[Debate on drunkenness and alcohol licensing in Liverpool.].

Contributors

Liverpool Permissive Bill Association.

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found anywhere—men who are ever foremost in every good cause. It is untrue to say that they supply drink to drunken persons. That is only one of the calumnies which has been levelled against them.

MR. SULLIVAN.—They get drunk at the dairies (laughter.)

ALDERMAN DEVITT.—No, it is not in the dairies they get drunk. Some of the best men of my acquaintance are engaged in that trade. Some of them, I repeat, are as honourable and as noble-minded as are to be found in the community, and they would cut off their right hand before they would supply liquor to any person under the influence of drink (hear, hear.)

"*Some* of them," Alderman! Mr. Sullivan himself said "*many* of them" were honourable and upright men; and such men amongst the traders, surely will not object to a people's vote on the licenses. No charge was made against *the traders;* it was the *traffic* that was impeached. The liquor sold, for instance, in Scotland, by most respectable and pious elders and deacons of the Churches, makes the Scotch people drunk. The character of the man selling the drink does not, cannot alter the attributes of the drink itself. We are convinced of the respectability of many of the vintners, and long to see them engaged in a more appropriate calling.

I doubt not but that among some persons this view will be an unpopular side of the question to take up, more especially when it is urged that we refuse to give a vote to the working people on a matter affecting, and vitally affecting, their own interests, but I deny that that issue is raised here by Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill, because the working people would have no voice whatever in deciding the question. (Hear, hear.) I will only say, in conclusion, that if there was more temper and forbearance, and less abuse in considering this question; if there was an effort made by the advocates of teetotalism in this city to do the best they could for themselves, by their precept as well as by their example, discussions of the sort could be got through harmoniously and quietly, and with as good temper and feeling as I trust we will decide the matter here to-day. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Alderman Devitt's wish to have the debate fairly conducted, was real and sincere, and deserves our candid and friendly recognition.

ALDERMAN M'SWINEY, J.P., said that up to a recent period he had but little faith in the efficacy of legislative interference to repress the vice of drunkenness. In common with others who had spoken on the present occasion, he held that an Act of Parliament could not of itself ever

convert a confirmed toper into a sober man (hear, hear). He believed that true conversion belonged to a much higher and holier influence, and that it was to that influence they must look for any abiding power to work out and sustain the desired reformation in the habits of the people. He was fortified in that view by innumerable examples which were to be found in the abortive efforts of many benevolent societies to combat the vices of the period. Those societies produced little or no effect upon the malady which they sought to cure. It was the religious character of his heaven-born mission that brought hundreds of thousands of habitual drunkards to the feet of Father Mathew, and to the same sacred influence was owing the great changes that were being effected at the present time in several districts of the country (hear, hear, and applause). Not all the laws of all the states that ever governed mankind could produce a result equal to to that which was produced by the magic spell exercised by an humble Capuchin Friar. But while holding that opinion he (Alderman M'Swiney) was far from denying the action of wise laws in seconding the efforts of the ministers of religion to effect reforms in the habits and manners of the people (hear, hear). If he entertained any doubts on that head, those doubts would have vanished before the able and powerful arguments of his friend, Councillor Sullivan (hear, hear). Whatever result might be arrived at in dealing with the motion before the chair there could be but one opinion as to the object its supporters had in view in bringing it under the notice of the Council. Councillor Sullivan had shown them that private interests should not interfere with the public good, and that if an adverse decision be arrived at on this question that decision would be well understood out of doors (hear, hear). In asking the Council to affirm this resolution it was sought, and properly sought, to place power in the hands of the people to say whether they would or would not declare against the temptations which beset them in every street, lane, and alley of our city. That power was at present invested in the hands of magistrates. He (Alderman M'Swiney) wanted to know would any representative of the people stand before his constituents and say they were unworthy to decide this matter amongst themselves. The Bill now before Parliament was similar in its operation to the Town Improvements Bill, and to many sanitary enactments in which the voice of the people alone decides the issue (hear, hear). The law which had studded our towns and cities with beer shops and public houses had like many other enactments from the same quarter, operated against the welfare of the people. The municipal body of Dublin was now invited to co-operate with other bodies in their efforts to stem the torrent, and to restore to our country its far-famed reputation for sobriety and immunity from heinous crimes (hear, hear). That reputation belonged to this country before intoxicating drinks deluged the land. It was revived under the *regime* of the good and great Apostle of Temperance. Councillor Dennehy had admitted that when Father Mathew had commenced his crusade, the manufacture of whiskey, in 1839, had exceeded thirteen millions of gallons, and that it had fallen in a few years, under the temperance movement, to four millions of gallons. That was a fact which spoke volumes to prove the virtue

and self-denial of the Irish nation (hear, hear). If a change had come over the habits of the people, how had that change been effected? It had been mainly brought about by the multiplication of beer shops and low taps, all of which have resulted from mischievous legislation. Within the past week he (Alderman M'Swiney) was told by a member of that Council, a large employer, that there were four public houses in the immediate vicinity of his factory, to nearly all of which some of his workpeople resorted whenever they left his premises. The same state of things applies to other quarters of the city where temptations are thrown broadcast in the way of the working man. The object of the present movement was to diminish those temptations, and to remove the fruitful cause of most of the evils which appal the visitor to this city (hear, hear). It has been shown by the highest authorities that much of the misery, squalor, and wretchedness that we every day witness resulted from excessive indulgence in alcoholic drinks. Our object now was to devise some remedy for that state of things, and to do our part in calling upon the Legislature to afford facilities to the people themselves to declare against the unlimited sale of that which was destructive alike to life, to property, and to the public weal (applause.)

Mr. Redmond.—I agree with Mr. Sullivan in theory as to the results which follow from excessive drinking; but I deny that Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill will remedy those evils. I say there is no instance on record that can be adduced to show that it will improve the morals or drinking habits of the people.

The principle embodied in section 4 of Sir W. Lawson's Bill is permissive district prohibition of the liquor traffic. Does Mr. Redmond wish *proofs* of the efficacy of this principle to remedy the evils of intemperance? If so, let him visit Bessbrook, a town within three miles of Newry. He will there find nearly 4,000 people living quite contented without a single liquor shop, and enjoying almost a total immunity from crime and pauperism—there being neither police barrack, work house, nor pawn office, in the town. Let Mr. Redmond visit Saltaire, a town within a few miles of Bradford in Yorkshire, where precisely similar results have followed the prohibition of the traffic. Let him communicate with Mr. J. K. Tener, J.P., Moree, Dungannon, who resides in the centre of a prohibitory district, where since the liquor traffic was put down, there has been no crime, the poor rates have fallen from an average of 1s. 8d. to 10d. in the pound, and from which the police barrack has been removed. Let him study the statistics of Maine and of Massachussets. It is very easy to "deny" anything.

They talk a good deal about the people not having a voice in matters

affecting themselves. The gentlemen connected with the United Kingdom Alliance have been parading through every town in England their conviction that the people of that country would decide this question in their favour, but the recent elections have shown quite a different result.

If Mr. Redmond believes what he states, why should he fear to test by a vote whether the people would so decide?

