

## **Points and facts for temperance advocates / by Thos H. Barker.**

### **Contributors**

Barker, Thos. H.  
Manchester and Salford Temperance Union.  
United Kingdom Alliance.

### **Publication/Creation**

Manchester : United Kingdom Alliance, [between 1860 and 1879?]

### **Persistent URL**

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zbq75tkr>

### **License and attribution**

This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.



Wellcome Collection  
183 Euston Road  
London NW1 2BE UK  
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722  
E [library@wellcomecollection.org](mailto:library@wellcomecollection.org)  
<https://wellcomecollection.org>

# POINTS AND FACTS

FOR

## TEMPERANCE ADVOCATES.

BY MR. THOS. H. BARKER.

---

Published at the Request of the ADVOCATES of the MANCHESTER  
and SALFORD TEMPERANCE UNION.

---

*"Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."—St. Paul.*

MANCHESTER: United Kingdom Alliance;  
Also at the Offices of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Union,  
43, Market-street.

PRICE ONE PENNY,  
OR 5s. PER 100.



At the Quarterly Meeting of the Advocates and official representatives of the MANCHESTER and SALFORD TEMPERANCE UNION, held in the Board Room of the Union, 43, Market-street, Manchester, on Monday, May 15th, Mr. Wm. Heywood in the chair, Mr. Thos. H. Barker read a paper specially prepared by request, on "Points and Facts for Temperance Advocates." An interesting discussion ensued, after which, on the motion of Mr. W. Heywood, seconded by Mr. R. W. Duxbury, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That the best thanks of this quarterly meeting of advocates and representatives be given to our colleague, Mr. T. H. Barker, for his able and comprehensive paper entitled 'Points and Facts for Temperance Advocates,' and we respectfully ask him to place the same at the disposal and use of this Union and its advocates."

There were about fifty of the advocates and representatives present. In accordance with this request Mr. Barker's paper has been since published in the *Alliance News*, from which this edition is reprinted.



# Points and Facts for Temperance Advocates.

---

THERE are several essential points and important facts that we wish explicitly to state and earnestly enforce on the attention and the conscience of every temperance advocate, and also of all to whom our advocacy is addressed. These points are of primary and vital importance; and they form the main and solid groundwork upon which our arguments must be built and our advocacy based, if we mean to advance the movement and to ensure its triumphant success.

1. The first and most vital point—the most fundamental fact we have to state and insist upon—is, that Alcohol is a Poison. This is now, in science, a positive and settled fact, susceptible of a rigorous scientific demonstration. No physician, no chemist, no physiologist, no pathologist, no toxicologist—no man who has any decent reputation in any of the walks of science—can or dare deny this patent and indubitable fact, that alcohol is a powerful poison, of the narcotico-acrid class. It is as truly and surely a poison as opium, chloroform, henbane, foxglove, prussic acid, strychnine, or arsenic. If alcohol is not a poison, neither are any of the substances we have named. If alcohol is not a poison, there is no such a thing as poison. There is no true and proper scientific or popular definition of poison that does not include alcohol. Alcohol and poison are synonymous terms. We do not now stay to prove this by the proper tests, experiments, or authorities, we merely state it as a fact, and boldly assert it as a point conceded, proved, and demonstrated. As temperance advocates, we need never fear making this statement before any audience, however learned or illiterate. The more enlightened the audience, the more intelligent and appreciative will be the response. No intelligent honest man will dare to stand up now-a-days and deny that alcohol is a poison. Then let us not shrink from this primary position; let us boldly assert this fundamental fact; and let us ring the changes upon it till we ding it into the most stupid and careless. We cannot state it too plainly; we cannot repeat it too frequently; nor can we lay too much argumentative stress upon it. It is the fulcrum-fact upon which our logical leverage of argumentation and appeal rests; and we cannot, we must not, we will not allow it to be ignored or controverted with impunity. Alcohol is not only a poison in a scientific sense, but in a practical matter-of-fact sense—killing its tens of thousands of Her Majesty's subjects annually, and deteriorating the constitutions of millions more, so that the vital stamina—the physical basis of



