population in 1906. Or, yet again, the prosecutions were 469 per 100,000 of the population at the beginning of the said half-century, and they were 613 per 100,000 at the end of it.

Although they have fallen for the last three or four years, yet the figures for drunkenness are worse at the end of the decade than they were at the beginning. The latest returns available are given in the *Criminal Statistics* for 1906, issued in 1908. With the help of a Table in the volume for 1905, we set out the following :—

*Prosecutions for Drunkenness, England and Wales.*

In 1896 they were 187,258 or 608 per 100,000 of the population

1897	„	193,276	„	620	„	„
1898	„	202,498	„	643	„	„
1899	„	214,298	„	672	„	„
1900	„	204,286	„	634	„	„
1901	„	210,342	„	645	„	„
1902	„	209,908	„	636	„	„
1903	„	230,180	„	690	„	„
1904	„	227,403	„	674	„	„
1905	„	219,276	„	642	„	„
1906	„	211,493	„	613	„	„

On the other hand, general crime, as distinct from drink offences, shows a tendency towards diminution in proportion to population, as the following Table, compiled from the *Criminal Statistics* of 1906, shows :—

*Total Prosecutions.*

In 1896 they were 720,441 or 2338 per 100,000 of the population

1897	„	749,716	„	2406	„	„
1898	„	796,842	„	2528	„	„
1899	„	811,816	„	2557	„	„
1900	„	770,853	„	2402	„	„
1901	„	792,419	„	2429	„	„
1902	„	787,681	„	2387	„	„
1903	„	803,696	„	2407	„	„
1904	„	807,139	„	2391	„	„
1905	„	791,190	„	2317	„	„
1906	„	760,057	„	2200	„	„

The next Table displays this tendency in a more pronounced form, and is on the whole an encouraging state-

ment of the cumulative effect of the many ameliorative agencies now at work among the masses of the people.

*"Is Crime Decreasing?"*<sup>1</sup>

*Proportions per 100,000 of the population.*

1. Years.	2. Persons Tried for Indictable Offences.	3. Persons Tried for Criminal Non-indictable Offences.	4. Persons Tried for Non-indictable Non-criminal Offences.	5. Crimes Known to Police.
1857-60	262.69	579.92	1165.64	450.09
1861-65	287.96	598.53	1195.50	444.35
1866-70	270.55	601.43	1402.38	435.28
1871-75	223.76	577.58	1696.41	354.53
1876-80	221.69	507.91	1856.44	365.47
1881-85	225.87	455.83	1907.73	354.80
1886-90	201.53	391.77	1775.79	305.21
1891-95	186.05	370.27	1760.45	281.38
1896-00	163.76	331.88	1947.22	249.96
1901-05	175.20	274.25	1936.61	262.42
1905	179.96	249.29	1887.35	277.15

"The figures show a remarkable, and, on the whole, tolerably steady decline. The only rise has been in column 4. This corresponds closely with the rise in County Court complaints, and includes many 'offences' not more reprehensible than the non-payment of debt. Columns 2, 3, and 5 all seem to prove a great improvement."<sup>2</sup> The volume for 1906 (pp. 28-30), on a review of the fifty years 1857-1906 inclusive, shows that whilst thefts remain about the same in number they have declined 40 per cent. in proportion to population; that offences against the person show only a slight tendency to increase; that crimes against property have a steady downward tendency; that arson and forgery are stationary. Burglary and housebreaking are increasing, but this is attributed partially to the system of short sentences, by which the same offenders appear more frequently.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Criminal Statistics*, 1905, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Criminal Statistics*, p. 15.

Non-indictable offences have increased from 329,019 in 1857 to 700,978 in 1906; that is, they have increased 113.05 per cent. against an increase of population of 79.40 per cent. Whilst offences against the Education Acts—of which there could be none in 1857—account for 53,399 of this increase, and contravening police regulations—much more numerous now—account for another large portion of the increase, viz. 93,871, yet by far the largest single item of increase comes from drunkenness, as the figures are 75,859 in 1857, and 211,493 in 1906, that is, an increase of 135,634.

Therefore a careful examination of our criminal statistics reveals that whilst we are improving both absolutely and relatively as regards general crime, yet we are making no appreciable impression upon our black spot of drunkenness. Education, and the general improvement of the people's condition, have heavily reduced certain classes of crime, but they have not yet equally told upon those sections of the community which provide most of our drunkards.

It is impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty what the cost and loss to the nation are of all this drink-caused crime. What is clear is that it is a dead loss to the community, a heavy burden to be carried, a wastage of national resources. In the first place, the police returns by no means gauge the actual amount of drunkenness. Only a small proportion of it comes into their hands. A retired London police officer told the writer that, judging from his personal experience, he should say that only one in fifty of the actual cases of drunkenness came into the hands of the police. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, when giving evidence before the House of Lords Committee on Intemperance, speaking from his experience as Mayor of Birmingham, said that a single turn of the police screw would run up the figures for drunkenness ten times.

Let us assume that ten times the police figures represents the actual number of cases of drunkenness. Assume further that each case represents a separate person, and that each person loses one week from work per annum through drink. At an average wage of 25s. per week, that would mean an annual loss of £2,643,700 to the wage-earners'

resources through drink. Strike off the odd hundred and forty thousand for possible duplication, there still remains an annual loss of £2,500,000. This money the workers might have earned and put in circulation among the shopkeepers. As it was it remained idle in the banks, there being no call for it because of the drunkenness of the wage-earners. Then there is the indirect loss caused by fines, illness, broken furniture, and similar things. This cannot be reasonably estimated at a less amount than the direct loss.

But the mischief does not end there. The idleness of the drinker often entails enforced idleness upon other workers, and the more industrial processes become specialised, the more dependent are the various sections one upon another. In the boot and shoe industry, for instance, where "Saint Monday" has far too long been an institution, the drunkenness of one set of workers easily dislocates the work of a factory, and many may lose money unwillingly through the selfish indulgence of a few.

Let us put this consequential loss at half the amount incurred by the drinkers themselves, say £1,250,000, and the loss to the capitalist at a similar figure. Next there is the cost incurred by the State in the attempted prevention, detection, and punishment of drunkenness and its attendant crimes. Police work and cost would be enormously less than they are but for our drinking customs. A very large proportion of the time of the policeman is taken up with watching the public-house and its customers.

In reply to questions in the House of Commons in the Session of 1908, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Home Secretary, said that the total cost of the police force of England and Wales in 1907 was £5,864,000. Of this amount the local ratepayers found £3,145,000, a sum equal to 1s. in the £ per annum of the local rates. The total cost of dealing with crime in 1907 was as follows:—

Police . . . . .	£5,864,000
Prisons . . . . .	806,680
Reformatories and Industrial Schools . . . . .	428,888
Inebriate Homes . . . . .	55,489
Total . . . . .	<u>£7,155,057</u>

If only one-third of this was due to drink, the cost

represents a heavy, needless, and expensive burden upon the nation, and one which, unfortunately, does not end with the generation which creates it, but perpetuates its malign influence upon generations yet to come.

Summarising the rough and ready estimates we have thus formed, we find as follows:—

The loss of time through drunkenness	. £2,500,000
Cost of fines, illness, broken furniture, &c.	. 2,500,000
Consequent loss entailed on others	. 1,250,000
Lost to the capitalist	. 1,250,000
One-third cost of crime	. 2,385,000
Total	. <u>£9,885,000</u>

Against this there is to be set no real gain. Nothing can compensate the nation for the loss of productive energy, time, home comforts, domestic peace and happiness, and social welfare, such facts as are here represented indicate. The whole proceeding is unrelieved waste and indefensible folly.

## CHAPTER III

### DRINK, POVERTY, AND PAUPERISM

THE enormous dimensions of our national poverty and pauperism are a standing reproach. It cannot be said that it is inevitable, in the nature of things, that year after year one in forty of our population should be a permanent pauper whom the other thirty-nine have to keep, many of whom are on the border-line of pauperism themselves. Illness, misfortune, accident, fluctuations in trade, lowness of wages, irregularity of employment, and changes of fashion, all contribute their quota to the production of paupers. But all combined do not nearly account for the huge burden of pauperism which the Commonwealth has at present to bear.

In 1907 the cost of Poor Law Administration in England and Wales amounted to £13,957,000, or £38,238 per day. Of this amount the local ratepayers had to find £10,575,000, a sum equal to one-sixth of the total amount of the rates received by the local authorities for all purposes. In other words, three shillings and fourpence out of every pound the householder pays in rates goes to a purpose which is mainly unproductive and non-remedial, and, as this chapter will endeavour to show, largely unnecessary because often wantonly self-inflicted.

Here are two Tables which will enable us to trace, on the one hand, the steady increase of national wealth as shown in the incomes from Trades and Professions assessed to Income-Tax, and, on the other hand, the proportion of paupers per 1000 of the population for the same period. The year 1858 is taken as the starting-point, because that is the first year for which the pauperism returns are available on the present method of calculation.

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The first Table is made up from the nineteenth and subsequent volumes of the *Statistical Abstract*.

## *Incomes from Trades and Professions Assessed for Income-Tax.*

Year.	England and Wales.	United Kingdom.	Produce for each rd. of Tax.
	£	£	£
1858	77,503,000	90,839,000	.....
1860	81,921,000	95,439,000	.....
1865	106,898,000	124,075,000	.....
1870	154,174,000	178,378,000	.....
1880	214,466,000	249,489,000	1,846,000
1885	251,351,000	292,524,000	2,002,000
1890	284,051,000	325,316,000	2,141,000
1895	294,570,000	340,559,000	2,033,000
1900	378,225,000	436,253,000	2,353,000
1901	404,902,000	466,189,000	2,475,000
1902	423,473,000	487,731,000	2,531,000
1903	427,375,000	491,646,000	2,535,000
1904	436,721,000	502,402,000	2,562,000
1905	438,583,000	504,567,000	2,580,000
1906	442,874,000	508,664,000	2,633,000
1907	450,611,000	518,669,000	2,666,000

The next Table is from the *Seventieth Report of the Registrar-General, England and Wales*, p. 93.

## *Proportion of Paupers per 1000 Living.*

1858=44.7	1900=21.0
1860=40.1	1901=21.2
1865=41.9	1902=21.3
1870=43.5	1903=21.5
1875=29.7	1904=22.4
1880=28.4	1905=23.0
1885=26.0	1906=22.6
1890=23.8	1907=22.2
1895=24.2	

Looking at these two Tables, it is seen that whilst in the last fifty years the earned income of the nation has increased more than five-fold, the pauperism has been reduced by only one half, and that during the last four years it has shown an increase upon the previous four years.

Here we have a period of prosperity unparalleled in our

history. Factory Acts, Public Health Acts, Education Acts, Sanitary Laws, inventions of machinery and appliances, industrial development, railways, increased facilities for production and distribution, growing income and falling cost of the prime necessities of life—except housing<sup>1</sup>—have all added to the national wealth and prosperity to an extent undreamt of previously. Yet, running side by side with this river of prosperity, we have, as in the case of the Rhone and the Arve at Geneva, a constant flow of poverty and pauperism, the one stream gradually fouling the other. All our advances in wealth have only partially reduced the volume of this muddy stream, the real sources of which remain largely untouched.

Whether poverty is the cause of drunkenness rather than drunkenness the cause of poverty, is a question frequently discussed with more heat than knowledge. That some men drink temporarily to drown the memory of their poverty it would be idle to deny. It enables them to take a short cut from their wretched surroundings into a brief oblivion. But it is equally clear that such drinking only adds to the weight of the poverty which oppresses them, and sinks them still further in the mire.

On the other hand, it would require an absolute shutting of the eyes to our daily experience to say that drunkenness is not a powerful, constant, widespread, and deciding factor in the production of an enormous amount of poverty and pauperism. And of much drinking which falls short of the drunkenness that finds its records in police statistics, the same may be said. For the constant soaking of the system with alcohol frequently cripples a man's physical powers long before the time of their natural decay, shattering his nerves, weakening his will, slackening his energy, and leaving him, like a rudderless ship, to drift into ruin. These unemployables, some of the most hopeless of God's creatures, are largely the product of alcoholism, both in the first and second generation.

Whatever the exact proportion of drink-caused poverty may be—and it is not easy to arrive at even an approxi-

<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, rather an important exception in large cities. Sir Robert Giffen estimated that rent had risen by 150 per cent. in fifty years.

mate estimate—it is wholly self-inflicted and gratuitous, and the community is entitled to take strong measures to protect itself from it.

There is, of course, an economic poverty which arises from causes with which drink may have nothing to do. But it is not a very large percentage of the mass, neither is it so absolutely demoralising in its results, nor so destructive of manhood and virtue, as that which comes from drink indulgence. And certainly, bad as it is, it does not entail such terrible physical and moral results upon the next generation.

What drink-produced pauperism means in individual instances may be shown by giving a few sample cases from the Report of the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Inebriates (Scotland), published in 1895.

Mr. James R. Motion, Acting Inspector of the Poor of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, gave particulars of cases known to himself, to show the close connection between drink and pauperism.

John Hunter, 40, slipper maker, first became chargeable in Edinburgh in 1876, and had been in and out of the poorhouse ever since. "He is a well-known drinker of 'finish,' a sort of methylated spirit. . . . He is a loafer, and never seems to do any work, and is always on the lookout for drink. He has been allowed a weekly alimony, a temporary weekly allowance, to give him a chance to get on his feet, but all to no purpose—he cannot give up drinking."

William McIlroy, 48, hawker, first chargeable in July 1874; had been 124 times in the poorhouse, "remaining chargeable for long periods," and he is "well known to be a confirmed beggar and a lazy character, much addicted to drink."

Terence Cairns, 49, widow, first chargeable in 1870, "and has been almost continually out and in the poorhouse since." She is "a drunken beggar, her field of operations being principally about the city bars, her get-up being that of a frail old woman. She is very drunken, and has often been in prison."

Jane McPoland, 34, weaver. Since 1878 she has oscillated between prison (mostly for drunkenness) and the

poorhouse. She is known to parochial and police officials "as an incorrigible person, who never works, and when in the poorhouse neither persuasion nor strictness seems to have any effect upon her, and having a mad craving for drink, she frequently discharges herself when sufficiently recovered for another 'booze.'"

On the question of the proportion of pauperism due to drink, some instructive evidence was given by several witnesses. For instance, Mr. A. Dempster, Inspector of Poor, Glasgow, said: "We have 1400 poor this morning, and I think about half of these have come in from intemperate habits."

Mr. John T. Strang, Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, Glasgow, was asked:—

"Putting aside the thoroughly bad character, and taking the drunken and indolent cases: whether do you think drunkenness or indolence contributes most of the people coming within your scope?" *Answer*: "Drunkenness. There is a larger percentage of drunkenness than indolence."

Mr. Alexander McAdie, Manager of the Glasgow Night Asylum, said: "A goodly number of our cases are owing to intemperance. The women are mostly deserted wives. In many of these cases we trace it back to intemperance; the woman has been drinking and the husband has left her."

In 1904 it was reported that 3286 men were admitted to the Barnhill Poorhouse, Glasgow, who were neither old, infirm, nor physically unfit for work; but 97 per cent. admitted being more or less addicted to drink.<sup>1</sup>

And Mr. Mott, in his evidence before the old Poor Law Commission, went even further than these Scottish witnesses: "I have made pauperism my special study, and, after careful examination, I am convinced that nine-tenths of the cases are caused, directly or indirectly, by drink."

In 1869 the Committee on Intemperance of the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury reported as follows:—"It appears, indeed, that at least 75 per cent. of the occupants of our workhouses, and a large proportion of those receiving out-door pay, have

<sup>1</sup> *National Temperance League's Annual*, 1905, p. 110.

become pensioners on the public, directly or indirectly, through drunkenness, and the improvidence or absence of self-respect which this pestilent vice is known to engender and perpetuate."

Mr. Charles Booth's monumental work on the *Labour and Life of the People*, for the first time gave a clear, well arranged, and carefully sifted mass of facts relating to the genesis and extent of poverty, based on first-hand inquiries. In Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, Mile End, Old Town, Poplar, and Hackney there was at the time of his inquiry a population of 891,000, of whom no less than 316,000, or 35 per. cent., belonged to families earning less than 21s. per week. All these he classes as "poor," and again subdivides them into four sections, A, B, C, and D.

Section A, at the bottom, comprises about 11,000 persons, or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the whole. They are thus described:—

"Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess. Their food is of the coarsest description, and their only luxury is drink. It is not easy to say how they live; the living is picked up, and what is got is frequently shared; when they cannot find 3d. for their night's lodging, unless favourably known to the deputy, they are turned out at night into the street, to return to the common kitchen in the morning. From these come the battered figures who slouch through the streets, and play the beggar or the bully, or help to foul the record of the unemployed; these are the worst class of corner-men, who hang round the doors of public-houses, the young men who spring forward on any chance to earn a copper, the ready materials for disorder when occasion serves. They render no useful service; they create no wealth; more often they destroy it."<sup>1</sup>

Section B numbers 100,000, or  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the whole. Most of these are incapable of regular, steady work. They are broken-down, shiftless men and women, many of the latter being deserted wives. (We have already seen that it is their drunkenness which causes many of these to be deserted.) The whole mass is dependent upon casual

<sup>1</sup> *Labour and Life of the People*, vol. i. p. 38.

earnings, amounting to less than 18s. per week. Mr. Booth writes of these 100,000 as follows:—

“It may not be too much to say that if the whole of Class B were swept out of existence, all the work they do could be done, together with their own work, by the men, women, and children of Classes C and D; that all they earn and spend might be earned, and could very easily be spent, by the classes above them; that these classes, and especially Class C, would be immensely better off, while no class, nor any industry, would suffer in the least.”

A verdict which is a terrible condemnation of our Christian civilisation.

It will not seriously be denied that drink enters largely into both the production and perpetuation of these two classes. They are not purely the product of economic causes. Moral causes, as distinct from economic, play their part. And whilst it may be practically impossible to arrive at any close approximate percentage of the cases due directly or indirectly to drink, it is obvious that it is a powerful influence, responsible for a very large proportion.

Mr. Booth's investigations indicate drink as a cause of a much smaller proportion of poverty than personal observation would have led one to expect. This may be partly explained by the fact that it is often a contributory cause where it is not admitted to be the prime cause. And there is the further consideration, that the acknowledgment of drink as a cause of their poverty involves an implied moral censure upon themselves which most of the victims desire to avoid. The temptation is therefore a very natural and a very strong one to keep it in the background wherever possible.

In the “final volume” of his inquiry, *Notes on Social Influences* (p. 71), Mr. Booth writes thus:—

“Upon the connection of poverty, or at any rate the poverty that seeks charitable relief, with drink, the statements are uncompromising. A Wesleyan minister, referring to claims on their relief fund, stated that in almost every application the necessity was traced ultimately to drink, on the part of man, or wife, or both.

"A Congregationalist says that 'he came to London believing that the influence of drink was much exaggerated, but has been convinced that it is at the root of all the poverty and distress with which they come into contact ; with every case of distress that is relieved they always find afterwards that drink has been the cause of leakage.'

"A Church of England vicar speaks of it as 'the great trouble ; the main cause of all the poverty. In almost every application for relief there is a history of drink.' He began with a determination not to help when either parent was a drunkard, but has found this impossible. Apart from drunkenness, he emphasised the fearful extravagance in drink.

"A lay Church worker, while agreeing that though there might be no actual decrease in drinking, 'there were fewer outward signs of drunkenness in the streets,' said that 'in almost every case that came under his notice for assistance there was a history of drink, not necessarily in the life of the actual applicant, but at least somewhere in the background.'

"And a Relieving Officer of an adjoining Union confirms this, saying that 'though there is less rowdiness, the general habits of drinking have not decreased,' and that in his experience 'in all applications for relief, except from widows, cripples, and the aged, the ultimate, if not immediate, cause of poverty is drink.'

"I could multiply evidence such as this," concludes Mr. Booth, "and the great part played by drink in the genesis of poverty cannot be denied."

In his *Pauperism and the Endowment of old Age*, Mr. Booth has these significant words: "Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must, therefore, be accounted the most prolific of all causes ; and it is the least necessary" (pp. 140-141).

Mr. B. S. Rowntree, in his *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*, furnishes further important evidence of "the great part

played by drink in the genesis of poverty." He divides the poverty of York, to which city his investigations are confined, into four sections, A, B, C, D.

Class A—656 families—is at the bottom of the scale, where the average family earnings are only 8s. 4½d. per week. Of these 656 families no less than 182 households are dependent entirely upon public or private charity. In Class D, at the other end of the scale, the average family earnings are 41s. 9¼d. per week.

"There is more drinking in Class B than in Class A, but this does not imply a lower moral standard. People in Class A are for the most part so absolutely destitute that they could not get much drink even if they wished." (It may here be remarked in passing that in this class, at all events, poverty is not the cause of drunkenness, by whatever means that poverty was produced.) "And in Class B, as we have seen above, the money for drink can only be found, in the great majority of cases, by foregoing some other expenditure which is necessary for maintaining the family in a state of physical efficiency" (p. 58).

In Class B the average family income is 19s. 9d. per week. Any expenditure on drink out of such an income must certainly subtract from the necessities of life, and to that extent prepare the drinkers for the ranks of the unemployables and the permanent army of paupers.

Of Class D, which "consists largely of skilled workers," Mr. Rowntree says: "There is, practically speaking, no poverty in Class D except such as is caused by drink, gambling, and other wasteful expenditure, the latter due in some cases to ignorance of domestic economy. There is no doubt that the average weekly expenditure upon alcoholic drink by the families in Class D is considerable" (p. 73). In a footnote he adds: "There are, of course, some families belonging to Class D who spend the bulk of their money in drink or gambling, and who are in consequence living in small houses in the slums." Thus drink feeds the slums, in spite of good wages and skilled workmanship.

On p. 178 Mr. Rowntree returns to this aspect, saying: "Undoubtedly in a certain number of cases overcrowding

is due to wasteful expenditure of the household income upon drink and gambling."

When he comes to investigate the causes of "secondary" poverty, Mr. Rowntree puts drink first on the list. "There can be but little doubt . . . that the predominant factor is drink" (p. 142).

The heavy drinking, with its consequent industrial inefficiency and poverty, of so large a portion of "that section of our population upon which the social and industrial development of England largely depends" (p. 79), presents a problem of the gravest and most urgent national importance, which no Government can afford to ignore.

In Manchester, some years ago, a detailed examination was made by Alderman McDougall into the direct causes of pauperism. He inquired into the history of a large number of cases, and found that 51 per cent. of them were directly due to drink. If anything like this proportion holds good for the whole of the country, there can be no other single cause comparable in importance to drink.

The recent Report of the Poor Law Commission furnishes much evidence of a confirmatory character to that just quoted.

"A great weight of evidence indicates drink as the most potent and universal factor in bringing about pauperism. Some witnesses also indicate gambling as a serious and growing cause; but gambling, though it wastes the resources of its victims, does not lead to such physical and moral degradation as drink" (pp. 221-2).

Mr. Wethered, Local Government Board Inspector, offered the following evidence:—

"The more that one inquires into the history of workhouse inmates, the more one is struck with the fact that drinking is one of the chief causes of pauperism. In support of this statement I have selected two workhouses, not because they are exceptional in the number of inmates addicted to inebriety, but rather because they are well administered workhouses, and the character of the inmates typical of paupers generally. I am indebted to the respective masters for the details."

Summarised, their statements were as follow:—

Workhouse I. Excluding children, imbeciles, and those in the infirmary, there were in this workhouse 170 men and 109 women, a total of 279. Of these, 74 men and 36 women were in the workhouse as the direct result of intemperance, that is to say, 43 per cent. of the males and 33 per cent. of the females.

Workhouse II. There were in this house 258 men and 158 women, a total of 416. Of this number 175 men and 20 women were in the workhouse as the direct result of intemperance. That is to say, over 67 per cent. of the males and over 12 per cent. of the females. The master further stated that of these 416 inmates, 205 could not be allowed out for a day's leave without it being probable that they would return the worse for drink.

Taking the proportions of the two workhouses together, 39 per cent. of the inmates were there as the direct result of drink.

To resume the Poor Law Commission Report, paragraph 533 states:—

“As an instance of the far-reaching effects of drink in creating pauperism, we may quote the following case:

“Widow, four children. Eldest boy thirty-one, now in the Union Infirmary, an imbecile. Daughter weak, bad eyes for years, and been sent to the Ophthalmia Hospital, and partly recovered and now in service. Son living at home, carter, but drinks. Son aged ten at school. Father dead some years, was a notorious drinker, constantly before the magistrates and fined. Was an invalid for the last seven years, and he, or his wife and family, on out-relief list for 16 or 17 years. I estimate this one case has cost from £250 to £300, and is, in my opinion, due to the drinking habits of the father, though to any one not knowing the history it would not be so classed. I believe this is typical of many.”

Par. 534. “Pages of evidence might be quoted to the same effect; but perhaps the most striking corroboration is to be found in the unanimity with which the replies we have received from the Diocesan Conferences lay stress upon drink as one of the chief causes, often as the chief

cause, of poverty. We may quote the following summary of replies from 445 parishes in the Diocese of Peterborough as typical :—

“The chief *moral* cause of poverty in town and country alike is said to be excessive drinking—want of thrift, and bad management often, early and improvident marriages or gambling sometimes, accompanying it; in fact, in many parishes the reply on this point is practically that what little poverty exists is almost solely due to the drinking habits of the few, whose families suffer in consequence. Even when there is little actual drunkenness, the proportion of weekly wages regularly taken to the public-house is said to keep many families always poor.”

A Relieving Officer from Leeds, in enumerating the most important causes of pauperism, includes intemperance, and adds: “And in this I find females to be the worst offenders. Many men are perforce paupers by the intemperance of their wives.” He continues: “Cases are not wanting to show that pauperism is hereditary—two generations being quite common, and third generations occasionally occur.”

In a Report prepared for the Commission by Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland and Miss R. E. Squire, His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, on “The Relation of Industrial and Sanitary Conditions to Pauperism in London,” casual and irregular employment is stated to be the chief cause of pauperism. But with regard to demoralisation of character and the contributory influence of intemperance, the Inspectors state that “of cases interviewed for us in London workhouses, excluding workhouse infirmaries, 1433 were selected as having provided results that were sufficiently reliable for analysis. These 1433 cases consisted of 867 men, including 387 skilled and 480 unskilled workers, and 566 women. Of the 387 skilled men, 300 showed evidence of drink and 93 were classed as complete drunkards. Of the 480 unskilled men, 318 showed evidence of drink and 72 were drunkards. 293 of the 566 women showed evidence of drink, of whom 80 were drunkards. Expressed as percentages, evidence of drink and drunkenness was forthcoming in 78 per cent. and 24 per cent. respectively of the

skilled men, 67 per cent. and 13 per cent. of the unskilled men, and 52 per cent. and 14 per cent. of the women."

"Take away casual labour and drink," add the Inspectors, "and you can shut up three-quarters of the workhouses."

The last year for which the Returns for England and Wales are available is 1907. For the year ending 30th September 1907 there received Poor Law Relief 1,709,436 persons, or 4.9 per cent. of the estimated population.