They are now propounding their own views and theories, and holding up the Permissive Bill as a panacea for all the ills with which they are afflicted. Latterly there has been introduced a vast increase in the electoral powers of the people of this country. What has been the result of the Bill, when put to the test?

What the recent elections have shown was not known when Mr. Redmond spoke so confidently. The results are known now and what has Mr. Redmond to say?

In 1864 when the Permissive Bill was first introduced the voting stood thus:—

For, including pairs			...	40
Against	...	...	...	297
			Majority—257	

On the 12th of May 1869, when the Bill was re-introduced, the following result was obtained:—

For, including pairs			...	94
Against	...	...	...	200
			Majority—106	

Apart altogether from the division list, the debate itself extending over four hours showed the result of the "parading" of every town by the Alliance. Every speaker insisted upon the government dealing with the whole licensing question in a comprehensive way. This is the result of the late elections.

Would not the proper test have been to have gone at once to the fountain head, and asked the Legislature to declare the manufacture of intoxicating liquors illegal? Instead of that, they seek to put down the dealers.

Here is "tyranny" indeed! Hearken to it, Vintners! It is the suggestion of one of yourselves—a proposition so extreme, so sweeping, so arbitrary, so compulsory, so universal, that it would

leave no room for *local option* :—whereas the Permissive Bill would leave all to the peoples' choice. These be thy advocates, Oh John Barleycorn!

Do you think it is a wise principle to leave to the majority the destruction of property already sanctioned by Act of Parliament—to leave property already protected and promoted by it, to be struck down? Can you show me any case on record where property already created and maintained—already sanctioned by Parliament and by usage, being left to a majority in a district to destroy the whole of it?

A Voice.—The Established Church.

Mr. Redmond.—Not without compensation (hear, hear). Are you prepared to deal with it in that fashion without strong evidence being given you that any such principle has ever been established?

What we say to Mr. Redmond and his fellow publicans is—prove your claim to compensation and it will be duly considered by Parliament. How the "property" of the publican can be said to be protected by Act of Parliament in Mr. Redmond's sense is not quite clear. Mr. Redmond has a government docket of license to sell liquor for one year. He argues as if this gave him a life interest. Had the Incumbents of the Irish Church been licensed for each parish only by the year, how would they have fared?

I will give you an instance, with reference to the Maine Liquor Law, for after all that is what this is coming to. I hold that gentlemen's motives mean one thing or another, and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that their object here is to get rid of the sale. Their attempts to carry this proposition by a side wind is not an honest or logical mode of coming to a conclusion. At the call of the vast majority of the people in the State of New Brunswick, the local Parliament introduced the Maine Liquor Law into that State; but before the end of twelve months they found it necessary to repeal its provisions, in consequence of finding that the sale had become such a nuisance. The men who were anxious to get the law into force were found to apply it to their own purposes, so that more mischief than good resulted therefrom. If it comes to pass here, you will find unscrupulous parties resorting to the same means (hear, hear).

This is a good argument against an Imperial Prohibitory Act, where not thoroughly supported by the people. It is no argument against a local act such as the Permissive Bill, supported as it must be by the public opinion of each locality.

I would like to know if they are honest, what is the shortest way of

arriving at any such conclusion? Would not a short Act of Parliament, to prevent the manufacture of alcoholic drinks be the honest and most fair way of dealing with the question (hear, hear). As long as you allow manufacturers to make spirits, and brewers to carry on their trade, will you not find people to drink or sell it? We, the sellers of drink, have been charged with the cause of all the ills to which human flesh is heir; but I repeat that these evils must be removed by moral principle, and so long as you allow the article to be made, so long will you find people to drink it, and people to sell it (hear, hear). Do you ever think it would be necessary to denounce the Parliament that legalizes the sale of drink? Don't you think that that would be the more proper way of dealing with it?

Whatever Mr. Redmond may think just now of the virtues of a short Act of Parliament to prohibit the manufacture of alcoholic liquors, we suspect he would not be so enamoured if face to face with such a "short" Bill. The sellers of drink have not been charged with "all" the ills that flesh are heir to. A fair proportion has been justly laid at their door, and it is certainly a startling doctrine that those evils are to be propagated in order to give employment to moral reformers. Yet Mr. Redmond thinks so. We denounce nobody, not even Parliament, but we are trying to force Parliament to undo its evil work.

Now, suppose Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill was put into operation in Dublin, and that the district of Rathmines would not follow its example, what a roaring trade the people there would have.

What does this prove? Would it be a dreadful thing to have the drinking shops of a district compressed into a group? Let Mr. Redmond visit the intersection of Sackville-street and Abbey-street, and he will find the Gin-palaces actually *side by side*,—a group of about half-a-dozen, within pistol shot of each other. We say that Rathmines would have the option, and would doubtless exercise it, of freeing itself from that conjectural "roaring trade" in drunkard making, which Mr. Redmond wants to have "fairly divided."

What right have I, who am able to control myself, that stands up for the use, and not the abuse of this commodity, to give up that which I think is right and proper, because the person living next to me is a drunkard? (hear, hear).

The Permissive Bill does not force Mr. Redmond or any other

person to give up the use of that which he thinks right and proper. The Bill deals only with the sale. It does not define what Mr. Redmond shall drink. It will of course cause him to ask—where can the liquor be had? Mr. Redmond asks, why because A abuses an article, B C and D should have the power to prevent E, who never abuses it, from getting the article which he wants. The argument looks very specious. It is a nice little logical toy. But suppose we put it thus: "If the abuse of an article by A, causes B, C, and D, to be heavily taxed, and otherwise injured, why should E, have the right to decree that this taxation and injury shall be permanent?" An answer to this is what we desire to see.

Alderman Plunkett.—Knowing as much as I do of the people of Dublin, I must say that I am strongly in favour of the motion brought forward by Councillor Sullivan (applause). Mr. Redmond said such a Bill ought not to be put in force. I in common with other members of the Council, have always a pleasure in listening to Mr. Redmond's eloquence, but I cannot agree with his arguments. We have heard that the Archbishop of Cashel has closed the public houses in his diocese on Sundays, which has done much good, and checked intemperance, but it is said by gentlemen on the other side "don't do any more—don't touch these houses on any other day" (applause.) They say if you petition in favour of this Bill, the people will have no voice under it. Now the gentleman who concocted this Bill, selected the lowest franchise in existence, and he says, "give me a lower one, and I will take it, and be better satisfied," so that the gentlemen need not attempt to ride off in that way. Mr. Dennehy said he met a pavior in the Cattle Market, who was so highly educated that he could do almost anything, but don't trust him, he says, to vote under the Permissive Bill (laughter). I would not like to stop such men as Mr. Redmond, if he wished to take his glass of wine, but I would stop men who are going mad from drink, and for whose support we are paying 2s. 6d. in the pound poor rate. Men may, it is said, do what they like with their own, but it should be recollected that they have no right to injure others (hear, hear). Let us begin somewhere, and in my opinion this is the best time to do it (applause).