life—is being year by year fearfully deteriorated and weakened. To the more thoughtful mind this latter fact is of vaster importance, and of more terrible significance, than the other fact, appalling as it is to contemplate the annual sacrifice of some fifty thousand or sixty thousand lives of our fellow-countrymen. But we could, as a nation and a people, better afford to lose a million of lives yearly, cut off by the sword or by cannon balls, than we can afford to allow this fearful physical degeneration, tending towards that irreparable and inexpressible calamity—the utter ruin and destruction of the race. It is but seldom that our advocates, either in writing or in speaking, take this broader and profounder view of the evils resulting from the use of alcoholic beverages. It is so much easier for us to fix the mind upon, and call public attention to, the more superficial and casual effects of drinking—the police statistics of drunkenness, the public-house rows, street fights, wife beatings, suicides, murders, and insanities connected with and resulting from the use of this fearful brain poison. We are too apt to think—and, perhaps, the public mind is scarcely capable of comprehending more—that the evil, the wreck, the ruin, caused by alcohol, ends with the individuals, or the families directly involved in habits of drunkenness and debauchery. There are some, however, who take a little wider view, and who can comprehend that great and grave social evils flow from the drinking system, such as pauperism, prostitution, lunacy, and crime, with untabulated suffering and degradation of every kind, causing increased taxation, and greatly neutralising all the efforts of philanthropic zeal and religious activity. But there are few, it is to be feared, who have clear insight and foresight sufficient to rise to anything like an adequate conception or appreciation of the terrible and soul-revolting reality involved in the fact that we are a drunken nation; that we spend annually upwards of one hundred and twenty millions of pounds upon alcohol and tobacco; that under the paralysing and corrupting influence of these poisons, the nation, by no mere hyberbole or figure of speech, but in sad reality, may be said to “reel to and fro” and “stagger like a drunken man;” and that unless, as a nation and people, we change our drinking habits, and put away from us this great iniquity, this “abomination of desolation,” the measure of our iniquity will ere long be filled to overflow, and it will have to be said of Great Britain as it was said of Judea, by the prophet Ezekiel, “Thus saith the Lord God: Thou shalt drink of thy sister’s cup deep and large; thou shalt be laughed to scorn and had in derision. Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow with the cup of astonishment and desolation. . . . Thou shalt even drink it and suck it out, and thou shalt break the sherds thereof, and pluck off thine own breasts; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.” In the very nature of things, it is not possible for any people to continue in a physically corrupt course of conduct, without tending towards and ultimately becoming, morally, socially, and physically corrupt even to rottenness, wreck, and ruin! What strong drink does to its individual devotees and slaves in the course of a few years, it will also assuredly do to a people and nation who cling to it, generation after generation. “Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.



For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption ; but he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." This is as true of, and as applicable to, a people given up to a vicious habit as to a person.