Taking England and Wales as a whole, one person in each twenty of the population received some form of parish relief, but in London the proportion was as high as one in fourteen, truly a terrible record.

Summing up our consideration of pauperism as a national burden, its proportions and cost, we extract from various volumes of the *Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom*, the following bird's-eye view of it during the generation past.

The figures are for the United Kingdom.

Year.	Population in Millions.	Total Paupers.	Paupers per 10,000 of Population.	Total Cost of Poor Relief.	Cost per Head of Population.
				£	s. d.
1871	31.5	1,237,353	393	9,558,000	6 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1881	34.9	1,010,473	290	10,155,000	5 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1891	37.7	955,843	253	10,566,000	5 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1901	41.5	979,600	236	14,444,000	6 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1906	43.7	1,091,013	251	16,741,000	7 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
1907	44.0	1,090,421	249	16,668,000	7 6 $\frac{3}{4}$

This Table covers two periods of great industrial prosperity in the United Kingdom, indeed the two most prosperous periods we have ever known. If, therefore, pauperism were due to economic causes only, we ought to have seen a great diminution in its extent and cost. Whereas during the years 1881 to 1907 the percentage has been reduced by '41 only, whilst the cost of maintenance has increased by nearly 50 per cent., and the cost per head of the population is higher by 1s. 9d. Of course the figures point, to some extent, to a more generous and humane

administration of the law in response to the demands of public opinion. But their serious aspect is that there is no appreciable diminution of this terrible handicap upon our industrial and commercial progress and efficiency. They represent to a large extent—certainly anything up to 50 per cent. of the total—a cost and loss not naturally incidental to our industrial conditions and not produced by them, but due to social and moral causes which are removable at will, and the deplorable results of which are strictly self-inflicted.

What is the total annual cost and loss of drink-caused poverty and pauperism? It seems reasonable to assume that half of it is due to drink, and that at least as much is lost to the nation through the failure to earn their living of drink-produced paupers. Then there is the amount of money expended in private charity. Taking these various items into account, the annual cost to the nation cannot be less than £15,000,000.

“I know that there are many,” said Ruskin, “who think the atmosphere of misery which wraps the lower orders of Europe more closely every day as natural a phenomenon as a hot summer. But God forbid. There are ills ‘which flesh is heir to, and troubles to which a man is born,’ but the troubles which he is born to are as sparks which fly upward, not as flames burning to the nethermost hell. The poor we must have with us always, and sorrow is inseparable from any hour of life; but we may make their poverty such as shall inherit the earth, and the sorrow such as shall be hallowed by the hand of the Comforter with everlasting comfort. We can, if we will but shake off this lethargy and dreaming that is upon us, and take the pains to think and act like men.”

## CHAPTER IV

### LUNACY AND DRINK

THE Sixty-second Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, issued in June 1908, like its predecessors, contains much food for thought for the social reformer.

The wreck of the human mind is one of the most unmitigated tragedies of man's experience in this world. Even death may have its compensations, but this particular "ill that flesh is heir to" has none. Whether the figures here summarised prove conclusively that lunacy is actually on the increase among us, the Commissioners appear to doubt at present. They are certainly open to that interpretation, but the Commissioners hesitate about giving a decided verdict, although the evidence points steadily in that direction.

On 1st January 1908, there were in England and Wales 126,084 certified insane persons, of whom 58,335, or 46.3 per cent., were males, and 67,749, or 53.7 per cent., were females, a total 2096 in excess of the number certified on 1st January 1907.

This most regrettable increase appears to have been well distributed throughout the land, for of the sixty-three administrative counties into which the country is divided, forty reported an increase amounting to 1297 cases, whilst twenty-one reported a decrease of only 327, and two remained stationary.

The county of London showed an increase of 410 as against 356 for the previous year (1906), a percentage increase of 1.6, whilst Middlesex showed a percentage increase of 6.5.

Of the seventy-two county boroughs, no less than fifty-three reported an increase of 874, whilst only seventeen

showed a decrease, amounting to 165, and two showed no change.

Of the nineteen non-county boroughs, twelve returned an increase of 72 cases, five had a decrease of 26 cases, and two returned the same figures as in the previous year. Thus the administrative counties showed an increase in 63.49 per cent. of their number, the county boroughs in 73.61 per cent. of their number, and the non-county boroughs in 63.15 per cent. of their number.

A glance at the returns for the past ten years shows at once how steady this increase has been, and how the rate of increase tends to accelerate year by year.

Year.	Number of Insane.	Actual Increase per Annum.	Increase Per Cent. on 1898.
1898	101,972	...	...
1899	105,086	3114	3.0
1900	106,611	1525	4.5
1901	107,944	1333	5.8
1902	110,713	2769	8.5
1903	113,964	3251	11.7
1904	117,199	3235	14.9
1905	119,829	2630	17.5
1906	121,979	2150	19.6
1907	123,988	2009	21.6
1908	126,084	2096	23.7

The average annual increase for the ten years was therefore 2411. Since 1905 the average rate of increase has been slightly below the mean of the last ten years.

Going back still farther, these facts appear. In 1859 there were 36,762 certified insane in England and Wales, whilst on 1st January 1908 there were 126,084, or an increase of 243 per cent. In the same period the population had increased by only 79.6 per cent., a sufficiently striking contrast. At the beginning of 1908 the insane were 1 to 280 of the population, or 36.67 per 10,000. In 1859 they were 1 to 535 of the population, and 18.67 per 10,000 respectively.

In the last ten years, covered by the Table just given, the

ratio to population has greatly increased, having risen from 1 to each 309 of the population, to 1 for each 280. The actual increase of population during the same period has been 12.2 per cent., as estimated by the Commissioners, but the number of insane increased by 23.7 per cent. This fact is the more serious, when it is remembered that the death-rate of the insane is six times as high as that of the community as a whole. Even when all due allowance is made for the great improvement in the care of the insane which has taken place during the last fifty years, and admitting the fact that many who were then left outside all public institutions would be included now, the facts here set out seem to point to an unmistakable actual and proportionate increase of insanity in this country.

The sex division of the insane is 46.3 males to 53.7 females. In the general community the percentages are 48.4 males to 51.6 females, so that there is an excess of insanity among females. About one-fourth of all in institutions are under 35 years of age.

The cost of the care of the insane is as follows. The average weekly charge for maintaining the patients, exclusive of repairs, additions, and alterations, is thus given by the Commissioners:—

	s.	d.	
In county asylums . . . .	9	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	per head.
In borough asylums . . . .	10	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	„
In both taken together . . . .	10	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	„

an amount which includes  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per head per week expended upon wines, spirits, and porter.

The Commissioners sanctioned during the year 1907 the expenditure of £130,476 in nine different areas for the erection of additions to old establishments, equal to an average cost of £105, 15s. per bed provided. A new asylum, to accommodate 1114 patients, was sanctioned also, estimated to cost £270,259, or an average of £242, 12s. per bed provided. These two items give an average cost per bed in old and new establishments combined of £174, 3s. 6d. Spread over the whole country, this is equivalent to a capital expenditure of £21,960,680, which, at 4 per cent. per annum, means an annual charge of

£878,427. If we add to this the cost of maintaining the patients, at 10s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per head—£3,298,672—we get an annual expenditure on the care of the insane of £4,177,099.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons in August 1908, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Home Secretary, stated that the total national expenditure on asylums was £3,609,685, but London was omitted from these figures. The cost of dealing with lunacy in the Metropolis for the year ending 31st March 1907 was over £566,000. Together these two items represent an expenditure of £4,175,685, of which three-quarters—or £3,131,500—was found by the local ratepayer. Therefore we may say with certainty, that the direct annual cost of lunacy in England and Wales amounts to £4,170,000.

The causes of insanity are carefully reported upon by the Commissioners year by year, in Tables which give the average of five years. The Table for the years 1902-6—both inclusive—gives the results of investigation into 21,906 cases, of which 10,682 were males and 11,224 females. "Intemperance in drink" stands first in the ascertainable causes of insanity among men, being directly responsible for 21.9 per cent. of the cases. It stands fourth of the causes of insanity amongst women, being responsible in 8.9 instances per cent. "Hereditary influence" stands first among the causes of female insanity. It is, however, a generally admitted fact that drink is a powerful factor in producing that "hereditary influence" which leads to so much insanity in both sexes, but particularly among females. "These 'causes,'" say the Commissioners, "are not taken from the 'statements' in the papers of admission of the patients, but are those which have been verified by the medical officers in the asylums."<sup>1</sup>

Assuming that the figures, 21.9 per cent. of males and 8.9 per cent. of females, cover the whole of our drink-produced insanity—a bold assumption—we find that 12,775 males and 6029 females—18,804 persons—are now suffering from insanity produced by "intemperance in drink." How much is indirectly due to the same cause it is impos-

<sup>1</sup> *Sixty-first Report*, p. 146.

sible to say, but it is certainly found as a secondary cause in a large number of cases which are not directly attributed to it. But this is not all. Short of insanity, there is an enormous amount of brain damage caused by indulgence in alcoholic beverages, which results in accidents, loss of employment, imperfect workmanship, idleness, vagrancy, and premature loss of mental power, which no Government returns can show, but which is an enormous drain upon the commercial resources of the country.

In the Lunacy Commissioners Report for 1905, it is shown that for the years 1899-1903 intemperance was assigned as a cause of insanity in 22.7 per cent. of the cases of males, and of 9.4 per cent. of the cases of females. "It should be borne in mind," say the Commissioners, "that such intemperance is frequently as much an effect of brain weakness as a cause, and the intermingling of these renders it impossible to arrive at precise conclusions. *In any case, it cannot be denied that alcohol is a brain poison*, and it is therefore incumbent to show what part it plays in insanity."

Independent medical inquiries invariably result in the discovery of the close and fatal connection between drink and insanity. Let a few of these witnesses speak.

"Drunkenness and insanity have an intimate though many-sided relation. In the 'pedigree of disease,' in family records, and in the life-history of the individual, they interchange and react on each other like inseparable twin-diseases, and bear a strong family resemblance in many of their features."<sup>1</sup>

One of the most important pieces of evidence on the close connection between drunkenness and insanity, as cause and effect, is given by Dr. Clouston in his Annual Reports of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum.

Writing in 1890 he said: "Taking the admissions to the West House alone—that is, working people chiefly—and confining the inquiry to men between twenty-five and sixty, the chief wage-earning period of life, I find that 53 of the total of 124, or 42.7 per cent., were of those in which alcoholic excess was assigned as the pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Drunkenness*, G. R. Wilson, M.B., pp. 44-5.

disposing or exciting cause. . . . Alcoholic excess is the most frequent single exciting cause of mental disease, it acts also as a predisposing cause in very many cases. During the past fifteen years we have had 837 admissions in whom drink has been put down as the cause, or 16.4 per cent. of all our admissions during that time. This may be taken as about the general experience of the country."

In his Report for 1903 Dr. Clouston had still more startling figures to record. "Alcoholic insanity steadily goes up," he wrote. "This year no less than 42.3 per cent. of all our men, and 18 per cent. of our women—much the largest proportion we ever had experience of—had excess in alcohol assigned as the cause of their insanity. In the five years 1873-77, the percentage of alcoholic cases was only 18.5 among the men and 10.4 among the women admissions; it has steadily gone up, and now it has doubled. No explanation will account for this but the one, that certain classes of our population are drinking to greater excess than they did, and in doing so are, many of them, destroying their sanity. . . . The mental doctor sees the very worst that alcohol can do. No bodily disease, no family ruin, no social catastrophe is so bad as the destruction of the mind. 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."

Neither are the ravages of intemperance confined to one generation; they entail a frightful inheritance upon succeeding generations. Dr. Strahan, in his *Marriage and Disease*, says:

"Dr. Howe, upon careful investigation, found that 50 per cent. of all the idiots in the State of Massachusetts examined by him, were children of intemperate parents. Dr. Fletcher Beach sets down drunkenness, either alone or associated with some other obliquity of nature, as the cause of 25 per cent. of all the idiocy received into the Dareuth Asylum, and with this estimate almost every other observer agrees."

Dr. G. R. Wilson, in his book *Drunkenness*, from which we have already quoted, thus sums up his conclusions on this aspect of the case :—

“That the physiological transgressions of the parent should initiate organic degeneration in his family, whose impairments tend to eliminate his offspring from the sphere of active life and terminate the tainted stock, is a natural law in which there is much obvious good. But it must not be forgotten that, in the intermediate stages of the process, the results of intemperance include a series of constitutional imperfections in posterity, far short of anything of which the law takes cognisance, but none the less fatal to sound conceptions of life and duty, and incompatible with right conduct and good citizenship” (pp. 47–8).

Dr. Wilson here touches upon one important aspect of the subject almost entirely lost sight of in the frequent discussions which take place. The nation not only suffers the direct loss of the certified lunatic, who ceases to be a producer and becomes a burden, but, short of his case, there is a loss of will power, of control, of virile intelligence, of a sense of public duty and responsibility, of such service to the community as it is entitled to claim from all citizens as the need arises, and of a weakened moral restraint, all of which are not cognisable by law, but which nevertheless represent a distinct and serious loss to the community at large. Such loss can never be stated in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence, but it is an unmitigated calamity to the nation nevertheless, and one which is wantonly and gratuitously self-inflicted by our national indulgence in alcohol.

In the Eighth Annual Report of the Asylums Committee of the London County Council (pp. 34–5), one of the medical officers expresses the following emphatic opinion :—

“As to drink, the state of its horrors is not confined to present victims, but in an unsparing degree is propagated among future generations ; and something is urgently needed to galvanise the nation’s self-control in this direction. Preventive medicine now enters largely into the duties of the State, and the great increase in drink insanities calls, in my

opinion, for a more stringent action on its part to promote its own sobriety."

Dr. Robert Jones, in a paper on "Mental Dissolution," said that during the first nine years (1893-1901) of the London County Council's Asylum at Claybury, of which he was medical superintendent, 8493 patients were admitted, of whom 21.2 per cent. of the males and 12.6 per cent. of the females were definitely ascertained to owe their insanity to drink. Thus over 800 men and 594 women were rendered incapable of performing their duties to their families and to the community by their own vicious indulgence.

For the whole of London, during the same period, there were admitted to the various County Council Asylums 2662 men and 1677 women who owed their insanity to intemperance. That is, nearly 500 persons per annum fell out of the ranks of the workers of the Metropolis, and became pauper lunatics, from this one terrible scourge alone.

The next year, 1902, the number was largely increased, the returns to the County Council showing 716 cases due to drink.

Dr. Mercier put the close connection between drink and lunacy—the connection of cause and effect—with striking force at the British Medical Association's Annual Meeting at Swansea in 1903. He said: "By means of alcohol we could produce insanity at will, and many varieties of it. If a sufficient quantity were given rapidly, the subject became furiously insane."

Dr. Claye Shaw, in a paper contributed to the *British Journal of Inebriety* (October 1903), thus summarised some of the consequences entailed upon the next generation:—

"French authors have shown that alcohol, as alcohol, passes in considerable quantities into the foetus, and that non-developments, monstrosities, and malformations are brought about in the alcoholised foetus. . . . The experience at the Bicêtre Hospital was that 41 per cent. of the idiot and imbecile children had drunken parents. . . . Dr. Sullivan mentioned a case within his experience where the elder members of a family were quite sound mentally,

but the younger ones neurotic, impulsive, and distinctly degenerate, the mother having in the meantime become an inebriate."

Such, in brief outline, is the story of the heritage of woe the nation entails upon itself by its drinking habits. Granted that only one-third of this great total is directly due to drink, to eliminate that one-third would confer an immense benefit on the nation and remove the burden of suffering from numerous families. Beyond all reasonable dispute, alcohol must be labelled as the deadly enemy of the human mind, of its inventiveness, ingenuity, and adaptability; of its power of insight and foresight; and, indeed, of its very existence as an instrument of human progress.

From the commercial point of view, loss of brain power, whether in whole or in part, is loss of the vital means of prosperity, loss of the great wealth-producing faculty. Whilst liquor consumption piles up wealth "beyond the dreams of avarice" for the drink manufacturer, it in very fact reduces the productivity of the capital of other manufacturers, and thrives at their expense.

NOTE.—Whilst this book is going through the press *The Sixty-third Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy* is published.

From this it appears that on January 1, 1909, there were 128,787 certified insane in the public institutions of England and Wales, an increase of 2703 in the year. The average increase of the past 10 years was 2370, therefore the rate of increase for 1908 was 333 in excess of the annual average of the decennium. The argument of this chapter is, therefore, strengthened and not weakened by the latest returns.

## CHAPTER V

### ALCOHOL AND DISEASE

It is stating a commonplace to say that, during the last hundred years, scientific and medical knowledge have so rapidly increased that the incidence of disease, its duration and permanent or fatal effects, have been reduced to an almost incalculable extent. Civilisation, it is true, has brought some diseases in its train peculiar to itself. But the balance of gain is enormous. This improved knowledge has in no small degree added to the wealth-producing powers of the nation, and at the same time reduced some of its most irksome burdens. For one of the greatest handicaps a nation has to contend against is the prevalence of disease. It is not a question of the suffering only. It is a great economic loss, an effective and permanent check on the processes of production.

The national cost and loss entailed by disease are even more difficult to estimate than in the case of the other national burdens we have been considering. They appear in no Government returns in the tangible form of cash value. The cost of disease is in the main borne by private resources. Its results are, for that reason, impossible to trace with exact accuracy over a wide field.

The spread of sanitary knowledge, and the higher standards insisted upon by the civic authorities, are stamping out what may be called filth diseases. Epidemics, which used to sweep away thousands, are now practically unknown among us.

On the other hand, nervous diseases, diseases of the brain and of the lungs, and cancer, largely encouraged by the glut of population in great towns, and the consequent strenuous life in atmospheres deficient in oxygen, still baffle

the physician and surgeon, and take heavy toll of the life and working capacity of the nation. It is in such classes of disease that alcohol plays so active a part, either as weakening the power of resistance of the human frame against attack, or as an active agent in the production of these fell scourges of mankind.

Urban conditions doubtless provide alcohol with victims who fall more easily to its assaults than do those who live in the fresh air of the country. And that fact increases the urgent necessity for reform.

There is not, as yet, absolute unanimity among expert medical men as to the baneful effects of alcohol, its responsibility for the production of disease, and its non-necessity for healthy, vigorous life. But there is a much nearer approach to unanimity than has ever hitherto been the case, and the steady, unvarying tendency of that opinion which is based upon experiment and expert evidence, is undoubtedly against alcohol being considered as of the slightest dietetic use in the human economy. In the main, the medical opinion which favours the habitual beverage use of alcoholic liquors is founded upon preconceived or carelessly accepted notions, and is not the result of first-hand scientific investigation.

Three generations back pioneers of medical research directed public attention to this question. In 1839 the following declaration was issued, signed by seventy-eight medical and scientific men, many of whom held high positions in their professions:—

“An opinion handed down from rude and ignorant times, and imbibed by Englishmen from their youth, has become very general, that the habitual use of some portion of alcoholic drink, as of wine, beer, or spirits, is beneficial to health, and even necessary to those who are subjected to habitual labour.

“Anatomy, physiology, and the experience of all ages and countries, when properly examined, must satisfy every mind well informed in medical science, that the above opinion is altogether erroneous.

“Man, in ordinary health, like other animals, requires not any such stimulants, and cannot be benefited by the

habitual employment of any quantity of them, large or small; nor will their use during his lifetime increase the aggregate amount of his labour. In whatever quantity they are employed, they will rather tend to diminish it."

Eight years later—1847—a further declaration was issued, in the form of four propositions, signed by over two thousand medical men of the United Kingdom and India. It was in the following terms:—

"1. That a very large proportion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic and fermented liquors as beverages.

"2. That the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all intoxicating beverages, whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, beer, ale, porter, cider, &c.

"3. That persons accustomed to such drinks may, with perfect safety, discontinue them entirely, either at once, or gradually after a short time.

"4. That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic beverages of all sorts would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race."

The next authoritative expression of medical opinion was made in 1871, when the question of its medicinal use was raised, as being one of the gravest importance. The signatures to this declaration included those of George Borrow, M.D., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician Extraordinary to Queen Victoria; George Busk, F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons; and nearly three hundred of the most eminent members of the Faculty in London:—

"As it is believed that the inconsiderate prescription of large quantities of alcoholic liquids by medical men for their patients has given rise, in many instances, to the formation of intemperate habits, the undersigned, while unable to abandon the use of alcohol in the treatment of certain cases of disease, are yet of opinion that no medical practitioner should prescribe it without a sense of grave responsibility. They believe that alcohol, in whatever form, should be prescribed with as much care as any powerful drug, and

that the directions for its use should be so framed as not to be interpreted as a sanction for excess, or necessarily for the continuance of its use when the occasion is past.

"They are also of opinion that many people immensely exaggerate the value of alcohol as an article of diet, and since no class of men see so much of its ill-effects, and possess such power to restrain its abuse, as members of their own profession, they hold that every medical practitioner is bound to exert his utmost influence to inculcate habits of great moderation in the use of alcoholic liquids.

"Being also firmly convinced that the great amount of drinking alcoholic liquors among the working classes of this country is one of the greatest evils of the day, destroying, more than anything else, the health, happiness, and welfare of those classes, and neutralising, to a large extent, the great industrial prosperity which Providence has placed within the reach of this nation, the undersigned would gladly support any wise legislation which would tend to restrict within proper limits the use of alcoholic beverages, and gradually introduce habits of temperance."

Another declaration was issued in 1887, at the International Medical Congress held in Washington, D.C. It was signed by the President of the Congress and seventy-seven medical men from various countries. On one point it went further than any previous manifesto had done, by calling attention to the deleterious influence of alcohol upon the offspring of drinkers.

"In view of the alarming prevalence and ill-effects of intemperance, which have called forth from eminent physicians the world over the voice of warning, we declare that we believe that alcohol should be classed with other powerful drugs; that when prescribed medicinally it should be with a conscientious caution, and a sense of grave responsibility; that the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage is productive of a large amount of physical disease; that it entails diseased appetites upon offspring; and that it is a cause of a large percentage of the crime and pauperism in our cities and country."

The last manifesto we shall quote was issued by the British Medical Temperance Association at the opening of

this century. It was the result of consultations with Medical Temperance Associations of the Continent and America, and was signed by doctors from the following countries in the numbers annexed:—United Kingdom, 332; United States, 206; Germany, 99; Russia, 40; Switzerland, 35; Austria-Hungary, 17; Sweden, 15; Denmark, 13; Holland 2, and France 1, making a total of 724.

It was in the following terms:—

“In view of the terrible evils which have resulted from the consumption of alcohol, evils which, in many parts of the world, are rapidly increasing, we, members of the Medical Profession, feel it to be our duty, as being, in some sense, the guardians of the public health, to speak plainly of the nature of alcohol, and of the injury to the individual and the danger to the community which arise from the prevalent use of intoxicating liquors as beverages.

“We think it ought to be known by all that—

“1. Experiments have demonstrated that even a small quantity of alcoholic liquor, either immediately or after a short time, prevents perfect mental action and interferes with the functions of the cells and tissues of the body, impairing self-control by producing progressive paralysis of the judgment and of the will; and having other markedly injurious effects. Hence alcohol must be regarded as a poison, and ought not to be classed among foods.

“2. Observation establishes the fact that a moderate use of alcoholic liquors, continued over a number of years, produces a gradual deterioration of the tissues of the body, and hastens the changes which old age brings, thus increasing the average liability to disease (especially to infectious disease), and shortening life.

“3. Total abstainers, other conditions being similar, can perform more work, possess greater powers of endurance, have, on the average, less sickness, and recover more quickly, than non-abstainers, especially from infectious diseases, whilst they altogether escape diseases specially caused by alcohol.

“4. All the bodily functions of man, as of every other animal, are best performed in the absence of alcohol, and any supposed experience to the contrary is founded on

delusion, a result of the action of alcohol on the nerve centres.

"5. Further, alcohol tends to produce in the offspring of drinkers an unstable nervous system, lowering them mentally, morally, and physically. Thus, deterioration of the race threatens us, and this is likely to be greatly accelerated by the alarming increase of drinking among women, who have hitherto been little addicted to this vice. Since the mothers of the coming generation are thus involved, the danger of this increase cannot be exaggerated.

"Seeing, then, that the common use of alcoholic beverages is always and everywhere followed, sooner or later, by moral, physical, and social results of a most serious and threatening character, and that it is the cause, direct or indirect, of a very large proportion of the poverty, suffering, vice, crime, lunacy, disease, and death, not only in the case of those who take such beverages, but in the case of others who are unavoidably associated with them, we feel warranted, nay, compelled, to urge the general adoption of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as beverages as the surest, simplest, and quickest method of removing the evils which necessarily result from their use. Such a course is not only universally safe, but is also natural.

"We believe that such an era of health, happiness, and prosperity would be inaugurated thereby that many of the social problems of the present age would be solved."

The final paragraph carries us a step beyond any of the previous declarations, and points to what general experience suggests, viz. that the elimination of the alcohol factor from the existing causes of social evils and their consequent burdens would, in the first instance, remove or reduce many of those evils; and secondly, so improve the physical efficiency of the industrial unit that he would vastly better his own position, whilst greatly benefiting his employer and the community at large.

Health and strength, plus acquired skill, are the whole of the available capital of the industrial. Without these he must fall out of the ranks of the workers, and in some form or other become a burden upon his comrades. It is true that he reaches this condition often enough from causes

which are quite beyond his control—causes which are both impersonal and personal. Fluctuations in trade, panics in the money market, war, are specimens of the impersonal forces which adversely affect the labour market and, for a time, throw many out of employment. Then there is the natural decay of powers which comes by the passing of years. These things are beyond man's control. But rapidly accumulating evidence and experience show that a man's habits—often thought innocent—may so undermine his powers and depress his energies that, long before the time of his natural decay, he falls out of the ranks of the producers, and becomes a consumer only. And often long before that date his skill is steadily deteriorating, and with it his value also.

In those particular diseases which are the special bane of our time, alcohol is frequently found as an active propagating agent. Take the awful scourge of tuberculosis. Writing to the *Journal of Inebriety* in 1900 on "Alcohol as one of the Causes of Tuberculosis," Professor Forel, of Switzerland, said: "Alcohol does not give force. It produces but a fleeting exaltation of the organisms, after which comes the period of fatigue, weakness, and paralysis. The consumption of alcohol neither augments the physiological energy nor the muscular work. Alcohol does not warm the organism; it is not a calorific (heat-producing) or thermogenic food. Alcohol does not favour digestion. *The alcoholic does not only not resist tuberculosis, but he acquires it with the greatest ease.*"

The late Sir William Broadbent, Bart., M.D., had come to a similar conclusion as the result of his observations. "Alcoholic excess is one of the principal factors in the progress of consumption," he said. And Dr. Buchan affirmed that ardent spirits and wine tear the tender vessels of the lungs to pieces.