Mr. Carey.—I must say that Mr. Sullivan, in dealing with this motion, has been anything but just or honourable to the people. I honestly believe it is as insidious a motion, and one calculated to mislead the people, as I have ever seen come before your Lordship. It is one which every man should carefully consider, and study before he gives his vote. Whilst the people came here to hear sound common sense, they will go home with more knowledge of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill than they ever had before, which Bill, it turns out, shuts out the power from the people, and will allow them to have nothing whatever to do with it (hear, hear). There is a lodger franchise in the Reform Bill, but

lodgers are excluded from any voice whatever under the Permissive Bill. It is the "squireens," as Councillor Sullivan designated them, that are to rule in the matter (hear, hear). The people are altogether forgotten or overlooked in this bill. Although we have been lectured in unmeasured terms on the increase of drunkenness, the revenue returns show conclusively that the sale of spirits is decreasing in Ireland, for I find that the decrease under this head in 1867, as compared with 1866, amounts to £144,160 (hear, hear). Alderman M'Swiney has stated his abhorrence of beer houses, and his abhorrence of us as a body; but he can know but little of the trade when he places the two in one category, although he, when Lord Mayor, presided over a meeting in the Rotunda for the suppression of the Beer Houses. On last Tuesday week a proposal came up to the Town Council of Edinburgh, and a gentleman brought forward a motion similar to that of Mr. Sullivan. A report was brought up condemnatory of the Bill, and when it came before the whole council, that condemnation was confirmed by sixteen votes to six (hear, hear). I trust and hope, with the example of Scotland before us, the resolutions and petition will be scouted from the House (hear, hear).

It is very refreshing to find the President of the Licensed Grocers' and Vintners' Benevolent Association rejoicing over the diminished consumption of spirits in Ireland. Mr. Carey is never particular about figures, and we may here point out that he rather "diminished" the minority in favour of the Permissive Bill in the Edinburgh City Council, the number being ten instead of six.

Sir John Gray. M.P.—My Lord Mayor, I confess that I feel great difficulty in dealing with this question; and I believe that the Council also have a great difficulty in dealing with the question in its present aspect before the House (hear, hear). I am sure that there is not a member of the House that does not feel that one of the greatest evils which can afflict either an individual or a community is the excessive use of intoxicating drinks (hear, hear). More evils have fallen on the people of this and other countries from the importation and unlimited use of intoxicating drinks than has resulted from any other cause, not even excepting perhaps the conquest of the country. Go where you will throughout the civilized world, and you will find that wherever intoxicating drinks have been introduced, and the people have become habituated to their use, their physical power is decayed, their mental powers almost vanished, and that they are the victims of manifold evils. The difficulty I feel to-day in dealing with the question is, that let us discuss it as we will, let us talk as we will, with the resolutions before the House in their present form, the public outside will regard the question as one of temperance or intemperance, and according as the members of the Council record their votes, they will hold that those votes were given on the one side as for the advance of temperance, and on the other for the advance of intemperance (hear, hear). Having carefully looked at Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill, I am bound to say that

I am not satisfied that that Bill is calculated to diminish intemperance. It may be that the Bill might, in isolated cases stop the retail trade of the publicans. It might, in isolated cases, stop the wholesale trade of the manufacturer, or the importer of wines or brandies; but, I would ask, would it prevent those who desired to procure these drinks from bringing them to their homes, where their families would become familiarised to their use; where the young child would, perhaps, have the dregs of the bottle, when the elders were done, and thus help to spread the very evil sought to be remedied, and increase the misery intended to be averted (hear, hear, and applause). For my own part, I do not believe that Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill would counteract such evils as I have adverted to. However, I myself as well as many other members of the Council would be sorry to seem to occupy the position of discouraging even an ill-advised effort to check intemperance, by voting against Mr. Sullivan's resolutions (hear, hear). I would rather suggest that the members of the Council should declare their anxious wish to advance the cause of temperance, and to mitigate the evils of intemperance in every form—evils which certainly are the greatest that can afflict the people of any country (hear, hear). What are the statistics with regard to those evils? We are told that in consequence of the great destruction of grain caused by the manufacture of beer and spirits, we have to import every year from £20,000,000 to £30,000,000 worth of food, and that during the past year nearly £100,000,000 were spent in the United Kingdom in the purchase of intoxicating liquors (hear, hear). What we get in exchange for an expenditure of £100,000,000 wasted in the liquor traffic may be summed up in this way:—there are nearly a million and a half of paupers in the United Kingdom, or one in twenty of the population, nine-tenths of this pauperism being caused by drink; we have 600,000 drunkards, each one a source of sorrow and annoyance both to his family and his neighbours. It is estimated that there are not less than 600,000 human beings slain through drink every year; it is stated that there are 43,000 lunatics in our asylums, that 25,000 inquests take place annually, in both cases mainly attributable to the use of strong drinks; 140,000 criminals, nearly all the fruit of the liquor traffic; gambling, prostitution, families neglected and cruelly treated, domestic squabbles, rows and brawls in our streets, and scandal and disorder that are appalling. I am aware that nine-tenths of the lunacy in these kingdoms is caused by drunkenness, and in saying that, let no one confound idiotcy with lunacy. Now if we cannot all approve of the provisions of the Bill which is now before us, we may at all events be unanimous in expressing our opinion, as the Municipal Council of Dublin, against intemperance, and our anxious wish that steps should be taken by the Legislature to secure the best means for putting it down (hear, hear). I am aware that if we proceed to a division, Mr. Sullivan's motion will be defeated, and then a cry will be raised that the Corporation of Dublin has declared against legislation in favour of temperance (hear, hear).

Mr. Meagher.—May I ask you, Sir John, were those English or Irish statistics which you read?

Sir John Gray.—I stated that they applied to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Meagher.—What proportion would Ireland bear to the whole?

Sir John Gray.—I have not an analysis within my reach, but if I had, I am afraid that it would not be favourable to us (laughter). One thing is plain, and that is, that there is a great evil abroad. Another thing is plain, that many of our young men and young women, are drawn into evil habits by intemperance. We know that many a home is made miserable and that many a family is made wretched by the fury which follows from drink. Let us see if we cannot adopt some resolution in favour of the broad principle which we all agree in, and leave it to the Legislature to consider the special measures that should be adopted. With that view I would propose such an amendment as this:—"That this Council conceives that intemperance is the greatest evil that could affect an individual or community, and it desires to give every aid in its power to the Legislature, to the clergy, and to the authorities, in diminishing the undue consumption of intoxicating drinks, and resolves to adopt a petition to Parliament, praying it to consider carefully, and rigidly carry out whatever measures may be deemed best calculated to effect this desirable object." (Applause.)

Alderman Devitt.—I beg to second the motion, and in doing so, I beg it to be clearly understood that the reason why I opposed Mr. Sullivan's resolutions was, that the proposed Bill would not carry out the object which we all have in view.

Mr. Murphy.—I think, my Lord, we should call for the report which has been made by the Public Health Committee to whom this Bill has been referred (no, no.)

Mr. Maclean, Chairman of the Public Health Committee, spoke briefly in support of the original resolutions.