2. Our second point is, that to traffic in intoxicating liquor is a Social Crime. If the first point is conceded, that alcohol is a poison, that it is a disturber of social order, destructive of human life, and deteriorative of the physical stamina of the race, bringing upon us social and national evils of various kinds, as all admit, it follows, by inevitable sequence, that to traffic in such an agent of demoralisation and destruction is one of the most egregious and gigantic crimes that can be conceived of. It is a crime alike against the great Creator and Redeemer, and against our common humanity. Like the cruel and atrocious crime of slavery—though in some of its features and consequences even more terrible and more ruinous—it may be aptly termed “the sum of all villanies.” Let it not be said that the liquor traffic, being legalised by parliamentary law, becomes thereby a legitimate, honourable, and moral avocation. The very fact that it is legalised and protected by law rather enhances the criminal and immoral character of the system! Would any other form of murder, of robbery, and of social corruption, become legitimate and moral and honourable, in the eye of reason and of the God of holiness, by being brought under the shield and sanction of a man-made law? When slavery was sanctioned and protected by British law, was it a moral, righteous, noble system? When lotteries were legalised and even carried on by a so-called Christian State, for revenue, were they moral, Christian, righteous institutions? Is the opium traffic in India and China a righteous and honourable enterprise, because it is carried on under the sanction and auspices of a Christian Government? Assuredly not, even though William Ewart Gladstone, John Bright, and other right honourable statesmen are amongst the guiding spirits of that Government? If gambling hells and brothels were licensed and regulated, as they are by some Christian Governments, would that make them moral and respectable? If brigandage were recognised and regulated by Parliament, would that condone its iniquity and transmute it into an honourable avocation? Is not Thugism a system of robbery and murder? Could any legislation make it respectable and moral? Would it become so if all the parliaments of Christendom were to legalise and protect it? Are obscene pictures, licentious literature, thief-training, and bull-baiting, capable of being made decent, respectable, moral, righteous by an act of Parliament, even were it so framed that the Government would secure to itself a large proportion of the plunder and the wages of iniquity? To ask these questions at the bar of common sense is to answer them. The answer can only be one of emphatic repudiation and condemnation. On the same ground, then, of manifest, inherent, and inevitable iniquity and wrongdoing, we pronounce the liquor traffic a social crime and curse, more vile, more corrupting, and more ruinous than any and all other crimes put together. No other crime is so costly, so corrupting, and so appalling in its direct and indirect, its immediate and remote results. It is not only essentially criminal in itself, as dealing out a brain poison, but it panders to, it stimulates, and



intensifies every other form of crime, vice, and social evil. We do not stay to pile up our proofs for these assertions. We make the broad and emphatic impeachment, and we hold ourselves ready, when challenged, to give our data—the facts, the reasons, and the considerations upon which the indictment is founded. We have said nothing beyond the range of sober fact; and many of those who are engaged in the traffic, besides Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., are as fully conscious as we are, that the indictment holds good, and that it cannot be refuted. Our statesmen also know the infamous and immoral character of this traffic in a seductive brain poison; and were it not for the immense share of the plunder that comes into the Government coffers—"gold for ministers to sport away"—no Christian, no civilised State, would allow such traffic to exist, and make no earnest effort to suppress it. The slaughter of so many thousands year by year, and the degradation yearly of many thousands more to fill up the places of those who pass on to the drunkard's doom, are facts that convert our apathy and all our peddling attempts at regulation into the most shocking of crimes. It matters not to our argument whether the traffic is financially profitable or unprofitable in the eye of political economy, whether it is deemed honourable or dishonourable, whether it is popular or unpopular, whether it is (in a party sense) politic or impolitic—we denounce it as immoral and criminal. It is so immoral and so criminal that no restrictive law can regulate it, and no legal sanction can render it right, or make it moral and truly honourable. It is the meanest, the vilest, and most cruel system of iniquity that any human being ever invented or practised, with a semblance of decency, and under a form of legal authority. No man who knows the pernicious nature of the liquor he sells, who sees and knows its ruinous effects upon his customers, and who has any sense of honour, rectitude, and humanity, can possibly continue in such a wicked and infamous traffic. A slaveholder might be humane, a brigand might be chivalrous, a gambler might be honourable, and even a drunkard might be affectionate; but a dramseller, unless he is an idiot and unconscious of what he is doing, must be a self-condemned criminal. Nothing but amazing ignorance and stupidity can cover the moral ulcers of the character of that man who gets his living and tries to amass a fortune by dealing out to his fellow-men that which he knows to be a brain poison, and which he knows is filling homes with misery and the whole land with wailing and desolation. Temperance advocates must not fear to call "a spade a spade." Let us be fearlessly honest to our deepest convictions of truth and duty. If Alcohol is Poison, as we know it is, let us not speak of it as a "stimulant," as an article of "refreshment," or of "diet," which only some weak people abuse. Call it by its proper names—a "mockery," a "poison," a "devil." Solomon and Shakespeare—the voice of history and the verdict of science, will sustain us, both in letter and spirit. So of the liquor traffic! Let us never think of it or speak of it as an honourable mercantile exchange of equivalents. It is nothing of the kind, but the very opposite. It is a wretched system of temptation and corruption—it is in reality robbery and murder! As good John Wesley declared: "They [the liquor-



dealers] murder His Majesty's subjects by wholesale; neither does their eye pity or spare. They drive them to hell like sheep."

