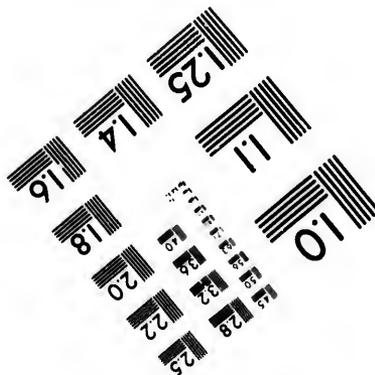
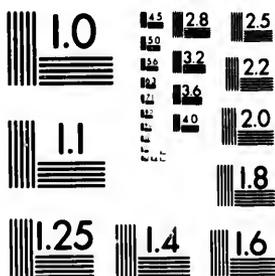


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



2.8  
2.5  
2.2  
2.0

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**

10



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions

Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

**1980**

Technical Notes / Notes techniques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Physical features of this copy which may alter any of the images in the reproduction are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Certains défauts susceptibles de nuire à la qualité de la reproduction sont notés ci-dessous.

Coloured covers/  
Couvertures de couleur

Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur

Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur

Coloured plates/  
Planches en couleur

Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées

Show through/  
Transparence

Tight binding (may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin)/  
Reliure serré (peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distortion le long de la marge intérieure)

Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées

Additional comments/  
Commentaires supplémentaires

Original copy restored and laminated.

---

Bibliographic Notes / Notes bibliographiques

Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible

Pagination incorrect/  
Erreurs de pagination

Bound with other material/  
Relié avec d'autres documents

Pages missing/  
Des pages manquent

Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque

Maps missing/  
Des cartes géographiques manquent

Plates missing/  
Des planches manquent

Additional comments/  
Commentaires supplémentaires

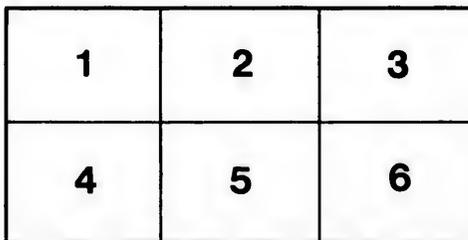
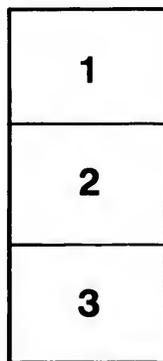
The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ▼ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

The original copy was borrowed from, and filmed with, the kind consent of the following institution:

National Library of Canada

Maps or plates too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Un des symboles suivants apparaît sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▼ signifie "FIN".

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de l'établissement prêteur suivant :

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Les cartes ou les planches trop grandes pour être reproduites en un seul cliché sont filmées à partir de l'angle supérieure gauche, de gauche à droite et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Le diagramme suivant illustre la méthode :

10/1/1911

1

# THE TEETOTAL TYRANT.

BEING

*Illustrations of Teetotal Methods under a Prohibitory Liquor Law, together with Remarks on the Present Position in Great Britain.*

BY

T. C. DOWN

*(Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and, of the Canadian Bar),*

