

**The condensed argument for the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic
/ by F.R. Lees.**

Contributors

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THE
CONDENSED ARGUMENT
FOR THE
LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION
OF THE
LIQUOR TRAFFIC:

BY DR F. R. LEES.

FOUNDED ON THE ESSAY TO WHICH THE ALLIANCE PRIZE WAS AWARDED.

"As drunkenness is a common source of many other vices, and also of crimes—tending to demoralize and deteriorate the species—Governments ought to favor the researches of learned men who seek to ascertain the condition of the People, and who try to improve them...I am persuaded that a work, well-written, which would endeavor to make known the injuries this pestilence inflicts on Society, would be of the greatest utility."

M. A. QUETELET. 1835.

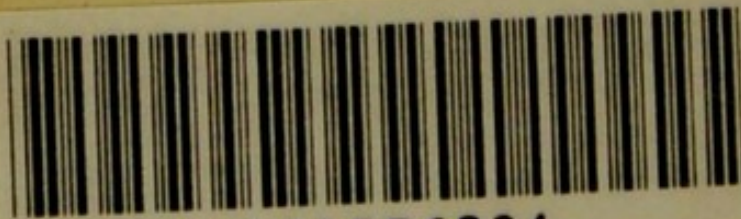
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Mottos.

"The use of Strong drink produces more idleness, crime, disease, want, and misery, than all other causes put together."

The Times: Jan. 19, 1863.

"We are convinced that if a Statesman, who heartily wished to do the utmost good to his country, were thoughtfully to enquire which of the topics of the day deserved the most intense force of his attention, the sure reply—the reply which would be exacted by full deliberation—would be, that he should study *the means* by which this worst of plagues can be stayed."

C. Buxton, M.P., in North British Review.

"The Law of Humanity must needs interfere with the right of Property."

The Examiner.

"Let Government banish from the State whatever is fitted only to corrupt the morals of the People."

Vattel. lib. i. chap. xi. § 165.

"It is clearly shown by Parliamentary returns, that Vice and Drunkenness are in proportion to the number of Public-Houses, and to the facilities for obtaining intoxicating drink."

Birmingham Publicans.

"The difference between parishes abounding with Alehouses, and those which have none, is great to an incalculable extent, in point of industry, of moral conduct, sobriety, attendance on divine services,—above all, in point of family comfort, and eventually of population—and as a consequence of the whole, in point of habitual contentment, submission and attachment to the government under which they live."

Arthur Young, F.R.S. 1798.

"That which, in my opinion, modifies the results of different years, is not the influence of Free-will, so far as it can in fact be active, but rather the changes which Society undergoes by degrees *through the gradual Reform of its Institutions*—as through the oscillations of its *habits* and its *wants*. Experience convinces us more and more, that, *with the same social organization*, we may be prepared, year after year, for the return of the same moral phenomena."

Quetelet.

"All my investigations lead me to the same results. It is a sad truth, that *Society prepares the Crime.*"

Mittermaier.

Pass where we may, through city or through town,
 Village or hamlet of this merry land,
 Though lean and beggar'd, every twentieth pace
 Conducts the unguarded nose to such a whiff
 Of stale debauch forth-issuing from THE STYES
 THAT LAW HAS LICENSED, as makes Temperance reel.
 There sit involved and lost in curling clouds
 Of Indian fume, and guzzling deep, the boor,
 The lackey, and the groom. The craftsman there
 Takes Lethean leave of all his toil;
 Smith, cobbler, joiner, he that plies the shears,
 And he that kneads the dough, all loud alike,
 All learned and all drunk. The fiddle screams
 Plaintive and piteous, as it wept and wailed
 Its wasted tones and harmony unheard.
 Dire is the frequent curse, and its twin sound
 The cheek-distending oath. 'Tis here they learn
 The road that leads from competence and peace
 To indigence and rapine: till at last
 Society, grown weary of the load,
 Shakes her encumbered lap, and casts them out.
 But Censure profits little: vain the attempt
 To advertise in verse A PUBLIC PEST,
 That, like the filth with which the peasant feeds
 His hungry acres, stinks, and is of use.
 Th' Excise is fattened with the rich result
 Of all this riot. The ten thousand casks,
 For ever dribbling out their base contents,
 Touched by the Midas finger of the State,
 Bleed gold, for Parliament to vote away.
 Drink and be mad, then; 'tis your country bids;
 Gloriously drunk—obey the important call;
 Her cause demands the assistance of your throats;
 Ye all can swallow, and she asks no more.

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THIS work being in great part an abridgment of the Alliance Prize Essay, of 320 pages (published at 1s.), the reader is referred to that work for more special details; but all new matter has attached to it the proper references for verification. The propositions sought to be established, are the seven Principles on which the social and political institution called THE UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE is founded. The *Prize Essay*, with the *Sequel* of 128 pages (6d.), containing 'Answers to One Hundred Objections' from the Press, etc., had, together, a circulation of nearly 80,000. It is hoped that, in this abbreviated form, it will, by God's blessing, be made still more useful in awakening the nation to a just perception of the Evil System exposed, and creating in our citizens a fixed and solemn determination to destroy it.

AN ARGUMENT FOR PROHIBITION.

CHAPTER I.

“THAT IT IS NEITHER RIGHT NOR POLITIC FOR THE STATE TO AFFORD LEGAL PROTECTION AND SANCTION TO ANY TRAFFIC OR SYSTEM THAT TENDS TO INCREASE CRIME, TO WASTE THE NATIONAL RESOURCES, TO CORRUPT THE SOCIAL HABITS, AND TO DESTROY THE HEALTH AND LIVES OF THE PEOPLE.”

§ 1. Common-sense would be apt to regard this proposition in the light of a truism, since to prevent such sequences is at once the express aim, and sole justification, of Government. The best State would be one in which every man does, not only what is right in his own eyes, but right and best in itself. But ignorance, defect, and *impulse*, fostered by custom, combine to contravene this Utopia, and to postpone its realization to the far distant future. A stern necessity commands that the weak, the wise, and the good shall become jurally associated as a State, prohibiting certain actions and restricting others, not simply to preserve the rights and the good that *are*, but as the means of realizing a Social Condition that is theoretically better. The condition of all human progress, the first step towards the possibility of an ascent from the predatory state of savages, to that of the merest initial civilization, is the guarantee of private property in the soil you have redeemed from the swamp, or the forest; and that primal guarantee consists in a denial of the liberty to walk over the garden or field so reclaimed from nature. The State is the union of Individualities for the realizing of what is deemed needful for the *avoidance* of evils, and the collective judgment of a community is more to be consulted, as its happiness is more to be regarded, than that of any fraction of them. Society cannot wait upon the conceit or the conviction of its last member; and the declamation about ‘Liberty’ and ‘inalienable rights,’ may be translated into this modest request:—“Your laws shall become *ipso facto* void, so often as they contain anything not to *my* mind. You order money to be paid on the score of taxation, but I don’t acknowledge your authority. I repudiate ‘coercion’; I disapprove of the mode of expenditure; *therefore*, I assert my ‘liberty’ of not paying. You order me not to ‘trespass’ in that corn field or yonder garden, but I have, by nature, an absolute freedom of locomotion in every direction on the surface; I refuse to recognize your right to fence off that field, or wall-in that garden; and I will, *therefore*, vindicate my ‘liberty’ by walking through them.” Such logic is more properly refuted by a straight-jacket than by strict argument.

Doubtless, in the development of the Idea of a State, absurd as

well as mischievous blunders have been committed. Government, as an organ and executive of the People, has, at one time, attempted too much; at another, too little. Like the individuals whose aggregate character and intelligence it represented, it has done the things it ought not, and left *undone* the things it ought to have done. Notably it has licensed and sanctioned the Traffic in Strong Liquors, which it ought to have prohibited as the fountain of three-fourths of the social corruptions and crimes for the prevention of which all prohibitory statutes are professedly in force. From the records of History—difficult as it may be to extricate a positive, universal principle of law—our negative proposition stands clearly out. The professed object of every combination called SOCIETY, has been the *protection* of rights, person, and property, as the essential condition of social progress. This implies the right to *resist* the injurious actions of the selfish, whimsy, and ignorant, as well as the aggressions of the wicked; and to *enforce* whatever else is necessary as a means to this end, and to the developing of a true civilization. Under the first head, we may range laws against felony and filth; laws against lotteries, betting-houses, and obscene exhibitions;—under the second, we may cite the institution of private property in land, the consequent prohibition of trespass, the laws of marriage, the making of drains, and the compulsory levy of taxation. Any State, then, which licenses a System tending to crime, improvidence, and disease, not merely lends the prestige and authority of its incorporated virtue to that which is evil, but frustrates the purpose of its own existence—in fine, perpetrates social suicide, and commits a kind of political *felo de se*. St Paul represents the Law as a “terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well;” but the Licensed traffic inverts this maxim, so that the Law virtually becomes “a temptation to evil-doing, and a terror and burden to them that do well.”

Theorists of various grades may be found, who will dispute, not only this general conception of Law, but the application of an approximate view of the sphere and duties of Government to the subject of the Liquor-Traffic. It seems right, therefore, that we should at starting notice, however briefly, some of the theories of Social Law, by way of clearing the path for the consideration of our chief topic—the *actual consequences* of the Traffic, and the *practical* remedy for its fruitful evils. The best conception of Government, we argue, includes the right and the duty of repressing socially injurious TRADES, whenever such trades *materially interfere* with the social and moral advancement of the community.*

* Observe, ‘*Trades*,’ which implies a public relation, and not simply a private or domestic one. The latter may be beyond the province of Government, but not the former. This difference is acknowledged in every civilized community. Law does not deal with private play in the domestic circle, but with the Trade, the House, and the instruments of Public Gambling. Law makes no inquisition into the pleasures of the licentious man, indulging in obscene pictures upon his parlour wall, or reading immoral books in his private study—but it does put its ban upon the *Trade* in such things, declares the public exposure and sale of them to be a nuisance and a crime, and authorizes their public destruction. In all these directions the law is not seeking to *create public virtue*, but to PREVENT PUBLIC CORRUPTION.

§ 2. BENTHAM, one of the profoundest writers on Jurisprudence to whom this country has given birth, says:—

“*The sole object of Government ought to be the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number of the community.* The care of providing for enjoyments ought to be left almost entirely to each individual; the principal function of Government being to *protect* him from sufferings.

“It fulfils this office by creating rights, which it confers upon individuals: rights of personal security; rights of protection for honor; rights of property; rights of receiving assistance in case of need. To these rights correspond offences. The law cannot create rights, without creating the corresponding obligations. It cannot create rights and obligations without creating offences. It can neither command nor prohibit, *without restraining the liberty* of individuals. The citizen, therefore, cannot acquire any right without the sacrifice of *a part* of his liberty. Even under a bad Government, there is no proportion between the sacrifice and the acquisition. Governments approach to perfection as the acquisition is greater and the sacrifice is less.”

The liberty of sale and purchase of strong drink is not absolute even now. It is limited as to persons, place, mode, measure, and time. But where is the ‘acquisition’ to compensate for these various actual restrictions? Is it to be found in the burden of poor-rates, the shame of general demoralization, and the many dangers to which we are exposed by the prevalence of crime? The ‘Alliance’ asks for the sacrifice of a partial liberty and a mere convenience, in order to realize the grandest national acquisition—for the adoption of *one* effective law which shall dispense with the need of *fifty* ineffective restrictions.

We readily admit that a Prohibitory liquor-law would abridge somebody’s liberty; that its pains and penalties would be deemed evil by the law-breaker; but are we to draw the conclusion that there shall be no law?* An objection against *all* law can hold least of all against a law which would destroy (by reaching the cause) *seventy-five per cent of our crime* and the train of evils connected with its punishment—evils in the constraint of the criminal—evils in the pursuit of the accused ere the innocent can be discriminated from the guilty—evils in the infliction of judicial sentences—and evils in the inevitable reactions upon the innocent connexions of the criminal, as well as upon society.

Under ‘Indirect means of Preventing Crime,’ Bentham includes “Methods which act either physically or morally upon the man, in

* Law itself is *not* ‘coercive,’ but purely *declarative*—the announcement of a social rule. The coercion is in the ‘sanction’ of the law, and he who objects to that, logically objects to every law, whether natural or positive, social or divine. A law without a penalty for disobedience, is simply a dead letter. An Anti-liquor Law, therefore, just operates like any other—it declares the *Will* of the Law-makers, and through its sanctions creates motives for obedience. An objection against the wisdom or justice of the law itself is logically legitimate, but an objection to a *special* law founded upon the essential characteristic of *all* law (that it has a ‘coercive’ sanction) is utter imbecility. The Maine-law is no more ‘the logic of the stick’ than any other law, human or divine.

order to dispose him to obey the laws—to remove from him temptations to crime, and govern him by his inclinations and knowledge.

“There are some cases in which the power of injuring may be taken away, by excluding what Tacitus calls *irritamenta malorum* [the subjects and suggesters of the offence]: as the prohibition of the sale and fabrication of dies for coining; of poisonous drugs; of concealed arms; of dice, and other instruments of prohibited games:” [to which may now be added the prohibition of lotteries, betting-houses, brothels, prize-fights, and crime-engendering drinks.]

“Mahomet, not trusting to reason, has sought to put it out of the power of men to misuse strong liquors. If we regard the climate of hot countries, in which wine produces fury rather than stupidity, it will perhaps be found that its *total prohibition is more gentle than its permitted use*, which would have produced numerous offences, and consequently numerous punishments.

“Taxes upon spirituous liquors, in part, accomplish the same end. In proportion as the price is raised above the reach of the most numerous class, the means of yielding to intemperance are taken from them. Under this head may be mentioned many English statutes relative to the sale of spirituous liquors; *their open exposure to sale is prohibited*.

“By a statute of George III., any individual is forbidden to have more than 50lbs. of gunpowder in his house; and the dealers in gunpowder are forbidden to have more than 200lbs. at one time. The reason assigned is the *danger* of explosions.”

Here a man, carrying out such objections as are commonly urged against a Prohibitory liquor-law, might say, “I am very careful—why do you limit *my* liberty because some careless fellow blows his house up? Why not wait till the action is done?” The answer would be, that we care more for the safety of the many than the convenience of the one—that the condition wanted is not the punishment of another, but the *protection* of ourselves—that the punishment after the act, or involved in it, comes too late to remedy the evil—that so far as it operates, it is in the direction of *preventing* a future calamity of the same kind—and that the past disaster ought to have been prevented by law as much as any apprehended future one. As the only legitimate answer to the claim for protection against the possible danger of explosion would be a proof that such protection must *in some other direction largely subtract from human happiness*, so in regard to the Liquor-Traffic, it must be shown that its free operation involves such an amount of rational enjoyment as will *counterbalance* the varied and prodigious social evils with which it is inseparably associated.

BENTHAM proceeds:—“All other indirect means which can be employed must have reference to the direction of the *inclinations*; to the putting in practice the rules of a logic too little understood at present—the *logic of the Will*—a logic which often appears in opposition to the logic of the *Understanding*. This contrariety amongst motives often exists only from the unskilfulness of the Legislator—from an opposition he has himself created between the natural and political sanctions—between the moral and religious sanctions. If he could make all these powers concur towards the same end, all the faculties of the man would be in harmony, and the inclination to in-

jure would no longer exist. In those cases in which this object cannot be attained, it is proper that the power of the *tutelary* motives should be made to exceed that of the seductive motives." We need hardly point out to the intelligent reader, how a Prohibitory law would accomplish this. *First*, it would erect the bulwark of Law, the expression of national conscience and will, between the subjects tempted by the Traffic and the interest of the Traffickers, and, by withdrawing all legal license from the Trade, proclaim its outlawry. *Second*, it would induce such a state of things as to allow the appetite for drink to die out, or be reduced within such limits that moral suasion and religion might cope with the evil, with at least some chance of success. Thus a Prohibito-protective Liquor-law would combine the principles both of direct and indirect legislation. In combating an artificial desire by prohibition, it would at once remove the *seductions* which tempt to drinking, and the subjectively *disturbing element* of the drink, engendering degradation, disorder, and crime—in short, it would operate "by weakening the seductive motives which excite to evil, and by fortifying the tutelary motives which excite to good." BENTHAM proceeds to propose the indirect methods by which the Will may be influenced, in the form of political or moral problems:—

"I. To divert the course of *Dangerous desires*. Pernicious desires may arise from three sources: 1st, The malevolent passions. 2nd, *The fondness for inebriating liquors*. 3rd, The love of idleness.

"The methods of diminishing them may be reduced to three heads: 1. The encouraging kindly feeling. 2. The favoring the consumption of *non-inebriating liquors*, in preference to those which intoxicate. 3. The avoidance of forcing men into a state of idleness.

"No one affection of the human heart ought to be eradicated, since there is not one which does not act its part in the system of utility. *The desire for intoxicating liquors is, properly speaking, the only one which can be extirpated without producing any evil.*

"II. To make such arrangements that a *given Desire* may be satisfied without prejudice, or with the least possible prejudice.*

"That these desires may be satisfied without prejudice—is the first object; but if they cannot be regulated to *this point*, that their satisfaction may not produce *so great an injury to the community* as that which results from a violated law—such is the second object. If even this cannot be attained, to arrange everything in such manner that the individual, placed by his desires between two offences [or modes of action], may be led to choose *the least hurtful*—such is the third object. This last is a species of composition with vice: *a bargain is made with it*, so to speak, and it is sought that the individual may be satisfied at the least possible expense."

* The passion for strong drink cannot be placed in the category of *natural desires*; nor even be compared with the liability of abuse that attaches to the sale of poisons in general, which, nevertheless, demand severe restrictions upon their sale, sometimes very inconvenient. Nature, which has implanted no appetite for alcoholic drink within us, has supplied us with no Alcoholic fruit or fountain without us. The subject of the Traffic, like its agent and instrument, is artificial and peculiar—it is unique, *sui generis*.

The license law is a standing illustration of the facts that the Traffic has nothing to do with free-trade—that it *requires* to be regulated—that such regulation has not succeeded in securing exemption from *very great injury* to the nation, in the mode of allowing *restricted public facilities* for the gratifying of the Drinker's desire—and that it has been nothing less than a composition with the source of vice—a bargain made by Bad Policy with Selfishness and Sensualism, at the expense of the best interests of the Community, three-fourths of whom do *not* support the Traffic. On the other hand, we do not dictate what 'desires,' good or bad, the citizen shall gratify, but we claim that the *how* and *where* of the indulgence shall not become the source of grave public injury, or so far as it does so, shall come under the surveillance of the Law.*

"III. To prohibit *Accessory Offences*, in order to prevent their Principals.—Those acts which have a connection with a pernicious event, *as its cause* [or part of it], may be considered as *accessory* offences in relation to the *principal* offence.

"The following are examples of what may be done under the head of Police:—Prohibition of purely offensive arms, which are easily hidden. Prohibition of the sale of poisons requires that a catalogue be made of poisonous substances; the sale of them, cannot, however, be altogether forbidden;† it can only be *regulated and subjected to precautions* requiring that the seller should know the purchaser, that he should have witnesses of the sale, that he should register the sale in a separate book, etc."

The Law of Maine does no more in reference to strong drink. It is

* Mr DICKENS, in a champagne article, objects that the 4,999 sober Job Smiths, who *can* conduct themselves properly, ought not to be inconvenienced for the sake of one solitary Drunken Stiggins here and there, who can *not*. To which the reply is, that nobody purposes to hinder Job Smith from brewing or drinking his pot of beer—that the law already puts sober Job to 'inconvenience,' for some good reason affecting the public safety—that he cannot even now get his drink anywhere, and at any time—that the Job Smiths are not many but few, and that the Stigginses are not few but many—in fine, that the logic proves too much, and the arithmetic too little,—that the gratification which he and his equally sober friends experience in the flavor of Burgundy or Brown Stout, is not to be regarded as a satisfactory set-off against the wide-spread pauperism, demoralization, and crime, traceable to the Traffic for which they plead, and the burdens and pains which its supporters cast upon *millions* who protest against it as a nuisance and a curse. In the name of reason, and for the sake of themselves and humanity (not simply the drunkard), these invoke the sovereignty of the Law to prevent the *Sale of Strong drink under such conditions as actually lead* to the multiplication of pauperized, brutal, and dangerous Stigginses, and thereby imperil the high purposes and security of social life.

† In the Catalogue of Poisons in the works of Toxicologists (see Orfila, Dunglison, Taylor, and Christison), ALCOHOL takes its place amongst those of the *narcotico-acrid* class, in company with digitalis, camphor, strychnine, etc. It is perfectly true that drinkers and dealers have no intention of killing either themselves or their neighbors with alcoholic liquor—that they only drink for pleasure, and deal for profit—but the *actual consequences*, undenied and undeniable, are a thousand times more dreadful than those following the sale of all other poisons put together.

not an absolute prohibition, but a regulated sale for *specified* purposes—and, we presume, none, save a petrified theorist, would object to all legislation of this type. It does not regard the Public-house as the evil, but the presence and use of that which vitiates the public-house—*alcoholic liquor*. It is not the Publican that should be prohibited—not the *host* or his servants, services, and hospitality—not his breakfasts or his beds—his tea and toast—his cutlets, eggs and ham—his fish or venison, lamb or beef, or any of the kindred articles of innocent ‘refreshment for travellers’—but simply the *one* thing which, like the fly in amber, spoils the whole pot!

§ 3. BENTHAM remarks “upon the principle of utility, such acts alone *ought* to be made offences, as the good of the community requires should be made so. The good of the community cannot require that any act should be made an offence, which is not liable, *in some way or other*, to be detrimental to the community. The tendency of an act is mischievous *when the consequences of it are mischievous*—that is to say, either the *certain* consequences or the *probable*. This mischief may be frequently distinguished into two shares—the ‘primary,’ which is sustained by an assignable individual or multitude—the ‘secondary,’ which, taking its origin from the former, extends itself either over the whole community, or over some other multitude of unassignable individuals. The secondary mischief, again, may frequently be seen to consist of two other shares—the first consisting of *pain*, the other of *danger*. The danger is the *chance*, whatever it may be, which the multitude may stand exposed to, of suffering such mischiefs or inconveniences’ [*insecurity*]. This great jurist, after a threefold division of mischief, according to its ‘nature,’ its ‘cause,’ and its ‘object,’ says:—

“With regard to its cause, mischief may be produced either by one *single* action, or not without the *concurrence* of other actions—either of the same person, or of other persons—acts either of the same kind, or of other kinds.”

It does not matter one straw, then, how many, or what agents are involved in a system, or co-operate to the issue, *if that issue be seriously detrimental to the public peace and security*. If it impose a burden upon the capacities, or interfere with the welfare of the community, or any considerable part of it, Right and Reason will demand its destruction. The mischief may be various as its causes, and diversified as its machinery; but if it be profitably *preventible* mischief, it *ought* to be, and by a wise and patriotic people, *will* be, prevented. It may be a simple case of breach of quarantine; or of open-drain engendering pestilence; or of a chemical work, the fumes from which, by natural propagation and physical action, blast my fruit or forest trees, or impair the health of my cattle;—or it may be an agency of a social or moral nature, operating more indirectly and under greater complications, so that the *tendency* is seen more clearly than the specific results are traceable, such as a College for Teaching Theft, like those known to the ancient Egyptians, whose head was ‘licensed’; or like the secret society of the Dacoits or Thugs of India, with whom robbery and murder take rank both as a Fine Art and ferocious religion;—or it may be a ‘Domestic Institution’ in some

Federated States, where the soul of the Serf is robbed of knowlege, and its intellectual eyes systematically put out, while the limbs attached to the white brain of the black body are exercised at the will of another man;—or it may be a polluting print, or an obscene figure, exhibited in a shop window; or a fashionable 'Valhalla'; or some vulgar 'stew,' offending modesty and flouting decency; or a varnished 'Flash-house,' more respectable and more dangerous, with its traps for youth and innocence; or a 'lottery scheme,' or 'Crockford's Hell,' or a Betting-house;—or it may be a Gladstonian Wine-house, where servants and women learn to sip the depraving and defiling element; or a village Beershop, tainted with tobacco and impurity; or a town's Tavern, with its demoralization and disorder; or a temple erected to mighty Gin, 'vitriol gin' or genuine gin, with its open jaws of destruction, flaring with gas and reeking with sin and ruin. These are but *variations* in the working of Mischief—the diversified modes in which Selfishness and Venality sacrifice to Comus and to Mammon, the hopes, the faculties, and the happiness of a human world. It is not with the methods, the machinery, the motives, not even with the prejudices or the sincere opinions, of those who feed and foster these systems, that law has directly to do:—it is with the FACT—the *cost* and the *consequences*. If these are burdensome and baneful, then, provided we have the power, we must have, most assuredly, the *right* of abolition.

§ 4. A recent writer on 'Social Statics' denies to the State all true organic power, and represents its function as that of a clumsy kind of Policeman, whose business is to see that B does not pick P's pocket, and that P, in turn, does not box B's ears!—a notion that would leave unsettled the most practically important problems of politics—or rather ignore them—as, for example, laws creating public and private property, the very corner-stone of civilization, and laws establishing marriage or decreeing taxation. Of the larger exposition of these views little need be said: we regard it as a perfect *reductio ad absurdum*. A theory which starts from the position that man is a predatory animal rather than a social being—that asserts the equality of rights between men and children—that proclaims the liberty of individuals to renounce the State at will, and, of course, refuse to contribute to its taxes—(thus making the *existence* of a State to depend on the whim or wisdom of the last man who is asked to join it; for the *allowance* of such a privilege would end in a speedy dissolution of Government, leaving only a Joint Stock Company or Lynch-law behind),—a theory which finishes with enunciating the rights and ethics of Perfect men and Paradise, instead of the practical duties incumbent upon us in this work-a-day world of imperfection and sin—is a theory very sufficiently refuted in its premisses by the absurdity of its conclusions. For our part, we have no respect whatever for power, for *whim* or *will*, save so far as they are animated by wisdom and glorified by goodness. We cannot worship mere dæmonism, neither can we allow it to dictate the terms of social life. Will and liberty, both in the one and the many, exist only for a higher end; are channels of use, not *ends* of being. As means of moral elevation, in this actual world, they require social checks, as well

as social impulses, for the sake of those higher ends. It is not mere exercise of faculties we live for, but such a development of them as harmonizes with the true hierarchy of human powers; not the development of desire, but the frequent denial of impulse for will; not the education of moral will by one's own acts exclusively, but by social acts also—by the sacred symbols of Law, by the virtue of social Habit, and by the purity of social Circumstance. '*Lead us not into temptation*' is no less a natural than a Christian rule—indicates not less the duty of the State than the wisdom of the man. Thus prohibitory laws against public lotteries, gambling-houses, brothels, and similar temptations to vice and crime, are based not merely upon the fact of the objective influence of such things for harm, but upon the fact of their incompatibility with the prime purposes of social existence,—are, in brief, the political reflex of the Lord's Prayer.

HUMBOLDT lays down the following principles, under the head of 'Police Laws':—

"The right of nature, when applied to social life, condemns all actions in which one man encroaches on the due province of another, and hence, includes all those cases in which the injury strictly arises from a blameable oversight, or *where it is always associated with the action, or with such a degree of probability in the consequence*, that the agent either perceives it, or becomes accountable by overlooking it. But that the State should rest here seems justly questionable; *especially when we consider the importance of the injury to be apprehended*, and the possibility of rendering the restriction imposed on freedom only moderately hateful to the citizen. In such a case it is clear that the right is undeniable on the part of the State."

Why should not this hold good against the Traffic? It is *always* associated as a trade with injury to others—there is a *certainty* in the consequences; and the *extent* of the evil accruing is absolutely unparalleled by any other noxious agency operating in the nation.

"The only mischief, of any considerable amount," says BENTHAM, "which can be made to impend indiscriminately over the whole community, is that *complex kind of mischief* which results from WAR [and Traffic in strong drink], and is produced by the instrumentality of certain adversaries [or citizens]: by their being *invited* or *encouraged* to invasion [or to traffic]. In this way may a MAN [or legislature] very well bring down a mischief, and a very heavy one, upon the community in general, and that *without taking a part in any of the injuries which come in consequence to be offered to particular individuals.*"

War, we see, is *not* the only grave mischief which may be done to an entire community. Citizens at home may become as truly the instruments of invading rights, destroying property, and creating insecurity and alarm, as foreign enemies—just as Civil War is no less an evil than Invasion. The parties that introduced the Beer-shop and Wine Acts—measures of good intentions but fearful issues—*invited* and *encouraged* the operation of a system that has brought upon England "more complex mischiefs" than many wars;—the politicians who uphold the Traffic, one and indivisible, "though without taking a part in any one of the injuries" resulting, we arraign at the bar of history as amongst the greatest enemies of their country.

To affirm that Government can do nothing to promote morality, when we know how potent it is in promoting vice, is simply to cant. If people believe this, why have we either a press or a Parliament? In fact, the sphere and influence of Government are vast, since it is established for the protection of *all* rights, whether natural or civil; and comprizes everything necessary to a just and efficient defence of them. It comprehends instruction—whether through Parliamentary discussion, the promulgation of Laws, Judicial decisions, or the common Schoolmaster. Government *must* teach—even if it be only so far as to announce its own decrees. Government *must* discipline, if only its criminals, or its subjects will be plundered again. Government *must* educate—for acts of punishment and discipline are true educational influences; and the Society that has a right to teach by facts has an equal right to do so by formulas. Government *must* feed and clothe, as well as train and educate, its Juvenile delinquents, and its pauper orphans, or guiltily reap the harvest of crime that will inevitably follow the neglect to do so. Government *must* not only resist wrong, but do many things necessary to *prevent* wrong. Even in the process of protecting natural rights, it actually *creates* others. The right to the fruits of labor has for its sequel and guarantee the institution of private property in land. No single individual has a title to any special piece of earth, of wood, or water, until Society *confers* it,—such things are proverbially ‘common.’ I cannot claim a title to this oak, or that quarry, without the consent and decree of my coheirs to this common inheritance. Yet such a right is essential to security—to the fullest development of man’s nature—to the real fruition and enjoyment of his faculties and his life. The Social State is supremely a true ‘natural’ State, deserving of all honor and obedience; *not* a mere ‘Policeman’ and ‘Contrivance,’ but a natural growth from the seed of Humanity—an *organism*, including a Legislature and a Judiciary, as well as an Executive, whose combined duty is to initiate and to enforce *all* that is needful for protection and free development *in actual circumstances*.

To speak of Law as ‘the logic of the stick’ is the merest sciolism. *Law is the Logic of social life—the development of national experience.* Law has a potency in moulding the plastic population, which is even more important than its penal function: and it is preventive as well as corrective. Law is the first and last wisdom of History. A tribe, by its means, grows into a nation—develops agriculture, commerce, art, science—*organizes* itself into a permanent and beneficial power—makes anarchy and revolution impossible.

In the fine language of HOOKER, “Of Law nothing less than this may be acknowledged, that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world,—all things in heaven and earth do her homage,—the very least as feeling her Care, the greatest as not exempted from her Power.”

With a ‘Westminster’ reviewer’s illustration, we close this discussion of principles.

‘May a man *rightly* carry a ton of *gunpowder* through the streets ‘on a wagon in open day? If not, may not the reasons for which ‘you *stop* him, apply just as well to the *prevention of other evils*, as to ‘those to be *apprehended* from the explosion of this gunpowder?’

We remark that it makes no difference whether other evils are exactly like this apprehended one, in their causes or their remedies. *Each* social evil must be tried on its own demerits, and met by its appropriate antidote—that is, by one that is the most *efficient* and the most *economical*. The ‘reason’ for its removal at all, is not its species, but its *genus*; not that it operates in this or that way—but because it operates *evilly*.

‘There are three or four distinct characteristics which bring it within the powers of government.

‘1st. An explosion would violate the equal enjoyment of their rights by others, without the possibility of remedy.

‘2nd. To take the route through London *can* be prevented by force.

‘3rd. The prohibition affects nobody beyond the person addressed.

‘4th. It affects him *only in that one act*.’

So the traffic, 1st exposes vast numbers to the worst dangers.*

2nd. The Traffic *can* be prevented by Law—for it *has* been.

3rd. The prohibition affects nobody for evil, but all for good.

4th. It affects the Seller only in one act; and leaves the drinker to provide *in another way* that which he wants.

Here is scope and verge enough for including amongst actions justly prohibitable by law, a Traffic that does not simply expose a few individuals to risk of injury, now and again, but which is perpetually exploding in tumult, riot, and debauchery—in disorder, disease, and bloody death.

In short, to quote a political oracle, “We are wholly at a loss to understand that theory of society which admits,—what indeed is absolutely necessary to our peace and our very existence,—that we may and must maintain an expensive police to protect us from drunkards, to keep watch at the doors of public-houses, to observe the movements of their chief frequenters, and to protect their victims from being plundered; and that we must also build prisons and go to other vast costs for the punishment, correction, and cure of offenders, who become what they are by drunkenness—admits all this, and then maintains that we ought not to interfere at all with the practice itself, either as to its hours, its days, its places, or any other circumstance. The simple consideration that we must do the cure, and that the cure is very costly and difficult, imposes on us also the duty of prevention, at least so far as it is possible. Self-preservation requires that we should stop an evil where we *can*, if we must stop it somewhere.”—*The Times*, Aug. 25, 1854.

* Captain BRENTON, R.N., pithily expressed the truth, when he said—“*Gunpowder* and *Gin* are both dangerous—the one is well looked after, the other not—but the *Gin*, in my opinion, is the more dangerous of the two.” At Rochdale, an engineer, made incapable by the Traffic, occasions a boiler explosion, which kills or wounds a score of innocent persons. At the same place a publican, mad with drinking his own liquor, splits his wife’s skull, attempts to kill his children, and finishes by poisoning himself. At Birdwell, a man made mad through its agency, dashes through the village with a hedging bill in his hand, striking and maiming all he meets. At Rodley, during last Christmas, an excited policeman assaults every one he meets, and beats to a jelly the head of a sober young man: (these victims being consoled by the information that people can be a *Maine-Law* to themselves!)

CHAPTER II.

“THAT THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS, AS COMMON BEVERAGES, IS INIMICAL TO THE TRUE INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUALS, AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE ORDER AND WELFARE OF SOCIETY, AND OUGHT, THEREFORE, TO BE PROHIBITED.”

§ 1. In harmony with the Principles already determined, the relation between the Individual and the State—and therefore the true interests of both—may be thus expressed:—

“The Individual demands [claims as right] that his jural-relationship to others shall be maintained inviolate by the State—and the State demands, in return, that the Individual shall not disturb or endanger the jural-relations of others.”

The unit of Society, as such, is exposed to injury, to the disturbance of his just relations; hence the units *combine* to obtain Protection and to ensure Safety. Experience proves that association secures what is generally impossible to insulation—that fixed principles and organic law enable us to do much better than which *must* be done, than mere individual force moved by interest or passion. *Protection*, in its wide and true signification, is the object of the State—the granting and securing to each and all what is due to humanity. When justly applied, this will be found to embrace:—

I. *Individual Security*, involving protection against injury of body, character, and property—the making certain that which, in a state of nature or barbarism, is uncertain—for *uncertainty* in rights is insecurity.

II. *Social Security*, or the protection of Society as Society: whence treason or anarchy, or anything subversive of the foundation of Society, is to be regarded as crime, just as really and truly as a disturbance of any primitive relations.

III. *Social Development*, so that each constituent element of the body politic may attain the great ends of Humanity—ends only to be reached by combination—and which, therefore, constitutes the first of all rights and necessities.

Now, the Traffic in strong drink directly contravenes all these conditions and duties of a State—and does so *to an extent* far exceeding all other agencies combined. The Traffic, therefore, which is already subjected to various restrictions, and in different countries and ages has been proscribed, ought to be totally prohibited by a wise Statesmanship amongst ourselves.

§ 2. In 1834, the Parliamentary Report on Drunkenness,* founded on an elaborate examination of witnesses, says:—

* The Chairman of the Committee was the late JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM, then M.P. for Sheffield, to whose intelligent and life-long labors in the cause of Temperance and Freedom the world is largely indebted.

“The *consequences* of the vice of intoxication are so many and so fearful, that it is difficult to enumerate even the outlines of them; and to pursue them in all their melancholy details would require a volume. The following are only a few of the evils *directly* springing from this source:—

“*Consequences to Individuals.*—Destruction to health—disease in every form and shape—premature decrepitude in the old—stunted growth and general debility and decay in the young—loss of life by paroxysms, apoplexies, drownings, burnings, and accidents of various kinds—delirium tremens, paralysis, idiocy, madness, and violent death; destruction of mental capacity and vigour, and extinction of aptitude for learning, as well as desire for practising any useful art or industrious occupation. Irritation of all the worst passions of the heart. Extinction of all moral and religious principle, disregard of truth, indifference to education,—violation of chastity,—insensibility to shame.

“*Consequences to National Welfare.*—The DESTRUCTION OF GRAIN, converted by distillation into poison; the highest medical authorities examined before your committee being uniform in their testimony that ardent spirits are absolutely poisonous to the human constitution—so that an immense amount of food is destroyed in such a manner as to injure greatly the agricultural producers themselves, for whose grain, but for this perverted use of it, there would be more than twice the present demand.—The LOSS OF PRODUCTIVE LABOR in every department of occupation, to the extent of at least *one day in six* throughout the kingdom, as testified by witnesses engaged in various manufacturing occupations; by which the wealth of the country is retarded or suppressed to the extent of one million out of every six produced, to say nothing of the constant derangement, imperfection, and destruction in every [industrial] process, occasioned by the intemperance, and consequent unskilfulness and neglect, of those affected by intoxication, producing great injury in our domestic and foreign trade.—The extensive LOSS OF PROPERTY by Sea, from shipwrecks, foundering, fires, and innumerable other accidents, which, according to the evidence of the most experienced shipowners and nautical men, are clearly traceable to drunkenness.—The comparative INEFFICIENCY OF THE ARMY AND NAVY, in each of which intemperance is a canker-worm that eats away its strength and its discipline to the very core; it being proved that one-sixth of the effective strength of the Navy, and a much greater proportion of the Army, is as much destroyed by intoxicating drinks, as if the men were slain in battle; and that the greatest number of accidents, seven-eighths of the sickness, invalidings, and discharges for incapacity, and nine-tenths of all the acts of insubordination, and the fearful punishments and executions to which these give rise, are to be ascribed to drunkenness alone. The INCREASE OF PAUPERISM, divested of that sense of shame that would disdain to receive relief whilst honest industry could secure the humblest independence, and associated with a recklessness of all obligations, domestic or social, which has converted the pauper from a grateful receiver of aid under unavoidable calamity, to an idle and disorderly clamorer for the right of being sustained by the industry of

others, or a profligate and licentious parent of illegitimate offspring. The SPREAD OF CRIME in every form, from theft, fraud, and prostitution in the young, to burblings, robberies, and more hardened offences in the old; by which the gaols and prisons, the hulks and convict transports, are filled with inmates, and an enormous mass of human beings are transformed into excrescences of corruption and weakness.—The RETARDATION OF ALL IMPROVEMENT, inventive or industrial, civil or political, moral or religious.—That the mere *pecuniary loss* to the nation, from the several causes already enumerated, may be fairly estimated at little short of fifty millions of pounds sterling per annum.”

A system engendering such varied ‘consequences’ and ‘costs,’ is plainly, deeply, and distinctly inimical to the real interests of Individuals and the State, endangering the rights of the one, and rendering impossible the aims and purposes of the other. Thirty years have elapsed since this deliberate conviction was enrolled upon the records of the British Parliament, and yet, notwithstanding the boasted march of improvement, the progress of education, the spread of knowledge, and, above all, the specific efforts to combat this vice of Intemperance by moral appeal, EVERY WORD OF THAT REPORT REMAINS LITERALLY TRUE.

Says Mr Recorder HILL, in one of his recent charges, referring to efforts for ameliorating the miseries of the people,—“Whatever step we take, and into whatever direction we may strike, the Drink-Demon starts up before us, and blocks the way.”

The explanation is simply this:—*The Traffic has extended its machinery of mischief, and its net-work of seduc'ion, contemporaneously with these efforts; and it is of the nature of narcotic-stimulants to generate excess, by increasing appetite and lessening moral control.*

§ 3. Foreign nations, and those blessed with almost universal education, both moral and religious, who have instituted Legislative Inquiries into the subject, everywhere reach conclusions similar to our own. The ‘Select Committee of the NEW YORK Senate,’ in 1853, “after a careful examination of the whole subject, are clearly of the opinion that THE SALE of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, *retards education and encourages vice; that it tramples upon the rights of persons and property to a criminal extent; and that it is the duty of this Legislature to pass a Prohibitory law, as the only means left to remove the evils complained of; that the sale of intoxicating drinks is the direct occasion of more pauperism, crime, debauchery, and frightful casualties, than all other things combined;—that such liquor is a POISON, and should be so declared and treated, producing a species of insanity which deadens the powers and inflames the passions,* causing the unprovoked commission of crimes on the innocent and unoffending, of an enormity unparalleled in the civilized world; crimes that even barbarians would shudder at, and humanity in its*

* FLOURENS, PERCY, LALLEMAND, PERRIN, and other toxicologists, have long ago established, by experiment, that “Alcohol is a Brain Poison,” and one that specially excites and disturbs the cerebellum. This is the true key to the Social Facts.

worst forms could not commit, unaided by the Demon that is ever present in the drunkard's cup."

The same is true of CANADA, with its unoccupied soil and plenty, as of the old country. The following is from Stratford, Perth Co. (1863):—"That the Grand Jury have to lament that the influence of the liquor trade, through licensed places, licensed by the municipalities of this county, is shown in the variety of cases for crimes and offences which come before the Grand Jurors, and they would express their opinion, that if licensed places were fewer in number, there would be fewer offences against the laws. That *every case brought before us, at this Session*, has been caused by the excessive use of intoxicating liquor.—SAMUEL HILLEN, *Foreman*."

Professor HUSS, M.D., says of drinking in SWEDEN:—"If some *energetic means* are not adopted against so fatal a custom, the nation is menaced with incalculable evil. No measures *can* be too strong; it is better to save at any price, than to have to say—it is too late." Happily, the legal *prohibition* of common distillation has done much to abate the evil. The *Beer* nuisance, however, is every year increasing there.

On the concurrent testimony of various countries, the Traffic may be impeached, not simply as a nuisance, but as the *fons et origo* of 75 per cent in amount of those kinds of evil for protection against which the bulk of all laws are framed, and for securing partial exemption from which Society itself is expressly constituted. To neglect such a source of calamity and crime—much more to 'license' and 'sanction' it—seems indeed a monstrous dereliction of the duty of a State—a virtual abandonment of its organic and essential functions.

We speak of *duty*, not of willingness. A majority, a large majority, may be so besotted, or so selfish, as to prefer the chronic evils of the system to the sacrifice of their convenience—but that cannot alter the ethics of the question; it cannot remit the obligation resting upon true Statesmen, upon Patriot and Christian Citizens, to *oppose, expose, and, so far as political influence extends, to veto* the Traffic.

§ 4. To oppose practical and efficient Legislative action against the terrible *realities* of the Traffic, on the ground of a mere abstract theory, is a melancholy exhibition of human infirmity. HUMBOLDT, who has written most profoundly on that side of the theory which, on the first blush, appears to conflict with prohibitory legislation, concedes that *practical necessity* must first be regarded, and not theory; * that the State must create new relations, and therefore rights and duties demanding a sacred respect,—that, as the guardian of the rights of all, it must assert its supremacy for the sake of all: that, in so doing, it must start from things as they are, and treat Man as he *is*, and so,

* His eloquent plea for individual development as against Restrictions on Luxuries, etc., has no relation to the Prohibition of the Traffic. The very reasons assigned *against* legal Restriction on natural faculties,—that it limits development and culture,—is a *reason for prohibiting* that which tends essentially and exclusively to hinder alike intellectual, æsthetic, and moral culture, to bar the progress of social amelioration, and reduces vast numbers to the low grovelling tastes of the sot, or the dead level of drunkenness.

by preserving the gains of the past, reach to still grander conquests of civilization in the future.

“We should never attempt to transfer purely theoretical principles into reality, *until reality, in its whole scope and tendency, offers no further obstacles to the manifestation of those consequences to which, without any admixture of other influences, the abstract principles would lead.*”

While, on the one hand, the whole history of the world does not furnish a single example of a nation that has tolerated the Traffic in strong drink, rising to such a reality of moral and social life as to permit of the safe adoption of those abstract theories, so, on the other hand, all the Facts of History and Experience go to show, that, with such an influence operating in a nation, the Model Government that is desiderated must be indefinitely postponed.

§ 5. The objection that “by removing the temptation we destroy virtue,” is based upon an ignorance of the real nature and needs of man. In fact, however, we only propose the removal of *one special* temptation; all natural, and a thousand social, temptations will still remain—temptations so varied and numerous, that it will be work enough for the longest life, and the strongest will, to subdue them. Besides, there is a peculiarity in *this* temptation, which places it in a category by itself. The will cannot resist the action of Alcohol, which, by *physical potency*, tends to undermine the moral powers: *increasing* appetite while *decreasing* moral restraint. But temptation in general far more frequently promotes vice than virtue: and it never ends in good, save under certain conditions of balance and counterpoise—the existence of which the Traffic renders all but nugatory. Even writers against the Maine Law can perceive this, when the prejudice-of-the-whim is not operating. Take, for example, the following sentence, occurring in a review of the ‘Newcomes,’ in the *Spectator* for 1855. “Is it not to some lucky accident many of us owe the final predominance of the good? For our part, when we are taught to pray, ‘Lead us not into Temptation’—we recognize in that prayer the weakness of our nature, and are only too glad if, by lucky accidents and strong resolutions *combined*, those in whom we are interested *can escape the perils that beset youth and age*, and finally attain the blessedness of a life in which the affections find their proper objects, and the best energies room to breathe.” There is no tendency in the Drink Traffic to educe the best faculties; on the contrary, the Tavern and Beershop corrupt our moral feelings. An occasional visit of inspection, indeed, to a Brothel, or a Beerhouse, might, on an innocent or pure mind, produce no worse effect than disgust or abhorrence; but perpetual visitation would soon blunt our emotions, and eventually contaminate our nature. Such an effect, in truth, is appointed by Divine justice. As the man who *will* gaze perpetually upon burning mirrors, induces blindness, a film gathers upon the organ of vision, and the vitality, so to speak, retreats behind the veil; so the deliberate injury inflicted by the Trafficker for the sake of gain, and the associations of folly and blasphemy with which the Visitor surrounds himself, bring on a moral blindness, which thickens its film with the habit of every day. “Moral evil,” says a thoughtful writer, “is the only thing in the

creation of God, of which it is decreed that the more we are *familiar* with it, the less we shall *know* of it." It is only the pure, humane, and conscientious, who can discern the degradation of every vice, appreciate the true force of temptation, or compute the power of passion and impulse;—but the young, the neglected, the weak, in short, *the many*, all unconscious of their danger, become its wholesale victims. If a Father would not desire to surround his daughters with the pollutions of our large cities, or expose his sons to the temptations of the Casino or the Tavern, why should the State either license or tolerate a machinery of mischief which corrupts *en masse* its honorable, but neglected, industrial classes? * These, in truth, *are* the 'children' of the State; and must remain as such, until that which hinders their social culture is taken away; when, entering the temple of Constitutional freedom, they shall cease to be the mere producers of wealth, and become the Guardians of its welfare and its glory.

If it be objected that the Traffic is not the *cause* of the evil, the Drunkard and the Criminal being alone responsible for the violations of social order, we meet the objection in two ways:—

First, as we should the man who started a lottery, or set-up a gambling-house, and pleaded the innocency of the instruments and the absence of any 'necessary connexion' between play and ruined character and fortune. If we cannot denounce a game at whist in the Vicar of Wakefield's quiet parlour, for 6d. a corner, as a *crime* against Society, who, save a purblind theorist, could therefore defend the innocency of *the trade in gaming*?—or deny to society the right to put the gambler's trade in the category of prohibited things? That which, being injurious to the community, is forbidden by law, becomes a crime. As of cards, dice, or Fortune's wheel, so of strong liquor. To use it, may be only a mistake, or a vice: but *the Trade of selling it* is more—it is social injury; since, somehow, great social mischief invariably follows. Standing on the *actual* connexion, we say—if the evil is enormous and constant, we are assuredly bound to adopt the available and efficient means to prevent it. This involves either the direct prohibition of the Traffic, or the enforcement of such penalties on the transgression of restrictive Laws as would really lead to its abandonment. If such penalties were imposed as would *taboo* the Traffic, that proceeding would amount to a Maine Law. *Prevent the evil, and we care not how you frame the enactment.*

A second answer may be given, which will serve, equally well, the turn of the objection. The Traffic *feeds* the cause, or encourages it. Or, it is *part* of the cause. Or, it is that factor which gives *potency* and *perpetuity* to the cause. Or, it is the road for practically reaching the cause. The metaphysical objector may choose his phrase, and make the best of it.

* "Instead of ordering men to rise above their circumstances, which few can or will do, political philosophy seeks to alter the circumstances, and through them affect the men, by preventing any from being exposed to temptations beyond their strength. Virtue must come *from within*: to this problem Religion and Morality must direct themselves. But Vice may come *from without*: to hinder this is the care of the Politician."—F. W. NEWMAN.

CHAPTER III.

“THAT THE HISTORY AND RESULTS OF ALL PAST LEGISLATION IN REGARD TO THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC, ABUNDANTLY PROVE THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE SATISFACTORILY TO LIMIT OR REGULATE A SYSTEM SO ESSENTIALLY MISCHIEVOUS IN ITS TENDENCIES.”

