

THE CHURCH AND HUMAN SOCIETY



THE London Times thus reports a part of the discussion during the proceedings of the Pan-Anglican Conference: The Earl of Lytton, in opening the discussion on the drink problem, said that he must assume several things—first, the consumption of alcohol was not in itself immoral, and that total abstinence only became a moral duty when the individual was subject to excess or when the practice of abstinence was helpful to others. Then it was impossible to prevent people from drinking alcohol if the desire to drink existed in them. To make the sale of liquor illegal was quite another matter. But it was possible, by raising the standard of a person's self-respect, so to educate public opinion as to reduce materially the desire for drinking. That process had been going on for a long time in all classes, and it might be enormously accelerated if it were only given the impulse of a conscious and deliberate effort. If those interested in temperance in every locality would band together, they might, by the influence of a sympathetic association with the life of their neighborhoods, change the character of the country beyond recognition. But he was mostly concerned for the moment with the action of the state in its administrative and executive capacity. He placed very little hope in legislative action except as giving the necessary powers and funds to other bodies. He relied on magisterial action and local experiment. A comprehensive temperance policy ought to have two objects—to prevent the people's desire for drink, and where it remained, to prevent its abuse. As to the first, the action of the state could only be indirect, by providing the people elsewhere than in the public house the opportunities for satisfying perfectly legitimate and even laudable desires—those for company, social intercourse, recreation, warmth and refreshment. Because those desires could at present only be satisfied in the public house, it was unfair to blame some persons for spending so much of their time there. To prevent abuse, the state must diminish as far as possible temptations to drink, prevent contamination by bad example, and provide treatment for inebriates. The state should be guided by one governing principle—the cultivation of self-respect in the individual; and if people were treated as respectable, self-reliant, orderly citizens, they would be more likely to behave as such. To say that there should be no public houses was to say that the people were incapable of using them without abusing them. Well-managed public houses, ministering to the needs of the respectable portion of the population, became the centres of wholesome public opinion. But the question of numbers was most important of all. He regarded with dismay the existing altogether disproportionate number of public houses, and welcomed such a policy of compulsory reduction as that contained in the bill before parliament. (Cheers.) As to contamination, where a house was the habitual resort of bad characters, was it not the duty of the state to close that house during the hours when it was abused, or to close it altogether? Yet that was not now done because some person's private interest was bound up in the profits of the house. Before asking for legislation it was necessary to create a public opinion which would not tolerate such a state of things; and the only reason why that opinion had not already been created was that reformers had made the mistake of confusing bad with good, of lumping all public houses under the same description and of demanding the extinction of all. What was amiss was not that alcohol should be drunk, but that it should be bought and sold under degrading conditions. What was needed was an elastic system of local administration and opportunities for the exercise of local opinion. Not till a distinction could be drawn between the drinking shop and the well-managed house would satisfactory progress with temperance be made.

Judge Herbert S. McDonald (Canada) said that he had served on the Canadian Royal Commission on the liquor question—a commission which studied the question in all districts from Halifax to Vancouver and in several states of the union. While strict local regulation might be successful, prohibition he regarded as impracticable. Though the laws in America were often much more drastic than those of Great Britain, it was doubtful whether their enforcement was as strict. Local option applied to small areas was likely to be fairly successful, because it did not prevent those who desired drink from getting it from outside the area. A wave of prohibition occasionally passed over Canada and the States. The Scott Act was carried by large majorities in county after county; but in most of those counties it was repealed by considerable majorities. In 1892, when prohibition was passed in Manitoba, the most ingenious devices for evading the law were resorted to. The attempt to enforce prohibition in many large towns had proved futile, for when prosecutions were instituted juries refused to convict. (Cheers.)

The Bishop of Kensington said he agreed that the surest remedy for temperance was to make the individual temperate, and that one essential factor in temperance reform was the force of a strong and educated public opinion. But he could not admit that the force of public opinion was the opposite to or the alternative of legislation. Public opinion was educated by legislative action. The aim of the great body of temperance reformers was not prohibition.

the protector of the nation's best interests, and to become a negligible quantity in the forward movement of social reform. If the church did not lead and guide the movement it would be disastrous for the best interests of the people. No fear of losing powerful or wealthy adherents; no appeals to compassion, if they could only be granted at the cost of the vaster host of sufferers still, ought to move the church in this question. By the sweeter homes of the people the church of the nation must stand. (Cheers.)