In 1901 an International Tuberculosis Congress was held in London, when some very striking testimonies as to the close connection between alcohol and consumption were produced. The late Professor P. Brouardel, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, said:

"One speaker has rightly observed that 'The wretched

lodging is the purveyor of the public-house,' and we may add to it that *the public-house is the purveyor of tuberculosis. In fact, alcoholism is the most powerful factor in the propagation of tuberculosis.* . . . I venture to say that at this moment there is going up a cry of despair all over the world as one looks at the disasters caused by alcoholism. The returns of mortality from tuberculosis and the drink bill of France exhibit a strange correspondence. Any measures, State or individual, tending to limit the ravages of alcoholism will be our most precious auxiliaries in the crusade against tuberculosis. . . . I should like to draw attention to a mistake made too easily in the different countries by ministers who have charge of the financial department of the State. They like to calculate the sum the State gets from the duty on alcohol, but they should deduct from it the cost to the community of the family of the ruined drunkard, his degenerate, infirm, scrofulous, and epileptic children, who must have shelter. This invasion of alcoholism ought to be regarded by every one as a public danger; and this principle, the truth of which is incontestable, should be inculcated into the masses, that the future of the world will be in the hands of the temperate."

Following upon this most remarkable declaration, British medical men began to give increased attention to this subject, and in February 1902 Dr. W. H. Dickinson, of St. George's Hospital, London, dealt with it in his "Baillie Lecture."

The *Lancet* thus reported him :—

"The records to which I had access presented in thirty years the post-mortem examinations of 149 traders in drink, to which I opposed the same number of post-mortem examinations of persons not so occupied. The results with regard to tubercle were striking. Of the alcoholic sixty-one had tubercle of the lung, and of the non-alcoholics forty-four. With regard to other organs and structures liable to tubercle—the brain, the liver, the kidneys, the spleen, the bowels, the mesenteric glands, and the peritoneum, every one of these in the alcoholic class displayed tubercle at least twice as often as the non-alcoholic. Nothing could be more consistent in associating tubercle with drink."

How extensive are the ravages of this dread disease is indicated by a statement made by Mr. Duncombe Mann, Clerk to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, in 1904. He is reported to have said: "Between seven and eight thousand persons die annually in London alone—not greater London, but London proper—from pulmonary tuberculosis, and it would, I think, be quite safe to say that there are at least six times that number during the same period requiring treatment."

The second scourge of our modern life is cancer. Dr. R. Kingston Fox, writing to the *Lancet* in 1905, without committing himself beyond available evidence, supported the proposition that: "The extended use of alcohol during the past half-century has promoted the occurrence of cancer of the digestive tract, and has thus been the cause of increased mortality from cancer."

He summarised his evidence into the four following propositions:—

1. "Fifty-six per cent. of the total mortality from cancer is due to carcinoma of the digestive organs."
2. "The consumption of alcohol has greatly increased during the last fifty years, coincident with the greater prosperity of the people."
3. "Occupations associated with the free use of alcohol show a high liability to cancer."
4. "There is reason to think that persons who abstain from alcohol have an average lower death-rate from cancer than those who take alcohol."

On the question of the general health as it is affected by the use of alcohol, evidence is available in almost overwhelming volume, establishing the fact that on the average, other things being equal, the health of the abstainer, at all periods of life, in any climate, at any occupation, is better than that of the drinker, to say nothing of the drunkard, occasional or habitual.

Field-Marshal Sir George White, V.C., in 1905 issued a comparative statement covering seven regiments of our army in India, showing the proportion of sickness among

abstaining and non-abstaining sections of the men. The proportions are per 1000.

Regiment.	Abstainers.	Non-abstainers.
1. . . . .	33.33	96.38
2. . . . .	37.64	47.19
3. . . . .	84.32	126.63
4. . . . .	86.73	152.60
5. . . . .	39.62	72.20
6. . . . .	34.54	88.20
7. . . . .	30.34	63.40

The variations in the admissions to hospital—among the abstainers from 30 to 86, and among the non-abstainers from 47 to 152—are accounted for by the great differences in the healthiness of stations, as between a hot plain and a breezy mountain. But the one unvarying feature is this, that wherever the station may be, the drinkers have always a far larger percentage on the sick list than the abstainers have.

Taking the average of the seven regiments, the admissions to hospital per thousand were:—Abstainers, 49.52; drinkers, 92.37; a saving of 42 effectives per 1000 due to abstinence; or, on the seven regiments, about 300 men. As the British army of occupation in India is usually kept at a strength of from 70,000 to 75,000 men, it is evident on these figures that universal abstinence among our soldiers in India would add 3000 men to the effective strength of the army.

The evidence produced by our Friendly Societies, now extending over a long series of years, points unmistakably in the same direction.

The following Table has been compiled from the most recent returns available of the Independent Order of Rechabites, all abstainers, and the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, composed of both abstainers and non-abstainers. As the membership of both societies is drawn from the same classes of the community, it would be difficult to institute a better comparison, unless the whole of the sickness of the abstainers could be withdrawn from the Oddfellows' returns, and so make the comparison between one set of workers wholly abstainers and another

set wholly non-abstainers. As, however, no such returns are available, the Oddfellows must have such advantage as accrues from the better average health of the abstainer.

*Average Sickness Experience*<sup>1</sup>

Ages.	I. O. R. Weeks.	M. U. Weeks.
16 to 20	5.42	4.76
21 „ 25	5.05	4.52
26 „ 30	5.00	4.85
31 „ 35	5.47	5.48
36 „ 40	6.40	6.62
41 „ 45	7.82	8.25
46 „ 50	9.25	10.56
51 „ 55	10.08	14.88
56 „ 60	13.02	22.03
61 „ 65	22.06	35.76
66 „ 70	37.13	60.20
71 „ 75	65.09	96.07
76 „ 80	94.26	136.24
81 „ 85	123.14	168.71
86 „ 90	130.00	185.04
91 „ 95	130.00	195.11
96 „ 100	130.00	195.11

That is to say, according to present experience, if a Rechabite lived from 16 to 100 as a member of the society, he would have on the average 799.26 weeks of sickness, whereas an Oddfellow between the same ages would have 1154.24 weeks of sickness, an advantage to the Rechabite of 354.98 weeks less sickness, *a saving of nearly seven years of healthy work in the century.*

But let us bring the comparison nearer to the normal years of a working life, taking the forty years between 25 to 65. During this period the Rechabite sickness is 79.14 weeks on the average per member, whilst the Oddfellows sickness is 108.47 weeks on the average per member, a saving of 29 weeks and more to the Rechabite. This tells in several directions. In the first place, the friendly society which has the extra sickness must make due provision for

<sup>1</sup> Supplied by Mr. Richardson Campbell, F.S.S.

it by higher contributions. At least £14, 10s. extra per member has to be provided, and clearly the abstainer in this society has to pay more than is necessary for his own insurance against sickness. Then, from the workers' point of view, there is the loss of wages involved by this extra 29 weeks' sickness, and we cannot put this at less than £1 per week on the average. Further, the weakened physique which suffers this additional illness will not be so competent for its work during several weeks as the body which does not so suffer, and its output will probably be less, and by this means both employer and employed suffer. It is clear from these figures that there is much drink-induced sickness which is not commonly attributed to drink. The abstainers escape about one-fourth of the sickness which similar groups of workers suffer from, and it is very probable that, if the comparison could be made between one set wholly abstinent and the other all non-abstainers, the advantage to the abstainers would not be less than one-third.

Multiply this advantage over the whole of the industrials of the country, and it is evident what an immense boon, from the health point of view, universal abstinence would be, whilst its cash value to the trade and commerce of the nation would be enormous.

A rough estimate may now be formed of the drain upon the resources of the nation through drink-caused sickness. In 1901 there were 8,925,911 families in the United Kingdom; we will assume, to deal only in round numbers, that there are 9,000,000 families at the present time. Of these, 900,000 may be classed as abstaining families, and about 2,100,000 as above the ranks of workers. This leaves us with 6,000,000 families, the heads of which are wage-earners, and more or less habitual consumers of alcoholic liquors.

If each of the 1,200,000 male heads of these families has the average amount of sickness between the ages of 25 and 65 shown by the Oddfellows, he will have an excess of 29 weeks in the forty years over each of the Rechabites. At £1 per week, this means a loss of wages in the working years of life amounting, in the national aggregate, to

£34,800,000, or £870,000 per annum. To this must be added at least 10s. per week for each person's sick pay. This amounts to £17,400,000 in the forty years, or £435,000 per annum. Then there is the cost of medical attendance and medicine, which may be estimated at 5s. per week. Over the whole period this involves an expenditure of £8,700,000.

Thus from these three items we find the nation involved in a cost and loss amounting to the huge total of £60,900,000, or £1,522,500 per annum, during the best working years of a man's life, *ex hypothesi* due to the workers' indulgence in alcoholic liquors. It is a terrible burden, and a tremendous handicap, which falls first and heaviest upon the business community and the home, and secondly upon the nation at large.

## CHAPTER VI

### ALCOHOL AND PHYSICAL DETERIORATION

ALTHOUGH the expert inquiries which have recently been made have failed to establish as a fact the suggestion of *progressive* physical deterioration, enough evidence was procured to prove beyond all doubt that a large amount of physical deterioration exists among considerable sections of the community, and a deterioration which is due to ascertainable and preventable causes.

It is only during the last ten years that public attention has been directed to this most serious question. The gigantic struggle in which we were engaged in South Africa made great demands upon the young manhood of the nation, and the reports of the army medical officers upon the physical condition of the young men who offered themselves for service, startled the nation into something like a panic of apprehension. And not, certainly, without some justification.

In the three years 1900-3, of 21,916 recruits examined in London, no less than 7013, or 32 per cent., were rejected as physically unfit for military service. In Manchester the proportion was much higher. Of 4938 would-be recruits who were medically examined in the years 1901-2, no less than 2550 were rejected, or over 51 per cent. And not all who pass the first examination are finally drafted into the army, as a certain percentage always breaks down under the preliminary training. That the figures are sufficiently serious is further emphasised by the fact that many more who offer for service are rejected by the recruiting sergeants themselves without taking them to the medical officer for inspection.

It is true that many of these young men come from what

is called the loafing class. But that is little to our comfort. They are the men who ought to be productive units in the industrial world, rendering their due share of service to their fellows and to the State. As it is, they are not only barren for any useful purpose, they are a burden on the community, and tend towards the criminal classes. They are the joint product of heredity and environment, and whilst the first cause is largely, though not entirely, beyond our control, the second is well within our control, and could, if we would, be eliminated from the list of vicious factors producing this deplorable state of things. Not immediately, may be, but well within a measurable distance of time.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on National Physical Deterioration was appointed on 2nd September 1903 by the late Duke of Devonshire, when Lord President of the Council. The Committee reported on 20th July 1904, after examining sixty-eight witnesses.

Writing to the Committee at the outset of the inquiry, Sir William Taylor, Director-General of the Army Medical Service, said :

"Whether or not there has been, or is, progressive physical deterioration among the classes now in question is a matter of very great importance, no doubt, but, in my opinion, it is not the chief question from a practical standpoint. To my mind the principal question for the Committee is to inquire into the causes and present extent of the physical *unfitness* that undoubtedly exists in a large degree among certain classes of the population. The question dealt with in my original Memorandum was not that there was evidence of progressive physical deterioration of the race, either in whole or in part, but that it is a most disturbing fact that from 40 to 60 per cent. of the men who present themselves for enlistment are found to be physically unfit for military service. Even if the proportion is no greater than in the past, surely it is a state of matters worthy of the closest investigation, and one which no thinking man can wish to see continue" (*Report*, p. 2). Whilst the Committee found that "the impressions gathered from the great majority of the witnesses examined do not support the

belief that there is any general progressive deterioration" (p. 13), yet they found "much that is grave in the state of things disclosed."

In spite of the many improvements in the industrial, social, and civic conditions of the people during the last three generations, there have been factors at work which have largely stultified these improvements.

"In large classes of the community there has not been developed a desire for improvement commensurate with the opportunities offered to them. Laziness, want of thrift, ignorance of household management, and particularly of the choice and preparation of food, filth, indifference to parental obligations, drunkenness, largely infect adults of both sexes, and press with terrible severity upon their children. The very growth of family resources, upon which statisticians congratulate themselves, accompanied as it frequently is by great unwisdom in their application to raising the standard of comfort, is often productive of the most disastrous consequences. 'The people perish for lack of knowledge,' or, as it is elsewhere put, 'lunacy increases with the rise of wages and the greater spending power of the operative class; while a falling wage-rate is associated with a decrease of drunkenness, crime, and lunacy'" (p. 15).

The Committee refrained from making an estimate of the number of persons living in these conditions. Probably the investigations of Messrs. Booth and Rowntree afford the closest approximation to the actual facts at present available.

When they came to appraise causes in the order of importance, the Committee put first the urbanisation of the people. The enormous movement of population which has occurred in the last half-century in England and Wales, is indicated by the fact that, according to the Census classification, whereas fifty years ago only just over 50 per cent. of the population lived in urban areas, at the present time 77 per cent. so live, leaving only 23 per cent. in the country districts. Yet sanitary improvements in towns have been so great that they "have now a death-rate which is lower than was that of rural districts fifty years ago" (p. 16).

Yet urbanisation is not of itself either a sufficient or an inevitable cause of the physical inefficiency which exists. Jews, living under similar conditions to large sections of our own population, do not exhibit the degeneracy or suffer from the high death-rate of their British neighbours. Sir Shirley Murphy's testimony is emphatic on these points :—

"In insanitary areas the death-rates are frequently 35 and 40 in the 1000 of the population. A noteworthy exception is to be found in Jewish populations, who, when living in houses of the sort usually demolished under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, nevertheless have death-rates which, when compared with those of the district or of London, are in no way high. This is, I believe, due to the better care these people take of their health, especially of their children, and to their temperance."

He further said that the Jews do not waste so much money in drink, and therefore have more money available for wholesome food. Thus the absence of the alcohol factor shows that urbanisation alone is not responsible for the present extent of physical degeneracy.

This brings us to the second great cause of deterioration. "Next to the urbanisation of the people, and intimately associated with it, as the outcome of many of the conditions it creates, the question of 'drink' occupies a prominent place among the causes of degeneration. The close connection between a craving for drink and bad housing, bad feeding, a polluted and depressing atmosphere, long hours of work in over-heated and often ill-ventilated rooms, only relieved by the excitements of town life, is too self-evident to need demonstration, nor unfortunately is the extent of the evil more open to dispute" (p. 30).

Dr. Scott, Factory Surgeon, Glasgow, puts alcohol first among the influences that retard the improvement of the people. "They are living on it, some of them, and the lower you go the worse it is."

"It is that constant tippling, the 'nipping' that is going on, that is the chief cause of deterioration."

"And it is increasing among women as well as men, you think?"—"Yes."

"Does that affect the children born of these parents?"—"Oh yes. I read a paper once on the diseases of the nervous system through heredity, and the number of cases of hereditary alcoholism that I had was appalling." (*Qs.* 1779-1781.)

Dr. Robert Jones, Medical Officer, Claybury Asylum, London, submitted the following points in his evidence:—

"I think that women, in proportion to men, drink more spirits, but the chronic indigestion from beer drinking is very common both in men and women. Beer drinkers are liable to a kind of acid fermentation with gastric catarrh, in consequence of which they are unable to take food, and what they take is indifferently assimilated. This leads to ill-nutrition and to deterioration generally, apart from special symptoms." (10,800.)

"Do you think there is a serious increase of alcoholic insanity in women?"—"I think it is distinctly on the increase. My experience of a quarter of a century ago leads me to believe very strongly indeed that insanity from drink in women is much more marked than it used to be." (10,823.)

"I have frequently been struck with the ill-nourished condition and the ill-clad look of the children of parents suffering from alcoholic insanity." (10,821.)

Answering a question as to the effect on employment, Dr. Jones said: "With regard to skilled craftsmen, I have noted the occupation of a few under my care. They are mathematical instrument makers, turners, carpenters, joiners, draughtsmen, barometer makers, tailors, watch-makers, printers, file cutters—these men are unable to do any fine work afterwards. They probably sink to a lower grade. They have lost their special skill owing to the affinity there is on the part of alcohol for the highest-developed motor aptitudes in the nervous system." (10,839.)

"Alcohol affects them much more than it would an unskilled craftsman or unskilled mechanic." (10,840.)

"With regard to the effects of alcohol upon the descendants . . . there is no doubt in my mind there is a transmitted structural defect through alcohol." (10,841.)

A few of Dr. Jones's further striking observations may be quoted, covering various other points of the case against alcohol.

"Although I am a great believer in heredity, yet I cannot help believing more in the great influence of environment." (Q. 10,843.)

"I think there is no poison like alcohol for devitalising the nervous system. There is something lost; they have not the same inhibition, the same self-restraint afterwards." (10,863.)

"There is no doubt that it devitalises the parent, and anything which devitalises the parent does tend to affect the offspring. I agree that intemperance on the part of the mother appears to be more commonly assigned as a cause of imbecility than intemperance on the part of the father." (10,864.)

"It is not an infrequent experience that alcohol is a very definite cause of epilepsy." (10,865.)

"A very high percentage of insanity is due to alcohol." (10,878.)

"I think there is more general deterioration. That is my firm impression." (10,902.)

"The general result of your evidence is that the abuse of alcoholic stimulants is one of the most operative causes of physical degeneration generally?—"Yes. There is no poison that I know which is capable of inducing—either by alcohol directly, or indirectly by unexcreted products—so much arterio-sclerosis, fibroid changes in the organs, and premature senility." (10,910.)

On all important points as regards the evil effects upon physique of alcohol, Dr. Jones was corroborated by Mr. W. McAdam Eccles, M.S., F.R.C.S. The following extracts from his evidence fairly represent his views as given to the Committee.

"The fact has borne itself in upon a considerable number of medical men, that there is in alcohol a factor in deterioration, and that it may act directly or indirectly." (10,652.)

"From my own experience I have seen quite a number of cases where direct want of growth seemed to be definitely the outcome of the actual imbibing of alcohol by young children." (10,661.)

"I am convinced in my own mind that a considerable amount of the poor physique of some of the lower classes is due to the fact that they cannot assimilate their food properly even if they get the food, because the stomach-wall is so damaged by the irritation of alcohol." (Q. 10,687.)

"A person who is actually affected by alcohol is in a state of lowered resistance to almost any virus, particularly syphilis." (10,696.)

"There is almost a unanimous opinion that alcohol does predispose to tubercle in the otherwise healthy body." (10,704.)

"Then we come to the most important point of the whole of these things, and that is the indirect action of alcohol in producing physical deterioration through environment. Personally I am sure that this is the chief way in which alcohol does act, and that it does act very markedly." (10,714.)

"In Mr. Booth's book reference is made to the fact that drink is fostered by bad houses, and that crowding is the main cause of drink and vice?"—"I agree with that entirely. I think there is the other side of the question also, that is, the house is poor because the drink is taken. Alcohol does blunt the sensibility of these people to the squalor of their surroundings. Get them away from alcohol, and they realise at once that they ought to have a better place." (10,734.)

"Alcohol deadens the desire for improvement?"—"It does." (10,736.)

"I take it the contraction of tubercle in public-houses is a very important factor, so far as the question of recruits is concerned." (10,740.)

Referring to the rejection of recruits, Mr. Eccles continued: "Perhaps I might be allowed to add that in France the consumption of spirits containing 50 per cent. of alcohol in 1830 was 2.2 litres per head; in 1898 it had risen to 10.16 litres. The rejection of conscripts was 21 per cent. in 1830, and in 1895 it had risen to 32 per cent." (10,781.)

"It rose *pari passu* with the increase of the consumption of alcohol?"—"Yes. It is merely suggested that there is a

possibility of relationship between the two. In Sweden the consumption of spirits containing 50 per cent. of alcohol per head in 1830 was 46 litres. But, chiefly by legislation, it had been reduced in 1890 to 6 litres per head. The percentage of rejection of conscripts in 1845 was 34.45 and in 1885 it was 19.61." (Q. 10,782.)

The Swedish experience was set out in the following form by the late Mr. James Whyte, who obtained his information from the Statistical Department at Stockholm, through Mr. Duff, British Consul at Gothenburg:—

*Rejection of Recruits per Cent. in Sweden.*

Years.	Per Cent.
1831-40 . . . .	35.7
1841-50 . . . .	36.4
1851-60 . . . .	35.7
1861-70 . . . .	27.8
1871-80 . . . .	23.7
1881-90 . . . .	20.4

This heavy fall in the percentage of rejections was coincident with, and most probably the result of, a change of laws in Sweden, which enabled the people to sweep out spirit-selling from large areas in the country districts, and to reduce the number of liquor-shops in the towns. A reduced drink bill meant an improved food bill, and the consequences speedily showed themselves in the better health and physique of the masses of the people.

National health and vigour are as requisite to national continuance as capital and enterprise are in the conduct of a business. To deplete either points towards ruin, not towards success. It would be foolish to expect that results on a national scale would show themselves promptly and with unmistakable clearness, as a consequence of alcoholic indulgence. There are many counteracting influences, and nature always struggles to repair damages and to make good her losses. But the facts and representative opinions set out in this chapter establish the contention that there is a large amount of physical and mental inefficiency in the nation, that it is largely to be traced to alcoholic indulgence,

and that the only remedy is to deal with the ascertained cause.

Race suicide is a terrible expression, and probably not quite justified in the present connection. But the symptoms described may be said, without exaggeration, to point in that direction, and to point so steadily as to demand the instant and careful attention of every patriot, and particularly of every commercial man in a nation which depends on its trade and commerce as much as we do.

The Britisher is slow to respond to appeals to sentiment. He has a constitutional dislike of them. He prides himself on his business instincts. Let him, then, look at this question from the point of view of business only. He will see the very people for whom business exists, who are necessary for it, who conduct and manage it, crippling their powers and wasting their resources on an injurious luxury. They are rendering themselves less capable, less enduring, less enterprising, less valuable both to themselves and to the community by this indulgence in alcohol. All this is, from the business point of view, sheer folly and waste.

Cease this indulgence and the whole of our manufacturing industries would increase the amount and improve the quality of their output, and they would at once meet with an enlarged demand for their products.

Let the man of large schemes of manufacture, trade, and commerce remember how often his plans are disarranged by some failure on the part of his employees; how frequently accidents occur which might have been avoided, and then let him ask himself how often he has found drink a vicious factor in these things. It is for ever taking toll of the business man, and is a constant stumbling-block in his path.

## CHAPTER VII

### DRINK AND THE DEATH-RATE

How extremely difficult it is to ascertain the exact truth concerning the connection between drink and death, violent or otherwise, in individual cases, is constantly brought home to every investigator.

Mr. G. P. Wyatt, coroner of Newington, when presiding at an inquest in that borough is reported to have said: "In nine out of ten inquests that I hold death is due more or less to the drink. It is a shocking state of affairs, and the most extraordinary thing is that, when a medical man has made a post-mortem examination of the body which shows conclusively that death resulted from alcohol, the relatives swear that the deceased was not addicted to habits of intemperance."

Doctors are constantly subjected to the temptation of suppressing the fact of alcoholism in giving death certificates, out of consideration for the feelings of the surviving relatives. There is, undoubtedly, a gradual improvement taking place in this respect, and the standard of accuracy is rising, but no careful inquirer can believe that we have as yet got the exact facts of the case set out in any available returns.

"Notwithstanding the efforts made by the Royal College of Physicians," says Dr. John Tatham (Seventieth Report of the Registrar-General, p. 129), "in their successive publications to impress upon medical practitioners the importance of accuracy in certifying the deaths of their patients, it is still found that a large proportion of the causes are so vaguely stated as to be worthless for statistical purposes."

And on the same page it is shown that renewed inquiries

addressed to certain medical men produced an addition of 43 cases to the deaths from alcoholism, suggesting that a substantial addition to these figures would be made if greater care was exercised in making out death certificates.

However, such returns as we have are serious enough and deplorable enough in all conscience.

The simple truth is too often forgotten, that every premature death is a national loss. A possible wealth-producer is gone. So much productive energy, so much brain capacity, so much possible skill and knowledge are lost to the community before their full service has been rendered. Nothing can make good this loss, there is no compensating advantage for its disappearance.

And long before the end there is usually a progressive reduction of service and value which can find no record in statistics. In so far as these things are the results of preventable causes, the instinct of self-preservation should teach us to attack these causes with all possible remedies. We are doing so with increasing thoroughness and success in the case of many diseases. Some day, probably, we shall see the wisdom and necessity of turning our attention with equal thoroughness to drink, the tap-root of so many diseases and disasters.

The steady change of the last half-century, which has transformed us from a country population to an urban population, has produced many conditions which militate seriously against physical health and longevity. This state of things renders it all the more incumbent upon us to apply instructed common-sense to the problems of life and health, in the interests of race preservation. We have already made great strides in this direction, by the improvement in, and better enforcement of our sanitary laws. But much remains to be done.

The general death-rate among males in England and Wales has steadily decreased during the past generation, as is clearly shown by the Registrar-General's returns.

From 1841-45, when it was 22.2 per 1000 living, it gradually increased to 23.7 for the years 1861-70. Since then a steady decline has set in and continued up to the present time.

*Death-rate of Males per 1000 Living, England and Wales, in Five-Year Periods.*

1872-76	=23.0 per 1000	1892-96	=19.1	„
1877-81	=21.7	1897-1901	=17.7	„
1882-86	=20.7	1902-06	=15.9	„
1887-91	=20.2	<sup>1</sup> 1907	=15.4	„

On the other hand, the Registrar-General's Returns show that the deaths from alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver, a disease which is the direct product of alcoholism—although there is a gratifying decrease since 1900—taking the period represented by the above table, reveal a fairly steady growth under alcoholism, and but little proportionate improvement under the second head.

“It has been frequently stated in these Reports that the deaths actually assigned to alcoholism or to delirium tremens form an imperfect measure of the mortality caused by alcoholic intemperance, and that the best available indication is probably furnished by the combined mortality from alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver.” (*Seventieth Report of the Registrar-General*, p. 106.)

The following table is compiled from the Seventieth and earlier Reports of the Registrar-General:—

*Deaths from Alcoholism, in Five-Year Periods.*

Years.	Total Deaths.	Males.	Females.	Average Per Million Per Annum.		
				Both Sexes.	Males.	Females.
1877-81	5,353	3701	1652	42	59	25
1882-86	6,601	4386	2215	49	67	32
1887-91	8,551	5476	3075	60	79	42
1892-96	10,220	6275	3945	67	86	51
1897-1901	14,501	8536	5965	91	110	72
1902-06	12,184	7182	5002	72	88	57
One year, 1907	2,201	1328	873	65	79	48

<sup>1</sup> From *Statistical Abstract*, No. 55, p. 355.

This table shows that, in spite of a happy falling-off since 1901, there is an enormous increase in the deaths from alcoholism at the end of the thirty-year period in comparison with the beginning of it. The increase is not merely actual, but relatively to population, and it is an increase in both sexes, but much greater among women than among men. From 1877 to 1906, both years inclusive, the deaths from alcoholism among men per million have increased by 49 per cent., but the deaths among women have increased by 128 per cent., or nearly three times as fast. In other words, where 100 men died from this poison in 1877 no less than 149 died in 1906, but of women where 100 died in 1877 actually 228 died in 1906, a terrible record.