*Author of*

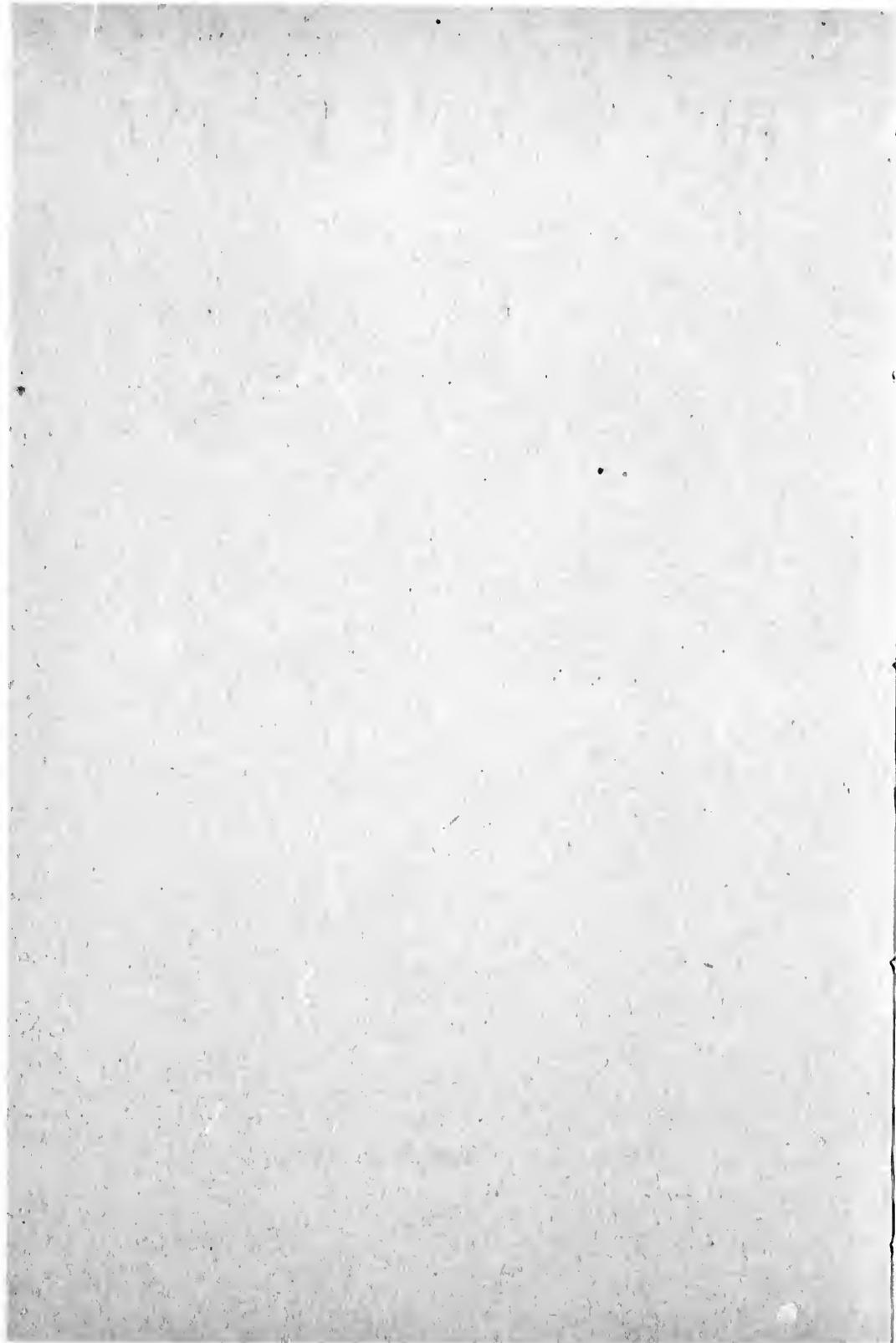
"AN OBJECT-LESSON IN 'PROHIBITION'"  
*(Nineteenth Century, May 1895).*

~~~~~  
PRICE THREEPENCE.  
~~~~~

London :

J. S. PHILLIPS, 121 FLEET STREET, E.C.

1895.



# THE TEETOTAL TYRANT.

BEING

*Illustrations of Teetotal Methods under a  
Prohibitory Liquor Law, together with  
Remarks on the Present Position in  
Great Britain.*

BY

T. C. DOWN

*(Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law,  
and of the Canadian Bar),*

*Author of*

"AN OBJECT-LESSON IN 'PROHIBITION'"

*(Nineteenth Century, May 1895).*

---

London :  
J. S. PHILLIPS, 121 FLEET STREET, E.C.

1895.