3. We now advance to our third point—that total abstinence is our personal and total prohibition our social duty. We might divide this third point, and make it into two propositions. That is the usual course, we are aware; and some temperance reformers take up but one portion, and some take the other. Hence we have had the anomalous fact of men who were loud advocates of total abstinence, but who repudiated the policy of prohibition. We have even the still more anomalous fact of men who professed to be prohibitionists, but who yet advocated a mere reform or "amendment" of the licensing system. We have even some friends who say that they are Permissive Bill men, but that they think that measure is rather "extreme," "premature," and "impracticable,"—in the present state of public opinion. Let us calmly and candidly examine this point, and see where their fallacies lurk. The drink being a poison, it should be manifest to the dullest intellect that can grasp the fact and realise its import, that total abstinence is the only safe, wise, and proper individual relation to alcohol, as a beverage. All earnest temperance reformers now base their action, their advocacy, and their associations on the principle of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as beverages; and this ground alone is consistent and rational. Experience has demonstrated that no temperance reformation can be wrought out upon any expedient of a mere limitation of drinking, as to quantity, or as to potency. The most moderate use of the mildest intoxicants affords no basis for efficient action, either to reform the drunkard, or to prevent the young from becoming inebriates. We have therefore been driven by the logic of facts, and by the force of temperance truth, evolved from facts and from history, to adopt the principle of total abstinence as the basis of all true temperance advocacy. No one, in our days, has any lively faith in any efforts to reform drunkards, or to train up "bands of hope" to habits of steadfast sobriety, except those efforts are based upon and enjoin total abstinence. So far, we have made solid and noble progress, in harmony with the facts of science and the principles of true morality and of scriptural ethics. The word of God and the voice of science speak alike to the enlightened conscience, and say, "Touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing." "Abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good." "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." "Be sober." "Abstain from fleshly lusts that war against the soul." "Look not on the wine when it is red . . . . for at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder." "How long wilt thou be drunken? Put away thy wine from thee." But if personal abstinence is thus inculcated, and required by the nature of alcoholic liquors, by the behests of our holy religion, and by the dictates of common sense, must we not, for the same reason, come to the correlative conclusion, as an equal right and obligation, the prohibition of the sale of liquor? Can a man traffic in an article that he himself conscientiously abstains from as a "poison," a "mocker," a seducer, and a destroyer? Of course he cannot, and he dares not, if he desires to keep a "conscience void