The Rev. H. W. Anson (New Zealand) said that in New Zealand the electors every three years had the chance of saying whether they desired licenses continued, reduced, or abolished. A majority of three-fifths was required to overthrow the existing system. There had been a remarkable growth in the vote for no licenses. In ten years it had grown by 100,000 out of a total voting power of 300,000. Out of 68 constituencies, 39 had a bare majority in favor of no licenses; but that principle had been carried in only four constituencies. On this question, though not on others, the women voters refused

South London) said that temperance legislation, without an enlightened public opinion behind it was not sufficient. She had found that opinion quite ready to be formed by steady effort.

The Bishop of Utah said that prohibition had had a square deal that morning. It was true that there had been waves of prohibition in the States; but every new wave was higher and stronger than the last. Americans did not know what Englishmen meant by "respectable saloons," because in America there were none. Those who resisted prohibition did so out of sympathy with the moderate drinker—the man who could stop when he wanted. But there were so many of those moderate drinkers who apparently did not want to stop. (Laughter.) The situation might be expressed by the apologue of the rabbit chased by the dog. The people who were watching encouraged the rabbit and assured it of their sympathy, but they did nothing. "Thank you for your kind encouragement," said the rabbit, "but for Heaven's sake shoot the dog." (Laughter.)

The Rev. Dr. Harris, the Rev. J. Anderson

ress of trade, and ruin honest work. The great est difficulty in dealing with it arose from the fact that so many good people and churches would shut their eyes to the evil latent in it, and stoop to every excuse of sophistry. While temperance was diminishing, gambling still grew and spread. In Australia outside every hairdresser's shop was the legend, "We communicate with Hobart"—that is, where the Tattersall's of Australia was conducted. He could not regard raffles at church bazaars or three-penny and sixpenny points at the club as harmless. They might not be virulent forms of gambling, but they helped to make it popular and respectable. The springs of gambling lay in two directions. Covetousness might not give the first impulse, but ultimately it became dominant. The sporting papers had killed nearly every sport that we had, with their touts and tips, their prophecies and quotations. The influence of gambling was disastrous to character, society and commerce. Was the church to see all this and sit still? But there were no short cuts to the end desired. It was not only with gambling, but with the gambling spirit that they had to deal; not only with the fashion of the world, but with the character of man. There was a strong combination to face, and unfortunately all the powers that now existed were not employed. The clergy must preach straighter, because moral restraint would prove in the end stronger than legal. But who would speak straight to the great ones? Who would ask them what they were doing to make gambling unfashionable and "bad form" in society? (Cheers.) Yet the great ones could do so much if they would. The clergy's practice must harmonize with their preaching. They must abolish raffles and church laymen must give up the mild excitement of three-penny points. They must discourage that rivalry of extravagance which was the curse of modern life. They must insist that gambling was wrong even more than it was foolish. He appealed to the press to drop missing word competitions, and to see that their advertisement and sporting columns were in harmony with the high moral standard of their leading articles; let them give up the publication of the prices in the betting market. The first thing was to convert the press, and after that, women must be enlisted to create a sound public opinion on this question of the devilish selfishness and suicidal folly of gambling in all its forms. (Cheers.)

Mr. S. H. M. Killik (of the London Stock Exchange) said that business and speculation were so intimately connected that it was difficult to say where legitimate trading ended and illegitimate speculation began. Speculation must be a large element in the business of every manufacturer; whose purchases of stock must be influenced by his expectation of the rise or fall of prices. No one would say that the manufacturer must live commercially from hand to mouth by only purchasing materials sufficient for his immediate requirements. As to gambling, the speculators incidentally performed a service by increasing the number of dealings and thereby providing a better market, which enabled the investor to deal more freely and at closer quotations. Speculation had a temptation to develop into gambling; but the number of transactions on the Stock Exchange which were of a gambling nature were but a small proportion of the whole. It was by firms who were outside the Stock Exchange that gambling was encouraged. As to speculation, even when wild, it might do some good; but gambling was subversive of all principles which made a man a desirable member of society. It had been said that the jobber on the Stock Exchange was a mere gambler; but, if his business was properly conducted, it was no more speculative than that of the ordinary trader. He could not see why persons who attached most importance to increasing the capital value of their securities should be less moral than the investor in gilt-edged securities.