§ 1. *The Liquor Traffic is essentially mischievous.* That which makes it so is (1) the seductive and disturbing nature of the Drink dispensed; (2) the necessary *associations* of its use on the premises; and (3) the *interest* of the Seller to dispose of as much of his liquor as possible. Ardent spirits were styled a ‘bewitching poison’ by the Legislators of England a century ago: and the appellation is most apt. By the Orientals, alcohol has been immemorially designated as ‘liquid fire’ and ‘the mother of sins.’ The Scripture declares ‘Wine is a mocker.’ The Apocrypha affirms that “it causeth *all* men to err”—kings, priests, prophets, and people. The modern *Edinburgh Review* describes it in the following graphic terms:—

“The passion for fermented drinks is *not instinctive*. A rare accident taught some sleepless Arabian chemist—torturing substance after substance in his crucibles and alembics—how to extract the *fierce spirit* from these agreeable drinks, and brought up, as it were, from the bottom of Pandora’s box, that Alcohol which has since inflicted so many evils upon the world. They exhilarate, they enliven, they stimulate and exalt the mental powers. Some [persons] they stupify, *some they convert into irritable savages*, some into drivelling idiots, and some into mere pugnacious animals. All, if long and largely used, they brutalize, prostrate, and in the end carry to an untimely grave. But more wonderful than these *poisonous* and destructive effects is *the passion for indulging in them which these liquors awaken* [engender] *in a large proportion of our fellow-men*—the irresistible love with which these unfortunates are smitten by them—the *fascinating influence* by which they are charmed. The Will becomes absolutely spell-bound *through the action of alcohol on the bodies of some*, and Reason is dethroned, even where it formerly exercised clear and undisputed sway. *It is from this fascinating power that the danger of using them principally arises.*”

It is not the Public-House with which we war; not the *Publican* to whom we object. It is not even the company we find there that is necessarily objectionable. It is that which vitiates the traffic of the Taverner, and corrupts his company;—which makes alike the Trade, the Trader, and the Tippler, objectionable to the pure and the good,—*it is the use of the specific Drink*. The temptation to its use is of course increased by the encouragement of company, and its sale naturally fostered by the arts of the Publican. Nature imperiously limits the use of bread and beef, or even clothing; hence the Baker

and Butcher never think of pressing on their customers, as the customers never dream of purchasing, steak upon steak, and loaf upon loaf. At the Public-house, however, it is glass after glass, excitement upon excitement, until that passes, through noise, revelry, and riot, to plunder, paralysis, or prostration. The moral responsibilities of the Customer are of no account to his partner and pander in guilt. The sacred claims of home—of wives and children—are scouted and scorned; and so vitiated, so sensualizing is the effect of this dreadful business upon the Traffickers themselves, that, without shame, they publicly chant odes in praise of the Pagan God, and sing anacreontics which openly flout the tenderest and the purest relations of human life. The following glee was enthusiastically received at the Anniversary Meeting of the Licensed Victuallers of Birmingham, held in Dee's Hotel, August 22, 1855, and repeated at similar provincial orgies. It was sung immediately after the Toast of "The Honorable F. H. BERKELEY, M.P., and the Members of both Houses of Parliament who supported the alteration of the Sunday Closing Act." We hope 'honorable' gentlemen will be proud of their 'respectable' patrons—and dictators!

"Jolly boys, your voices raise,
Call on Bacchus—chant his praise;
 When we thy orgies sing,
 Each cobbler is a king!
This day we'll drown all sorrow,
Our cares will come to-morrow.
 Drink rich wine and make good cheer,
We've no scolding wives to fear.
 Fill me a mighty bowl
Up to the brink, that I may drink
Till round the roof does roll."

Thus the Traffic is a craft organized for the encouragement of Drinking, at the high festivals whereof praises are chanted to Bacchus and Brutality.* It was the perception of this fact, that led one of our great patriot writers, DEFOE, to utter this melancholy truth:—

Wherever God erects a House of Prayer,
 The Devil's sure to build a Chapel there:
 And 'twill be found, upon examination,
 The latter has the larger congregation.

Now-a-days, we have twenty Taverns to one Church, twenty Chaplains of Darkness to one Minister of Light.

§ 2. Nor is the Traffic in exciting liquors less pernicious in its effects on the health than on the morals of those engaged in it—so pernicious, indeed, that it would be a mercy to the Publicans them-

* At the anniversary dinner of the Licensed Victuallers of Gateshead, October 2nd, 1855, attended by the Mayor, and by the Sheriff and Mayor of Newcastle (Mr BASS not being present), Mr C. LARKIN, Surgeon, was selected as eulogist. While he denounced the Scotch as "Priest-ridden Asses, and the Teetotalers as liars, fools, and fanatics," such phrases as 'Damn Wilson Patten,'—'Go to hell,'—'Damn the Pope,'—etc., were so liberally showered in by the audience, that even the orator was disgusted, and when requested to toast the 'Lady Maygress,' said—"I will propose no woman in such a society of Ruffians."

selves to prohibit the sale of strong drink, for it would increase by *one-half* the average life of the class.* The Traffic is necessarily corrupting and injurious to both traders and purchasers. The Chairman of the Select Committee on Public-Houses, 1853, very naïvely defines the functions of a Drink-seller. '*His business is to sell as much drink as his customers want, and it is their misfortune [but the publican's gain] if they drink too much.*' To which the late Lord Mayor WIRE (solicitor for the Licensed Victuallers) adds a candid sequel. '*They will do the best they can to attract custom to their houses, and in some instances, of course, there will be illegitimate attraction.*' The essential tendency of the drink, the associations of company, rendered often more attractive by contrast with neglected homes, and the arts of the Publican pecuniarily interested *as a rival to the family* in his claims on the purse of the customer, are, therefore, the three prime factors concerned in the creation of our National Intemperance.

§ 3. The most strenuous advocates of Free-trade in everything (who do not stop to inquire whether some Trades, as the Trade in Opium to China, or in Slaves to Cuba, ought *to be* a trade), are compelled to confess a *peculiarity* in the Liquor-Traffic which demands and justifies a peculiar treatment. Mr HARVEY, Commissioner of Police, in his evidence before the Select Committee, says: 'I see *no reason* why the business of a Publican should be *interdicted* any more than any other business'—but he immediately adds—'subject to such *regulations* as public order and social propriety require.' But *do* other businesses require magisterial regulations? The Chairman suggests that, "If there was not the *right* to obtain a license, people

* The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, with the fifteenth report, contains tables showing the mortality of men above the age of 20, engaged in various occupations, in 1851:—

Age.	All Classes.	Drink-sellers.
25	948	1.383
35	1.236	2.045
45	1.787	2.834
55	3.031	3.897
65	6.396	8.151
75	14.055	18.084
85	28.797	40.860
Average	2.009	Average..... 3.084

In absolute numbers, the total of males of 20 years and upwards, in England and Wales, according to the census of 1851, was 4,720,904, and those who died in that year were 94,306. The number of such men who were engaged in the liquor-traffic was 55,325, and those dying, 1,701. The percentages of the several ages show, that at every section the mortality of the latter exceeds by about *one-half* that of the whole number of men so classed, including their own class. They are, in fact, highest in the death-scale, the nearest to them being farmers and graziers (2.84), general laborers (2.16), and butchers (2.13). All other occupations are under 2 per cent. The liquor dealers are not only highest on the whole per centage, but at *every period of life* except the last, at which the general laborers exceed them by about 1 per cent. The most fatal periods of life for miners are from 55 to 75, the average being 3.45 and 8.05, but the liquor traffickers, at the same period, supply a per centage of 3.89 and 8.15.

would be careful to insert in their leases of houses in particular districts, that no person occupying them should establish a public-house?" The witness responds, 'Yes.' The CHAIRMAN: 'You allude to 'the advisability of closing public-houses *at an earlier hour*; 'have you any reasons for knowing what would be the opinions of 'the publicans? *Now they have trouble with their customers after a 'certain hour of the night*, and would be glad of an excuse, or pretext 'of law, to close their houses?' Mr HARVEY: 'I think so.' But what other business makes the buyers of its wares so troublesome? What other traders, after profiting by their customers, turn them into the street helpless or uproarious, for other people to be troubled with? Mr HARVEY states that of the Coffee-houses of London only two out of 196 hold out inducements to females of easy virtue to act as decoy-ducks, by allowing them to sit awhile: but that, out of 626 public-houses, 51 are badly conducted. The Dublin Police *Statistical Tables* for 1853, show that in that city, for seven years ending then, nine Taverns were reported for police violations; Public-houses, 295, and 163 convictions. Out of 1,033 retailers of spirits, 60 are described as irregular: but of 94 *Temperance* Coffee-houses, 93 are regular. These facts, then, point to a great difference between the Traffic in food and that in intoxicants: and we are particularly surprised at a Commissioner of Police saying, 'It certainly does appear to me strange 'that persons should not be authorized to sell spirits and wine, *as well 'as chops and cutlets*!'* Thrust Nature out of the door with a fork, and she will fly in at the window†—and the same may be said of Common-sense. So Mr DANIEL WHITTLE HARVEY says: 'I think it is 'desirable, as a matter of regulation, that the *Crystal Palace* should not 'be *stifled* with public-houses.' Truly 'a Daniel come to judgment,' for who ever thought of applying such an epithet to proper trades and industrial employments? We thank him for the word, as Gratiano thanked the Jew. He further says: 'I would not give to 'the laboring community an excuse to go to the *Crystal Palace*, 'because Public-houses are at hand. *I would not give them the 'temptation of the alternative*. If I were the landlord of the neighboring soil, I should feel disinclined to have *my property* so dealt 'with' as to become a tavern site. Now, change Public-house into Chop-house, Bakery, or Confectioner's shop, and how meaningless the declaration becomes! There is obviously even in the soul of a Commissioner of Police, and a theoretical advocate of *laissez-faire*, a latent feeling of the peculiarity and danger of the Liquor-Traffic, or rather a consciousness which will not hide, that the Traffic *stifles* morals and intellect, and stirs up disorder and depravity. If the Traffic would not be tolerated on our own private estate because of its contaminating influence, why should it on the National Estate be

* When a plain question is put shortly after, he *can* see a great difference. (No. 9405.) "I do not know that I am prepared to suggest that *Coffee-houses* should be compelled to close at any given hour." He assigns as a reason—"Because those who open *Coffee-houses* conduct themselves well." "If Publicans were enjoined to shut up their houses at 12 o'clock *on every night*, it would greatly aid the preservation of peace and order."

† *Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.*—HORACE.

licensed to send forth its poisonous and stifling exhalations amongst the habitations of our uneducated artizans? If it would 'stifle' the ends and aims, of the great Temple of *Æsthetic Art and Industry*, how much more terrible must be its agency amidst the abodes of toil, from which are banished so many of those pure, elevating, and preserving influences that form the glory and ornament of a truly civilized community?

Facts, then, clearly evince a wide difference between *Eating-houses*, and *Drinking-houses* (falsely called *Victualling-houses*). Take from almost any day's paper some of those deplorable and nationally-disgraceful examples of 'wife-beating,' which have become so common that an Act of Parliament was specially framed to meet the case,—an act which fails for the obvious reason that it tampers with effects instead of boldly grasping causes. No man ever sits down to drink with the design of getting his mind so perverted that he will go home and beat his wife, or abuse his children. He sits down with the resolve *not* again to do that; but he drinks—and does it. The *Times* supplies a case in point:—

"H. C., charged with assaulting his wife, a very respectably-dressed woman, carrying on business as a dressmaker, in Manchester Square. She seemed much distressed while giving her evidence. Magistrate: What did he do last night to cause you to have him brought here?—Complainant: He was very *tipsy*, sir, and aimed a blow at my head. *He behaves very well when he is sober.*—Police-constable 60 D, stated that upon being called into the house, defendant told him if he did not quit directly, he *would blow his brains out with a pistol.*"

Here we have a case in which a perfect madman is *made* by the Traffic, who endangers the lives of two citizens, and might, in such a state, commit other atrocities—yet the Trafficker is held guiltless!—and the very paper that reports the case, tells us that *we* are not to be protected—for the sake of a few drunkards! Thus while the Law mocks us on the one hand, Literature misrepresents us on the other! A provincial paper supplies another example:—

"J. F., for seriously assaulting Mrs M. H. on the head with a poker.—Complainant: He was drunk at the time, or he would not have done it. *He's a good man when the drink's not in him.*"

DID MR HARVEY ever hear any of the women in the Police Court say, in palliation of the conduct of their assailants, "He behaves very well when he has not been to the Cook's-shop or the Coffee-house"?

§ 4. The mischievous tendency of the Traffic, whether free or regulated, and whether in wine, ale, cider, or spirit drinking countries, is incontestably proved both by ancient and modern History.

At Athens, in the palmiest days of old Greece, Taverns were deemed such disreputable places, that not even a servant, with any pretence to morality, dare be seen eating or drinking in them. PLATO, in his model laws, puts the following language into the mouth of a Lacedæmonian:—"That whereby men chiefly fall into the greatest luxuries, insolence, and all sorts of moral madness, our laws have effectually rooted out of *our* country. You shall, neither in village nor towns belonging to the Spartan State, see any such things as Drinking Clubs, or their *usual consequences.*" A Tavern is simply

a house for the encouragement and accommodation of such a 'Club. The *Acta Diurna*, under date of the 4th of the Kalends of April, 167 B.C., has this entry:—"A fray happened in a Tavern at the lower end of the Butcher's-street, in which the Keeper of the Hog-in-Armour tavern was dangerously wounded." *The Law-Book of the Anti-Nicene Church* has the following as its 54th canon: "If any one of the Clergy be taken eating in a *Tavern*, let him be suspended, except when he is forced to bait at an Inn upon the road." "The *Tavern*," as an old writer quaintly declares, "is a fountain of sin, and a *School of the Devil*, where he worketh his miracles after his own manner. The lessons learned in *this school*, are drunkenness, swearing, lying, perjury, blasphemy, to deny God, and commit many other sins. This is the place where, *for the most part*, are raised all quarrels, slanders, contentions, and murders; and those who keep the *Taverns*, and suffer this, are *partakers* of all the sins and evils there committed."

§ 5. The same truth is proved by an examination of Continental countries. LORD ACTON (now Cardinal), when supreme judge of Rome, assured Mr E. C. DELAVAN, while on a visit to the 'Eternal City,' that nearly all the crime originated in the use of *wine*. He directed him to that part of Rome which would well compare with the Five Points in New York: "I visited that district, and there I saw men, women, and children, sitting in rows, swilling away at wine, *making up in quantity what was wanting in strength*; and such was the character of the inmates of those dens, that my guide urged my immediate departure as I valued my life."

"To-morrow," said LORD ACTON, "I shall be obliged to condemn to death a man who went direct from one of these dens to his home, where, under the influence of wine, he butchered his mother and his wife. And this man, when not under this malign influence, was a most kind-hearted son, husband, and father."*

GREENOUGH, the American sculptor, says:—

"Many of the more thinking and prudent Italians abstain from the use of wine; several of the *most eminent* of the medical men are notoriously opposed to its *use*, and declare it a *poison*. One-fifth, and sometimes ONE-FOURTH, of the earnings of the laborers are expended in *wine*."

Several Italian physicians and authors refer to Intemperance as but too common. GIACOMINI complains, in strong terms, of its rapidly increasing evils. SPERANZA states his own experience of the *large proportion of diseases of the digestive organs* owing to the use of Spirits, and quotes PERRONE, of Naples, as to the *frequent and fatal maladies* that follow drunkenness among the lower classes.

GURNEY has the following memorandum as to the condition of things in free Switzerland:—

"Berne, 7th mo., 30th, 1843. 480 criminals for a Canton containing 400,000 inhabitants (1 in 800) is too large a proportion, and all this

* See, too, Hilliard's *Six Months in Italy*. Even while we write, September, 1855, the *Daily News* records the serious danger incurred by the Pope, through the mad driving of two viciously excited coachmen.

in spite of schools, pastors, catechetical and formal knowlege of religion, which is general, even among the mountaineers. The secret is the prevalence of drunkenness. So much for even the 'light wines' of the continent!"

§ 6. A fact stated by QUETELET is enough of itself to dissipate the sophistries of the Light-wine Legislators, who seem to have forgotten that when French wines *were* used in England, in the 14th and 15th centuries, at a price so low as 25s. per tun, they occasioned the most disgraceful intemperance.

"Of 1,129 murders committed in France during the space of four years, 446 have been in consequence of quarrels and contentions in taverns; *which would tend to show the fatal influence of the use of strong-drinks.*"*

The chapter devoted by QUETELET to "The development of the propensity to Crime," is worthy of careful study. He says:—

"It may be interesting to examine the influence of the intellectual state of the accused on the nature of crimes. The French documents for 1828-29, 1830-31, show that, all things being equal, the number of crimes against persons *compared with the number of crimes against property*, was greater according as the intellectual state of the accused was more highly developed; and this difference bore especially on *murders, rapes, blows, wounds*, and other severe crimes. *Must we thence conclude that knowlege is injurious to Society?*...The accused of the 8th class, who all exercised liberal professions or enjoyed a fortune, which presupposes some education, *are those who, relatively, have committed the greatest number of crimes against persons.*

"The Vosges in Alsace—and the 15 departments on the border of the Mediterranean [with smuggling facilities]—*all exceed the average of crime in France against persons.*" These are the *Wine-districts*, where, though you may never see a Frenchman drunk, you as certainly rarely find him *sober*. Our author dissipates the fallacy that Poverty is a material cause of crime. "Several of the poorest departments, *and also the least educated*, such as Creuse, Indre, Cher, Haute-Vienne, Allier, etc., are at the same time the most moral; *whilst the contrary is the case in most of the departments which have the greatest wealth and instruction.*" The Traffic strengthens all the factors in Crime—it fires the *passions*, lowers the moral tone, brings together the parties, presents the *opportunity*, and, by rendering the drinker partially helpless, *facilitates* plunder or revenge. Our author says:—"With respect to murder, and blows, and wounds, these crimes depend, not merely on strength (opportunity), *but still more on being in the habit of using strong-drinks and quarrelling.*" He refers also to Woman's "feebler passions, *which are also less frequently excited by liquor.*"

The French annually consume 800,000,000 of gallons of wine, cider, and brandy, or above thirty gallons to each person, children and adults included. This, at the lowest computation, will be equal to four gallons of alcohol, circulating each year in the blood of every adult, and disturbing the brain.

DR BOISMONT shows the result:—Out of 4,595 cases of SUICIDE,

* *Sur l'Homme, et le Développement de ses Facultés.* 1835.

absolute intemperance is set down as the *direct* exciting cause in 530 cases, and 652 to Insanity. France yields 1 suicide to every 2,198 inhabitants; or double the average of England. Nearly 3,000 cases occur annually,* of which only *one-third* are women.

The statistics of France on suicides show an alarming increase in this kind of amusement. From 1820 to 1830 (ten years), the number of suicides was 1,765; from 1841 to 1843 (three years), 2,573; in 1844 (one year), 2,900!

DE WATTEVILLE places drinking *third* among the fifteen direct causes of pauperism in France.

M. LE CLERC remarks of the 'sound' French Wines:—

"The women and children taste none of it; the laborers *leave their work, and derange their means, to drink irregularly*, beyond the barriers of the towns, the wine which would be taxed the moment it enters within the walls, and transform into *drunken debauch* the time which should have been spent in profitable labor."

There is not, perhaps, so much riotous or dead drunkenness on the Continent as here, but there is *more universal drinking*, and quite as much of that drinking most to be feared—that perpetual steeping of the system in excitement which inevitably ends in crime by 'priming' the man for any deed. There is, however, far more even of palpable intoxication than superficial, flying travellers suspect.

FENIMORE COOPER, the American author, says:—

"I came to Europe under the impression that there was more drunkenness among us than in any other country, England, perhaps, excepted. *A residence of six months in Paris changed my views entirely*: I have taken unbelievers with me into the streets, and have never failed to convince them of their mistake in the course of an hour. . . On one occasion a party of four went out with this object: we passed *thirteen drunken men* within a walk of an hour—many of them were so far gone as to be totally unable to walk†. . . In passing between Paris and London, I have been more struck by drunkenness *in the streets of the former than in those of the latter*."

COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT, in his place in the National Assembly of 1850, said:—

"Where there is a *Wine Shop*, there are the elements of disease, and the frightful source of all that is at enmity with the interests of the workmen."

The Rev. G. M. MUSGRAVE, M.A., says of Normandy:—

"I was shocked to hear of so many *young children* being insane. The majority of cases among the adult *aliénés* arose out of general intemperance, debauchery, and an abandoned course of living. The *free use* of Brandy tended, in a fearful degree, *to weaken the intellectual faculties*, and took fatal effect frequently before the age of 25."

Even the English amusement of wife-beating may be paralleled by

* *Du Suicide*. (Paris, 1856.) Vide *International Temperance Convention*, page 251. (London, 1862.)

† During a walk down the Rue Censier, Paris, in September, 1856, about four in the afternoon, we ourselves met five persons drunk, and others clearly affected with liquor.

the results of wine drinking in France. The following is translated from the *Paris Dansant, ou les Filles d'Hérodiade* (Paris, 1845):—

“She knows too well what marriage is among the poor to desire it. She knows how the husband takes advantage of his wife's labor, and spends at the barriers what farthings she painfully gathers at the point of her needle. She knows how the mother of the family passes long days, besieged by naked children, who ask in vain for bread. She knows how the lord and master re-enters, his pockets empty, drunk, soiled with mud, and, on the first remark or complaint, proceeds to blows.”—p. 82.

M. VILLERME, in his treatise on the Working Classes, describes their *Cabarets* at Lille: “All drank the detestable corn-brandy, or beer. I heard even children utter the vilest obscenities. I have never seen at once so much pollution, misery, and vice; and nowhere under an aspect more hideous and revolting.”

Mr HORACE GREELY has said:—“It is true that the people of the warmer portions of the temperate zone are less addicted to intoxication than are those of severer climates;* that there is less drunkenness in Sicily than in Scotland—in Lyons or Rome, than in Moscow or Edinburgh. It is likewise true that the milder stimulants, like wine or beer, do not intoxicate or madden so readily as do the fiery products of distillation. But that wine will intoxicate—does intoxicate—that there are confirmed drunkards in Paris, and throughout France—is also notorious and undeniable. You can hardly open a French newspaper that does not contain some account of a robbery perpetrated upon some person stupefied by over-drinking—a police case growing out of a quarrel over the wine-cup—or a culprit, when asked to say why the sentence of the law should not be pronounced on him, replying, ‘I was drunk when this happened, and know nothing of the matter.’ That journeymen are commonly less fitted for and less inclined to work on Monday than on other days of the week, is as notorious here as it ever was in any rum-drinking city.”

M. REYBEAUD, in his Memoir to the French Academy on the State of the Cotton Workers, shows that drinking in the North of France prevails pretty nearly as much as in any similar class in England, with the same social result. He pictures wives as thronging the doors of the taverns, with the view of persuading their husbands to return home; and instances one town where, kinder than the law which tempts to drinking, the very publicans commiserate the sufferings of the women, as shown by erecting pent-houses along the front of their taverns, to shelter these poor victims from the rain and snow. When Mr GLADSTONE and Mr COBDEN pressed their light-wine delusion upon the country, Mr M. D. HILL and others rightly predicted that the effect of lowering the duties would not be to stop the consumption of spirits, and create a taste for light aromatic wines,

* Not owing to climate or race, however. India, Persia, Arabia, Judea, etc., were once very drunken. To Arabia, Mahomet applied the *Maine-Law*. See the celebrated Oriental book, *Antar*. So the Danes, once so much addicted to drinking, are now amongst the soberest of people. The Celtic Irish were anciently moral and sober; since, they have been just the reverse. Now again they are becoming a sober nation.

but rather to open out facilities for drinking to classes not now exposed to temptation (as youths and women), and to increase the importation of strong-wines, and even of spirits. Light alcoholics *create* a taste for stronger; and the majority of buyers, it will be found in the long run, do not seek mere flavor or aroma—but the warming, ‘comfortable’ feeling which the anæsthetic alcohol will alone produce. The statistics, year by year, fully justify this view, and condemn the policy of Mr GLADSTONE and his Wine-Licenses, as second only in mischievousness and immorality to the Beer Bill of 1830.*

§ 7. The truth was never more fitly expressed than by one of Britain’s most classical authors. “In all the towns and countries I have seen,” said GOLDSMITH, “*I never saw a city or village yet, whose miseries were not in proportion to the number of its public-houses.*” The more numerous and busy such houses are, the more destitute and degraded are the people; but the more numerous and thriving other trades, as Bakers, Butchers, Drapers, Shoemakers, Furniture dealers, etc., the more prosperous and happy will be the community. What can more strikingly evince the *bad peculiarity* of the Liquor-Traffic? He adds—“In Rotterdam, you may go through eight or ten streets *without finding a public-house*; in Antwerp almost every second house seems an ale-house. In the one city, *all wears the appearance of happiness and warm affluence*; in the other, the young fellows walk about the streets in shabby finery; their fathers sit at the door, darning and knitting stockings, while their ports are filled with dunghills.” The following is from the *Missionary Record* (1854):—

“The Belgians have been for centuries distinguished by habits of industry and enterprize; and never, probably, was more favorable scope afforded for the development of these qualities than in the present fortunate political situation of the country. *Nor did it ever present more abundant tokens of commercial life and material prosperity.* The extensive coal and iron deposits of the West and South have given birth to much manufacturing industry,—to foundries, and other public works. The population in these quarters is, *to a lamentable extent, degraded, brutal, and ignorant.* In all parts of the country, but especially here, one cannot fail to be struck with the number of *Estaminets*,—that is, drinking and smoking houses. *Wine, beer, and spirits are consumed in great quantities by the working classes.* The consumption of spirits is rapidly increasing. The Sabbath, and more especially the Monday, is given up by a vast number of the miners and other operatives to drinking and revelry.† *Beastly intoxication,*

* 1863, as compared with 1862, exhibits an increase of Imports in Brandy and Rum of nearly 300,000 gallons; in Wine, of 600,000; but a decrease in Wheat and Flour of nearly 50 million quarters.

† The *Examiner*, of May 24th, 1856, has the following intrepid generalization:—“Precisely in proportion to the austere observance of the Sabbath is found the prevalence of inebriety.” The Scotch are referred to as the sole basis of the remark, and the reason assigned for their Sabbath drinking is—“*They have nothing else to do.*” But there is the absence of this austerity in manufacturing Belgium, in Sweden, and in Bavaria; yet *not* the absence of inebriety! In Paris, too, there is *far more* drinking on the gay-Sabbath than on the graver work-day. All this proves simply, that when the workmen have nothing else to do, they are exposed to fall into the *traps* of the Traffic.

and the diseased craving for strong drink, are common. There is certainly little to offend the eye in the public streets. But on the best testimony, we were assured *that there is a vast amount of intemperance, much carousing and gluttony, great sottishness, and mispending of time and money. Morals are dismally low.*"

Mons. G. DUCPETIAUX, Inspector of Prisons, Belgium, says:—"My experience extends now over a quarter of a century, and I can emphatically declare, that four-fifths of the crime and misery with which, in my public and private capacity, I have come in contact, has been the result of drink."

§ 8. The general consumption of *Light wines*, instead of preserving sobriety, has converted the Germans into a nation of Beer and Brandy drinkers. MALTE BRUN describes the northern Germans as *deprived of beer and spirits*, and as *robust, frugal, and intelligent*—while the southern Germans, accustomed to *wine*, are given to *drunkenness and superstition*. The following facts were stated at a Conference held at Bremen, September, 1852, by Dr WALD, of Königsberg:—

"That the Zollverein consumed 122 millions of dollars' worth of alcoholic liquor (£18,000,000). That Berlin had in 1845, as compared with 1745, 1,500 *more Taverns*, and *one Church less!* That out of 60 children under 6 years of age, in the Orphan Asylum, 40 had been accustomed to sip *spirits*, of whom 9 were infected with a depraved desire for them! That in the vale of Barmen, one of the most *religious* districts of Rhenish Prussia, there were above 400 Public-houses for the sale of *Brannt-wein* (Brandy): and out of a population of 80,000, not less than 13,000 dram-drinkers. That in the conscription of 1852, for a district of Western Prussia, out of 174 young men, only 4 were declared admissible by the inspecting Surgeons, *the remaining 170 being physically incapacitated by dram-drinking!* That from year to year the Prisons and Lunatic Asylums become more crowded, thousands becoming permanently mad through *delirium tremens*; and that drinking occasioned *nine-tenths* of the increasing divorces of the country. That in the North of Germany the use of spirits has increased *ninefold* in 35 years, so that more than *one-half* of the whole corn and potatoes grown are converted into this bewitching poison." The conference unanimously resolved, "That the congress recommends the central committee of Inner Missions to apply to the different Governments for the improvement of the present laws that so far restrict the sale of spirituous liquors, and for their rigorous enforcement in the meanwhile."

In BAVARIA, the railway trains are frequently kept beyond their time at stations where some Beer of special excellence may be had. "The main cause of these delays," says the *Saturday Review*, "appears at the same time to constitute a final cause of a Bavarian's existence—BEER. Guards and passengers alike require alcoholic refreshment at least at every other station. At Culmbach, the fountain of the choicest variety, the practice had risen to such a head that, as we found last summer (1863), Government had been forced to interfere. *The temptation itself was removed*; and no beer was any longer allowed to be sold at that fatal railway station." The sensual and sanatory condition of the people is exactly what might

be predicted from such everlasting sopping of Beer. Nature is poisoned at her fountains. In Lower Bavaria, every fourth birth is illegitimate; in the Palatinate, where the laws are less vexatious, every ninth. But the statistics of infant mortality are frightful. More people die under 14 than over. In one year 69,000 children died, and only 62,000 beyond the age of 14; and 53,000 of these were under one year! Between the ages 60 and 70, the greatest number was 13,000. This is wholesale infanticide. It is a fact too often overlooked, that Beer and Wine drinking co-exist in the same country.

Mr HENRY MAYHEW, who calculates that the working people of Saxony expend *one-third of all their income on Beer and Spirits*, says they are "a stunted, impotent, and effete race." Almost every woman has a *goitre*;—a large proportion of the people die of consumption; scarcely a young woman has a tooth in her head; and the soldiers are hardly bigger than the boys of the London shoe-black brigade. So much for nourishing Beer! and so much for Wine as a preventative of Beer and Brandy drinking.

Sir G. LEFEVRE, in his *Life of a Travelling Physician*, says:—

"Gelnhausen bears strong marks of antiquity about it. A more miserable collection of buildings, or a more squalid set of inhabitants, are not to be seen throughout Germany. The peach and the mulberry ripen on the walls, and the grapes are most luxuriant; but these are poor substitutes for the staff of life. *A wine country is generally a poor country*,"* as Dr GRANVILLE observes; but this truism is more applicable to Germany than the south of France, where the grape, in *solid and liquid* form, gives zest to the bread consumed with it."

Mr Recorder HILL says:—

"With regard to the cause of crime in Baden and Bavaria, each of the Governors [of the State Prisons at Bruchsal and Munich] assured me, that it was *Wine* in the one country, and *Beer* in the other, which filled their gaols."† These facts are well known to Continental economists. We translate the following passage from a paper on Criminal Statistics:—

"The abundance of the harvest in 1858 diminished the poverty, and by consequence the crimes and offences to which misery impels; but the abundance of the VINTAGE, on the contrary, *multiplied blows and wounds*, the quarrels of cabarets, the rebellions, outrages, and violence towards the police. *These facts are found in all analogous circumstances.*"‡

§ 9. If we go to the south of Europe we find the same law mani-

* LIEBIG says that Poverty is the cause of drunkenness. This arises from his seeing so much poverty where wine and spirits are made and drunk. He inverts the real connexion. The Lancashire Cotton famine experience has surely knocked this fallacy on the head for ever.

† On the Treatment of Criminals in certain States of Germany: a paper read by Lord Brougham for the author, at the Social Science Congress at Liverpool, October, 1858.

‡ *Revue d'Economie Chretienne*. (Paris, 1862.)

festing itself. The Hon. R. D. MURRAY, in his *Cities and Wilds of Andalusia*, says:—

“Sober and temperate himself, the Peasant rarely suffers the wine cup to touch his lips. [Abstinence, after all, being his guard!] He sees it to be the source of nearly all the brutal crimes committed in his country, THE GREAT PROPORTION OF WHICH SPRING FROM THE WINE-SHOPS.”—p. 313.*

§ 10. Pass once more to the North of Europe for an illustration of the essentially mischievous nature of the Manufacture and Sale of intoxicating drink, and of its *inherent tendency to generate excess and crime* under the highest restraining influences. Dr E. CLARKE, the traveller, pronounced Sweden to be a temperate country in his day. SCHUBERT, in his old *Travels in Sweden*, declared that “the laws against intoxication are enforced with great rigour. It is forbidden to give, and more explicitly to *sell*, any spirituous liquors to students, workmen, servants, apprentices, and private soldiers.” Unfortunately, however, the Worm of the Still was permitted to enter Swedish Homes, and drink facilities were multiplied. Students *now*, says Mr SCOTT, “smoke an unlimited quantity of bad tobacco—drink together no end of *finkel*” (brandy). What was Sweden lately? FORSELL and LAING † have told us the facts; ALISON, the historian, shall paint the picture:—

“The people of Sweden are universally educated; landed property, especially in the northern provinces, is very much divided among them; and no country in the world possesses, in proportion to its population, a greater number of clergy, who instruct the people in the pure tenets of the Protestant religion. . . . But one fatal indulgence ‡ has well nigh obliterated all these advantages, and let

* The *Economist* for April, 1856, in an article on ‘Crime,’ says:—“Offences against the person are the species which spring from Drunkenness.” It is mistaken: *all* kinds of crime spring from it, not one or two in particular. It also says:—“Crimes of violence are much more numerous among the sober and grave Spaniards, and the sober and gay French, than among the less sober English.” Our citations will show how widely these theorists stray from the path of truth. It admits, however, that the consumption of liquor in England having, since 1835, decreased 25 per cent, *crimes against the person* have decreased 24.

† Mr LAING, in his *Tour in Sweden* (1839), says of Angermannland:—“The people unite all the advantages of a manufacturing and agricultural population more fully than any district I ever saw. The land is all in *small estates*, in the possession of the peasantry. The men do the farm business. There is full employment at the loom or in spinning for old and young of the female sex. About the houses there is all the *cleanliness* and neatness of a thriving manufacturing, and the abundance of an agricultural population. Everybody is *well-clad*. In their houses, good tables and chairs, window-curtains, clocks, fine bedding, papered rooms, and a few books. It is here, that what a country may be justly proud of, is *realized*.”—p. 192. In this very province, nevertheless, crime has reached a terrible ratio: there being one criminal to every 400 of the population: the true cause may be gathered from the fact, that 1 crime in 6 is recorded as the result of *drunkenness*—from which the inference is easy, that a far greater proportion springs from a perversion short of actual inebriation.

‡ From the temptation—the facility of Manufacture: one, happily for us, not yet permitted in England.

in upon this simple, kind-hearted people, the whole catalogue of human sins. Drinking is universal—the *liberty of distilling in every separate house, on paying a trifling duty to government for the right to use a still, has, from time immemorial, been established among the whole peasantry of the country*; and, at this moment, there are no less than one hundred and fifty thousand of these manufactories of ‘liquid hell-fire’—as they have been well denominated—which distil annually *thirty millions of gallons of spirits, for the consumption of three millions of people. The consequences of this calamitous facility in producing and obtaining spirituous liquors have been to the last degree disastrous.* Notwithstanding the small number of manufactures which are established in the country, the general simplicity of rural life, the absence of great towns, and the moderate size of its capital, which contains only eighty thousand inhabitants, *the average amount of crime over all Sweden equals that of the most depraved cities of Great Britain.* The illegitimate births are to the legitimate, over the whole country, as one to thirteen; while in the capital they have reached the astonishing number of one to two and three-tenths, exceeding the proportion of even Paris itself.* So fearfully does this destructive passion for ardent spirits inflame the blood, and generate crime, even in the coldest latitude; *so perfectly adequate is it to counteract all the efforts of reason, prudence, morality, and religion*; and so deplorably fallacious is the system which, proceeding on the mistaken assumption that the people will of themselves abstain from such enjoyments as are pernicious, allows them to manufacture—without limit or restraint—*this most seducing and dreadful of all physical and moral poisons.*”

§ 11. The facts adduced demonstrate, not simply the *peculiarity* of the Traffic in intoxicating liquors, and the uniformity of its consequences, but also that (*cæteris paribus*) *the facilities for the sale, manufacture, or purchase of strong drink, measure, because they are amongst the factors which generate, the Intemperance of a People.* And this is precisely *why* no Legislation that licenses the Traffic can possibly get rid of its evil fruits—can SATISFACTORILY regulate it. We may limit its effects, as we might chain a bear; but so far as either Business or Beast had range, it would do mischief. At present, it is certain that half our pauperism and insanity and three-fourths of our crime, and a vast proportion of our taxation, disease, and other sufferings, are traceable to the Traffic. With a Sunday free from its curse, so far as an imperfect measure could free us, which leaves the motive and machinery of evasion intact, the 75 per cent of crime might be reduced to 60; or the *sum* of crime (not the causative proportion) might even become lessened 25 per cent. The remaining sum of evil, however, would be anything but *satisfactory*. We should still object that three-fourths of the actual crime sprang from the Traffic as before; and it would still be the *duty* of the State to prevent all *preventible* crime. To license or tolerate the Liquor-traffic, therefore, is equivalent to sowing the seeds of social disorder; whence, by inflexible law, the harvest must come, to be reaped in sorrow and bitterness.

* In Middlesex, it is one to thirty-eight. Over all England, one to twenty.

§ 12. Mr DE QUINCEY, in treating of the Philosophy of the Temperance movement, wisely observes that "preparations of intoxicating liquor, even when harmless in their earlier stages, are fitted to be *stepping stones* for making transition to higher stages that are not harmless." It has been shown how true this is of the Light Wines of France, and of the Cider of our Western Counties; and it will be easily comprehended, therefore, how the Beer Act came to increase our national vice. By multiplying facilities it enlarged temptation, and multiplied customers, and then, by inevitable law, *the use of the weaker excitant tended to foster an appetite for the stronger.* That act was passed with acclamation in 1830; and without destroying one single Public-house, high or 'low,' it in a few years added some 50,000 still more baneful houses to the list of temptations already so fatal to the independence and virtue of our people! In 1834, the *Sheffield Iris* records the speech of a magistrate in that town, which states that from the 1st October, 1830, there had been 300 new Beer-shops opened, and 110 had applied for *Spirit licenses!* "Such was the *increased desire* for Spirits, formed by the *facilities* of obtaining Beer" The Government, in fact, were increasing the temptations to drink in a new class, as well as extending the temptations to all; and hence the Beer Trade became the Jackal to the Spirit Traffic, and both the wholesale feeders of the poor-house and the prison.

When will our quackeries cease? The original disease on the body politic of John Bull was the Gin and Brandy Cancer. How, learned doctors, shall it be treated? By derivation, said they, not by extirpation. "Set up a *Beer Cancer* on the right leg!" It was done, and failed. The original Cancer, treated by the old Doctors, with its 80,000 roots, had increased in virulence, and the new one of the remedy had 50,000 new fibres drawing away the moral life of the unhappy patient! What now, gentlemen? "Ah! We must turn over this faulty remedy to the first *magisterial* physicians, and *then* the thing will be all right!" said some; while others, obstinate disciples of the doctrine of 'derivation,' proposed a third Cancer—the *Wine License*—to be placed on the left leg! The poor patient is now so much afflicted with the two remedies, as apparently to have forgotten the original complaint.

§ 13. It seems somewhat curious that the 'Alliance' should be called to exhibit formal proof of its principles, when the Publicans themselves admit the fundamental position, that the Traffic is essentially 'a Flood-gate of Crime.' We differ chiefly in the inference deducible, and in the practical application. The insight of the Publicans into this question cannot be denied—as indeed who are better entitled than they, in their serious mood, to tell of the workings of their own Trade?

§ 14. In the Parliamentary Committee on Public-Houses (17th June, 1853), Mr DANSON, Beer-agent, and representative of 500 Liverpool Publicans, gave evidence.

"4599. I suppose it is the interest of every Publican to get as much custom as he can?—Certainly, in a respectable manner.

"4605. Are there any Magistrates who want to encourage Temperance in the peculiar way that the Societies called Temperance

Societies do?—I do not know of any. I think they are of *the substantial class who overlook those foolish notions.*

"4629. Are you aware at all of the comparative amount of drunkenness between Liverpool and Manchester?"

"4630. In Dublin there is one out of every 21 of the population. . . . Manchester is the largest population in the kingdom with *the smallest number of [Spirit] licenses, and, consequently, the smallest number of drunken persons.*

"4675. *Chairman:* Is the return which you have made, for the purpose of showing that *the greater facility for selling spirits, the more is the drunkenness?*—YES."

All this must be taken with reservation. In Manchester, for example, the Police are instructed to 'bring up' only the *disorderly drunkards*; the rest are led home. Mr DANSON, again, omits all notice of 1,312 Beerhouses. The proportion of drunkenness to population in Liverpool is 1 in 20—not 1 in 91. In Manchester, again, the 'foolish notions' of Temperance have greatly prevailed.

Mr WIRE, sheriff of London, gave valuable evidence.

"10053. *Mr W. Brown:* Do you appear as a volunteer witness to defend the principles you yourself entertain?—I come here as the Solicitor to the Licensed Victuallers' body. Nothing on earth would induce me to come before the Committee to state opinions I did not most conscientiously entertain; and I have had greater opportunities than most men for ascertaining both what is the feeling of the publicans, and what is *the working of the system.*

"10190. If the trade were thrown open?—In the end *public morals would be outraged.* You will find that no publican, no assembly, *no large number of Englishmen,* have asked that the license system should be destroyed,* and the trade thrown open. If there is anything that they desire more than another, it is *that there may be greater restriction.*

"4964. Do you say that the disposition to drink spirits has rather declined?—Very greatly.

"4966. And if there was a greater temptation offered, their improved habits would induce them not to accede to it?—*I think the more temptation you put in the way, the larger would be the consumption.*"

Mr WIRE, as it seems to us, adopts a sound view of the facts. Hence, we said, the facilities will measure the drunkenness, *other things being the same.* The Traffic has a corrupting tendency; but on the other hand, knowlege and culture, and especially temperance knowlege, have a *counteracting* influence, and where they do not triumph, may restrain. Alter the conditions of the problem—add more objective temptation, or produce less subjective culture and antagonistic conviction, which is certain to be the case in the second generation—and the issue varies.

* This is only true when qualified by what follows. *Vast assemblies* in Exeter Hall, Birmingham Town Hall, Manchester Free Trade Hall, Leeds Town Hall, Glasgow City Hall, Liverpool Hope Hall, and other places, have asked for *Prohibition* or *Proscription.*

"4968. Still they drink less spirits, do they not?*"—*The more the temptation is removed, the less will be consumed.*

"4987. Are not the public better judges of the want of Publicans than the Magistrates?—I should say it was *not* so.†

"Why?—You know the publican has not only his own interest to look to, but he is compelled [by the theory of the law] to look to the interests of the public [as regards the fruits of the traffic]; and you will at once see that a person who is licensed as a publican, ought to have a district assigned to him, which will give him a *legitimate* trade, BECAUSE HE DEALS IN A DANGEROUS ARTICLE."

We draw another kind of inference, viz. that *no* person should be licensed as a publican, or have any district assigned to him, however small, because, *to deal out a dangerous article at all, is a most illegitimate calling.*

§ 15. The fact that *facility* for drinking measures popular drunkenness, is shown in another way, both negatively and positively. We refer to the greater drunkenness of Sunday, as compared with any ordinary day; and to the gratifying decrease of cases of drunkenness on the Sabbath and Monday mornings since the *partial* closing of Public-houses on Sunday in England, and the *total* closing of them for the sale of liquors in Scotland. Two or three testimonies must suffice as regards Scotland.

The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, DUNCAN M'LAREN, in his letters to the *Times*, showed that the Scottish Act had reduced Sunday offences in Edinburgh 75 per cent; emptied the cells of the prison; postponed the necessity for a new gaol, thereby saving the city £12,600; and had, in Scotland at large, reduced the consumption of spirits 957,830 gallons, *or one-seventh of the whole!*

The Lord Provost of Glasgow published the following returns relative to that city, showing the number of persons taken into custody from 3 A.M. of Sunday, till 10 A.M. of Monday, charged with being drunk and incapable, drunk and disorderly, and drunk and criminal otherwise:—

			<i>Total.</i>
June, July, and August, 1851..	514 males ..	137 females ..	651
" " " 1852..	466 " ..	107 " ..	573
" " " 1853..	418 " ..	93 " ..	311
" " " 1854..	171 " ..	55 " ..	223

The decrease in PUBLIC-HOUSES during the year 1855-6 in DUNDEE, was 118; the corresponding decrease in the whole number of cases brought before the Police Court, nearly 1,000; of cases of drunken disorder, 611.

* The outside, dram-shop facility, is only *one* form of temptation. Within the last twelve years *Spirits* have been banished from the Tables and Sideboards of tens of thousands of families. The proposition, therefore, accords with the facts, inversely stated. *SOME temptations being lessened, Drunkenness is lessened.*

† The fallacy is in supposing that, because they drink under temptation, they *judge* the temptation to be good. Give them a *power to veto* the traffic, and those who now drink would be the first to vote for proscription.—See No. 395, § 22; and ch. iv. § 2.

It has been during the operation of the English Act for the last few years, contemporaneously with the moral suasion of the temperance reformers, that the comparative amount of drunkenness has been lessening.* Since legislation *on religion, as such*, is clearly beyond the true scope of government, the principle which leads to the total prohibition of the Liquor-Traffic on the first day of the week, must, if consistently carried out, terminate in a Law which shall protect us from its consequences during the other six. Even as a question of degree of mischief, there is a five times stronger reason for a Prohibitory Law on the six working days, than for such a law applicable *only* to the Sabbath. First, because the debauchery and crime of the week traceable to the Traffic outweigh by five to one that of the single day,—and second, because the week-day prohibition can alone give full efficiency to that of the Sabbath, by removing the material instrument and pecuniary motive of evasion and temptation, and refusing to the appetite of the drinker week-day facilities for feeding it.

§ 16. Perhaps one of the most striking proofs of our proposition is that of the 'Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by their Committee for the Suppression of Intemperance, 31st May, 1849'—a volume of 200 pages, containing returns relative to the social and religious condition of the 478 parishes of Scotland, furnished by the Parish Ministers respectively.

The following facts are established by these returns:—

First.—That the *absence* of Public-houses in a district, or their extreme rarity, is accompanied by an almost total absence of drinking, and its results.

Second.—That the *presence* of many Public-houses is attended by the presence of much drinking, and its sequential evils.

Third.—That the *increase* of Public-houses, or other facilities for drinking, is followed by a proportionate increase of drunkenness and debauchery.

Fourth.—That the suppression, or *decrease*, of Public-houses or Dram-shops, or the *diminishing* by other means of the facilities for drinking, is followed by a corresponding improvement in the drinking habits and morals of the population.

§ 17. About 34 parishes have returns to the following effect:—

* In the *Metropolitan districts* the effect of the partial prohibition was immediately visible in the diminished number of persons taken into custody on Sunday. The *Journal of the Statistical Society* (vol. iv. p. 268) shows that 981 persons less were apprehended on Sunday, during five months in 1840, than in the corresponding five months previous to the passing of the Act. In *Bristol* the average of apprehensions for the three years before the Act (1848) was—misdemeanors, 2,415; drunkenness, 584; but for three years since the Act—misdemeanors, 1,560; drunkenness, 374. At *Leeds*, the returns of those who have been in custody as drunken and disorderly characters, give an average per annum for three years prior to the Act of 423; since, of 341. In *Manchester*, where the Act came into operation in 1846, the average per annum for all offences committed, for three years before the Act, was 10,828; since, 5,850.

“No. 6.—Remarkable for sobriety. There has not been a public-house for upwards of 20 years.

No. 13.—Since my induction [six years before] I have not met *one* parishioner in a state of intoxication. There is only one public-house in the parish, *others having been suppressed*.

No. 15.—We have no habitual drunkards that I ever heard of. There is not a single public-house in the parish.

No. 17.—Intemperance is of the rarest occurrence. There is no public-house either in the principal village, or in the smaller ones.

No. 20.—The people are of decidedly temperate habits. There is not, within miles, any public-house or place where spirituous liquors may be obtained.

No. 21.—The people are, *generally*, very temperate. We have a small public-house in one village, for the accommodation of travellers; the tenant is a respectable man.

No. 30.—I know not of a *single* individual of whom I ever heard it alleged that habits of intemperance were characteristic. There is only *one* inn for the refreshment of travellers. The *landlord* is himself a member of the Temperance Society.”

§ 18. Returns from a large proportion of the whole are to the following purpose:—

“No. 2.—Intemperance is *very great*. The multitude of licensed houses, and the cheapness of spirits, lead to the vice.

No. 3.—The two strongest temptations to continue the abominable practice are half-yearly markets for engaging servants, and shops for retailing spirits under what is called a *Victualler's* license, where spirits are sold at a reduced price, and drunk in the shop.

No. 5.—Addicted to intemperance. *In the face of the most earnest remonstrances to the Justices, the number of licensed houses is constantly increased.* [This shows the *need* of a Permissive Bill.]

No. 14.—A drinking accommodation to each 55 of the inhabitants of all ages. Many painful circumstances—death by suicide, and other woful results—call loudly for the intervention of means to stem the tide of intemperance.

No. 19.—Intemperance prevails *much* in this parish. The number of drinking-houses is absurdly, and lamentably, and most mischievously great.

No. 301.—Habits of dram-drinking are *very general* among the peasantry of every grade. The number of public-houses is a great cause of the evil. The publican is a PUBLIC TEMPTER TO DRUNKENNESS.”

The objection that these two classes of facts establish no connexion between Public facilities and drunkenness, virtually assumes *that Public-houses are no temptation*—that is, affirms what nobody believes, because contrary to every day's experience. Certainly, if people did not *drink* what is sold, they would only lose their cash—not themselves—and so, if people at a gambling-house did not *play* with the cards or dice, they would *not* lose their money;—but men visiting at one place *are* tempted to drink, and at the other *are* tempted to play—notwithstanding the truism. The majority of visitors at Drinking-houses, or Gambling-houses, do not visit them *because* they think those places Right and Good,—or because they do *not know* that drink and play are dangerous, or bad—but because they have been entrapped or trained into that special pleasure. *It is custom, auto-*

matic habit, and social temptation, that keep men in thrall, in spite of their better judgment. The moral-will is at last superseded by impulsive appetite: and he who desires its re-establishment, *must remove that hindrance which is stronger than any direct power of suasion.* Those who break away permanently are the exceptions, not the rule. Out of ten drinkers who manifest a desire to escape their thralldom by signing the Temperance pledge, *eight* at the least are eventually drawn back into the whirlpool of the Traffic, or the vortex of the Drinking customs.

§ 19. Numbers of the returns are of the following description:—

No. 28.—Frequent acts of intoxication are occurring, chiefly among the common class of farmers, mechanics, and operatives. *Facilities* of getting ardent spirits lead to the formation of intemperate habits. Mr — notices the *formation* of drinking habits among the young men, *when they meet*, either for recreation, or when waiting for some piece of work *in the neighborhood of public-houses.*

No. 29.—One of the chief causes of the prevalence of intemperate habits, is the *multiplication* of public-houses.

No. 34.—The too great *facility* of obtaining intoxicating drinks, from its cheapness and the number of those licensed to sell it. It is not at any kind of *private* social meetings, so much as in public-houses and dram-shops, and at markets, that drinking most prevails.