of offence towards God and man." A man who drinks strong drink himself, knowing its poisonous and ruinous character, will not be likely to have a very tender conscience against selling it to others, as reckless and as depraved as himself; but even some of these men, who are engaged in the evil and criminal employment of peddling out what Robert Hall designated "liquid fire and distilled damnation," do not want their own children, or even their neighbour's children, to be contaminated and destroyed by contact with their own wicked and immoral avocation. Hence they will sometimes send their children out to board and be educated, away from their homes and places of business. Sometimes, when they cannot do this, they will encourage their children to join the band of hope, and to sign the temperance pledge. They know the damnable character of what Mr. Bright calls the "drink demon" and the drink-dens. Is it not strange then that there are some temperance advocates—they are but few, comparatively, and yet there are a few—who preach up abstinence and prate of moral suasion and the teetotal pledge, and bands of hope, but who take no practical interest in any earnest effort to suppress the liquor traffic? Sometimes these curious, one-eyed temperance men will even go out of their way to denounce, misrepresent, and obstruct those who are earnestly engaged in seeking to suppress the traffic. Of course, the motives of these halting friends are pure and patriotic; but they are inscrutable and indescribable. There is no fact, no reason, and no motive in favour of total abstinence, that is not also at the same time a fact, a reason, and a motive in favour of prohibition. On the other hand, there are some facts, some reasons and motives that may be urged in favour of prohibition, on social and national grounds, that do not seem to necessarily enjoin and enforce total abstinence. A man may believe that a moderate use of some kind of intoxicating liquor is good for him and for others, in certain cases, but he may see the enormous evils of the liquor traffic, and may come to the sensible and patriotic conclusion, that it is better that such as he be inconvenienced in obtaining their small supply, rather than that these tempting facilities, inevitably presented by the common sale of liquor, should continue to infest and curse the land. And he may thus make up his mind to vote against the liquor traffic, even though he should not see his way to sign the teetotal pledge. There are thousands and tens of thousands who are in this position; and these men challenge our respect, our sympathy, and confidence. They are acting out their conviction so far as they have light and can see the way to act. But what can we say for those who know and declare that alcoholic liquors are poisonous; that they are never needed as a beverage; and that their use is always pernicious and dangerous; and who yet lend their sanction and countenance, give their vote and social and political influence in support of the liquor traffic? And what can we think of those who are sonorous in their advocacy of total abstinence for the individual, but who are equally loud in their vociferous denunciation of those who advocate prohibition? Those men are, of course, sincere abstainers, but they are not sagacious temperance reformers. They stultify themselves, and undo with their left



hand more than they do with their right hand. With one hand they sign the pledge to personally abstain, and with the other they sign licences to authorise men and women to sell as much liquor as they can, within the legal hours! They may not actually sign the licence certificate, but it is all the same, morally and practically, if they authorise the magistrate to sign for them. They are equally responsible if they acquiesce in the system, or are indifferent and apathetic, allowing it to be done without a protest or any earnest effort to prevent the iniquity.

But what can be said for those friends of prohibition and of the Permissive Bill, who go about the country deprecating that measure, as in advance of public sentiment; and who proclaim, that instead of the people having the power of veto, the "magistrates are the only proper persons to have that power?" These friends may also be very sincere in thinking that they are talking in the cause of true temperance and of ultimate prohibition; but we think and feel certain that if they had tried their best to play into the hands of the enemy, and to bolster up a rotten and tottering system of iniquity, they could not have adopted a more efficient course of action. Nothing could be more disastrous, more obstructive, or more fatal to success, at the present grave crisis of the movement, than any division of the temperance ranks and forces in the face of the enemy; and when the attention of the Cabinet, of Parliament, and of the whole country is concentrated on the great problem—how to initiate remedial legislation in respect to the liquor traffic?

4. Let us just look for a moment at the present position of the question—survey "the situation," and mark the issue which is being forced upon the Legislature. Here is the UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE, the "Grand Alliance," as Lord Brougham delighted to designate it. It has been in active operation for seventeen years, agitating and enlightening the public mind, by proclaiming everywhere the evils of the liquor traffic, the anomalies of the licensing system, the necessity, the policy, and the justice of prohibition. It has met all kinds of opponents, on all kinds of platforms, and in all arenas of controversy. Its grand mission was first and most emphatically to the people. To the people it went; by the wayside, in the market-place, from house-to-house, in the workshop, in the schoolroom, the lecture-room, the Town Hall, and wherever men do congregate, there the agents, deputations, lecturers, and exponents of the principles and policy of the Alliance went; and everywhere, at all times, the common people have heard its teachings gladly. The Alliance (in 1857) convened a Ministerial Conference, at which upwards of 400 ministers, representing all sections of the Christian church, were present; and upwards of 3,000 gave in their written adhesion to the basis and resolutions of that conference, declaratory of the principle and policy of the Alliance. Year by year, for a series of years, the representatives of the Alliance have attended the Social Science Congress, to propound, explain, and defend the principles and policy of the organisation, in its aggression on the liquor traffic. All kinds of objections, and difficulties, and fallacies were brought forward by the enemies of the movement; but they were sifted, refuted, and overcome so thoroughly and manifestly, that the principle and policy of the Alliance were