Mr. Sullivan.—I thank Sir John Gray for the suggestion which he has made, but it does not come into conflict with my motion. What I want to do is, to put accurately two points before the public. What was the answer raised to day against our proposition? We asked that the people should be empowered to decide the question, it being one which affected themselves, instead of the magistrates. The main answer to this was, that Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill does not propose to trust the people. Mr. Carey said that under the Bill it was not the people who should decide the question, that the people who secured Mr. Carey's election should not be entrusted with the trust, and that they should not have any voice in the matter.

Mr. Carey.—I said no such thing. What I said was that the Bill gave the people no voice in the matter, and that the motion you made gave them no voice in this matter——

Mr. Sullivan.—The Bill takes a wider and a broader suffrage than that which prevails in our municipal elections (hear, hear.) In framing this measure, Sir Wilfrid Lawson took the most sweeping suffrage in existence—wider than that which sent us here, and yet a gentleman is found to stand up in this house and assert that the suffrage gave the people no voice——

Mr. Carey.—I stated, and I state again, that he means to give the people no voice under the Bill. I admit that I was supported, and well supported by the people, in returning me here.

MR. SULLIVAN.—You are not voting to-day upon the clauses of a Bill that may be altered or amended in Committee. You are voting on my petition, which asks that the population may be permitted to vote on this question. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill takes in as its basis the widest suffrage that is to be found. He has taken a suffrage in which women are allowed and qualified to vote. He took a broader and a wider suffrage than that which sent us here, so that the pretence for opposition on that ground is fallacious and hollow. Would Mr. Carey trust manhood suffrage?

MR. SULLIVAN here paused for some time, awaiting Mr. Carey's answer.

MR. CAREY remained quite silent.

MR. SULLIVAN continued.—No, he would not trust manhood suffrage; he would not trust household suffrage (hear, hear.) Mr. Redmond said the Bill would not work, and that it would defeat the object for which it was intended. All I can say is, that the principle has worked well wherever it has been tried (hear, hear.) There is not a district in Ireland where prohibition has been tried that it has not proved successful. Wherever temptation to drink has been taken out of the way of the people, it has been found to work admirably, nor has it been found that they will resort to the means alluded to, in order to procure these drinks. Give us a trial—that is all we ask. We have the case of a gentleman who succeeded in having this principle introduced in Bessbrook, within three miles of Newry, where there are 4,000 inhabitants, no public house, no police barrack, no pawn office, no work-house, and no pauperism (Hear, hear, and applause.) Of course, gentlemen on this side of the house, who are patrons, are opposed to the proposition. I will tell what I mean by patrons. There are a number of gentlemen who possess a large interest in this alcohol trade in the city, and who have a number of houses which they lease out to parties at prices varying from £200, £300, £500, and £1000——

MR. MURPHY.—The Bill has nothing of a compensating clause in it. It deprives the trader of his property, and gives him no return for it.

MR. SULLIVAN.—According to the existing practice a number of houses are rented by gigantic capitalists. A young man comes up from the country, who desires that he may be no longer a servant, and wishes to strike out for himself, but he cannot do so under the present system unless he is patronized. What do those gentlemen want by curtailing the number of houses? That no man but a capitalist shall be able to enter on this trade. Now what is the fact? There are manufacturing firms of alcoholic drink who have hundreds of the trade at their mercy. One firm alone in the city owns 200 of those houses.

MR. MAGRATH.—I don't think they have any control over the trade.

MR. REDMOND.—The brewers may, but the distillers have none.

MR. SULLIVAN.—Exactly so. I know the case of a house near Dublin, where a young man paid £350 for the interest in it. He was refused his transfer, and the consequence was that he lost his money. What "compensation" did he get?——

MR. BOLGER.—That is wrong.

MR. MAGRATH.—You are under a mistake, Mr. Sullivan.

MR. SULLIVAN.—No; I am right. What I state will go before the public, and I am ready to make good my words (hear, hear.) The amount may be more or less, but the principle is the same.

MR. MAGRATH.—You have no right to say that we want to deprive the people of power, because you have an organ behind your back that reports everything which takes place here. I think you should adopt the motion of Sir John Gray. You are, I must say, arrogating to yourself a position which you have no right to assume (laughter.)

MR. FINNEGAN.—I repudiate in the strongest manner the insinuation that we want to deprive the people of power.

MR. SULLIVAN.—Well, vote for them having it (applause).

MR. FINNEGAN.—No, I will not do so in its present shape.

MR. SULLIVAN.—If our opponents spoke for twenty years, they will not be able to get rid of the fact that our proposition is to take this power now wielded exclusively by the magistrates, and subject it primarily to the people's vote. All their efforts cannot hide this fact from the people; and once the people get to see it—once the people see that *we* are willing to trust them by a ratepayers' vote, by a householders' vote, by a manhood vote, by a womanhood vote, by any vote, while, on the other hand, the drinksellers won't trust the people with any vote at all; once the people, I say, get to see this one simple fact, there will be an end of argument; the people will make short work of their opponents, and our cause will be won. If my seconder has no objection, I will accept the motion, as proposed by Sir John Gray. I stated at the outset that I raised this discussion here to-day, not because I knew that the majority of the council would be with me, but because we have marked out this question for its future and inevitable victory (loud applause.)

The resolution was put from the chair and adopted unanimously.

On the motion of Sir John Gray, seconded by Mr. Sullivan, the Town Clerk was directed to have the resolution engrossed in the form of of a petition, and the City Seal affixed thereto, for presentation to the House of Commons.

The Council then adjourned.

MAP

OF

"A DARK SPOT ON THE MERSEY."

CAUSES OF THE GREAT MORTALITY IN LIVERPOOL.

As the "Artizans' Dwellings Bill," introduced by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons this Session, has special reference to Liverpool, Members of Parliament and others will be interested in the following facts, which have a special bearing upon the objects of the Bill:—

In June, 1871, Messrs. E. A. Parkes, M.D., F.R.S., and J. Burdon Sanderson, M.D., F.R.S., having been engaged by the Liverpool Town Council to investigate the causes of the exceptionably high death-rate which prevailed in the Borough, presented their Report.

In their exhaustive Report Drs. Parkes and Sanderson enter fully into the various causes of the bad sanitary condition of Liverpool.

Among other facts brought out by this inquiry, it is clearly shown that some Districts in Liverpool, such as Rodney Street, compare favorably as to their sanitary condition with the most healthy country villages, the death-rate being only 10-71 per 1000, while in Sawney Pope Street the mortality is 55-86 per 1000.

Among the causes of this unsatisfactory state of the health of the people in the district around Sawney Pope Street the following are mentioned:—The density of the population, which is at the rate of nearly 1,000 to an acre; the bad construction of the houses, with other matters relating to the trapping of drains, &c. No fault is found with the general drainage of the district or with the water supply.

DRUNKENNESS THE PRIMARY CAUSE.

Special stress is laid in the Report upon the drunken habits of most of the inhabitants of this district as the principal cause of the prevailing mortality. On this point the Report states:—

"We applied to the landlord of a small public-house in one of these streets; he had lived for years in the district and knew intimately the habits of the people. He told us that 'for one man who did not drink, there were fifty who took their share, they starve their wives and children, and must beg if they want a bit.'