In the case of cirrhosis of the liver, which is not included in the above figures, the returns of the last twenty years reveal an increase of 16 per cent., the figures being 3362 in 1888 and 3903 in 1907.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence available, however, carries us much beyond the point of merely proving that drinking to flagrant excess is a cause of premature death. Probably no sane man can be found to dispute that proposition. What is much more important is that it is fast becoming impossible for any fair-minded man to resist the conclusion that habitual indulgence, even to what is usually regarded as a moderate extent, in alcoholic liquors has, *on the average*, a distinct and marked tendency to shorten life. Seventy years ago an avowed abstainer was refused admission into a life assurance office except at an enhanced premium. The idea prevalent then was that such a man would not live out the full measure of his days because of his abstinence. The practical experience of life assurance since then has completely reversed that position. It is now proved to demonstration that, on the average, the abstainer has a better chance of life than even the strictly moderate drinker. Therefore many life offices are either taking the abstainer at a less premium than the drinker, or are offering him greater benefits. And this is not from any sentimental sympathy with abstinence. It is simply a matter of business.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

In order to realise the full significance of the following comparisons it is necessary to bear in mind one or two considerations. In the first place, no office whose figures are here quoted would knowingly insure the life of a man who had become a free drinker, except perhaps at a very heavily increased premium. Their usual policy is to decline such cases. Their clients are drawn from the comfortable classes, such as have a sufficiency of good food, clothing and shelter, and are not exposed to hardship. Those who use alcoholic beverages do so as a rule in strict moderation, usually with meals. If there is really any benefit to be derived by the body from these beverages, it surely ought to show its beneficial results among such men. As far as the offices concerned are aware, the only important point of difference between the two sections is that one drinks moderately, and the other not at all. All other conditions are much the same in both classes. As far as can be ascertained this is a clear case of all other things being equal, and therefore the evidence as to the effects of the differentiating factor ought to be accepted as conclusive by every open-minded man.

A further important point ought to be noted in presenting these statements. It will be observed that those insured in what is called the "General Section" are longer-lived than the average healthy males of the country, for the "expectations" of death are based in each case upon the Healthy Male Tables of the Institute of Actuaries. If, therefore, the abstainer can show an advantage of life against the selected moderate drinker, who is better than the average healthy males, still greater is the advantage of the abstainer over the general mass of the community.

In the Sixty-eighth Report of the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution, for the year ending 31st December 1908, it is stated that of those insured in that institution the "expected" deaths in the General Section numbered 461. The actual deaths were 407, or 88 per cent. of the "expectation." In the Temperance Section the "expected" deaths numbered 457. They actually were 274, or not quite 60 per cent. In other words, the abstainers had an advantage of life of 28 per cent. over

the picked moderate drinkers, and an advantage of 40 per cent. over the average healthy males of the whole nation. This advantage has steadily improved as the years have passed. For the first thirty-nine years of its history this company reported an average death-rate in its Temperance Section of a little over 71 per cent.

In the Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Sceptre Life Association, for the year ending 31st December 1908, it is stated that in the General Section the "expected" deaths numbered 139. The actual deaths were 114, or 82 per cent. of the "expectation." In the Temperance Section the "expected" deaths numbered 128, but they actually were only 61, or 47 per cent. of what was anticipated. Here is an advantage of life to the abstainers of 35 per cent over the selected moderate drinkers, and of 53 per cent. over the average healthy males' "expectation"!

The Sceptre Report sets out its experience of the last quarter of a century in the following form of summarised five-year periods :—

Period.	General Section.			Temperance Section.		
	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.	Per-centage.	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.	Per-centage.
1884-88	466	368	79.00	195	110	56.41
1889-93	564	466	82.62	312	184	58.97
1894-98	628	498	79.30	419	228	54.42
1899-1903	712	548	76.97	514	270	52.53
1904-08	709	573	80.82	607	294	48.43
Total, } 25 years }	3079	2453	79.67	2047	1086	53.05

Therefore the experience of a quarter of a century is that the abstainer has an advantage of life of 26 per cent. over the moderate drinker, and of 47 per cent. over the average healthy males of the nation.

Other offices provide evidence similar in character. The Scottish Temperance Life Office reports that its experience

of twenty years shows that whilst in the General Section the deaths were 71 per cent. of the "expectation," in the Temperance Section they were only 45 per cent.

The British Empire Mutual Office reports for twenty-two years an average death-rate of 58 per cent. of the "expectation" in its Temperance Section, and the Abstainers and General for twenty-one years a percentage of 48 in the same section.

The Scottish Imperial Office for a period of eighteen years reports an average death-rate in the General Section of nearly 88 per cent. of the "expectation," whilst in the Temperance Section it does not quite reach 40 per cent., a remarkable record.

The average death-rate in these offices is less than 53 per cent. of that of the healthy males of the nation. What is the moral these figures teach from the national point of view? Take it that the average death-rate is only one-third higher than it would be if all persons abstained. The figures indicate a higher percentage, but for the purposes of argument we will take it at one-third. We have already shown that the general death-rate has declined from 23 per 1000 living in 1872-76 to 15.4 per 1000 living in 1907. The suggestion therefore is that universal abstinence would so add to the health, vigour, and longevity of the mass of the people that we should have a death-rate of 10 per 1000 living instead of 15 per 1000, thus bringing the whole country to the standard of Rutlandshire and Berkshire.

What would this enormous saving mean to the country? In a population of 44,000,000 it simply means a saving of 220,000 lives per annum.

What would this saving of human life represent in cash value to the nation? In the days of slavery in the United States, adult slaves usually sold at from 1000 to 2000 dollars each, 1500 dollars representing an average price. Let us take it that one-third of this price, say £100, represents the loss to the nation occasioned by each of these premature deaths, which, *ex hypothesi*, occur because of alcohol-drinking. They represent a national loss of £22,000,000 per annum.

There is no possibility of expressing in a cash equivalent the sorrow and suffering entailed upon the families of these prematurely deceased persons. A few extra years of life to the bread-winner means that he lives to see his children either earning their own livelihood, or within measurable distance of doing so, instead of being a burden upon relatives or having to trust to the tender mercies of the State. It is, however, clear that the State not only loses the cash value of the man who has gone before his time, but that it has to bear, in one way or another, the burdens which he has laid down, thus making life harder for those who remain, and adding to the cost and loss involved. No possible obtainable revenue from the liquor traffic can compensate the nation for the loss thus incurred, and nothing conceivable can recompense the stricken families.

Official advocates of the liquor traffic at frequent intervals re-publish a series of figures originally issued by a committee of the British Medical Association, and by divorcing them from their context purport to show that total abstainers live shorter lives than even the decidedly intemperate. It is perhaps needless to say that this is a perfectly dishonest use of the Committee's labours, but as it so frequently recurs, the facts may well be set out here.

The British Medical Association appointed a Collective Investigation Committee, which conducted its inquiries from 9th May 1885 to 11th December 1886. The Committee drew up an inquiry form which it sent round to medical men, asking them to fill it up from the counter-foils of their death-certificate register of males over twenty-five years of age. One column was devoted to the various degrees of the alcohol habit. Abstainers were to be put in Class A, and then the others were described thus :

"Class B. *The Habitually Temperate*.—That is, men who drink small amounts, and only with meals, and rarely take spirits, except for medicinal purposes (the latter part of the definition not to apply to whisky-drinking countries).

"Class C. *The Careless Drinkers*.—Men who, without being 'intemperate,' or 'free drinkers,' yet do not confine themselves within a rigid rule ; who do not demur to drinking spirits occasionally as a beverage ; who may at times

drink between meals, or even to the extent of intoxication occasionally, but who do not make these practices a habit; and on the average do not materially exceed what has been termed the "physiological amount" of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of pure alcohol daily."

"Class D. *The Free Drinkers*.—Men who 'drink a fair amount,' or 'take their wines freely,' habitually exceeding the physiological amount to a material extent; but yet who cannot be called 'drunkards,' or considered to have forfeited a character for sobriety.

"Class E. *The Decidedly Intemperate*.—'Drinking men,' 'hard drinkers,' and drunkards.

"If a doubt exist to which of two classes a patient should be considered as belonging, he may be placed between the two by joining the letters, as A.B. or C.D."

In response to these inquiries 178 medical practitioners sent in returns, covering 4234 cases. These cases were thus divided, according to Table I. of the Committee's Report:

Class.	No. of Cases.	Percentage.
A . . .	122	2.8 per cent. of 4234
A, B . . .	54	1.2 " "
B . . .	1529	36.1 " "
B, C . . .	178	4.2 " "
C . . .	977	23.0 " "
C, D . . .	112	2.6 " "
D . . .	547	12.9 " "
D, E . . .	100	2.3 " "
E . . .	603	14.2 " "
Unclassified .	12	0.2 " "
Total .	<u>4234</u>	

"Roughly stated, it may be said that of the four thousand two hundred and odd individuals reported on—all, be it remembered, males over the age of twenty-five—about 45 per cent. were habitually moderate in their alcoholic habits, 25 per cent. were careless, and 30 per cent. more or less distinctly intemperate (15 per cent. decidedly so)."

In other words, 55 per cent. exceeded the bounds of moderation.

Table IX. of the Report gives the average age at death of the individuals in each class.

"The Table has been constructed simply by adding up in each class the ages given in the returns, which, it will be remembered, are the ages at death, and striking an average. The average age at death of the whole number is given at the foot of the Table for purpose of comparison."

TABLE IX.—*Average Age at Death for each Class.*

Class.	Years.	Or	
		Years,	Days.
A . . .	51.22	51	80
A, B . . .	56.72	56	215
B . . .	62.13	62	50
B, C . . .	62.42	62	155
C . . .	59.67	59	246
C, D . . .	60.35	60	130
D . . .	57.59	57	216
D, E . . .	53.64	53	233
E . . .	52.03	52	14
Unclassified .	60.91	60	334
Average .	58.92	58	336

In commenting on these figures the Report proceeds:—

"Thus we may see, as far as these cases go, that as the alcoholic habit increases the average duration of life diminishes." . . . "But the average age furnished by the total abstainers is somewhat startling, for we find that it is not only far below the average age attained by the moderate drinkers, but it is even a year below that reached by the decidedly intemperate. It must, however, be remembered in interpreting this figure correctly that the class of total abstainers is somewhat differently constituted from any of the other classes.

"It will not, I think, be disputed that the total abstinence movements which have played so prominent a part in this country of late years have made many more converts among the young than among the middle-aged or elderly. If this is admitted, it will necessarily follow that the average age of total abstainers—I mean of living total abstainers—at any time during the three years covered by this inquiry, was considerably less than the average age of the rest of the community; so that the class of abstainers has contained a proportion, much greater than the average, of individuals

susceptible to early death ; or to put it in another way, has had a greater average liability to early death, apart from any question of alcohol, than any of the other classes."

From the summary of conclusions it is only necessary to quote those specially bearing upon the point now under discussion.

1. "That habitual indulgence in alcoholic liquors beyond the most moderate amounts has a distinct tendency to shorten life, the average shortening being roughly proportional to the degree of indulgence."

2. "That of men who have passed the age of twenty-five the strictly temperate, on the average, live at least ten years longer than those who become decidedly intemperate. (*We have not in these returns the means of coming to any conclusion as to the relative duration of life of total abstainers and habitually temperate drinkers of alcoholic liquors*)."<sup>1</sup>

"3. That in the production of cirrhosis and gout, alcoholic excess plays the very marked part which it has long been recognised as doing, and that there is no other disease anything like so distinctly traceable to the effects of alcoholic liquors."

"4. That, cirrhosis and gout apart, the effect of alcoholic liquors is rather to predispose the body towards the attacks of disease generally than to induce any special pathological lesion."

"12. That total abstinence and habitual temperance augment considerably the chance of a death from old age or natural decay, without special pathological lesion."

Two or three comments will dispose of this particular branch of the subject. At the date of this inquiry it is beyond dispute that the large proportion of abstainers were young people, and that their average age was much below that of the general community. It is so still, but not to so great a degree as it was a quarter of a century ago.

Secondly, no fair comparison could possibly be instituted between drinkers and non-drinkers, when the latter were not 3 per cent. of the whole against the other's 97 per cent.

Indeed, the abstainers did not number one for each medical man reporting.

<sup>1</sup> Italics not in the original Report.

And thirdly, the Report of the Committee distinctly rejects any comparison between the two classes based upon the figures, as they do not afford "the means of coming to any conclusion" on the subject.

What the compilers of the Report declare to be impossible "the trade" is constantly doing in an absolutely dishonourable manner, and even after those responsible for the Report have publicly disavowed the unfair use which has been made of their figures.

In further support of the argument of this chapter, there may be quoted some striking figures presented by Mr. M'Adam Eccles, M.S., F.R.C.S., in his evidence before the Inter-Departmental Committee on National Physical Deterioration, 1904 (pp. 31 and 32). The figures were accepted by the Committee and may be thus summarised :—

Of 61,215 average men between the ages of 25 and 65, the working years of life, 1000 die per annum.

Of 61,215 Rechabites, pledged abstainers, between the ages of 25 and 65, only 560 die per annum.

But of 61,215 publicans, between the ages of 25 and 65, no less than 1642 die per annum.

When it is remembered that the Rechabites are mostly working men, many of whom are employed in dangerous occupations and exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather in our fickle climate, whilst the publican is usually well housed and well sheltered, the contrast is seen to be all the more striking.

Put in another form, as Mr. Eccles suggested, the lesson is equally clear.

Of 100,000 average persons of 30 years of age, some 44,000 would live to be 70 years of age.

But of 100,000 abstainers of 30 years of age no less than 55,000 would live to be 70 years of age, or 25 per cent. more.

There is no room for reasonable doubt of the conclusion to which a vast mass of available evidence points, viz. that alcohol is a prolific cause of premature death, both directly and indirectly. That short of the extreme excess which all condemn, its moderate use works with insidious pertinacity to weaken a man's hold on life, feeding and strengthening the forces of dissolution, and ante-dating by

a certain if varying number of years—varying according to physique and degree of indulgence—the inevitable end.

The Registrar-General for Scotland tabulated the deaths between the ages of 25 and 65 for the years 1890-92 from all causes, and from intemperance.

Taking 1000 as the standard mortality for all males, he showed that for brewers and distillers it was 1048, for inn and hotel servants 1445, and for hotel and inn keepers and publicans 2308.

Even such unhealthy and dangerous trades as earthenware and glass manufacture returned a mortality of only 1213, and ironstone miners of 1664, both very considerably less than the mortality of publicans.

Some of the most interesting facts in this connection are produced by the experiences of various Friendly Societies. The following table is compiled from official returns, the English Life table being taken from the Census, the Healthy Male being the experience of 20 standard Life Offices, and the other Societies being those of their own Actuaries. In each case the figures represent the "expectation of life."

Age.	English Life.	Healthy Males.	Foresters.	Oddfellows.	Rechabites (all Abstainers).
18	41.9	43.6	44.7	45.6	50.6
25	36.2	38.4	38.9	39.6	44.3
30	32.5	34.6	34.7	35.4	39.7
35	28.9	31.0	30.6	31.4	35.0
40	25.4	27.4	26.7	27.4	30.5
45	22.0	23.7	22.8	23.6	26.1
50	18.8	20.3	19.1	19.9	21.7

The teaching of experience clearly is that alcohol and death walk hand in hand as cause and effect; that abstinence and life walk hand in hand as mutual supporters, and that the wise law of life is, leave alcohol alone.

## CHAPTER VIII

### MOTHER AND CHILD

It has been so universally admitted that drink is the enemy of the home, and the curse of child life, that the sad truth has become a truism which has lost its grip of men's minds, and has been relegated to the category of obvious things about which no sensible man speaks.

Any speaker or writer who dared to direct attention to the sufferings of women and children in our East Ends, because of drink, was voted a sentimentalist, with whom the practical man could do nothing, and so had to pass him by on the other side. Practical politics had something far more important to do than to concern itself with child suffering, child nurture, and child health. Commercial treaties, fiscal arrangements, electoral reform, land legislation, were far more important.

During the last few years there has come a welcome change, and the most practical of all questions is seen to be the healthy upbringing of the future citizen. Medical inspection of school children, the teaching of scientific temperance and hygiene in our elementary schools, the beneficent provisions of the Children Act—particularly the prohibition of giving alcohol to children under five, and their admission to liquor bars under fourteen—and the accompanying awakened public interest in the question of child life, all indicate the great change which has occurred in the national point of view. In no small measure this change is due to the labours of the temperance reformers. There is still, however, an enormous amount of work yet to be done. The fringe of the problem only has been touched. The few pages which follow are written in the hope that they may help to keep alive the existing interest in the

serious problem of alcohol and child life, and the life of the home.

Grievous as are the wrongs done both to home and child by drink, it is probably quite true to say that the people err mostly through ignorance, rather than from active vicious propensities. Therefore the first step is the removal of this ignorance by the spread of truth and knowledge. In open and palpable results nature is constantly showing how inimical to her interests alcohol is. The lesson is writ large and plain. Unfortunately the people as a whole only slowly, if at all, observe these results, and still more slowly learn to attribute them to the true cause.

The Board of Education is now approaching the problem in the right spirit, and on the whole by wise methods. In Circular 576 the objects aimed at are thus defined:—

“One of the objects of the new legislation is to stimulate a sense of duty in matters affecting health in the homes of the people, to enlist the best services and interest of the parents, and to educate their sense of responsibility for the personal hygiene of their children. The increased work undertaken by the State for the individual will mean that the parents have not to care less for themselves and their children, but more. It is in the home, in fact, that the seed and the fruit of public health are to be found.”

The reports of the medical inspectors under the County Councils, so far as they have yet appeared, support the general conclusion that those counties which have the highest percentage of drunkenness have also the largest proportion of neglected children. This neglect often reveals itself in some marked physical defect, which, if not cared for in youth, places its victim in the ranks of unemployables in adult life. In Worcestershire, for instance, 2378 children were examined, of whom 5 per cent. showed defective vision. No less than “1660 were found under conditions to which it was necessary to call the attention of their parents; 70 consumptive children had been excluded from school, and 88 others were under observation.”

In Glamorgan, where drunkenness is high, 4021 children were examined, and 6.3 per cent. were found to have

defective sight. "The fact that 33.8 per cent. of the children examined in the 117 schools were found with defects capable of interfering to a permanent degree with educational progress was significant."

It was more than significant, it was startling.

A "Special Commissioner" of the National Temperance League, in the spring of 1909, made personal inquiries from the teachers of several London elementary schools as to the number of little ones under their care, who said they took alcohol in one or other of its forms. Forty per cent. of these children said they took drink more or less regularly. Not one of these children was over eight years of age. Of those whose mothers were reported as visiting the public-house daily, 11 per cent. had drink given to them every day, and a further 34.1 per cent. drank it regularly. "Many," said the investigator, "are quite familiar with the subtle differences, and can describe porter, ale, and whisky. They have their own glasses, or when these are not forthcoming will have an egg-cup, while others have alcohol on Saturday and Sunday as a treat. If the same proportion of children in all London elementary schools drink alcohol, as was found to be practically constant in the schools from which figures have been obtained, it will be found that there are nearly 300,000 child-drinkers in London."

Assume that the schools tested are not an average of London schools, although they were not specially selected from any previous knowledge of them, the remaining result must be one which calls loudly for State interference, and the Children Act was not passed before it was needed.

What are the physical results of this child-drinking?

"The imbibition of alcohol by children under fourteen years of age (particularly by children in arms), undoubtedly has a tendency to interfere with nutrition, particularly of the nervous system."<sup>1</sup>

"The children of alcoholic parents are usually found to be stunted in growth, deficient in weight, suffering markedly from anæmia, and in many instances infested

<sup>1</sup> Medical Com. of the National Association for the Feeble-minded.

with vermin.”<sup>1</sup> The *Lancet* said of such children: “They grow up stunted in development, both physically and mentally, and incapable of performing work sufficient to make a decent livelihood.”

“If it be argued that alcohol is a weed-killer preventing the perpetuation of poor types, it is probably even more effective as a weed-producer.”<sup>2</sup>

The deplorable ignorance of so many thousands of poor mothers is a reproach to our civilisation. Wiser laws and a more humane method of administration would have removed this ignorance long ago. They sin against their children and imperil the future of the race not altogether or mainly from callousness and inherent brutality. They are ignorant, their senses are usually blunted by drink, the conditions in which they have to live are often awful, they are frequently the victims of rapacious slum landlords.

“I cannot conceive,” said the Recorder of Dublin, “the existence of the present condition of the houses of the working classes except upon the supposition of the long subordination of the interests of the poor and humble to vested interests in their disease, misery, and vice.”

All this, and more, may justly be said in mitigation of judgment upon the poor mistaken multitudes. But one factor seems to stand out above all others in their environment, and of itself to show that more responsibility rests upon the State than upon the slum population. It is what Lord Randolph Churchill called the fatal facility of recourse to the public-house. This fatal facility is State-created and State-maintained, for which the community must bear collective responsibility. The more one looks into the conditions of life of these teeming thousands of poor, the more one feels that they are often more sinned against than sinning.

Look at this picture of an East End Inferno sketched by G. R. Sims in his *Cry of the Children* :—

“A baby in the arms of a big, drunken-looking woman utters a cry as if in pain. The woman has a glass of beer in her left hand. She fills her mouth with the liquor, and squirts it in the crying baby’s face.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mary Scharlieb.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Mott.

"Another woman with a glass of gin stoops down and puts it to the lips of a little girl of six, and tells her to take a 'sup.' A grey-haired old grandmother looks on and mumbles with a senile chuckle that the 'young 'un don't half like it and no mistake.'

"Another woman dips her dirty finger in her gin and thrusts it into her baby's mouth, repeating the process several times. Her finger is cleaner when she has finished" (p. 11).

The Children Act has rendered such scenes in the public-houses impossible, but the ignorance which is their co-parent yet remains, and has to be removed.

The drinking of the mothers frequently destroys their power of nursing their own children, and thereby contributes to the appalling infant mortality of the country. No less than 120,000 infants die annually in the first year of their lives.

Let Mr. Sims continue his testimony:—

"Dr. George Newman, the Medical Officer of Health of Finsbury, and author of the admirable work *Infant Mortality*, has kindly given me the results of inquiry in 397 infant deaths in Finsbury in 1906.

"Of the infants born during the period covered by the inquiry, and still living, 80 per cent. were breast-fed. *Of the dead infants only 35 per cent. were breast-fed.*

"In Birmingham Dr. Robertson calculates that the infant mortality rate for breast-fed children is 7.8 per 1000 births, and for children having no breast-milk 252.3.

"It is a common thing for the power of lactation to fail in the daughters of parents who are habitual drinkers. And the loss of power descends from daughter to daughter. If a woman cannot nurse, her daughter, as a rule, cannot do so either, and the ability to suckle seems to be entirely lost for all coming generations."

Whilst it is true, as has just been stated, that the terrible slum areas in which so many of our city poor have to live offer some explanation of their deplorable drinking habits, it must not be said that it either wholly excuses them or renders them inevitable.

Take, for instance, the foreign element in the East End of London. Both personal observation, the inquiries of

social workers, and official reports show that Jews and Italians, for instance, living under precisely the same cramped conditions as our native population, because of their abstinence from alcohol and avoidance of the public-house, show a much lower death-rate, a better average health, better fed and clothed children, and more comfortable homes. Other factors remain the same. The drink factor is the chief point of difference. And what a difference it is.

"Among the bonniest babies," says Mr. Sims, "and the healthiest children to be found in London are the little ones of the Italian quarter. The public mind associates Eyre Street Hill, its dark byways and its crowded courts, with poverty and squalor. I have visited this area frequently. I have entered scores of houses in the alleys and the courtyards, and explored them from cellar to roof. I have seen the mothers, the babies, and the little children, and with the knowledge of 'things seen' I say from my heart that I would such babies were bred and such children reared in the byways and alleys crowded with a native population. Compare the children in one of our schools in a poverty area with the school children of 'Little Italy.' Among the Italian children you will find few pinched pale faces, sunken lack-lustre eyes, or attenuated frames. You will see rosy cheeks, bright laughing eyes, and plump little bodies and sturdy limbs.

"And these are the children of organ-grinders, roast-chestnut sellers, ice-cream vendors—of the aliens whom we have been accustomed to look upon as 'dirty' folk.

"In this quarter the housing conditions were until quite recently as bad as those to be found in the slums of London, but the children thrived in spite of their environment. . . . In 1903 Dr. Newman made an inquiry for the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration into the mortality of the Italians in the Italian quarter. . . . The (death) rates for 1901 and 1902 were respectively 259 and 242 per 1000 for the English, as compared with 106 and 192 for the Italian.

"These people lived under the same external conditions. What was the secret of the higher death-rate among the English infants? Many of the English mothers took their

babies into the dram-shop; the Italian mothers did not. The English babies were hand-fed, the Italian babies were breast-fed" (pp. 20-22).

Let Mr. Sims next give his testimony with regard to the Jews:—

"Let us now compare the practice of motherhood among the Jewish population of the East End with that prevailing among the native population.

"There is one street in the East End to which I frequently take friends who are interested in the problems of child life in London. One end of this street is almost entirely inhabited by Russian and Polish Jews. The other end is principally occupied by native families. Among the aliens you will never see an unshod child and rarely a ragged or a dirty one. Among the natives many of the children are shoeless, and very few of them, even in the depth of winter, are warmly clad. The alien children are in the street till a late hour of the night. They form always a pretty picture, dancing merrily in their gay-coloured frocks and ribbons and white pinafores to the organ.

"The native children, ragged and unkempt, wander dejectedly in the dark courtways or stand about outside the public-houses in which their mothers are drinking. The scene on Saturday night in this street is an object-lesson in sobriety and careful motherhood, as opposed to intemperance and neglectful motherhood.

"The Jewish mother feeds her infant naturally, caters skilfully for her children, and does not frequent the public-house. The sobriety is racial, and so is the instinct of family life that is the abiding virtue of the Jewish race.

"It is to their sobriety and their devotion to their children that the Jewish aliens largely owe the early success in a strange land which enables them to push on, and, gradually improving their condition and adding to their means, to displace and dispossess a less sober and less domesticated people" (p. 23).

Contrast this picture with another of the native specimen:—

"The tale of another child, though less brutal, was, in a sense, more terrible still.

"The mother and father could find the money for drink, but the whole family lived and slept in one room. There was, one bed in the room, and in that bed or on the floor beside it slept the father and mother, the eldest daughter—a girl of twenty-two—another daughter, much younger, and the little boy of nine whose story I heard. The elder girl was taken from that one room in the last stage of consumption to die in the hospital. The little boy—can you wonder at it?—is consumptive. There is no youth or manhood for him.

"For the dying girl and the helpless children, the father and the mother, there was the one room in which they lived and ate and slept.

"There are scores of cases equally shocking in which, with all the poverty and squalor of their environment, the parents find the money for drink. They are nightly patrons of 'the boozers,' in which they drink away the souls and bodies of their children.

"And there are horrors deeper and fouler than these that meet you now and then in the Babes' Inferno—horrors that could never be if the instinct of motherhood had not been poisoned at its source" (p. 26).