No. 46.—One of the chief causes of intemperance is the number of public-houses, and the *facility of obtaining licenses.*

No. 61.—It cannot be said that intemperance is confined to any class or age. Smoking seems to be, here as everywhere, a stimulus to drinking. There *was* a great change for the better up to within a year ago, *because the spirit-shop was suppressed by —.* Unfortunately, his son has thought proper to revive it, and *the re-opening of that public-house is doing much mischief.* One of the best methods of suppressing intemperance, in country parishes, is to diminish the number of public-houses, and *put the people less in the way of temptation.*

No. 68.—*Notwithstanding very many remonstrances, the Justices allow too many facilities for obtaining licenses. Increase of licenses is followed by increase of drinking, etc.*

No. 76.—Intemperance is promoted by irregularly kept public-houses, and is practised especially on *Saturday, Sabbath, Monday, and Tuesday.* Any observable change is *not* for the better. The counteractives *not* tried are the deprivation of licenses.

No. 180.—High wages (promote intemperance) paid at distant intervals. Cannot report improvement. (Remedies) tried, ineffectual. We recommend—1st, payment of wages once a week, in the beginning or middle; 2nd, a greater reserve in giving licenses, and a *total prohibition* of the sale of spirits on the Sabbath.

No. 241.—Instead of getting better, the working-classes are becoming worse. The very worst of all provocations are, the practices common at our public markets [*i.e.* selling, offering, and buying drink], and *the excessive competition* among publicans, who actually employ men to inveigle drinkers.

No. 288.—The intemperate are among the laboring class, from 30 upwards. It is promoted by the number of licensed public-houses. *The face of the public has been set, for some time back, against the number of public-houses.*

No. 306.—The number of public-houses is the cause of intemperance, to

a great extent. *It is their vicinity to these dens of sin*, and the enticements they hold out to them, that are the causes of the ruin of drunkards. There is one counteractive I long to see tried—the *putting down* 9-10ths of the Public-houses.

No. 309.—The keepers of public-houses—most of whom here are slaves to this degrading vice. In the case of the *keepers* of public-houses, the cause of the evil is sufficiently obvious. The farm-servants who drink, here, are ruined by the number of *dram-shops*. As to what should be done, we are pretty much at one, hereabouts: we should have fewer public-houses.

No. 328.—One great cause [of intemperance] is the *facility with which drink can be obtained*. There are three public-houses here, *where there is no use for one*.

No. 355.—Among men in business, more victims than in any other class. Even *children* have died from drink. It is promoted by—1st, the too great facility in obtaining licenses. 2nd, the unfaithfulness of the Excise in not suppressing *unlicensed* houses. About 1839, an abstinence society was formed—a third of the adults joined it—drinking was given up—*many* public-houses abandoned. [*Alas, the legalized NEST-EGGS were left!*] But *now* matters are as bad, if not worse than ever, and more whiskey is now drunk than for the last 20 years.

No. 405.—Many of the public-houses are little better than TRAPS for thoughtless youth—where youngsters, from 15 to 19, congregate to drink and play cards.

No. 413.—The classes most addicted are those engaged in the Traffic, or who have friends engaged in it. I cannot regard low public-houses in general, as anything else than *Licensed Dens of Iniquity*.

No. 430.—A most interesting parish, with a large population, *has been extensively injured by the opening of a spirit shop and alehouse*, to which the young men resort in the winter evenings."

§ 20. The following facts illustrate the power of partial prohibition:—

"No. 26.—Licenses are *withdrawn* from the Toll-bars, *with the happiest results*.

No. 29.—Improvement here *from the suppression of one* of the Public-houses.

No. 32.—Few places have changed so much for the better. The causes—1st, the increased appliance of Christianity. 2nd, of late years, *the putting down of ill-kept* public-houses, the suppression of the *means* of vice.

No. 40.—Four public-houses (with a population of 1,400). *The abolition of a fifth has removed a fertile source of village temptation*.

No. 41.—I have rarely known one Benefit Society Wake to pass without some shocking, if not fatal, casualty. Even as many as *three* deaths from drunkenness at one of them. *Thirteen* houses licensed for the sale of spirits. The quantity now consumed is far less than it was some years ago. There are five public-houses *fewer* now. Mr — marked those he thought should be suppressed.

No. 49.—Changes for the better. The Factor has so far limited the number of licenses, that in this parish (30 miles long) we have only six inns and public-houses.

No. 73.—From the *suppression* of smuggling, a change for the better.

No. 154.—Experience has proved the *inutility* of Mathew's pledge. I petitioned with success for the limitation of the number of public-houses. The number has been reduced. *There is less intemperance than there was 15 years ago*.

No. 159.—*Decided benefit* has resulted from the *suppression* of useless public-houses.

No. 168.—Meetings for card-playing and drinking are frequent. From 20 to 30 licensed houses for 1,850 persons! The magistrates forbade the sale of spirits, at markets, after four o'clock, *which has done much good*.

No. 194.—The public-house to which some of the farm-servants used to go, has been *put down*, and *I have not heard of any case of intemperance among them since*.

No. 209.—There is certainly less drinking of late; the public-houses have been reduced.

No. 221.—The number of public-houses I consider to be *the chief snares, and most certain means, of encouraging the vice*. We have sought, by every means, to lessen the number of public-houses: in some districts with success. A decided change for the better.

No. 230.—The people much more temperate since smuggling was annihilated. As counteractives—preaching against the vice—denying licenses to those who would open SHOPS OF TEMPTATION.

No. 235.—A change for the better, in great measure referable to the curtailing the number of public-houses.

No. 238.—When smuggling was put down, intemperance was checked; *poverty and famine*, lately, have effectually prevented it.

No. 251.—Of late, *a marked improvement*. *Two or three public-houses* have been put down; but there is need of some measure being pressed, making it *imperative* for the Justice of Peace Court to regard the spiritual well-being of the neighborhood in granting licenses. [A Permissive Bill is wanted.]

No. 256.—Change for the better. Counteractives tried—*diminishing* of public-houses, etc.

No. 273.—From the absence of *facilities* for getting drink, the population is as free from intemperance as *most* others. There are no public-houses—drink sold only at *one* turnpike-gate. There were, at one time, *two* public-houses in this parish, *and since they were put down, the morals of the people have manifestly improved*.

No. 282.—A very great change for the better. *The refusal to grant certificates for retailing spirits* at public works, has been found one of the most efficacious counteractives.

No. 348.—The vice is diminished considerably, *owing to the shutting up of a public-house*.

No. 350.—A marked change for the better of late years, from the *suppression* of four or five licensed spirit-shops.

No. 377.—The number of intemperate persons has been lessened by the diminution of licensed spirit-shops from 7 to 4. *In every case where a spirit license was withdrawn, the number of the intemperate decreased.*"

§ 21. The last cases establish the still greater efficiency of total prohibition.

"No. 22.—We have procured the *entire removal* of spirit licenses from the parish: and this we consider, under God, as the *cause* of the extremely temperate character of our people, *which was not the case when we had two of these legal abominations*.

No. 117.—At present there is no person remarkably addicted to intemperance. Some years ago, I succeeded, *amid great opposition*, in suppressing a whiskey-shop close to the church, *and the result has been a great increase of order and comfort*.

No. 122.—Comparatively free from intemperance. The remark applies

to all classes. The *Proprietors* have not allowed any licensed house for years. Once the Grocer's shop was a public-house, and a great nuisance; but since that was stopped there has been a *decided improvement*, proving the fallacy of the objection, that if one door is closed, those who want drink will have it somewhere else.*

No. 162.—A great improvement of late years—referable to—1st, the abolition of a small and ill-regulated public-house. 2nd, the institution of a temperance society.

No. 286.—When there was a public-house in the parish, before I came, there were several addicted to intemperance. There is no public-house in the parish, nor in several others around. No class of the population can be said to be addicted now.

No. 320.—Our population is remarkable for temperate, steady, and industrious habits. The proprietor has set himself resolutely against the introduction of Tippling-shops on his estate; and we have felt the benefit of his policy.

No. 378.—A great change for the better. The best counteractives I believe to be—the *absence of temptation*. There is (now) neither alehouse nor gin-shop in the whole parish.

No. 395.—Remarkable for sobriety. A public-house was opened, six years ago, in the central part of this parish; and the inhabitants, and more especially those who had resorted thither, complained to me of THE TRAP that had been laid for them. The public-house was suppressed at Whit-Sunday last.

No. 439.—The parish is ten miles long, and seven broad, yet no evil is found to arise from the want of a tippling-shop. Fifteen years ago the case was very different; then there was a whiskey-shop in the parish, destroying the morals of the people. Through the aid of Lord —, that tippling-house was suppressed.†

The Rev. R. H. MUIR, the convener, in his Report to the Assembly, thus admirably sums up the evidence:—

‘The returns made to your Committee’s inquiries clearly prove
‘that the intemperance of any neighborhood is uniformly proportionate
‘to the number of its spirit licenses. So that, wherever there are no
‘Public-houses, nor any shops for selling spirits, there ceases to be
‘any intoxication. The recklessly multiplying of what are thus
‘evidently so many centres of a vicious influence, cannot but be regarded
‘as a public calamity. It forces temptation upon the people at every
‘step, and actually brings to bear upon them all the active efforts of
‘an excessive competition in a lucrative trade, for stimulating their
‘practice of a ruinous vice. Your Committee, therefore, strongly feel,
‘and would respectfully submit, that the influence of national customs,
‘and the force of many outward circumstances, which lead to the

* There is a vast difference between seeking temptation, and having temptation thrust upon you. The working classes are virtuous in their impulses, but weak in their wills, and would gladly see the ‘Traps’ closed up for ever.

† Mr TREMENHEERE’S Report on the Mining Population contains an interesting illustration of one of these blessed parishes. He speaks of an Ayrshire village, containing 120 families, chiefly connected with one colliery. The men average 3s. 6d. a day wages. The only Public-house has been bought up for another purpose. Since that time intemperance has altogether ceased.

'formation and indulgence of intemperate habits, are indeed appalling, and do give to the vice of intemperance (so ruinous in itself) a very alarming præminence among the social Evils which call for anxious care on the part of the Church, in the use of means for their suppression.'

§ 22. That the Liquor-traffic is so peculiar an evil, that it is impossible, in the nature of things, to regulate, limit, or restrict it, so as to avoid its seriously conflicting with the aims and interests of Society, will appear from a review of the History and Results of past Legislation in Great Britain and Ireland.

First, let us glance at the History of the Drink Traffic in SCOTLAND. In the earlier ages of its history, according to BOETIUS, the Sellers of strong drink (then chiefly confined to mead), were looked upon as Public enemies, who made provision for the *voluptuous* pleasures of men rather than for their *necessities*, and who, for profit, *generally enticed men to a debauched and vicious life*. Beer or ale (with *wine*, largely imported from France, for the wealthier classes) were the first agents of intemperance. An Act of Parliament was passed in the year 1436, of which the following is the strong essence:—"It is statute and ordained, that gif any man in a burgh be fund in a *tavern*, or *wine*, or *ale* shop, after the strike of nine hours, and after the bell that shall be rung in the said burgh, the alderman and bailies shall put him in the King's prison; the whilk gif the alderman and bailies do not do, they shall pay for ilk time they be fund culpable, fifty shillings." In the sixteenth century, as we find from MORYSON, though *Public-houses* do not seem to have existed, the facility with which, under an Open Trade, travellers could obtain ale or wine, produced quite a sufficient harvest of inebriety. In the following century, however, a new agent, or rather the old agent concentrated, *whiskey*, was added to the Caldron of Mischief. Intemperance soon threatened to overwhelm the morality and religion of the nation. KIRKTON, after noting the death of the Sixth JAMES, A.D. 1625, points out the effects of the amazing religious reformation which marked that era, and the noble stand made by the Church. A.D. 1639—1649: "This seems to me to have been Scotland's high noon: the only complaint of plain people was, that the Government was so strict, *they had not liberty to sin*. It was thus the Taverners complained their trade was broken, the people were become so sober." *Unfortunately, however, no security was taken for the future*. The high enthusiasm, on the one hand, could not be transmitted to the second generation, while, on the other, they did not crush the *nest-egg* of the traffic, so that in due time it became a monster as before. Warmed into life by custom, instead of being proscribed, the traffic gradually grew into power by creating the old demand. In the last century, the town council of Glasgow issued a proclamation containing the gist of various Acts of Parliament against profaneness and vice; which, as regards drinking, consisted chiefly of 'fines,' very properly varying with classes. While deploring the vice, indeed, the Government had been facilitating the sale of that which creates it; and for the sake of a petty revenue, had, in Scotland and Ireland alike, fatally allowed not only the sale of whiskey in Public-houses, but in Grocers' shops, toll-bars, and other places. In 1750, it is noticed in

the celebrated *Letter of a Highland Physician*, that the habits of drinking are producing such an effect on the Highlanders, that they are not to be distinguished in their constitutions from the Lowlanders, who are already enervated by whiskey. Farmers kept a barrel of whiskey on the spigot, *for all and sundry*, and a cask of sugar beside it, with a spoon in it. Of the distinguished statesman, Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, it is said that he was never sober, and so drunk on the day of his mother's funeral, that he and his company were at the grave before it was discovered that they had left the body behind. With such facilities and examples, no wonder that Scotland became notorious for drunkenness. *The Memorials of Lord Cockburn* graphically describe the state of social manners in the days when claret was sold in the streets of Leith at 6d. a jug. The people, however, were not eminent for their sobriety. "Nothing was more common than for gentlemen who had dined with ladies, and meant to rejoin them, than to get drunk. *To get drunk in a tavern seemed to be considered as natural, and as if nothing but the intended consequence of going to one.*" The Edinburgh judges were accustomed to drink port-wine in open court, carefully mixing with water, "*till at last patience could endure no longer, and a full bumper of the pure black element was tossed over, after which the thing went regularly on.*"

The following Resolutions, adopted by the inhabitants of Leadhills, in public meeting, after the famine year, are extracted from the *Edinburgh Magazine*, April, 1760:—

"1st. That the malt distillers have been the principal cause of the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, which has been found by experience highly detrimental, not only to the health, but also to the morals of mankind, especially to the laboring part thereof, it being productive of all kinds of debaucheries, drunkenness, indolence, and, in fine, the *very enemy of social happiness.*

"2ndly. They have, ever since they came to any height, been a *principal cause of the famine*, while such immense quantities of the best food, designed by the bountiful hand of Providence for the subsistence of his creatures, have been, by them, converted into a stupefying kind of poison, *calculated for the sure, though slow, destruction of the human race*, and, therefore,

"3rdly. We are firmly resolved, in order to prevent their baneful influence, to discourage, to the utmost of our power, by all public methods, that pernicious practice, being determined to drink no spirits so distilled; neither frequent, nor drink any liquor in, any Tavern or Alehouse, that we know sells or retails the same.

"Need we urge any arguments, O countrymen, to prevail with you? Do you not remember the pinching condition of the poor, expressed in the most moving manner by their pitiful complaints, and *not behold with indignation the mouths of these voracious vultures opened again.*"

In Sir JOHN SINCLAIR'S collection of *Statistical Surveys* (1791), the Clergy describe the habits of their parishioners as most melancholy to contemplate, induced by the temptations of the whiskey shop. One of them says of Whiskey—"a beverage which seems only fit for demons,"—another affirms that it has "contributed more than all other modern luxuries to destroy that spirit of contentment and

industry—that sobriety and decency in manners—which formerly characterized the peasantry of Scotland.” In Glasgow and Edinburgh especially, the unimpeded progress of crime betrayed some baneful agency at work, which was no less seen in the frightful harvest of insanity, nearly threefold that which obtains in England. In 1818, according to a return of the Clergy, the lunatics and idiots numbered 4,650. Allowing for a few unreturned parishes, the proportion would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ to every 1,000 of the population: whereas, in England, we had but one in 1,250; though *now* it has risen to one in 780. “The excessive and increasing use of Spirituous Liquors amongst the lowest ranks of the people is justly to be considered as a great cause of this, as well as other disorders.” (*Survey*, vol. v. p. 139.)

In 1812 the population was 1,834,465, and the quantity of spirits entered for home consumption was 1,581,524 gallons, at a duty of 8s. per gallon. This gives 0.86 of a gallon each. In 1821, with the reduction of duty to 6s., the stringent enforcement of the excise laws, and the nearly total suppression of illicit distilling, the consumption reached to 1.14 gallon per head. From that period to 1840, with a cheap duty of 3s. per gallon, it rose to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons per head; from 1841 to 1851 the *increase* nearly quadrupled the increase of the population.* The duty did not explain the whole phænomena; other, more serious, facilities had come into full play. By an unfortunate reading and decision of the Court of Justiciary in 1833, the ‘Home Drummond Act’ of 1828, designed to repress *Sunday* drink selling, became impotent. The publicans became a privileged class—free to sell inflaming spirits, while other citizens were imprisoned for selling needful food! The legal check was removed, and ‘the flood-gates’ were opened wider. Crime and pauperism kept pace with the Traffic. Gaols became overcrowded, and poor’s rates rose from £150,000 in 1841 to £574,000 in 1851. Thoughtful people, and careful people, equally grew alarmed. The Temperance advocacy had been fermenting, unheeded by “the substantial class who overlook those foolish notions”; but the still small voice of Truth was now enforced by the inexorable demands of the tax-gatherer.

Enquiry unmasked the real cause of the evil. Crime was attributed to Ignorance, by shallow publicists—as if there had been some cloud of it suddenly let down during the preceding ten years! But the prison returns for 1848 for ever shattered *that* hypothesis, by showing that out of 3,530 prisoners committed, only 696 were uneducated. That is, *the prisoners classed as educated were three to one against the uneducated*—and these chiefly Irish or strangers. Education and moral and religious training had *not* prevented crime and pauperism. The new Poor Law was blamed for increasing rates—politicians

* The duty was 7s. before 1822, and was then reduced to 2s. 10d. the Scotch gallon. A decided, and constantly increasing consumption followed, rising from 2,000,000 gallons in 1821, to 6,000,000 in 1830. In 1829, the number of Barrels of Beer charged with duty was—of strong beer, 118,723; of *small beer*, 247,443. The duty on it is but 8d. per head for the whole year. We note, then, that neither cheap beer, nor small beer facilities, stop the use of whiskey. *Why should sour French wines?*

seeking out any cause imaginable, rather than acknowledge the palpable one before their eyes. But a meeting of delegates from all parts, held in Edinburgh, speedily dissipated the fallacy. In landward parishes, as well as in towns, drunkenness was shown to be the root of both these growing social evils, and the minds of the intelligent veered at last to the right point of the compass. The nobility and gentry formed a society 'for the suppression of drunkenness,' chiefly directing attention to the lessening of the *facilities* for drinking, since police acts had been evaded, or only negatively enforced. Attempts were made to *legislate*, but 'the trade' had influence enough to defeat these first efforts. In 1853, however, a national agitation was got up. The late JOSEPH HUME, M.P., moved for a return showing the comparative drunkenness of different cities. In the midst of the strife, the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society startled the country and the churches by announcing a fact which it had carefully ascertained, that upwards of 40,000 visits were paid to the Edinburgh public-houses every Sabbath! The Scotch Public-house Bill of 1853 was the embodiment of these various agencies and interests, which, though differing in other things, unanimously concurred that drunkenness, fed by the facilities for obtaining drink, was the curse and calamity of the nation. The bill coped with this evil, not by introducing any new principle, but by re-establishing the old law of Scotland, and by a more rigid application of the legal equality of citizenship. It made all trades equal—placing the seller of drink on the same level with the seller of dress; and it withdrew from those whom experience had branded as a socially-destructive class, a privilege of Sunday sale which it had granted to no other class of traders.

§ 23. Another recent governmental measure has done good service. The duties on spirits having been equalized in Scotland and England, has *increased the price* as regards the former country. Now mark the effect! First, we have a gratifying decrease in the consumption:—

For the four years ending 1st of July (1851-4), the average consumption of whiskey was 6,914,308 gallons, and of foreign spirits 264,053 gallons—a total of 7,178,361. For the year ending July 1st 1855, the consumption was, of whiskey, 5,991,870 gallons, and of foreign spirits 223,661 gallons—a total of 6,220,531 gallons: showing a total decrease of 957,830 gallons. The average number of bushels of malt for the four former years was 4,015,236—the last year 3,268,101; a decrease of 747,135 bushels.

Second, a still more gratifying result in the decrease of crime:—

In Edinburgh offences against property decreased 25 per cent, namely, from 5,668 in 1852, to 4,263 in 1855—that is, there were reported of such offences just 1,405 less in that city. While crime increased 8 per cent in England, under the Berkeley Beer Bill, the Twenty-first Annual Report of the Inspector of Scotch Prisons announces a decrease of crime amounting to nearly 3,000, or *a seventh of the whole*—a curious coincidence, as springing from the prohibition of the Traffic one day in seven:—

1854, Prisoners, including re-commitments. . . .	23,212
1855, Prisoners, " " " "	20,328

Decrease in one year 2,884

The Royal Commissioners' Report on the Licensing System (Scotland) contains the following conclusive testimony:—

“Evidence was adduced to us from all classes of persons of the benefits which have arisen. The improvement in large towns has been *most remarkable*. Whereas formerly, on Sunday mornings, numbers of persons in every stage of intoxication were seen issuing from the public-houses, to the great annoyance of the respectable portion of the population on their way to church, the streets are now quiet and orderly, and few cases of drunkenness are seen. The evidence of the police authorities proved that while there has been a considerable diminution in the number of cases of drunkenness and disorder since the passing of the Act 16 & 17 Vic., c. 67, the change has been more marked on Sunday than on any other day of the week.

“We did not obtain any evidence to prove that the practice of drinking to excess in private houses prevails to a greater extent among the lower orders now than it did formerly; and with regard to ‘she-beens,’ it may be noticed at present, that to attribute to them anything like the amount of intemperance which the closing of public-houses has put down, is to ignore the evidence as to the decrease of Sunday convictions, and the increased regularity of attendance by the laboring classes at their work on Mondays. . . Any individual *cases* of inconvenience brought under our notice, as having arisen from the Sunday closing, *were so inconsiderable* in number and importance, as compared with the *great and general benefit arising from the present state of the law*, that we are not disposed to recommend any alteration with regard to it.”

Thus, however a portion of the press may cant as to the impossibility of ‘making men moral by act of parliament,’ it is clear from this history that governments may not only, by ill-judged allowance and license, do much to debauch the morals of a people, but also, by wise repression of noxious agencies, greatly promote the best interests of a nation.

§ 24. Next turn to our sister country—IRELAND, where the freedom of sale in *usquebaugh* has inflicted even more mischief, aggravated, perhaps, by the excitable character of the people, and the absence of intellectual and social culture as restraining forces.

A spirit was early distilled from fermented corn (black oats), in Ireland, and known by the striking popular name of *Builcann*, from ‘buile,’ madness, and ‘ceann,’ the head. Madness-of-head indeed! In the reign of Philip and Mary, the Government, not yet blinded by custom, regarded its manufacture as a sinful and dangerous destruction of the *food* of the people, and passed an act for its *suppression*. The Lord-Deputy, Sir JOHN PERROT, during a visit to Galway, addressed the corporation “touching reformation in the commonwealth,” commanding “that a more straighter order be taken to bar the making of *aqua vitæ* of corne than hitherunto hath been used, for that the same is a consumption [consuming] of all the provision of corne in the commonwealth”; and “that the *aqua vitæ* that is sould in townes ought rather to be called *aqua mortis*, to poyson the people, than to comfort them in any good sorte; and in like manner all their

byere." The testimony of Captain JOSIAS BODLEY, in his curious description of a visit into Lecale, County Down, A.D. 1602-3, and of FYNES MORYSON, the historian of Ireland, as to the same period, may be accepted as conclusive evidence of the prevailing vice of intemperance, and in connexion with what may be styled an *Open Traffic*. MORYSON says:—"At Dublin, and in some other cities, they have Taverns, wherein Spanish and French Wines are sold; *but more commonly the Merchants sell them by pints and quarts in their own cellars.* (The usquæbagh is preferred before our aqua vitæ, because the mingling of raisins, fennel-seed, and other things mitigating the heat, and making the taste pleasant, *makes it less inflame.*) These drinks the English-Irish drink largely, *and in many families both men and women use excess therein; but when they come to any market town to sell a car or horse, they never return home until they have drunk the price in Spanish wine, which they call the King of Spain's daughter.*" The act of Philip and Mary, however, arrested the common use of whiskey, so that, as we learn from Sir W. PERTY'S *Political Anatomy*, in 1672, the working classes had beer for their beverage. He, too, complains of the excessive number of the public-houses.

§ 25. The Act of 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary (1566), recites, "Forasmuch as Aqua Vitæ, a drink nothing profitable to be daily drunken and used, is now *universally* throughout this realm made, and thereby much corn, grain, and other things is consumed, spent, and wasted, to the great hindrance, cost, and damage, of the *poor inhabitants* of this realm," etc.: proceeds to enact that *none, save Peers, gentlemen of £10 Freehold, and Freemen, for their private use, shall make aqua vitæ, without the Lord-Deputy's license.* This act greatly influenced the national taste, by inducing the use of the weaker and less perilous drinks, mead, ale, and wine; and so effectually checked the use of spirits, that, as appears from the first Excise account (consequent on the Act of 14th and 15th Charles II., by which a duty was put on spirits distilled under certain regulations), a revenue was yielded in 1719 of only £5,585. Unfortunately, in the reigns of Anne and the first Georges, a notion prevailed among the Statesmen of at once encouraging the tillage of land in Ireland, and enlarging the revenue *through the manufacture of Spirits*, to which is to be clearly traced that national demoralization which politicians are fond of ascribing to anything but its real cause. Wise, foreseeing men, however, protested against the evil. Dr MADDEN, founder of the Royal Dublin Society, in his *Reflections proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, 1739, proposes this:—

'We resolve, as Masters of Families, that, as to drinking, we
'will contribute as little as possible to the excessive and destructive
'consumption of *Foreign Wines and Brandies.* As debauched as we
'are grown, *many men can remember when we were as remarkable for*
'*sobriety*, as we are now for rioting and drunkenness; when our
'ancestors, of the best families of the nation, used to have their wines
'brought in by dozens, and *when sack and spirituous liquors were sold*
'*at the Apothecaries' Shops for cordials to the sick.*

'What is most amazing in this epidemical madness, is, that there
are few men of virtue or sense among us but *rail at it*, lament—

'and practise it—and gravely drink the prosperity of Ireland in its blood.'—p. 68.

Dr SMITH, in 1745, “doubted whether the use of this liquor (whiskey) by the common people, may not in time contribute to the ruin of tillage, by proving a slow poison to the drinkers of it.” Not only did it affect the national habit of body and industry, but of course the character, increasing the proclivity to turbulence and unreflectiveness. When Mr WALKER, the Recorder of Dublin, was examined before the Privy Council, in 1803, he referred to whiskey drinking as the occasion of the excitable character of the population; and being reminded of its importance to revenue, replied—“Of what use is that revenue, if it produces an *insurrection* every 20 or 30 years?” The Government, however, seduced by the prospect of revenue, and the Landlords by visions of rent, gave fatal encouragement to drinking. What was the consequence? The number of gallons of *Home-made* Spirits which paid duty in 1729 was only 150,000 gallons, but the amount had risen to 600,000 in 1755. In consequence of distillation being *prohibited* from March, 1755, to September, 1759, the next five years' average was diminished to 323,557; but the restriction being removed, it sprang up again to 600,000, until, by gradual increase, it reached, in 1795, no less than 4,000,000, gallons. With this increase the importation of *Foreign* Spirits had kept pace, rising from 439,150 gallons in 1729, to 800,000 gallons in 1795. The population had only doubled in that period, but spirit drinking had increased *elevenfold*, giving an annual average of $2\frac{1}{4}$ gallons of spirit to every man, woman, and child in the country.* An increase of crime, and a corresponding corruption of morals, were quite visible throughout the whole kingdom, and penetrated all classes.

§ 26. In cities the change from industrious mechanics, to dissolute and riotous combiners, was no less deplored than the reckless and barbarous spirit which had come over the peasantry. In 1760, a petition to Parliament urged, “That the lower classes of the manufacturers in Dublin were rendered dissolute and idle *by the low price* at which spirits were retailed, and the *increase of dram-shops* in the city”; whereupon a Committee of the House resolved, “That keeping up spirituous liquors, at a high price, would greatly contribute to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people.” The Parliament, however, was as reckless as the people, and two *practical* motions to impose the highest rates of license, and to enquire into the character of those applying for the license, were negatived. Four years later, the Corporation of Sheermen and Dyers of Dublin presented another petition, setting forth the decay in the silken and woollen manufactures, and expressing their alarm at the *daily increasing number of shops for the sale of Spirituous Liquors*, “whereby a ready *opportunity* is offered to the journeymen and servants to make too free a use of spirits, who are thereby frequently rendered incapable for a great part of their time from following their occupations, *to the manifest injury not only of*

* No other article of luxury had increased in the same proportion, so that it cannot be explained by the increase of general wealth.

themselves and their families, but of the public”—and expressing a fear “that if a speedy stop be not put to this growing evil, several very valuable manufactures will be lost, and the greatest poverty and distress, with many other evils, introduced amongst those who ought to be our riches and defence.” The Woollen Manufacturers, in another petition, set forth “*the decay of trade, as the working people are become idle and dissolute; and as they do not work half their time, are under the necessity of entering into unlawful combinations to enhance the price of labor, which prevents petitioners from bringing their manufactures to market on proper terms.*” Even the Corporation of Brewers complains “That the consumption of Spirituous Liquors has been daily increasing beyond all conception or belief, *to the infinite prejudice of trade and manufacture, the health, sobriety, and morals of the people.*” The Weavers of Dublin also set forth their concern at the prodigious increase in Spirit-Shops, *whereby the temptation is always before them to the too free use of spirits; that they, in consequence, seldom work on Monday, but enter into combinations to make good their sloth and extravagance.* “That the spirit of industry, decency in dwelling and apparel, which formerly obtained amongst them, being almost eradicated, *and in place thereof, filth and nastiness in every circumstance of life, with an unbounded licentiousness of manners, which have produced the most dangerous riots and disorders.*”

These petitions, discussed in a Committee of the whole House, occasioned the following resolutions:—

1st. That the consumption of spirits amongst the lower classes had *grievously increased* in the city and county of Dublin.

2nd. That *the number of Dram-Shops* had increased so much, as to become the greatest nuisance.

3rd. That *the decay of our Manufactures* is principally to be attributed to the too frequent use of *low-priced spirits* by the workmen. [Is high-priced brandy any better?]

4th. That all the *riots and combinations*, of late so frequent, are to be attributed to the same cause.

5th. That many *murders* which of late have been committed are to be attributed to the excessive consumption of spirits.

6th. That it is the cause *why the streets and hospitals are at present crowded with incurable objects.*

Still nothing was done. Patriotism and morals were postponed in favour of the more pressing, yet fallacious, interests of Rent and Revenue. This generation has seen the issue of that detestable policy, in the famine and the exodus. The wind was sown, and the whirlwind has been reaped—let us hope that the terrible teaching will stand ourselves and other nations in the stead of bitter experience!

§ 27. In 1773, the question again came before the House. Mr B. Houghton, in his examination before the ‘Grand Committee of Trade,’ refers to spirit drinking as one great cause of idleness, riots, and tumults, and states that “*the people did not seem to be the same race of people they were twenty years ago.*” Still, nothing was done: Parliament palavered, while Ireland burned. In 1786, the Grand Jury of the city of Dublin, and also that for the county, represented to the House the injurious consequences arising from the *unrestricted sale and consequent*

excessive use of spirits, praying for a law similar to the English act of 1751, to remedy the evil; though that law, by the way, had only repressed it.† The language of those petitions is very significant. “Idleness, profligacy, and outrages, are to be attributed to selling spirits, which is, therefore, become a DANGEROUS NUISANCE, and being authorized by law, can be corrected only by the legislature. . . the temptation to indulge therein being offered in every street, by the multitude of dram-shops and public-houses licensed for this purpose, they soon become weak, diseased, and disabled, unfit for labor, useless to the State, and burthensome to the community. . . THAT NEITHER THE LAWS NOW SUBSISTING for the suppression of vice, and the maintenance of order, nor the authority and exertions of the magistrates—NOR ANY FUTURE LAWS that may be enacted for these good purposes,—WILL HAVE ANY MATERIAL EFFECT, SO LONG AS THIS PERNICIOUS PRACTICE IS PERMITTED TO EXIST.”—Seventy-eight years have passed away since these words were recorded, and only *now* are the people of this country waking up to the deep and vital truth they contain.

§ 28. In March, 1788, Parochial meetings were held in Dublin, and a deputation appointed to wait upon the Lord Lieutenant (the Marquis of ROCKINGHAM), praying him to “devise such means as to his wisdom and humanity shall appear most effectual, to *suppress this universally acknowledged source of almost every public evil, and certain obstruction of every patriotic endeavour to promote the improvement, the civilization, the industry, and general prosperity of the nation.*” His Lordship made a brief acknowledgment of the truth of the representation, declaring he would be happy to contribute to the suppression of a practice the source of almost every public evil—and then went to dinner.

In 1790, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Roscommon petitioned the House, ascribing the vice to the *low price and facility of obtaining* spirits, and to cheapness of licenses. In 1791, the House was again induced to consider the question, and a Committee came to the Resolution “That the number of persons empowered to retail spirits should be greatly diminished,” etc. Certain Acts were passed, encouraging the rival trade of the Brewers. *Grocers were prohibited from selling drams in their shops*, etc. The Speaker, in his speech at the bar of the Lords, March, 1795, and in an address delivered on presenting the Bills of Supply, referred to the excellent result of even these small measures, and enunciated a pregnant political truth. After alluding to the increased prosperity and resources of the country, he observes—“Satisfied, however, that those resources and that prosperity *cannot be permanent without an effectual attention to the sobriety of the people, their morals and peaceable subordination to the laws*, they have, by an arrangement of duties which promises also an increase of revenue, relieved the brewing [trade] from all restriction of taxes, *so as to give it a decided advantage over the distilling*, and thereby discourage the too frequent and immoderate use of Spirituous Liquors, *a measure which must conduce to sobriety, tranquillity, and content*, and under which the people, en-

* *Journal of the Irish Commons*, vol. x. p. 43. Appendix. † *Ibid*, xii.

couraged in regular industry, and the consequent acquisition of wealth, must feel the blessing" of good government.

§ 29. Under the dark days that followed, from 1795 to 1800,—days of rebellion at home and revolution abroad—*this* subject was lost sight of, unhappily for the interests of all. The Acts which had initiated so much good, were allowed to expire—discouragement to the use of Spirits ceased—Grocers were again allowed to dispense the fatal drug to women and families—and debauchery rioted and revelled as before! The *History of Dublin* furnishes an appalling picture of Thomas-street, the termination of the great Southern and Western roads in that city:—

"It contains 190 houses, and of these no less than 52 were licensed to vend spirits; a *poison* productive of vice, riot, and disease; hostile to all habits of decency, honesty, and industry: and, in short, destructive to the souls and bodies of our fellow-creatures. These houses, open at all hours of the day and night, are scenes of increasing profaneness and intemperance, which even the sanctity of the Sabbath cannot suspend; and *it is an undoubted fact, that on that day, sacred amongst Christians to piety and peace, more deeds of profaneness, immorality, and disorder, are perpetrated in this vicinity, than in the other six.* Intemperance, idleness, and irreligion, afford excellent materials for the designing and disaffected to work on, and accordingly here was found the *focus* of rebellion."

§ 30. During four short years of the first quarter of this century, Ireland was exempted in some degree from the worst evils of the Traffic. We refer to the years 1809-10, and 1812-13, during part of which years the *distilleries* were stopped,* in consequence of scarcity of corn,—partly owing to their destructive operation, and partly to deficient harvests. This circumstance affords another and independent proof of our proposition; for while drunkenness and disorder lessened under the prohibition, it again increased so soon as the restriction was removed. In 1811, the following certificate was signed by NAT. HONE, the Lord Mayor, and fourteen other magistrates of Dublin, and laid before the public:—

'We certify that we have observed, that within the last twelve months there has been a deplorable increase of profligacy amongst the lower orders of the people in this metropolis and its neighborhood, and this effect appears to us *to have arisen from the very low price of Spirituous Liquors* during the above period; and we are decidedly of opinion, that *in proportion as a facility of intoxication is afforded to the lower order of Society, the industry of that class is relaxed, their health impaired, and their crimes multiplied.*'

After the Act of Union, little notice appears to have been paid to the 'miseries of Ireland' connected with the Traffic.† The attention

* By 48 Geo. III. cap. 118, 49 Geo. III. cap. 7, 52 Geo. III. cap. 47, and 53 Geo. III.

† In March, 1815 (55th Geo. III. cap. 19), there was passed an Act to grant certain duties upon Licenses for the sale of Liquors by retail, and *to discourage the immoderate use of Spirituous Liquors* in Ireland, of which § xliii. enacts, "That no person shall be deemed a *Victualler*, Innkeeper, or Tavern Keeper, who shall not furnish or sell *victuals* to be consumed in the house of such person."

of the Imperial Parliament was absorbed by the long and exhausting European war, leaving the enemy at home to destroy *at will*;—year by year *his* supplies were augmented and his victims increased, until, in 1826, the consumption of *Home-made* spirits had risen to the enormous total of 11,775,000 gallons!

Shortly after this period, the Rev. Mr CARR, of New Ross, introduced the question of Temperance Societies, based upon *abstinence* from distilled spirits. In Dublin and Belfast, several influential men and philanthropists embraced the movement, which, if it did not materially arrest the evil, directed distinct attention to it, and, afterwards, as a convert to the more complete and consistent principle of abstinence from *alcohol*, whether distilled or undistilled, came Father MATHEW, whose influence, for some years, owing to a providential conjuncture of circumstances, became a vast national fact and blessing. Unhappily, however, the seed not being extirpated, the crop of mischief is again growing up, and the distilleries are reviving once more.

§ 31. It appears from the Fifth Report on the Revenue (p. 315), that out of 60 excise districts into which England is divided, there were, in 1821-22, not less than 38 in which *not a single gallon* of English, Irish, or Scotch spirits had been consumed; and that, in the entire of Wales, where almost every Publican brews his own ale, not a single gallon of British spirits, and hardly a gallon of Foreign, had been introduced. It is a mistake to suppose that the public will *seek* their own ruin—they are ruined because the law sets up, or permits to be set up, the temptations and snares into which they fall.*

§ 32. The History of the Liquor-Traffic in ENGLAND is not less pregnant with instruction. As early as A.D. 995, an attempt was made to restrain by law the evil of drinking. Taverns were introduced in the 13th century; and very speedily manifested their peculiar character. The business of a Taverner seems never to have been held as 'respectable,' a fact which shows that it has been always *associated* with low life, and always must be until that which pollutes is removed. In the reign of Edward I. (1285) complaints were frequent; and it was enacted *that Taverns should not be open for the sale of wine and beer after the tolling of the curfew*. In the reign of Edward III. only three Taverns were allowed in the metropolis. By the reign of Edward VI. they had

* Mid-way between England and Ireland stands the little insular KINGDOM OF MAN, once ruled by the House of Derby. On the 16th July, 1734, "*An Act to Suppress Petty Ale-houses and Tippling-houses*" was passed by the Keys, and confirmed and subscribed by the Earl of Derby, who seems to have held sounder views on the subject than his descendant, the present Lord Stanley, who lately over-ruled the decision of the Liverpool *local* magistrates, and planted licensed houses in that city against their will. The preamble recites that these Tippling-houses "are not only obnoxious to all sober, discreet persons, *but likewise destructive of the public good*," and "at the same time such houses are so far from being in a condition to perform the tenor of their licenses, that they are in no sort *fit* to entertain travellers in any decent manner." Notwithstanding this, the drinking-evil grew to such a height in our own day, in some of the parishes of the Island, that the inhabitants *en masse* have petitioned the Legislature not to grant *any* licenses; and in some districts this has been done "with the utmost benefit" to the morals, industry, and wealth of the community.

greatly increased. But the Taverns were exclusive of Alehouses,* and indeed were designed partly to prevent the rapid growth of these, which had become, under free trade, nests of mischief 'to the common people,' somewhat like our modern Beerhouses. Strange! after the lapse of 350 years, 'Statesmen' should revive and license that which, of old, had given rise to the evils which *compelled* legal interference and surveillance. In the 2nd Henry VII. (1487) an act was passed "against vagabonds and beggars," which contains a clause empowering two Justices of the Peace "to rejecte and put away *comen ale-selling* in townes and places where they shall think convenient, and to *take suertie of the Keepers of ale-houses of their gode behaving*, by the discrecion of the seid justices, and in the same to be avysed and agreed *at the tyme of their sessions*" (cap. 4).

§ 33. In the reign of Edward VI. Taverns were denounced by Act of Parliament, as the resort of evil-disposed persons, and the cause of "much evill rule." The preamble of the Act states that they were "*newly sette uppe in very great noumbre, in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places within the cytie of London, and in divers other townes and villages of this realme.*" By the 6th Edward VI. (1552) we learn that "*Intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth, doth daily grow and increase through such abuses and disorders as are had and used in common Ale-houses, and other houses called Tippling-houses;*" and in the Act of which this is the recital, penalties were levelled against those *permitting* tippling in their houses. In the following year "*An Act to avoyd excess in Wynes,*" limited Taverns to towns and cities; allowing 40 for London; to Westminster, 3; York, 8; Bristol, 6; but to every other town only 2. The next important Act of restraint, fifty-four years later, was pointed against those *indulging* in the vice. James I., on his accession, virtually fostered this vice, by passing laws which encouraged the increase of Drinking-houses, so that he had shortly to pass enactments for the punishment of *drunkenness*!† The 2nd James I. (1604) shows what the ancient Parliaments deemed the true use of a PUBLIC-HOUSE, and of what we now paradoxically call their conductors—"Licensed *Victuallers.*" It says—"The ancient, true, and principal use of ale-houses was, *for the lodging of wayfaring people*, and for the supply of the wants of such as were not able, by greater quantities, to make their *provisions of victuals*, and not for entertainment and harboring of lewd and idle people, to spend their money and their time in a lewd

* *Ale conners* (kenners, or tasters) were officers appointed in those days, to see that the Ale (deemed a necessary of life) was of *due quality*; not adulterated, weakened, or spoilt. They could also fix the price. They had to present all defaults of Brewers to the next Court Leet. The *Brewsters' Sessions* seems a later outgrowth of this proceeding.

† On the visit of the bibulous King of Denmark to his sister Anne, the wife of James I., Sir John Harrington testifies that "*the conduits in the streets ran with wine.* The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. The gunpowder fright is got out of our heads, and we are going on hereabouts, as if the Devil were contriving every man should blow himself up by wild riot, excess, and devastation of wine and intemperance." (*Nugae Antiquae.*)

and drunken manner;" not as Traps for ensnaring the young, the sober, or the simple—which they now *demonstrably* are.

The 4th James I. gives as clear evidence of *the ineffectual character of the licensing system* as the last Blue Book. It shows that the evil was unabated, at least materially, by simple restrictions; declaring that "*the odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness is of late grown into common use, being the root and foundation of many other enormous sins, as bloodshed, stabbing, murder, swearing, fornication, adultery, and such like, to the great dishonor of God and of our nation, the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, and the general impoverishing of many good subjects; abusively wasting the good creatures of God.*" Intoxication was made punishable by a fine of 5s., or confinement in the stocks for six hours; and the first offence of "*remaining drinking and tipping*" in a person's own neighborhood, by a fine of 3s. 4d., or the stocks,—the fine being increased to 10s. for the second offence. These Acts were made *perpetual* in 1625, by an Act extending them to persons not then *inhabiting* to 'tipple.'

Nevertheless, these statutes failed in their ostensible object. The licensed *Sowers* spread broadcast their seed, and the rank weeds of drunkenness and debauchery of course sprang up. Fresh laws were enacted, giving the Justices increased power—Excise-officers and other machinery were brought into play—and a *disability* to sell beer for *three years* was imposed upon offenders against the laws, which seems to have been about as effectual as our modern sham of '*suspending*' the license!

§ 34. During the reign of Charles I. the complaints against Ale-houses were loud and frequent. In 1623, the Lord Keeper COVENTRY, in his charge to the Circuit Judges, says:—

'I account Ale-houses and Tipping-houses *the greatest pests in the kingdom*. I give it you in charge to take a course that *none be permitted* unless they are licensed, and for the licensed alehouses, *let them be but a few, and in fit places*. .If they be in private corners and ill-places, they become the den of thieves—*they are the public stages of drunkenness and disorder*. Let care be taken in the choice of Ale-house keepers, that it be not appointed to be the livelihood of a large family. .In many places they *swarm* by default of the Justices of the Peace, that set up too many: but if the Justices will not obey your choice herein, certify their default and names, and, I assure you, they shall be discharged. I once *did* discharge two Justices for setting up *one* Ale-house, and shall be glad to do the like again upon the same occasion.'*

Intemperance was a prevailing vice during the Commonwealth era, and had earned for England the opprobrious title of "The Land of Drunkards." The evil grew rampant, even amidst much sterling piety, and notwithstanding faithful denunciation from the pulpit, showing that the best intended endeavors must be frustrated, if they are not based upon a correct conception of the evil and its causes.

* Howell's *State Trials*, vol. iii. p. 835.

At the London Sessions, however, in 1654, an effort was put forth in the right direction, for it was ordered that "*no new licenses shall be granted for two years.*" One wonders that the thought should not have arisen, *Why revive the old licenses, if the new ones are to be smothered in the shell?* Is a cockatrice *in ovo* worse than one fully hatched?

Bad, however, became worse, when the restraining influences of the Commonwealth were withdrawn, and a corrupted court and gentry, *who had become intemperate on French Wines*, set, as DE FOE says, the example of caressing the beastly vice. "After the restoration, when the King's health became the distinction between a 'Cavalier' and a 'Roundhead,' drunkenness began its *reign*, and it has reigned almost forty years." There was, as is usual now, Parliamentary *talk* in abundance, but only the absurdest remedies. Complaints were made that the vast consumption of *French Brandy*, interfered with *Home distillation* (as if *that* were a blessing!); whereupon Charles gave permission to a Company to distil Brandy from wine and malt. Here was deposited the germ which, ultimately, had well-nigh wrecked England upon the rock of Sweden. She was started upon a sea of disaster, which ended so fatally for the interests of Ireland, where the same policy was adopted.

After the Revolution of 1688, commercial relations with France being interdicted, *any person was permitted to set up a Distillery, on giving ten days' notice to the excise, and paying some trifling duties.* Here we had free trade with a vengeance, with no restriction save that of a fiscal nature, as in our present tea license. The effect might have been anticipated. The business of *Distilling*, especially in London and Westminster, increased and flourished, but the *people* faded and decreased. Health, good order, and morals, were so visibly retrograding, that it now became needful to pass other acts to *check* the operation of the former. By the 12th and 13th William III., part of the preceding act was repealed, and all persons were prohibited from selling spirits by retail, without having first obtained a *license*, like that for the sale of ale.

§ 35. Very frequent alteration in the spirit-laws took place after this time; sometimes based on fiscal, sometimes on social considerations. Indeed, no one subject has given Parliament a hundredth part of the trouble which the system of Licensing and Regulating the Traffic has done. The 1st Anne (cap. 24) permitted tradesmen whose principal dealings were in other goods, to sell spirits by retail, *without a license*, provided they did not allow tippling in their shops or houses. The 2nd George II. imposed a duty of £20 on the retail license. Gin was 6d. per quart—debauchery and degradation progressed at an alarming pace. As the *Penny Cyclopadia* observes, "a new and most pernicious element in the compound of mischief produced by public-houses, sprang into existence."* A clause was introduced into the 2nd

* The Middlesex Magistrates, in 1725, report that in London and Southwark there were 6,178 places "wherein geneva, or other strong waters, were sold by retail." Yet, they add, though giving a proportion in some districts of one to every seventh house, there is 'reason to believe the report is very far short of the true number."

George II. placing *Spirit dealers under the same regulations as Publicans* in respect to 'Licenses.' After reciting the 'inconveniences' arising "from persons being licensed to keep inns and common ale-houses by justices living at a distance, *not being truly informed as to the occasion or want of such inns, ale-houses, and victualling-houses, or the character*" of the persons licensed, the Act provides that no license to keep an inn, ale-house, or victualling-house, or to retail 'strong waters,' should be granted but at a general meeting of justices of the division.* The Act was evaded, by reckless persons hawking colored spirits, with other names, about the streets, and exposing them for sale in wheelbarrows, and on bulks, sheds, or stalls. An Act was framed expressly prohibiting this, and suppressing all 'Brandy shops.' The 6th George II. (1732) repeals the £20 license, and imposes a penalty of £10 upon the retail sale of spirits, *except sold in dwelling-houses!* This shuttlecock legislation was a vain attempt to serve God and Mammon, to raise a revenue by the sale of spirits, without destroying the health and morals of the community. Coming after so many encouragements to drinking, this provision was not likely to be very serviceable. *Virtually, it left the sale open, by making every householder into a Publican, and, as SMOLLETT remarks, "without making any regulation for preventing the excessive use of such liquors."* Lord CHOLMONDELEY describes this measure as extremely injurious; the poor being restored to their liberty of getting drunk as usual, did, like men set free from gaol, make a most extravagant use of it. Under this 'open trade,' gin was consumed, with an intemperance more resembling a tribe of savages than a civilized people. The *Parliamentary History* of the period records the fact, that signs were publicly hoisted, "*Drunk for 1d.; dead drunk for 2d.; clean straw for nothing.*"

Things had reached such a pass, that in 1735, the Middlesex Magistrates, in quarter sessions assembled, petitioned Parliament in these terms:—

"That the excessive drinking of spirituous liquors was debauching the morals, and driving into vice and wickedness, the lower orders of the people.

"That *spirits were sold by persons of all descriptions, by which means journeymen, apprentices, servants, etc., were drawn in to taste, and by degrees to like, approve, and immoderately to drink thereof; thus destroying the health, morals, peace, and strength of the lower orders,*" etc.

A Committee of the whole House resolved:—

"That the *low price* of spirituous liquors is the principal inducement to the excessive and pernicious use thereof.

"That, in order to prevent this excessive and pernicious use, a discouragement be given thereto by a duty to be laid on spirits sold by retail.

"That the selling of such liquors be *restrained* to persons keeping

* Why not a Permissive Veto to the Ratepayers, who *best* know about these alleged wants?

public brandy-shops, victualling-houses, coffee-houses, ale-houses, innholders, and to such Surgeons and Apothecaries as shall make use of it by way of medicine only."