affirmed and held by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science—as a part of its integral platform and programme. One of the vice-presidents of the Alliance, the Venerable Arch-deacon Sandford, felt himself so encouraged by these and other signs of progress amongst the people, and amongst social reformers, that, after taking counsel with the Board, he ventured to raise the question in Convocation. He moved for and obtained a committee to inquire and report upon intemperance and its remedies. That committee has reported, and has recommended remedies—including the formation of temperance societies, bands of hope, and the principle of the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill—endowing the people of each parish or township with the power to veto the issue of all licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

In the last session of Parliament, Sir Wilfrid Lawson divided the House of Commons, and obtained, under most adverse circumstances, 94 votes and pairs in favour of his Permissive Prohibitory Bill. Nearly 4,000 petitions, bearing about 800,000 signatures, were presented in favour of the Bill. Such was the effect of the petitions, the debate, and the division, that the Cabinet was compelled to take up the question. The Queen's speech, for the first time, last February, announced that the laws relating to the liquor traffic were to be considered; and the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce, renewed his previous promise to bring in a Government Licensing Bill, to deal comprehensively and efficiently with this great question of domestic legislation. Public meetings and conferences have been held by the friends of the Alliance all over the kingdom, adopting resolutions urging upon the Government and Parliament the necessity and policy of conferring upon the people of each district, the power to veto the issue of licences, whenever and wherever public opinion so expresses itself by a majority of two-thirds of the votes polled. It is known that a deep impression has been made upon leading members of the Cabinet, who could not but recognise a genuine and earnest cry and demand from the people, for this power of "local option," and of social protection. The Prime Minister had recognised the principle as legitimate. The President of the Board of Trade had endorsed it—as one that must be embodied in future legislation. Other leading statesmen had given more or less favourable intimations of concurrence and sympathy, and there was every moral reason to expect that the Government bill would, in some particular and substantial manner, recognise and embody the principle of a popular local veto.

It is at this moment, and under these circumstances, that some friends of the Alliance and of the Permissive Bill go to work to get up meetings, conferences, and deputations to Government urging that the magistrates alone must retain the control of the issue of licences, and that town councils, as representing the people, should have a veto on applications for *new* licences only; and seeking to limit the hours of sale and to put down the Sunday liquor traffic, with some other minor modifications, in respect to which it is supposed the more respectable (!) portions of the licensed victuallers will concur, as the basis of an amended system of licensing. Had this movement been one outside of the Alliance and the temperance circle, it might have been useful and



unobjectionable. But inasmuch and in so far as it aimed and tended to divide, and thus weaken, the forces and efforts of the Alliance and of temperance reformers generally, the tendency of the movement was mischievous and positively embarrassing, not to say obstructive! The proof that the action referred to was not in aid, but in obstruction of the movement promoted by the Alliance, is patent and potent in the fact—the singular and significant fact—that the *Licensed Victuallers' Guardian* has never once recognised it as amongst the foes it dreads, or as being one of the forces arrayed against the “vested interests.” The instincts of these liquor men tell them at once who are who, and what *they* have to dread. The victuallers also cling to the magistrates, as the safest and best persons to have absolute control of the issue of licences; but they dread the mention of a popular veto. In this they are in fine accord with their licence amendment friends. The victuallers have no objection, indeed they rather enjoy the prospect of a veto by town councils on applications for *new* licences! This will help to increase the value of their own monopoly, and will make “the trade” more “respectable,” and more profitable, by keeping down competition. On this point, again, the Licensed Victuallers' Defence League and the Licence Amendment League are harmonious and co-operative. Of course it will be a bitter pill to these “respectable” licensed victuallers, to have to shorten their hours, and perhaps to give up the Sunday liquor trade, except to *bonâ fide* travellers—a rather numerous and thirsty lot; but then, if by this concession they can stave off the demands of the Alliance, of Convocation, of the Social Science Association, and of vast multitudes whom no man can number, in all parts of the country, these shrewd liquor dealers are not unwilling to throw a tub to the whale of popular agitation, and to give up the few hours in order to save six days open sale from 7 a.m. to 11 or 12 p.m. Such a settlement, after such an agitation, and with so much progress made in behalf of the Permissive Bill, would no doubt be very gratifying to “the trade;” and it might perhaps be deemed a great reform by the licence amendment party. But it would not satisfy the Alliance, nor any truly enlightened and thorough temperance reformer; just for this reason: it would not meet the terrible necessities of the case. It would leave the evil system in existence, intact, with no power in the community to grapple with and to overthrow it, however much public opinion might continue to condemn it.