The *British Medical Journal* (April 25, 1908) confirms this verdict on the better health of the Jew due to his abstinence: "The fact that is most evident from a consideration of all the statistics is that in London the fatality from tuberculous disease of the lungs is considerably greater among Gentiles than among Jews, and that therefore, probably, although not necessarily, among these latter the disease is far less prevalent. . . . One fact which must never be lost sight of in considering all the influences which may affect the hygienic condition of the Jew is *his habitual temperance.*"

Sir Shirley Murphy gives similar testimony:—

"In insanitary areas the death-rates are frequently 35 and 40 in the 1000 of the population. A noteworthy exception is to be found in Jewish populations, who, when living in houses of the sort usually demolished under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, nevertheless have death-rates which, when compared with those of the district or of

London, are in no way high. This is, I believe, due to the better care these people take of their health, especially of their children, and to their temperance."

The investigations of the scientific inquirer confirm the conclusions of the social worker and student :—

"Women who are public-house frequenters are not only bad nurses but they are also bad mothers. How is it possible for a woman to be a mother in the truest sense when she is wretchedly fed because so large a proportion of the weekly earnings go in drink, when she is thinly clothed because the pawnshop swallows up any decent garment which may have been dearly purchased, and when she is so utterly careless of all her ways because her intellect and finer feelings are blunted by alcohol? And yet this is the condition of thousands of so-called mothers in our large cities and towns."<sup>1</sup>

"I am perfectly willing to admit," Mr. Eccles continues, "that poverty, bad housing, and all the accompaniments of a wretched environment lend their share in the production of the deterioration which exists, but I am convinced by my own observations, and by those of many another student of social economics, that at least 50 per cent. of the instances of child deterioration is due directly or indirectly to habitual intemperance in one or both parents. The statistics recently published concerning the height and weight of school children both in Glasgow and Edinburgh go far to prove the fact that life in one room means want of growth; and a single living-room often means rent-money spent on drink" (pp. 8-9).

At present the bulk of evidence seems to support the proposition that drinking and its consequences are lessening among men, but increasing among women. If that is so, it is an appalling fact, full of menace to the future of the race.

The Royal Licensing Commission in its report called attention to the fact that the Registrar-General found that from the year 1875 the deaths among women from alcoholism had increased in the proportion of from 100 to

<sup>1</sup> *The Relation of Alcohol to Physical Deterioration and National Efficiency.* W. M'Adam Eccles, MS., p. 8.

250, an increase of 150 per cent. The deaths among men during the same period had increased in the proportion of from 100 to 166, or 66 per cent. Bad enough indeed this latter figure is, but it pales before the terrible significance of the former.

For the Pan-Anglican Conference held in London in June 1908, the Women's Union collected evidence from a large number of medical men as to whether drinking had increased during the past ten years among women of the (a) upper classes, and (b) working women.

The official summary of these reports states:—

- "1. Fifteen write that amongst the middle class, nurses, school-teachers, wives of professional men, and many others, there is a decrease.
- "2. Eighty-eight doctors in fashionable practice speak of the increase amongst the leisured and wealthy classes.
- "3. Ninety-three doctors, working among the poor, speak of the marked increase amongst working women."

Here is a selection of individual expressions of opinion from the medical men reporting:—

"There is little doubt that amongst women, both rich and poor, there has been a considerable increase of drinking in connection with women's clubs" (London, W.).

"In the past twenty-five years the increase is very great" (London, S.W.).

"As a specialist for defective children, I find the family history of children in 'special schools' show a deplorable amount of maternal as well as paternal intemperance."

"In the past thirty years there has been a very large increase."

"I hear more of female inebriety than formerly, but it is secret, difficult to find out."

"From East, South, and North London, and several large manufacturing towns, medical men have reported that the increase of drinking amongst working-class women and girls is very great."

"Drinking amongst working women, and the lower

middle class, decidedly increased. Grocers' licences greatly to blame, and the many public-houses."

"Drinking *largely* increased amongst women, and diminished among men. Grocer's licence to blame."

"There is an increase amongst working women. They go to the public-houses in the morning when husbands are at work; and in the evenings and holidays with the husbands. Young girls and their sweethearts spend evenings there. There is need for teaching that beer, &c., is not good for weak girls and mothers; and that it is most unwise to give alcohol as a medicine."

"Drinking amongst working women has increased enormously. The large number of public-houses in poorer districts is a cause, and the great increase of every possible temptation."

Another bad feature of this heavy drinking among the poor has been recently emphasised by Miss Martindale, H.M. Factory Inspector. Dealing with child labour, she says: "The alarming amount spent in drink in some of the homes is undoubtedly another reason for child labour. . . . Constantly such remarks occur as: 'The father drinks all he earns;' 'Both the father and the mother drink;' 'There would be no occasion for child to work if her father was sober;' 'The mother is generally drunk and pawns everything that comes into the house,'" and so on.

It would be easy to give way to violence of feeling and denounce in unmeasured terms the supreme folly, cruelty, and wickedness of a state of things which produces such results as are here indicated. And it would be difficult to say more in condemnation than the facts warrant. But our object is rather to appeal to reason and judgment, and to ask the patriot to face these things, and honestly ask himself what his duty is with regard to them.

Dr. T. A. MacNicholl, writing in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal* of June 8, 1901, said:—

"The child's first claim upon the State is not education, not liberty, not even happiness; but it is life, it is health. No human agent should have any right to the indiscriminate dispensing of that which contaminates the fountain-head of citizenship, implants disease in the

offspring, and casts upon the community an unnecessary burden of defective and degenerate youth."

Let us see that the child's first claim is met, and that it shall have a fair chance of possessing normal health.

As things are, of the three organised moral forces of society—the Home, the School, and the Church—the first is denied to thousands of little British children because of drink. It simply does not exist for them. The father and mother have no faculty for creating the blessed home atmosphere, because they have blunted their natural instincts by alcohol, and the child has no experience of what home means. He grows up with his best faculties atrophied, and what is a lack in one generation becomes sheer brutality in the next. The brute beast in us always lies closely in wait. The less conscious of what they miss in life these victims of alcoholism are, the more they are to be pitied, and the worse it is for the State. One of the finest assets of national stability and prosperity is the happy home life of the mass of the people.

The School and the Church at best can only very imperfectly supply what the home lacks. A sound superstructure can only be erected upon a sound base. If the unit of the nation is corrupt and vitiated, the sum of the units cannot be healthy, vigorous, safe.

The first enemy to be fought by all moral and social reformers is the enemy of the home, and until that is overcome all work in other directions, however good and desirable in itself, will be tentative and unsatisfactory in its results, and a source of disappointment to those engaged in it.

## CHAPTER IX

### PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR AND CONSUMPTION

WE pass now to the consideration of the industrial and trade aspects of the great problem raised by our national expenditure on alcoholic liquors.

Let us refresh our minds by a few accepted definitions before we proceed with the argument of this chapter. What do we mean by Political Economy?

John Stuart Mill in his *Early Essays* (p. 128) gives this definition: "The following seems to come out as the correct and complete definition of Political Economy: The science which treats of the production and distribution of wealth so far as they depend upon the laws of nature." Later writers, particularly American, have much enlarged and expanded this definition. The *New Standard Dictionary* puts it thus: "Political Economy—the branch of civics that treats of the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, including all the causes of prosperity and the reverse. It discusses labour, wages, population, capital, money, rent, value, trade, and the relation of government to industry and economic conditions."

Dr. Hargreaves, whose *Wasted Resources* was one of the earliest treatises on the subject of this book, defines it as follows: "Political Economy as a science may be said to embrace the proper administration of the revenue of a nation, the management and regulation of its resources, labour, productions, and property, and the means by which the labour and the property of its citizens are protected and directed, as well as the best means of securing the success of each individual's industry and enterprise, and general national prosperity."

Dr. A. A. Hopkins in his *Wealth and Waste* carries it still further :—

“(a) A science that determines, fixes, something of great moment in the relations of men.

“(b) Laws, determined by this science, adopted by men, in harmony with laws natural and divine, to secure certain important ends.

“(c) Labour, a recognised necessity, to be minimised by results of law, whereby ‘the least possible exertion’ will yield the largest possible returns.

“(d) Want, and the satisfaction of want with ‘things useful,’ as the inspiration of work.

“(e) Distribution of abundance,—in other words, the equitable allotment of wealth.

“(f) Consumption, use, of whatever is distributed, earned, obtained, produced, in a rational and beneficent way.”

De. Lavaleye, the famous French economist, links the economic with the moral on a common basis. “In ethics,” he says, “you find the true root of economic laws.” And further: “The end of ethics, the good, and the end of Political Economy, the useful, are inseparable.”

Accepting this common basis, Dr. Hopkins concludes :—

“Whenever any element or influence enters life and the State to paralyse energy, to decrease production, to render distribution unfair, to impair credit, to pervert desire, to banish the spirit of thrift, and to destroy capital, Political Economy should find some law to eliminate that element or influence, and to protect life and the State from its baleful effects.”

Accepting these propositions as a true description of the functions of Political Economy, we proceed to examine what bearing they have upon some aspects of the liquor problem.

There are two factors necessary for production, namely, suitable natural objects and the labour of man. The first may exist in abundance, but without the application of the second these natural resources are either wasted or useless. Man’s power to labour is of no service to him unless he has the appropriate material upon which to exercise it. The whole art of living—so far as physical existence is con-

cerned—consists in employing these two factors for the purposes of human sustenance.

The adaptations and organisations of civilised society are only developments of this single truth. The existence of capital, which is the saved surplus product of labour, merely renders the direction and employment of labour more easy and efficient, and is not, in the first instance, necessary to production. True, at this time of day, and in all civilised communities, where land is held in private ownership, capital is used and is necessary for all industrial enterprises, whether of production, distribution, or exchange. "Industry is limited by capital" (Mill, *Political Economy*, chap. v.). But capital, even so, is no more than a *condition* of the application of labour to natural objects.

All wisely directed work is reproductive, either by reason of the creation of utilities, or by the generation of force necessary for the creation of utilities. It is thus that a demand for more labour arises, and in ever-widening circles the products of all sound work become the springs of fresh streams of labour.

It is quite a mistake to assume, as is often done, that there is a fixed amount of work to be done at any given time, and a strictly circumscribed amount of available capital to be used, whatever the price of labour may be, or however plentiful or scarce it may be.

The demand for work comes from work. The less work there is of one kind, the less demand there is for other kinds. Labour creates the demand for labour if it is not unproductive labour. And if labour is scarce, or too expensive, or grossly inefficient, or misdirected, enterprises languish and the demand declines.

The distinction between productive and unproductive labour is broad and deep. Labour which is absolutely necessary for production does not always result in production, hence all labour is not equally good, in the sense of being equally productive. Mill says (*Political Economy*, chap. iii.): "We should regard all labour as productive which is employed in creating permanent utilities, whether embodied in human beings or in any other animate or inanimate objects." And he describes utilities as being of three kinds: 1. Those which are fixed and embodied in

outward objects, as for instance buildings, plant and machinery. 2. Those which are fixed and embodied in human beings, the result of the labours of the educationist, the moralist, the governor, and the physician. 3. Those which consist in useful service rendered, as indicated, for instance, under the second head.

"By unproductive labour, on the contrary, will be understood labour which does not terminate in the creation of material wealth, which, however largely or successfully practised, does not render the community, and the world at large, richer in material products, but poorer by all that is consumed by the labourers while so employed" (*Political Economy*, chap. iii.). In his *Early Essays* (III. "On the Words Productive and Unproductive") Mill enlarges upon his definition of Unproductive Labour thus:—

"The following are wholly unproductive : Labour exerted and expenditure incurred directly and exclusively for the purpose of enjoyment, and not calling into existence anything, whether substance or quality, but such as begins and perishes in the enjoyment. Labour exerted and expenditure incurred uselessly, or in pure waste, and yielding neither direct enjoyment nor permanent sources of enjoyment." And on the next page he adds : "It is of the greatest importance to mark the distinction between the labour and the consumption which have enjoyment for their immediate end, and the labour and the consumption of which the immediate end is reproduction."

In this passage Mill goes beyond the consideration of unproductive labour, and introduces us to unproductive consumption. He classes both as equally useless for the purposes of the community, if progress in wealth and the means of happiness are desirable objects at which the community should aim. Let him continue the exposition in his own words. Returning to chap. iii. of *Political Economy* we find him declaring : "The distinction of Productive and Unproductive is applicable to consumption as well as to labour. All the members of the community are not labourers, but all are consumers, and consume either unproductively or productively." And again : "There is a distinction more important to the wealth of a community

than even that between productive and unproductive labour ; the distinction, namely, between labour for the supply of productive, and for the supply of unproductive, consumption ; between labour employed in keeping up or in adding to the productive resources of the country, and that which is employed otherwise."

Here, then, are two characteristics attached to both labour and consumption. There is a productive and an unproductive labour ; the one desirable, the other undesirable. There is a productive and an unproductive consumption ; the first of progressive benefit to the community, the second representing the sudden extinction of potential benefit.

Assuming this exposition of principles to be accurate, the argument of this chapter, based upon these principles, may be stated in two propositions, thus :—

1. That labour employed in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks is unproductive labour.

2. That the consumption of alcoholic liquors is unproductive consumption.

1. *That labour employed in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks is unproductive labour.*

Without entering upon an elaborate discussion as to the numbers employed in the liquor traffic, it is necessary to say that the claims put forward by defenders of that traffic, that what are called "allied trades" should be included in the estimate of numbers engaged, cannot for one moment be entertained. And for good reason. No trade in the country is independent of every other trade. The cotton trade, for example, cannot conduct its operations without the workers in the cotton plantations, railwaymen, shipping men, and dockyard employees. But no one would consider these classes of employees as engaged in cotton manufacture. They are necessary to it, it is true, but they are necessary to other trades also, and must be classed under their own distinctive headings.

In the same way when estimating the numbers engaged in brewing and distilling we must take those employed in the said processes only, and not go beyond their borders to bring in the members of other trades, which exist independently of the particular trade which at times requires

their services. One defender of "the trade" (Pratt, *The Licensed Trade*, p. 275) includes in his list of those employed in or at a brewery, bill-posters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, painters, wheelwrights, &c., all of whom would be needed if there was no brewery in existence. The services they render are not peculiar to a brewery, but are common to all sorts of industrial undertakings.

We are dealing only with the men who take the grain from the agriculturist, and by the processes of malting and brewing convert it into alcoholic beverages. And our argument is, that the labour expended upon these processes is unproductive labour, adding nothing to the wealth of the community, neither increasing the force necessary for labour, nor the facilities for labour, nor adding to the permanent sources of enjoyment of the community.

"All labour," says Mill (*Political Economy*, chap. iii.), "is, in the language of Political Economy, unproductive, which ends in immediate enjoyment, without any increase of the accumulated stock of permanent means of enjoyment."

Let us look at the purchaser of these liquors in the act of purchase. The drink he consumes adds nothing to his strength, to his brain power, to his alertness of mind, to the quickness or certainty of his comprehension, to the coolness and promptitude of his judgment, to the firmness of his will, or to the stability of an intelligent purpose. According to the measure of what he consumes, checked only by the power of resistance to deleterious influences his body possesses, is the measure of the injury he suffers in all his faculties, and in his use of them, either as an industrial or an intellectual worker. His drinking endows him with no extra power of production. Whatever good there is in the liquor is not transmissible, its value ends with himself so far as any possible or probable benefit is concerned.

On the other hand, in the mass, it cannot be disputed that this drinking entails enormous burdens on the community, involving a terrible, if quite exactly unascertainable, cost and loss. But the point now is that, unlike food, or rest, or recreation, which invigorate a man for further tasks, drink fails to do any such thing. Therefore the amount of labour expended in its production ends its

operations at the moment of consumption, and has added nothing further to the actual or potential wealth of the community. The community is the poorer by the amount of grain destroyed in the manufacture of the drink, and by the amount of food consumed by the manufacturers in the process. It is loss direct, instant, and irremediable.

It would be difficult, from the point of view of Political Economy, to defend such production and expenditure if the results were merely innocuous, but being as they are highly injurious both personally and nationally, and on such a colossal scale, from the point of view of social science and the good of the community their production and consumption stand condemned.

But, it may be urged, the great fortunes made by brewers show that wealth is produced. It is possible, says Mill, for the individual to grow rich by unproductive labour, but society does not. The individual gains at the expense of society, when the products of such labour consist only in pleasurable sensation, which when gone leaves no trace. "In any case society or mankind grow no richer by it, but poorer. All material products consumed by any one while he produces nothing, are so much subtracted, for the time, from the material products which society would otherwise have possessed. But though society grows no richer by unproductive labour, the individual may. An unproductive labourer may receive for his labour, from those who derive pleasure or benefit from it, a remuneration which may be to him a considerable source of wealth; but his gain is balanced by their loss; they may have received a full equivalent for their expenditure, but they are so much the poorer by it" (*Political Economy*, chap. iii.). "His" (the manufacturer's) "gain is balanced by their" (the purchasers') "loss." Thus the community has benefited nothing by the transaction. The purchasers may have received a full equivalent for their expenditure, but they are so much the poorer by it, because what they have purchased has left no tangible benefit behind. They have exchanged cash—which represents value—for something which, for all reproductive purposes, ends at the moment of consumption, and thereby extinguishes the value they have

paid for it. In other words, it is a waste of resources which has taken place, the individual is so much the poorer, and the community has lost the use, for the time, of so much potential capital. Thus it is clear that the labour expended in the preparation of articles which so end, is unproductive labour.

2. *That the consumption of alcoholic liquors is unproductive consumption.*

In the third chapter of his *Political Economy*, Mill clearly defines the point we are now attempting to establish against liquor consumption.

"Consumption on pleasure or luxuries, whether by the idle or by the industrious, since production is neither its object nor is in any way advanced by it, must be reckoned unproductive." And again:—"That alone is productive consumption which goes to maintain and increase the productive powers of the community." In other words, unproductive consumption is a loss to the present, a waste of possible resources for the future, and may entail burdens both upon the present and a future generation. The worker, therefore, who ought to think seriously and unselfishly of the future prospects of his own class, is, of all possible sections of the community, the most interested in checking unproductive consumption, for labour is of necessity the first to suffer in any slackening of national productivity. For the worker to indulge in unproductive consumption to any large extent is an injury to his comrades, and, indeed, an offence against his own order.

"To pronounce in which way the wages of the labourer are consumed, we must follow them into the labourer's own hands. As much as is necessary to keep the productive labourer in perfect health and fitness for his employment, may be said to be consumed productively. To this should be added what he expends in rearing children to the age at which they become capable of productive industry."<sup>1</sup>

It is much too late in the day to argue that the consumption of alcoholic liquors is "necessary to keep the productive labourer in perfect health and fitness for his employment." Every inquirer into the question knows that however much

<sup>1</sup> Mill, *Early Essays*, iii.

large sections of workers may like alcoholic beverages, they are not necessary for efficient work. On the contrary, their direct and immediate effect is to reduce efficiency. If the worst that could be proved against them was that they did not help the worker, but left him neither better nor worse, their consumption would still be an unproductive consumption. But when it is well established by irrefutable evidence, and by men's daily experience, that their beverage use is a constant source of inefficiency and slackness in, and neglect of work, the case is not sufficiently covered by a merely negative statement of unproductive consumption. It must be added that it is a consumption which means the direct waste of national resources, and the direct and immediate creation of burdens for the community which it would not otherwise have to carry. Possible wealth production is reduced by it; tangible and heavy burdens are produced.

"What is required . . . for keeping up the productive resources of the country, cannot be diverted from its destination without rendering the nation as a whole poorer."<sup>1</sup>

In unfortunately too many instances the worker's expenditure on drink is not taken from that margin of income which exceeds his necessary expenditure. It is drawn from funds which are needed to supply his legitimate wants. Either he, or his family, or both, go without many things they require in order that he may purchase liquor. This money, diverted from its legitimate channels, from necessities to luxuries, cannot be so diverted "without rendering the nation as a whole poorer."

It is a commonly accepted estimate that two-thirds of our annual Drink Bill comes from the workers, who represent—with their families—about three-fourths of the total population. In 1908 the Drink Bill—according to Dr. Dawson Burns's estimate contributed to the *Times*—amounted to £161,000,000. The population of the United Kingdom in the middle of that year was calculated to be 44,000,000. Thus 33,000,000 of people were responsible for an expenditure of £107,000,000 on drink. If we take five members to represent an average family, it

<sup>1</sup> Mill, *Early Essays*, p. 87.

means £16 per annum per family spent on drink, or from a fifth to a sixth of the total earnings of the workers of the nation.

Sir Thomas Whittaker estimates<sup>1</sup> that the actual consumers of alcohol are 55 per cent. of the population, 45 per cent. being pledged abstainers and children under fourteen years of age. Professor Leone Levi made an almost exactly similar estimate in 1871, and Messrs Rowntree and Sherwell a closely approximate one in 1899. They put the drinkers at 55.3 and 57.5 per cent. respectively.

Accepting Sir Thomas Whittaker's estimate, the actual consumers of alcohol would number 24,200,000. If these are divided into the same proportions of workers and other classes as the whole population was above, the wage-earners and their dependents among the drinkers will number 18,150,000, and these people spend £107,000,000 per annum on drink, or nearly £6 per head.

This vast amount of money is subtracted, in the first place, from the fund which ought to be expended on necessities of life. In the second place, but to a much smaller degree, from surplus income which ought to be saved for investment and used as capital by which to employ more labour. "To a much smaller degree," because it is unfortunately too true that the rate of wages paid to many workers leaves them small margin for saving during many years of their lives, particularly when their children are young. All the more injurious, therefore, is this deplorable expenditure on drink, for it not only takes from the bread-winner part, and often a large part, of the sustenance he requires, but by depriving the children of a sufficiency of good food at the time of their greatest need, it adds to the population a large number of physical weaklings and mental dullards, rendered so by the waste of money on drink. Mill's second class of "utilities"—"those which are fixed and embodied in human beings," is thus seriously injured by this foolish expenditure.

"Any increase in consumption that is strictly necessary to efficiency pays its own way and adds to, as much as it draws from, the national dividend," says Professor

<sup>1</sup> *Economic Aspect of the Drink Problem*, p. 9.

Marshall.<sup>1</sup> And, conversely, any decrease in the amount of consumption that is necessary for efficiency represents loss to the community and a depletion of the "national dividend" or wages fund, on which we depend for employment. Thus "It is more important to insist that in the long run the supply of efficient labour is very closely dependent on the rate of earnings and *the manner in which they are spent.*"<sup>2</sup> The phrase here printed in italics emphasises the whole teaching of this chapter. The manner in which the worker spends his money is of vital importance to his own class, and he can, if he will, by a transference of his expenditure from liquor to things of utility and necessity, work a vast change for the better in the labour market, without waiting for legislation from one party or the other.

A practical illustration will probably afford the best completion to this argument. Suppose one man spends £1000 in drink and another spends £1000 in building a house. Both give employment, it is true, but in widely differing proportions, for drink manufacture pays less in wages than most of our great industries. In the first instance the drinker has spent his £1000, has swallowed his liquor, and has had his enjoyment, such as it is. But he has nothing to show for his expenditure except, most probably, injury to health. He is certainly not stronger, or better, or healthier than he would have been had he left it alone. His money has vanished, leaving nothing of any value either to himself or to the community. Indeed, it is almost a certainty that he is a worse man for such use of his money.

In the second case, there is the value of a house added to the community, a benefit both to the individual and to his fellows. The owner has either a home for himself and his family, or a source of annual income which he can devote to purposes of further employment. The community has a new source of revenue open to it, and existing rates are aided by a new object of taxation. Assume that the house stands for one hundred years. For that period it will, at intervals, provide employment for painters,

<sup>1</sup> *Economics of Industry*, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

plumbers, glaziers, paper-hangers, and builders. Rates will be paid and property tax assessed upon it, and the owner will draw his annual rent and his son after him, for a century. Contrast this with the expenditure of £1000 on liquor, which is not a necessity, but a more or less injurious luxury, and the difference between a productive and an unproductive expenditure will be clearly seen.

Here is Professor Marshall's verdict. "The consumption of conventional necessities" (he is speaking of alcohol and tobacco) "by productive workers is commonly classed as productive consumption, but, strictly speaking, it ought not to be."<sup>1</sup> And again:

"Perhaps £100,000,000 annually are spent even by the working classes, and £400,000,000 by the rest of the population of England, in ways that do little or nothing towards making life nobler or truly happier. And it would certainly be well that all should work less, if we could secure that the new leisure be spent well, and the consequent loss of material income be met exclusively by the abandonment by all classes of the least worthy methods of consumption. But this result is not easy to be attained; for human nature changes slowly, and in nothing more slowly than in the hard task of learning to use leisure well. In every age, in every nation, and in every rank of society, those who have known how to work well have been far more numerous than those who have known how to use leisure well; but, on the other hand, it is only through freedom to use leisure as they will that people can learn to use leisure well: and it is true that no class of workers who are devoid of leisure can have much self-respect and become full citizens: some time free from fatigue and free from work are necessary conditions of a high standard of life" (p. 388).

True words; but a wise use of leisure is practically impossible to thousands as long as the State licenses "pit-falls" and "man-traps" at every street corner, where opportunities for vicious indulgence blunt the higher faculties and deaden all desire for improvement.

Ruskin had one of his frequent flashes of insight when

<sup>1</sup> *Economics of Industry*, p. 65.

he wrote :<sup>1</sup> "Wise consumption is a far more difficult art than wise production. Twenty people can gain money for one who can use it ; and the vital question, for individual and for nation, is, never 'How much do they make?' but, 'To what purpose do they spend?'" And again (p. 150) : "The final object of political economy, therefore, is to get good method of consumption, and great quantity of consumption ; in other words, to use everything and to use it nobly ; whether it be substance, service, or service perfecting substance."

<sup>1</sup> *Unto This Last*, p. 144.

## CHAPTER X

### THE INDUSTRIAL VALUE OF A MAN

"THE drunkard is a waste of human material," said the *Brewing Trade Review*, February 1909.

It is something worth noting to have obtained this admission from the official organ of the brewers. It is a self-evident truth, the failure to recognise which has cost, and is costing, this country dear. Having obtained from the brewers this frank acknowledgment of the nature of the results of their own trade, it surely cannot be too much to hope that we may some day obtain from all fair-minded people—and business men in particular—the admission that the processes which eventuate in such a deplorable result cannot be good in themselves. "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so, every good tree bringeth forth good fruit: but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."

The drunkard is but the finished product of a series of actions in which the State, society, and the individual are directly concerned as working partners. They succeed in producing something which not only has no value in itself, which is a burden and a nuisance as long as it lasts, but which can only be manufactured by the destruction of the good human material which nature has produced. And this material, if it were preserved from destruction, might be of great benefit to the family, to society, and to the State.

What is the value, expressed in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence, of the individual thus destroyed?