Never, it is believed, since the great exhibition of 1851 has London been so surcharged with visitors as at the present moment. One paper estimates the number of visitors at 450,000, but of course any attempt at accurate figures would be in vain. It is certain, however, that hotels and boarding houses are turning hundreds away daily. Beds in billiard and bathrooms in the leading hotels are only granted as favors.



When Work Began, October, 1907.

Prohibition had failed in this country, and he did not think it would ever succeed. The aim was not to make every one a teetotaler willy-nilly, nor to cover the trade with abuse and contempt. The first aim was to secure a considerable reduction of drinking facilities, as rapid as was consistent with justice. It had been suddenly discovered that the policy of reduction was an exploded fallacy; that temptation had no relation to sin. But if the number was unimportant, by what right did the state limit the number of those who might sell liquor? The only corollary of the outcry against reduction was free sale; and free sale had been tried and had failed. The second aim of the reformer should be complete control by the state. Unfortunately, the act of 1904 set up a dual system, under which there was no possibility of imposing new conditions on the renewal of old licenses. A time limit was on this account important—because of what would happen at the end of it. Then no vested interest would be recognized, and no compensation could be claimed, and all licenses would be on the same footing and under the same control. It would clear the air if the voice of the people could be heard and the will of the people could be felt. This was a people's question. It was vital for the masses. But the people had no voice and had not the leave to speak. What else could the church do but exert herself in this cause, unless she wished to abdicate her position as

to be influenced by their male friends, and went strongly in favor of prohibition. But for prohibition to be effective, the area must be small and homogeneous; and it must be the deliberate wish of the whole population. Sunday closing in New Zealand had been a dead failure, because it was imposed by the state and not left to the discretion of the localities. The real liberty of the people was the liberty to settle this question for themselves. (Cheers.)

The Bishop of Croyden said that those who were looking to a split in the Church of England Temperance Society on this question would be disappointed.

The Rev. W. J. Conybeare (Cambridge House) suggested that the club which drew 50 per cent or more of its annual revenue from the sale of intoxicants should require to be licensed as a public house and to comply with the same regulations as to closing, etc. But clubs that were properly managed should be encouraged, as they served a great social purpose.

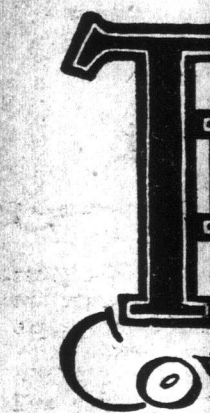
The Rev. Barton R. V. Mills (assistant chaplain of the Savoy) suggested there was an alternative solution to that of the Licensing Bill. It would be for the state to buy up all the licensed houses at market value and convert the liquor trade into a government monopoly. The profits of the trade would easily cover the cost of purchase.

Miss Brandreth (temperance worker in

Robertson, the Rev. E. C. Carter, Archdeacon Osborne, of North Carolina, who said that he had never seen a drunken woman till he came to this country, the Rev. Enoch Jones, and others also took part in the discussion.

The Chairman, in summing up, said that he remembered the time when it would have been wholly impossible for the Church of England to assemble such a meeting on this question. He rejoiced that one great section of the congress should have given its attention to what was the most important of all the subjects that the congress could discuss. The time had come when the power should be given to the people to say what should be done with this drink traffic. Let not the church be afraid of standing in the very forefront of the movement, and let her take it as a gross insult if those who made their money out of drink threatened to withdraw their contributions to church institutions. (Cheers.) Knowing that she had the interests of the whole people at heart, the church could not labor in vain.

The Bishop of Bunbury (Western Australia) said that gambling would never have grown to its present appalling dimensions if Christians had always done their duty. Gambling was directly opposed to the will of God and the Divine purpose in our creation. It was ordinarily accompanied by extravagance, self-indulgence, and idleness, and tended to destroy the nation and the home, to disturb the prog-



condemnation in the fishery. Though to fish for taking trout at a time when the possible to seek when I can get it from a boat in fish for its weight at a time when wading, and there est, for satisfaction advantage of it e

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Owing to the on the water an cannibals of the diel to any other not had much s afraid that it is