The legislature, at last, seeing the frightful demoralization that was following the policy of former Parliaments, appeared resolved to *annihilate* the Traffic in gin and strong waters. The fault, however, lay in the want of progressive preparation for that final result 'most devoutly to be wished'; since the Governmental power must never be strained too far, nor exerted too suddenly, without a moral power to sustain its tension. The 9th George II. (1735-36) enacted that *Spirits* should not be sold in less than two gallons *without a License*, for which £50 was to be paid; and that 20s. per gallon should be levied upon *Gin*.

Here was a quasi-*prohibitory* law, antagonizing instead of expressing the wishes of the people, but with fatal facilities of evasion, and totally devoid of the Maine-Law machinery for making it effectual—*viz.*, the simple destruction of the *Liquor*.* The act came in force September 29, 1736, and produced vast excitement. The populace of London, Bristol, Norwich, and other towns, honored what they called the 'death of Madame Gin' with formal 'funeral' processions, whereat many of her devoted admirers, male and female, got 'gloriously drunk.' The distillers took out *Wine* licenses, offered gin—spiced and wine—for sale, under a new name; while *drams* were sold in the brandy shops, under the quaint appellations, of 'Sangree,' 'Tom Row,' 'Cuckold's Comfort,' 'Parliament Gin,' 'The Last Shift,' 'Ladies' Delight,' 'King Theodore of Corsica,' 'Cholic-and-Gripe-Waters,' etc. Lord CHOLMONDELEY said, on the part of Government, that the law exposed them to *rebellion*, and that they had information of its being designed; but by parading the troops in the dangerous locality, they had probably prevented riot and bloodshed. In March, 1738, a proclamation was passed to enforce the *Act*, and to protect the efforts of the officers of justice. In this matter, the Government at least had more spirit and sense of duty than in our days of Beer-bills and Hyde Park mobs, if not more success. The consumption of spirits in England and Wales rose from 13,500,000 gallons in 1734, to 19,000,000 in 1742, and there were within the bills of mortality more than 20,000 houses and shops in which gin was sold by retail. As might be expected, *Informers* became objects of popular hatred, and were hunted through the streets. Of course, the more respectable Traffickers abandoned the proscribed business, which fell into the hands of reckless and disreputable men, who set at nought the provisions of the law. "Within two years of the passing of the Act," says the historian,† "though 12,000 persons had been convicted of offences against it, it had become odious and contemptible; and policy, as well as humanity, forced the commissioners of excise to mitigate its penalties." The Government relinquished the fruitless contest.

* Another strange thing was, as stated by the Justices, "that Alehouse keepers are most commonly the persons appointed to execute the said laws, and bring offenders to justice"!!!

† Tindal's Continuation of *Rapin*, vol. viii. p.p. 358, 388. Edition of 1759.

§ 36. Memorable debates took place in Parliament (those in the Upper House were especially remarkable for the enunciation of sound principles and noble sentiments), and the obnoxious Act underwent some modification. On February 15th, 1743, the Lords read, for the first time, a Bill "For repealing certain Duties on Spirituous Liquors and on Licenses for retailing the same," which was ordered a second reading, and the Lords to be summoned. It imposed a *small duty* per gallon at the still-head, and the license was to cost but 20s., which was to be granted only to such as had Licenses for selling Ale. Some one in the debate, talked of penalties. Lord HARVEY asked—"How can the laws be *remembered* in the heats of drunkenness?" A motion was made to call Physicians to the bar of the house.* The BISHOP OF OXFORD said—"The increase of the sale of distilled spirits, and the propagation of all kinds of wickedness, *are the same*. I should think, my lords, *that* Government approaching its dissolution, that was reduced to submit its decrees to their judgment who are chiefly accused of the abuse of these liquors....The effect of the law was not less than any one who foresaw such opposition might reasonably have conceived. In this city [Westminster] alone, there were *before* the commencement of that law 1,500 large shops in which no other trade was carried on than that of retailing these pernicious liquors, in which no temptation to debauchery was forgotten, and, what cannot be mentioned without horror, *back rooms and secret places were contrived for receptacles of those who had drunk till they had lost their reason and their limbs*. Those that follow this trade *under restraint*, would pursue it *more diligently* if that restraint were removed. As to false informers, the sword of justice should have been drawn against both, nor should it have been laid aside till both species of wickedness had been exterminated. When, my lords, was any design of great importance effected without difficulties? It is difficult, without doubt, to restrain a nation from vice; and to reform a nation already corrupted is still more difficult: but it is the duty of Government to endeavour them. It has been found by experience, that *nothing can restrain the people from buying these liquors, but such laws as hinder them from being SOLD.*"† Lord TALBOT accused the Government of laying *poison* in the way of the people, establishing by law a practice productive of all the miseries to which human nature is incident. The BISHOP OF SALISBURY was sarcastic. "To prevent the excessive use of anything by allowing it to be sold without restraint, is an expedient which the wisdom of no former age ever discovered." The Bill was read a second time, Feb. 21. Lord HERVEY, on that occasion, observed: "No man, unacquainted with the motives by which senatorial debates are too often influenced, would suspect that after the pernicious qualities of this liquor, and the general inclination among the people to the immoderate use of it,

* Mr PORTER, in his '*Progress of the Nation*,' cannot understand why *Physicians* should have been called before the House. It was with the view of placing spirits in the same category with other *poisons*.

† Timberland's *History and Proceedings in the House of Lords*. (1743, vol. viii.)

had been proved, it could be afterwards enquired, *Whether this universal thirst for poison ought to be encouraged by the legislature?*" Lord LONSDALE said: "In every part of this great metropolis, whoever shall pass along the streets, will find wretchedness stretched upon the pavement, insensible and motionless, and only removed by the charity of passengers from the danger of being crushed by carriages, or trampled by horses, or strangled with filth in the common sewers; and others, less helpless perhaps, but more dangerous, *who have drunk too much to fear punishment, but not enough to hinder them from provoking it.* . . . No man can pass a single hour in public places, without meeting such objects, or hearing such expressions, as disgrace human nature,—such as cannot be looked upon without horror, or heard without indignation, *and which there is no possibility of removing or preventing,* WHILST THIS HATEFUL LIQUOR IS PUBLICLY SOLD." The BISHOP OF SARUM nobly pleaded for the Young. "The children, my lords, to whom the affairs of the present generation must be transferred, and by whom the nation must be continued, are surely no ignoble part of the public. They are yet innocent, and it is our province to take care that they may in time be virtuous; *we ought therefore to remove from before them those examples that infect and those temptations that corrupt them.*" Lord HERVEY replied to counter-pleas in a speech full of the most dignified sarcasm. "Almost every legislator of the world, my lords, from whatever original he derived his authority, has exerted it in the *prohibition of such foods as tended to injure the health, and destroy the vigour of the people* for whom he designed his institutions. . . . The *prohibition* of those commodities which are instrumental to vice, is not only dictated by policy, but nature; nor does it indeed require much sagacity, when the evil is known, to find the proper remedy; for even the Indians, who have not yet reduced the art of government to a science, nor learned to make long harangues upon the different interests of foreign powers, have yet been able to discover that distilled spirits are pernicious to society; *and that the use of them can only be hindered by prohibiting the SALE.* For this reason, my lords, they have petitioned that none of this delicious poison should be imported from Britain: *they have desired us to confine this fountain of wickedness and misery to our own country, without pouring upon them those inundations of debauchery by which we are ourselves overflowed.** When we may be sent with justice to learn from the rude and ignorant Indians the first elements of civil wisdom, we have not much right to boast of our foresight and knowledge." Lord CHESTERFIELD said: "Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but *vice prohibited,* let the difficulty in the law be what it will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of the ten commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous? Would it not imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax? Vice, my

*The same petition was recently presented by the Hindoos to the English Government, praying for the *Prohibition* of the arrack shops, which, as they observe, are *counteracting* the blessings of law and civilization conferred upon them.

lords, is not properly to be taxed, but *suppressed*; and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which that suppression can be attained. Luxury, or that which is only pernicious by its excess, may very properly be taxed, that such excess, though not unlawful, may be made more difficult. But the use of those things which are simply hurtful in their own nature, and in every degree, is to be *prohibited*. A noble lord has been pleased kindly to inform us that the trade of distilling is very extensive, that it employs great numbers, and that they have arrived at exquisite skill; and therefore the trade of distilling ought not to be discouraged! Once more, my lords, allow me to wonder at the different conceptions of different understandings. It appears to me that since the spirit which the distillers produce is allowed to enfeeble the limbs, vitiate the blood, pervert the heart, and obscure the intellect, the number of distillers should be no argument in their favor: for I never heard that a law against theft was repealed or delayed because thieves were numerous. *It appears to me, my lords, that really, if so formidable a body are confederate against the virtue or the lives of their fellow-citizens, it is time to put an end to the havoc, and to interpose, whilst it is yet in our power, to stop the destruction.* Let us crush at once these artists in human slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such a bait as cannot be resisted!"

The Bill passed, however, by a vote of 82 against 55—the Bishops of Canterbury, Asaph, London, Norwich, Gloucester, Oxford, Bristol, and Salisbury, and Lords Stanhope, Aylesford, Beaufort, and Gower, ranking amongst the dissentients. A Protest, containing the following passage was signed by Lords Sandwich, Chesterfield, Talbot, Bristol, Halifax, Haversham, Ailesbury, Bedford, Oxford, and Ward:—

"We apprehend, that if an act designed to remedy such indisputable mischiefs, was not found adequate, the wisdom of the legislature ought to have supplied its defects, and not have rescinded it by a law *authorizing* the manifold calamities it was calculated to prevent."

§ 37. Did the *relaxation* of the law improve the condition of things? Let us see. In 1750, the House of Commons was inundated with petitions, representing *the consequences of the people being tempted to the use of spirits*.* The petition of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of LONDON states, "that the common and habitual use of spirituous liquors by the lower ranks of people, prevails to such a degree, that it *destroys the health, strength, and industry of the poor of both sexes and all ages, inflames them with rage and barbarity, and occasions frequent robberies and murders in the streets of the Metropolis*." The petition from the Minister and Churchwardens of St. Martin's, WESTMINSTER, recites that in consequence of *the low price of spirits*, their use has become excessive—"the substance of the people is wasted—idleness and disorder have taken the place of

* *English Commons' Journal*, xxvi. pp. 55, 84.

industry—and robberies and murders are committed under their influence.” The petition from BRISTOL states, “that the bad effects of spirituous liquors have become apparent in the destruction of the habits of the people—corrupting their morals, and rendering them incapable of manly employments—reducing them to poverty, and *hardening them to the commission of crimes of the utmost enormity.*” That of the Merchants, adds—“commerce was injured.” These crowds of petitions almost universally affirm that the *great increase in the number of Gin-shops, and the low price of the article*, were the causes of its excessive use *amongst the lower orders.**

On these representations, the House again resolved “That it was necessary to REGULATE the sale of spirits by retail.” Measures were adopted for the *suppression of smuggling*, and the celebrated Tippling Act was passed. Smuggling was very effectually checked, partly by being made less profitable, and partly by the activity of the Revenue Service. To understand the operation of this Act (24th George II. cap. 40), let us examine the Excise returns illustrative of the effects of the previous legislation for fifty years.† The quantity of ‘low Wines’ (as spirits are technically called) distilled from malted corn, had increased in the following manner:—

In 1694. .1,885,752 gallons.	In 1734. . 8,244,982 gallons.
1704. .2,017,200 ”	1743. .10,581,900 ”
1724. .4,708,867 ”	1750. .11,200,000 ”

By Section 12 of the Tippling Act, *no persons can recover for the price of spirits sold in less quantities than 20s. at one time.* It contains, also, a very significant provision, that *Brewers and Distillers shall not interfere with licenses, nor act as Justices in the granting thereof.* In 1751 the Excise returns exhibit the pleasing fact of a reduction in ‘low Wines’ distilled, to 7,022,000 gallons.

The Act just noticed, by rendering spirits less accessible, *did* arrest the fatal ‘Ginfluenza’ which was spreading like an epidemic pesti-

* Amongst the distinguished men who wrote against the tide of evils springing from this fatuous legislation, were ISAAC, Bishop of Worcester, and HENRY FIELDING, the Police Magistrate and classic author. The Bishop preached a Sermon before, and addressed a Letter to, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, on the growth of Intemperance. FIELDING dedicated to Lord Chancellor HARDWICK a book entitled *An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*, etc. (Lond. 1751), in which he says:—

“Wretches are often brought before me charged with theft and robbery, whom I am forced to confine before they are in a condition to be examined; and when they have afterwards become sober, I have plainly perceived, from the state of the case, that *the Gin alone was the cause of the Transgression.*”

“In solemn truth, there is nothing of more serious consideration, nor which more loudly calls for a remedy, than the evil now complained against. The first inventor of this diabolical liquor may be compared to the Poisoner of a Fountain. . . . *Nor will anything less than ABSOLUTE DELETION [prohibition] serve on the present occasion.* It is not making men pay £50 or £500 for a *license to poison*, nor enlarging the quantity from two gallons to ten, which will *extirpate* so stubborn an evil.”

† Vide *Report of the Commissioners of Excise on Corn Distillation*, 1784.

lence amongst the people of the large towns and cities of the empire, and diverted the depraved appetite towards the less pernicious article of Beer. Ale, the consumption of which had actually decreased since 1693, now rapidly rose, until it has become at least a more predominant instrument of mischief (though perhaps less injurious in itself) than the Spirits it had displaced. The cure attempted was only partial and comparative, not *radical*—and therefore not *satisfactory*. This is confessed by an Act of Parliament two years later—the 26th George II. (1753), which brings us nearer to the present system. *This Act, after declaring former laws to be defective and insufficient, required the justices, upon granting licenses, to take the recognizances of the persons licensed in £10, and two sureties of £5, for GOOD CONDUCT, but restricted the licenses to those who produced a CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER from the churchwardens and overseers, or three or four substantial inhabitants, and to a period of one year from September, and provided for notices of the licensing days.*

§ 38. The extended history of this license system precludes us from following it further in its details, and subsequent slight modifications. The duties on spirits, often altered during the next century, were, unhappily, lowered in 1826-7. With what effect, a page from the history of the period must suffice to tell.

The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Police of London, ordered to be printed the 11th July, 1828, states that “to extended populations, it has been suggested should be added, the extremely low price at which Spirituous Liquors are now sold, and a general want of employment and neglect of children.

“The lamentable effects of the first are too apparent to require much detail of evidence or lengthened argument to support; but the justness of the hypothesis will be upheld by reference to the evidence of a remarkably intelligent officer, whose duty requires a constant and accurate observation of what passes in the streets:—

“What effect has the reduced price of Gin had in your district?—A great deal more drunkenness. *I think it one of the worst things ever done in the world.*”

Sir RICHARD BIRNIE, the Chief Magistrate of Police, stated that “*Simple larcenies, felonies, and common assaults* have increased to a *very great degree*; burglaries have also increased. A great deal is owing to the drunkenness that every human being must observe in the streets *since Gin is so cheap*. *In the next Licensing Bill I hope it will be looked to.*”

At the Middlesex Sessions, held on Thursday, 21st January, 1830, “Mr SERJEANT BELL alluded to the increase of the consumption of Gin as a dreadful and horrible evil. A year ago there were 125 inmates in the Middlesex Pauper Hospital, but now the number was between 1,100 and 1,200, the increase being mainly attributable to the practice of Gin drinking. Sir GEORGE HAMPSON said that the Gin-shops were now decorated and fitted up with small private doors, through which *women* of the middle, and even above the middle classes of society, were not ashamed to enter and take their dram, when they found they could do so unobserved. Sir RICHARD BIRNIE also bore testimony to the dreadful prevalence of drunkenness in the

Metropolis: there were 72 cases brought to Bow Street on the Monday previous, for absolute and beastly drunkenness, and what was worse, mostly women who had been picked up in the streets, where they had fallen dead drunk; but while he deplored the enormity of the evil, he declared that it was difficult to find any remedy for it.* All that, is within the recollection of the writer, who, though yet young, witnessed the effect of that unfortunate measure, and has cut out these facts from the fugitive literature of the day. The same accounts poured in from the most distant parts of the kingdom.

The rapid increase of Spirit-shops in DUBLIN induced the inhabitants of St Mary's parish to meet, in their vestry room, on the 30th December, 1829, and to enter into resolutions for the correction of the growing evil.† Accounts from EDINBURGH state, that "the consumption of Ardent Spirits has increased to an alarming excess, as is manifest from the brutal spectacles of intoxication which are daily seen in the streets of the city."‡ And this striking *aggravation* of an old evil resulted from the addition of the facility of cheapness to the facility already presented in the number and vicinage of the dram-shops.

§ 39. In 1828 a general act to regulate the granting of Alehouse licenses was passed (9th George IV.), which repealed all former statutes on this subject. The following are the chief provisions of it:—

1. Licenses to be granted *only from year to year*, at a Special Session of Magistrates; with power of applicant to appeal to the Quarter Sessions in case of refusal of license: and the refusing Justices not to vote there.

2. Applicants for license to affix notice of their intention of applying, on the door of the house, and of the church of the parish in which it is situated, for three prior Sundays, and serve a copy on one of the overseers and one of the peace officers.

3. In case of actual or apprehended tumult, two Justices may direct the publican to close his house; disobedience to be esteemed disorder.

4. The license stipulates that the publican shall not adulterate his liquors, *or allow drunkenness, gaming, or disorder*; that he shall not suffer persons of notoriously bad character to assemble therein; and that he shall not, *save to travellers*, open his house during Divine Service on Sundays and holy-days.

5. Heavy and increasing penalties for repeated offences against the terms and tenor of the license; Magistrates at Sessions being empowered to punish an alehouse-keeper, convicted by a jury of a third offence, by a fine of £100, or adjudge the license to be forfeited.

By the 2nd and 3rd Victoria, called the *Metropolitan Police Act*, operating within a circle of fifteen miles from Charing Cross, all

* From the *Times* of January 25, 1830. † *Morning Post*, January 5, 1830.

‡ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, January 28, 1830.

public-houses are to be shut on Sundays until one o'clock p.m., *except to travellers*: and publicans are *prohibited*, under penalties of £20, £40, and £50, for the first, second, and third offences, *from selling spirits to young persons under 16 years of age*. The first provision now applies to every part of the country, and has been followed with very beneficial results.

The WILSON PATTEN Act, of 1854, closed public-houses and beer-shops on *Sunday* from half-past two o'clock p.m. until six p.m., and from ten o'clock on Sunday evening until four a.m. on Monday. During the few months of its operating, there was a sensible abatement of drunkenness and disorder, as is testified by the returns from the police, throughout the country. We cite places by way of specimen. *Warrington*: "A most remarkable difference is observable in the general order which prevails throughout the town, as well as by the discontinuance of fearful affrays, and riotous conduct." *Liverpool*: "The new Act," says Mr GREIG, head-constable of the police, "has been attended with the most beneficial results." *London*: Mr G. A'BECKETT, magistrate of the Southwark Police Court, in a letter to the *Times*, January 8, 1855, says, "on the Monday mornings before the Act, the business of the court was greater than on any other days, but since, it had only averaged two cases of drunkenness for each Sunday." In 1855, the Wilson Patten Act was superseded by the New Beer Bill of Mr HENRY BERKELEY, which extended the hour of closing to eleven at night, and gave a little more freedom to the Traffic on the Sunday afternoon.*

§ 40. We have now to refer to one of the saddest mistakes ever made by any legislature—one which has thrown back moral civilization for several generations. It was perfectly legitimate to favor the consumption of ale by way of *weaning* the people from the passion for gin, which possessed them in the last century, but to multiply the *facilities* of drinking, already too large, and to plant these facilities in rural districts, where the appetite for spirits had not been formed, was *at once to originate a new curse and to aggravate an old one.*†

There were not wanting, however, prophets of truth, even years before the era of the Beer Act. In 1816, the periodical entitled the *Philanthropist*, warned the public against the rock on which the Poli-

* For history of *Wilson Patten Act*, of 1854, and Mr Berkeley's sham 'inquiry,' see *Prize Essay*, § 56. Note.

† The following statistical evidence from Manchester, as to robberies from the person, will settle the matter:—

	[No. of Beerhouses.]	[Resulting Robberies.]
1856.....	1,552	21 or 1.35 per cent.
1857.....	1,573	37 or 2.35 "
1858.....	1,538	32 or 2.08 "
1859.....	1,628	57 or 3.13 "
	[No. of Public-houses.]	[Robberies.]
1856.....	489	42 or 8.58 per cent.
1857.....	485	52 or 10.72 "
1858.....	485	75 or 16.37 "
1859.....	484	106 or 21.9 "

During the seven years from 1853 to 1860, Public-houses multiplied in

ticians finally struck:—"We are by no means sure that if spirits were denied existence, you would not have as many people disposed for drinking as you have now, and as often guilty of intoxication or vice....*Intoxication by means of beer is as pernicious fully, to both health and morals, as intoxication by means of spirits.* We happen to know parts of the country where it is *not the taste* of the common people to indulge in spirituous liquors; *but we can answer for it that there is not, therefore, less intoxication than in other places.* We do for our parts believe that the prejudice in favor of beer—the absurd opinion universally rooted in the minds of the ill-educated portion of the English people, female not less than male—that beer is absolutely necessary to anything like comfortable existence, and that almost the last degree of misery consists in being obliged to drink what is not in some degree intoxicating, *is a grand cause of the remainder of the brutality which still lurks among them,* and renders so many of them demoralized." Statesmen, professionally, *ought* to have known all this, for whenever that which troubled Parliament most was enquired into,—we mean, the progress of disorder and crime,—the evidence never failed to bring to view the atrocities of the Public-house. Take, for example, the evidence presented by the 'Report of the Select Committee on Criminal Laws,' 1819-20, thus referred to in the *Quarterly Review* of October, 1820:—

"Public-houses are almost equally objectionable [with public fairs]. There are such multitudes of these, in town and country, perpetually holding out allurements to those classes of the community who are the least able to resist them, that they can be regarded in no other light than *as seminaries of iniquity, of which no principle of political economy that we are aware, can justify the continuance.* . . . We entreat those of our readers who are in possession of the *Report of the Committee on Gaols*, to turn to the evidence of Dr LUSHINGTON, printed at page 162, and they will find proof of the encouragement and assistance which public-houses lend to delinquents, of which, till then, they probably had no conception. *The scenes of depravity there disclosed reflect disgrace on the license system, on the whole police of London, and excite wonder and astonishment that such deeds could be acted, night after night, without colour or concealment, in any country where criminal law exists, and social order is established. If the multiplication and management of public-houses really augment misery and guilt as much as we have now supposed, the good they [are supposed to] do, to agriculture and the revenue, by the sale of spirits, is but a slender compensation for the evil they occasion.*"

Overlooking all this, however, and the no less patent fact that Beer

Britain from 89,963 to 93,066, being an increase of 3,103 ($3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent), while Beerhouses, which come into existence without Magisterial sanction, increased from 42,726 to 43,435, an addition of only 709 (less $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent). It is absurd to remove a lesser evil to make way for the rapid growth of a more gigantic iniquity, when one act would as easily kill the double-headed hydra. Where magistrates do *not* deal satisfactorily with the case, let the appeal be made to the PEOPLE, through a Permissive Bill, so that, when socially prepared, they may *apply* the remedy.

as certainly intoxicates, imbrutes, and criminalizes its devotees (if not as rapidly) as spirituous liquors, Parliament attempted to secure a cheap and unadulterated *beer for the million*, by "An Act to permit the general sale of Beer and Cider by retail in England" (1st William IV.), of which the following are the most material provisions:—

1. That any *householder* desirous of selling malt-liquor, by retail, in any house, may obtain an excise license on payment of two guineas, and for cider only, on paying one guinea.

2. That a list of such licenses shall be kept at the Excise office, open to the inspection of the Magistrates.

3. That the applicant must give a bond, and find surety, for the payment of penalties incurred.

4. Penalty for vending wine and spirits, £20.

5. In case of riot, Magistrates can command the closing of the houses.

6. Penalties for disorderly conducting of the house.

7. Not to open before four a.m., and to close at ten p.m., and during divine service on Sundays and holy-days.

This act created a new class of houses and landlords, commonly called 'Jerry-shops' and 'Jerry-Lords.' The consequences of this facility of obtaining licenses, were a rapid multiplication of ale-houses throughout the country, and the raising up of an interest which has hitherto prevented the repeal of the measure, and threatens to domineer over Parliament itself, through the subserviency of its members.

By 4th and 5th William IV., the preamble whereof recites *that much evil had arisen from the management of houses in which BEER and CIDER are sold*, it was enacted that each Beer Seller is to obtain his annual Excise license, *only on condition* of placing in the hands of the Excise, *a certificate of good character signed by six rated inhabitants of his parish* (none of whom must be Brewers or Maltsters), if in a town of 5,000 inhabitants; but the house to be one rated at £10 a year. This act also distinguishes between persons who sell liquor *to be drunk on the premises*, and those who sell it only to be drunk elsewhere. By a Treasury order, beer sold at, or under, 1½d. per quart, may be retailed without license.

By the 3rd and 4th Victoria, which amends the two preceding acts, a license can only be granted to the *real* occupier of the house; and the rated value to be £15, in towns of 10,000 inhabitants; £11, in towns of between 2,500 and 10,000; and £8 in smaller places. The hours for opening and closing within the metropolitan boroughs are 5 a.m. and 12 p.m.; but 11 o'clock in any place within the bills of mortality, or any city, town, or place not containing above 2,500 inhabitants. In smaller places 10 o'clock p.m. On any Sunday, Good Friday, or Christmas Day, or any day appointed for a public fast or thanksgiving, the houses are not to be opened before one o'clock p.m.

What has been the success of these last measures, so much relied upon by politicians, and which formed the groundwork of such glowing prophecies at the time? It really seems as if History, instead of being 'Philosophy teaching by example,' had brought forth her painful records merely to be ignored: nay, the truth is, that the

course of modern British Legislation has run *directly counter* to the clearest lesson which the history of the Traffic has taught us. For 300 years, we have been attempting to regulate the very fountain of *misrule*, and the failure stands confessed in the bulky records and Blue Books of Parliament itself.

Three years after the Beer Shops were opened, viz. (in 1834), a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into the "Extent, Causes, and Consequences of the prevailing vice of Intoxication." (§ 6.) This Committee, composed of some of the most eminent members of the House, including the late Sir ROBERT PEEL, sat for upwards of twenty-one days receiving evidence. The Official Report tendered a number of recommendations for repressing the manufacture, importation, and sale of spirits, showing that this national disease of drunkenness stood in need of sharp and speedy remedies; and that the administration of these remedies was clearly within the province of the Legislature. One of the concluding suggestions was, that the Government should advise and order "a public declaration of their determination to introduce, early in the ensuing session, some general and comprehensive law for the progressive diminution and ultimate suppression of all the existing facilities and means of intemperance, as the root and parent of almost every other vice." Unfortunately, this challenge was not responded to, and the system of iniquity, under the shield of law, has been permitted to exist and extend its ravages, and the old blunder has been even repeated under the name of a *Wine Act*. The 'weaning' system is a disastrous failure.*

§ 41. In 1849-50 the Earl of HARROWBY obtained a Committee to enquire into the operation of the Beer Bill, before which evidence of the most conclusive description was presented as to its demoralizing effects. More than 40 Chaplains of Gaols, both in manufacturing and rural districts, give one uniform evidence.

Rev. J. FIELD, of Reading Gaol, had "ascertained by investigation, that about *four-fifths* of the offences committed by the agricultural population are traceable to beerhouses."

The Rev. LEWIS PAIGE, Chaplain of Newcastle Goal, says: "Having closely interrogated each prisoner as to the cause of their incarceration, has received answer (with one single exception), that *it was the facility afforded in beershops for the indulgence of their drinking propensities.*"

The Lords' report of the Beerhouses, that "a very large proportion are, as in the case of public-houses, the actual property of brewers,

* "In the year ending Michaelmas last, 94,908 persons—260 a day—were proceeded against before Justices in England for drunkenness, or for being drunk and disorderly, and 63,255 of them were convicted. The great majority were only fined, but above 7,000 were committed to prison. The returns show a great increase over the previous year (notwithstanding the Lancashire famine); 82,196 were then charged with drunkenness, and only 54,123 convicted. Of the persons thus charged in the last year, 22,560 were females, and more than 10,000 women were convicted for being drunk. Coroners' inquests, in the year 1862, found 211 verdicts of death from excessive drinking—145 men and 66 women thus ended their days."—*Times*, July 14th, 1863.

or *tied* by advances to them; that they are notorious for the sale of an inferior article; that the absolute consumption of [*ardent*] spirits has, from whatever cause, *far from diminished*; AND THAT THE COMFORTS AND MORALS OF THE POOR HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY IMPAIRED."

Chancellor RAIKES, at a public meeting, convened to consider the subject of Reformatory Schools, said:—

"The vice of drunkenness had been encouraged and fostered by repeated Acts of Parliament, which had brought the evil to its present pitch. He was old enough to remember the introduction of the Beershop Act; and *he had seen its effects spreading like a blight all through the country*; villages, which formerly were like the creations of romance—so beautiful were they—had become the scene of every evil."

§ 42. The Licensed Victuallers endeavor to make the beerhouses the exclusive source of disorder and crime; they did so, not long since, at Bradford, when the indignant Jerry-lords were summoned together, a few nights after, to protest against 'the unfounded aspersions continually heaped upon their calling, by the *pseudo-moralist*, 'by some portion of the local press, and by other parties interested 'in making beerhouses the *scape-goat* for the sins of the whole 'nation.' We, at all events, will deal out most even-handed justice to the members of both the 'Upper' and 'Lower' branches of the Traffic.

Mr R. BURDEN, Chairman of Quarter Sessions, at Durham, says:—"Offences of violence and robbery sometimes stated to have occurred in beerhouses; *but as to their chief cause, drunkenness, public-houses are equally to blame.*"

Taking the average of our towns, where twelve crimes originate in Public-houses, only three originate in Beerhouses.

Rev. G. H. HAMILTON, Chaplain of Durham Goal, says:—"Has ascertained, from entries made in each case, that of prisoners, 24 per cent are '*mischievously drunk*' at the time of their offence; and that the love of drinking was the cause of their falling into crime, to the amount of 81 PER CENT. Considers that half the crime of the country is committed between Saturday afternoon and Monday morning, and in these cases almost every offence is directly or indirectly connected with public-houses or beerhouses."

The *Globe* said:—"The injury done by the Beer Act to the peace and order of rural neighborhoods,—not to mention domestic happiness, industry, and economy,—had been proved by witnesses from every class of society, to have exceeded the evils of any single act of internal administration passed within the memory of man."

§ 43. In 1853, a select committee of the Commons was appointed to examine into the system under which Public-Houses, etc., are regulated, with a view of reporting whether any alteration of the Law can be made for the better preservation of the public morals, the protection of the revenue, and for the proper accommodation of the Public; which sat for 41 days, examining witnesses and considering evidence, under the able Presidency of the Right Hon. C. P. VILLIERS. The Report and Evidence form two ponderous Blue Books. The

chief points of the *Report from the Select Committee on Public-houses*, July, 1854, are the following:—

1. The distinctions as to Licenses lead to evasion of the law.
2. The distinctions between Beershops and Public-houses give rise to unhealthy competition, under which both parties are drawn to *extreme expedients for the attraction of Custom*. Mr STINTON, a Publican, says, "There is a great deal of gambling carried on in Birmingham, although the Police do all they can to put it down. If the Victuallers did not allow it, the parties would go to a beerhouse."
3. *Beer is seldom at the Public-house what it was at the Brewery*. A late Partner in one of the Metropolitan Breweries says:—"It is quite notorious if you drink beer at the brewery, and at a Public-house a little way off, you find it a very different commodity" (4538).
4. The drinks are *adulterated*, as well as diluted. Mr RIDLEY, who has under his management certain offices for the analysis of alcoholic liquors, states that there are several *recipes*, such as 'To a barrel of Porter [add] 12 gallons of liquor, 4lb of foots, 1lb of salt; and sometimes to bring a head up [and lay it down], a little *vitriol*, *coccus indicus*, also a variety of things very minute' (4700). Mr J. W. McCULLOCH, analytical chemist, in 40 samples of Brewers' beer, found $10\frac{1}{2}$ gallons proof spirit to every 100 gallons, but at several of the licensed Victuallers supplied by those brewers it did not reach 7; and out of 150 samples, there was not one within 20 per cent of the brewery standard.
5. *That Magistrates do not enforce the law, or very rarely.**
6. "*The Beershop system has proved a failure*. It was established under the belief that it would give the public their beer cheap and pure; would dissociate beer-drinking from drunkenness, and lead to the establishment, throughout the country, of a class of houses of refreshment, altogether free from the disorders *supposed* to attend *exclusively* on the sale of spirits."
7. The committee concur in the statement of the Lords' Report on the Sale of Beer Act, that "It was already sufficiently notorious *that drunkenness is the main cause of crime, disorder, and distress in England*; and it appears that the multiplication of houses for the consumption of intoxicating liquors, which, under the Beer Act, has risen from 80,830 to 123,306, *has been thus in itself an evil of the first magnitude, not only by increasing the temptations to excess*, which are thus presented at every step, but by driving houses, even those under the direct control of the Magistrates, as well as others originally respectable, to practices for attracting custom, which are degrading to their own character, and most injurious to morality and order."
8. *That throughout the country "the publicans are completely under the thumb of the Brewers."* In Norwich, out of 566 licensed victuallers, only 18 are free to deal with whom they please (1845). At Lymm Regis, of 124, 100 are *tied* (1867). At Ipswich, of 125 licensed houses, 102 belong to brewers. At South Shields, says Mr

* Lord BACON very properly speaks of "the *distracted* government of Justices." It is impossible to get uniformity of judgment, decision, or action, out of the system.

JAMES MATHER, spirit merchant, 40 beerhouses and 120 licensed victuallers are all *tied*.

9. The trade of a Publican is looked upon as a *peculiar privilege* (2923); but in proportion as the magistrates endeavor to keep down the number of Public-houses, does the number of beerhouses increase. *The hope of obtaining a license increases beershops.*

10. It seems desirable that in future a higher rate of duty shall be paid for a license, and more stringent regulations enforced, as to character and sureties.

11. *Statistics of Intemperance defective.* In the majority of provincial towns, the number of the police force is so small, that it is impossible to take cognizance of any cases of drunkenness not connected with riot or disorder; whilst amongst the beerhouses in rural districts, every house may have its *cluster of drunkards*, who, for drunkenness at least, are never included in any return. The evidence before the Committee is sufficient to show that *the amount of drunkenness is very much greater than appears upon the face of ANY official returns.**

12. There are beside [the 131, 413 licensed houses in England and Wales] *many places* where beer is sold without a license. Some of them, under cover of the law, permitting beer at 1½d. a quart to be sold without license, sell also porter and ale (6882). "At the single town of FAZELEY, there are about 30 houses that sell porter, ale, and beer, indiscriminately; they are private houses, known as 'Bush-houses,' from their having a bush over the door, as a sign to their frequenters (4838, 6840). At OLDHAM, there are from 400 to 500 such places, known there as *Hush-shops*, where they brew their own beer, and have each their own known customers. At Bolton, at Preston, and in Hampshire and London, similar practices are more or less prevalent (3664, 3679).

13. "The *temptation* is strong to encourage intemperance, and a vast number of the houses for the sale of intoxicating drinks live upon drunkards and the sure progress of multitudes to drunkenness."

14. "Your Committee do not feel it *necessary* to follow the evidence upon the connexion of intoxicating drinks with crime; it has, directly or indirectly, been the subject of enquiry at different times, and has been reported upon by numerous Committees of your Honorable House, who bear *unvarying testimony* both to the general intemperance of criminals, and the increase and diminution of crime in direct ratio with the increased or diminished consumption of intoxicating drinks. The entire evidence tends to establish that it is *essential* that the sale of intoxicating drinks shall be under strict supervision and control."

* Owing to a bad system of describing and dividing crime in the country, the *whole evil* of Police Drunkenness (by no means equal to actual drunkenness), is not seen in the returns. When a man, for example, is excited, or "half-and-half"—and commits an *assault*—he ranks under that higher class of offenders, though he *also* belongs to the other. *Three-fourths* of all the assaults and stabbing cases should be added to those of drunkenness, in estimating its extent as a Public Nuisance. In many places the police take little notice of simple drunkenness.

15. "The testimony is *universal* that the greatest amount of drinking takes place on SATURDAY NIGHT, and during the hours that the houses are allowed by law to be open on SUNDAY."

Here, then, by the last evidence of Parliament and by the cumulative testimony of History, under varying conditions and circumstances of trial, *the Traffic stands condemned as essentially mischievous and unchangeably dangerous.* Regulation may repress, but cannot extinguish, its evil issues. It is a Traffic implacably hostile to the true interests of society, to moral culture, to industry, and independence. Britain has tried—other nations have tried—restriction and regulation. The experiment has failed; miserably failed. Even *The Times* cannot defend it. "The licensing system has the double vice of not answering a public end, but a private one. *It has been tried, and has been found wanting*" (May 13, 1857). A month later (June 11) the same witness says—"If ever there was a system which *failed completely*, it is that which now prevails. It is time it were *superseded* by some regulation more reasonable and more promising of success." In truth, the Traffic has outlawed law and defied control; the best Legislative restrictions of the past have never done more than modify—leaving the vast burden of pauperism and crime almost untouched, to act as a dead-weight and drag upon the wheels of Civilization. For half a century, with all the moral appliances of this 'wondrous mother-age,' as regards crime and pauperism, we have been but beating the air, wasting in conflict with a law-nurtured vice, that energy which, directed to positive conquests of Knowledge and Humanity, would have carried us onwards to an era of Peace, Power, and Purity, as yet afar off. The true inference from these facts of History is, that a Traffic which tramples upon law, and ministers to misrule, should *itself* be OUTLAWED and PROSCRIBED. Vices and crimes, and their known causes, should be *prohibited*. If restrictive Legislation, then, has pitiably failed, and is even now confessedly at a dead-lock, the principle must be wrong. It is *suppression*, not sanction, that we require; and it is, we believe, only in the light of a Permissive Prohibitory Law that our people and parliament will discover the key by which to unlock that problem of pauperism, crime, and taxation, now pressing so heavily and increasingly upon them.

CHAPTER IV.

“THAT NO CONSIDERATION OF PRIVATE GAIN, OR PUBLIC REVENUE, CAN JUSTIFY THE UPHOLDING OF A SYSTEM SO UTTERLY WRONG IN PRINCIPLE, SUICIDAL IN POLICY, AND DISASTROUS IN RESULT, AS THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS.”

§ 1. “*It is never doubted that the greatest earthly curse is the Sin of Intemperance.*”* What, then, must be the guilt of the soul, that, for private and venal ends, fosters and feeds a system which, in the nature of things, spreads and perpetuates that prodigious vice? We have already piled proof upon proof, and advanced testimony after testimony, to the very verge of wearisomeness, in illustration of a fact so patent that all must feel it—viz., that the Traffic in strong drink is a traffic in temptation and seduction, which evermore ends in the demoralization of the masses. *The direct ratio of crime is the direct ratio of the success of that trade*,—or, in other words, the measure of the prosperity of the Traffic is likewise the measure of the people’s misery. We do not stop to discuss the varying degrees of moral and criminal indifference, or of conscious guilt, attaching to the characters of the Traders themselves;—we do not care to distinguish the ‘low’ from the ‘high,’ or the £8 house from the £50, or £500, each adapted to its class;—much less do we enter into any judgment of those intentions with which Publicans may be animated, or Perdition may be paved;—ours is a plainer and more solvable problem—namely, what is the *tendency*, and therefore *character*, of the Traffic as a whole, one and indivisible? By its fruits, we presume, like all other systems, it must be known: if good, to be cherished; if evil, to be cut down. The evidence adduced before the Parliamentary Committee indeed, shows that the monster Brewers,—the Barclays, Buxtons, Hanburys, and Meuxs—are the responsible creators of some of the worst incidents of the Traffic. We refer especially to that system of tyranny connected with the ‘*tied houses*’—a system that necessarily incites to those extended frauds of adulteration of which we hear so much, and to those discreditable artifices and varied temptations to drinking of which we hear too little. The higher the personal character of Capitalists may be, the more baneful is their influence when serving as a screen to the horrors of the *process* which they are carrying on—no matter whether that process is the breeding of slaves, or the setting up of beershops and taverns that besot and brutalize a people. If none but *bad* men carried on *bad businesses*, such trades would soon go out of fashion.

☞ We summon our witnesses from the past and the present, from

* *Birmingham Journal* of March 3, 1855, in its leader against the ‘Alliance,’ after the defeat of the Publicans in the Town Hall, who appealed to the people against the Alliance.

Bar and from Bench, from pulpit and from platform; from the busy town and the quiet hamlet; from the loom and the land; from the riot and revel of the Gin-palace, and even from the enforced silence of the gaol.

Dr OLIVER GOLDSMITH: "Alehouses are ever an occasion of debauchery and excess, and either in a political or religious light, it would be our highest interest to have them suppressed."

ARTHUR YOUNG, F.R.S.: "*Multiplied Alehouses are multiplied temptations.*"

Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart., said in 1817: "There is a terrible evil in England—the number, to wit, of tipping-houses, where the laborer, as a matter of course, spends the overplus of his earnings."

Rev. ROWLAND HILL: "Public-houses, the bane of the country, excite the strongest indignation in my mind."

Next, take a batch of testimonies from the Blue-book.

A LEEDS BREWER: "I have had 30 years' experience among that body of men [Publicans], as brewer, maltster, hop, wine, and spirit merchant. I have frequently said it was wrong to be bound to sell such trash as the unprincipled part of the brewers and merchants force upon them. I have seen and heard of all sorts of crime in these houses. The old licensed victuallers are no better, as a body, than the beersellers."*

Messrs FEARON, Gin-spinners, Holborn Hill: "We consider we are promoting the moral improvement of the people, by offering every advantage to the very poorest purchasers to obtain the best article [in gin] for his consumption at home, without exposing him to the temptations incident to those establishments where drinking is allowed on the premises."†

Mr J. STINTON, Publican: "I do think it would be a good thing for the morals of the people, if about one-half of the beerhouses of Birmingham were to be shut up."‡

§ 2. Mr J. POWELL, Cabman, London: "They are drawn into the public-houses from their being open; they cannot withstand the temptation."

Mr C. BOWTHORPE, Coach Painter: "I have heard people say that they wished the public-houses were closed, that they should not be tempted to go into them. A man in my neighborhood took a petition round, and he was laughed at, because it is known he used the public-house more than he ought; but he got 370 signatures for

* 2nd Report on Public-houses. August, 1854.—pp. 290-2. p. 215.

† It is quite startling to hear that 'Domestic gin-drinking promotes moral improvement.' The traffickers have a curious knack of converting negatives into positives—but very different from the plan of a photographic artist; for they change a little less evil into a great deal of good (i.e. in words), which are things very unlike. On the other hand, the Traffickers object to prohibition, that it produces home drinking,—which they talk of as bad!

‡ All this is very amusing logic. As if free trade could be controlled—or, as if spirits that were 'mischievous' on Sunday morning, became innocent on Sunday evening. But the grossest inversion of thought is in the application of the proverb. The real question is—Can we have TOO LITTLE of a BAD thing?

all that. From what class? Very many *drunkards*; from the working class *altogether*. I believe it to be general, that men who drink in this way themselves, *wish to be saved from the temptation.*"

Mr G. HADDOCK, Carpenter, Norwood: "The general feeling is with mechanics, that they *wish the public-houses were closed altogether*; it is an inducement to draw them from their families, and to spend their money."

Mr R. T. CHAMEN, a Publican, who shuts his house on the Sunday: "*We know what the lower class is*; they have not sufficient control to withstand their own passions, and thereby the money is spent which they might [else] reserve for their families." "Have you heard people express such a wish (for closing)? Yes."

Mr J. C. FOWLER, Stipendiary Magistrate for the Counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth: "Working men are *generally alive* to the evils of drinking, and seem to feel the *need of some protection* against their own habits and frailties."

Rev. JOHN CLAY, of the Preston House of Correction: "Over and over again my friends among the laboring classes have said, 'Mr CLAY, *the public-houses are cursing this place.*' A great portion would be very glad if there were circumstances quite external to themselves which should *prevent them having access to liquor*,* and that feeling is evinced almost every week, by some prisoner or other who comes under my observation, for an offence arising from drunkenness, and who says, '*I wish beer was 10s. a quart.*' When a laboring man sees a door fastened, he would be content to go away."

Mr H. DANSON, Beer Agent, Liverpool: "*If the trade were thrown open*, we do not know what amount of police we should require; in fact, *the borough fund would scarcely pay them.*"

Mr Alderman WIRE: "If you were to *abolish* it (the traffic), as they have done in Maine, you might have a sober population; but if you *restrict* it, I do not think you would." "I think you may do a great deal to regulate, and ultimately to *suppress*, by law." "Must not some persons have a public-house next door to them? Yes: *but the inhabitants of Belgrave Square* would not like to have a license granted for a house in *that* neighborhood: and if granted, it would be injurious to the morals of the neighborhood."

Mr ROBERTSON GLADSTONE, Magistrate, Liverpool: "We should not at this moment have been put to the necessity of erecting a new Gaol, if it were not for the existence of the licensed public-houses and beerhouses. I believe *they are the source of all the mischief.*"†

Archdeacon GARBITT: "Beerhouses without number, which the magistrate and the clergyman cannot control, vie with public-houses, numerous beyond all legitimate want, in *entrapping* the cottager into sensual excess. Capitalists speculate on his weakness and vices, and build up unblest fortunes on his deliberate degradation. A large experience tells me that where a neighborhood is visited by this scourge, no organization, no zeal, no piety, however devoted, no personal labors, however apostolic, will avail to effect any solid

* *Ibid*, p. 367, p. 366.

† 1st Report on Public-houses, p. 81.

amelioration. I have seen schools excellently managed, the most regular cottage visiting, the most heart-searching preaching, *all*, so far as the laborer and cottager are concerned, *thrown away* on this rock.*

Mr J. BALFOUR, London: "I went down to the bottom of the New Cut and Charlotte-street. I went into every drinking-house, numbering about 16. I will just give a description of one. It was a house very gaudily fitted up, with the first floor taken out and thrown into the shop, with some showy representations round it. I think I counted 50 persons in all, drinking, and amongst the number were *women with children in their arms*. Upon one butt there was an infant fast asleep, *and the father and mother drunk by the side*. Against the counter was a little child, about four years old, fast asleep. They were serving as fast as they could. I then visited all the rest of the public-houses from the Blackfriars Road; they were all full of people drinking. This was up to twelve o'clock; the publicans were driving the people out. When I came back to the Bower Theatre, at the public-house adjoining it, there was one fight inside, and just after, two fights outside; and from all I saw from half-past eleven until a quarter past twelve, if the police had done their duty, according to the Act of Parliament, in taking up all disorderly persons, it would have required 30 policemen more than were on duty."

Such are the outside fruits of the Traffic—such its tendencies, its seductions, and its temptations;—we need not unfold the doors of the *Saturnalia*, before deducing the doctrine, that the Traffic is not simply a nuisance, but an immorality.

§ 3. There are, however, private reasons why those engaged in the most reputable branches of the Traffic (the keepers of *bona fide* Inns or Hotels) should sacrifice with cheerfulness their present mode of obtaining a livelihood in part by the sale of strong drink. Brewers for domestic use, if the *manufacture* be allowed, may act as the head of Joint-Stock Companies, distributing the beverage, if people *will* have it, at the homes of the shareholders; and as to those huge Monopolists, with their Beer and Public-house slaves, their fortunes are already built up (out of blasphemy and beggary), and the partial loss of their vatty capital, so far from exciting sympathy, may be regarded as a sacrifice of a sweet savour upon the altar of Humanity. The genuine Innkeeper—mine host of the 'Hotel'—will still be wanted; and it is a significant fact, that in the States where Temperance and the Maine Law prevail, the Publican is the 'gentleman,' honored no less than the Merchant, and frequently realizing a rapid fortune. Under this *régime*, the old state of things is reversed, and the Publican thrives *with* the Public, not upon them. The change of Trade, moreover, or rather the expulsion of 'the dangerous article,' delivers the Publican from a peril and a pollution, which can hardly fail to be as great a comfort to himself as it must be a blessing to his family. All objections from the Traffickers themselves, however, based on mere *interest*, should be put out of court. And, in the very worst of possibilities, the nation can pension them off. It would be

* *Record*, December 21, 1854.

far cheaper to keep for a while, the present race of publicans, *than whole generations of paupers and criminals whom they create*. What would be thought of the doctor who objected to sanitary reform and sewerage, because it lessened his receipts?—or of a policeman and gaoler, who repudiated education and moral training, on the ground that it diminished the number of disorderly persons requiring their polite attention?

§ 4. There can be no sounder maxim than this: “What is morally wrong cannot be financially right.” This ought to settle the question of *revenue* at once; and, in fact, a mind anchored in virtue will not entertain the objection we are called to meet. So argued the patriotic peers in 1743, when this topic was discussed within the walls of Parliament. (§ 2 ch. 3.)*—So argued LYTTELTON, and BUXTON, and WILBERFORCE, and PLUNKET, and the best men of 1819, when CANNING resisted the motion for the abolition of Lotteries on the ground of *revenue* requirements; and so shall we argue still. In the Lottery debate, Mr Wilberforce observed that his honorable friend had omitted to name one great *deduction* from the apparent gain of the revenue. “He might have specified, on the one hand, the energies of a people and the effects of moral habits; and, on the other, the horrors of profligacy and indolence; how much more the former tend to the wealth and aggrandizement of a nation, and how certainly the other effect its degradation. It was to be regretted that, tracing the principles of National Wealth from its infancy to the present times, he had not shown the effects produced upon them by such habits.” In our History of the Traffic, we have attempted something of the kind, although necessarily limited. We may here add a passing illustration or two, both of its positive and negative aspects.

§ 5. “The question of ardent spirits is for SWEDEN one of deep, almost vital importance. The use of brandy commenced in Sweden about the middle of the fourteenth, and the fabrication in Stockholm at the latter end of the fifteenth century; but it was then principally employed as a *medicament*, being considered a preservative against certain diseases, and especially the plague! The recommendation of this spirit by the physicians did much to render its use popular, *and the abuse soon followed*. To such an extent had this gone, even in the time of Gustavus I., that in 1550 he considered it necessary to *forbid distillation*; but it was again permitted, and *from that time has never ceased to cause trouble*. In 1740 the fabrication of brandy from *grain* was *interdicted*, but in 1742 the liberty was re-established, a duty being imposed. The *prohibition* was renewed in 1756, and permission again accorded in 1760. In 1773 the still-makers were forbidden to manufacture more stills, but in 1775 royal distilleries were established in different parts of the kingdom, and submitted to a *special* direction. The Crown distilleries continued to work until

* “The end of government is only to promote virtue, of which happiness is the consequence, and, therefore, to support government by propagating vice is *to support it by means which destroy the end* for which it was originally established, and for which its continuance is to be desired.”—*Johnson's Debates*, 1743.