"To the community at large, the labour and expense of

rearing its infant population form a part of the outlay which is a condition of production, and which is to be replaced with increase from the future produce of their labour.”<sup>1</sup>

Three or four American economists have agreed upon the following estimate of the cost of producing a man:— During the first five years of his life a boy is estimated to cost £10 per annum; for the next ten years he costs £20 per annum; for the next six years, that is, until he is twenty-one, he costs £40 per annum; a total cost of £490. This may be held to be the minimum amount which the average man, when attaining to man's estate, owes to society for his upbringing.

Sir Edwin Chadwick, when giving his presidential address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1862, estimated the cost to the nation of every case of failure who lives the average length of life at £480. An interesting approximation to the more modern American estimate of the cash value of a man, although made from a different standpoint, and for a different purpose.

Let us assume, therefore, that on reaching maturity a man owes to the community at least £480. Unless in the remaining years of his life he produces enough to keep himself with a margin over for the gradual repayment of the cost of his upbringing, he dies a debtor to the community, never having financially justified his existence. Every such case of failure is a cost and loss to his fellows, making their task in life harder than it would have been had he done his duty. Once the real solidarity of labour is understood thoroughly by the industrial, and the consequent sense of loyalty to his comrades is aroused, we shall have less careless failures than we have at the present time. These “wasters” are the enemies of their own class, heavy clogs on the wheels of progress. When a man sees that it is a duty he owes, not merely to himself, but to his comrades of the industrial army, that he shall make the best and not the worst of his life, he will put a restraint upon appetites whose gratification can only be accomplished at the cost of his fellows, realising that the well-being of all depends upon the well-doing of each.

<sup>1</sup> Mill, *Political Economy*, p. 25.

That there are many such self-produced failures is obvious to every thoughtful observer. Unfortunately, practically every village in the land has its specimens, and every large centre of population has its battalion. How large this national army may be, taking the country as a whole, no one can say, but that it attains to very great dimensions is admitted by all social students. No one alleges that all these failures are due to drink; but those directly traceable to drink are, on the most conservative calculation, a very large proportion indeed.

The most modest estimate of the deaths from drink and its consequences puts the number at 40,000 per annum. Other estimates are much higher. Suppose these 40,000 lived long enough to pay back half the cost of their upbringing to the community, in addition to paying their way and discharging all current liabilities during their years of adult life, there would then remain an undischarged debt to the community of £9,600,000.

But there is a further consideration. During the years of his working life the drunkard practically never works full time. His productivity is at a minimum instead of a maximum, and the quality of his work is usually low also. "As the work is, so is the worker; as the worker is, so is the work" (Marshall). How much the community loses by the lack of this labour no one can say; but it must be a serious loss, for it is a loss, on a large scale, of "that portion of the productive resources of society which is fixed in the lives or bodily and mental powers of its productive members" (Mill).

Again: your drunkard or heavy drinker, either in times of slackness of work, or by reason of his being discharged as an unsatisfactory workman, or because of drink-induced sickness, is frequently falling back on the rates for relief for himself and his family; and worse than any cash loss to the community is the loss of self-respect his conduct involves his family in, thereby preparing a new generation of loafers and wastrels for the State to keep in years to come.

Sir Edwin Chadwick, in the address previously quoted from, said: "The actual waste of capital in England and

Wales, from the loss of labour, from excessive sickness and premature mortality, I estimate, at the very least, at between fourteen and fifteen millions per annum."<sup>1</sup>

Here is another aspect of the national loss entailed by the drinking habits of the people. In other chapters we have discussed the question of the amount of sickness and premature death due to drink, and the arguments need not be repeated here. But if we accept Sir Edwin Chadwick's estimate, and it is most probably much below the mark of to-day, we have several millions more to add to the £9,600,000 estimated above. Our figure of annual loss under this head may now easily stand at £15,000,000, all due to drink.

The steady and widespread deterioration of faculty is responsible for a very heavy national loss of productivity. The slow deadening of the brain, the weakening of the nerve, the deflection of judgment, the loss of control, the failure of initiative, and instability of will which alcohol produces in a man, all represents a cash loss to the nation.

"The moral qualities of the labourers," says Mill, "are fully as important to the efficiency and worth of their labour as the intellectual. Independently of the effects of intemperance upon their bodily and mental faculties, and of flighty, unsteady habits upon the energy and continuity of their work, . . . it is well worthy of meditation how much of the aggregate effect of their labour depends on their trustworthiness."<sup>2</sup>

And again: "The skill, and the energy and perseverance, of the artisans of a country are reckoned parts of its wealth, no less than their tools and machinery" (p. 30).

Professor Marshall endorses these views.

"We may define personal wealth so as to include all those energies, faculties, and habits which directly contribute to making people industrially efficient."<sup>3</sup>

Yet again: "The prevalence of intemperate habits in a country diminishes both the number of days in the week and the number of years in his life during which the bread-

<sup>1</sup> *Statistical Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> *Political Economy*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Economics of Industry*, p. 58.

winner is earning full wages. Temperance increases a man's power, and generally increases his will to save."

These statements are profoundly true, and of vital importance to an industrial people. They can only be ignored at peril, and violated at great loss. There is no avoiding the natural consequences of our actions, whether as individuals or as nations.

And it is not only a waste of present material which takes place under these conditions; it is a sacrifice of future possibilities of wealth, also beyond calculation.

"This strength of the man himself, this resolution, energy, and self-mastery, or, in short, this 'vigour,' is the source of all progress."<sup>1</sup>

"From the national point of view, persons are at least as remunerative a field of investment as things; and that investments in persons are cumulative in their effects from year to year, and from generation to generation" (*Ibid.* p. 419).

The conclusions at which we have now arrived are—That character has equally an economic value as capacity and trained skill, and that all are constantly ruined by drink.

That the character and capacity of the worker are both necessary for the production of that vital force on which all progress depends, and that drink, by destroying this vital force, is the enemy of the progress of the race.

That no amount of pleasure derived, or revenue extracted from, the consumption and sale of drink can possibly recoup the nation for the losses here indicated. There is nothing which can balance the account.

Omitting hotels and railway refreshment-rooms, there were in England and Wales in 1908 nearly 95,000 on-licensed houses. Suppose each of these houses has no more than twenty adult male customers who have to earn their living, and who are regular frequenters week by week. Here we have an army of 1,900,000 men who are wasting their slender resources on that which is not a necessity, thereby causing a certain amount of deprivation and suffering to their families, and reducing, long before the time of their natural falling-off, their own physical and mental

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *Economics of Industry*, p. 138.

powers ; who are limiting, by their own act and deed, the productivity of the nation, and who are preparing a large percentage of their number for the ranks of the unemployables, to become a burden upon their more industrious and more sober fellow-craftsmen. The industrial sometimes puzzles one by saying that the capitalist is his enemy. His enemy is drink.

He sometimes says the social system oppresses him. His greatest oppressor is drink.

He sometimes sighs, and rightly so, for some Utopia where all shall have sufficient, and none shall go in want. There is no producer of want and all its consequent miseries as powerful as drink.

It sits as a huge parasite upon all legitimate industry, sucking its life's-blood, giving nothing in return. Its victims—and their name is legion—it flings out upon society, for society to take care of at whatever cost.

It makes fortunes for the few, and creates misfortunes for the many. Loss in the present, loss permanent, and contingent loss in the future, is the sum of its career. It is not the sum of all evil, but its sum of evil is the greatest from any one cause which civilised man knows. It is the enemy of all honest industry, and the enemy of the industrial ; and, indeed, as the *Times* once said, " It would be impossible to find anything which stands for so much loss to soul, body, and estate as the public-house."

## CHAPTER XI

### INEFFICIENCY—PERSONAL AND INDUSTRIAL

“To be able to bear in mind many things at a time, to have everything ready when wanted, to act promptly and show resource when anything goes wrong, to accommodate oneself quickly to changes in details of the work done, to be steady and trustworthy, to have always a reserve of force which will come out in emergency, these are the qualities which make a great industrial people. They are not peculiar to any occupation, but are wanted in all.”<sup>1</sup> And every one of these qualities, which is the seed-bed of potential wealth, is depleted of its vital essence by alcohol.

Even more than capital, these characteristics are necessary to the productivity of the nation, and therefore to its continuance in its present position in the scale of nations.

“As others see us,” if “others” are foreigners, is sometimes said to represent the judgment of posterity.

Let us therefore consider the judgment of a friendly outsider, an American citizen, upon our world-position to-day:—

“The most important and absorbing phenomenon of our time is the condition of Great Britain; for, should she not be maintaining her energy relatively to the development of energy elsewhere, her supremacy must be passing from her, either toward the east or west.”<sup>2</sup>

“Everywhere society tends to become organised in greater and denser masses, the more vigorous and economical mass destroying the less active and more wasteful” (*Ibid.* p. 26).

“The British, as a nation, are wasteful and profuse” (*Ibid.* p. 149).

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *Economics of Industry*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>2</sup> Brooks Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy*, p. vi.

"In England the mass of the people have little laid by; they squander their incomes as they go. In France and America men accumulate" (*Ibid.* p. 185).

Great Britain, once the head of the industrial world, with her nearest competitor well in the rear, is no longer in that position of proud isolation. Many causes have contributed to bring about this vastly important change in the relative positions of the industrial nations of the world. It is foreign to our purpose to inquire into them here. Sufficient that we note the general fact that competition between nation and nation is becoming keener and more intense, and that the centre of industrial gravity, as it has done since recorded history began, still tends westward.

Our keenest competitor in the future for the largest share in the commerce of the world will probably not be Germany, but the United States. It has many advantages over us. Mere size tells in a struggle of this kind, and when size includes vaster national resources, a fruitfulness of soil which more than supplies the home population, and an inventiveness, an energy and an adaptability among that population which belong peculiarly to new peoples, the balance of advantage lies palpably on one side.

For the purposes of our present argument we need only to emphasise one point of difference, but it is a point of such importance that practically every student of the social and industrial conditions of the two countries calls attention to it. And indeed it would not be easy to exaggerate its influence. Although the price of alcoholic liquors is considerably higher in the United States than it is in the United Kingdom, the average expenditure per head upon intoxicating liquors is not much more than half of ours.

"The United States of America, with seventy-six millions of people, spend on drink per annum . . .		£234,000,000
"At Britain's rate per head they would spend . . . . .		362,000,000
"Compared with Britain, the United States saves or diverts to better purposes . . . . .		128,000,000" <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Labour and Drink*, Right Hon. John Burns, M.P., p. 9.

In May 1902, Count Douglas introduced a measure of temperance reform into the Prussian Diet. In doing so, according to the *Times* correspondent, he "Expressed his conviction that in the industrial and commercial rivalry of the nations, those countries where temperance was inculcated and practised would ultimately secure the advantage. In particular, he directed attention to the success of the temperance movement in the United States of America, where there were ten millions of abstainers."<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the phenomenal spread of prohibition sentiment in the United States, where at the present time nearly half of the population is living without the open saloon, whatever advantage that country had because of her greater sobriety in 1902, has considerably increased during the intervening seven years.

The first to feel the benefits of greater sobriety is the worker. He is the foundation of the whole industrial structure. Whatever injures him, depresses his energies, or weakens his powers, strikes at the great whole of which he is the productive unit. For years past, evidence has been rapidly accumulating to the effect that the best of which a man is capable—for all the purposes which call his faculties into play in this world—is to be attained without alcohol and not with it. No sane man disputes the fact that excessive indulgence destroys both mind and body. What is not yet generally understood and accepted is that the final result, which all deplore, is but the end of a series of effects alike in their nature from start to finish. It is only in the degree of the effect by which the wreck at the end differs from the slight and masked injury at the beginning. The character of the process is the same all through. Like produces like. There is no discoverable point where the nature of the effect is seen to change from good to bad. The process is more or less irregular, and varies its pace in different cases, but it is the same process in all. "It begins by destroying, it ends by destruction."

When this destructive process is multiplied by the thousand of instances, and continued through the years, and a whole nation is the field of its operations, it must, in

<sup>1</sup> The *Times*, May 8, 1902.

the very nature of the case, be a subject of first-class importance, and one deserving the close and instant attention of every patriot in general, and every commercial man in particular.

Let us look at a few samples of the practical evidence which has been accumulating during the past half-century.

Sir John Hall, K.C.B., in his *Medical History of the War in the Crimea*, vol. i. p. 504, wrote :—

“My own opinion is, that neither spirits, wine, nor malt liquors is necessary for health. The healthiest army I ever served with had not a single drop of any of them; and although it was exposed to all the hardships of Kaffir warfare at the Cape of Good Hope, in wet and inclement weather, without tents or shelter of any kind, the sick list seldom exceeded one per cent.; and this continued not only throughout the whole of the active campaign, but after the men were collected in standing camps at its termination, and this favourable state of things continued until the termination of the war.”

Twenty years ago Lord Roberts said the work of the Army Temperance Association in India had added an effective battalion to the strength of our army of occupation, and when challenged he repeated and enforced the statement. The greater immunity from disease of the abstainer as compared with the drinker was responsible for the difference.

Sir Frederick Treves, Serjeant-Surgeon to H.M. the King, speaking after his return from the South African War, said :—

“As a work producer it (alcohol) is exceedingly extravagant, and, like all other extravagant measures, leads to a physical bankruptcy. It is also curious that troops cannot work or march on alcohol. I was, as you know, with the relief column that moved on to Ladysmith, and, of course, it was an exceedingly trying time, apart from the heat of the weather. In that column of some 30,000 men, the first who dropped out were not the tall men, or the short men, or the big men, or the little men, but the drinkers, and they dropped out as clearly as if they had been labelled.”

Look at the experience of the labour world. "It is creditable to the leaders of the trades societies that they have strenuously exerted their influence to suppress the vice of drunkenness. In spite of the development of industry in this country, the constantly increasing employment, and gradual increase in the rate of wages, we have to deplore the existence, side by side with this prosperity, of that which we are too apt to think is inevitable—pauperism. Do not the statistics of the consumption of intoxicating liquors, and the expenditure of £100,000,000 a year on drink, indicate an excessive indulgence in the use of stimulants? The taste for drinking, which unhappily still prevails in this country among a large number of the labouring people, has been excused on the ground that hard work renders a considerable consumption of beer almost a necessity. But some of the most powerful among the navvies have been teetotallers. On the Great Northern Railway there was a celebrated gang of navvies, who did more work in a day than any other gang on the line, and always left off work an hour or an hour and a half earlier than any other men. Every navvy in this powerful gang was a teetotaller."<sup>1</sup>

At that time, Mr. Brassey said, navvies earned on the average 3s. 6d. per day for a ten hours' day. On this basis the teetotallers saved at least five hours, or half a day per week, or twenty-six days in the year. This was worth to each man £4, 11s. per annum. Estimating that the drinker spent on an average 3d. per day on his drink, and 1s. 6d. each Saturday and Sunday—a moderate estimate—his annual drink bill would be £7, 16s. This also the abstainer saved. He was thus over £12 per annum better off than the drinker, and was a more efficient worker also.

The fact that the sober workman is more efficient is seen from a remarkable case given by Hopkins in his *Wealth and Waste*, and also by Fernald in his *Economics of Prohibition*. Dr. Hopkins thus relates it:—

"In 1867 the Messrs. Ames of North Easton, Massachusetts, great manufacturers of shovels, &c., produced in the months of May and June, with 375 men employed,

<sup>1</sup> *On Work and Wages*, by Thomas Brassey, M.P. (1873), pp. 16-17.

8 per cent. more than in the same months of the year after, with 400 men working the same hours, under the same conditions as to the manufacture itself.

"Why did this great factory of the Messrs. Ames show such a percentage (about 14 per. cent.) one year in favour of the smaller number of men that year employed?"

"The inside conditions were different only as affected by the conditions outside. In 1867 Massachusetts had a prohibitory law; the town of North Easton had no licence and no saloons; the 375 men were all the time at their sober best. Saloons came with the repeal of prohibition the year after, and the 400 men were the victims of saloon influence.

"We attribute this large falling off entirely to the repeal of the prohibitory law," said the Messrs. Ames, "and the great increase in the use of intoxicating liquor among our men in consequence!"

"If they were paid for piece-work, the loss to their employers was less than otherwise it would have been; but even then, it was easy to be computed. The fixed charges of that plant were constant. As much money was required for machinery, the interest upon it and the cost for superintendence were as great, the wear and tear upon the whole plant were as considerable, for the output 14 per cent. less than the year previous, in proportion to the number of men, as for the larger output possible. *In the larger output might have been the largest part of a year's possible profits.*"<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Hopkins appears to underestimate the case rather. If the 400 men showed the same proportionate productivity as the 375, where they showed £100 of value they would have shown £115 $\frac{1}{5}$ , a margin of great importance to the employer whose capital was sunk in the business. And if the men were paid by piece-work, a substantial addition to their earnings. The loss of time and productive energy involved in the drinking of workmen is of far larger proportions than any but careful students imagine. The late Mr. Benjamin Whitworth, M.P., frequently instanced the experience of a large firm with which he was personally concerned. It had a capital of £900,000, and

<sup>1</sup> *Wealth and Waste*, pp. 91-92.

it frequently found it useless to open the works on Monday, because there did not appear sufficient men to operate the machinery. The capital had to lie idle on that day, and the workers who were willing to work lost their wages through the idleness of others. Mr. Whitworth estimated that the loss to capital amounted to £35,000 per annum—nearly 4 per cent.—and that the wage-earners lost a similar amount. But the loss did not end there. £70,000 of possible expenditure was withheld from circulation, and all the trade area in which it would have flowed was denied its fertilising presence.

In the year 1834 a Parliamentary Committee on Intemperance reported that the national loss of productive labour through intemperance amounted to £50,000,000 per annum, and was equal to the loss of one day's labour in six.

The Right Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., when President of the Board of Trade, speaking from the chair of the annual public meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, said:<sup>1</sup> "It is found from inquiries amongst employers that on Monday morning from 5 to 75 per cent. of their people did not turn up owing to drink, and when they did come back they had muddy intellects and impaired vitality. Seventy-five per cent. is an outside figure, and there are not many of these; but 25 per cent. is reported to the Board of Trade by employers in many cases. In other instances the percentage sinks to 5."

When the Forth Bridge was being constructed, some 4000 to 6000 workmen were employed, many of whom had to be imported from the Continent for reasons publicly stated by Mr. William Arrol, contractor, on 26th March 1887, at a social meeting of the Tay Bridge workmen, held in the Thistle Hall, Dundee.

"At the Forth Bridge works," said Mr. Arrol, "we were lately sinking large caissons 70 feet in diameter. . . . The caisson weighed 6000 tons, and it had to be suspended by air while the men were working underneath it. To nearly everybody this would be a serious and dangerous-looking operation. I looked at it in this light. I went to Antwerp to see them sinking caissons of a smaller size by the same process, and when I came back to begin the sinking of the

<sup>1</sup> October 15, 1907.

caissons of the Forth Bridge, I found my greatest difficulty was intemperance. The men could not be kept at work because of their drinking habits. In working underground the labour was easy. The men worked short shifts, and when they came up they felt a little elevated, owing to working under air-pressure. Having six or eight hours to themselves they went to the public-house, and, instead of being able to go back to work, they were quite incapacitated by drink. Another danger was, that in passing through the air-lock they ran great risk in heedlessly passing through too hastily. That was the way the Belgians and Italians had a preference over our countrymen in working at such a job. It was not that the foreigners were better men than Scotchmen and Englishmen, but because they were more steady. The Italians, instead of going away and passing their time in a public-house, went to bed and rested, and they were all ready for work when the time to begin came round."

What is true of engineering works is also true in the shipping world. Our mercantile marine is largely manned by foreigners, and more than one public declaration has been made by shipowners, to the effect that the drunkenness of the British sailor was the chief cause.

The late James Anthony Froude can by no means be classed as a prejudiced witness against drink. Yet in *Oceana* we find the following testimony recorded from an American captain sailing between Sydney and San Francisco:—

"I make it a rule," said the captain, "when I engage my men for a voyage, to take no English, no Scotch, no Irish, no Americans. There is no getting along with them. They go ashore in harbour, get drunk, get into prison, giving me nothing but trouble. It is the same with them all, my people and yours equally."

"Then whom do you take?" asked Mr. Froude.

"I take Danes: I take Norwegians, Germans, Swedes, all of these I can trust. They are sober, make no row, and are never in the hands of the police. They save their wages, are always quiet and respectable, and I know that I can depend on them."

Some interesting and instructive experiments have recently been conducted by Dr. Aschaffenburg. They are detailed in *Alcohol and the Human Body*, by Sir Victor Horsley and Dr Mary Sturge.<sup>1</sup> Four compositors submitted themselves for the experiment. They were all drinkers of alcohol, and one drank to excess. They worked on four days, on the first and third without alcohol, on the second and fourth with a small or "dietetic" dose of alcohol.

The result was that in six out of the eight experiments alcohol reduced their output on the average by 8.7 per cent.

If that loss of output can be established against the moderate use, who can estimate the national loss involved by our enormous consumption of drink? The mind staggers at the contemplation of the huge figures suggested.

Neither is it merely the industrial classes who are reduced to inefficiency and poverty through drink. Happily, during the past fifty years the drunkenness of the upper and middle classes has been enormously reduced. There are indications to show that there is an increase of spirit-drinking among the women of these classes, but from the nature of the case it is difficult to get exact evidence. Nevertheless, on the whole there is a vast improvement. Yet, even so, the residuum of our great cities contains many educated and clever men, whose abilities and attainments are lost to the nation through drink.

In the series of papers which Mr. G. R. Sims contributed to the *Daily News* in 1883, entitled "Horrible London," he stated that there passed through one common lodging-house within a comparatively short space of time the following persons:—Two old Cambridge friends, one of whom had kept a pack of hounds; a paymaster in the Royal Navy; a clergyman who had taken honours; a doctor, son of a physician; a brother of a clergyman and renowned scholar—whose wife was drinking herself to death; the brother of a London vicar, and a member

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 88-90.

of the Stock Exchange. Of these Mr. Sims said that they were all "forced back on a rookery through drink,—sober, they need never have sunk so low as that."

The finer the human instrument is, the more rapidly it deteriorates under the influence of alcohol. Short of the absolute wrecks described by Mr. Sims, one's daily experience and observation show that many men in charge of large business concerns are not as efficient as their natural and acquired abilities would make them, because they are more or less alcoholised.

The man in control needs to remember that his judgment is not so cool and clear, nor his decisions so prompt, under the influence of alcohol. He is not a better but a worse man for indulgence in it, and his hand is not so firm upon the levers which guide his business. He is slack where he ought to grip firmly, rash where he ought to be cautious, and indifferent where he ought to be keenly observant. Clumsy plunging is apt to take the place of reasoned initiative, and the clearer brained competitor passes him in the race. Many a business has gone to ruin through the general slackness of its head, produced by drink, which ought to have had a prosperous career.

More than half a century ago the *Times* arrived at the conclusion that spirit-drinking was a great national loss. Its words may be fitly applied to our whole liquor consumption.

"It is a peculiarity of spirit drinking that the money spent upon it is, at the best, thrown away, and in general far worse than thrown away. It neither supplies the natural wants of man, nor offers an adequate substitute for them. No way so rapid to increase the wealth of nations and the morality of society could be devised as the utter annihilation of the manufacture of ardent spirits, constituting as they do an infinite waste and an unmixed evil."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Times*, December 7, 1853.

## CHAPTER XII

### WAGES AND PRODUCTION

UNEMPLOYMENT is so tragical an experience in the life of the worker, it so frequently dashes his hopes and so rapidly deteriorates his quality, that any proposal put forward with the promise of reducing the frequency of its occurrence, or of limiting the area of its incidence, offers a tempting bait to his anxious mind.

It is not pleasant to contemplate the callous indifference of the man who will—for the sake of either political or business gain, or an amalgam of both—dangle delusive promises before the hungry eyes of the unemployed, and offer to bring in the millennium in return for the worker's vote.

The great ocean tides of world trade are beyond the control of any class, or indeed any nation, although financial disaster in one country will adversely affect all other civilised countries, so closely linked are all peoples by international trade and commerce.

What is substantially within the control of any nation, and in that nation largely within the influence of one class, is its own internal trade.

"Over-production" is the usual cry when markets are glutted with goods which do not sell. Whereas the real truth is that the most frequent cause of stagnation in the home trade is not over-production but under-consumption. It cannot be said that the manufacturers have over-produced food, clothing, and furniture, as long as there are many thousands in the land ill-fed and ill-clothed, with ill-furnished homes. No one cause can be held responsible for the deplorable state of things which exists among such large masses of our population. Social and industrial

forces are obscure in their origin and complicated in their working, although their products are only too apparent when they eventuate in heavy burdens on society. What is quite clear is that there is much social damage which is self-inflicted, and many social burdens which are self-imposed. These at any rate, whatever their extent, are removable if men so will.

We have shown in a previous chapter that there is a productive and an unproductive consumption. Our present purpose is to go a point farther back, and endeavour to show that, in the process of production of these deleterious drinks, the consumption of which affords but a momentary enjoyment, ending in the destruction of the price paid for them—that the benefit to labour is so small in comparison with that yielded by our staple industries, those industries, namely, which provide the food, clothing, and shelter the people need—that it is well worth while for all workers to consider the subject from this particular point of view, and also for all who have embarked capital in productive enterprises. But let us guard against a possible misunderstanding. The argument is not that *because* beer-production pays so little in wages it is *therefore* to be condemned. That is not the argument here submitted. If the thing produced is a necessity, it must be produced, whether the cost of labour be large or small. The point is, that here is a costly luxury, not a necessity of life, or health, or happiness, absorbing millions of money which are absolutely needed for the necessities of life, which pays surprisingly little to labour for its production, whereas the staple industries which produce the necessities of life pay, as a general rule, much more to labour. Therefore the argument addressed to the workers is, purchase less of this injurious luxury and more of the necessities of life, and thereby benefit yourself and your family, and the great industrial class to which you belong. For it is demonstrable that any substantial transference of expenditure from drink to articles of food, clothing, furniture, and shelter, must of necessity yield a much greater return to labour, and so employ more people.

The best document at present available, showing the pro-

portions paid in wages in our great industries, is the Report to the Board of Trade on the Relation of Wages in Certain Industries to the Cost of Production, issued in 1891 when Sir Michael Hicks Beach (now Viscount St. Aldwyn) was President of the Board of Trade.

It is by no means a perfect return, and is obviously open to several objections. But until the long promised Census of Production Return is issued by the Board of Trade, it is the most authoritative statement we have.

The following is a summary of its contents, giving the percentage paid in wages for each £100 in value produced. Let it be understood that there is no question of retail prices, it is the cost of wholesale production only.

1. *Coal Mining* (pp. 12 to 17).

In seventeen pits in two districts the percentage of wages is . . . . .	£55.3
The Yorkshire Miners' Association pays . . . . .	56.6
In Coalbrooke Vale it is . . . . .	65.9
In four large collieries, producing 1,600,000 tons per annum, it is . . . . .	67.0
In Pembrokeshire it is as high as . . . . .	70.0
Mr. T. H. Elliott, the compiler of the return, says (p. 17) that probably a fair average would be . . . . .	55.0

2. *Shipbuilding* (pp. 23 and 24).