"We select a few examples of workmen in whose cases there was no irregularity of employment:—

No. 1.—"A tinplate-worker, in constant work, earns 22/ a week; he has a wife, evidently a careful, respectable woman, and four children. In reply to a question, she said he drank a little, then owned 'he drank very heavy; sometimes he brought home 18/, sometimes 16/, sometimes 12/—last week he drank it all. If he would bring 22/ a week she should be as happy as the day is long.' This family of six persons were living in one back room, for which they paid 1/6 a week. It was 10¼ feet long, 9 feet broad, and 8¾ feet high. The furniture was a bed, a table, and two ricketty chairs. Two of the four children were sick.

No. 2.—"In the front room of the same house, the rent of which was 2/ a week, a man and wife, a daughter (17) and a son (15) lived; the man earned 24/ a week, and passed his time in drinking hard, repenting and saving, and then drinking again. The wife drank all she could get."

No. 3.—"Another man earns regularly and spends as regularly 21/ in drink. His four children are in rags."

No. 4.—"In another instance, the wages are 30/ a week regularly; the father and mother are both drunken, and three children are in rags and half starved."

MAP OF THE MOST UNHEALTHY

PUBLIC-HOUSES, GIN-PALACES and BREWERIES ma

DEATH RATE IN THIS DISTRICT

(According to PARKES & SANDERSON'S Report)

Sawney Pope Street ... ... 55.86 per 1,000
Addison Street ... ... 45.40 "
Lace Street ... ... 35.70 "

Number of Public-Houses and Gin-Palaces in the District 20
Breweries 2

Total Street Frontage of District ... 2,914 yds.
Total Public-House and Brewery Frontage 425 yds.
(Being one-seventh of the whole).

Death Rate in Rodney Street ... 10.71 per 1,000
(No Public-Houses.)

SCALE OF FEET.

100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0

200

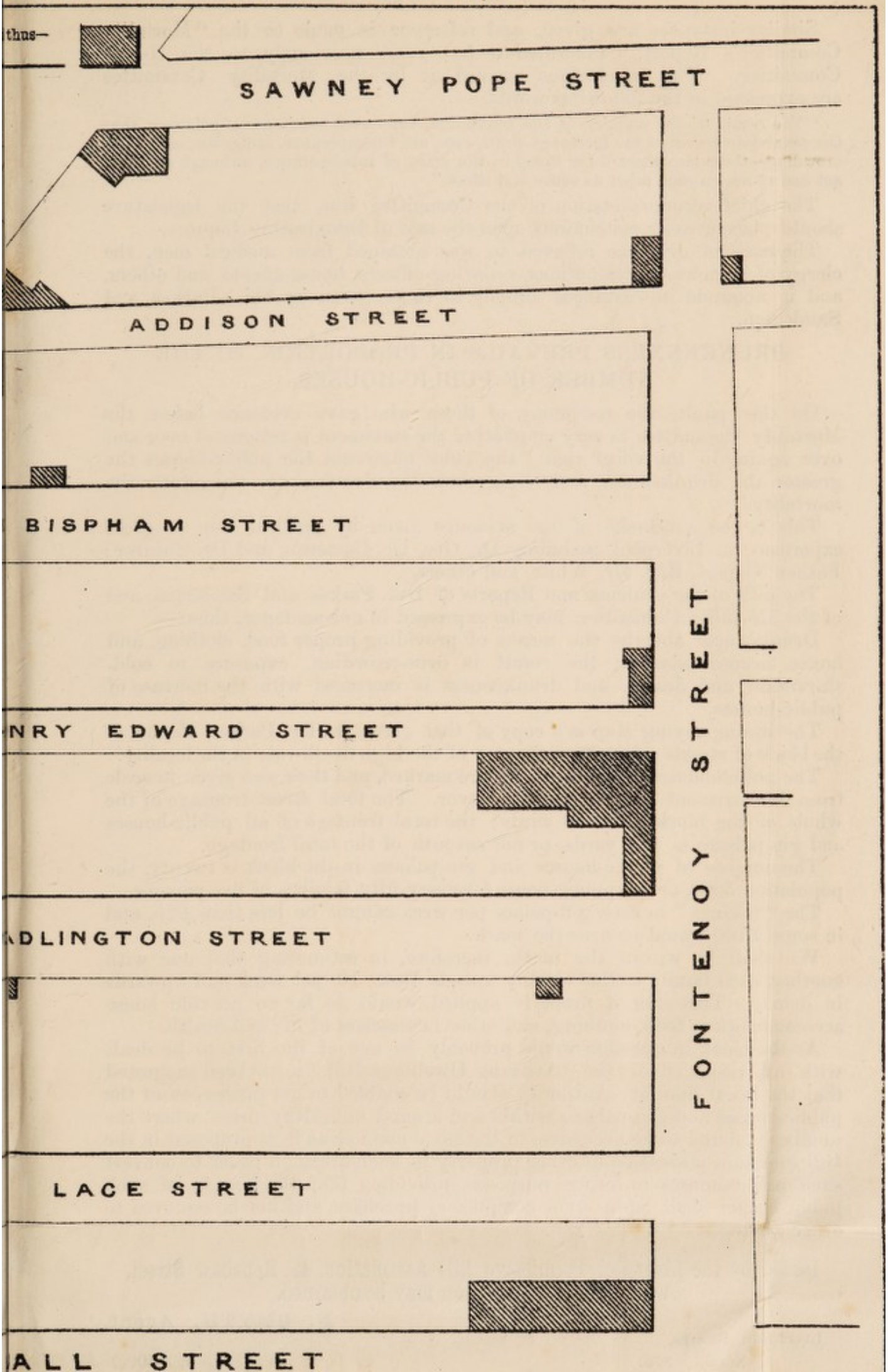
MARYBONE

JOHNSON ST

STANDISH ST

GREAT CROSS

DISTRICT IN LIVERPOOL.



Similar instances are given, and reference is made to the "Mortality Committee's Report," presented a few years previously to the Health Committee. The conclusions arrived at by the Mortality Committee are expressed in the following words:—

"The result of the enquiry is the conviction, supported by a mass of evidence, that the proximate causes of the increased death-rate are intemperance, indigence, and over-crowding—these two latter being found in the train of intemperance, although all three act and re-act on each other as cause and effect."

The chief recommendation of the Committee was, that the legislature should place greater restrictions upon the sale of Intoxicating Liquors.

The mass of evidence referred to was obtained from medical men, the clergy of various denominations, relieving-officers, house-agents, and others, and it abounds in instances similar to those given by Drs. Parkes and Sanderson.

DRUNKENNESS PREVAILS IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF PUBLIC-HOUSES.

On this point, the testimony of those who gave evidence before the Mortality Committee is very emphatic; the statement is reiterated over and over again, to the effect that "the more numerous the public-houses the greater the drunkenness, and the greater the drunkenness the greater the mortality."

This is the substance of the evidence given by medical men of great experience in Liverpool, including Dr. Gee, Dr. Cameron, and Dr. Shearer; Father Nugent, Rev. Dr. White, and others.