1823. They were then completely abolished, but only after it was found that the spirit distilled in them cost three times as much as when made by private individuals. Up to the year 1853 the conditions for the privilege of making brandy were *very light*; for instance, in the towns it was necessary only to be a proprietor, paying three hundred rix dollars or £25 per annum taxes, and a certain duty fixed by law, on each *kanna* of spirit distilled. Under these regulations the quantity continued each year to increase, while the consumption, and consequent demoralization of the people, progressed in the same ratio; so that it was thought necessary to interfere again by law to check, if possible, a vice that was hurrying the nation on to a state of frightful moral degradation. A bill was accordingly introduced and carried into the Diet of 1853 and 1854, raised the duty on this liquor to sixteen skilling (7d.) per *kanna*; thus increasing the cost of the little glass from two to four skillings (from 1d. to 2d.) in the taverns. It is considered that if the Swedish Government should succeed in preventing smuggling and illicit distillation, this tax will add 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 dollars (from £125,000 to £166,000) to the yearly revenue; while, on the other hand, it will prove a salutary *check* to the drunkenness that has become so menacing to the country. Inebriety is ever accompanied with poverty; so we meet in Sweden objects of wretchedness such as are never seen in Denmark.”*

The activity which prevents illicit distillation had better have been directed to *absolute prohibition*, so that the appetite might die out. Three centuries of regulation, and its failure, might have taught a better policy. If the principle be right, the RUSSIANS should have prospered the most, for they have gone through with it. An old writer has described the state of things in the 16th century, and it is precisely that which still obtains:—“In every great town, the Emperor hath a *drinking-house*, which he lets out for rent. Here laborers and artizans, many times, spend all from their wives and children. Some drink away everything they wear about them, even to their very shirts inclusive, and then walk naked; all of which is done for the honor of the Emperor; nor, while they are drynking themselves naked, and starving their families, must any one call them away *because he would hurte the Emperor's revenue.*”†

LOUIS XII. permitted spirits to be distilled on a large scale in France, but so sudden and great were the evil consequences, that, twenty-two years later, FRANCIS was obliged to annul his measures, and level a series of severe prohibitory enactments and penalties against the fruits of that mistake.

§ 6. It is a self-evident fact, requiring no elaborate disquisition of the Political Economist to make plainer, that as drinking, on the one hand, is a rapid consumption of capital for transient gratification,

* From Scott's *Danes and Swedes*. London, 1856. The King of Sweden, in his address to the Diet (October 1856), thus refers to the effect of Temperance Legislation. “Our agriculture has made marked progress; and by a better employment of its produce, it has been found possible to export large quantities of grain.”

† *Of the Russ Commonwealth*. By Dr Giles Fletcher. London, 1592.

inevitably followed by loss of time, labor, and strength, and by the cost of disease, pauperism, and crime (in short, by the loss of *Productive Power*); so the absence of drinking permits fuller and surer play to all the elements of National Progress, *minimizing waste and maximizing wealth*. But it happens that we have, in the history of the last century, two or three remarkable illustrations of the fact and of the bearings of real, though partial *prohibition*, on the material interests of the people and the financial resources of the country.

First, however, let us see what contemporary observers declared to follow the drinking consequent on the cheapness of gin and other strong liquors. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1732, states that from an addiction to spirits, the industry and economy of the Poor had been materially repressed. "Throughout the Bills of Mortality, the poor housekeepers *have not one quarter of the household goods they used to have, and small farmers* in the neighborhood of London, can scarce show a clean suit of clothes to go to church" in. Now, in contrast with this fact, showing how drinking swallows the fund out of which Produce and Revenue must ultimately come, and the development of which in Reproductive Labor and Rational Expenditure constitutes true Commerce and Industry,—look at another page of British history.

§ 7. The year 1757 was a year of scarcity; if not of famine. RUTTY says:—"The great scarcity of corn in Ireland and England, in 1757, was not owing *entirely* to a failure of the crop, but more to a consumption of grain in the distilleries."* However, the Distilleries were stopped in March, 1757: with what result SMOLLETT shall tell.

"Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New Sarum, alleging that since the laws *prohibiting* the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour, had been in force, *the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious*; representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and, therefore, praying their continuance: a committee of the whole house resolved that the prohibition to make wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour, should be continued to the 24th day of December, 1759. Before the bill was formed, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as those from Bristol and Sarum; while, on the other hand, a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of London. Although this remonstrance was duly considered, the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains and expense, by private solicitation and strenuous dispute in the public papers, to recommend their cause to the favor of the community. They affirmed that the *excessive use of common beer and ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people*, yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors.† They asserted that

* *Natural History of the County of Dublin*, vol. ii. p. 411. 1772.

† Now-a-days the tables are turned. Politicians and the literary *Champagners* unite in denouncing malt spirits and "heavy wet," and in eulogising "light wines."

malt spirits were *absolutely necessary* for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, *particularly the trade to the coast of Africa*. To these arguments, it was replied that malt spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitching poison, which had actually debauched the minds and enervated the bodies of the common people, to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, since the prohibition of the distillery of malt spirits, the common people had become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious; a circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication, riot, disorder, and distemper, among the lower classes of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well-regulated commonwealth. It was not, however, an easy matter to prove that the distillation of malt spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the *commerce on the coast of Guinea*, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North America. After all, it must be owned that THE GOOD AND SALUTARY EFFECTS OF THE PROHIBITION WERE VISIBLE IN EVERY PART OF THE KINGDOM, and no evil consequence ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in *this article, a consideration which at all times ought to be sacrificed to the health and morals of the people.*"

On other seasons* of famine on which the distilleries were stopped, we have no contemporary evidence; but we have a reference to prohibition, by Mr COLQUHOUN, in his *Treatise on the Police of London* (6th Ed. 1800):—

"It is a curious and important fact, that during the period *when the distilleries were stopped*, in 1796-97, though bread and every necessary of life were considerably higher than during the preceding year, the poor were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed than at any period for some years before, even though they had not the benefit of the extensive charities which were distributed in 1795. This can only be accounted for *by their being denied the indulgence of gin*, which had become in a great measure inaccessible from its very high price. It may be fairly concluded that the money formerly spent in this imprudent manner, *had been applied in the purchase of provisions and other necessaries*, to the amount of some £100,000. The effect of their being deprived of this baneful liquor was also evident in their more orderly conduct; quarrels and assaults were less frequent, and they resorted seldomer to the pawnbroker's shop; and yet, during the chief part of this period, bread was 15d. the quarter loaf; meat higher than the preceding year, particularly pork, which arose in part from the stoppage of the distilleries, but chiefly from the scarcity of grain."—p. 328.

§ 8. On comparing the Imports into Ireland, and the years of the stoppage of the Distilleries, with the years when they were in full

* 5th Geo. III. cap. 3. From 1st January, 1766. to 1st October, 1766. (Total failure of harvest.) 41st Geo. III. cap. 16. From 25th March, 1801, to 25th March, 1802.

blast, we arrive at the startling anomaly, that a year of Scarcity, *with prohibition*, is better than a year of Plenty *without it!* The years 1809-10 and 1813-14, were seasons of scarcity, and the Distilleries were stopped. The average consumption of Spirits in the years 1811-12, and 1815-17, was $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of gallons: on the other years, not quite $4\frac{1}{4}$. But mark how the saved $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions re-appear in the form of an increase of the following articles of comfort, which bespeak not simply the absence of a great curse, but the presence of domestic happiness, and a thriving trade.

TABLE OF IMPORTS.

Extracted and averaged from returns made to Parliament, 1822. See the 4th and 5th Reports of Commissioners of Inquiry.

FAMINE YEARS, 1809-10-13-14.		YEARS OF PLENTY, 1811-12-15-17.	
Haberdashery.....	£140,936	Value	£110,936
Drapery (new and old) ...	3,778,514	Yards.....	2,422,444
Iron, Hardware, and Pots.	£467,109	Value	£337,458
Blankets	60,004	Number ...	26,603
Cotton Goods	£197,198	Value	£194,198
Black Tea	lbs. 3,530,643	Pounds ...	3,189,132
Muscovado Sugar	381,278	Cwts.....	306,954
			£30,000 decrease.

In addition to the saving of disorder, crime, disease, pauperism, and all their cost, it is clear that even the Excise was greatly benefited by the increased consumption of other exciseable articles. In the years of Father MATHEW'S greatest Temperance triumphs in Ireland, while the revenue from whiskey was vastly reduced, the *total* revenue had increased £90,000 above its average, besides saving much cost in collection. Thus, while the actual decrease in the consumption of spirits, wine, and beer, in the year 1850, as compared with the year 1836, was 524,932 gallons, the *increase* in the consumption of Coffee, Tea, and Cocoa in 1850, over 1836, was 26,735,914lb. Hence what is lost to the excise in one way, is made up in another.

§ 9. The affected alarm for the revenue is sheer cant. Every man knows for himself, that his real concern is how to pay *as little* of taxes as possible: in short, to minimize taxation, by compelling the government to practise economy in the *expenditure* and the *levying* of Taxes. What patriotic Editor feasts on the visit of the Tax-gatherer, and kills the fatted calf to express his delight? No! if a man drinks, he does so to please himself, and not, out of patriotic furor, to patronize Whitehall. No one, surely and seriously, like the War-men of COWPER'S day, holds to the duty of drinking, that we may lend 'the assistance of our throats' at home, to put down cut-throats abroad? If there be no truth in this objection as an individual motive, there is quite as little in that political onesidedness which ignores the moral aspects of taxation, and regards man *merely* as a tax-paying instrument. Honesty is the best policy for the State as well as the individual; and in the end, Virtue is cheapest, and Vice dearest, for both. Let us, however, notice the practical difficulties as alleged in a Newspaper before us.

"The Alliance is reckless of the revenue, and the necessities of the

State ; looking only at compulsory abstinence." The Alliance is not a temperance, but a *political* association ; it does not dictate abstinence ; does not interfere, or seek to interfere, with either private use or abuse ; would not punish drunkenness as such, any more than passion ; it simply asks that the Law shall deal *effectually*, as it now deals *ineffectually*, with the *Public Sale* of that which is a public snare, generating three-fourths of our crime, and creating the necessity for half our taxation. It is *regardful*, not reckless, of the Exchequer, since it desires to save one-half of our local and county, and one-third of our general taxation.

"The loss of 8 or 10 millions of revenue would utterly confound the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and involve the country in financial difficulties." This assumes that the declension would come suddenly, that the loss would happen in a lump. Practically, this will *not* be the case. Before an Imperial Maine Law is obtained, three other measures will pass, as the precursors of that full and final justice. 1, the *suppression* of the Beershops ; 2, the *prohibition* of the Traffic on the first day of the week ; and, not least, if last, the *Parish Permissive Law*, first suggested by Mr C. BUXTON, in the flush and ferment of his disinterested manhood. True, a study of Vats, or Vattel, may have changed his opinion, but the Thought remains to fructify and bless the nation.

"Our circumstances are so essentially different from those of the U.S. of America, that their example cannot be appealed to on a point of revenue and taxation." No one does appeal to them on such a point. We appeal to the example of New England, not to show that there is any perfect parallel as to taxation and its purposes, but for the purpose of illustrating the social and moral advantages of the Prohibitory Law. The facts adduced, however, have a direct and significant bearing on the question, for they show that three-fourths of the pauper-and-crime taxes are *not wanted* where prohibition rules. No doubt, England, in respect to taxes, may have a peculiar difficulty—because the State-wagon has got fast in the ruts of routine. This objection would apply to *any* scheme of progress—but shall a past evil become a perpetual barrier to future good ?

"*People will never put up with fresh taxation to so large an amount as that now imposed on the luxury of gin and beer.*"

Changed, is not *additional*, taxation ; on the contrary, taxation so changed, is taxation lessened by all the cost of crime and pauperism saved to the people by prohibiting its chief fountain and feeder. If the Maine Law is ever adopted here, it will be done by the People themselves, who will doubtless 'put up' with the changed mode of paying diminished taxes. The people—that is, any such part of them as is wise enough to support the Law—will not quarrel with a proceeding that simply says, 'You will pay the Taxman 5s. *directly*, instead of paying him 7s. 6d. *indirectly*, through the medium of the publican.' The people don't much care *on what*, or in what way they pay their taxes ; it is the amount they look at ; but any amount is cheerfully paid when necessary, if *fairly levied*. (At present, several millions of temperate people are subjected to the *injustice* of paying for the consequences of a system they abhor and repudiate.) In point

of fact, no more beneficial change could be introduced into our fiscal arrangements, than the substitution of *direct taxes* for the present system, which is obstructive of production, deceitful in regard to the payer, wasteful in the collection, and tending to profligacy in the expenditure. The partial abolition of Customs duties has already far more than doubled the Exports of the Nation, for the plain reason that to place a tax upon useful commodities is to strike at *production*, the source of wealth and of the *tax-paying* power.

“The revenue which has had cut off eight millions derived from a “tax on luxuries, must be replaced, of necessity, by a charge upon “articles of indispensable consumption.” What then? If the sober *must* pay, far better that we paid 1s. a week extra to our Baker, than 2s. 6d. to the Overseer and the Gaoler, for looking after the *patrons* of taxed luxuries that eat up untaxed necessaries, and leave their families beggared and bare. But as WILBERFORCE said of the plea for the Lottery-taxes—‘there are the *deductions*.’ Let these be made, and ere long the balance will be struck. A prohibitory law—armed with its proper penalties and powers—would save £1,000,000 in the general cost of crime; would enable the government to lessen the standing Army; get rid of its increasing difficulties in respect to prisons, hulks, and penal settlements; divert at least £4,000,000 of the taxation now levied on liquors and licensed houses, to articles already taxed, but articles of an innocent or useful description; and by saving the lives of 30,000 Taxpayers, now annually cut off prematurely, through the workings of the Traffic, for dead men pay no taxes, add immensely to the permanent resources of the Exchequer.*

While the taxation account would thus be balanced, the blessing of the measure would but just begin to the higher interests of the nation! Commerce and Trade would flourish in a manner wholly unprecedented. A vast amount of *destructive* labor would be turned into a *productive* channel; on the one hand, increasing, and therefore cheapening food; on the other, multiplying all the arts and perfecting the products which minister to the comforts, elegancies, and culture of society. A vast amount of labor now lost in drinking at the public-house, and in subsequent indolence or disease, would be saved. A vast amount of property, spoilt or destroyed under the existing system, would be preserved. Commodities of all kinds would be prodigiously augmented, becoming at once cheaper and better; and, *in this way*, Government would save millions of expenditure, as surely as the community at large. Add to this, the eventual saving of at least £5,000,000 of our pauper tax, of £1,000,000 of our county and local rates, of £1,000,000 through the lessening of disease and accident, of £1,000,000 worth

* This item of loss is generally overlooked. The 30,000 lives are of men in the prime of life—heads of families—and at a moderate computation paying for themselves and children at least £7 per annum taxes. These, save for drink, would have so paid taxes for *ten* years. Hence the loss is 30,000 multiplied by 7 = £210,000, multiplied by 10 = 2,100,000—the clear annual loss to the Exchequer. A loss is sustained in a similar way in reference to local taxes.

of property saved from plunder by the diminution of crime,* of £1,000,000 dispensed in private charity to mitigate evils bred of drunkenness and debauchery, and the dullest patriot will begin to see how Prohibition is the only measure that can effectually relieve us of an oppressive and increasing taxation, make the office of the Chancellor of the Exchequer by-and-by a very easy one, and even pave the way for the liquidation of the National Debt. A Prohibitory Liquor Law will yet prove itself to be, not only a blessing in the future, but a remedy for the burdens of the past.

Mr (Lord) PLUNKETT put the proper issue in the Lottery Debate of 1819. "They had been told of the long continuance of this system, but its age made no impressions on his mind in its favor; if it were as old as the foundations of the world, this was no reason for protracting its existence. It was not denied that it produced crime, and that by such production it contributed to the revenue. *The truth was, that the whole of this argument resolved itself into a question of moral feeling.*"

Long ago it was observed by Sir FREDERIC EDEN, in his valuable *History of the Poor*, that "For Government to offer encouragement to alehouses is to act the part of *felo de se*. Nor ought the public ever to be lulled into an acquiescence by the flattering bait of immediate gain, which ere long they would be obliged to *pay back to paupers, in relief, with a heavy interest.*"

"We trust," says the Hon. and Rev. S. G. OSBORNE, "yet to see the day when those who rule us will arrive at the conclusion, that what is gained to the excise by the license given to Intemperance, is more than lost by the expense to the 'Home Department' of gaols and transports; that it is a folly to expect that Education can progress, if her course be clogged by schools which attract, by their pandering to the very appetites she would seek to control. Untaught human nature is, after all, only unbridled animal appetite. It seeks the food it loves, and loves the food which degrades. *The drink which excites, and the obscenity, the result of the excitement, become a second and aggravated evil nature.* This nature will still crave for more and more of its debasing food. Industry and drunkenness are incompatible."

After this extended survey of the question as a whole,—viewing the Traffic in its past history and its present fruits, as well as in comparison with numerous districts in which Prohibition has had a full and fair trial,—we submit that neither considerations of private interest nor those of public revenue, neither inflexible morality nor sound policy, can justify even the *permission* amongst us of a system so utterly vile in its character, and so uniformly disastrous in its consequences, as the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors.

* The *public cost* of crime is not more than half of the total cost to the public. Even so far back as 1839, the Constabulary Force Commissioners calculated that a *common thief* would enjoy six years professional impunity, and realize an average income of £150 a year.

CHAPTER V.

“THAT THE LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IS PERFECTLY COMPATIBLE WITH RATIONAL LIBERTY, AND WITH ALL THE CLAIMS OF JUSTICE AND LEGITIMATE COMMERCE.

§ 1. Three points solicit our attention here—*Liberty, Justice, Trade*. Is the Maine Law an infraction of any of these? The answer will depend very much on our definitions. Now people's definitions are often the loosest things about them; and very fine writers, especially if they be venal, are not a whit more rigid than the herd of vulgar men. Even the *Times* can twaddle as unmeaningly as the most empty-headed of country justices. “*It is the inalienable BIRTH-RIGHT of every Briton to make a fool or beast of himself as much as he pleases,*” says this diurnal oracle of the changing Time.*

§ 2. The *Times*' limit to the ‘birth-right of Britons’ is this—“*So long as it does not directly interfere with the safety, comfort, and morals of others.*” Here is confusion worse confounded, and did we not know that the oracle was deaf, we might propound a few questions with the view of getting at its meaning—if it had any. How, for instance, can a man have either an acquired right, or a birth-right, to make a beast of himself? The law prohibits both the beastliness of drunkenness, and all other beastly actions. Does the *Times* advocate the abolition of the law? Again, how can any one have the right to practise *wrong*? We fondly fancied the doctrine of ‘a Divine right to govern wrong,’ had long since been placed in the limbo of oblivion: but we see no more truth in its application to common men than to crowned monarchs. Then mark the absurd reservation. How can a ‘BORN-RIGHT’ interfere with the safety and morals of others? *So long*, says the *Times*; but what does it mean? How can my right to see, or hear, or walk, or think, or feel, at all interfere with the same rights in others, either sooner or later, either so long or so little? Such is the jargon which Publicists palm upon the public hebetude and credulity,—words, mere empty words! In the same way, we hear a good deal of ‘the Rights of Publicans’ being invaded by a Maine Law! But are birth-rights *annually renewable*? Can I ask a Magistrate to ‘license’ me a right? The fact is, the Publicans have no rights, as publicans. Natural ‘Rights’ appertain to the nature of man, and are *inalienable* for that very reason. Where *he* is, there are *they* also; and can no more interfere with the rights of others, than his *existence* can. And the *exercise* of the right is as sacred and perpetual as the right itself; and for a very simple reason (to parody the Oriental doxology) “*Right is right—and wrong is wrong.*” But we have demonstrated, what indeed every day repeats, that the Traffic

* Leader on the ALLIANCE REPORT, *Times*, Dec. 28, 1853.

is wrong; and therefore no man has a right to carry it on; for no man has a right to do evil, not even that 'good' may come—much less a right to do wrong for 'the mere convenience' of pleasure-seeking men.

The difference between the *Times* and the *Alliance* is fundamental. We base our political principles on the moral nature of man, in Truth and Conscience; and their relation to the absolute sovereignty of the Divine Law. "What is *morally wrong* cannot be *politically right*," nor even expedient. Men may dignify their narrow inductions, or half views, with fine names; but their truth must still be tested by their *fruits*, by their *fitness*, or by their *power* for good. "In every place and in every age," says ARMAND CARREL, "it is the *popular necessities* which have created the conventions called Principles, and principles have ever been *mute before necessities*."* Of course, for the principle was false, or effete: it did not fit the HIGHER NECESSITY, the Law and Obligation of To-day—the law of progressive Humanity. Did the *Times* mean 'liberty,' not right? In that view, it is still wrong; for nobody has a birth-liberty, either to debase himself into a beast, or to deal out a drink which debases others. The publican, it is true, has the *privilege*, and the licensed liberty, of contributing to degrade his country,—and "pity 'tis 'tis true." We shall seek to create a moral and national NECESSITY for the abrogation of that unhappy license; so that the law which gave in ignorance, may take away in knowledge and wisdom, the pernicious privilege which embruteth the nation.

§ 3. The *Times* talks of the right of Society to deal with that which "directly interferes with comfort and morals." Herein the *Times* goes far beyond ourselves. We do not seek to legislate in that style. We only seek to be permitted to enjoy our own rights, including the right of protection from wrong. Many things disturb our comfort—many 'vices' antagonize morals; yet we do not solicit their legal suppression.† If we heard that the *Times*' contributors every night drank themselves drunk, in their own snug rooms, we might regret the painful fact, but we should not *therefore* call in the aid of the Policeman. We do not even *aim* at making the world either 'sober' or 'moral' by Act of Parliament; we demand Protection for ourselves, and play for the faculties of Society, that *those who will* work out the high purposes of life may not be hindered and burdened by those who *will not*. It is no mere 'vice' we aim at; it is the terrible swarm of evils and hindrances within its womb: not the personal 'immorality,' but that which is behind it. The Traffic is the *Mater Malorum*; and we destroy the mother to strangle the children. The *brood* is confessedly bad. Can it be shown that the Dam herself has a right to live? However, the policy of the *Times* is different. Like Jason, it would *sow* the Dragon's teeth that have sprung up into

* *History of the Counter Revolution*, p. 42.

† The man who cannot distinguish between *vice* and *crime* is incompetent to discuss social problems. Most crimes are vices, but all vices are not crimes. Crime is limited to *social sins*—i.e. offences against the requirements of social life.

armed and iron crimes for centuries; but, unlike Jason, it would not give them the *coup de Main*!

§ 4. But the *Times* has a Magisterial disciple! Its doctrine was immediately reproduced by an M.P., who delivered himself at a Licensed Victuallers' Dinner as follows:—

“He thought every man had a *right* to go to *any* house of ‘recreation,’ and enjoy himself among his friends in a ‘reasonable’ manner. While England existed, he hoped *every man* would be *allowed* TO ENJOY HIMSELF IN HIS OWN WAY, in reason. He would say to them, Manage your houses with *prudence* and decorum; let your friends have *what they like*, and when YOU see that THEY are inclined to get *too much*, put *your* finger on the stopper, and say, ‘My friend, now you have had enough; come to-morrow if you like, and enjoy yourself.’ Carry out that principle, and you may ENCOURAGE GOOD FELLOWSHIP; you may make a *profitable employment* for yourselves, and BENEFIT (!) to a very great extent the people among whom you live.”*

Now, has *every* man a *right* to go into *any* house of recreation, and do as he likes? Have we a *right* to go into a London Hell, and amuse ourself with hazard, or *rouge et noir*? Have we a *right* to go into the ‘village curse’ to-morrow forenoon (being Sunday), and enjoy ourself over a glass of gin or pale-ale? This, to be sure, is *not* our notion of enjoyment—but if it were, would the law which the ‘honorable’ and ‘worshipful’ gentleman is sworn to execute (but which at the Publicans’ dinner he certainly *mis-represents*),—would that law, we ask, *sustain us in so doing*? His own advice, again, is just as much a limitation and contradiction of his doctrine of ‘rights’ as the law itself. First, “every man is to be allowed to enjoy himself in his *own way*”; but second, he is by-and-by to have a stop put to his own way by the Publican, who then assumes to be *judge* of the wants of his customers, and ends with dictating *when* they shall be gratified again! Now, if the Public Servant has a right to dictate to the Public Customers “when they have had enough,” the *Public itself* has a still more imperious right of dictation, both over the Servant that it authorizes to sell, and the Members of its own body that it permits to purchase—under conditions. The *right* of interference is part and parcel of the License Law already extant—the degree of interference is a question of utility and efficiency, which may soon be settled.

§ 5. The law *has* interfered with the Traffic; and, in a variety of ways, *does* set bounds to its activity, *because* it is evil. Like a dangerous ox, it must not be trusted at large, and nowhere without its legal muzzle and sworn keepers. In all these respects it shows itself to be a trade without a parallel. Has, then, the object of all this interference been accomplished? Have the bitter waters been made sweet? Has it ceased to people the poorhouse with paupers, to fill our streets with disorder, and disgrace our towns with riot? Has it lost its power of polluting women and depraving men; of feeding the hospital and crowding the gaol? *In what material respect has the Licensed System answered its avowed purposes*? If it has done so, why these Parliamentary Committees and Reports, session after

* *Bradford Observer*, Jan. 19, 1854.

session, and year after year? If it has *not* answered its end, why object to the introduction of another legal system that *will*?

§ 6. The *Times* tells us to rely on "many agencies in operation denied to former ages. We have more schools, more churches, more education, and a greater diffusion of religious feeling. Cannot we avail ourselves of these means of *moral suasion*"? Why doesn't the *Times* teach the Government, for the same reason, to annul *all* law, and disband *all* police, and avail itself of moral-suasion—if it credits its-self? We are accustomed to believe that we require both law and logic; both the policeman and the preceptor; and that we have little enough when done. Is it not so? Yet why should we *leave* "the countless evils of intemperance, and so productive a source of crime," to the *hope* of being diminished 100 years hence, if we can *extinguish* them to-day by "the absolutism of a Maine Law"? Is it not in *that* way we *do* try to get rid of crime? Did the *Times* not advocate the shutting up of Betting-houses? The question, however, just now, is one of right, not of time, or of education. Education, and the other agencies, have their own positive work to do, and should not be expended in mere negative, and as facts prove, inadequate counteraction.*

Our question, therefore, returns—Is the License system effectual? and if not, why not try a system that is? Moreover, the Panaceas of the *Times* have all been tried long ago, and all have failed. In Sweden, in America, in Germany, we have had more education, more recreation, more religious training, than we are likely to have (without a Permissive Maine Law) for the next century in Britain; and yet crime, disease, and pauperism, all came up in due course; nay, grew intolerable. The *Times* sees only half the truth when it talks of education and religion counteracting intemperance—it fails to see the reverse of the medal—*That intemperance counteracts education and religion, and has the best of the battle.* Knowing what man is, indeed, *what right have we to expect that TALK will counteract the incentives to intoxication?*

§ 7. From the nature of the case, and the fact of the law, we deduce the inference that no man has a *right* to buy or sell, as he pleases, intoxicating liquors. Rights are absolute, either in nature or society; but the privilege of sale and purchase is conditional. It is, therefore, only the *abstract theorist*, carried away by a melancholy monomania, who has the logical right of objecting to this argument; and *his* particular view we disposed of at starting. *Necessitas non habet legem.* For instance, a man may justify the pulling down the house of another, provided it be done to prevent the spreading of a dangerous fire. But what *flames* were ever so dangerous and destructive as those of the Traffic in 'fiery Alcohol?' Necessity is the highest law of the occasion—so to speak, the Divine prerogative,—which has no law *above* it. From necessity, then, which is MORAL UTILITY, we deduce the right of interference with the liquor-traffic, even to the extent of prohibition.

* The most ignorant counties are amongst the least criminal; the most educated amongst the most criminal. (See ch. vi. § 27.)

After the year 1724, the Spaniards prohibited the introduction of brandy into Chili, because, says RAYNAL, "the natives had become excessively fond of it, and, when intoxicated, used to take up arms, massacre all the Spaniards they met with, and ravage the country near their dwellings."* What man out of Bedlam, and always excepting the theorists, would dispute the prudence and the right, or deny the duty, of proscribing the dangerous thing?

The Rev. Mr ANDREWS, in his account of the Mohawks of Georgia, thus describes the effect of spirits upon them:—"They grow quite mad—burn their own little huts—murder their wives and children, or one another,—so that their wives are forced to hide their guns and hatchets, and themselves too, for fear of mischief.† The Settlers in that province, therefore, interdicted the introduction of any kind of strong waters. They who should deny the wisdom of such a measure, would be as mad as the Mohawks.

And have we not amongst ourselves at all times—more in number than many nations of Mohawks, and constituting our 'dangerous classes,'—persons who are literally rendered criminal or mad, with strong drinks? It is, therefore, not a violation of right, but a call of duty, to do all we can to put strong liquors out of their reach. This at least we have the right to do; unless *they* have the right to make themselves mad and mischievous, and to claim our help in the process.

§ 8. Let us take a necessity of another kind; not involving violence to the body, but danger to its health, and risk of life. Some epidemic is in the city; and upon the evidence of our own observation, or the authority of a medical board, it is made probable that a certain kind of food, or certain shops and trades, constitute the *nidus* of the pestilence, and give a fearfully increased potency to its ravages? What is to be done? Is the municipal safety to wait upon the period when, by education or otherwise, you shall have produced a 'unanimous' conviction upon the people concerned in these habits and trades,—a thing not very likely to be done, or at all events, not to be achieved in time? Is the disease, *in the meanwhile*, to go on affecting the general tone of health, and striking down our sons and daughters—the innocent with the guilty? But such is the Traffic precisely—such the dispensing of alcoholic drinks anywhere—such its fatal power in aggravating disease, and disposing to infection. Half our typhoid fevers are owing to this agency, and three-fourths of our cholera cases. In Washington, in 1832, the cholera was raging. The doctors declared the rum-shops to be its feeders; their customers the media of disseminating the infection, as well as the earliest victims. Whereupon the following was passed and published:—

'Resolved—That the vending of Ardent Spirits, in whatever

* *History of the Indies*. London, 1788. Vol. iv. p. 209. We are glad to learn that this law still prevails. It is referred to in Wilkes' *United States Exploring Expedition*:—"There is an admirable regulation of the Chilian Government, that of not permitting liquors to be brought within a league of any mine, under severe penalty, which is strictly enforced."—i. 74.

† Vide Pinkerton's *Voyages*, xii. p. 415.

'quantity, be considered a NUISANCE—and, as such, is hereby directed to be discontinued for the space of 90 days from this date. By order of the Board of Health. JAMES LARNARD, Sec.'

Was the board wrong in thus protecting the public health from the contagion of the Traffic? If the law had the right to close the traffic for 90 days, or 90 seconds, it had, *if necessary* to the end, the right to extinguish it for ever—*i.e.* to keep it closed. We can no more have pestilence in the city without being injured by it, than we can have chemical works near our homes without suffering from the fumes: and if we are entitled to protection in the latter case, we are, *a fortiori*, still more entitled to it in the former. Dr A. M. ADAMS, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the Andersonian University of Glasgow, says, under date of November 29th, 1848:—“I have found the use of alcoholic drinks to be *the most powerful predisposing cause of malignant cholera with which I am acquainted*. Were I [one of the authorities, I would placard every spirit-shop in town, with large bills, containing the words—CHOLERA SOLD HERE.” A just title; but because just, the Law should STEP IN AND SAY,—“Cholera shall *not* be sold here.” Here, then, in the chief causes of *that* cause—in the houses licensed for dispensing the elements of disease—we have a system quite as inimical to our health and safety, as undrained houses, unflushed sewers, or heaps of rotting matter—nay, we have in that which creates the drinker, an agency that is not simply a stationary *nidus* of disease, but one which distributes *walking plagues* throughout the land. To tell me that I have a right to abate the standing nuisance, but not the *peripatetic pestilence*, is to insult and mock my common sense.* To complicate the problem by declaiming on the responsibility of the drinker, and telling me that he was not forced to purchase drink, etc., is worse than idle. We have nothing to do with these responsibilities, and leave drinker and drink-seller to adjust *that* matter between them. It is the *effect* we complain of—it is *protection* we demand—and we take the only effectual, which is evermore the *only right*, method of obtaining it. Instead of indulging in diatribes against the drunkard, or the drink-seller,—or deploring the mischief of the system in beautiful but barren words,—we march, under the broad banner of Law, and to the music of rejoicing humanity, direct for the Capitol itself, and seize upon its magazines and munitions of war. The Law, as Professor STUART has observed, “does not purpose to destroy those who are misled and drawn to ruin, but to cripple and annihilate *the power that misleads them*.”

§ 9. Society has frequently asserted its right, not simply to suppress the Traffic in spirits, but to prohibit their *manufacture*. Already we have furnished examples in the case of the legal stoppage of the Distilleries, during seasons of scarcity. It would be monstrous,

* The *Times* says a Public-house is not ‘*necessarily*’ a nuisance, and that it is ‘idle’ to say so. But we prove that the *Traffic in strong drink* is, IN FACT, a nuisance. It is for the *Times*, the Tipplers, and the Tapsters, to separate the *Traffic from the fruits of it*; WHEN they have done this, and blanch the Blackamoor, our objections will cease, and Prohibition will have become unnecessary.

indeed, to affirm that men, with the prime right to live, derived from a common original, had not also the sequential right to stop the *destruction* of that food, in the lack of which the people perish! "*To you it shall be for meat*"—is the Divine charter for prohibitive interference. No man has an absolute right to food, or the land whereon it grows; both are given, as both are held, *in trust*; and to avoid certain consequences, positive or obstructive, both fields and produce are often interfered with. Law, landlords, farmers, merchants, buyers, are simply so many varied *media* for assuring the production and distribution of food, from the Father of All to his dependent children; and in no step of the process has the agency employed the right to *destroy*, in part or whole, the blessing to be conveyed—nay, not even the right to hinder its development.

In political disquisitions our principles are often unconsciously maintained: as by Lord STANLEY, at the Annual Show (1855) of the Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society:—

"He would say with confidence, that he thought land in this country ought to be easier and freer to buy and to sell than it was. The real difficulties in the way were not legal, but social. One could sympathize with the feelings of a man who was reluctant to part with any portion of land he had once called his own; but PERSONAL FEELINGS MUST GIVE WAY TO NATIONAL NECESSITIES, and he did not hesitate to say that, whether consciously or unconsciously, *any man was a wrong doer as regarded the community*, who retained the ownership of land he had not the power to improve, but had the power to sell. The community had a right to say, *Either use your property profitably yourself, or let others use it for you.*"

If we have a right to use such language, we have also the right to give legal sanction to the principle.

PENNANT says of Cantyre, in his second *Tour in Scotland*, that "notwithstanding the quantity of Bere [a kind of barley] raised, there is often a sort of dearth; the inhabitants being mad enough to convert their bread into poison, distilling annually 6,000 bolls of grain into whiskey."

Who will contend that these people had the *moral right* (permission they unfortunately had) to convert bread into poison, to enhance the price of the remainder, and to induce artificial famine? Has a farmer a right to set fire to his ripened corn? If not, how can he have a right to destroy it first, and in the act of destroying it, induce a whole Pandora's box of evils besides?

Cox says, in his *Travels* (Dublin, 1784):—"I was greatly surprised to find that Sweden would produce sufficient grain for the internal consumption of the inhabitants, if such large quantities were not employed in the distillation of malt spirits." We have seen what has since come of the development of this 'right.' (ch. iv. § 5.) The *Times*, dealing in casuistry and cheap philanthropy for the foreign market, has declared the simple truth on that matter.* "The harvests have not augmented the general well-being in a degree equal to their amount, because they have been wasted in the *fabrication* of a liquor

* The *Times*, Dec., 1853. It says nothing of trusting to Education and Moral Suasion here! It goes for Prohibition in Sweden—for License at home!

which threatens to undermine the noblest faculties of the people. It neither supplies the natural wants of man, nor offers an adequate substitute for them. Indeed it is far too favorable a view to treat the money spent on it as if it were cast into the sea. *It would have been better that the corn had been mildewed in the ear.*" What matters it whether there is actual famine or only scarcity? The corn-laws were iniquitous at all times, though their pressure upon the poor was most felt in seasons of dearth. So with this system of Brewing and Distilling. In famine and emergency, the *selfishness* of Society, its sense of self-preservation, lead to interference; but it should be recollected, that there is always in societies like ours, *a wide borderland* beyond the pale of competence, to the dwellers in which, prohibition, by reducing the price of flour as much as 1s. per stone, would bring comfort and happiness; while the existing system must sooner or later drive them further away into morasses of disease and misery, or into jungles of vice and crime.

§ 10. Who that witnessed them can ever forget the ghastly scenes that transpired in Ireland in 1847-8? Long after the worst was over, we gazed with horror upon the legacy famine had left. At the same time, in England, mobs of hungry, often dissipated poor, paraded our streets, headed by drunken and infuriated women—crying out for *bread*. Was there at that period, a real, natural, and inevitable famine? No such thing! It was distinctly proved that we had an ample supply of food for all the natural wants of the people; and that the impending horrors of starvation might be averted by stopping the breweries and distilleries in their work of destruction. The terrible system, however, seems to be eating out the moral susceptibilities and energies of the country, rendering torpid its conscience and petrifying its heart. Out of 600 senators of the Commons' House, not *one* was brave and patriotic enough to move for the remedy required; and which, in other days of our history, would have been instantly and providently applied. The work of waste and wickedness went on, and the seeds of want were sown broad-cast, to rise up to a fearful harvest. Then was seen a nation mocking Christianity and Civilization with its hypocritical professions, engaged in a grand sacrifice of health and life to Baal and Bacchus. Wasted and wailing children wandered through our streets—yet Appetite went on to the next Tavern, and drank the bread of those innocents dissolved in gin! Famished mothers walked the village lanes, where briery scents and blossoms mocked their hunger—Respectability cast the hungered-one a copper, and passed on to drink its beer! The Farmer saw the starving peasants around him, but he too went on, carting the corn to the steeping vat and the malt-kiln. The Maltster transmuted the grain into malt—the Brewers brewed it into stupefying beer, or the Distillers into maddening whiskey—and the Publican, whilst the voice of hunger and suffering ascended to the skies, still went on dispensing the pernicious products;—above all, sanctioning all, waved the banner of mistaken Law: "LICENSED TO DESTROY FOOD AND CREATE FAMINE."

That period of indifference is a blot upon our history—an indelible

stain upon our patriotism and humanity; for thus and then was destroyed by the makers, vendors, and purchasers of intoxicating drinks, more grain than would have sustained in health and abundance the entire population of the sister country. Half a million of souls were sacrificed to the Traffic.

§ 11. Moralists and Jurists have uniformly contended for the right of the State to prohibit that which directly tends to impoverish it. Amongst the ancient Hebrews we find this declaration:—"He that *withholdeth* corn, the people shall curse him." The same instinct of truth is at bottom displayed even in a Bread riot: "We have a right to live; and therefore to the means of living"—which is perfectly true, if the word 'natural' is inserted before the word 'means.' If a man himself throws away his means, that is another question. To *destroy* corn is much worse than to withhold it: hence an early law of England sternly prohibited the conversion of *corn* into *spirits* for the purpose of beverage. Queen ELIZABETH strictly enforced this wise old statute, and treated its infringement as a social offence. Sir MATTHEW HALE earnestly supported it, and opposed any attempt at its abrogation, predicting that millions of people would destroy themselves by such fatal liquors. When the act to encourage distillation from corn was passed, WHISTON wrote thereon:—"Parliament has abrogated a very good law; *nay, they have in reality encouraged the people to drunkenness, and to the murder of themselves.*" PALEY has these admirable words:—"From reason or revelation, or from both together, it appears to be God Almighty's intention *that the productions of the earth should be applied to the sustenance of human life.* Consequently, all waste and misapplication of these productions is contrary to the Divine Intention and Will, *and therefore wrong*, for the same reason that any other crime is so,—such as destroying or suffering to perish, great part of an article of human provision, *in order to enhance* [or with the effect of enhancing] *the price of the remainder.* To this head may be referred *the reducing the quantity, in order to alter the quality, and to alter it generally for the worse,—as the distillation of spirits from bread-corn.*"

§ 12. It has been shown that 'liberty' is not right;—that the only just liberty is 'rational liberty'; and that, amongst just examples of rational liberty, actions socially evil, whether in their issues or tendencies, cannot be fairly included. In the case before us, the evils are confessedly COUNTLESS and UNPARALLELED. If society, then, does not infringe a rational liberty, by proscribing and destroying the mere *instruments* and facilities of crime—as the coiner's *die* or gambler's *dice*—how can it be alleged that we trespass upon a just liberty in prohibiting the active, unscrupulous, and organized system which nourishes and conserves three-fourths of the crimes and calamities of the nation? No objection can be framed to a Maine Law on the ground of 'liberty,' which will not hold good equally against all law, especially against the law for interference with drunkenness. BLACKSTONE states the case very plainly:—"Let a man be ever so abandoned in his principles, or vicious in his practice, *provided he keeps his wickedness to himself*, and does not offend against the rules of public decency, he is out of the reach of human laws; but if he makes his vices

public, though they be such as seems principally to affect himself, as drunkenness and the like, *they then become*, by the bad example they set, of *pernicious effects to society*, and therefore it is then the business of human laws to correct them." If this *correction* can (as we have attempted to show) be really administered *only* by proscribing the Traffic, then it becomes our duty, and therefore our right, to proscribe and suppress it. With these views, we have little tolerance for the present system of Legal License—a system which, in simple truth, as the *Judges* confess, consists in the Government first planting a hundred thousand Seminaries of Sin throughout the land, and then commissioning its Judicial officers to take their stated 'circuits,' and adjudge to the most advanced Students the penalties of proficiency. Worse than the fate of Penelope this! It appears as if we were doomed in our legislation to exemplify the darkest parts of classical mythology; for, like Jason, we sow our dragon's teeth, and, like Chronos, we strangle the offspring of our own laws;—may we hope that the remainder of the fable will yet fit us;—that, flying from the Saturnine past, we may, instead of teaching Intemperance to our people, inaugurate those arts of Industry and Peace that shall usher in the golden age?

§ 13. Under the cry of 'Rights and Liberties,' venal scribes try to instil prejudices into the popular mind. SMOLLETT, writing of the year 1730, furnishes an illustration of the strange lengths to which phrases will sometimes carry folk.

"England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and *the want of police* in the interior Government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, *would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects*;—a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no *security* for their lives or effects.

BENTHAM has characterized and confuted this style of thing:—
"With men of the same party, with men whose affections are already listed against the law in question, anything will go down; any rubbish is good that will add fuel to the flame. Either all rests in vague assertions, and no intelligible argument at all is afforded; or, if any, such arguments are drawn from the principle of *utility*; arguments which, in whatever variety of words expressed, come at last to neither more nor less than this,—*that the tendency of the law is, to a greater or less extent, pernicious*. If this, then, be the result of the argument, why not come to it at once? Why turn aside into a wilderness of sophistry, when the path of plain reason is straight before us?"

§ 14. Reflecting and influential writers of the day have already admitted the harmony of these principles of government with a Prohibitory Liquor Law. They could not fail to perceive that the *right* of prohibition was virtually admitted in the License system. Now the right to interfere *at all*, carries with it the right to interfere effectually. Moreover, these publicists have seen that the License system was prohibition—partial prohibition, as regards places, but still real pro-

hibition in respect of persons. Can *anybody, anywhere, anyhow*, sell strong drink? No. Only certain persons are permitted to do this, and even they are *prohibited* as regards the person to whom, the measure which, the place where, and the time when, they shall sell.* To talk about another step in that direction being an infringement of 'right,' is not to reason, but to rant. Justices do not grant 'natural rights' at a Brewsters' Sessions. A whole Alphabet of Applicants are there; but the Magistrates refuse all the Consonants, and empower *only* the Vowels to be Vintners. If A, E, I, O, U, and sometimes W and Y, are certainly privileged to sell: B, C, D, and the rest down to Z, are certainly *prevented* from selling.

Why don't the *unsuccessful* applicants make an outcry about their 'rights being invaded,' and copying the Bonifaces of Birmingham, call upon the people to 'make a stand'? Nothing can be more palpable than the fact that prohibition, in some shape, is of the essence of the present system, and hence the futility and falsehood of the cry that Anti-Liquor Laws are a novelty in legislation. License has Prohibition for its background. Indeed, suppression is simply the development of an acknowledged principle *to the point of effectuality*.

The *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1854) ably justifies prohibition:—

"There are some trades to which the State applies, not restriction merely, but prohibition. Thus the business of coining money is utterly suppressed by law in all civilized states; thus the opening of lotteries is a commercial speculation forbidden by the law in England. If it be asked on what grounds the State is justified in annihilating these branches of industry, it must be answered, that society may put down what is dangerous to itself—*salus populi suprema lex*. Any trade, employment, or use of property, detrimental to the life, health, or order of the people, is by English law a public nuisance; and in suppressing it, the state assumes the right of sacrificing private interests to the public good: and this not only when the detriment is physical or æconomical, but also when it is moral. Thus unwholesome graveyards are shut up, and noisome vitriol works pulled down, for their physical noxiousness; private coining is made illegal for æconomical reasons; slave-trading, lotteries, cock-pits, bear-gardens, gambling-houses, brothels, and obscene print-shops, are prohibited on moral grounds. Now the liquor traffic, and particularly the retail branch of it, is a public nuisance in all three respects, both *physically, æconomically, and morally*. By its physical consequences it causes death to thousands, reduces thousands more to madness or idiocy, and afflicts myriads with diseases involving the most wretched forms of bodily and mental torture. Considered in its æconomical results, it *impairs*

* The Law first imposes a *general prohibition* of the Traffic, and then provides for *particular exceptions*, under the plea of 'convenience.' The Maine Law does not differ at all *in principle* from this theory—it but further reduces the convenience to that of one or two Municipal Agents in a district, selling for medicinal, artistic, or non-dietetic uses,—that is, for socially *safe* uses. Besides, the Magistrates are, in theory, supposed to *represent* the district, and therefore derive their permissive power to grant or veto licenses *from* the people. On what *pretences*, then, can the *right* of the people to decide for themselves be gainsaid?

the national resources by destroying a large amount of corn, which is annually distilled into spirits; and it indirectly *causes three-fourths of the taxation* required by pauperism and criminal prosecutions and prison expenses; and, further, it *diminishes the effective industry* of the working classes, thereby lessening the amount of national production. Thirdly, viewed in its moral operation, it is *the cause of two-thirds of the crime* committed; it lowers the intelligence and hinders the civilization of the people; and it leads the men to ill-treat and starve their families, and sacrifice domestic comfort to riotous debauchery."

§ 15. As to TRADE, none of its legitimate claims can be infringed by a prohibitory law. *Free-trade* is a eulogistic phrase only so long as it is confined to good things. A *commerce* like the Slave-trade can be free only in a dyslogistic sense—the freer it is, the worse it is. Once, as SMOLLETT shows, the Traffic in gin was impudently demanded as an aid to the traffic in men—and, in sooth, the two trades may fitly go together: one enslaves the brutalized children of Ham; the other brutalizes the civilized sons of Japhet. Besides, no argument can be set up for saving the vats of the Brewer, or the stills of the Distiller, by way of objection to an Anti-Liquor Law, which does not equally hold against moral Temperance. But *who* was ever fool or knave enough to drink the toast—"May commerce flourish on the drunkenness of our country?" Bishop BERKELEY, whose whole life was spent in the love of truth and in labors for humanity, emphatically condemned the Distilleries as a curse:—"Better by far the whole *present* set of Distillers were *pensioners of the public, and their trade ABOLISHED BY LAW*, since all the benefit thereof put together *would not balance the hundredth part of the mischief.*"

As MACAULAY has said: * "*There is a great deal of trade which cannot be considered merely as trade, and which affects higher than pecuniary interests. And to say that Government never ought to regulate such trade is a monstrous proposition, at which Adam Smith would have stood aghast. We impose some restrictions on trade for purposes of police. Thus, we do not suffer everybody who has a cab and a horse, to ply for passengers in the streets of London. We do not leave the fare to be determined by the supply and the demand. We do not permit a driver to extort a guinea for going half a mile on a rainy day, when there is no other vehicle on the stand. We impose some restrictions on trade for the sake of revenue. Thus, we forbid a farmer to cultivate tobacco on his own ground. . . Nor is there in all this anything inconsistent with the soundest political economy. For the science of political economy teaches us only that we ought not, on commercial grounds, to interfere with the liberty of commerce; and we, in the cases I have put, interfere with the liberty of commerce on higher than commercial grounds. . . Where the health of the community is concerned, it may be the duty of the State to interfere with the contract of individuals. Your doctrine of free-trade is an exaggeration, a caricature of the sound doctrine; and by exhibiting such a caricature, you bring discredit on the sound doctrine. We*

* Speech in the Commons, on the Ten Hours' Bill, May 22, 1846.

should have nothing to do with contracts, if those contracts affected *only* pecuniary interests. But higher than pecuniary interests are at stake. It concerns the commonwealth that the great body of the people should not live in a way which makes life wretched and short, which enfeebles the body and pollutes the mind. . . Where the *public morality* is concerned, it may be the duty of the State to interfere with the contracts of individuals. Take the traffic in licentious books and pictures. Will anybody deny that the State may, without impropriety, interdict *that* traffic? Or take the case of lotteries. I have, we will suppose, an estate for which I wish to get £200,000. I announce my intention to issue a thousand tickets at £20 each. The holder of the number first drawn is to have the estate. But the magistrate interferes; the contract between me and the purchasers of my ticket is annulled; and I am forced to pay a heavy penalty for having made such a contract. I say to you, the legislators who have restricted my liberty, what business have you to interfere between a buyer and a seller? If you think the speculation a bad one, do not take tickets. But do not interdict *other* people from judging for themselves. Surely you would answer, 'You would be right, if this were a *mere* question of trade; *but it is a question of morality*. We *prohibit* you from disposing of your property *in this particular mode, because it is a mode which tends to encourage a most pernicious habit of mind*, a habit of mind incompatible with all the qualities on which the well-being of individuals and of nations depends.' It must, then, I think, be admitted, that where *health* is concerned, and where *morality* is concerned, the State is justified in interfering with the contracts of individuals. And, if this be admitted, it follows that the case with which we have now to do is a case for interference."