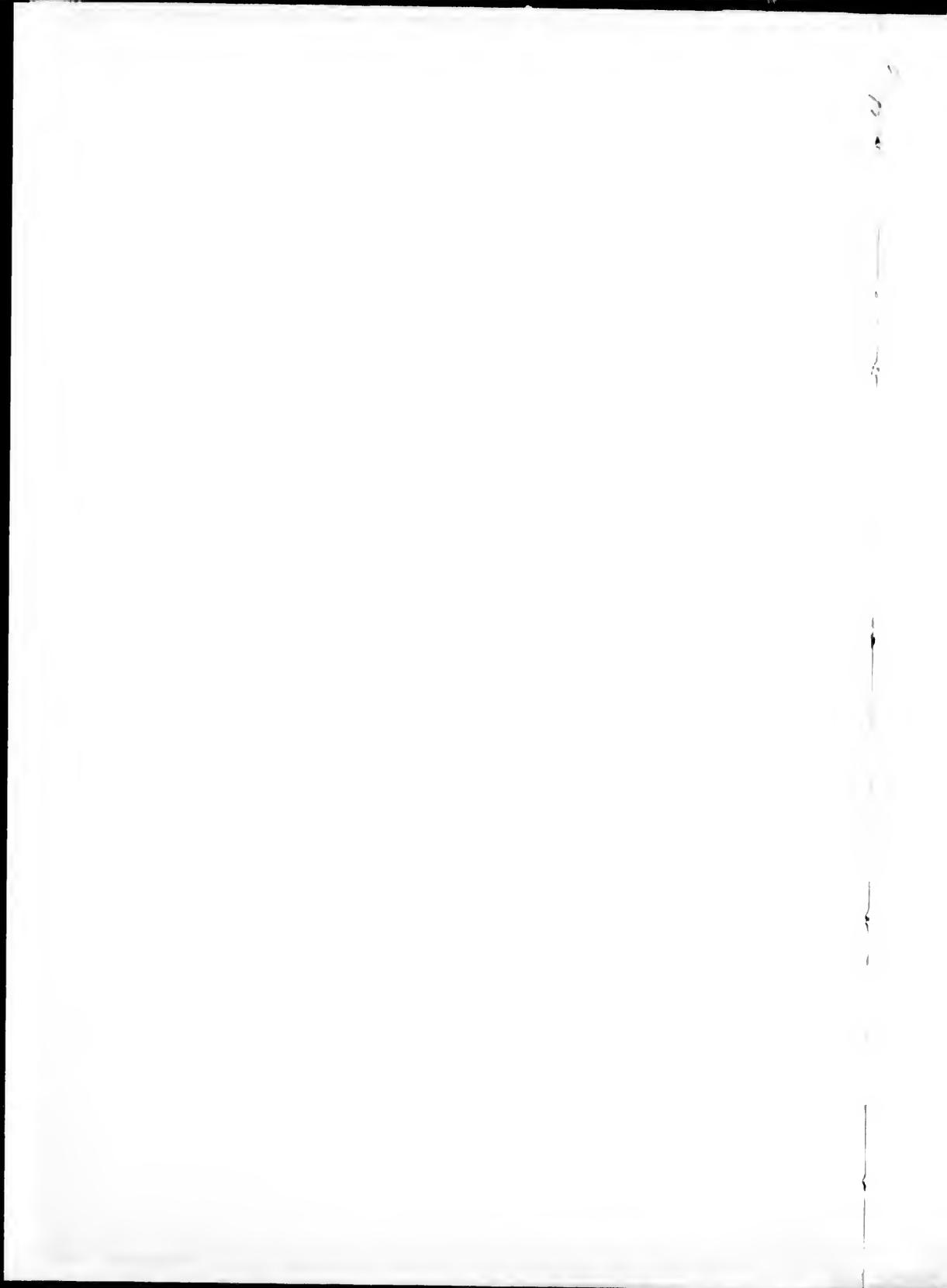
(By permission.)

TO

**SIR EDWARD CLARKE, Q.C.,**

*Member of Parliament for Plymouth from 1880 to 1895,  
and for many years Solicitor-General,  
this collection of 'hitherto unreported cases' and other  
matters, is respectfully dedicated by*

THE AUTHOR.