The pith of the evidence and Reports of Drs. Parkes and Sanderson, and of the Mortality Committee, may be expressed in one sentence, thus:—

Drunkenness absorbs the means of providing proper food, clothing, and house accommodation; the result is over-crowding, exposure to cold, starvation and death; and drunkenness is increased with the increase of public-houses.

The accompanying Map is a copy of that given in Dr. Parkes' Report of the block of streets selected on account of the high death-rate in the locality.

The public-houses and gin-palaces are marked, and their size given to scale from measurement by a practical surveyor. The total street frontage of the whole of the block is 2,914 yards; the total frontage of all public-houses and gin-palaces is 425 yards, or one-seventh of the total frontage.

The number of public-houses and gin-palaces in the block is twenty, the population 5000, or one public-house for every fifty families of five persons.

The "takings" in each gin-palace per week cannot be less than £25, and in some £100 would be near the mark.

We shall be within the mark, therefore, in estimating that one with another, each family in this locality spends from 10/ per week and upwards in drink. This sum, if properly applied, would go far to provide house accommodation, food, clothing, and other necessaries of life and health.

As the block in question would probably be one of the first to be dealt with in Liverpool under the "Artizans' Dwellings Bill," it has been suggested that the Local Sanitary Authority should be enabled to get possession of the public-houses and gin-palaces within and around unhealthy areas where the number is found to be excessive, in the same manner as it is proposed in the Bill to obtain possession of other property in such areas, in order to convert such public-houses to other purposes, providing that the licenses of such public-houses shall lapse upon compulsory purchase, and not be removed to other localities.

Issued by the Liverpool Permissive Bill Association, 42, Renshaw Street, where every information may be obtained.

N. SMYTH, Agent.

LIVERPOOL SERIES,
No. 2. 1875.] [1s. 6D. PER 100.

"BRIGHT SPOTS ON THE MERSEY;"

OR,

"THE LIVERPOOL SALTAIRE."

It may not be generally known that over large districts in and around Liverpool, public-houses are prohibited by owners of land and houses on their estates.

The following are the principal of these prohibitory districts, with the present and estimated future populations upon them when the whole of the land already laid out shall be built upon. The extent and limits of the various districts are shown on the map on the inside.

1.—PRINCE'S ROAD.

Number of Houses built, or in course of erection, about	3,500
Estimated Population, about...	18,000

2.—PARK ROAD.

Number of Houses about to be erected	2,400
Estimated Population, about...	12,000

3.—WALTON ROAD.

Number of Houses built, or in course of erection, about	700
Estimated Population, about...	3,500

4.—HAMILTON ROAD, EVERTON.

Number of Houses built, about	1,000
Estimated Population, about...	5,000

5.—SHEIL ROAD.

Number of Houses built, about	200
Estimated Population, about...	1,000

6.—TUE-BROOK.

Number of Houses built, or in course of erection, about	600
Estimated Population, about...	3,000

The Corporation leases prohibit public-houses in the neighbourhood of Abercromby and Falkner Squares, also around the Parks. It would be difficult to estimate the population on those leasehold tracts.

There is good authority for stating that Upper Parliament Fields will be restricted from public-houses, as well as the land on the other side of Prince's Road. When this land shall be built upon, the population upon it will not be less than 20,000 persons.

When the whole of the land laid out or contemplated is built upon, the total number of the population of Liverpool living under prohibition of the liquor traffic in these localities will be not less than 80,000, including the residents around Prince's Park and Sefton Park.