A Prohibitive Law, instead of crippling our commerce, or injuring legitimate Trade, would not only send our Temperance Vessels with augmented safety and diminished risk to their destined ports, but multiply their number, and increase their profits beyond all precedent—and Britain would not simply maintain her old position amongst the commercial nations of the world, but would attain to a higher destiny, and wield a purer influence, than the most ardent of her patriotic sons has ever dreamed for her. Even the *Times*, in its intermittent fits of wisdom, can perceive the prodigious importance of liquor abolition to a country. Here is one of its happiest dicta. "*No way so rapid to increase the Wealth of Nations, and the morality of Society, as the utter annihilation of the manufacture of ardent spirits, constituting, as they do, an infinite waste and an unmixed evil.*" The corollary is clear—No way so rapid to decrease the Wealth of Nations as the encouragement of the Traffic.

CHAPTER VI.

“ THAT THE LEGISLATIVE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC WOULD BE HIGHLY CONDUCTIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION.”

§ 1. Man is evidently formed for progression in knowlege and power. It would be a libel on the Creator to suppose that knowlege was not tributary to virtue and a moral life. The insect, the bird, the beast, are governed in their actions by an almost unerring impulse ; an instinct that finds its play with a rapidity and perfection altogether unlike the labored results of human reason. It does not wait upon experience, but vaults to its maturity, so that the youngest working bee is as wise as the oldest, and the cells of the honeycomb fabricated in the last summer, are not a whit more perfect than the cells of the comb which received the honey first gathered from the thymy banks of the primitive garden. Reason, however, *grows*—develops not only in youth, but throughout the whole period of human existence : Intelligence *enlarges*, filling vaster spaces in the sphere of knowlege, and taking deeper vision and broader flights into the domain of nature ; Speech, the winged messenger of Mercury, the Registrar of History and time, the nimble, subtle Slave of Science, multiplies her powers to meet all exigencies, and stores up in Memory and in Books, the discoveries and treasures of each successive age for the service of the next. The architecture of man is progressive : the conquests of one epoch are the historic stepping-stones over which another generation walks to further achievement. *Go, and subdue the Earth!* is the everlasting chime to which the world marches on its way to Industrial Conquest—the daily music of aspiration and of consolation which springs eternal from the recesses of the human soul.

But man is a being of complex faculty : *physical, intellectual, moral*. And there is an hierarchy of powers. As the stars of the firmament differ in glory, so do the stars of the mental heaven in dignity and in use. We tread on the earth, yet the earth is but our tent and field, not our everlasting home. So life is the Stage and Theatre, where we have to learn to play our parts in the drama, and the body is the instrument of the soul, with which our work is to be done. *Sense* and the *Body* are but means to ends higher than themselves. *Intelligence* comes next — which is the Intellectual faculty duly trained and instructed. This, in turn, must be subordinated to the *Moral Will*—to the uses of that Conscience which is God’s secretary within us,—of those Divine enthusiasms of Hope, Aspiration, and Reverence, that lift us above despair, and make palpable the spiritual realities we cannot see,—of that still more God-like quality of Love that makes our hearts beat in sympathy with the heart of humanity, giving even life for life, and which looks in tenderness and pity upon the sufferings of the meanest things!

CIVILIZATION, consequently, may be defined as the *predominance of Humanity over Animality*—the subordination and subjection, more or less perfect, of passion to principle—of impulse to thought—of selfishness to duty—of lust to love. We believe that this subordination of the lower to the higher nature, the assimilation of desire to the Divine law of love, is the great end of being, to the race as to the individual. We believe, further, that this is strictly *a course*—that it must partake of the attribute of progression, be developed by degrees, not infused at once. With this faith in the destiny and possibilities of man—believing that such a civilization is capable of indefinite advance—we predicate, in addition, that the Legislative Suppression of the Traffic, under the conditions proposed, would greatly conduce to a ‘consummation most devoutly to be wished.’

Everybody who reflects, must see that the development of the higher faculties of man is dependent on two conditions—one positive, the other negative. We must secure to them their appropriate excitements on the one hand, and we must remove that which stimulates the lower faculties on the other; for what these gain the others lose. The rapidity of the development of these powers respectively, will be in an inverse ratio, since the torpidity of the one is the activity of the other. The worst attribute of ‘bloody war’ is not the blood that is shed,—of revolution or riot, not the property destroyed,—but, in a moral point of view, it is the terrible stimulus that war and revolution give to the activity of the lower passions,—the overbearing impetus they impart to the brutal propensities of man. This, too, is our objection to the Traffic—it is a trade that deals out the very elements of disorder and pollution—which, by necessary tendency and inevitable physical law, disturbs and depraves the community. The *Times*, in its article on the Alliance, regrets that the first Report had not “gone a little into the *physical bearings* of the question.” And, perhaps, the *Times* is not unreasonable in its regret. Without pressing too far the claims of physical Teetotalism, which is the proper business of the Temperance Society, it is quite within the province of a political disquisition to probe to the bottom the social sores from which the body politic is suffering. When that is done, it will be found that there is a *physical* philosophy and law underlying the *social*. In sanitary and educational questions this is already perceived and acknowledged; and, sooner or later, it must be so in regard to this topic. Still, we can take our stand on the admitted FACTS of SOCIETY; and without relegating the fundamental and *explanatory* truth which alone accounts for those facts, press home the claims of this social movement on the common sense and patriotism of our countrymen.

‘FIERY ALCOHOL,’ by necessary law, antagonizes moral civilization, because it disturbs the normal action of the soul, diminishes the activity of the superior powers, and unduly excites the inferior propensities of our being. This has been confessed by the Legislators, the Philosophers, the Moralists of all ages: it is the combined testimony of History, of Scripture, and of Every-day life. Alcohol transforms the tender father into the ferocious savage. It steels the hearts of mothers to the claims of dependent children, sears the conscience

of the criminal, and by extinguishing the last spark of pity, prepares him for the perpetration of his sanguinary crimes; in one word, while it casts over all the highest attributes of man the mire of sensuality and sin, it provokes to ungovernable fury the base and cruel passions of his nature. It is this law, this tendency, which explains our social degradation, after all the efforts of philanthropy and patriotism put forth for sixty years. We have actually supplied the citadel we professed to assault with provisions and ammunition for sustaining the siege and protracting the struggle. Mr CHARLES BUXTON, the Brewer, has admirably expressed this fact:—

“It would not be too much to say, that if all drinking of fermented liquors could be done away, crime of every kind would fall to a fourth of its present amount, *and the whole tone of moral feeling in the lower orders might be indefinitely raised.* Not only does this vice produce all kinds of wanton mischief, but it also has a negative effect of great importance. It is the mightiest of all the forces that clog the progress of good. It is in vain that every engine is set to work that philanthropy can devise, when those whom we seek to benefit are habitually tampering with their faculties of Reason and Will—soaking their brains with beer, or inflaming them with ardent spirits. The struggle of the School, the Library, and the Church, all united against the beerhouse and the gin-palace, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell.”*

In other words, the Traffic is essentially adverse to civilization. That the world is a battle-field, on which is to be played out the contest of Light against Darkness, of Good against Evil, of Civilization against Barbarism, is a thought of the very earliest times.† In an age like our own, when the contending forces are more distinctly visible than at any former period, it behoves the Captains of Humanity, not only to make a due survey of their own position and power, but to estimate with accuracy the forces of the enemy and the strength of his stronghold. Some of our allies are doing this; and they have already discovered that the great enemy is entrenched everywhere amongst us, with Intemperance for his Chief Engineer. Mr BUXTON continues:—

“It is, in short, intoxication that fills our gaols. It is intoxication that fills our lunatic asylums. And it is intoxication that fills our workhouses with poor. Were it not for this one cause, pauperism would be nearly extinguished in England.”

The needed sequel to this truth is, that the Licensed Brewers, Publicans, and Vintners, are the creators of this Intoxication.

It is impossible adequately to measure and marshal the hosts of intemperance, for their name is ‘Legion.’ All we can attempt to do is to open up glimpses into this wilderness of horrors. We may, however, briefly look at the following fruits of darkness, which stand out most distinctly from the shadowed background:—

* *North British Review*, February, 1855. Article, “How to stop Drunkenness.” He states that he *knows* parishes where the suppression of the beer shops has been productive of “THE UTMOST BENEFIT.”

† See II Esdras, chap. vii. verse 57.

DRUNKENNESS IN ITS VARIOUS DEGREES.

POVERTY, BEGGARY, AND PAUPERISM.

IGNORANCE, WITH ITS BRUTALITY AND VICE.

PROSTITUTION AND ITS CONCOMITANTS.

ACCIDENTS AND DISEASE, ESPECIALLY IDIOCY AND MADNESS.

OFFENCES AND CRIME.

These are the adversaries of Civilization with which we have to fight, the barriers we have to level with the earth, that the car of Progress may pass on its way. It is in contending with these evils that the country is drained of its wealth, both of energy and purse, and our positive conquests over Barbarism and Nature immeasurably retarded.

§ 2. The mere *Cost* of the Drinking System, so far as a Prohibitory Liquor Law would be likely to lessen it, may be approximately indicated here; yet *that* is as nothing compared with its moral mischiefs—its power to destroy the great ends of human life, to mar human happiness, to break in with frightful discord upon the harmony of Society. Supposing that a Maine Law stopped *only* three-fourths of the present Drinking,—leaving a tolerable margin for domestic brewing, and for other possible sources of private supply,—we shall be under any preceding calculation, if we estimate in round numbers the direct annual National Gain and Saving as follows:—

Direct cost of 3-4ths of the Liquors consumed, saved.....	£56,000,000
Productive Labor lost by idleness and disease.....	30,000,000
Cost of Pauperism, Crime, Disease, Accidents, etc.	14,000,000

This £100,000,000, now annually wasted, is a sum as great as was spent in seven years upon all the railways of the kingdom, in the very hey-day of railway projects—viz., from 1841 to 1847 inclusive; a sum so vast, that if saved annually for seven years, would blot out the National Debt! If the diversion of such an amount of capital from ordinary channels to the construction of railways, occasioned the country so much inconvenience and alarm when spread over a series of years,—we leave the reader to realize the prodigious impulse to Trade and Commerce, to Industry and Art, to Education and hopeful Progress, which must follow the saving consequent on the Reform for which we plead. The history of the world could not supply its precedent and parallel. The demand for labor would everywhere rise, and wages and profits relatively increase; food would become cheaper, because more plentiful; agriculture and trade in every department flourish; and even taxes, those vexed necessities, grow

“Small by degrees, and beautifully less.”

Withal, nobody would suffer, save those who, under the present system, live upon the sufferings and the sins of others; and they only for a time. Nor do we here attempt to estimate the less obtrusive obstacles to progress involved in wasted, or altogether perverted, *faculty*.

§ 3. The first consequence of the Traffic, amenable to law, is DRUNKENNESS—or ‘disorderly conduct’ arising from initial drunkenness, since neither law, nor physiology, nor logic, can discover any

distinct, definable line of demarkation. All that can be said with precision is, that he who gives his customer exciting drink, *prepares* him for drunkenness; which is some indefinable further stage, on the same road. It may be the excitement or perversion of passion, or of sullen temper; or it may be riotous or noisy excitement, of vanity or combativeness; or it may be the narcotism of helpless drunkenness; but in *all* stages, it exposes either the drinker, his family, or his neighbor, to harm. It is not a *right* appertaining to man by nature, neither is it a privilege conferred by society, nor an impulse springing from its constitution; but it is a condition of evil which has been legally prohibited, even while its causes have been licensed.

To what extent does this vice prevail? It prevails more or less in all classes and in every rank. Not in the highest circles in the grossest form, for it is no longer *fashionable* to get openly 'drunk' and boast of it—but in its modified 'disguise,' its preparatory stages, it is not at all infrequent. Amongst literary men we have, in our own time, known many examples. Several of the very first writers of the day are, or have been, victims of alcoholic or morphinic excitement. The past generation yields a terrible catalogue—PORSON, BYRON, HAZLITT, CAMPBELL, COLERIDGE, LAMB, JEFFREYS, WILSON, HOOK, HOGG, SCOTT, THOM, CARLTON, MAGINN, TALFOURD, JERROLD, and many others. At the Universities, both of Britain and Ireland, drinking and its kindred vices of dissipation and gambling, are notoriously common.* In the Army and Navy, witness some recent disgraceful escapades.†

The Christian Church itself is not safe from the ravages of this insidious foe. Now, as of old, "the Priest and the Prophet err through strong drink." We have known, not one minister, but scores, ruined by the Syren Alcohol. Three distinguished dissenting preachers, *in our own locality*, whom we knew, were dismissed from their pulpits—one, the eldest of the three, the Rev. E. P., fell into the snares of drink, seduced a lady of his congregation, and died abroad;—the second, the son of the former, and one of the most eloquent preachers we ever listened to, became a hopeless drunkard, and it is to be feared died in that state, from the result of an accident;—the third, the Rev. W. T., we heard of, some time ago, in the west, the most

* *Punch* and the *Examiner* school lay the blame of Scottish drinking on what they are pleased to call the 'bitter' observance of the Sabbath. Does a *relaxed* observance at our Universities mend the matter? A Church newspaper has the following from its OXFORD correspondent:—"Ever since I have known Oxford at all, desecration of the Sabbath has been spreading in every direction like a flood. *All the excesses of Oxford immorality seem to reach their height on this one day of the week, IN WHICH THERE ARE NO RESTRAINTS of lectures or reading.* Even many of those who would shrink from the depths of vice, scruple not to spend the blessed hours of God's day in *smoking, drinking, and drowsiness.*"

† The *Morning Star* of October 11th, 1856, records the melancholy death at Exeter of the Honorable BERTRAM WODEHOUSE, uncle to the British Ambassador at the Russian Court. The evidence proved that he died in consequence of *exhaustion* brought on by drinking Allsopp's Ale and Brandy. Yet some Sophists would persuade the public that *Alcohol is food!*

degraded sot of the place where he resided. We could name several others less distinguished for talent, both in the Episcopal Church, and amongst dissenting congregations, who have fallen into the snare. The newspapers of the day (1856) are even now giving notoriety to *three* cases of drunken clergymen—one, a Sussex Rector, sentenced by the Arches Court to two years' deprivation of his 'benefice'; the other, a clergyman of Darlington, unanimously found guilty by the commission; the third, a clergyman of distinguished ability, who died of *delirium tremens*, and whose Life Assurance is disputed by the office in which he had assured!*

In the ranks and circles named, these things are very much hushed-up; the convenient cab conveys the genteel inebriate to his home; or, if there, the servants lead him quietly to bed, and thus the public do not often *hear* of these cases; but now and then, when the curtain is withdrawn, what a revelation of interior life there is! Literary writers often talk of the vast sobriety of certain classes.† Their *wine bills* tell a different tale. Things, no doubt, are more civilized—are better than they were twenty or thirty years ago—but they are still very *bad*. "There seems," says an Edinburgh physician, "even at this day, too much reason to suspect that we are entitled to *boast of no greater improvement* than that what was, in many instances, done openly and boastfully then, is practised secretly and evasively now." Mrs WIGHTMAN, in her letter to the Bishop of Lichfield, in April, 1863, says:—"Gentlemen and Ladies in different parts of the kingdom have appealed to me for help, on behalf of themselves or those dear to them. Thus, instances of drunkenness have come to my knowledge from the *educated* classes of society; *facts I would not have believed unless coming from the parties themselves.*" We can name one cathedral city in the North of England, where, of the last twelve surgeons and physicians who have died there, *not two* were

* Even LADIES are not infrequently found amongst the victims of the fatal appetite engendered of *wine*. Eau de Cologne is sold *in gallons* to fashionable women—not for a scent, but to disguise one. The papers for October 2, 1856, record the fact of an intemperate female, once handsome and accomplished, the daughter of a gentleman, the wife of a merchant captain, the relative of a distinguished historian, brought up before the Lambeth police magistrate on a charge of being unfit to take care of her children—whom she had left in a brothel. She was sent to gaol. A few days later a case is brought before Mr NORTON (who did his best to get the publicans more slaughter-time)—not of a poor, unpolished, uneducated body, but of a lady of birth, training, and condition—Mrs RUSSELL—with traces of her former charms—but an abandoned drunkard. She was 'mocked of wine,' but she falls not alone. Her husband, compelled to give up his practice as a physician, went to Australia and died, leaving behind a daughter, and this girl of sixteen is her mother's companion, inducted into all her mysteries of vice!

† It is itself a proof of a wide-spread love of drink, when we find men of station, and conductors of the public press, wickedly endeavoring, by every sophistical art and by one-sided statistics, to lessen the odium which attaches to the offence of drunkenness itself, and to *hide its real extent*. They appear to express themselves under the feeling of the necessity of self-justification, which alone *accounts* for the scornful language they shower upon those social reformers who lament the evil and seek its cure.

sober men; and equally certain that the lives of half of them were confessedly cut short by intemperate habits. The certificates of death assign only the proximate cause of death—the *disease* of which they died—congestion, erysipelas, apoplexy, paralysis, etc.—but what was the cause of *that* cause? Mostly, habits of free drinking. A physician observed to a friend of ours the other day, that a large majority of the country practitioners come to their deaths through intemperance; and that an eminent London physician had told him that when summoned into the country for consultation, *he very frequently* found that some error in treatment had been committed in consequence of the vinous obfuscation of the medical attendant, but could rarely recommend a change, since in most cases a change would have made no difference! It appears from the returns of Assurance Societies, and of the Registrar-General, conjointly, that, *excluding altogether* the cases of mortality just indicated, *one* out of 19 of the adult male population between the ages of 30 and 60, *dies of drinking!* What is the carnage of the Crimea compared with this perpetual slaughter?

§ 4. Descend, however, from these small classes, to the *bulk* of the people—to the Nation, in fact, for whom laws ought to be made;—examine into Intemperance amongst our Tradesmen, our Mechanics and Craftsmen, our Yeomanry and Peasantry, once ‘our country’s pride’; and all that mass, technically entitled ‘the lower classes,’—and what do we then find? We can speak for the habits of one large town, and one of the most moral in the kingdom. You might go into every public-house in the neighborhood of the shops and houses of the Tradesmen, and from eight to twelve o’clock you should find a room, sometimes two, crowded with these men, debating local or general politics, discussing current events or private character, but *invariably drinking spirits*, and the great majority going home, *not* certainly much before twelve o’clock, half-seas over, or ‘the worse for liquor.’ Even if these men *are* a little too much elevated, or ‘cross the line,’ they will *not* be taken to the police-office. We could go through the history of dozens of such persons who have been personally known to us, and show the effects of this system in the neglect of domestic life, in the lowering of the moral tone, in the sure generation of a craving for the drink itself, in injured health, in tainted character, in inattention to business, often in bankruptcy, and, in some instances, in the climax of suicide. The *Daily News*, in a leader on Drunkenness, with no favorable glance towards prohibition, has given the following testimony concerning *Life as it is*, showing the real fruits of that system which it proposes to knock down with Bat and Ball! Cricket, no doubt, is a very good thing in its way, in daylight, but as a remedy for the drunkenness and crime hourly and everywhere bubbling up from this Traffic—fudge! “We have in our eye *one small county town*, where there are Schools and Clergy, a Mechanics’ Institute, and a Temperance Society, but where, in seven years, there have died of drinking, *five inn or public-house keepers, five or six shopkeepers or master workmen, and artizans and laborers in proportion.* Such broad hints abound all over the country.”

§ 5. An antagonist of Prohibition has said — “It is never doubted that *the greatest earthly curse* is the Sin of Intemperance.”

It has, nevertheless, been urged that drunkenness is so rare, that it is not worth while sacrificing the convenience of getting 'a glass' between 11 and 12 o'clock at night to get rid of it—and that only 1 in 32,000 of our population gets drunk!!! Now, in opposition to the statement that the intemperance of the masses *frequenting* these houses has materially diminished, we affirm that there is no legitimate authority for the assertion.

Police returns are no guide as to the real extent of drunkenness.* In many towns, as in Manchester, the police have instructions not to take up drunkards. The Parliamentary Report says—"However *drunk and incapable* they may have been, they do not *appear* upon the return. If every *disorderly person* found at night were brought before the Magistrate next morning, the police would have very little rest." In very few places are extremely respectable people taken up at all. Councillor SMITH and Alderman BROWN, when recognized, are politely assisted to a cab, or gently helped home; for how can the Policeman be rude to his masters? Nor are the assaults reckoned, nine-tenths of which are *also* cases of drinking. Nevertheless, Messrs DANSON and WIRE handed in to the Parliamentary Committee, statistics as to the amount of drunkenness in various towns, which, though calculated from very imperfect *Police Returns*, are sufficiently striking. It is certain that two millions of persons are constantly *suffering* from *police-recognized* drunkenness alone; not to speak of private drinking, which is four times as great, and ten times as bad, in its effects on domestic life.†

TOWNS.	DRUNKEN CASES BROUGHT UP.	PROPORTION TO POPULATION.
ENGLAND.		
Liverpool	18,522	1 in 20
Sheffield	1,312	1 in 103
SCOTLAND.		
Glasgow.....	14,870	1 in 22
Edinburgh.	2,793	1 in 57
Dundee	2,931	1 in 26
IRELAND.		
Dublin	18,758	1 in 14
Cork	8,158	1 in 10
Belfast	2,482	1 in 38

No doubt there is less drink consumed, in proportion to the population, than there was twenty-five years ago; for the number of *hours* to which the people are exposed to the temptations of the

* In most English towns the cases of *assault* appear as such in the Police-books; when, under a proper system, $\frac{3}{4}$ ths should be entered as *assaults while under the influence of drink*. The argument founded on the fact that in many large towns the number of *spirit-shops* has lessened, is worthless. For, first, the *Dram-shops* and *Gin-palaces* have become much *larger* and more *seductive*; and second, *Beerhouses* and *hush-shops* have vastly increased.

† This statement was mendaciously converted by Mr PERCY GREG, in a shallow notice of the *Prize Essay* in the 'National Review,' into two millions of *Drunkards*!!!

Traffic is less; no doubt recreations, excursions, and books, draw away for the time numbers from the drinking-houses, and in these various ways check the tendency to increased intemperance—but the great fallacy of the opponent consists in forgetting that some millions of our people have given up intoxicating drink altogether, and thus escaped from the meshes of the snare and the sphere of its influence. They are, virtually, an *imperium in imperio*. This species of 'counter-action,' however, cannot be expected to be permanent, as most certainly it will never become universal, while the Traffic is licensed to counteract its influence. It is an enthusiasm of Benevolence, that, in the nature of things, must diminish with the removal of the extreme evils which excite it; leaving, unless the Palladium of Law be planted on the soil, the hereditary evil to spring up again, in another generation, as rampant and ruinous as before. *But why should Society thus evermore be imitating the task of Sisyphus?* Why, with straining muscle and vast expenditure, urge up the Rock of Offence, towards the inland verge of the Cliff, to come down again by natural gravity when our efforts are relaxed? Why not finish the work by lifting the Stone to the *very summit*, whence it may be toppled down on the other side, into the ocean of oblivion for ever?

Is it objected that England is sensibly progressing towards a better state—that drunkenness has abated. Were it so, why should we any more be content with three-fourths, or one-half, of our residual drunkenness, than with the one-fourth that is gone? No doubt, knowlege and temperance have led to the lessening of dirt, and of many unsanitary conditions; is that any reason why we should be content to suffer the vast amount of preventible disease yet extant? Are not the wives and children of the drinkers that are, just as much entitled to protection as those of the drunkards that were? The objection is neither common sense nor humanity: and is just as good (or bad) against sanitary law, and laws against theft or gambling, as against the necessity or policy of prohibition. Competent witnesses, after all, doubt whether intemperance amongst 'the People,' whatever it may be affirmed to be in 'select circles,' is materially diminished. Mr CLAY says:—"It is sometimes contended that Ignorance and Drunkenness are less prevalent now than formerly; that both are retreating before the steady advance of education. The retreat is so slow, that it can scarcely be measured, except after a long interval of time." Mr D. W. HARVEY, Commissioner of Police, says:—"I think there is very little declension (during the last twenty years) in the NUMBERS who are the WORSE FOR LIQUOR; but a considerable decrease in those who are actually drunk. Right down 'drunkenness, in its unconscious sense, is not so common.'" Mr CORRIE, the Police Magistrate, in his evidence before the Berkeley Committee, in reply to question 284, "Do outrages in consequence of drunkenness appear to be committed late in the evening?" answers—"No; I think they are committed earlier." To question 286, he responds—"The drunkenness which induces fighting and crimes of violence is earlier in

* 1st Report on Public-houses (p. 543). All drunkenness is drunkenness, whether half-seas over, or right across to Calais.

the evening." Unconscious—we presume, dead drunkenness—is not so common, for the Publicans are *shy* of permitting it. But what then? This sort of drunkenness is the most innocent of all, socially regarded: while, on the other hand, the first state is *the most dangerous of all*. He goes on—'We have no decrease in the number of persons who are brought to our stations, to be taken care of for an hour or two—to recover themselves.' Now from which of the three stages of drunkenness—*drunk*, VERY DRUNK, or DEAD DRUNK—does the most *crime* proceed? Commissioner HARVEY refers to *irregular* characters (who, nevertheless, are not certainly *sober* as a class), in the following polite terms:—'Hardly any persons conduct themselves better than *gentlemen who trade on the capital of others*; they are very discreet and reflective.' Of course they are; for *very drunk* men would be very bad thieves. So, again, *very drunk* prostitutes would be *very bad* seducers of youth; but yet no fact is more certain than this, for they declare it themselves, that "they could not carry on without drink." Yes! it is the Traffic that is the fountain and 'refresher' of this most dreadful vice—a vice so utterly horrible as to rival even the deformed parent from which it springs! Referring to thirty-three licensed houses in the City of London which encourage prostitutes, exclusive of eighteen others 'badly conducted,' a total of fifty-one out of 626, the Commissioner says:—'The number of prostitutes brought to the police station for *disorder* is very greatly on the decline!' Does that prove that *undisorderly* prostitution is on the decline?

§ 6. DRINKING is obviously not a *fixed quantity*. A public-house, or a beershop, planted in a neighborhood, attracts its customers. They drink, and the drink creates the Appetite; which increases the *demand*. In short, Drink-houses and Appetite act and re-act on each other. This is well-known, and accounts for the excessive eagerness of persons to set up these houses, and for the number of applicants for license. The *Times* says—'Except under the absolutism of a Maine Law, it is pretty certain that a man who *chooses* to get drunk will do so—on Monday if not on Sunday, in an unlicensed house, if not in a licensed house.'* This statement, though perfectly true, is an evasion of the proper issue. A man who has got an over-mastering appetite, *will choose* to get drunk somehow, if there be anyhow possible. But these characters are a very small minority of the class exposed to drinking temptations, and even they, after the *weaning* is over and the first fury of the appetite broken, will *not* 'choose' to take much trouble to throw themselves in the *way* of temptation. (We have made this evident in various parts of the argument already. See ch. vi., § 2.) The question does not concern the few men who 'choose to get drunk'—who are *resolved* to get drunk to begin with—but the many men who do *not* 'choose' to get drunk—the many who even go into these houses *resolved not* to get drunk—but who *do*

* *Times*, July 30, 1855. Was there not, twenty years ago, a facility of getting drunk so great that every man *who chose* to get drunk *could* do so? But will the *Times* deny that the establishment of Beerhouses induced many to drink afterwards who did not drink before? or to drink more, where they before drank less?

get drunk after all. "In many parts of the country," said an Irish writer, 34 years ago, "it is not uncommon to see our unfortunate people going before a clergyman, or a magistrate, '*To swear against the whiskey,*' or '*To swear that they will not enter a public-house.*' Can anything more fully show the *feeling of the temptations to which they are exposed?*"* Mr F. HILL, in his Twelfth Report on Prisons, says he received the following replies to questions put:—"If I had to go a mile for drink, I should often go without it."—"If there were no Public-houses, there would be less crime. *I wish there was none.*" "It would be better not to license houses to sell drink, than to put people in prison for getting drunk."—"Thinks it would be the happiest thing ever was known if *all the Public-houses were shut up.*" Will Jupiter listen to the prayer of the tempted and oppressed? The *Times* shoots beside the mark, not at it: it creates a '*diversion*' instead of solving a difficulty. The Rev. JOHN CLAY furnishes an abundant evidence of this fallacy, as well as proof of the great extent to which intemperance yet prevails amongst our operative population. "I have not come into contact with persons who advocate the existence of alehouses, or who speak of them as a *necessary* thing for the public; I do come in contact *every day* with our chief manufacturers and others, who *complain extremely of the mischief* caused by them. The more intelligent classes are finding out that liquor is not merely unnecessary, but injurious; but *the lower classes, the very ignorant, seem to be more prone to drunkenness.* It appears to me that drunkenness is more concentrated in that class of the population. Those better classes never indulge *so as to make themselves amenable to law*; but *the laboring classes cannot get drunk without committing some outrage.* I am quite sure that almost all the laboring classes, when they are sober, would *wish* the houses closed the whole of Sunday. The *wives* of these men would be more glad than any other portion of the community." In the late canvass for Sabbath Closing, at Islington, Liverpool, says Dr VERNER WHITE, out of 15,726 forms collected from the houses, 11,611 were for total closing; 2,000 don't care how it is. "Those," said he, "who receive the canvassers *most favorably*, who sigh most readily, are the WORKING CLASSES. The *wives* of the Mechanics and Laborers are almost unanimous, and are most enthusiastic."

A Shropshire Magistrate, before the Parliamentary Committee of 1854, says:—"I have been a county magistrate for the last 30 years. Do you say that drunkenness has increased since 1830? *It has increased fearfully.*"

The Report itself says:—"There are no doubt many publicans and beershop keepers who exercise the utmost vigilance to prevent drunkenness on their premises, *but the temptation is strong* to encourage intemperance, and a vast number of the houses for the sale of intoxicating drinks live upon drunkards and the sure progress of multitudes to drunkenness, whilst numbers of them are the habitual haunts of the idle and abandoned, of thieves, *prostitutes*, and the adepts and learners of crime. Another witness states that 'in a single street in

* *An Inquiry*, etc. Dublin, 1830.

Manchester (Deansgate), there are, besides beershops and public-houses, 28 spirit vaults; and that *every* Saturday there are to be found, at any hour throughout the day, an average of 550 persons drinking in those houses *at the same time*. One house alone averages 1,500 visitors in the day.' Another witness gives, as the result of an inquiry extending over six successive Sundays, and including visits to 1,456 spirit vaults, beerhouses, and public-houses, in the same city, 'that they had on a single Sunday 212,243 visits; and that 22,232 of the calls were by children, some of whom went to drink on their own account, some to fetch drink, and some were bad characters.' "

Canon STOWELL, of Salford, says:—"I had an examination made in my own parish; and, so far as I can ascertain, *you could not find two cottages out of three, taking the average of them all, without a member of the family addicted to drunkenness.*"

Mr (afterwards Sir) PETER FAIRBAIRN, the experienced Leeds Machinist, says of his own workmen, on pay-day. "Out of 100 men, *all* of whom will probably have taken their *quart* of Porter or Ale, above a *third* will go home in a state of drunkenness—drunkenness to the extent of imbecility." Political writers who lament the want of sympathy between the higher and poorer classes, should consider that sympathy between refinement and sottishness is simply *impossible*. The bond of sympathy between the various classes can only be re-knit by the destruction of that which *hinders*; by the artizan classes becoming more self-respecting,—and this is only possible through the prohibition of the temptations before which they fall.

§ 7. Mark, next, the POVERTY (individual and national) which follows drunkenness with clear and necessary sequence. In our historical sections we have already furnished ample proof that it moves, *pari passu*, with the Traffic; enlarging or lessening with the encouragement or discouragement we mete out to that. On so plain a question it is not necessary that we should very closely distinguish between the Poverty of the Individual and that of the Nation, since the former is simply a deduction from the wealth of the latter: the main point is, the proportion of the evil flowing from Drunkenness *and* the Traffic. We say 'and' emphatically, because every penny spent at the public-house for drink, is a national as well as domestic loss—an expenditure in a selfish, momentary gratification, that in no way contributes to *reproduce* wealth or to *spread happiness*, but the reverse; and because the Traffic is the actual feeder of drunkenness, and the great temptation to drinking. Moreover, as regards the monetary tax, it matters little whether the burden of the poor—of the drunkard in his worn out state, of his family, or of his orphans and widow—is cast upon us in the shape of 'Charity' or of 'Pauperism.' Under this head, also, may be introduced illustrations of the loss produced by accidents from drinking—not simply the loss of wealth or commodities burnt, or submerged, or spoilt, but the permanent loss sustained by the support of the children and wives of the drunkards and of the sufferers being transferred to the community.

Experience in parishes has long since settled the connexion between Drinking-facilities and Pauperism. One of the most observant of all travellers, ARTHUR YOUNG, F.R.S., said (1798):—"It is an obser-

vation which has been repeated to me in every part of the kingdom, and such variety of instances given, that the fact is established beyond controversy: *Multiplied alehouses are multiplied temptations.*" He was not singular in his observations.

The author of *A View of Real Grievances* (1772), says:—"Public-houses corrupt the morals, impair the health, and reduce the poor to the greatest penury and distress."

NOORTHOUCK, in his *New History of London* (1773), remarks:—"There are villages in remote country places, which can date the commencement of their poor rate from the introduction of a public-house; the rulers of the land complain of the licentiousness of the populace to little purpose, while other views cause them to tempt the people from sobriety."

JOHN CARY, Esq., in his *Essay towards regulating Trade and Employing the Poor* (1700), says:—"The cause of idleness is the encouragement of ale-houses on account of the Revenue."

GODSCHALL, in his *General Plan of Parochial Police* (1787), says:—"The swarm of ale-houses that infest all our towns, deprave and impoverish the laboring poor."

JONAS HANWAY, in his work entitled *The Defects of Police the Cause of Immorality* (1775), mentions "A certain parish in the north of England, where no public-house was licensed, and where there was no poor's rate nor occasion for any such relief. At length, three licenses were granted, and what was the consequence? Within thirty months the poor's rate amounted to *eighteen pence* in the pound. Upon this the justices *withdrew* the licenses, and the æconomy of the people reverted to its former channel, as no rate was necessary."

§ 8. IRELAND, which has been a *Poor Nation* from want of capital, and has wanted capital chiefly because the people have preferred *swallowing* it to saving it—being tempted thereto by our own Government, which has always manifested a far greater interest to finger their 'money' than to foster their 'morals.' The Tippler was perfectly correct who exclaimed, ere emptying his second glass, "Here goes a peck of meal and a stone of the murphies!" ADAM SMITH might talk more learnedly, but, after all, *that is the secret of Ireland's miseries—and of our own.* The poor, *swallow their Independence* in swallowing their capital, and, along with that, swallow those moral attributes and social influences whereby alone they can ever rise to Political Power, and so cease to be 'the lower classes.' Liquor is the great leveller!

In 1757-8, 1760-61, the average annual Balance of Loss between the Corn Imported and Exported was £78,282. But in the year 1759, a year when the Distilleries were stilled, there was a Balance of Profit of £4,584.* All that, we take it, meant so much comfort

* *Tour in Ireland*: by ARTHUR YOUNG, ii. p. 122. The Imports that year were £27,058; the Exports, £31,648.—It should be stated, in reference to the next Table, that there was no increased Export of wheat or meal showing that the corn exported was corn saved from the Stilleries.

for the poor, as well as prosperity for trade.* “The salutary effects of which,” says a contemporary observer, “were the restoring new vigour to our languishing manufactures, and a visible reformation in the morals of the people.”

The next illustration has reference to the state of the country in 1808-9, 1812-13, when, for parts of those years, distillation was again prohibited. Of oats, the grain mainly used by the distillers, the total quantity exported in 1808-11-12-15 is given from the averages of the Customs returns,† and the quantity of corn spirits paying duty is added:—

OATS IN BARRELS.	VALUE.	SPIRITS IN GALLONS.	
4,299,567	£4,080,806	9,647,091	<i>Years of Famine and Prohibition.</i>
3,033,831	2,267,225	22,419,197	<i>Years of Plenty and Distillation.</i>
1,265,736	£1,813,591	<i>Gain in four Years.</i>	

Thus, even in years of dearth, the prohibition of distilling in Ireland increased the oats exported nearly *two millions of pounds* in value; so that, making allowance for the parts of years during which the distilleries were in operation, the CAPITAL of the country was increased by half a million annually, with a positive gain in all social and moral aspects besides.

In like manner, the great social revolution effected by the good Father MATHEW, supplies us with illustrations which, like the preceding, answer a double purpose,—showing what Drinkers lose by what Abstainers gain. “A great improvement,” says the *Weekly Herald*, reporting a meeting of the Dublin Board of Trade, “has taken place in different branches of business. There has been a great revival in the Irish Cloth Trade, and the demand for it and other Irish Manufactures is so great, that it is proposed to hold a weekly wholesale market for the convenience of dealers in these goods. Very large Hat manufactories are all brisk. As an instance of the good that Teetotalism has done to *Shopkeepers*, it was stated by the Chairman, that a draper in Francis-street had increased his sales *sixteen times*. Mr SHERIDAN, the builder, had received orders to erect a large Paper Mill; and had got many orders to erect flour and oatmeal mills.”

At the Knockmahon Mines, employing about 1,000 people, the average wages formerly paid was £1,900 per month, £500 being spent in drink. In 1840, the monthly earnings of the same persons, at the same work, averaged £2,300, of which 500s. were not spent in whiskey.

§ 9. SCOTLAND is the most educated, and religiously instructed portion of the Empire, and her people are, naturally, the thriftiest. What is the operation of the Traffic on this prepared and prudent

* *Earnest Addresses to the People against drinking Spirituous Liquors*, by W. HENRY, D.D., F.R.S. Dublin, 1761.

† Vide *Parliamentary Papers*, vii. 1823.

soil? Councillor JAMES GRAY, Chairman of the Edinburgh Parochial Board, says:—"The expenditure of the City Parochial Board for 1849, was £27,040. The number of enrolled paupers, 2,700; but, in addition, there are about 750 who receive occasional relief. Of these, *at least two-thirds are brought to poverty by their own intemperance.* It is more difficult to ascertain who are reduced to that condition by the drunkenness of relatives; but I *know* that upwards of 100 orphans are now provided for by the parish, whose parents brought themselves to a premature grave by dissipation; and a *still greater number of children* have been removed from the custody and *poisonous influences of their parents* to the country, where they are provided for, and educated, by the Board."

The same gentleman said, at a meeting of the Town Council, October 23, 1849:—"Before I came to Edinburgh, I lived eight years in a parish where there was no public-house, and *during all that period I never saw a person the worse for drink.* There were no poor's rates in the parish *then*; but *now* there are five public-houses, and a poor's rate of 1s. 8d. in the pound." Mr BLACKADDER, Ex-Lord Provost, said, at a meeting of the Parochial Board, Nov. 2, 1849:—"As to the causes of the Pauperism, first among the grizzly throng I would place drunkenness. I verily believe that, out of 2,700 paupers, 2,000 were made so by drink: so that we are, in fact, not so much supporting the poor, *as we are supporting the public-houses.*"

The INSPECTOR of the City parish says of the Poor's roll, "2,321, or 80 per cent, are understood to be so from habits of intemperance in themselves or relatives. Average (annual cost) of four years ending 30th September, 1850, £26,679; of which [the need for] £21,344 is traceable to intemperance." Dr BEGG adds: "The whiskey shops flourish with renewed energy on the pay days of the Parochial Board."

CRIEFF:—"If the effects of 'sprees' and moderate drinking be taken into account, *seven-tenths* of our pauperism is caused by drinking. A man in good circumstances last year became *insane* through drinking; twenty men, with one or two exceptions in good circumstances, were all cut off in the prime of life by intemperance, two dying in one day;—as many more were fast progressing to the same end."

FORFAR:—"Forty-two of the paupers have been of intemperate habits. About 58 widows and orphans have been left on the Poor's Fund by intemperate husbands and fathers. In consequence of early drunkenness, *the constitutions of many men are nearly worn out by the time they are forty years of age*, and when seized with distress they require immediate relief from the Poor's funds; and when any *epidemic* prevails, fathers speedily fall victims, often leaving numerous and unhealthy children a heavy burden upon the public."

PERTH:—"Of the 769 paupers, about *one-half* of intemperate habits. The proportion of Widows and Orphans left by intemperate husbands and fathers will be about *three-eighths.*"

OLD DEER:—"Of the widows and Orphans, *two-thirds* may be said to be from the effects of intemperance."

GLASGOW City Parish:—"I consider every Public-house a moral nuisance—a hot-bed of disease, crime, and destitution."

Mr D. MACLURE, of the Parochial Board:—"A spirit dealer in High-street informs me that he draws *ten pounds more on the pay days of the Glasgow poor* than on any other day of the week."

§ 10. Is ENGLAND any better, in regard to pauperism, than the Northern part of the Island?

On the 1st of January, 1855, the number of Paupers actually relieved was 850,453. Now, as to the chief cause of this, having already recorded the judgment of a Parliamentary Committee, we need only add some recent testimonies to show that things are, in this respect, little better than they were—if, indeed, the *proportion* of paupers who are so from drunkenness is not rather increased than diminished.

The Rev. G. HOLT, Chaplain to the Birmingham Workhouse, says:—"From my own experience, I am fully convinced of the accuracy of a statement made by the late Governor, that of every hundred persons admitted, *ninety-nine* were reduced to this state of humiliation and dependence, either directly or indirectly, through the prevalent and ruinous drinking usages."

Hear Mr [afterwards Sir] P. FAIRBAIRN's evidence before the Poor Law Commissioners:—"I employ between 500 and 600 men. According to my *own* observation, fully *ten per cent* of the men have their wives and children in attendance at the public-house. The poor women may have children they cannot leave at home, and these they bring with them. The *wives* are thus led to drink, *and they and their children are made partakers at these scenes of drunkenness and riot*. By the pressure of the wants created by habits of drinking, there is soon no means to purchase clean or respectable clothes, and lastly no desire. The man, instead of cleaning himself, and appearing at church on Sunday, remains at home in filth, and in a filthy hovel. I have served the office of Overseer in Leeds three years, and having attended the weekly board, have seen *the end of this train of circumstances* in the applications for relief from parties who had previously been in the receipt of good, and even high wages."

Mendicity is another evil, flowing in great part from the Traffic, which first creates the *necessity* that compels to beg, and then fosters the *spirit* of beggary which perpetuates the system. No doubt there is a certain amount of mendicity of a transient character, not traceable directly to drinking. Sudden death will sometimes visit the sober husband, who has not had *time* to save; and his widow, after her goods are pawned, will beg rather than go to the workhouse. But it should be here recollected that the prevalence of professional or *chronic* mendicity is the great hindrance to effectual private relief in such cases, by the suspicion thrown over all beggary; and that the reluctance of honest persons to go to the workhouse is but the disgust to be numbered with the *majority* of its inmates—the *Traffic's Customers*. A commercial crisis, a master's bankruptcy, or a strike, may come now and again, and cast numbers of operatives out of employment for a time. Save for the Traffic, however, these accidents would seldom occur. We concede that many of our *agricultural* poor, with large families, cannot live on their wages, without extraneous aid. With a Maine Law, however, the wages of these men would

inevitably rise. Allow, then, that of the mendicity of Britain, *one-fourth* has no direct connexion with the Traffic, what of the remainder? (1.) As to its extent: Observations made at thoroughfares leading into 13 towns, ranging from Nottingham to Dover, show that in *one* autumn day 783 mendicants entered those towns. In two-thirds of the cities and towns of Britain, while these vagrants were passing through, others in equal number were also subsisting on the almsgiving of others. Multiply this 783 by 2, then by 300 begging days, and then by all the cities and towns of the empire; and how frightful will this appear! (2.) As to the Revenue of these mendicants. It was found that the average receipts were 4s. 6d. *per day*, besides broken victuals and clothes. Often, the head of the vagrant family stayed in the Public-house 'to enjoy himself' safely, while his 4 or 5 children ranged the town. When the day happened to be 'a good one,' the supper was enriched with an extra pint or two of beer! Begging, it would seem, is the next profitable 'profession' to thieving, since a begging family will, on an average, extort £80 per annum from the public. There is, then, in the very midst of us, various wandering tribes—not lessening, but increasing—tribes engendered in the mud of the Traffic—who live in profligacy and intemperance, and have a language, manners, and customs of their own. . . . This population has its signs and freemasonry, its halting places and Public-houses, and succeeds in extracting, by cajolery or deception, not less annually than £1,500,000 out of the pockets of the public. They must 'pick up' a good deal of property besides, and prepare many young persons for stepping over this border-line of beggary into the adjacent territory of crime.

Those who are indifferent to the deeper moral and social evils interwoven with the Traffic—of which pauperism is but a *sign*—should at least understand the *pecuniary and material interests* involved. If the growing evil is not timely arrested by the prohibition of its source, property will be prodigiously deteriorated, and society itself endangered, by the multiplication of our degraded and dangerous classes.

§ 11. While the temptations of the Traffic continue, our working-classes will be *kept poor*, since their earnings are dissipated to a frightful extent at the Public-house; rarely is anything put by for 'a rainy day'; and when a contribution is put into a club, the meetings being held at a Tavern, generally double the amount saved is squandered in the process of doing it!

The Rev. JOHN CLAY supplies a valuable statistical Appendix to the 'Report of the Select Committee on Public-houses,' 1853. Excluding the higher class, youths, and teetotalers, from the calculation, he finds in *Preston*, one Alehouse to 28 working men and tradesmen; in *Blackburn*, one to every 25. This means, in plain English, that in the process of injuring their own health, degrading their own character, and paving the way to the poorhouse and the gaol,—26 persons of the *Industrious Classes* club together to support a *Public-house*! "The expenditure in them must constitute a heavy, though *self-inflicted tax*, weighing very injuriously on the social and domestic condition of those who subject themselves to it." Another interesting document is given, showing the fundamental

bearing of the Traffic on this question of pauperism—and what it is that, most of all, *keeps down the working man*. It is an account of “*The weekly expenditure in drink*—for the greatest number, from the Individuals themselves—of the whole of 131 Artizans and Laborers employed by the same master.”—It shows, first, that those who earn *least wages* are the *most temperate*. 12 are teetotalers; and only 12 (chiefly the same) attendants at church. Second, that the gross weekly earnings amount to £154. 16s. 0d.: the sum spent in liquor by the 119 (131 less 12), £34. 15s. 0d., or 22 per cent of their wages! This, spent for 39 weeks (or nine months of the year), would amount to £1,355, which, divided amongst 119 drinkers, leaves £11. 7s. 9d. expended in the indulgence of the selfish propensity for liquor, and abstracted from the comforts of home and the profits of honest trade. Suppose the house in which they drink (so much better than their own!), with all its furniture and comforts, to be worth £570, then it is clear that, dividing these 120 men roughly into four groups of 25, each set will, in two years, have *spent what would buy the house in which they drink!* In still plainer words, they will have swallowed their own ‘Club-house,’ and bolted their own Freehold.*

§ 12. As the Traffic tempts the people to drunkenness and a profligate expenditure of their means, so this gives rise to Poverty, and Poverty breeds IGNORANCE. But the ignorance of the Drinking system is not simple ignorance—it has a density, a darkness, and a depravity peculiarly its own. Society has not to contend with a mere negation, in its Pauper and Ragged Schools: it has not simply to enlighten and instruct—it has to file off and burn out horrible excrescences and cancerous sores engendered of the Public-house. It is, if we may so express ourselves, Educated-Ignorance, vice-encrusted and stereotyped.

The Rev. Dr MCKERROW, in a speech at Edinburgh, philosophically remarks:—“I go for education, and as one of those who hold that we must educate not merely the intellect, but the *tastes* and *habits* of the people. *It should be borne in mind, that the Publican is an educator as well as the Schoolmaster.* . . . Our high educational agencies are comparatively few and inoperative, while the public-house, the beerhouse, and the whiskey-shop, are confessedly *training, not merely teaching.*”

Even the *Morning Advertiser* (or ‘Tap Tub’) is not blind to this truth. When writing against the Beershop, which, after all, is the Public-house of the poor man, it says:—“The beershop is, in fact, *his school*; and its games and frivolities form *the only system of education he is likely to recognize*. If the destinies of the rising generation are left to the chances of such an education, what must be the result? If such be the Fathers, what will be the Children?” But was not the *Advertiser’s* client (the Public-house Interest) the *Mother* of the beershop, though the daughter is illegitimate?

* A paper by Mr CLAY, read before the ‘British Association for the Advancement of Science,’ in 1854, shows that the laboring classes are *most criminal*, because *most intemperate*, in what are called ‘good times.’ The Traffic transforms Divine blessings into positive curses.

Again, *who* are the *pupils* of Ragged Schools? "Having," says Mr W. GRIMMOND, of the Edinburgh Industrial School, "looked carefully over my register, as well as painfully observed in my daily journals, I now give you the melancholy fact, that had it not been for habits of Intemperance, *no fewer than 85 per cent of the children* under my care might never have required either to beg for their bread, or to attend Ragged Schools." The FIELD LANE, London, Ragged School, in its 7th Annual Report, says:—"Satan has a glorious reign here. His great agent, Drunkenness, is spreading a curse around,—*but for this, your Committee's duties would well-nigh cease.*"

Sir A. ALISON says, of the records of the Glasgow Refuge:—"These highly curious annals of crime show, in the clearest manner, the fatal influence of the drinking of whiskey upon the lowest classes; for out of 234 boys at present in the institution, it appears, from their own account, that the drunkenness of their parents stood thus:—Had drunken fathers, 72; drunken mothers, 62; both fathers and mothers drunken, 69. So that upwards of two-thirds of the whole boys have been precipitated into crime, through the habits of intoxication of one or both parents. The boys all state that, till they were taken into the House of Refuge, they lived two-thirds of their time in the low Public-houses in the centre of Glasgow, and that their enjoyments there, for they were all under the age of puberty, were drinking, smoking, and swearing."*

Who, too, are the inmates of our Juvenile Reformatories?

Mr CLAY quotes from the mouths of young prisoners:—

A CHILD BURGLAR.—"My mother is dead: my father often got drunk: he used to lick us with a rope: he used to bring women into the house—*drinking*. I have broke into two houses. I got in [to the last] through the back door, about twelve at night. I went upstairs into the man's bedroom, and took 13s. 6d. from his pocket. *I bought something to eat with the money*. I slept out every night. I have four sisters and a brother; and I am the youngest but one. Is aged nine."

ANOTHER, AGED 14.—"Both my parents are living. I cannot read. My father seldom misses getting drunk twice a week."