In Palmer's Shipbuilding Yard it is . . . . .	32.6
(Hulls £34, and engines £31.3).	
In the Royal dockyards it is . . . . .	37.3
Or, taking building and repairing together, . . . . .	40.8

3. *Docks and Harbours* (p. 40).

Three companies report, giving an average of . . . . .	34.7
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4. *Iron and Steel* (pp. 20 to 23).

(a) Iron ore, hard and soft, one company . . . . .	33.0
Hard ore (Whitehaven) . . . . .	37.0
An average for the two of . . . . .	35.0
(b) Pig iron. The average of fourteen companies is . . . . .	23.3
(c) Steel rails . . . . .	15.5

5. *Tramways* (p. 34).

Thirty-four leading companies show an average of . . . . . £31.4

6. *Railways* (p. 32).

The returns of sixteen companies are examined, involving total traffic receipts of £67,500,000. Owing to the manner in which the returns are made out, it is impossible to ascertain the exact percentage paid in wages. The figure here given is arrived at in this way. From the total traffic receipts three items are taken, viz. the net revenue, cost of materials, and "other expenditure." It is stated that under items two and three a considerable proportion is spent in wages. But as there are no means available for separating the amounts, we must deduct the whole from the total traffic receipts. This leaves £21,000,000 as the amount paid in wages, which is certainly below the mark. On this basis, however, we get a percentage of 31.0

7. *Cotton Manufactures* (p. 27).

The average of all grades is . . . . . 27.5

8. *Agriculture* (pp. 9 and 10).

In nine cases, covering sixty-nine years, the average is . . . . . 27.0

In ten other cases, covering forty-nine years, the average is . . . . . 27.9

9. *Canals* (p. 33).

The average of four companies is . . . . . 25.4

10. *Gas Manufacture* (p. 19).

Three metropolitan gas companies report. Mr. Elliott says: "It cannot be very wide of the mark to say that the conversion into gas of coal costing about £5,500,000 involves a direct expenditure in wages of between £3,750,000 and £4,000,000." Assuming that half-way between these

two amounts would be a fair estimate (£3,875,000), it follows that in the manufacture of gas from coal, for every £100 spent in coal the wages paid is . . .

£70.4

When we turn to the proportion of wages to *receipts*, we are told that it is "something more than a quarter," which is at least . . .

25.0

11. *Clothing* (p. 30).

In the Royal Army Clothing Factory . . . 22.6

12. *Linen Goods* (p. 30).

Taking spinning and weaving together . . . 22.0

13. *Woollen Manufactures* (p. 29).

The report is for one year on one firm . . . 21.9

14. *Shipping* (p. 39).

Six companies show an average of . . . 16.7

15. *Brewing* (p. 43).

Report of one company . . . 7.5

The Right Hon. John Burns, M.P., in his Lees-Raper lecture on "Labour and Drink," quoted from this return, and was in consequence laboriously criticised by the *Brewing Trade Review*. How wide of the mark the *Review's* criticism was is seen by the fact that the writer proposed to take into account the labour expended in the production of malt and hops, the cartage to the retailer, and the labour employed by him in distribution.

This criticism entirely missed the point of the return. The return deals only with the processes at the brewery, and does not touch what happened before, nor what came after. The same remark applies to cotton, for example. Nothing is allowed for cost of labour on the cotton plantation, for picking and packing, railway charges, shipping and dock charges, or the labour bill of the draper in disposing of the goods. In each case the estimate of labour necessary is confined to the wholesale manufacture.

Cotton will afford us a useful and instructive comparison with beer, and enable us to carry our argument a few steps farther. It is one of the greatest of our industries, and one of the chief sources of our wealth.

The Board of Trade Returns for 1908 (p. 199) show that our exports of cotton were valued at £95,068,000. According to a resolution adopted at a conference of the Cotton Employers Parliamentary Association, on 21st July 1903, our average export is 80 per cent. of our total product. Therefore the total value of cotton goods produced in 1908 was £118,835,000. To manufacture this amount of goods over 52,000,000 spindles were at work, and over 600,000 persons were employed. The capital invested was estimated at £105,000,000. Our home consumption of cotton goods amounted to £23,767,000 wholesale price, and £29,708,000 retail price, allowing a 25 per cent. all round profit to the retailer, as the experts in the trade estimate should be allowed. On the basis of Sir Michael Hicks Beach's return, we find that the wages paid for the home consumed article amounted to £6,535,925. The Lancashire operatives earn, on the average, including women, £1, 6s. 6d. per week.<sup>1</sup> Thus our home consumption of cotton goods employed about 94,700 persons all the year.

But if in lieu of producing this £23,767,000 worth of cotton goods, beer was produced to that amount, instead of £6,535,925 being paid in wages, only £1,782,525 would be so paid; a margin to the wages fund of £4,753,400 in favour of cotton as against beer. And it would have this further advantage, that to substitute a consumption of cotton goods for a consumption of beer, you would have a productive instead of an unproductive consumption, and streams of benefit would continue to flow on indefinitely, instead of being abruptly terminated.

For instance, whereas the consumption of drink, from a labour point of view, ends in a temporary gratification, leaving no tangible benefit behind, the purchase of cotton goods from the draper provides needful clothing, under the protection of which the worker may earn more money, thus assisting in further production. In each stage of its progression this productive consumption yields some benefit both to the individual and to the community.

It has frequently been argued by certain sections of Socialists, that if temperance reformers succeeded in per-

<sup>1</sup> *Cost of Living* return. Cd. 3864, 1908, p. 42.

suading the worker in the mass to cease his expenditure on liquor, his standard of living would be thereby depressed to that amount. And as wages tend to drop to subsistence point, the final effect would be to lower wages to the extent of the money saved from alcoholic expenditure, even although the worker might become more efficient by his abstinence.

This contention fails on two grounds. First, it ignores the fact, which is of universal experience, that the moment a man ceases to be a consumer of liquor, his other and better tastes and desires come into operation, and he begins spending his money on more worthy objects. As a result, his standard of living steadily rises. He has not reduced his expenditure, he has changed its direction, and both he and his family are better thereby. It is a transference and not a subtraction of expenditure which has taken place.

Secondly, it is admitted that he will become a more efficient and reliable workman as an abstainer than he was as a drinker. Yet, it is argued, his wages will fall. This is asking us to believe that a body of sober, thrifty, and efficient workmen are not worth as much in the labour market, and are not able to make as good terms with their employers, as a body half efficient and half inefficient, half thrifty and half spendthrifts. "Which is absurd," as Euclid would say.

It is tantamount to arguing that vice has a greater industrial value than virtue, thriftlessness than thriftiness, a half muddled brain than a clear one. This argument, which is dying of its own inherent absurdity, is not heard as frequently as it was a few years ago, and leaders of Socialistic thought, like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., publicly disavow it as untenable, as he did in a speech delivered at a National Temperance League Conference held in the L.C.C. Hall, Spring Gardens, 19th February 1909.

"Let us take the term standard of life to mean the standard of activities and of wants. Thus a rise in the standard of living implies an increase of intelligence, and energy, and self-respect; leading to more care and judgment in expenditure, and to an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite but afford no strength, and

of ways of living that are unwholesome, physically and morally. A rise in the standard of life for the whole population will much increase the national dividend,<sup>1</sup> and the share of it which accrues to each grade and each trade; and a rise in the standard of life for any one trade or grade will raise their efficiency and their own real wages; while it will at the same time enable others to obtain their assistance at a cost somewhat less in proportion to its efficiency; and, of course, it will increase the national dividend a little."<sup>2</sup>

One further illustration may be given before leaving this aspect of the question.

Messrs. Clark of Street, Somerset, boot and shoe manufacturers, employing 1200 hands, pay annually in wages a sum of money equal to 43 per cent. of the capital invested. Other boot and shoe manufacturers have made statements similar in character, notably Sir George White, M.P., concerning the firm Howlett & White of Norwich.

The *Brewery Manual* of 1908 enables us to compare the yield to wages for each £100 invested in the manufacture of boots and shoes with each £100 invested in brewing. In the great majority of the cases of accounts of breweries published in the *Manual*, either salaries and wages are not mentioned at all, or they are grouped with other classes of expenses. In only a limited number of cases are they separately stated. In the following list practically the whole of the companies are included which set out their salaries and wages separately, with the percentages of wages to capital employed worked out.

By giving the list *in extenso*, we avoid the possibility of being charged with selecting special cases in order to prove a particular point.

P. 105. Bushell, Watkins, Smith (Westerham, Kent).  
Share capital, £160,000. Wages and salaries,  
£3401. Wages per cent., £2, 2s. 7d.

P. 111. Campbell, Johnstone & Co. (Notting Hill, London). Share capital, £140,000. Salaries and wages, £3678. Wages per cent., £2, 12s. 7d.

P. 130. Commercial Brewery Company (Stepney, E.).

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, wages fund.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *Economics of Industry*, pp. 378, 379.

- Share capital, £150,000. Salaries and wages, £4481. Wages per cent., £2, 19s. 9d.
- P. 135. Daniell & Sons' Breweries (Colchester). Share capital, £150,000. Salaries and wages, £7070. Wages per cent., £4, 14s. 4d.
- P. 148. Ellis, Warde, Webster & Co. (Ormskirk). Share capital, £140,000. Wages and salaries, £2704. Wages per cent., £1, 18s. 8d.
- P. 157. Friary, Holroyd & Healy's Breweries (Guildford). Share capital, £360,000. Salaries, wages, &c., £6184. (Notice the "&c."). Wages per cent., £1, 14s. 5d.
- P. 183. Ind, Coope & Co. (Romford). Share capital, £1,810,000. Salaries and wages, £56,000. Wages per cent., £3, 1s. 11d.
- P. 187. Kenward & Court (Hadlow). Share capital, £100,000. Salaries and wages, £3391. Wages per cent., £3, 7s. 10d.
- P. 217. Morgan's Brewery (Norwich). Share capital, £500,000. Salaries and wages, £16,199. Wages per cent., £3, 4s. 10d.
- P. 220. Nalder & Collyer's (Croydon). Share capital, £270,000. Salaries and wages, £10,605. Wages per cent., £3, 18s. 7d.
- P. 229. Northampton Brewery Company. Share capital, £250,000. Salaries and wages, £9688. Wages per cent., £3, 17s. 7d.
- P. 242. Phipps, P., & Co. (Northampton). Share capital, £1,000,000. Salaries and wages, £27,894. Wages per cent., £2, 15s. 10d.
- P. 257. Russell's Gravesend Brewery. Share capital, £300,000. Salaries and wages, £7322. Wages per cent., £2, 8s. 10d.
- P. 288. Taylor's Eagle Brewery (Manchester). Share capital, £140,000. Salaries and wages, £4008. Wages per cent., £2, 17s. 4d.

An average for the fourteen companies of less than 3 per cent.<sup>1</sup> In the manufacture of boots and shoes it is 43 per cent.

Mazzini taught that Democracy had need to remember

<sup>1</sup> Something, how much it is impossible to estimate, must be allowed for the capital invested in "tied houses."

that it had duties and responsibilities as well as rights, and unless it realised this truth it would go astray.

Let the drinkers of the Democracy remember that they are responsible not merely to themselves and their families, but to their fellows, for the way their money is spent ; and that they are not entitled, in justice to their fellows, to indulge in any courses which check progress and add to the common burdens.

Let them realise that just as a vicious life wastes their physical powers, so foolish expenditure on a hurtful luxury like drink, depletes the wages fund of the nation, leaving some labour lying idle which might otherwise be employed, and at the same time reducing the working powers of the men who drink. Productivity is thus injured from two sides at once, and demand for the products of labour tends towards a minimum.

There can be no substantial, general, and stable advance in the social condition of the industrial until he learns to turn his back on the public-house.

For the manufacturer, the wholesale dealer, and the retailer the argument is equally strong. Whilst the artisan is losing time and reducing his working capacity through drink, the capitalist is losing money because his machinery is either lying idle or working below its full power. Through no fault of his own the employer is constantly deprived of a portion of the proper return upon his invested capital. The earning power of every manufacturer is reduced below the possible, in so far as those in his employ indulge in alcohol ; and the millions spent in drink prevent the natural demand for his products having that free play which would otherwise obtain.

The capitalist is thus hit in two ways. The processes of production are handicapped and the processes of consumption are checked. Every trader, whether manufacturer, wholesale dealer, commercial traveller, or tradesman, has to bear his portion of the loss incurred. On the other hand, the margin of benefit accruing to all classes of business which would certainly follow upon the cessation of expenditure on liquor would speedily throw into the shade any loss of labour and wages involved in the reduction of the liquor traffic.

## CHAPTER XIII

### DRINK EXPENDITURE AND TRADE

"TRADE is the life of civilisation. It is of no use to me that there are fifty million bushels of wheat in Dakota. I cannot charter a car to bring me a sack of flour. In fact, the wheat wouldn't be flour after I got it unless it went through a grist-mill. I want some man to buy that wheat by the thousand bushels. I want another man to run a grist-mill, turning out flour by the hundred of barrels. I want a wholesale grocer to keep a warehouse, from which my retail grocer may order a hundred sacks, and send me one when I am ready for it. I want railroads over which that wheat shall be transported before it is ground, and the flour transported afterward. I want labourers to build those roads, tracksmen to walk them, engineers and conductors and brakemen to run the trains, coal to feed the engines, iron to make them of, miners to dig out the coal and iron, foundries and furnaces to melt that iron, rolling-mills, locomotive and car works, and a host of machinists to make the rails and engines and cars that are to bring me my sack of flour. I need other factories to make the ploughs that break the ground, the drills that sow the wheat, the reapers and binders that harvest it, and the threshing machines that separate the grain. I need horses and waggons to work on the farms, to haul the wheat to the train and the flour across the city, and the delivery waggon that brings it to my door. I need harness-makers to make the harness for those horses, wheelwrights to make the waggons, and teamsters to drive them and to handle the goods. I need mill-wrights to build the grist-mills and keep them in repair, elevators and warehouses to store the grain and flour, and a good building for my grocer to keep store in. I want

thousands of quarrymen to get out stone for those buildings and masons to set the stone, lime quarries to burn the lime for mortar and plastering, brick-yards to make brick by the million, and bricklayers to build the walls. I need carpenters to shape the timbers, build the roofs and floors and the thousands of wooden cottages all these workmen will live in, and thousands of lumbermen in the forests of Maine and Michigan to fell the trees; and saw-mills to saw the lumber, engines to run those saw-mills, lumber yards to keep the lumber in, and steamers, barges, and tugs on the lakes to bring it to the lumber yards. It sets a large part of the continent astir, and employs an army of men to furnish me my sack of flour."<sup>1</sup>

This picturesque passage strikingly illustrates the blessings and usefulness of all honest trade, and its ever-expanding benefits to mankind. Trade begets trade. It enriches producer, seller, buyer. The fatal curse of the liquor business is that it always tends to injure the buyer, in mind, in body, or in estate, often in all three, and not infrequently destroys him outright. That surely cannot be called an honest, legitimate trade which, regularly and inevitably, destroys a percentage of its customers. Morally such a trade is indefensible, and commercially it is a mistake. It is a piratical wolf in a trade sheep's clothing, and the least that can be said about it is that it ought not to exist in any locality against the wishes of the inhabitants.

In the large number of instances where the effects upon the buyer are not as tragical as those just indicated, it is submitted that the buyer gets no proper value for the money expended, that his purchase represents, in the main, a loss both to him and to the community, that it checks the flow of the river of trade and subtracts from its volume, and that all necessary and useful trades suffer deprivation and injury according to the degree in which money is spent in drink. Without a doubt, the liquor traffic is the enemy of every legitimate trader, and thrives only at his expense, and to his detriment.

This cannot be alleged in the same degree of any other trade. Much of it may be said of the vice of gambling,

<sup>1</sup> Fernauld, *Economics of Prohibition*, pp. 348-49.

though not to the same extent. For, however much a man's resources may be wasted by gambling, it does not ruin him in body and mind as drink does, neither does it turn him into an instrument of violent brutality to his wife and children.

A man of limited means must study the proportions of his expenditure upon the various necessities of life, but it cannot be said of any of these—food, clothing, education for his children, shelter—that it is the enemy of the others, and robs the others of their due share, as it can be said of drinking concerning the whole four.

Of course, in this particular respect the rich man stands in a somewhat different position from the poor man. His purchase of drink does not necessarily limit his expenditure upon necessities. He buys it from funds which are not usually required for necessities. It is the expenditure of surplus money upon an injurious luxury, which does not benefit the purchaser in any real sense, only yielding him a passing gratification, which by no means improves him in mind, or body, or estate. His physical ruin is, however, often more rapidly consummated, and his fall is all the greater and the more tragic because of his advantages.

But in the majority of cases of the industrial drinkers of the country, drinking is indulged in at the expense of other and more important things, things concerning the person, the home, the family, and the mind. These are neglected and punished so that the other may be indulged in, and in this way huge sums of money are annually used for non-beneficial purposes. That they are actually injurious purposes in many respects has been demonstrated in previous chapters. It is equally true that this expenditure is injurious to ordinary trade.

"What is the meaning of commercial depression?" asks Professor Bonamy Price. "Want of buyers, deficiency of buying power, markets unable to take up the goods made. Makers and sellers are depressed, they cannot find the indispensable buyers. But why are the buyers few? Because there is an immense diminution of the means of purchase."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxxv. pp. 270-71.

It is a self-evident truth that all production depends upon consumption. If there is no demand in the market for any particular article, its production soon ceases. If there is a demand, production soon meets it. But here, as in other respects, drink differs from ordinary articles of trade, even such of them as may be classed as luxuries. It creates an appetite for itself, which grows by what it feeds on, until it overpowers all other desires, and sacrifices them all in the mad, fruitless attempt to satisfy its own insatiable demands. Pictures are not a necessity of life. Men can and do live without them. They are luxuries, but luxuries which elevate the mind and refine the taste, not degrade and debase them. Neither does the gratification of purchasing and contemplating them, cause their owner to sacrifice health, business, home, and family, in their pursuit.

The more clearly the nature and properties and the effects of drink are looked into, the more clearly is it seen that it stands in a category by itself; and among the objects upon which the Britisher spends his money, it has no parallel. Tobacco comes nearest, probably, as a quite needless and non-beneficial luxury, but its injurious consequences, though not slight in some cases, are not comparable to those of alcohol. These drinks remain not merely luxuries which are non-necessitous and injurious, but even in that category as a class apart because of the colossal expenditure they involve, and the wholesale penalties they inflict upon the nation.

It is therefore reasonable to urge that expenditure upon drink interferes seriously with the normal flow of trade; it breaks in upon the working of those natural forces whose operations we describe as the law of demand and supply; it is a law unto itself.

When the worker spends money with the baker, butcher, grocer, he renders himself more fit for his work, more able to earn money, and therefore more likely to trade with the clothier, the draper, the furniture dealer, and the builder. And he encourages all legitimate industries by such expenditure.

It is the exact opposite with drink. In proportion as the

worker spends money with the publican, he is less fit for his work; and the finer and more skilled his work, the more speedily unfit he becomes—less able to earn money, and also less inclined to try, and therefore less likely to spend any money with those traders who supply him with the necessaries and innocent luxuries of life.

Arguing theoretically, without direct contact with the hard facts of life and experience, some have said that because the drinker desires liquor, he has a powerful motive to work in order to obtain the money to purchase it. The actual study of individual cases reveals the fact that desire for work does not keep pace with the desire for drink. Once the latter becomes powerful, it soon outstrips the former, and, in place of a desire for work, there comes a strong repugnance to it. The once steady worker becomes a "slacker," irregular at his work, gradually sinking into a seeker of occasional jobs, only to end as an unemployable. The only strong thing about him is a strong lust for drink. He is an animated thirst. He has ceased to contribute his quota of activities to the encouragement of trade, and has instead become a parasite, living upon the activities of his fellows, just as "the trade" which produced him is a parasite upon all other trades. "When everything goes into the mouth," said De Laveleye, "the result is destitution."

The writer has direct personal evidence from the large firm concerned for the following statement:—When a little over four years ago "no-licence" was carried by the popular vote in Invercargill, New Zealand, a town of 13,000 inhabitants, 33 licensed houses had to cease selling liquor. Concurrently with the coming into operation of the new law, the cash sales of one of the largest dry-goods stores in the town went up 25 per cent. Neither was it a temporary fillip. It has remained as a permanent improvement.

What temperance reformers have always argued would happen, did happen, viz. money once spent in drink found new and better channels, to the general benefit of the community. People did not buy more than they needed from the dry-goods store. They had previously been buying less than they needed.

Similar evidence comes from the United States of America, on a much larger scale. Let us take the case of Kansas.

The *Topeka Daily Capital* of June 8, 1908, published the results of its investigations into the business effects of prohibition in that State. Inquiries were submitted to each county bank manager, and replies were received from forty-five of them. Only one of the forty-five expressed the opinion that as a "business proposition" the state policy of prohibition was bad. Four bankers did not express a definite opinion either way. Forty, however, gave their hearty approval to the policy, as of great benefit to business generally.

The questions submitted were these:—

"Has prohibition injured or bettered the financial conditions of your county?"

"What was the effect of the recent financial depression on your county?"

"Were the farmers and business men, and are they now, prepared to meet such conditions?"

"What was the amount on deposit twenty-five years ago?"

"What has been the effect of prohibition on business in your county?"

The following are specimens of the forty favourable replies:

"Thomas H. Bowles, cashier, Allen County State Bank, Iola, believes prohibition has bettered the financial conditions in the county. Business was depressed, but it is recovering to some extent, the farmers and business men having stood the conditions remarkably well. On deposit in the banks there are \$1,600,000 as against \$125,000 twenty-five years ago. The effect of prohibition on business in the county has been good."

"E. M. Elliott, bank cashier, Garnet, believes prohibition has bettered the financial conditions of the county, and surely it has helped the business of the county. He observed a comparatively slight effect from the recent financial depression. The farmers and business men have been and now are prepared to meet these conditions."

"J. B. Adams, banker, El Dorado, believes that without doubt prohibition is a benefit. The money that would have been spent in saloons is spent for groceries, clothing, school books, and so on. The effect on business is apparent."

"Grant Hornaday, President, First National Bank, Fort Scott: 'Prohibition has materially bettered the financial condition of the county. . . . The labouring men are, as a general proposition, living better and saving more money than they did when we had open saloons. Practically all of the business men admit that conditions are better with the saloon out of the way than when running full blast.'"

"George W. Hanna, Clay Center, declares that old residents say prohibition has bettered financial conditions in the county. Business men, he declares, admit that all lines of legitimate business are better without the saloon. With the exception of decrease in farmers' product, he says the financial depression never would have been known. The farmers and business men never were in as good condition financially as at this time."

"A. B. Gilbert, cashier, First National Bank, Newton, says prohibition always has bettered the financial conditions of Harvey County, and that the general effect upon business from prohibition is the best. He says: 'Prohibition is a financial help to any town in every way, to say nothing about the moral side of it.'"

"J. M. Steele, bank cashier, Emporia, believes that prohibition has bettered the financial conditions as well as greatly improved the general business situation. No bad effects are perceptible to him from the recent depression."

"Brown Corby, bank cashier, Marion, believes that prohibition has bettered the financial conditions. Certainly he thinks the prohibitory law has not injured the business situation. And he adds, as a matter of fact, the trouble he has had with borrowers 'was on account of the effects of whisky destroying their homes and making criminals of them.'"

"F. M. Osborne, bank cashier, Erie, believes that financially prohibition has bettered things in Neosho County,

and that in a general business way it has improved conditions, besides making homes happier. The recent depression brought no serious consequences, and the farmers and business men, he believes, are prepared to meet the conditions."

"W. K. Hoover, bank cashier, Russell: 'Certainly he believes that prohibition has not injured the financial condition of Russell County, and that the general business effect has been only the best.'"

"John R. Mulvane, President of the Bank of Topeka, Topeka; as to the financial effect of prohibition he says: 'Prohibition has very materially bettered the financial as well as the moral situation in our county.' As to the general effect of prohibition in a business way, Mr. Mulvane says: 'Money that would have gone into the saloon man's till has gone into the merchant's till, into better food, better clothing, and into the purchase of homes, giving us one of the most prosperous communities in the State of Kansas.' The effect of the recent financial depression he places 'very slight indeed.'"

"J. H. Hill, banker, Smith Center, believes, in relation to the financial effect of prohibition, that any county is a great deal better off, both financially and morally, on account of prohibition. The general effect of prohibition on business, he says, is a tendency to put business on a better basis."

This important body of first-hand evidence is reproduced here, not as proof of the success of prohibition *per se*, although it is that, but as supporting the general proposition of this chapter, that the cessation of expenditure of money on drink, from whatever cause, means an improvement in all legitimate trades and industries, sounder financial conditions, better homes, and better morals.

Lord Randolph Churchill's remarkable words may be recalled in this connection. Speaking at Sunderland on October 20, 1887, he said:—

"But I have to put another question before you—the amount of money the British people spend in drink yearly is something enormous. I forget the exact amount, but it is certainly some scores of millions. Now, imagine that by

some reasonable, wise legislation, we could diminish the fatal facility of recourse to the public-house or gin-shop, a very large proportion of these scores of millions of money would be diverted from the liquor trade, and would flow to other trades in England. All trades would benefit. More food would be purchased, and better kinds of food; more clothing would be purchased, and a better kind of clothing; more furniture would be purchased, and a better kind; more education would be given to the children, and a better kind of education; and in every way in which the money could be diverted from being expended in the liquor trade, so the other trades of this country would benefit. Gentlemen, in these days of bad trade and hard times, we cannot, if we are wise, afford to neglect any means which may justly and legitimately stimulate the trade and industry of Great Britain."

In exact fulfilment of the prophecies here made are the following facts, collected and tabulated by Mr. J. T. Rae, and published under the title *The Responsibility of the British Workman for British Trade*. The pamphlet consists of evidence collected at first-hand by rescue workers, who have checked and authenticated the statements in each case, showing the various ways in which converted drunkards spend their money after adopting total abstinence as the rule of their lives.

The fifty-three cases dealt with cover such occupations as: "Brassfounder, nut-cutter, railway checker, whip-maker, sweep, brass polisher, navvy, painter, weaver, engine-man, plate and machine moulder, 'mule' overlooker, lighterman, labourers of all kinds, insurance, news, and advertising agents, chemists' assistant, print-cutter, 'handy man' (late R.N.), carman, 'coalies,' cabinetmaker, lath-render, joiner, mason, shoemaker, baker, collier, safe-maker, metal warehouseman, foreman fitter, blacksmith, clogger, spinner, tape-sizer, overlookers, and foremen of various kinds."

The average age of the fifty-three men making returns was  $45\frac{1}{2}$ , and the average length of their abstinence was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years. Therefore we have a set of drunkards at 39 years of age, the youngest being 23 and the oldest 60. Their average wages whilst drinking was for several years

31s. per week, out of which each man spent on the average 11s. 7½d. on drink. The proportions varied from 2s. out of 22s. to 40s. out of 45s. What were some of the more marked changes in expenditure which abstinence brought about? In the first place the number of rooms per family increased by  $2\frac{2}{5}$ , and the weekly rent went up from 4s. 6½d. to 7s. 2½d. per family. And the larger homes were much better furnished than the smaller ones had ever been. The estimated value of furniture at the beginning of the abstinence period was £16, 4s. 8½d. per house; at the date of the returns it was £56, 7s. 5d., an increase of £40, 2s. 9½d. per man in 6½ years. Coupled with this extra expenditure on things of present use was a thrifty provision for the future, previously quite unthought of in many cases. The contributions to clubs and assurance funds showed an increase of 1s. 7½d. per week per man. The detailed returns show also a greatly increased expenditure on food, clothing, and education, and there are frequent references to money saved and invested.