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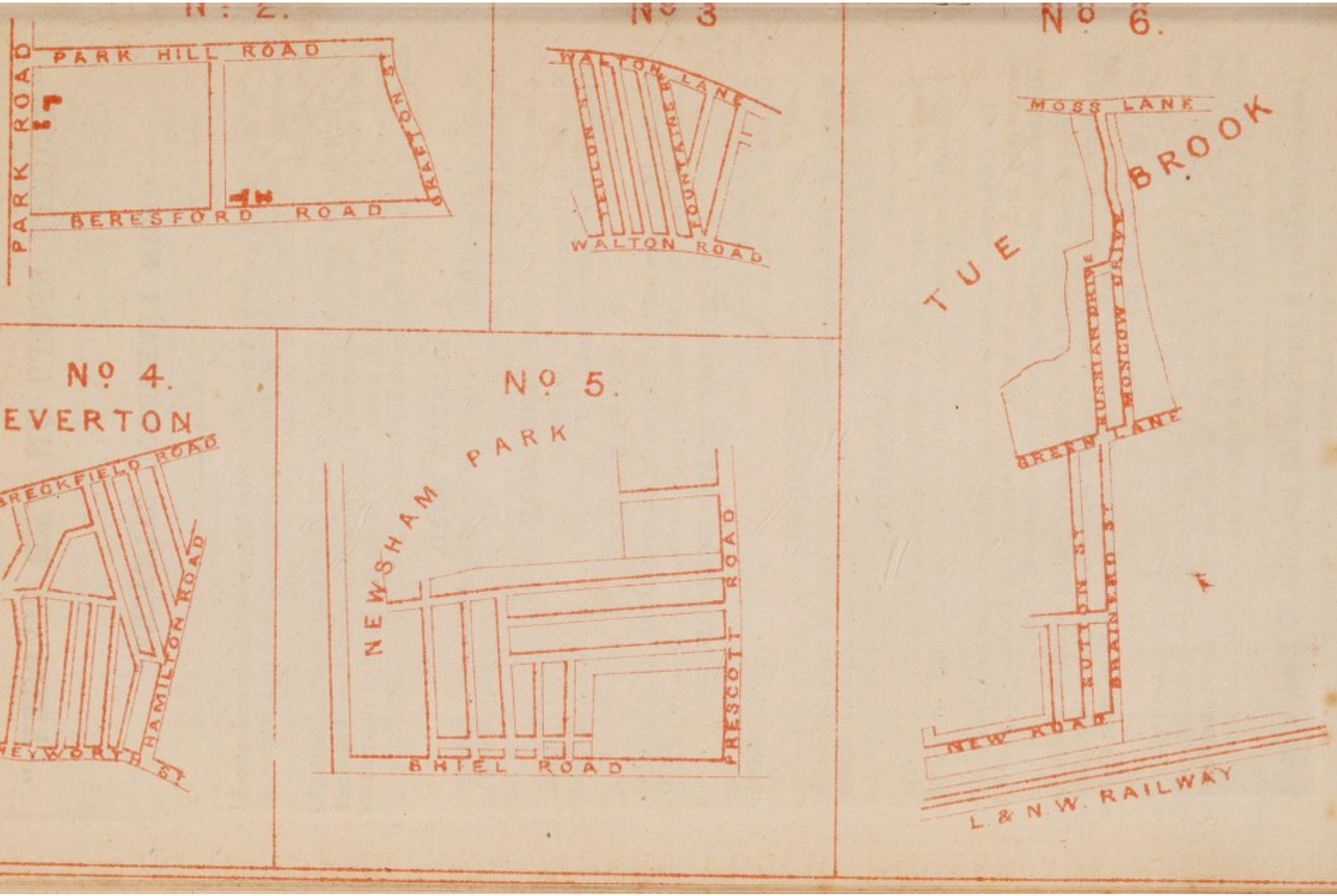
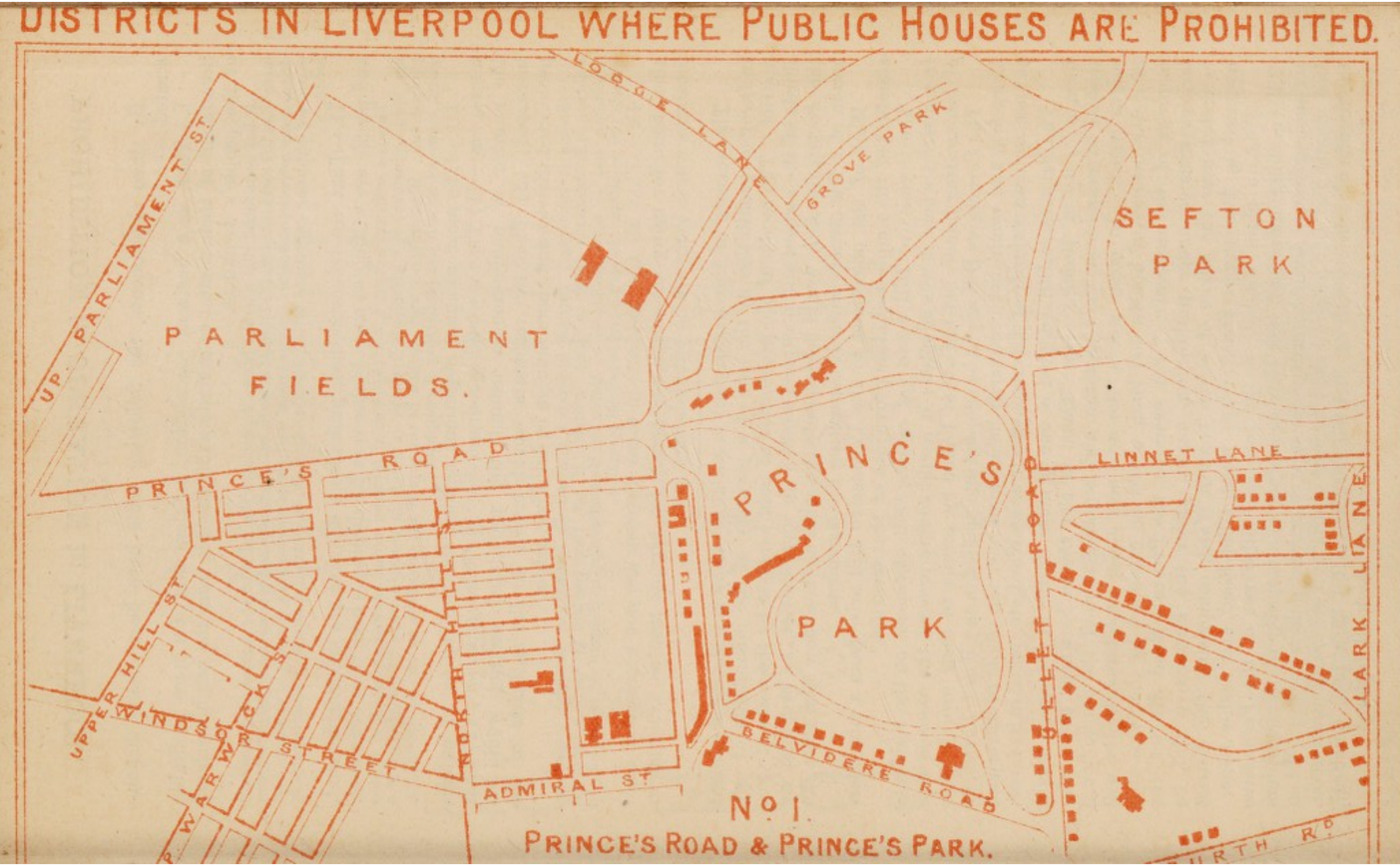
N. SMYTH, Agent.


No 2.
PARK HILL ROAD
PARK ROAD
BERESFORD ROAD
No 3
WALTON LANE
WALTON ROAD
No 6.
MOSS LANE
TUE BROOK
GREEN LANE
NEW ROAD
L & N.W. RAILWAY
No 4.
EVERTON
BRECKFIELD ROAD
SPRINGFIELD
HAMILTON ROAD
No 5.
NEWSHAM PARK
PRESCOT ROAD
BOTEL ROAD

DISTRICTS IN LIVERPOOL WHERE PUBLIC HOUSES ARE PROHIBITED.



PROHIBITION in OPERATION in LIVERPOOL.

By these experiments, the following facts have been clearly demonstrated :—

I.—That, as a business speculation, builders find it a more profitable investment of their capital to exclude public-houses from the neighbourhood of the people's dwellings.

It has been found that a public-house depreciates the value of the surrounding property more than the extra rent obtained for the house itself; it attracts and creates rowdyism; rowdyism drives away respectable tenants, causes loss of rent, frequent removals, damage to property, and expensive cleansing operations after infectious diseases, to which the intemperate are specially liable.

II.—That residences in these prohibitory districts are much in demand, and people are willing to pay a higher rent for dwellings here than elsewhere.

This is a sufficient answer to the objection of *tyranny* raised against prohibition. There has been no instance of a complaint from the *residents* in these districts of the absence of a public-house. If prohibition were applied by the vote of the occupiers, as well as the owners, would there not be still less probability of complaint?

III.—The most common objections against the prohibition of public-houses are:—(1) That it would encourage the "*illicit sale of liquor;* (2) That the number of public-houses around the prohibited district would be increased; (3) That the residents would crowd to the outskirts of the prohibited district and there indulge in drinking habits.

Seeing is believing. Anyone interested may satisfy himself, by personal inspection, whether such objections apply to these districts; if not, then one fact is worth a thousand objections, and we need not travel to Maine or Massachusetts, to Saltaire or Bessbrook, to witness the prohibition in actual and beneficial operation.

IV.—That all the residents in these districts are not necessarily total abstainers, for many non-abstainers prefer, for various reasons, residing in localities where there are no public-houses near.

The success of this experiment in social economy is a strong argument in favor of prohibition by the vote of a majority of the inhabitants of any district. The *results* of the prohibition of public-houses by the votes of two-thirds of the owners and occupiers *together* in any district, as proposed by the *Permissive Bill*, would be precisely the same as those now seen from the action of a few owners without consulting the occupiers.

Most of the objections to the Permissive Bill arise from a misunderstanding of the simple and clear provisions of that measure.

The Permissive Bill *would not enforce total abstinence* on the residents in a district where it was adopted; it would simply prevent the *common sale* of intoxicating liquor, not the use of liquor by people in their own houses.

The Permissive Bill might be adopted and applied in any *Ward*, *Parish*, or *Township*, and would not necessarily be adopted over the whole of Liverpool at once, unless a majority of the ratepayers in *every* Ward, etc., voted in its favor.

