

sons, each of whom is stronger than he, because it is understood that behind him stands the whole body of the people ready and willing to sustain his authority. But if the law be unpopular, or opposed to the convictions of the community, very serious difficulties stand in the way, and often they whose help, under other circumstances, might be confidently relied upon, either stand aloof or become active opponents. This is the difficulty which confronts a prohibitory law in many parts of our country. In this city, for example, it may well be doubted whether the whole army of the United States could enforce such a law. The usual answer to this is, that the people must be educated into such views and feelings as are in harmony with Prohibition. But when that is brought about, the law is no longer needed. The moral public sentiment would of itself restrain effectually the abuses that prevail, and put an end to the rule of the saloons. Meanwhile, the endeavor to obtain legal enactments, the propriety of which is questioned by a large portion of the community, is anything but wise.

5. When Prohibition is urged forward by the formation of a distinct party to operate on the polls with this for its single object, the movement descends to the plane of partisan politics, and is liable to all the evils which characterize such a warfare. Truth is often subordinated to victory. Abuse takes the place of argument. Personalities are substituted for principles. Unwholesome alliances are made; for politics, like misery, "makes strange bedfellows." And there is a general lowering of the moral tone all along the line. Forty years ago, a zealous friend of Temperance said to me that whenever the matter was dragged into politics the cause suffered a set-back. So far as I have been able to observe, the same result has followed ever since. *A priori* a different result might have been expected. One would think that the introduction of a moral issue, one based upon philanthropy and a generous regard for human welfare, would have lifted up the whole plane of political discussion and led men to discuss the issues before the people in the dry light of pure reason. But such was not the case. The good, instead of ameliorating the bad, was itself drawn down to the low level. Misrepresentations, scurrilities, impeachments of motives, and "the pious abuse," familiar to controversialists of every age and class, were freely indulged. As the Latin poet says, "That men cross the sea but keep the same mind," so here, the theme of party journalism was changed, but the manners were the same.

6. A more serious evil is found in the effect which zeal for prohibitory laws has upon the true spirit of reform. That spirit is rational, moral, and based on principle. It seeks to produce a radical change, proceeding from within outwardly; one in which reason and conscience are concerned, and in which the aid of the divine Spirit is invoked, and which, therefore, may be expected to endure. The sub-