5. But we are to have no Government Licence Amendment Bill this year! Again we are doomed to disappointment; our hopes are mocked and our expectations cut off. It is true the Cabinet promised, the Queen's speech announced, and Mr. Bruce fixed the date, and shifted it from time to time. But from time to time the Home Secretary had to confess his impotency to make or to seize an opportunity to introduce his bill. The measure is framed, and is put away in the official pigeon hole, where so many previous abortions have been hid from vulgar gaze. Will it ever see the light? Shall we ever know its provisions? Possibly not. Delays are dangerous. Mr. Bruce may not retain his office; the present Cabinet may have to walk out; and even



the present Parliament may be dissolved, before a Government Licensing Bill is introduced. But are we to stand still and quietly fold our arms, doing nothing, waiting till the Government sees its way to move, and then jump up and ask for a few amendments of the evil system?

6. Sir Wilfrid Lawson has replied to these queries. On the 28th April, when he found that Mr. Bruce was hopelessly insolvent and utterly unable to redeem his numerous promises, Sir Wilfrid moved and obtained leave to bring in his own bill—his well-known Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill. The advocates of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Union will not hesitate as to what course they will take. As on all previous occasions, their voices, and votes, and influence will be arrayed on the side of that policy and programme which are most thorough going and clearly pronounced against the liquor traffic, as a nuisance, a curse, and a crime. And unless we greatly mistake the temperance advocates, societies, and associations, all over the country, they will rise as one man, and in their majesty and might will combine and concentrate their moral and religious power, their social and political influence, to back up the efforts of the United Kingdom Alliance, to render Sir Wilfrid Lawson that support and encouragement that shall enable him and his colleagues in the House, to press the Permissive Bill to a speedy and triumphant issue.

Dear friends, in view of the grave crisis at which the movement has arrived, are we not called upon, as true and earnest temperance reformers, to stand firm to our adopted principles and to our declared policy; and not seek by weak concessions and timid compromises, to snatch at a partial and hollow settlement of the question, totally void of principle and certain to issue in future failure? Whatever others may do, let us stand to our guns of total abstinence and total prohibition! We know that nothing short of abstinence and prohibition will meet the case; that the moderate use of liquor will lead on to intemperance by fatal and inevitable fascination; that all these mere amendments of the licensing system, curtailing the hours of sale and limiting the number of houses privileged to carry on the vile and pernicious traffic in intoxicating liquors, cannot possibly afford the basis of any satisfactory settlement of the question at issue; but that the agitation in which we are engaged must go forward, with increased force and resistless determination, until the Temperance Reformation culminates in a complete and triumphant victory.

Brethren, let us not only "prove all things," but let us "hold fast" to that which we know to be true and good. Let us work on, in faith and hope and manly courage, to hasten and secure the realisation of our grand enterprise and aim—a SOBER NATION.

A golden age is drawing on,  
Unlike the ages past and gone;  
And we must bravely all stand out  
To bring this golden age about;  
Though it has long seemed far away,  
'Tis drawing nearer every day;  
And its commencement will be when  
We act our parts like honest men.