Thus, as a piece of practical experience, we find that the change from drinking to abstinence benefits the builder, plumber, painter, glazier, butcher, baker, grocer, draper, tailor, cabinetmaker, paperhanger, upholsterer, polisher, carpenter, joiner, farmer, greengrocer, and educationalist. All this means more work, and healthy work, productive and beneficial. Woman's labour is reduced also, for even in this small selection of cases we find the reformed drunkard stopping his wife going out to labour and keeping her to attend to the home.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L., contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* of April 24, 1886, an article which he entitled "The Social Results of Temperance." In it he detailed the experiences he had met with in personally examining the effects of abstinence upon a number of families in Blackburn. We quote some of the cases Mr. Axon gives:—

"Another house of conspicuous cleanliness and comfort was that of a man who was for twenty-eight years a confirmed drunkard. He had sold for drink a Bible presented to him before he left home. This very Bible he has now

in the pew of the chapel where he attends. 'For twenty-seven years,' he says, 'I was trying to buy myself a topcoat to keep me warm in winter, but all to no purpose; but four months after signing the pledge I accomplished it.' This man, acknowledged now as one of character and ability, had broken up his home repeatedly, and under the spell of his one vice had been a bad husband and father. He has been a teetotaler since the end of 1882, and his house proves him to be a substantial and well-to-do artisan."

"Mr. I. believes that in thirty years of drinking he has wasted £5000. At one time he earned £10 a week, but took little or none home to his family. His home is more comfortable now at a guinea a week than it ever was at larger wages. When he signed the pledge at the end of 1868 he had not a chair to sit upon, and neither knife nor fork to eat with. 'Now,' he says, 'I have enough and to spare, and instead of a single suit of clothes I have two or three.' This man is now in a comfortable way. 'It's ourselves,' he declared, 'that make trade bad.'"

As to the actual amounts these Lancashire working men had spent on drink, the stories afford some startling evidence.

Mr. A., a clever artisan, said he had spent £520 on drink in twenty-five years.

Mr. K. had often spent £1 per week on drink.

Mr. M., a foundry hand, earning from £2 to £2, 15s. per week, often spent it all in the public-house.

Mr. N. had for years spent from 9s. to 10s. per week on drink.

Mr. P. said for twenty years he had spent on an average 10s. per week.

Mr. Q. said when he was earning 30s. per week his wife was lucky if she got 9s.

Mr. S. said in one year when drinking he never spent less than 14s. per week on drink.

Whilst Mr. A. A. said that for twenty years he had spent £1 per week, and had become a victim of delirium tremens.

In summing up his impressions, after referring to the improvements in the homes, the better care of the children,

and the payment of old debts, Mr. Axon says: "The remark was made to me over and over again, in varied terms, by these men and women, that if the working class were won over to the side of temperance, the question of the housing of the poor would speedily solve itself."

And so, indeed, would many other sections of the great social problem.

In focussing all these facts into one general conclusion, it is almost unnecessary to point out how vast a difference it would make to the shopkeepers of England if money now going into the publican's till could be turned into the ordinary channels of trade. One certain effect would be—apart from the great benefit to the families of the purchasers—the rapid increase of employment in various industries and distributive agencies. For, as has already been shown, the liquor trade pays a very small proportion of its receipts in wages. Every additional worker put in employment would contribute his rill to the great river of prosperity, and every portion of the industrial and commercial world would feel the benefit of the wiser expenditure.

The manufacturers in their turn would share in the new prosperity, for larger and more frequent orders would reach them from the retailers. The instances quoted from life in this chapter show that this is no fancy picture, but that this is exactly what happens as men cease their wasteful expenditure on drink. It is almost impossible to conceive the change which might be made in the trade of Great Britain, if the millions now spent on liquor could be diverted into channels of useful and necessary expenditure.

## CHAPTER XIV

### SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

LET us now summarise the few items where we have arrived at a more or less definite estimate of the cost and loss to the nation involved in our drinking customs. These are only a portion of the total loss, for many items elude all attempts to gauge their magnitude, as it is practically impossible for any one person to collect evidence on a sufficiently large scale to warrant a safe conclusion. The evidence is there, but nothing short of a Royal Commission, working for several years and drawing witnesses from all classes, seems adequate to the task of collecting and sifting the mass of facts waiting examination.

Therefore what is here attempted must not be interpreted as in any degree a complete statement of the case. It is far from it.

The late Mr. William Hoyle estimated that the indirect cost to the community was at least equal to the direct expenditure on drink. This appeared a wild exaggeration to many people. It seems now under rather than over the mark to many who have looked into the question for themselves.

We have seen that a Parliamentary Committee estimated that one-sixth of the possible productive labour of the nation was lost through drink. They estimated this loss in 1834 at £50,000,000 per annum. It is much more than that now.

In 1902 Sir Thomas Whittaker, M.P., estimated the total income of the workers at from £750,000,000 to £800,000,000 per annum.<sup>1</sup> Let us take it at £780,000,000. One-sixth of this is £130,000,000.

<sup>1</sup> *Economic Aspect of the Drink Problem*, p. 28.

*Summary of Annual Cost and Loss through Drink.*

Loss of productive labour . . . .	£130,000,000
Loss by premature deaths . . . .	22,000,000
Drink-caused poverty and pauperism .	15,000,000
Drink-caused crime . . . . .	9,800,000
Drink-caused sickness . . . . .	1,500,000
Drink-caused lunacy . . . . .	1,390,000
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	£179,690,000
Add direct expenditure . . . . .	161,060,000
<hr/>	
Grand total cost and loss . . . . .	£340,660,000

Colossal as this total is, it includes nothing for inefficiency, accidents, and similar losses caused by drink. By the side of these figures the much-vaunted £36,000,000 of revenue derived from drink sinks into comparative insignificance.

Has England a soul? That is the question which suggests itself with persistent urgency to the mind, as the facts roughly outlined in the preceding chapters are brought into focus, and weighed in all their terrible significance.

We are heaping up wealth, our empire is enlarged beyond the dreams of earlier generations, the keels of our fleets cut the waters of every sea. Statistics may be piled up to prove how vastly increased is our prosperity, how widespread is the diffusion of the necessities of life as compared with even fifty years ago, and how much more independent the working classes are than their fathers were. All this may be asserted in perfect good faith, and with substantial accuracy. And yet, beneath all this are these festering sores created by drink, these horrors of child-suffering and neglect, these negations of parents brutalised almost beyond belief, these vast areas of social and moral corruption.

"Whatever gods there be," to use Henley's phrase, seem deaf to the cries which arise from this inferno. And indeed many of the victims are too brutalised even to cry. Men concentrated on the pursuit of their own advantage, ignore the whole dread thing, except now and then, when some particularly lurid crime arrests their startled attention, or some particularly powerful appeal is made to their feelings. But the memory of these things soon fades, and except for the devoted bands of social reformers of

various schools, the seething mass of evil is left to its own helpless misery.

But there are welcome signs of change. The heart of England was really touched by Mr. G. R. Sims's *The Cry of the Children*, and the response of Mr. Asquith's Government to the emotion of the nation in the Children Act, 1908—with which the name of Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., then Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, will always be honourably associated—has given heart and hope to thousands of devoted workers. But the danger is that the nation should forget these evils again, and think only of increasing its wealth.

It is in the hope of contributing something, however little, towards keeping the interest in this great problem alive, that this book is written. Its chief aim has been to appeal to the business instincts of business men, not by ignoring the human side of business, rather by emphasising it, and endeavouring to show that everything which is bad for humanity must in the end be bad for business, bad for trade, bad for commerce; that all honest trade is beneficent in its operations, and deserves to be encouraged by all legitimate means; but that any trade—"falsely so called"—which results in the injury, degradation, vice, and crime of its participants, is not an honest trade, is indeed the enemy of all honest trade, and ought to be dealt with as an enemy.

Look at the results of our brief inquiry. We have found that Crime is largely produced by drink; that Pauperism is widely created by drink; that Lunacy is the frequent progeny of drink; that Physical Deterioration is induced by drink; that Death is often hastened in its advent by drink.

In the industrial world we find slackness and inefficiency in the worker; waste of time both of the employer and the employed; reduced output and consequent loss on invested capital, and diminished wage-earning, all clearly attributable to drink. We have seen also that this traffic could only prosper at the expense of those businesses, trades, and industries which are necessary for the comfort and life of civilised man; that, indeed, nothing which man needs for his present welfare is assisted, but, on the contrary, is definitely and permanently injured by drink.

We found that a subtraction from the present enormous

expenditure on alcohol, and a transference of the money thus saved to the various necessities of life, would add enormously to the demand for labour and therefore to the general prosperity of the country. Thus in reducing the heavy weight of burdens now borne by the nation at great cost, by increasing efficiency among the workers, by adding to the sum of happiness of thousands of families, we showed that a maximum of benefit with a minimum of disturbance would follow from any substantial reduction of the drink bill.

It is full of promise for the future that the most trusted leaders of democracy, those leaders, viz., who are selected by organised labour from its own ranks, are, in the majority of cases, pledged abstainers, and resolute in their warnings against the injurious effects of the drinking habits of the masses. There is a steady and unmistakable tendency for the trades-unionist to become, if not an abstainer, yet extremely moderate in his indulgence in alcohol. As he realises his corporate strength and responsibility, he increases in self-respect, self-reliance, and self-control. He cannot be so easily manipulated by the beer-lords for their own selfish purposes. He refuses to swallow his politics with the liquor supplied by the man behind the bar.

Forty years ago, Matthew Arnold, with that not wholly admirable air of superiority which sat so easily upon him, defined the "Populace" as "that vast portion of the working classes which, raw and half-developed, has long been half hidden amid its poverty and squalor, and is now issuing from its hiding-place to assert an Englishman's heaven-born privilege of doing as he likes, and is beginning to perplex us by marching where it likes, meeting where it likes, bending what it likes, breaking what it likes."

Since these half-contemptuous words were written the democracy has much more widely realised its own strength. It holds the future destinies of the nation in its hands, so far as human power and will can hold them. All the more necessary, therefore, is it that it should be a sober democracy, that its mind should not be inflamed by alcohol, and that its judgment should not be deflected by this insidious brain poison.

It is to the interest of Democracy, as industrials, that no physical power should be crippled, no skill blunted, no inventiveness checked by a vicious indulgence. And it is equally in the interests of the nation as a whole that these things should be avoided. The stress of competition between nations becomes keener and more vital as the years pass. And although our climate, our geographical position, and our natural resources give us great advantages in the struggle, a drinking—not to say drunken—people may render all these advantages of non-effect for the purposes of success in the competition. And if this is true of the workers, it is true also of all classes above them in the social scale. “We are members one of another.” If one suffers, all suffer, more or less.

But, below the level of the industrial who finds strength and hope in trades-unionism, there is a vast unorganised mass of workers, besides the regiments of casuals, loafers, and unemployables. The casuals, the loafers, and the unemployables are the fruitage of many causes, and no single remedy will meet them all. It is, however, our present contention that drink is the greatest and most persistent of all causes in the production of this Dead-Sea fruit. Much evidence has been adduced in previous chapters in support of this view, and too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that what has been presented is only a selection from an almost incalculable mass, exactly similar in character.

There is a picture in this year's Academy (1909) which must give a stab to the heart of every humane person who sees it, and suggest heavy thoughts to every social reformer and serious politician. The scene is the Thames Embankment, with a dreary November fog settling down, and gradually obliterating the lights. On a seat are half-a-dozen figures in various attitudes of the sleep of weariness and exhaustion. There are men who in early middle life are broken down. There is a youth whose life is wasted ere it has barely begun. There is an ex-soldier with a medal on his breast. He has fought his country's battles with honour, but somehow the battle of life has gone against him. There is a man and his wife, the latter with a baby in her arms. They know the pleasures of “home”

on a public seat on the Embankment. The title of the picture is—"Am I my brother's keeper?"<sup>1</sup>

That is the question which must be pressed home upon the mind and conscience of all those comfortable classes whose circumstances remove them far from such things as these. It cannot be justly dismissed as a mere piece of sentimentality, to say that, in so far as these wrecks are the result of preventable causes, society is responsible for the existence of these causes and their results. Neither will it meet the case, nor is it true to say, that these things always have been and always will be, and nothing that we can do will prevent them.

There is no parallel in history to the grinding, degrading, brutalising poverty of our great centres of population, with its hopelessness, its viciousness, its savagery, and its despair of the damned. Personal visits to some of these areas, and conversations with some of the victims, have more than once suggested the thought that if there were to arise among these people a man of organising brain and inspiring personality, he would shake the present social fabric to its foundations.

Into this seething Inferno the public-house is ever flinging fresh victims, and ever maddening those who are already there. No attempted reform will be of any permanent value which leaves the public-house in its present position of dominance in the social life of these large masses of the population. There are, of course, contributing streams from other quarters, but the great volume pours from the bar and the tap-room, and it never ceases its flow.

As the *Times* said in a leading article on 29th March 1881: "Drinking baffles us, confounds us, shames us, and mocks us at every point. It outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot, and the legislator. Every other institution flounders in hopeless difficulties—the public-house holds its triumphant course."

What then is to be done? It does not fall within our present purpose to elaborate definite legislative remedies,

<sup>1</sup> At 2 A.M. on September 2, 1909, as the House of Commons rose from a discussion on the incidence of the Budget Licence Duties on London public-houses, the writer, walking along the Embankment from Westminster to Blackfriars Bridge, counted 221 homeless men and women sleeping on the seats and on the stones.

but what has been said would appear sadly truncated without some reference to possible reforms.

In the first place, education, both of the child and of the adult, is absolutely necessary. Every elementary school and every secondary school should have courses of teaching in hygiene and temperance, so that the coming generations should not be in ignorance as to the nature and effects of alcohol. It is intensely gratifying to all who hold this view to see the Syllabus issued this year (June 1909) by our Board of Education, arranging for this systematic teaching to be given in our elementary schools. The next step will be to extend it to our secondary schools and colleges. We cannot, of course, by education compel the scholar or student to follow a moral course, but we can equip him with knowledge, so that he cannot any longer plead ignorance. Society must, in the interests of self-defence, fight the ignorance which breeds vice and crime. Ignorance is the first enemy to be overcome, and it can only be overcome by the agency of the State.

The next step is to reduce, what Lord Randolph Churchill rightly called, "the fatal facility of recourse to the public-house." The State has made it far too easy to establish and continue public-houses. Admittedly dangerous as their multiplication is, it is amazing to think that Parliament has not yet fixed a maximum proportion of public-houses to population, beyond which no local authority can go.

Then the hours during which the houses are open should be substantially reduced, both in the interests of those employed therein and of their customers. Drunkenness is largely the product of late hours of sale, which invite prolonged and heavy drinking.

And Sundays, Christmas Day, Good Friday, and Bank Holidays should be rigidly shut out from facilities for drinking. There might be some outcry at first from certain classes, but most of the noise would, as usual, come from "the trade," and be paid for by "the trade." It ought to be ignored, and would soon die down. The Britisher has great powers of adaptability to new laws and new conditions, and his standards steadily rise to the levels of the new conditions laid down by Parliament for his good.

The youth of the nation should be kept outside public-

houses up to twenty-one years of age. This age-limit would give the education provided earlier in life time to influence conduct and to establish habits which it would not be easy for temptation to break down.

Seeing that the privilege to sell intoxicating liquors is an extremely lucrative monopoly, that it is purely State created and State conferred, it is a reasonable proposition to lay down that this privilege should pay a fair toll to the State for the value conferred. In strict justice "the trade" ought to be called upon at once to pay this fair price for what is granted to it, especially when it is remembered that every such privilege conferred upon an individual means the imposition of some additional burdens upon the community. But, as things are, with the "expectation of renewal" of a licence converted by the Act of 1904 into almost a practical certainty, some time-notice of the change in the law may have to be conceded.

Magisterial discretion should be restored to its full pre-1904 measure, and in some respects enlarged, so that the public interest should ever and always be the deciding motive of its exercise, and that alone.

But all these things touch only the surface of the evil, and do not attack its heart and centre. Both in law and in morals, the only possible plea of justification of the existence of the liquor traffic is that the reasonable necessities of a community require it. The magistrates are now left to judge what each community really requires. It is notorious that in many instances—owing to their lack of contact with the people on whose behalf they act, to their social environment, to their party proclivities, to old established usage—they often give decisions contrary to the preponderating wishes of the people most nearly concerned.

Therefore a powerful and widespread demand has arisen, and one which must ere long be met, that the people shall be called upon to declare their will by their votes, and that declaration, once made, to be final and be binding upon any authority which may be entrusted with the duty of issuing licences. In other words, the principal—the people—may give instruction to the agent—the licensing authority—and the agent shall carry out the will of the principal. If the people vote no-licence, no licence shall they have in the area covered by their vote.

Then, and not till then, will the full responsibility be brought home to every householder, and he will realise that the terrible evils which all deplore are now removable at will, and upon him the onus must rest of their further continuance. The conferring of such a power can only add to the value and dignity of citizenship, and its general use will lead to nothing less than national emancipation from a crushing curse.

On what is called the constructive side—if we may for a moment regard it as opposed to what we have just been considering—much may be done. As parks are provided at the public expense for the free use of the people, let the local authority have power to provide large recreation halls for winter use. There is no difference in principle between the two cases. Let alcohol be rigidly excluded, and a wide latitude might be left by Parliament to each local authority to meet its own particular needs in its own way.

Recreations, games, music, pictures, lectures, discussions, are all refining and elevating influences, and all tend to raise men above the squalid debauchery of the public-house.

The way to the goal of a sober, prosperous, and happy people will be long and arduous, the rate of progress is sure to be slow. "Working out the beast" is ever a prolonged and painful process, but the object is great at which we aim, and is worthy of the best endeavours of the best people at all times and seasons.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, speaking in Birmingham in 1876, the year he was elected to Parliament, said: "Temperance reform lies at the bottom of all further political, social, and religious progress. Drink is the curse of the country. It ruins the fortunes, it injures the health, it destroys the lives of one in twenty of our population." Later, speaking at Sheffield, he said: "If I could destroy to-morrow the desire for strong drink in the people of England, what changes should we see? We should see our taxes reduced by millions sterling! We should see our gaols and workhouses empty! We should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed in a century of bitter and savage war."

Happy indeed would be our nation if this aspiration could be transformed into an accomplished fact.

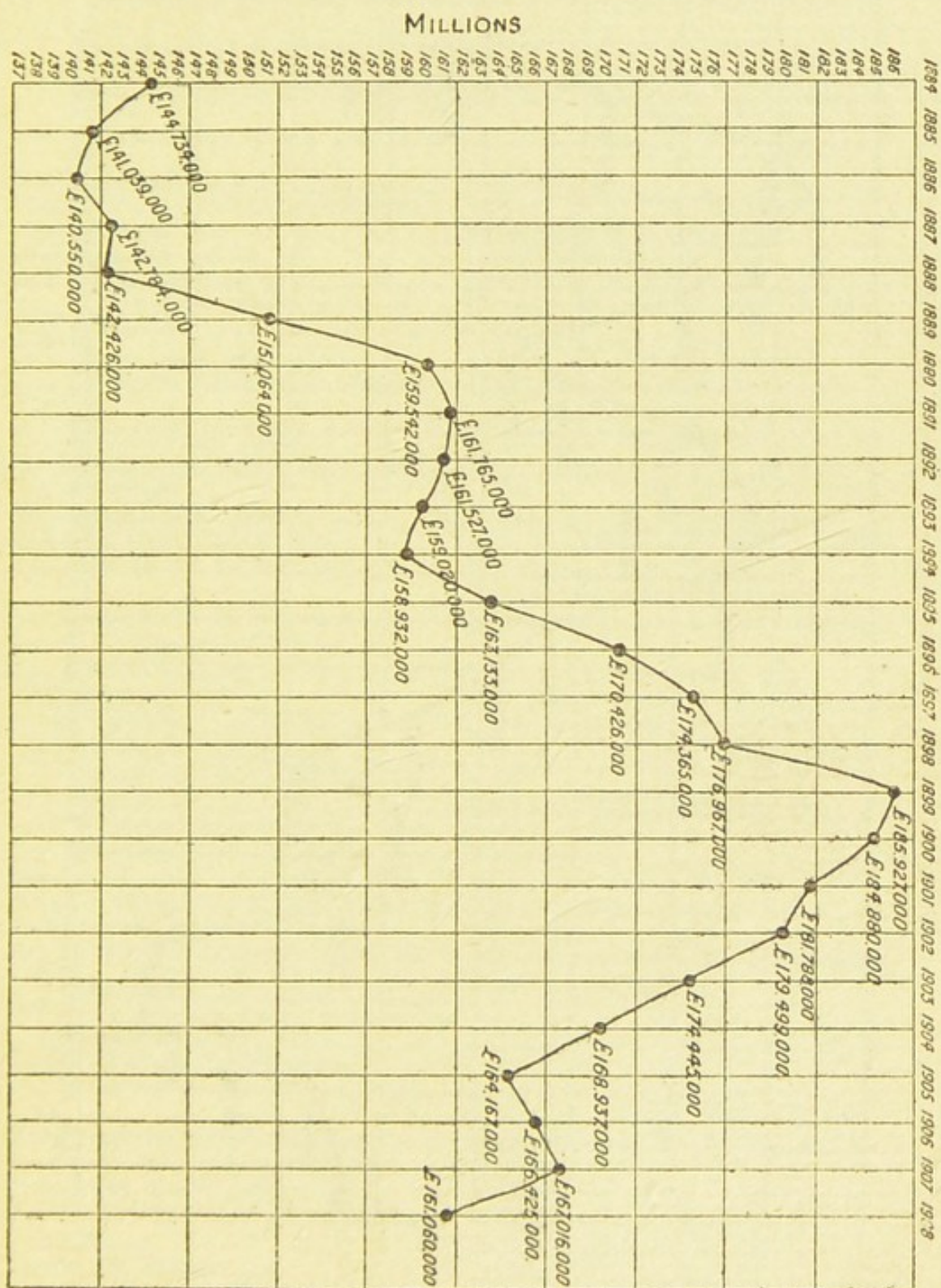
# APPENDIX I

## *Deaths from Cirrhosis of the Liver*

Years.	Total.	Average Annual Deaths per Million.	Total Males.	Average per Annum per Million.	Total Females.	Average per Annum per Million.
1888-92	17,606	122.2	9,954	142.6	7652	103.2
1893-97	18,564	121.6	10,327	139.8	8237	104.8
1898-1902	21,691	134.6	12,090	155.2	9601	115.4
1903-07	19,659	115.0	10,756	130.4	8903	100.8

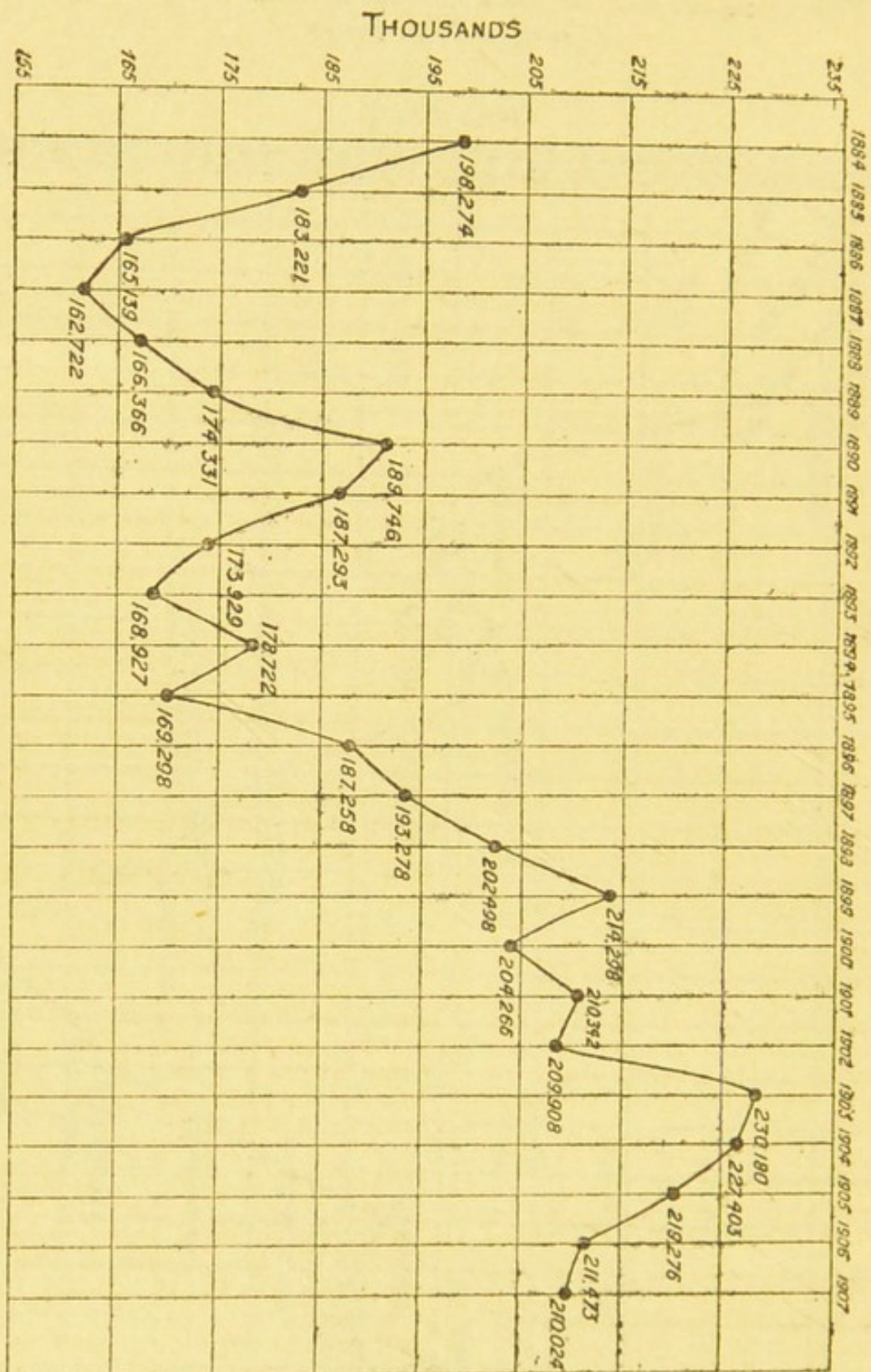
## APPENDIX II

### *The Annual Drink Bill of the United Kingdom for Twenty-Five Years*



# APPENDIX III

## *Annual Prosecutions for Drunkenness, England and Wales*



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