The *Edinburgh Review* (Oct., 1851), treating of the forlorn and neglected juvenile criminal who has been taught to regard crime as misfortune only, and punishment as bad-luck, puts in a claim for protection and sympathy:—"Has society no share in the condemnation and the guilt of this soul? Has the *Law*—so prompt in punishing the child, but which leaves unchallenged the drunken, vicious, cruel parent, by whom the child was forced into the gulf of crime—nothing to answer for? Are not the authorities who have contentedly *allowed* such haunts of infamy as he was bred in, to continue in the very heart of our great towns, and whose *indifference* to the moral circumstances of the laboring poor has fostered these NURSERIES and SCHOOLS OF CRIME—part authors and abettors of the boy's depravity? Such questions open a fearful account with society."

* *Principles of Population*, ii. p. 537.—1840.

We have in England alone, often as many as 17,000 Juvenile Offenders. This is but the incipient disease—for the vicious boy is but the father of the *dangerous man*. Mr DICKENS has finely said:—“There is not one of these—not one—but sows a harvest that mankind *must* reap. From every seed of evil in this boy, a field of ruin is grown that shall be gathered in, and garnered up, and sown again in many places in the world, until regions are overspread with wickedness enough to raise the waters of another deluge.” This being so, how can men calmly sit down and calculate what number of generations it will take, by slow degrees of moral-suasion, to ‘counteract’ the evil that could be crushed at once and for ever?

§ 13. Not only does the Traffic bring up vast numbers of children without moral instruction—not only does it instil into them the forlorn and desperate principles of the beggar or the thief—not only does it embrate the youth and the adult who have been neglected, and steep their nature in double depravity,—but it entices and ensnares multitudes both of our Teachers and our Taught, and leaves them not until every flower of moral beauty has been blighted within them—until every root of principle has been torn up—until well nigh every line of Truth and Hope has been erased from their nature.

The Rev. J. HORLICK says:—“The beershops sadly *counteract* the effect of our labors, whether in preaching or teaching.”*

The Rev. HENRY BERKIN, of the Forest of Dean, “considers the morals of his neighborhood to have been incalculably injured by the beershops:—has seen boys of 12 years old staggering drunk *since their introduction*. The *facilities* offered by these houses, induce the colliers to spend their money away from their families, and *destroy* their domestic habits. The instruction of his school is greatly *counteracted* by the ill effects of the Beer Bill.”†

CHARLES CONWAY, Esq., of Panteague, says:—“No education or training can cope with this moral pestilence.”‡

The Rev. B. DE RENZI, Chaplain to the Leeds Gaol, has favored us with the following return:—

No. of Prisoners in Gaol at Leeds.	No. who have attended Sunday School.	No. who have been S. School Teachers.	No. under 18 years of age.	No. under 18 who have attended S School.	No. who have not attended S. School.
282	230	23	33	28	52
Aug. 14th, 1854.	Or 81½ per cent.	Or 10 per cent.	Or 11 per cent.	Or 84 of column 4.	Or only 18½ per cent.

The Rev. J. KINGSMILL, in his official report on the Pentonville Penitentiary, 1849, says: “Of 1,000 convicts, 757 had been Scholars in the different day-schools, high and low, in the country; and nearly half of that number, on an average, five years.”—p. 14.

* Evidence on the Employment of Children, 27.

† *Ibid*, p. 23.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 593.

In Parkhurst Prison, out of 937 boys confined in 1844, 732 had been at day-schools, on an average, nearly four years.

The *Daily News* says:—"Returns in 1849 from the Governors of 100 prisons, show that out of 5,996 prisoners then in gaol, 2,900 had been Sunday School Scholars."*

Returns from Penitentiaries and Houses of Refuge, show that out of 422 inmates, 312 had been Sunday School Scholars, and 16 Teachers.

Moreover, the ratio of ignorance is vastly overstated. Mr CHARLES PEARSON, solicitor to the city of London, ascribes this to the desire on the part of prisoners to excite sympathy on *the ground of ignorance*, which is really much less than they profess.

Archdeacon GARBITT, referring to drunkenness, says:—"Wherever this vice prevails, *there are wives wronged, children neglected, all household order and economy at an end, and what ought to be the centre of all charities, and the school of all virtues, is a ruin and a desolation.* To REMOVE what feeds vice and inflames the passions, and by all lawful precautions to impede their gratification, is as much AN AXIOM OF EDUCATIONAL WISDOM, as the inculcation of moral principles and discipline in positive duties. *Yet such temptations are elaborately multiplied.*"

§ 14. The Traffic not only tramples out knowlege, where it previously exists, but it has a *vested interest* in a sensual and ignorant social state—it is an inveterate and sleepless organization for obstructing the elevation of the people. The *Athenæum*, of June 21st, 1856, in allusion to the rejection of a proposal to found a FREE LIBRARY, says:—"The Beer-interest has triumphed in St Pancras's, as it formerly triumphed in Mary-le-bone and Islington. St Pancras will not listen to the proposal of *a farthing rate for intellectual exercises.* Yet those who look on mournfully from a distance, may be comforted by an assurance, that these failures indicate no falling

* At a meeting of Ticket-of-Leave Men, convened by Mr H. MAYHEW, March 12th, 1856, to which 50 responded, it was ascertained that *more than one-half of them had been educated either at Day-schools or Sunday-schools* Here is the history of one of them:—

"A young man of comparatively respectable appearance, with great fluency of expression, proceeded to narrate his past career. Having been condemned for seven years, he was sent to Millbank Prison, where he was put to tailoring. *Being fond of Books*, he was enabled to improve his previous education, and even began to 'tackle' algebra. After the lapse of 14 months he went to Portsmouth, where he was employed in wheeling barrows from morning to night. During the whole of his confinement his perpetual source of anxiety was, *what was to become of him when he should be liberated?* On being released, he had £6. 12s. in his pocket, and when he got to Southampton, the officer of the penal establishment kindly (?) offered him a drop of brandy. He took a 'little,' which, as he had not tasted spirits for four years, immediately got into his head, so that with the help of a glass or two more, he became quite intoxicated, and spent all his money the same night, and got locked up into the bargain. Before he could bring himself to thieve, he walked the streets in a vain search for work for three months. In this desperate state he met with his old associates, and for a period of two months *he did very well as far as money went, for he made £5 or £6 a week.*"

away of London and Londoners from liberal sentiments.* They indicate nothing save the activity of the beerhouse interest; an interest always powerful and always ready, being thoroughly organized and perpetually on the alert. TAP, the landlord of the 'Jolly Topers,' knows that BROWN and JONES spend their evenings and their wages in his bar-parlor, because they obtain pleasure; *his interest, therefore, is against setting up public libraries and reading rooms in the next street*; and partly to please TAP, who is such a capital fellow, and partly to spite ROBINSON, an unsocial fellow, who never enters the 'Jolly Topers,' but would go to the public library, BROWN and JONES join with TAP and TAP's friends *to put down reading and reflection*. The better classes must put aside their apathy, and combine with the sagacious body of artizans, to chastise the Tap-interest." And, in fact, everybody *knows* the antagonism between the Traffic and Truth. It is a suit of Beer *versus* Brains. In September, 1856, for example, the Directors of the Bristol Athenæum retained the services of a Solicitor, to oppose the licensing of a house adjoining their premises, on the ground that a Tavern would tend to demoralize the 1,200 young men who were members of that Institution. Very good—but do they not equally see that such houses tend *everywhere* to demoralize the members of that domestic institution called the English Home. †

§ 15. But the Traffic is the dispenser of that which creates a guilt more awful, as certainly it entails consequences more lamentable and lasting, than any other vice. We allude to what has been called "the great sin of great cities," but which the Traffic has now distributed all through the country—the sin of prostitution.

Drink bears a double relation to this sin,—it seduces the victim, who in turn becomes seducer, so that, with a fearful retribution, it prepares both sexes for participation in a course of mutual ruin. The Syren allurements of licentiousness, which cannot prevail over the sober Youth, are irresistible to the excited visitant of the Public-house. Hence it is, that the Publican and the Prostitute are the best of friends; certainly, as a large class, one could hardly exist without the other.

Yes! Beerhouses, Wine Vaults, Public-houses, and Drinking Saloons and Casinos, now multiplied throughout the land, are hotbeds of licentiousness, and seminaries of seduction. Well might Mr KAY, the Travelling Bachelor of the University of Oxford, remark, after a comparison of England with the Continent:—"We have often, and, as I think, with great reason, cried shame upon France for granting licenses to the Brothels in her towns, † but by our present

* Excellent! If a local failure to get this *Permissive Act* applied is no argument against the Act itself, why do Literary men cry out against the Prohibitory Act, if it chances to fail in its application now and again? Both remain as excellent *levers* to work with, another time.

† *Social Condition of the People*. 2 vols. We must distinguish the two distinct parts of the continental system. The first is, that of *totally prohibiting the PUBLIC trade of prostitution*; which is analogous to the doctrine of the Alliance. The second is, the licensing of certain parties (banished to a district by themselves), to secure surveillance over them, and the power of medical examination as a *protection* to the innocent, not as encouragement to the vicious.

system of licensing Beerhouses, we are in reality giving the sanction of Laws to, and encouraging the establishment of, *the worst possible species of brothels for the demoralization of the poorer classes of Society.*" It is officially reported of LIVERPOOL, that "there are sixty or seventy taps, and hundreds of beerhouses, supported by the worst of characters. In Williamson Square and vicinity, there are twenty saloons, etc., supported by *thieves and prostitutes*; and in the town more than three hundred brothels *in all of which spirits and wine are sold.*" A calculation appended to the report gives the annual cost of Prostitution and associated Crime and Drinking at £750,000 for that single city.*

In the Poor-Law Commissioners' Report for 1853, referring to the Country, a publican is reported as saying—"If *my* beershop will not answer, I don't know whose can, for I keep them a girl and a fiddle." And they are no better in towns. Take LEEDS, for example. Mr SYMONS, in the *Prison Reports* for 1857, says:—"I went, accompanied by Inspector CHILDS, to visit the low places of resort of the working classes. We started soon after nine o'clock, and visited about a *score* of beer and public-houses. In the beerhouses there were several mere children; and *in almost all* were prostitutes. *These places were thronged.* In one, dancing was going on in a good-sized room up stairs, where I found a dozen couples performing a country dance; *the females were all factory girls and prostitutes.* Not one of these dancers, boys or girls, was above 21 years of age." From the evidence of Mr W. JAMES, Superintendent of Police, we give one horrible revelation: "At this place there was a number of boys, from 16 to 18 years of age, assembled after they left the factories, and also young girls of corresponding ages. They were in the habit, twelve of them, of putting down a penny a piece, and then throwing dice in a basin or a milk-bowl, and the one that threw the highest number was the winner of the prize—and *that prize was, that he could select any one of those girls and take her up stairs for prostitution.*"†—The house was broken up. NOW THE SAME PEOPLE ARE LICENSED AGAIN, WITHIN NINE MONTHS OF THIS TIME; THEY WERE CONVICTED ON ONE SINGLE DAY, ON TWO INFORMATIONS. So much for magisterial control! "In NEWCASTLE," says the *Society for the Protection of Females*, "there are 29 Public-houses where private rooms are kept for women of loose characters, at some of which 33 females live." Dr HAWKINS, in a paper on the Moral Statistics of Manchester, states that out of 70 prostitutes interrogated, *one-half* were drunk at the time, viz., ten o'clock on Sunday morning. The age of four-fifths of the whole *then* in the town (718) were between 13 and 20 years. *Fifty-one Retail Brewers, and forty-one Public-houses, allowed prostitutes to congregate on their premises.* Mr BISHOP describes what he had himself seen, while visiting 14 of those houses in Liverpool.

"*In every instance, I marked the presence of abandoned women.* In one of the rooms there were 150 persons—a third boys. In another 400 persons, a fourth of whom consisted of youths of both sexes.

* Report on Crime to the Watch Committee, March, 1836.

† Report of Select Committee, p. 189.

The best conducted of the rooms I fear the most. In some the songs and singers are too *disgusting to be dangerous*: but in the better conducted a *thin gauze of propriety* is thrown over all the scenes. A few are open on a *Sunday evening*. I lately looked in at one. The audience was small—most intoxicated. *I heard the Old Hundred Psalm sung, the Hallelujah Chorus, Bishop Ken's evening Hymn, and the Jubilate Deo.* The organ was a large one. It was a melancholy thing to see and hear this group singing, in such a place and such a company, *We are His People and the Sheep of His Pasture.** God's music enlisted in the Devil's cause!

MR JAMES MATHER, Spirit Merchant, South Shields, says of the 'tied' Publicans—"They admit all descriptions of characters into their houses, which are a PERPETUAL SOURCE of nightly disorder. Loose women, and the young of both sexes, are admitted. In SUNDERLAND, 60 public-houses were visited by deputations, in nine of which 450 persons were found, chiefly *young* persons of both sexes, exhibiting the most repulsive debauchery. An affecting account is furnished, on the authority of Captain SHEPPARD, of the state of things in Blackburn. At the early part of 1853, there were 34 public-houses and beershops which harbored prostitutes, or maintained auxiliary brothels. They maintain auxiliary brothels adjoining their houses, *as a means for increasing the sale of their liquor.*"

Mr CLAY states, of Preston, "Of 84 statements made by Prisoners, 41 testify to harboring of Prostitutes, 10 to the keeping of dancing-rooms, 56 to gaming, etc. So it seems, that while we put down Gaming and Brothels under one name, we are actually multiplying and licensing them under another!" In his 24th Report of the House of Correction, he reveals the following startling facts:—

"My last year's intercourse with the subjects of my ministry has made me acquainted with practices resorted to in certain beerhouses, which must be mentioned in order to show what demoralizing agencies are added to those already existing in them, viz.: the keeping of prostitutes. From three entirely independent sources, and at different times, I received statements fully confirming each other, which leave no doubt of the extent to which this profligate system is carried on. *Sixteen houses* in one town, harboring, or rather maintaining, about fifty-four prostitutes, have been named to me. But this is not the full amount of the evil. *The neighborhood of those houses is corrupted.* Women—*married women*, occupied to all appearance with their own proper avocations at home, HOLD THEMSELVES AT THE CALL OF THE BEERHOUSE FOR THE IMMORAL PURPOSES TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED."

§ 16. The 'Report of the Committee on Drunkenness,' in 1834, shows *how* drinking is also at the bottom of much *Illegitimacy*. Mr G. WILSON, overseer of St. Margaret's, Westminster, said:—"When unfortunate females have applied for parochial assistance, or, being pregnant, for admission into the workhouse, I have invariably, in the presence of the matron, inquired into the causes which led to their wretchedness. Almost, if not *always*, they have attributed it to the

* Report of Select Committee, p. 189.

excitement of liquor; being taken out by their companions in hours devoted to relaxation, or their attending a place of worship, and being taken to a *Public-house*, and there the company, or the excitement of spirits, have thrown them off their guard; and they have dated their first ruin to that, I think, *almost invariably*." Mr POYNDER, Under-Sheriff of London, observed—"To the effects of liquor multitudes must refer, both their *first deviation* from virtue, and their subsequent *continuance* in vice. . . . Perhaps it would be *impossible* for them, without that aid, to continue such a life, or to endure the scenes they are called to witness." These facts are well known to the Traffickers, and were expressed by an aged Distiller, at a public dinner of the trade, in the coarse toast—"THE DISTILLERS' BEST FRIENDS—THE POOR WHORES OF LONDON" (p. 428).*

And what are the consequences of this vice, so constantly fostered, in its remote beginnings, in its full play and in its collateral circumstances, by the Traffic even. Mr D. W. HARVEY, the Free-trader, would not allow this trade to be 'free and open,' though it could not exist a week without the other! Referring to London (with its 10,000 fallen ones), he says:—"We now have *hundreds of prostitutes parading the streets* from Temple Bar to Aldgate Church, *seducing and alluring the young men, hundreds in number*, belonging to the great establishments of the city.' And why invoke the interference of the law? TO PRESERVE MANY YOUNG MEN FROM CONTAMINATION. Every word of this plea is our own for the protection of ALL—falling or fallen, young or old, pure or impure, from the devouring blight of the Traffic.

In our judgment, there is, in the catalogue of vices, no isolated foe to a Nation's civilization so potent—for it strikes at the core of vitality, ruining both body and soul; and pierces, with its poisoned dart, into the health of the future! For this evil—this saddest of social diseases, there are many *palliatives*, and but one PANACEA. It will lessen only in proportion as its causes are lessened; and as true civilization advances. Prostitution, which grows with a rank and rapid vegetation in the pestilential atmosphere of the Traffic, would wither and well-nigh perish in the vital air of a civilized prohibition. Moral agencies could *then* cope with the one remaining natural cause of it, but with unnatural apparatus of physical and social temptation, expressly nourishing it with the 'sewerage' and 'miasma' of the Traffic, it cannot fail to rise up into a monstrous luxuriousness of evil, which saddens the heart of Moral Enterprize, and makes Hope almost hopeless!

§ 17. On the subject of ACCIDENTS, arising from Intemperance, little need be said, because the fact is, on the one hand so patent to all, and on the other so clearly beyond the scope of precise statistics. A few illustrations will enable the reader to comprehend the vastness of the *Interest* of life, welfare, and wealth, involved in this aspect of the question.

* HOW THEY TREAT THEIR FRIENDS. In September, 1855, the papers report that a wretched girl sold to a *Publican* and his company, at York, her gown, stays, petticoat, stockings, and finally, *chemise*, and was found by the police, turned out into the streets, *stark naked*!

1st. Accidents may happen to the *person*, attended with injury, loss of time, often of limb, and costs of various kinds; or with loss of *Life*, with permanent loss to survivors and society.

2nd. Accidents may happen to *property*, involving loss of capital, destruction of fixed capital, of the instruments of wealth and reproduction, attended by a derangement of trade.

Now, the Traffic is perpetually occasioning accidents, associated with losses of all these descriptions, by land and by sea; in our fixed habitations, or while travelling abroad; and whether sleeping quietly in our beds, or engaged in our industrial pursuits.

Take that frightful *Boiler Explosion* at Rochdale, where, in consequence of drinking, the engineer is led to neglect his duty, a whole neighborhood suffered shock and injury, and some score of innocent persons—fathers—sons—daughters—were blown and blasted into hideous death, or bruised and mangled into life-long decrepitude.

A similar accident, arising from a drunken engineer, whereby twelve persons were killed, is recorded in April, 1864.

Take that *Fire*, near Leicester Square, London, where, in consequence of a lodger, returned from a drink-house at midnight, igniting his bed-curtains, a conflagration raged for hours, burning £5,000 of personal property and several houses, and consuming nine persons who were sleeping in bed; or that fearful fire, reported in the *Times* (April 17th, 1861), at Patrick-street, Dublin, in which ten persons were burnt to cinders! It was proved, on the inquest, that the fire was caused by the drunkenness of a man and his wife, occupying one of the rooms.

Take, again, the stately Man of War, or the Packet Ship, or the great Sea Steamer, with the prodigious wealth and precious hopes they bear, and the hundreds of souls on board—how many of these have been *consumed* or *cast away* in consequence of intemperance? Man will never fully know, till “the sea shall give up its dead.”

Take, again, that long train of carriages upon the Iron Road, where the lives of hundreds are dependent on the caution of a guard, the watchfulness of a pointsman, or the sobriety of an engineer—how many frightful *Collisions*, with their wrack, contusions, and mangled death, are to be attributed to the drink licensed to be sold at the Railway Stations!

§ 18. “A serious proportion of the accidents,” says Mr ROBERTON, engineer to the Bridgewater Trust, “was owing to the men going to work more or less in a state of intoxication. One woman stated that she had laid out the corpses of 29 men, only one of whom, the last, had died a natural death.” The *Sheffield Iris*, of the 17th May, 1834, states that “Mr BADGER, the coroner, has, within ten days, had occasion to hold inquests on 13 persons, who have come to their deaths by accidents, solely arising from drunkenness.” A vast number also arise from drinking much short of drunkenness, never imputed to their true cause. This is especially the case in industrial employments connected with dangerous machinery requiring caution and steadiness of eye and hand.

A communication lately appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury*, from the coroner's clerk in Liverpool, from which we gather that “in 17

out of every 20 inquests, drink has had more or less to do with the cause of death"—that is, drink has had more or less to do with killing 581 out of 690 persons on whom inquests were held in Liverpool in the year 1859—a number in one year and in one town, equal to that which has been left dead on the field after some of the bloodiest battles that have decided the destinies of the world. We read of verdicts of 'over lain,' and kind-hearted persons are full of sympathy for the poor mother who awakes and finds her darling dead by her side. Such verdicts generally mean '*smothered by drunken mothers,*' and of these, in the year 1859, two-thirds took place on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights, or the night that began, that which ended, and that which followed the Lord's Day; whilst in the same period, in the case of 56 children, we see disgusting besotted mothers drinking in the public-house at the very moment their helpless little children are burning to death at home.

But perhaps the most emphatic testimony, is one given by the late Mr WAKLEY, M.P. The case was published in the papers at the time; the first in June, 1839, and the other shortly afterwards.

"Mr WAKLEY: I think intoxication likely to be the cause of one-half the inquests held.—Mr BELL (clerk to the inquests): The proportion of deaths so occasioned was supposed to be 3 out of 5.—Mr WAKLEY: Then there are annually 1,500 inquests in the Western division of Middlesex, and, according to that ratio, 900 of the deaths are produced by *hard drinking*. I am surprised that the Legislature, which is justly particular about chemists and druggists vending poison, is not equally so with the venders of gin, which appears to cause such a dreadful waste of life."

At a second inquest, the same coroner was reported as saying:—"Gin may be thought the best friend I have: it causes me to hold annually 1,000 inquests more than I should otherwise hold. But besides these, I have reason to believe, that from ten to fifteen thousand persons die in this metropolis annually from the effects of gin drinking, upon whom no inquests are held. Since I have been Coroner, I have seen so many murders, by poison, by drowning, by hanging, by cutting the throat, in consequence of drinking ardent spirits, that I am astonished the Legislature does not interfere. I am confident that they will, before long, be obliged to interfere with the sale of liquors containing alcohol. The gin-seller should be made as responsible as the chemist and druggist. If a Publican allows a man to stand at his bar, and serves him with several glasses of liquor, and sees him drink till he gets intoxicated; and if that man should afterwards die, and a surgeon should depose that his death was accelerated by the liquor so drunk, then would the publican be liable to be punished for having aided to bring about that death."

§ 19. When an advocate of Liquor-prohibition,* glorious JOHN MILTON, in his great epic, said—

* "What more foul common sin among us than drunkenness? Who can be ignorant, that if the importation of wine were forbid, it would both clean rid the possibility of committing that odious vice, and men might afterwards live happily and healthfully without the use of intoxicating liquors."

Some by violent stroke shall die,
By *Fire*, by *Famine*: by Intemperance more—

he softened the terrible truth, since, while Intemperance is its own dread self, *those* are its companions and consequences. But he goes on—

Intemperance on the earth shall bring
Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
Before thee shall appear!

Referring to physiological treatises on the DISEASES of that Intemperance which the Traffic fosters, we merely present illustrations of the probable *extent* of loss sustained through this system, in reference, first, to the more special and fixed complaints of society, chiefly arising from impaired organisms; and, second, in reference to epidemics, and suddenly destructive disorders.

The first may be estimated by the impaired health of drinkers, and by their increased mortality. Experiments in the Indian Army,* and in the Army of the German Confederation, amongst thousands of men; the comparison of the Temperance Sick Clubs with the best of the ordinary ones; † and the tables of the mortality of the members of the Temperance Provident ‡ with that of the common Life Assurance Societies; all bring us to this conclusion as to relative sickness and mortality, *per centum*.

TEETOTALERS, 1; Careful Drinkers, 2; *Intemperate*, 4.

It has long been noted that the London Bills of Mortality show a rise and fall in deaths corresponding with the consumption (as that with the price) of spirituous liquors. For example, from 1741 to 1743 inclusive, during the Gin-mania, the deaths exceeded the births by 41,094. But from 1751 to 1753, when *heavy duties* had been imposed on spirits, the deaths exceeded the births only by 15,346. A corresponding decrease in the spirit-excise had taken place. The Distilleries in 'full-blast' had destroyed 25,748 lives more in the former period of three years than the Distilleries 'restricted' had been allowed to do in the latter. In the former period, 16,473 persons perished in London of fever; in the latter period, only 7,581—3,000 cases less, annually. The Act of 1751, then, by lessening the consumption of spirits, saved in three years, in the Metropolis alone, not less than 25,748 lives. In the first period, the deaths by excessive drinking were 43 annually; in the second period, only 16—a sufficient indication of general improvement.

Nor are these isolated cases; so far as statistics enable us to go, the fact seems to be invariable. The general mortality, and the deaths by fever, greatly curtailed by the partial restrictions of 1757, were still further lessened by the *total prohibition* of Distilling from March 25th, 1757, up (with an interval) to April 25th, 1760, when the duty was increased.

* Detailed by Lieut.-Col. SYKES, in the *Statistical Journal*.

† Vide Mr CLAY'S *Preston Sanitary Report*, Health of Towns' Commission. 1st Report.

‡ The bonus just declared in this Society (1864) gives £127 to the *Tætotal* members, as against £100 to the careful *Drinkers*.

YEARS.	EXCESS OF DEATHS OVER CHRISTENINGS.	DEATHS BY FEVER.
1755-7	20,001	8,190
1758-60	13,597	6,922
1761-3	27,098	9,613

The same fact of connexion between a flourishing Traffic and an increased mortality is shown by taking the consumption of Spirits over a lengthened term of years.

YEARS.	GALLONS OF SPIRITS DISTILLED.	EXCESS OF BURIALS OVER BAPTISMS.	DEATHS BY FEVER.
1721 to 1730	5,281,637	9,289	3,963
1731 — 1740	8,053,543	9,661	3,482
1741 — 1750	11,266,695	10,894	4,351
1751 — 1750	3,734,600	5,670	2,565

In 1826 the consumption of Spirits doubled, as the consequence of reduced duty, the *deaths* in England and Wales increased by 13,143.

From June, 1808, to December, 1809, the distilling of whiskey from Corn was prohibited in Ireland, and, of course, the consumption greatly decreased. What followed in Dublin? In those years, the patients admitted into the Fever Hospital, in Cork-street, were 1,071 and 1,051: but in 1810, when the prohibition ceased, the patients increased to 1,744. At the Sick Poor Institution, in Meath-street, there were, in 1808-9 respectively, 8,139 and 8,069 patients admitted: but, in 1810, the admissions rose to 9,075.

§ 20. The second class of disease wholly engendered of the Traffic or promoted into virulence by it, is shown in a variety of ways. According to LIPPICH, of 100 drunkards whose career had been minutely traced, fifty-two had perished *within four years*. This means erysipelas, mortification in hospitals, acute fevers, apoplexy, fatal fits, exposure to cold, 'found dead,' and the strange verdicts entitled 'Died from the visitation of God,' as well as the '*delirium tremens*,' and '*Intemperance*,' which are the sole acknowledged fruits of the Traffic in the Tables of Mortality. Yet we learn from the Registrar General's Annual Report, that under the last two items were included, from 1838 to 1842, in England, not less than 2,044 persons!

In making up his quarterly report of London, the Superintendent Registrar states that, in the quarter ending September 27th, 1856, the deaths were 14,066, being 1,000 more than in the same quarter of 1855. "Ten persons died from the intemperate use of alcohol, besides those who sustained fatal injuries when intoxicated, and those who died from maladies generated (or fostered) by intemperance, *which, however, is not shown by the medical certificate.*"

LIPPICH found *all common disorders became aggravated through drink, by tendencies to a nervous or putrid type, with rapid sinking of the strength.*

In the great Fever which raged in London, in 1739,—the æra of the gin-mania,—the Drinkers were the first and greatest victims. Dr SHORT observes:—"The like was the fate of all tipplers, dram-drinkers, and punch-merchants,—*scarcely any other* died of this severe fever."*

Dr CARTWRIGHT, of New Orleans, writes, in 1853, to the Boston *Medical Journal*:—

'The yellow fever came down like a storm upon this devoted city, with 1,127 dram-shops in *one* of the *four* parts into which it has been divided. It is not the citizens proper, but the foreigners, with mistaken notions about the climate and country, who are the chief supporters of these haunts of intemperance. *About five thousand of them died before the epidemic touched a single citizen or sober man, so far as I can get at the facts.*'

The Asiatic Cholera, too, singles out the drinker with fatal precision, where it leaves the sober generally unscathed. So well known was this fact, that the authorities at Philadelphia closed the grog-shops as a nuisance to the public health. In Albany, the same year, while only 1 in 2,500 of the teetotalers were seized, 1 in 60 of the general population perished. The *Volksvriend* for August, 1854, states that, "out of 900 persons who died in Rotterdam the preceding year from Cholera, only *three* were abstainers." It is the same at home. In Newcastle, within a period of two months of the ravages of Cholera, it struck down one drinker out of 56, of course a far greater proportion of drunkards; only 1 in 625 of the teetotalers. Throughout the country it always broke out afresh after a *festival* occasion, and increased after the Sunday, when the people consumed a little more drink than usual.

The traffic is an agency that promotes *all* the causes of disease which infect a neighborhood. The human body is a LIVING HOUSE, and the Traffickers are engaged in the work of *Poisoning it*. To us who are injured or imperilled, it matters not whether they do it at the request of the Drunkard, or whether they even *believe* it to be such a process as we have described. Sanitary Reform ought not to wait upon the conviction of the ignorant, filthy, and vicious; for will *their believing in the innoxiousness* of impure or invisible miasms save us from the pestilential effects?

A true state is bound to legislate according to its own light, and not according to the ignorance of its selfish or stupid members. The Traffic, then, tried by this great Sanitary Test, must be condemned. It keeps within the living temple waste matter, and thus defiles it—it drains away the conservative forces that resist the inroads of disease—it obstructs the natural *ventilation* of the vital chambers, and loads the blood with poisonous elements,—it lowers the flame and temperature of life,—it expends the comforts of the people, and demoralizes *them* in circumstance and in soul,—and wherever it is established, becomes a 'fever-nest,' injurious to the health of the vicinity. The

* *Chronological History of the Seasons*, vol. ii. p. 251. London, 1759. For numerous illustrations, see *Works of Dr. Lees*, vol. i. and iii., and the *Prize Essay*, p. 195.

Traffic, therefore, ought to be proscribed as a Nuisance: either suppressed by the moral energies of the state, or else, after the fashion of quarantine in infected districts, those who *will* drink and sell, should be exiled to a district by themselves, and a *cordon sanitaire* drawn round them, to separate, as it were, the Living from the Dead.

Mr NEISON, the actuary, has shown that the mortality of drunkards at the ages from 21 to 30, is *five* times, and from 31 to 50, *four* times greater than the rest of the community, at the same ages.* He allows that, at the very least, 1 in 14 of our entire male population is an acknowledged, *completed* drunkard: and he shows that at the ages

Between 41 and 50, there is 1 out of 16 who dies of drink.

„	31 and 40,	„	1 out of 21	„	„
„	51 and 60,	„	1 out of 22	„	„

In a paper on 'The Vital Statistics of Strong Drink,' by the Rev. DAWSON BURNS, drawn up with great care and skill, the author arrives at a conclusion which we believe to be *under* the truth; exhibiting the annual loss of life in the United Kingdom; as follows:—

By intemperance directly.....	27,050	} Total
By its sequences (as disease, accident, etc.)	20,251	
By limited drinking.....	6,962		54,263

Add to this National Loss of life, the terrible acquisition of Crime, and in connexion with these two items alone, it is but the naked fact to affirm, that the Traffic not only creates an army of Criminals more numerous and costly than our army of Soldiers, but inflicts upon our citizens annually a Mortality two fold greater than that which our forces suffered in the two years' campaign in the Crimea, from the carnage of battle and the fatality of pestilence combined!

§ 21. IDIOCY is the sin of the Parent visited upon the children. That poison which, taken in excess, contracts life within the body of the mother, and transmits impaired and feeble constitutions to the unhappy offspring who *are* born, must, by natural law, affect the brain. Hence the frightful number of 'Naturals,' as they are called by the country people, to mock the civilization we profess, and to hamper our progress towards a true one.†

Dr HOWE, in his *Reports on Idiocy*, states that, out of 300 idiots whose history he could learn, 145 had free, habitual drinkers for parents. One drinker had seven idiotic children. The harvest of Idiocy and Insanity we are now reaping, was in part sown in the debauchery of the last century; and we shall require a generation of Temperance to get rid of the crop.

§ 22. *Dementia* is *self-inflicted* idiocy. If the last was a fruit of guilt, *this* is of its very essence. Deliberately to annihilate the powers of mind and body is at once the highest crime against society, and the deepest sin against self. It is more than converting oneself into a lazar or a brute: for, in the process of mental extinction, the drinker passes through so many stages of excitement and fury

* *Journal of Statistical Society*, xiv. p. 200.

† Out of 1,097 cases of crime, 11 are ascribed to '*weak mind*'—only 10 to Idleness and Want together. See *Reports of Prisons*, 1841, N. and E. district, p. 68.

as to endanger the life and disturb the happiness of others. But how can Society consistently rebuke him? how can it *prohibit* the process and the termination, while itself *licenses* the agent and machinery that impels to them? The end is 'drivelling *imbecility*' to the sinner and the victim, ere the curtain falls: cost and confusion to the community which aids and abets him.

§ 23. Dr W. A. F. BROWNE, of the Crichton Institution, Dumfries, has ably investigated the question of INSANITY. "The conclusion that 19.57, or nearly *one-fifth* of the cases of derangement which break up the peace of families and over-people asylums and workhouses, is owing to intemperance and dissoluteness, appears so frightful, and so fraught with suggestion of the rottenness of the framework of society, that we are fain to regard the picture as descriptive of another age. But no: even darker colors and a more lengthened and gloomy perspective must be employed." He adds:—"The victims from all causes multiply; but the victims from intemperance multiply in greater measure."

LORD SHAFTESBURY, at Manchester, November 24, 1851, said:—

"Here I speak of my own knowlege and experience, having acted as a Commissioner of Lunacy for the last 20 years. . . . Fully *six-tenths* of all the cases of insanity to be found in these realms and in America, arise from no other cause than from the habits of intemperance in which the people have indulged."

The bare figures of this question, putting aside all theories, bring out a most remarkable proposition,—that insanity in every country corresponds in the main to the use of intoxicating drinks.*

The traffic is not simply the occasion of one insane person's insanity or idiocy out of every five, by direct temptation and participation,—but also the *exciter* of the dormant seeds, the disturber of the nicely balanced will and passions, in three out of the remaining four.

§ 24. Go to another phase of the subject—examine into the facts and psychology of the question—and we shall be at no loss to understand the increase of *Suicide*. Nearly 500 such cases annually, in London alone! Let us take exceptional and sober France.† In the Northern departments, we find, in a total of 14,745 cases of madness, 1,024 are distinctly *ascribed* to wine and brandy drinking.‡ But this has relation to another fact, if possible more frightful. In France, in 1841, out of 2,814 cases of suicide, 185 are *expressly* said to have committed the fatal act, either while drunk, or after drinking. This shows drunkenness even there, to be *the most frequent of the known causes of Suicide*, with the exception of domestic grief and physical pain. Probe these, again, to *their* causes, and drink takes first rank. People confound motives with causes. A man destroys himself under a certain *notion or impression*. Now, that is the insanity—but perhaps DRINK is the cause. Moreover, a sober man

* See *Prize Essay*, p. 201, for Table.

† On our last visit to *Paris*, walking down the Rue Censier at four o'clock in the afternoon, we met in succession *five intoxicated blouses*, and several other persons excited, short of the reeling point.

‡ Vide Boismont's statistics, *Ante* ch. ii., § 6.

has grief—but does *not* sink into melancholy, and ultimately become a suicide; the drinker, under the same circumstances *but one*, does. What is the cause of the difference? Sobriety or Drink. Of 38 cases of *Suicide* carefully reported at Aberdeen the assigned 'causes' were Insanity, Disappointed Love, and Family Quarrels (vexation); but it is added, that twenty were *intoxicated* before the act, and seventeen were habitual drunkards. In plain English, *the Traffic makes its customers unfit, either to do the work of Life, or to bear its ordinary chances and reverses.* Out of 218 cases of suicide in Berlin, the causes of which were ascertained by Dr CASPAR, fifty-four were produced by dissoluteness and intemperance. In the peaceful community of Geneva, out of 133 suicides, 10 were perpetrated by drinkers. Dr BROWNE has noted the history of 1,222 cases of suicide, taken as they came, at random, and finds that 158 sought death under the influence of drink; four committing the act in an unconscious state. Intemperance, the suicide of the soul, is the rife parent of the other!

§ 25. We now approach the last of the general counts of our indictment against the Liquor-Traffic—that it is the great promoter or producer of OFFENCES and CRIMES. It is so, in various ways. It deals out the *material* which, by necessary law, tends to the production of an indolent, violent, and criminal disposition. It not only affords facilities for drinking, but it employs every conceivable kind of *seduction* to promote the consumption of that material. Now the machinery *has* worked in the way affirmed, in spite of all regulating law; and we have only now to show *how much* it has done in the direction indicated.

First, let us take a glance at some *Statistical Facts* which illustrate the connexion of complicity and cause between the Traffic in Strong-drink and the Turpitude and Crime of the country.

We say 'some' facts, because statistics, as selected and worked by our *Economists*, are very often only so many arithmetical examples of complicated fallacies. They seem to think it quite enough to sow figures and reap sums. Now figures, like the facts they ought to express, require a *rational* treatment: the law of *Induction* must be applied to them to get out their true meaning: or, in other words, certain elements must be eliminated, and certain *facts of connexion established*, before the figures are of the slightest value. Figures, for instance, cannot prove that drinking causes crime: they can only show that, with much of drinking there is also the *coincidence* of crime. The same may be said of other social conditions. It is *observation of the working of strong drink*, and the previous knowledge of the history of the criminal, that can alone prove that drinking engenders crime. And when this is proved no statistics can disprove it, and dissolve the *nexus*—they can only confirm it, or establish the extent of its operation. A sound 'philosophy' must precede the figures, control the treatment, and interpret their meaning. All figures, again, must be *analyzed*—so that we exclude extraneous circumstances or differing elements—otherwise we but deceive ourselves. For example, a writer might assert that *not* drinking, but the *price of bread*, determined the crime of the country. Now, no

doubt, there is a certain BORDER OF CRIME—a *margin of criminality*—that *does* enlarge or narrow with the price of food, which in turn indicates social prosperity or distress. It might be proved, perhaps, in some years, or even series of years, that *while more drink was consumed, less prisoners were confined in prison*. Hypothetically, we say, this is possible: but all the statistics in the world could not disprove the *fact*, that drinking necessarily tends to foster crime. Whatever the quack might say, the philosopher would *not* predicate, “So much the worse for the *fact*,” but rather “So much worse for the *figures*,” and proceed to analyze the source of the fallacy. In the case supposed, we perceive at once a possible explanation—what elements are deficient, and what ought to be thrown out, before the figures are worth a fig. *Many fineable offences* which sometimes amount to 40 per cent, are equivalent in poor times to imprisonment, since the offender cannot pay; in ‘good times’ he or his friends can pay, and therefore he does not swell the list of *commitments*. Returns made out without reference to a ‘philosophy’ of statistics, may be but a series of stupidities, as in the case supposed, where the poor year *must* be that of diminished drinking, and the good year that of augmented drinking. The figures would show (if they showed anything save the folly of the compiler) *that drinking promotes order and morality!* In such a case, all *fineable* offences must be eliminated to make the *commitments* an index of the proportion of offences. We shall, therefore, select such statistics as are simple and massive.

§ 26. In SCOTLAND, under the Sunday Closing Act, and higher duties on whisky, in 1855, *crime diminished fourteen per cent*.

In Edinburgh, the offences against property, since 1852, have diminished *twenty-five per cent*.

1853	For crimes against property	1647	For drunkenness	5728
1855	Ditto	ditto	Ditto	5014*

Decrease..... 235 Decrease..... 714

§ 27. In ENGLAND, in 1825, the duty on spirits was lowered from 12s. 7d. to 7s. the imperial gallon, when crime immediately and steadily increased.

	CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.	POOR RATES.	CRIME IN LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.	AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT.
	GALLONS.	£		S. D.
1823	4,225,903	5,772,962	2,503	51 9
1824	4,880,679	5,736,900	2,621	62 0
1825	4,132,263	5,786,989	2,902	66 6
1826	8,888,644	5,928,501	3,457	57 0
1827	8,005,872	6,441,088	3,381	56 9
1828	9,311,624	6,298,003	3,516	60 5

The last *very varying* column completely dissipates the idle and absurd argument of the *Economist*, that not dear or cheap spirits,

* Of these, 2,000 were females, 3,000 males. It is curious, however, that crimes against the *person* increased from 80 to 105; indicating that a *partial* measure which lessens drunkenness *but leaves excitement*, will not get rid of perverted feeling. But apprehensions for offences *committed in drink*, sank from 9,533 in the former year, to 7,159 in the latter—a difference of 2,374.

but dear or cheap food, *regulates* the bulk of crime! Everybody who has not buried their brains in masses of arbitrary statistics, knows that the best paid laborers are often the most drunken.

§ 28. Large masses of statistics prove beyond contradiction the fixed connexion in England between the great bulk of crime and drinking facilities, and also a general connexion between drunkeries and pauperism. The annexed DIAGRAM exhibits many paradoxes, viewed from the common stand-point; but the *Tavern Key* unlocks the difficulty and solves the problem.* The sole constant correspondent of crime, with the variations of which crime itself varies, is that of *drinking facilities*. Church, School, and Gaol, may all flourish together, provided the DRUNKERY flourishes; but if *that* be much beneath the average, crime will be found to be so likewise; as well where Ignorance prevails as where Knowledge has been diffused.

ENGLAND.	R.	E.	Variance.		C.	D.	Correspndce.	
	Pop. to 100 Worshippers.	Pop. to 100 Day-scholars.	R.	E.	Pop. to 1 annual criminal.	Pop. to 1 Drunk-ery.	C.	D.
I.								
WORCESTER	309	1074			470	136		
WARWICK	324	1119			545	145		
STAFFORD	313	1122			580	138		
Mean ratio calculated from 100	90	91	—	—	117	120	+	+
BUCKINGHAM	206	1041			634	120		
OXFORD	236	1064			579	128		
	122	97	+	—	106	129	+	+
II.								
YORK	293	935			875	190		
NORTHUMBERLAND	358	957			1100	194		
LANCASTER	373	1126			609	153		
SURREY	415	942			623	232		
	73	96	—	—	75	90	—	—
III.								
CORNWALL compared with	211	1101			1533	394		
MONMOUTH and	220	1405	=	=	415	118		
CAMBRIDGE	216	974			592	109		
IV.								
DEVON compared with	250	1045			724	191		
DORSET	213	879			739	178		
SOMERSET compared with	230	1051	=	=	594	137	=	=
STAFFORD	313	892			580	138		
V.								
CAMBRIDGE	216	947			592	109		
HUNTINGDON	181	862			668	49		
HERTFORD	225	883			546	105		
HANTS	21	837			562	137		
	123	113	+	+	108	136	+	+

* EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAM.—R. (Religion) denotes attendance at public worship; E. Schooling or Education; C. Crime; D. Drink-shops. The Symbols are — *Minus* (or less than the average); + *Plus* (or more); = *Equal*; — *Unequal*. The calculations are founded on the Excise Returns, the Census, and the Criminal Tables. The *large* figures exhibit the proportions reduced to an average of 100. In group II., for example, 73 means 27 *below* the average per centage of religious instruction, and 75 means 25 *below* the average of crime.

The results of a comparison of Counties are briefly these:—

First Group—Ignorance and Irreligion with Crime *plus*.

Second Group—Same antecedents with Crime *minus*.

Third—Education and Worship *equal*, Crime *unequal*.

Fourth Group—Church and School *unequal*, Crime *equal*.

Fifth Group—Church and School full, Gaol *also* full.

The *unvarying* antecedent—because chief factor in the cause—is the corresponding condition of the Traffic.

Cornwall, Cambridge, and Monmouth present at once a remarkable contrast and comparison. They are all three amongst the most religiously-instructed, yet two are the *most*, and the other is the *least*, criminal of all the counties of England. Why? Because Cornwall has *not half* the public-houses of Monmouth and of Cambridge.

§ 29. We close our statistical illustrations with 'IRELAND and the IRISH.' The peculiar character of the people, their excitable temperament, and unfortunate historical experience, afford a special lesson. The common people have correctly designated the excitement produced upon them by the *cratur*, as '*mad with whisky*'; and it is a striking proof of the power of the drink to obliterate conscience and perception, that any one should be found to defend a trade in temporary, any more than permanent, insanity. Mr Serjeant LLOYD, before the Lords' Committee on the state of Ireland in 1825, assigned "the easy access to spirits" as the chief predisposing cause of the *peasant disturbances and agrarian outrages* in county Limerick (p. 31). Under the prohibition (in part) of distillation, from June to December, 1808, and from March to December, 1809, whisky rose from 8s. to 18s. the gallon, and *at once* sobriety and order supplanted riot and debauchery. In 1810, when the prohibition ceased, "the commitments increased *nearly four-fold*"; and the Lord Mayor and Magistrates directed public attention to its cause. So, again, when the distilleries were stopt, in February, 1812, up to September, 1813, crime stopt too: and when they revived to their work of destruction, crime revived with them.

Years.	Prisoners.	Years.	Prisoners.	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Year's Decrease.
1811	10,737	1812	9,908	2,093
1814	10,249	1813	8,985	

Thus, even in years of want, a partial measure, merely rendering drink dearer, was attended with a reduction in crime of *one-sixth*, when, under other circumstances, it would have increased largely. Another illustration is derived from a comparison of the years of Father MATHEW's great success with *ordinary* years of intemperance.

The then Irish Secretary, Lord MORPETH, declared in the Commons that "the heaviest offences, such as homicides, outrages upon the person, assault with intent to murder, aggravated assaults, cutting and maiming," had greatly diminished.

Father MATHEW's triumphs were from the year 1839 up to the culminating æra of 1845, when the movement began to decline, in part owing to emigration, in part to the natural subsidence of *all* mere enthusiasms; but in 1847-8-9, to the desolation of the Famine and the Exodus.

Mr PORTER remarks on the fluctuations with respect to four heads of offences—assaults, illicit distillation, riot and rescue, and misdemeanors. But take Convictions for OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON, as those at once most likely to arise from excitement, and to be least liable to fluctuation from varying social influences of an ordinary character, and we shall arrive, on an average of years, at a very notable result. We, of course, exclude the famine years, as subject to a disturbing influence.

Six Ordinary Drinking Years, during which, exclusive of much illicit whisky, 70,913,546 gallons of British spirits paid duty.*			Six Less Intemperate Years, during which, with little illicit distillation, 42,506,190 gallons of spirits paid duty.†				
1834	5,902	} Total Crime of the First Class. 26,330	1840	2,584	} Total Crime of the First Class. 13,170
1835	5,832		1841	.....	2,324	
1836	6,099		1842	.....	2,128	
1837	2,631		1843	.....	2,172	
1838	2,710		1844	.....	2,093	
1839	3,156		1845	.....	1,869	

Take now two quinquennial periods, and see what they establish in regard to "Convictions at Quarter Sessions and Assize," compared with the years remarkable for diminished consumption of whisky.

Ordinary Drinking Years, 1835 to 1839.—Spirits, Gallons charged with Duty, 59,770,892. Serious Crime, 64,520. Executed for Murder, 59.

Partially Temperate Interval, 1840 to 1844.—Spirits, Gallons charged with Duty, 33,766,525. Serious Crime, 47,027. Executed for Murder, 21.

The Prison returns for Ireland, compared with the Revenue returns, show that a legal check to drinking is also a check to crime.

	DUTY.	Gals. Spirits.	Cases of Imprisonm't.
1854.	3s. 4d., and 4s.	8,440,734	73,733
1855.	Duty, 4s., 6s., and 6s. 2d.	6,228,856	54,431
		2,211,878	Decrease 19,302

§ 30. Some Statistics of Ireland, embodied in an able paper read in 1857 before the British Association at Dublin, by Mr JAMES MONCRIEFF WILSON, the actuary, strikingly confirm our views. The year 1851 is selected in preference to any other, because it furnishes the reliable *census* returns, and because it was a period not disturbed by those frightful causes of distress which operated from 1845 to 1850, when want almost compelled to crime.

We summarize and class together the statistical elements of (1) Education; (2) Occupation; (3) House-Accommodation; (4) Drunkeries; (5) Drunkenness; and (6) Crime. The *per centage* is referred to.

* Taken from the returns of the Inland Revenue Office. See *Report on Public-houses*, 1853, p. 656. At the beginning of this period 1,296 persons were confined in prison for illicit distilling; in 1840 only 175, and in 1841 only 171.

† In several counties during this period, there happened the unprecedented circumstance of the presentation of white gloves to the Judges.

	Neither read nor write.	Occupied persons.	Bad Lodging.	Drunk- eries.	Drunken Cases.	Crime,* convicted.
ULSTER.....	31	43	6½	·0968	·0921	·1109
CONNAUGHT....	60	37	18½	·0515	·0844	·1836
LEINSTER.....	36	41	10½	·0960	·4543	·2746
MUNSTER.....	49	39	17½	·0939	·1246	·3040

The following are very clear deductions from these facts :—

I. That Education combined with Occupation tends powerfully towards the diminution of crime, more especially towards the decrease of offences against property without violence.

II. That low-class Dwelling-house accommodation tends towards the increase of Crime.

III. That the Sale of Intoxicating liquor has perhaps *as powerful an effect upon Crime* in increasing it, as Education and Occupation combined have in lessening it. "Thus Connaught is by far the worst educated province in Ireland, with the largest unoccupied population, *yet the tendency to crime is less than in any other province* except Ulster. This can only be accounted for by the considerations, that in Connaught there are 42 Drink-houses fewer to every 100,000 of the population than in any other province; and that the per centage of committals for Drunkenness does not amount in Connaught to *one-half* the like per centage for the average of Ireland."†

IV. That were intoxicating drinks less freely used, Education, as a means of reducing Crime, *would become most powerful.*

We may see, then, from this, that no *theory* will avail to cure crime; but solely the removal of the GREAT TEMPTATION: for Man's social environment over-rides all theories. As Society creates a mass of crime by a special organization, so it can *suppress* it in great part by withdrawing its license. It needs but that a Nation shall *Will* it. The responsibility rests solely with THE PEOPLE. There is no external power, no mysterious law, which places even the slightest impediment in the path of a reform more beneficent than Society, by any other agency, has ever yet realized.

§ 31. The conductors of the Public press are often one-sided, with very loose notions about Temperance, and the strong prejudices of 'Thirsty Souls,' but as *Reporters*, they constantly illustrate our doctrines. For example, the *Alliance Weekly News* for July 19th, 1856, contains the following terrible summary, gathered only from twenty papers.