The Permissive Bill, adopted in one or more *Wards* in Liverpool, would form a "City of Refuge"—an "Oasis in the Desert"—where those who wished to escape from the temptation and contamination of the public-house might resort. In other words, the area now under prohibition by the will of a few owners of houses and land, would be extended by the votes of a majority of the residents. For example, the Prince's Road district, the largest district under prohibition, might, under the Permissive Bill, be extended over the whole of North Toxteth Ward, comprising the district bounded by Parliament Street, Park Road, Ullet Road, and Lodge Lane.

This, in plain English, is the sum and substance of the Permissive Bill—nothing more nor less than conceding to a majority of the occupiers the same power as the owners exercise now to prevent public-houses. When this simple and fair proposal shall become clearly and generally understood, the friends of sobriety will support the Permissive Bill as a just, practical, and effective remedy for the evils of intemperance which all deplore.

LOOK ON

THIS PICTURE AND ON THIS

Number of Cases of Drunkenness reported in Major Greig's Report for 1874:—

23,303

(Twenty-three Thousand, Three Hundred and Three.)

Number of Publicans convicted for permitting Drunkenness in Liverpool during 1874:—

3

(THREE.)

"If any Licensed Person permits Drunkenness, - - - or sells any Intoxicating Liquors to any Drunken person, he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding for the first offence Ten Pounds, and not exceeding for the second and any subsequent offence Twenty Pounds."

(See Act of Parliament.)

LIVERPOOL PERMISSIVE BILL ASSOCIATION, 42, Renshaw-St.

FACTS NOT FICTION.

In 1872, Major Greig reported 43 Public-houses as the resort of Thieves and Prostitutes.

In 1873, the instructions from the Home Office so altered the character of the return that it could not be compared to the one of the previous year.

In 1874, in answer to a question from the Bench, Major Greig's clerk explained that the number of such bad houses were omitted because of such instruction, and not from the houses previously returned as being of bad character ceasing to be badly conducted.

In 1875, the Chairman of Committee of Magistrates requested a list of Public-houses and Beer-houses which should have been returned as Bad Houses, and received the following reply—"The WATCH COMMITTEE having given the matter the fullest consideration, resolved: That the Watch Committee do not think the Head Constable would be justified in giving evidence on the points mentioned."

The 10th sec. of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1871, provides—That any one keeping a Public-house or Beer-shop, who knowingly harbours THIEVES or PROSTITUTES, shall be liable TO A FINE OF TEN POUNDS, or four month's imprisonment.

The License of the person so convicted MAY, in the discretion of the court, BE FORFEITED ON THE FIRST CONVICTION.

On a second conviction, the License SHALL be forfeited, and the Person holding the same shall be DISQUALIFIED FOR TWO YEARS.

Moreover, where TWO convictions in reference to the same premises are recorded in three years—whether the same person or not—NO LICENSE in respect of such house SHALL BE OBTAINED FOR ONE YEAR.

Why have not the Magistrates enforced the provisions of the Act? Is it because there are no informations?

Who arrests the action of the Police? If the Watch Committee, what is the reason for their so doing.

BY WHAT RIGHT IS THE LAW OF THE LAND SUSPENDED IN LIVERPOOL?

CITIZENS! DEMAND to KNOW the REASON WHY!

LIVERPOOL PERMISSIVE BILL ASSOCIATION, 42, Renshaw Street.] [LEAFLET No. 2.

LIVERPOOL MAGISTRATES

versus

PUBLIC-HOUSES.

The Liverpool Magistrates HAVE the discretionary power,—

I.—MUSIC HALLS:—

To take away the License from every Public-House to which is attached a Music Hall or Singing Saloon.

II.—BACK AND SIDE DOORS:—

To order the closing up of Back and Side Doors of Public-Houses and Gin-Palaces, or refuse the renewal of Licenses to tenants non-complying.

(As the Glasgow Magistrates have done.)

III.—EXTENDED PREMISES:—

To stop the Extension of Premises by Licensed Victuallers, now so flagrantly practised in this town.

IV.—PLURALITY OF LICENSES:—

To give notice to every Publican and Brewer, with more than One License, to choose at once the House he wishes to be Licensed for, and to order the withdrawal of all others on the Licensing day.

(As the Dundee Magistrates have done.)

V.—THIEVES AND PROSTITUTES:—

To give notice to every Publican and Beer-House Keeper, whose House is the resort of Thieves and Prostitutes, that unless the House is properly conducted for the future, the License will be withdrawn at the next Licensing Session.

(This has already been done effectually by the Luton Magistrates.)

VI.—TRANSFERS:—

To refuse the Transfer of License to any but the person to whom shall have been bona fide conveyed the interest in the occupation or keeping of such house.

WHAT

LIVERPOOL MAGISTRATES

HAVE SAID ABOUT

PUBLIC-HOUSES AND THE PUBLICANS.

ROBERTSON GLADSTONE, Esq.:—

"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 Beer-houses; I believe they are the source of all THE MISCHIEF."—*1st Report on Public-houses, page 81.*

F. A CLINT, Esq. (Ex-Chairman Watch Committee):—

"There were about 20,000 persons convicted of Drunkenness in Liverpool in the course of the year, the greater portion of them had obtained drink and become drunk in Public-houses, and he had no hesitation in saying that in the great majority of cases the Publicans knowingly permitted them to get drunk."—*Public Meeting at Law Association Rooms.*

J. B. ASPINALL, Esq. (Recorder of Liverpool):—

"If there were 95 such houses (THE RESORT OF BAD CHARACTERS) in Liverpool, all he could say was that IF THE AUTHORITIES DID THEIR DUTY now they had the power in their hands, it was not necessary that there should be such houses any more, because if they were known to the Police, the Police ought to proceed against them."—*Charge to the Grand Jury.*

J. J. STITT, Esq.:—

"Probably the most serious defect in the present Law is the ridiculously imperfect machinery for detecting offenders, and every miserable drunkard who reels through our streets testifies to the almost complete impunity with which the Licenses are broken, drink being supplied to intoxicated victims almost without supervision. What is wanted—and what a late Government Bill contemplated—is the appointment of a special staff of Public-house Inspectors, who would speedily bring to justice and the forfeiture of their Licenses, multitudes of Law-breakers of the very worst type, of drunkard-makers who now escape."—*Letter to Public Papers.*

P PUBLICANS!

P POLICE!

P PROSECUTIONS!

1874.

Number of Publicans convicted for permitting Drunkenness in Liverpool, year ending Sept., 29th, 1874 :—

3

1875.

Number of Publicans convicted for permitting Drunkenness in Liverpool, year ending Sept. 29th, 1875 :—

57

PROBLEM:—Are the Publicans of Liverpool greater Law Breakers in 1875 than in 1874? or did the Watch Committee and the Police Authorities wink at evils in 1874, which the public compelled them to recognize and prosecute in 1875?

LET COMMON SENSE ANSWER.

Leaflet No 5.

Liverpool Permissive Bill Association.

LET COMMON SENSE ANSWER.

3

1848.

1848.

PORTUGAL!

PROGRESSO!