Recorded within the year (1855-6) :—

Seven hundred and eleven brawls or violent ASSAULTS, including many cases of stabbing, cutting, and wounding;
Two hundred and ninety-four ROBBERIES by or upon drunken persons;

* About 44 per cent of persons charged or held to bail are *acquitted*. The above table represents convictions.—Connaught, twice as ignorant, three times as dirty, and greatly more idle, is nevertheless less Drunken, and scarcely more criminal, than Ulster; and *much less criminal* than the other two provinces.

† In Donegal and Tyrone (Ulster), there were from March, 1855, to December, 1856,—1,131 cases of *Detection of Illicit Distillation*, against 248 for Galway, Mayo, and Sligo (Connaught)—showing the fallacy of supposing that decreased facility for the *sale* of Drink promotes illicit manufacture.

Two hundred and thirty-seven cases of atrocious CRUELTY upon wives or children;

One hundred and sixty-six cases of serious ACCIDENT or striking bodily peril;

One hundred and sixty-two actual or attempted SUICIDES;

Five hundred and twenty premature DEATHS, generally with horrible accessories; and

One hundred and twenty-one MANSLAUGHTERS and MURDERS.

§ 32. The Parliamentary Committee of 1853, report, therefore, a plain truth, when they say that “the connexion of intoxicating drinks with crime has, directly or indirectly, been the subject of enquiry at different times, and has been reported upon by numerous Committees of Your Honorable House, who bear unvarying testimony both to the general intemperance of criminals and the increase and diminution of crime in direct ratio with the increased or diminished consumption of intoxicating drinks.”

§ 33. Chaplains of Prisons reiterate the same story. One out of one hundred must suffice.

The 31st Report of the Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, Mr CLAY, under date of October, 1855, has the following:—

“I would note the fact, that during two years, I have heard 1,126 male prisoners attribute their offences—frauds, larcenies, robberies, burglaries, rapes, stabbings, homicides—TO DRINK! And if every prisoner's habits and history were fully enquired into, it would be placed beyond doubt that NINE-TENTHS of the English crime requiring to be dealt with by the law, arises from the English sin which the same law scarcely discourages.

“I have never yet conversed with a single prisoner who attributed his ruin to the gaming table; but I have heard more than 15,000 prisoners declare that the enticements of the ale and beerhouses had been *their* ruin.

“I have looked over the depositions relating to those charges of darker character which were tried at *the assizes for the county in the year ending March, 1854*. The following is a brief summary:—

OFFENCES.	CAUSES.		REMARKS.
	Acts of Drinking direct.	Habits of Drinking indirect.	
Murder	7*	2	*Including 4 ale and beerhouse cases.
Attempts to Murder ...	4	2	*Including 1 beerhouse case.
Shooting, Stabbing, etc.	41*	3	*Including 14 ale and beerhouse cases.
Manslaughter	15*	9	*Including 8 ditto ditto
Rape	14		
Assaults	10*		*Including 9 ditto ditto
Burglary	13	33*	*Including 13 burglaries, etc., in ale and beerhouses.
Robbery	32*	1	*Including 12 ale and beerhouse cases, and 3 in which prosecutor was drunk.
Robbery, with violence	30*	6	*Including 24 in which prosecutor was drunk.
Larceny	2	2	
Other offences	5	19	
	173	77	Total 250.

“Are these figures to be passed over as dry and repulsive statistics? Surely not. When murders, manslaughters, stabbings, shootings, rapes, burglaries, ‘and such like,’ to the number of 250 *in one year and county*, are traceable, directly, to *acts* of drunkenness, or more indirectly, but no less certainly, to *habits* of drunkenness, Christian feeling must indeed be dormant if it is not moved to deep sorrow for the crimes, and roused into determination to abate the cause of them. But I fear that no such determination will, for a long time to come, be of any avail. Warning and remonstrance will be heard from the bench, and from the pulpit, from the workhouse and from the mad-house, and from the condemned cell, in vain. For a powerful ‘Interest’ insists upon its right to profit by—to live upon—the degradation and misery of the people; and against that interest, the interests of morality and of the Christian religion, of mental and material progress, of social and domestic peace, will plead in vain.”

§ 34. Now turn to the evidence of prisoners themselves. The 12th Report of the *Inspectors of Prisons for Scotland*, has the following:—

No. 140. “He is in for theft; his sentence is 60 days’ imprisonment; he was a farm servant; he attended the Dean-street Sabbath School for six years.

“1.—What do you assign as the cause of your falling into error?
Ans.—Drink.

“2.—What do you think would be the effect, if the number of public-houses were reduced? *Ans.*—*If I had to go a mile for it, I should often go without it.*”

Now call in No. 142. “He is in for being disorderly; his sentence is 60 days; he has been three years at school, and one year at the Greyfriars’ Sabbath School; he was a laborer.

“What do you assign as the cause of your first falling into error?
Ans.—Drink.”

No. 146, in “for assault; sentence 21 days’ imprisonment; has been two years at a Day and Sabbath School.

“What do you assign as the cause of your first falling into error?
Ans.—Drink.”

The *Twelfth Prison Report* for England is full of similar answers—the all but invariable confession is ‘*Drink, drink.*’

Mr FREDERICK HILL, late inspector of Prisons, says:—

“I am within the truth when I state, as the result of extensive and minute enquiry, that in *four cases out of five*, when an offence has been committed, intoxicating drink has been *one* of the causes. Nothing serves more to explain the good conduct of prisoners (and, under tolerable management, prisoners are, in fact, generally well-behaved, and often even affectionate) than their complete withdrawal from the excitement and *temptation* of intoxicating liquors. *Removed from these, they become different men*, and are no more deserving the epithets which are often applied to them, than a person who has ceased to be in a passion merits the name of a madman.”

§ 35. Lastly, we present the testimony of our three classes of Justices—the MAGISTRATES, RECORDERS, and JUDGES OF ASSIZE.

The Grand Jury for Lancashire, composed of 21 magistrates, at the Liverpool Summer Assizes for 1840, said:—

“The Grand Jury having concluded their examination of the cases submitted to them, feel it their imperative duty to place on record their opinion as to the prevalent habit of *drunkenness*, so forcibly alluded to in the charge delivered to them by Mr JUSTICE WIGHTMAN, as being the cause of at least *four-fifths* of the offences comprised in this, and in almost all other calendars, as well as with regard to the best and most efficient means that can be adopted towards the extinction of that degrading practice.”

Mr ROBERTSON GLADSTONE, borough magistrate of Liverpool, said before Mr C. VILLIERS'S committee:—“I believe some people entertain the idea that you have no *right* to select the Licensed Victuallers business for the imposition of a tax, because it is a trade, and trade should be free. Now, I do not think the Licensed Victuallers can fairly be placed in that category. We are now obliged to maintain a police force of something like 900 strong, and we are at this moment paying from the Borough funds, the property of the Corporation, something like £100,000, for the erection of a new gaol; and I contend that we should not have to incur so large an expense on account of the police force, nor should we at this moment have been put to the necessity of erecting a new gaol, *if it were not for the existence of the licensed public-houses and the beerhouses.* I believe they are the source of ALL the mischief.”

§ 36. The RECORDERS and SHERIFFS completely accord with the Justices of the Peace and Magistrates.

Mr JOHN POYNDER, for three years Under-Sheriff of Middlesex, and Clerk for thirty years of Bridewell and Bethlehem hospitals, says:—

“Remotely and proximately, there is *no such temptation to crime* as is afforded by the drinking of spirituous liquors particularly; and by the drinking of beer to an improper extent.

“Then of all the causes, you think drunkenness is the *greatest cause?* I think it is so.”

Sir A. ALISON, F.R.S., Sheriff of Lanarkshire (1849), observes:—“Drunkenness is the cause of *two-thirds of the crime*, and one-half of the distress, existing among the working-classes at this moment.”

Dr S. WARREN, F.R.S., Recorder of Hull, at the Easter Sessions for 1854, said:—“A dram-shop has always appeared to me, ever since I began to take an interest in criminal matters, as simply *the half-way house to Norfolk Island or the Hulks.*”

M. D. HILL, Esq., Recorder of Birmingham, in his address to the Grand Jury, January 5, 1855, said:—

“Those among you who bear in mind the charges which have been delivered from this bench, on the *causes of crime*, will naturally ask how it is that the enormous consumption of intoxicating liquors which prevails through the land—a *source of crime not only more fertile than any other, but than all others added together*—should have been hitherto passed by, or only have been brought under notice as incidental to some other topic. The subject has occupied my thoughts for years; strange indeed must have been the state of my mind if it had not forced itself on my attention, since the evils arising from the use of intoxicating drinks meet us at every turn. And for myself I

cannot pass an hour in court without being reminded, by the transactions put in evidence before me, of the infinite ramifications of this fatal pest. . . Crime, gentlemen, is the extreme link in the chain of vice forged by intemperance,—the last step in the dark descent, and thousands who stop short of criminality, yet suffer all the other miseries (and manifold they are) with which the demon Alcohol afflicts his victims.”

§ 37. The JUDGES OF ASSIZE, at home and abroad, have for centuries given but one persistent, honest testimony on this point.

In 1623, LORD-KEEPER COVENTRY, in his address to the Circuit Judges, declared that “the licensed alehouses are the public stages of Drunkenness and Disorder.”

SIR MATTHEW HALE, Chief Justice of England, in 1670, said:—

“The places of Judicature I have long held in this kingdom have given me an opportunity to observe *the original cause* of most of the enormities that have been committed for the space of nearly twenty years; and, by due observation, I have found that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and other enormities that have happened in that time, were divided into *five* parts, *four* of them have been the issues and product of excessive drinking, *of tavern or alehouse drinking.*”

No one, we presume, ever inverts the connexion asserted—no one dreams that men are *first* criminals, and *then* drinkers: everybody knows to a certainty that the criminal is first ‘primed’ and then ‘hardened’ by drink—that the quarrels take place over the cups, and not *before* them—and that the abstemious criminal is a rare phenomenon. “To the best of my belief,” said Dr WARREN, in his charge to the Grand Jury at Hull, already cited, “no Temperance man ever stood at that bar to receive judgment from this seat—in my time, at least.”

LORD GILLIES, in 1832, directed the attention of the Sheriff and Magistrates of Glasgow to the fact, that there were not less than 1,300 Public-houses in the Royalty. “He could not but be sensible of the fact that the *facilities* thus afforded to the indulgence of intemperate habits were the *principal cause* of the crime that prevailed; he therefore directed their serious attention to the lessening of Public-houses.”

MR JUSTICE PATTESON, addressing the Grand Jury at Norwich, said, “If it were not for this drinking, you and I would have nothing to do.”

BARON ALDERSON, in his charge at the York Assizes, 1844, observed, when passing sentence on a man who had killed another in a drunken fray, “If all men could be persuaded from the use of intoxicating liquors, THE OFFICE OF JUDGE WOULD BE A SINECURE.”

JUDGE WIGHTMAN, in his charge at Liverpool, August, 1846, said, “He found, from a perusal of the depositions, one unfailing cause of four-fifths of these crimes was, as it was in every other calendar, the besetting sin of drunkenness. *In almost all the cases of personal violence and injury, the scene was a public-house or a beershop.*” At the Summer Assizes of 1850, he thus describes the

calendar:—"There are upwards of 115 persons for trial. There are amongst them 3 charges of wilful murder, 14 of manslaughter, and 12 cases of malicious wounding; 4 of discharging fire-arms with intent to injure, and 3 of rape. *In nine-tenths of the cases the primary date was from some public-house.*"

MR JUSTICE BYLES, at the Shrewsbury Summer Assize, 1862, in sentencing to four years' penal servitude, a wretched man who had said, "I was overtaken in liquor, my lord, or you would not have seen me here: I have never been before a magistrate in my life before"—replied,—“Prisoner! Hundreds, who enter that dock, have the same sad story to tell—*it is drink that brings the large mass of prisoners to your position.*”

On Monday, March 13, 1854, JUSTICE TALFOURD addressed the Grand Jury, at Stafford Court-house, *under excited feelings, originated by the atrocious crimes by which the calendar of that county was stained*, owing, as it appeared, to the increased prosperity of the district, which furnished the working classes with more ample means for procuring intoxicating drinks. The calendar contained a list of 100 prisoners, 17 cases of manslaughter, and 30 cases of highway robbery.

“No doubt *the exciting cause* in the far larger number of these cases—the exciting cause that every judge has to deplore in every county of this land—is that which was justly called in the admirable discourse to which I listened yesterday from the Sheriff's chaplain, '*the greatest English Vice,*' which makes us a bye-word and a reproach amongst nations, who in other respects are inferior to us, and have not the same noble principles of Christianity to guide and direct them—I mean the vice of drunkenness. No doubt this, in most of these cases, is the immediate cause, and it is a cause in two ways of the crimes which will come before you, and especially of the crime of highway robbery; for whereas on the one hand *it stirs up evil, awakens malice, and kindles the slumbering passions of the human heart, and puts the reason into a state of twilight,** so, on the other hand, it points out the victim as the person to be robbed, by presenting temptations to those who see him exposing his money in public-house after public-house—or in a state of drunkenness he finds himself a sharer in a sin from which domestic ties should keep him, and is overtaken by his partner in that sin, who adds to it another crime, or he is marked out by some of her wicked associates. One great evil of this circumstance is, I think you will find, looking at the depositions one after the other, that *it is a mere repetition of the same story over again—of some man who has gone from public-house to public-house spending his money and exhibiting his money, and is marked out by those who observe him as the fitting object for plunder, when his senses are obscured, and who is made the subject of an attack under those circumstances which enable the parties to*

* CONFESSION (March, 1863) of NOAH AUSTIN, convicted of the murder of his intended father-in-law, MR ALLEN.

“Her father then came up tipsy. I carried the pistol in my pocket [with which he blew out his brains while sitting beside him in his gig]. *I could not have done it unless I had had some drink. I went to a strange place in Bicester, and had about two glasses of strong beer.*”

escape from the consequences; because, although the story may be perfectly true which the prosecutor in this case tells—although it may be vividly felt by him—yet he is obliged to confess”—

Here the learned judge suddenly ceased speaking, and in a few minutes the fact became painfully manifest, that those who had heard him, had been listening to HIS LAST WORDS.

§ 38. We have now finished our picture of the grosser and more outward evils of the Traffic. Would our pencil were skilfuller, our shadows darker, so that we might fully portray the thing! The great enemies of civilization have been enumerated, and their workings revealed by the impressive eloquence of FACTS at the least. *Drunkenness*, in its folly, its revel, its obscenity, its beastliness, has staggered across the vision,—*Poverty*, clothed with the rags of innocence or the filth of vice, has filed past,—*Ignorance*, with her sightless orbs and her dim and hopeless children, have groped on to the darkness beyond,—*Prostitution*, in flaunting robes of guilt, with heart-on-fire of hell, has gone, shrieking and mocking, onwards to the flowing stream beneath 'the Bridge of Sighs,'—*Disease* has withdrawn its curtain, that we might see its lazar victims stretched on their 'bed abhorred,'—*Idiocy*, with incoherent gibberings and lacklustre eyes, has shown itself,—*Insanity*, with her multiplied children, here 'moping melancholy,' there raving madness, has also come up and vanished from the sickened sight,—*Brutal Lust*, fiercely glaring upon outraged chastity, has stalked by,—and the fearful panorama has been closed with *Crime*, apparelled in garments purple with the blood of victims!

Were the great social fountain of these evils dried up, how infinite would be the gains of Civilization! That fountain is the TRAFFIC. Reader! will you help our 'Holy Alliance' to seal it up by means of a Permissive Bill? Do you ask if it be possible to an enlightened nation? An opponent—*The Manchester Guardian*—shall answer:—"There can surely be no question that if the liquor trade were put under the ban of the law, it would be reduced to comparatively small limits, though it certainly would not be extinct; and if its total suppression be desirable, the result, so far as it went, would manifestly be good." But in scores of parishes at home, or large counties and districts in our colonies,* prohibition has been tried with wonderful success. In whole States, too, the most educated in the world, its success has made it the *fixed policy* of the people; and notwithstanding lax and interested allegations to the contrary, the starry banners of the West still wave over the victorious battle-fields of PROHIBITION.

* See the History of Maine Law, in full, price 2d.; and Prize Essay (chap. vii.); Sequel, chap. ii., § 10, etc., for many examples; also next chapter, § 11.

CHAPTER VII.

"THAT, RISING ABOVE CLASS, SECTARIAN OR PARTY CONSIDERATIONS, ALL GOOD CITIZENS SHOULD COMBINE TO PROCURE AN ENACTMENT PROHIBITING THE SALE OF INTOXICATING BEVERAGES, AS AFFORDING MOST EFFICIENT AID IN REMOVING THE APPALLING EVIL OF INTEMPERANCE."

§ 1. "Drunkenness," says the *Westminster Review*, "is the curse of England—a curse so great that it far eclipses every other calamity under which we suffer. It is impossible to exaggerate the evils of Drunkenness."

The difficulty, indeed, is to paint it in colours sufficiently vivid to produce any adequate impression. And to 'Drunkenness' must be added Excitement, the complement of Intemperance. 'Boundless Intemperance in nature is a tyranny'—more wasting in its ravages, more terrible in its results, more untiring in its destruction, than either famine, pestilence, or war. *They* have their seasons of repose, but *this* gives no respite, for its dread machinery works night and day, and multiplies with each succeeding age. Intemperance not only involves a sinful waste in its very being, but is the teeming source of want and waste. It is at once a pest, and the preparer for every other—it is itself a war, with health, beauty, and truth—an intestine war in which the evil always conquers.

'Tis the Carnival of Death, 'tis the Vintage of the Grave.

There is about the Drinking System a prodigality of mischief—a seduction, a virulence, and a fermenting fecundity in the reproduction of vice, which is without a parallel. Yet—strange historic comment on the old wisdom which declares that '*Wine is a mocker!*' though of all earthly curses most to be feared, of all it has been most fondled. The Nation has taken the serpent to its breast, and warmed it into life, until it has stung us to the heart. The fabled Upas of the East, loading with its heavy and fatal exhalations the valley of death, is an appropriate type of this Liquor-Traffic. It is the legal Upas which spreads its leprous distillations and dews of death throughout the land, in whose pestilential atmosphere virtue must wither, and patriotism decay.

"Something clearly *must* be done," says the *Times*; but, as usual, waits for the time to declare *what*. It can initiate nothing beyond a subscription—or a commissioner. It stops with criticism or complaint—but is innocent of all medicinal cure. The Alliance, then, will tell the *Times*. The 'cause' must be eradicated. We can have no rational hope from the modification of a system essentially bad; and, as we have seen, one uniform testimony comes down from the past, establishing the inveterately mischievous character of the Drink Trade.

Since the Public *drinking* House, licensed by law, is the acknowledged, unchangeable enemy of social progress and national prosperity, why longer pursue our Penelopean policy of License, ravelling with the one hand what we inweave with the other? Why hesitate or tarry in a work of such paramount necessity? Since no one *denies* that there is "something rotten in the *State*," let us resolve that

What comfort to this great decay may come,
Shall be applied.

§ 2. Putting out of sight a few wild theorists—a sort of political Children of the Mist,—this question may be viewed as an unerring practical test of patriotism. We may predicate of it, indeed, what Mr PLUNKET said of the abolition of Lotteries—that it is very much a matter of MORAL FEELING—of *more*, or *less*, or *none*—and the Patriometer has its three corresponding marks—*maximum*, *minimum*, and *zero*. Mr J. WEYLLAND, in his evidence before the Select Committee, admirably hit off the negative class. "There are," says he, "a great many men without any religion whatever, and *they* say, 'We want our beer fresh on Sunday'; in fact, *they would not perhaps care if half the world was drunk, provided they could have 'a good head' to their beer on Sunday.*" These may be called, with literal truth, our 'frothy patriots.' The *minimum* class has higher representatives, to wit, *the Times*. With them the motive is couched and concealed under the wider and more plastic phrase—'Public Convenience.' The *Times* admits that the 'countless' evils of the Traffic *may* be destroyed by 'the absolutism of a Maine-Law'; but then—the 'Public Convenience' and the 'head of beer'! We point to three-fourths of the calamities and crime of the nation, and say—Here is the cure—just stop the open Traffic in Britain, as the people *have* stopped it in a dozen of the American States—or give the rate-payers the power to *veto* it, when they don't want it—and the *Times* reiterates 'Public Convenience'!

WHAT WILL IT COST?—asks the *Times*. The price must be paid. What is got for nothing, says the proverb, is nothing worth. Now what *is* the cost? Simply this—the sacrifice of the ready *convenience of purchasing* a Pot of Beer, or Pint of Wine, at the next turning;—or, at the worst, the exchange of a Pot of Buxton's or Barclay's adulterated, for a Pot of genuine Home-brewed. Now, this price paid, how stands the Balance Sheet of the Nation?

DRUNKENNESS	is exchanged for	SOBRIETY :
DISEASE	for	HEALTH :
POVERTY	for	WEALTH :
HEAVY TAXES	for	NATIONAL ECONOMY :
INSANITY	for	SELF-CONTROL :
IGNORANCE	for	KNOWLEDGE :
RIOT AND CRIME	for	ORDER AND PROGRESS.

Could we have a cheaper tax to achieve a grander amelioration? Look over the items once more! *Side by side with the TRAFFIC*—for *that* is the practical alternative—stand Poverty, Brutality, and Domestic degradation, Crime, Ignorance, and Disease; and heaped around as spoils, are defeated Sanitary Measures, frustrated Political

ights, fragments of Philanthropic plans; beyond, clouds and darkness. But *side by side with* PROHIBITION, what have we? Health and Wealth, Social Order and Domestic Concord, Art and Knowledge, directed by noble aims and hopeful endeavors towards the illuminated pathway of the Future. He who has the 'more' of feeling, can scarcely hesitate.

§ 3. The patriotic *Electors* of this country—the admirers and guardians of the Constitutional freedom of the British Empire—themselves the trustees of a great interest, to whom Providence has assigned the duty of broadening down the basis of that Freedom—should emphatically appreciate the merits and mission of the Alliance. What 'interest' so extensively corrupts the fountain of political power as that of the Publicans? What system so debases the exercise of the franchise? What organization so endangers the prospects of political amelioration? Let disgraced HULL and disfranchised ST ALBANS declare! The Traffic, in the first place, by brutalizing and pauperizing our people, *liquidates* the suffrage in tens of thousands of cases; in the second, *depraves* the exercise of it in those who wield it; and, in the third place, *domineers*, with a mean and selfish tyranny, over the community that would use it freely and purely. A Blackburn Brewer, not long ago, vaunted that he could buy up half the votes of that town by dispensing a pot of beer to each elector! We hope and believe he is mistaken in his infamous boast; but, certainly, in many towns, the influence of the Traffic is enough to defeat both good men and great measures. The craft openly avows that political principle *must* be subordinated to private profit. Mr COOK, one of the Licensed Victuallers, and an ex-Publican, at a meeting of the body at Gateshead, thus announces the programme of an organization extending from York to Berwick:—

"The Trade would FIRST look to their *own private interest*, and
"Then to the *general interests* of Society.

"At the last meeting, they gave instructions to the committee to use every *justifiable means* in promoting the interests of the body, and by placing members of the trade in stations of honor and trust—as councillors, poor-law guardians, overseers, etc."

At the Annual Delegate Meeting (1856) of the Licensed Victuallers' Defence League, held at Birmingham, the *Report* displayed no reticence in this matter.

"Their watchword should be, firstly, *Their own Trade Interests*, and to KNOW NO OTHER POLITICS than to ensure 'the right man in the right place.'"

These are principles more befitting Pirates than Patriots. It is well to know, however, the maxims of our opponents. Their candour exceeds their conscience; for what *can* be more immoral and nefarious than these avowed intentions? The Community to be sacrificed to the Craft! The moral law inverted, and the social pyramid placed upon its apex! The motto emblazoned upon the banners of Boniface would overturn all government but that of an alcoholic-ochlocracy—"General Good must wait on Private Gain." But even worse is meant than expressed. It is no question of mere *waiting*—to be served at last: since to *look first* at the private interest, is, in this

case, to *supersede* for ever the public good. Publicans seek to supplant our independent and patriotic men—to control the official machinery of society—to fill our general and municipal councils with their tools and nominees—to make the entire apparatus of government subservient to sustaining *their* pernicious privileges, and instrumental in taxing the community for the support of *their* paupers, *their* lunatics, and *their* criminals! The tide of patriotism may rise—but no higher than the pockets of the Publican! Everybody—people and parliament alike—must ‘stand and deliver’ at their command. ‘The free and independent electors’ will assuredly repudiate so mean a standard of Patriotism, and spurn so monstrous and disgusting a dictation. When this miserable fraction of a People, tolerated by magisterial suffrage, wearing the badge and livery of a craft, and ‘bound over’ from year to year,—when such a body announces that the interest of NUMBER ONE is a microscopic and immediate *necessity*, the welfare of a COMMUNITY a telescopic and conditional *convenience*—it can scarcely complain if the said ‘community,’ whose rights are so cavalierly treated by this privileged rump, and whose welfare is so coolly postponed to a more convenient season, should, some day soon, withdraw a privilege and abate a nuisance. What CLASS LEGISLATION can match in impudence, or exceed in truculence, that of a System avowedly based upon selfishness, built up by the vices, and cemented by the sufferings, of the people? We have not, however, the slightest fear of this faction. An intelligent friend of ours, in conversation with one of the Members of his Borough, whose support of the ‘Alliance’ he had solicited, was told that 70 Landlords would vote against him were he to *declare* his sympathies in that direction. “Well,” quietly responded our friend, “we have 200 Alliance men already entered upon the register.” A handsome contribution was the significant response.

§ 4. The interest of the *Tradesman* is clearly on the side of prohibition: for every shilling spent in drink is abstracted from dress, furniture, food, or books (which are the food and furniture of the mind). “If a nation does not work, or works wrong,—brewing its corn into beer, not baking it into bread; producing rum and tobacco, not houses and cloth; if it applies to a wrong purpose its sea-chariots or land-chariots; will build forts and not cities; breed soldiers, not farmers and mechanics,—loaf consumers, or destroyers of loaves, not loaf makers—has the nation a right to complain against God for its want of bread.”* The transient and selfish pleasure of drinking, indulged in by crowds of our Working-men, and to which the Traffic tempts them against their better judgment, is the virtual withdrawal of so much business from other and innocent trades, the prosperity of which, unlike that of the Drink seller, is a sure sign of general happiness and material progress.† If we assume that *one in twenty-one* of our adult population is interested pecuniarily in the Traffic, then we have *twenty to one* interested in its total and immediate abolition.

* *Theism*: by THEODORE PARKER. Sermon ix., p. 210.

† *Chambers's Journal* states that in forty towns in Scotland, every 149 persons support a dram-shop, while it takes 981 to keep a baker, 1,067 a butcher, and 2,281 a bookseller.

§ 5. The *Working Classes* especially have their interest and elevation wound up with the success of the Alliance. Only men who are base enough to fawn—men who flatter but to fleece—will compliment them, as a class, on their sobriety and self-control. Like every other class, they have their class-faults—and when these faults stand in the way of the social advancement and political power of the working men, only their worst enemies, or ill-judging friends, would counsel silence. Earnestly, then, and in all sincerity, we warn them against false hopes of sudden social elevation, and particularly against pot-house agitation and agitators.

He that drinks for liberty,
Faster binds all tyrant power;
And the *Traffic's* cruel glee
But postpones the People's hour.

Why, O toiling workman, are you politically helpless? Why the Pariahs of the Constitution? The late Mr G. R. PORTER hit upon the solution in his paper on '*the self-imposed taxation of the Working Classes,*' where he shows that they expend upon *Bacchus and Tobaccos*, the enormous sum of £53,411,615 sterling!

What is the immediate hindrance to the sobriety of your class? It is the temptation of the licensed Traffic—the 'TRAPS,' as they are truly called amongst yourselves. If the PUBLIC-HOUSE is your worst foe—the Alliance, with its Permissive Bill, must be your best friend.

§ 6. A word on behalf of the Working Classes is also due to the *Wealthier and Ruling Classes* who desire their improvement—those who, while acknowledging the Claims of Labor, do not forget the Duties of Capital. It is a pleasing sign of the Times, that the Laborer is cared for at all: that on his behalf Sanitary Commissions and Mine and Factory Inspectors are sent forth—that official enquiries are instituted into reported abuses of every description—that Education is organized, and Schools of Art set up. But is there not one great drawback? We have charitable associations and legislative remedies for every possible variety of wretchedness—*save the greatest of all, and the seat and source of most others.*

Men of station and influence have frequently urged the duty of delivering the people either from the Traffic, or from the Drink. In a tract by STEPHEN HALES, D.D., clerk of the closet to the Prince of Wales, entitled *Friendly Admonitions to the Drinkers of Gin, Brandy,* etc. (1754), he observes—"It is a matter of wonder, that an universal indignation is not raised against so destructive a Pest. It is sure the duty of every man to set to his helping hand and oppose it to the utmost; *but more especially those who have it in their power to KEEP UP THE FENCES against the encroachments of this terrible destroyer.* Now, since it is found by long experience extremely difficult for the unhappy habitual dram-drinkers to extricate themselves from this prevailing vice, so much the more it becomes the duty of the Governors of the Nation to withhold from them so irresistible a temptation."

The Earl of ALBEMARLE, at Banham, September, 1855, enters elaborately into the degrading effects of *largess* at Harvest-homes.

"How do they return their thanks to God for a plentiful supply of

food for another year? *They get drunk.* Each man at the end of harvest receives a certain present from his employer, and then a party go round and ask for 'largess.' The largess-man, having begged all he can, goes to the public-house to get drunk. I won't follow him in the orgies which take place at the public-house; *but the immorality—the gross, shocking immorality of both sexes*—ought not to be lost sight of. . . Answer to every man who asks you for it for the future, *Friend, I cannot give it you, because I will not be accessory to sending you either to the gaol, the hospital, or the lunatic asylum.*"

It seems odd that Lord ALBEMARLE does not see the *further application* of his doctrine. We can point out to his Lordship a broader, surer, and therefore "more excellent way." Let him cut off the temptations of *all* seasons—summer or winter, Saturday with its work, or Sabbath with its rest—let him say, as LEGISLATOR, what he says as *Landlord*—and say it to the LICENSE-MAN as well as to the *Largess-man*: "FRIEND, I CANNOT GIVE IT YOU, BECAUSE I WILL NOT BE ACCESSORY TO SENDING MY COUNTRYMEN EITHER TO THE GAOL, THE HOSPITAL, OR THE LUNATIC ASYLUM."

§ 7. Prohibition has special claims on both sexes, and on every honest class and party: but it has supreme claims on the common heart. We are all here for a purpose; a purpose inextricably connected with the development of ourselves and the welfare of the world; a purpose whose formula of action is, *Each for all, and All for each.* When that purpose is concerned, or that law is in question—we must know nothing of sect, or party, or class. There is but one platform for us—the broad platform of Humanity; but one interest to consider—that of our common Brotherhood. In this cause, then, we must be ready to lay down our egoisms and prejudices, recollecting that words are but symbols, while *conditions* are necessities. Duty is full of sacrifices and limitations: of which true moral and social laws are the expression. The development of Human Nature gives rise to three Institutions: the *Family*, the *State*, and the *Church*. These, as springing out of the *Infantile*, the *Disciplinary*, and the *Spiritual* conditions of Man, will have their corresponding institutions in the world. Thus, from considering Social Life in its several steps and connected departments, we may gather useful hints of our duty.

The FAMILY first receives us to its bosom on our entrance into life; cradled in love, and protected from premature and mistaken action, the young heart is excited to grateful emotions. But while the Mother elicits our feelings, the Father's authority and masculine discipline *habituate* us to obedience—to order and law. In other words, the highest rational and moral power, sustained by coequal force, checks, regulates, and trains the inferior impulses and imperfect faculties of childhood. The Household, however, would fall asunder by the mere gravity of ignorance, or turn outward in violent and selfish commotions, were it not encircled by another and larger Society. Watch the well-educated youth going forth into life at the yesty age of passion. How prone, but for *social* restraints and conventions, to follow headlong the stormy impulses of self-love, and become either a stranded wreck or a destructive influence! The highest sphere of all is the moral or religious, developed in the family and general

society, but spreading and operating beyond by a species of spiritual Freemasonry; aggregating its scattered elements by a divine affinity into the Temple of the living CHURCH, for the interchange of love and faith. Into this, the profane and the violent must not enter. It is at this point we discern the need of some mediating sphere, interposing between the Family and the Church. Accordingly the State is constituted to restrain the action of gross passion, to set outward limits to the encroachments of Egoism, and thus to allow *opportunity* for higher influences to exert their sway. The enforcing power is not the spirit of the law—rather must we regard it as the frame and canvas of the picture, which the Suasionist, the Apostle of Truth and Faith, has to fill in with the beauteous forms and glorious coloring of life. Civil government is maintained by the Judicial Tribunal, which becomes its symbol; and, as a symbol, a Teacher. The idea of Equity to our fellows—the doctrine of social equality—and all the kindred principles—are derived, because engendered, in this way. If my neighbor seeks to injure me by transgressing the limits of law, the flaming sword of Justice stands across his path, and while the innocent are protected, the criminal is constrained to order, and habituated to obedience, and some outward respect for the sanctity of right.

Now, as shown by facts, the Traffic essentially antagonizes these great purposes of life and society—the final ends of the Household, the State, and the Church. Every duty we owe to each, therefore, implies an obligation to remove the hindrance and rout the enemy. The sacredness of home, the honor of woman, the innocence of youth, the dignity of manhood, invoke us to destroy that which soils, disturbs, and debases the Household. The renown of our country, its industry and order, its enlightenment, peace, and happiness,—bid us banish that which degrades its people, tramples on its law, and blots its fame. Above all, Religion, 'pure and undefiled,' commands us to annihilate that which, beyond all other influences, counteracts its agencies, contemns its claims, pollutes its professors, and retards its consummation.

Do not our facts and evidences challenge the most serious attention? Can the true patriot long stand aloof from the Alliance? Time and Opportunity, which wait not for mortals, press for decision and for action. Let not the moment of inspiration be lost. Our worthiest and best will surely vindicate, not merely their patriotism and their policy, but their Faith. It is more than a problem in political economy which *they* should aim to solve—nothing so mean as a balance of motives between convenience and principle. The destiny of this country--nay, of the Saxon race--is suspended on the issue. By it will be determined whether, on the one hand, using the *Prohibition Lever*, we raise the degraded and dangerous classes, and stop the rapid manufacture of more, or whether we permit the cancer and corruption to spread, and leave it to terminate, as assuredly it would, in the dissolution of social bonds and the reign of unbridled anarchy. Remember, that during the last ten years nearly A MILLION AND A HALF OF CRIMINALS have been in our prisons and let loose again. Remember, also, the new difficulty which has sprung up since the

Colonies have rejected our social sewerage. "We are now," says the *Times*, "in the unwonted case of having among us many thousands, tainted, stigmatized, corrupted by crime, its slovenly habits and horrid associations. We are surrounded by men, forming no inconsiderable per centage of the population, asking for work or for charity---conspiring against our property, and, if need be, our lives; spreading the contagion and art of crime, waking while we sleep; combining, while we act each only for himself; and forming an *imperium in imperio* that may lead in time to the most disastrous consequences." Let us, then, concentrate the forces of virtue and law upon the *stronghold* of this 'empire within the empire'--let us destroy its magazines and munitions of war, and effectually cut off the supplies. Let us enter upon this contest, indeed, with a tender sympathy for the victims of those mal-arrangements to which we have been consenting parties, but with an immitigable abhorrence of the spiritual and social corruption engendered. Let enlightened men of all ranks, of every sect and party, combine against a common foe, uniting a divine renunciation with a human, hopeful enthusiasm and liberality, by which alone great ends are achieved. Let us not forget that the removal of the great bulk of our national pauperism and crime, by the prohibition of its source, is but the *possible prelude* of great positive advances in social culture. We would banish the Traffic, because, with its presence, neither human nature, nor truth, has fair-play. Crime, potent and prevalent as it is, is not the worst, nor the greatest, evil of the Traffic. Though an indirect, it is not an absolute index of a nation's moral *status*; while subtracting from its merit, it does not therefore measure its greatness and nobility. The 'noisy and obtrusive' mischiefs of the Traffic are as nothing in comparison with its hidden and unobtrusive influences for evil: are, indeed, but 'outward visible signs' of its widespread power to generate sensualism, to pollute and dim the fresh and pure perceptions of youth, to poison the atmosphere of social intercourse, to lower the whole tone of our moral nature and spiritual life, and to depress, in all our daily relations of business and pleasure, the exercise of high and generous virtues. If the summit of our aspirings be not a mere negation, let us *act* as though we desired for our country what we aspire after for ourselves, a progressive purification--that as we, having come out of one bath, seek in another to wash out the mortal stains which yet cling to us, until we pass, consecrated and pure, behind the veil--so may this noble Nation, by our efforts and sacrifices first cleansed from the defilements of the Traffic, age after age advance the cause of liberty and civilization amongst the Peoples of the earth, and, in thus worthily fulfilling her providential mission, elevate herself to a sacred niche in the grand Temple of History--an inspiration and a glory for ever.

The 'Argument' proper concludes with the last section: and it must be left to the impartial reader to determine, for himself, whether the impeachment of the Traffic as an institution inconsistent with the great ends of civilization, is successfully made out. Two other matters, however, remain to be considered. It may be alleged, what indeed two Brewers and Members of Parliament *have* recently asserted, that, in the first place, Prohibition would prove a 'failure' when

applied; and, in the second, that the 'tyranny' of a Maine Law in England is a thing not to be thought of; so that, practically, we must make up our minds to *endure* the terrible evils of the Traffic, with such checks and limitations as are 'possible' under a license-system.

§ 8. As to the cant cry of 'failure,' we challenge the production of examples from the pages of history. Nowhere, that we ever heard or read of, has any reasonable system of Prohibition, whether in parishes, counties, towns, or states, eventuated in anything but a great success. Nor is the reason far to seek. If the Traffic *be* the main source of temptation to drinking, and "drinking is the great parent of crime," then the removal of the antecedent *must* get rid of the sequential results. In the body of the 'Argument,' and the 'Sequel' to it, we have given numerous instances of this, but will now furnish a few more testimonies and concrete examples.

MR CHARLES BUXTON, the brewer, thus wrote in 1855:—"In fact, *we are ourselves acquainted with villages* where it (prohibition) has been virtually enforced, WITH THE UTMOST BENEFIT, by the mere refusal of the landlord to allow *any sort* of beer-house on his estate. But what we would throw out," continues Mr Buxton, "for consideration, is the question, Whether it should not be allowed, that when five-sixths of the Ratepayers of a parish *demand the entire extinction* of all the places for the sale of fermented liquors, their prayer should be granted, and all licenses then existing should expire, after a fair time had been allowed for the publicans to make other arrangements." It is true, that while the Alliance has adopted Mr BUXTON'S admirable suggestion of a 'Parish Maine Law,' and placed it before the country in the form of suggestions for a Permissive Bill for the suppression of the Liquor Traffic, its parent has strangely and unnaturally discarded his own offspring as a 'monster.' Mr Buxton professes to have "changed his opinions"—but we submit that the above citation concerned *facts*, and we therefore have to ask him whether those parishes have changed their condition? Have Beerhouses superseded Prohibition with something *more* than "the utmost benefit"? Have the proprietors, the farmers, the clergy, the people, got tired of the absence of drunkenness, disorder, and crime? Do they now long for the old "fruits of the traffic"? If not, Mr BUXTON has no reason for a change of opinion; and may safely legislate on the axiom that like causes will produce like effects.

In the Journal of the Rev. JOHN WESLEY, under date of July 9th, 1760, we have the following statement:—"I rode over to Killikeen, a German settlement near twenty miles south of Limerick. In the evening I preached to another colony at Ballygarane. The third is at Court Mattress, a mile from Killikeen. I suppose three such towns are scarce to be found again in England or Ireland. There is no cursing or swearing, no Sabbath breaking, no drunkenness, *no alehouse in any of them*. How will these poor foreigners rise up in the judgment against those that are round about them?" Mr WESLEY, however, was mistaken in supposing that there was no parallel to these places. Even at the present time there are in England, Scotland, and Ireland many *hundreds* of parishes or townships from which the Traffic is totally excluded. The Alliance has published a list of prohibitory

landlords, including the late Prince Consort, several noble dukes, and a large number of the nobility; and the local results of that policy have been satisfactory in the extreme, both in a material and moral aspect. The people of such districts, as every observer has found, are not 'band-box' men, 'wrapt in silk-paper,' as some one lately predicted they *would be* under such a régime, but people of stalwart frame and independent minds, enjoying far more than the average of health, comfort, and happiness, and, of course, almost entirely exempt from the prevalent crime and pauperism. In the Scottish parishes, free from drinking-houses, the poor rates are generally but 2d. in the pound, rarely 3d.; and years pass away without the occurrence of a single crime.

The late Dr G. H. LAW, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in his address to the Legislative Council of the Nation (published December, 1830), justly says:—"In direct proportion to the number of Public-houses in a district, is, for the most part, the wretchedness and the misery of its inhabitants. *Often have I noticed, that in those parishes where there was not a single Public-house, there the greatest regularity and happiness were to be found; but that, in the direct ratio of Public-houses was the increase of vice and misery.*"—p. 20. We have room only for four special illustrations, but as they include a wide difference of locality, employment, and general circumstances, they may be deemed conclusive examples of the truth laid down by Bishop LAW.

DINORWIC, near Bangor, population 800. The working-men are chiefly employed in the slate-quarries: their wages 20s. per week: laborers 15s. *There is no Public-house within two miles.* The inhabitants are almost as sober as teetotalers; and put by in the Saving Club £1,000 annually. The only paupers are those arising from accidents and old age. Neatness, cleanliness, and comfort, characterise the village.

JOHNSTONE, in Dumfries-shire, with a population of 1,230.

"There are three public schools in the parish. There are no persons above six years of age who cannot both read and write.

"Though not much engrossed in intellectual pursuits, our inhabitants are yet an intelligent, moral, and church-going population.

"There are, we believe, few, if any, instances of a parish unconnected with manufactures, and whose inhabitants depend exclusively for support upon the cultivation of the soil, increasing so rapidly in population as this has done within these last forty years. *During this period the external aspect of the parish has been entirely changed by its roads, its enclosures, and its improved system of husbandry; but more especially by the number of comfortable dwellings erected for the accommodation of the laboring classes.* These houses have been built partly at their own expense.

"While the population has increased, it is an extraordinary fact in our parish statistics, *that its pauperism has been diminished.*

"WE HAVE NEITHER PUBLIC-HOUSE, nor meeting-house, nor resident surgeon, nor prison, nor lawyer, nor beggar; specialities, we humbly conceive, not to be found united in any one parish of similar dimensions in Britain; and of which, though some may be occasionally felt as parish privations, others are daily prized by us as distinguished blessings."—(*New Statistical Survey.*)

“SALTAIRE: near Bradford, in Yorkshire.

1. *Area*: About half a mile each way.
2. *Population*: About 3,000 souls.
3. *Employment*: But one man, the registrar of marriages, living in the place, who is not employed by Salt and Co., as mechanic, joiner, warehouseman, or mill hand.
4. *Habits*: Strictly honest, industrious, and sober. *Drunkards and drunkenness almost unknown. Crime the same, one boy only—a long time since—having been brought before the magistrates for a comparatively trifling offence; and a woman, but she was not a resident in the place. Pauperism almost unknown. About twelve aged persons have been in the receipt of parochial relief.*

5. How long has this been the case? About *ten years.* RESULTS.

1. *Socially*: The condition of the people is first class, as working people. I took a walk up and down the streets, looked into many of the houses, in all of which cleanliness and comfort prevailed. The women were all well-dressed and tidy.

2. *Morally*: The morals of the people may be more than guessed at from what I have above stated, but the following in reference to their religious state will serve better still. The average attendance at the Baptist Chapel, built by Mr Salt, is 500 adults; at the Wesleyan Chapel, in Shipley, above 200. Many go to Shipley Church, and the Baptist and Primitive Methodists Chapels, in Shipley.

3. *Pecuniarily*: There is a Saving's Bank in the place. There are in it deposits to the amount of nearly £1,000. Very few of the men are in the habit of going even the short distance to Shipley, for the purpose of getting intoxicating drink.”

“In the village of SCORTON, near Lancaster, there are but about two families who do not regularly attend the Wesleyan Chapel. The late George Fishwick, Esq. (a man of great wealth and influence), had a strong abhorrence of liquor-shops, and conducted his own house on strictly temperance principles. He encouraged the working people by all means to abstain from spending their ‘money for that which is not bread.’ As the village was not wholly in Mr Fishwick's hands, *two attempts were made to establish a Public-house; but the people would neither go nor send to it; so it was soon closed, and the village is free from the nuisance to this day. Now, what is the state of this village? Pauperism is almost unknown. There has only been one case of crime before the magistrates for twenty years, and then the whole village felt itself disgraced, though the breaker of the law was a stranger among them. If a policeman happens to pass through the village, the children run out to look at him as a curiosity. There is a Wesleyan day school, of which the people make good use, and a large and well-conducted Sunday school. The chapel is filled with devout and attentive hearers, their easy circumstances being plainly manifest in their clothing and general appearance. What Scorton is without a Public-house, thousands of villages will soon become when we get the Permissive Bill.*”

§ 9. On the 10th of March, 1864, Mr LAWSON and Mr BAZLEY introduced into the Commons “a Bill to enable Owners and Occupiers of Property in certain Districts to prevent the common sale of Intoxicating Liquors within such District,” which passed the first

reading, after unusual opposition, by a large majority. This Bill, founded upon the excellent suggestion of Mr BUXTON, proposes to concede to the ratepayers of a parish the actual legal power of declaring—by a majority of not less than two to one—the *sale* of intoxicating beverages to be illegal. To charge such a measure with being either unconstitutional or tyrannous is simply absurd. It is a proposition in perfect agreement with the existing law. Already, for instance, the traffic is dealt with by a delegated *local* power—either justices who license public-houses from year to year, or owners of property who prohibit perennially their existence by lease or otherwise. If this be just, how can the provisions of the Permissive Bill be unjust? If magistrates, supposed to be acting *for* the people, can rightfully refuse licenses, what wrong can there be in *the people themselves* doing so, should *they* think proper? If any citizens have a *right* to public drunkeries, they have a right to an unlimited supply. You can neither fix the number nor the distance of the shops, for rights of sale are as universal as rights of buying. In fact, however, the law repudiates this wild theory. Nobody can buy where and when he pleases, and not one in 100 persons is permitted *to sell*. What, then, is the occasion of this interference with the publicans? “The *interest* of these dealers,” says Mr J. S. MILL, “in promoting intemperance is a real evil, and justifies the state in imposing restrictions, and requiring guarantees, which, but for the justification, *would be* infringements of legitimate liberty.” Of course; if the drinksellers business did not interfere with the citizen, the citizen would have neither the right, nor the need, to interfere with it. Hence, therefore, honorable members ought rather to seek the repeal of the laws which already permit landowners and magistrates to suppress public-houses within their districts,—a power actually put forth in hundreds of instances,—than to waste their time in empty declamation against the *extension* of a similar power to the Ratepayers, who have to sustain the burden of the ‘Institution,’ and for whose alleged ‘wants’ the houses are professedly licensed. The law makes it necessary that the proposed Publican shall first of all get *certificates* from his neighbors, next a *license* from the Justices, who have to ‘consult’ on the question, whether a drink-shop will be for ‘the good of the locality,’—and even then every parishioner is privileged to *object* to each applicant in turn, or to unite in presenting *memorials* to the magistracy, praying for the diminution, or the suppression, of drink-houses. Now, is all this mockery and empty form? or does it not involve the principle that a *District* should have the power of deciding upon this matter for itself? The Permissive Bill is simply the machinery for giving legal force and sanction to the verdict of the great majority. If it be right to concede the privilege of discussing or protesting before the magistrates, so that they may decide *vicariously* for the parish, how can it be unjust for the parish to determine the question *directly* for itself? No principle of law can be plainer than this—that a right to an *END* involves the right to the *MEANS*. When, therefore, magistrates *do not*, by the powers committed to them, protect a district from the dangers and disasters of the Traffic, the Ratepayers, we claim, ought to have a *reserve power* of self protection. A latent power of this kind would not simply throw the responsibility

upon the people, and make them feel morally accountable for the evils and continuance of the system; it would act as the strongest possible motive upon the Publicans to observe their *guarantees* to society, and to 'keep good order' in their houses. The possible *veto* of the people would hang over their heads *in terrorem*, and thus educe the partial good that is in the license system, lest glaring violations of order should bring into play the reserved power of total annihilation. By this plan, also, prohibition would proceed and extend gradually, so that the intelligence and virtue of one district would not have to postpone its just reward, and lag behind in the march of progress, on account of the vice and dulness of another.

The power claimed is very different from that of licensing. The existing authorities would remain to license—and the people would simply be called to *veto* the traffic, where and when they thought needful. This would be an 'extension of the suffrage' on a most practical point, which no true Liberal could, we think, consistently deny; and operating in such a direction that no true Conservative could fail to vote for it, since the measure *may* become a lever for effecting immense good, and can do no possible harm, whether worked, or not worked.

The immediate point, however, is this—not whether *our* opinions about the Traffic are right—not how we should vote, were the power of voting for license, or no-license, conferred upon us,—but whether this long vexed question shall be settled somehow; and *who* shall be the parties concerned in its final decision? If it be the RATEPAYERS, who are exposed to the dangers, and have to meet the expenses—then the Permissive Bill would appear the proper instrument for the work; and the constituencies must deal with those representatives who, while depriving them of protection by the present faulty system, would at the same time deny them the power to protect themselves, under the insincere and absurd plea that the measure is an 'interference with liberty.' The Permissive Bill is not a measure which directs how the people shall vote; but one which proposes to grant to the people themselves the power to decide. It does not determine what they must vote, but only that they shall vote, 'Yea' or 'Nay,' 'Content' or 'Not Content.'

The 'Poor Man,' for whom so many pseudo-liberals pathetically plead, will thus have the means of protecting himself, and expressing his own will and judgment. The working-men see this fact clearly enough, and are no longer to be duped by the cry of 'Beer,' 'Liberty,' and other 'Balderdash.' Wherever a deliberate canvass of town and country has been made, the returns show that the honest laboring classes, are, by a majority of ten to one, in favor of the principle of the Bill, and petitions to Parliament from the workshops and factories of the country sufficiently indicate the popularity of the measure. In fact, there is no social or political question of the present day which attracts so unanimously to itself the wishes and suffrages of the People as that in favor of the Permissive Bill for enabling them to deal effectually with the sources of their own degradation and weakness.