## NOTE.

---

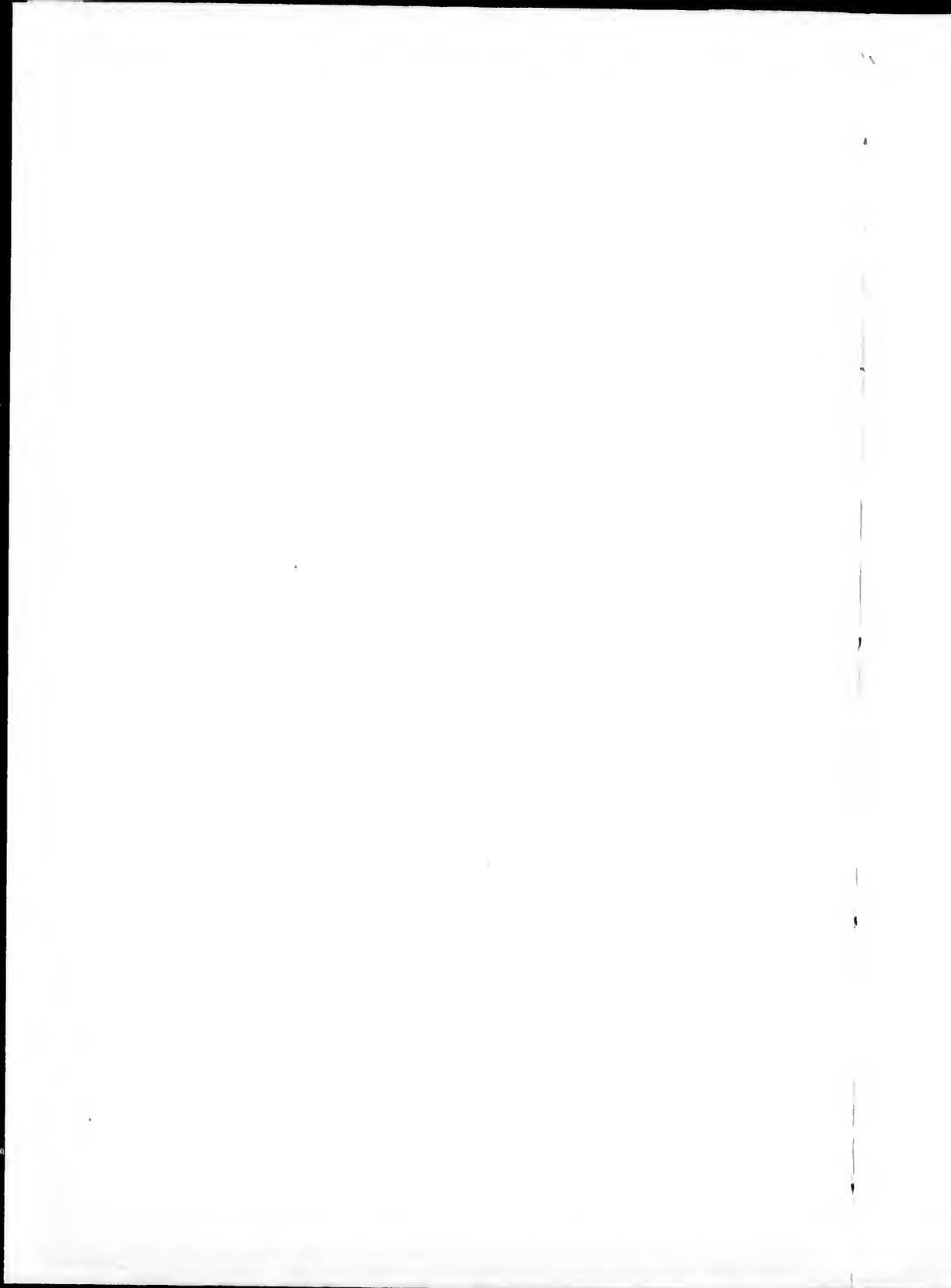
THE conduct of the late Government in pandering to the teetotal party, together with their proposals to trifle with the liberty of individuals in accordance with teetotal demands, is to my mind, and with my experience of the working of a prohibitory liquor law, of the most damaging nature to the reputation of a body of Ministers professing the principles of "Liberalism." The reasons for my conclusion I have endeavoured to set out in the following paper, but anyone who has not the time to read the whole of it, can at once turn to page 11 for illustrations of the methods of the teetotalers when invested with power by law over the rest of the community.

A considerable portion of the matter contained in this paper has appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and I am indebted to the Editor for his courteous permission to make use of my Articles in this form.

TEMPLE,

July 1895.

T. C. DOWN.



## THE TEETOTAL TYRANT.

---

IT is a curious thing to anyone who has practical acquaintance with the dire effects which a prohibitory liquor law has upon a community, that the introduction of a measure of this sort in the British Parliament should have been received on almost every hand with such astonishing apathy and indifference. The Local Veto Bill was jeered at as ridiculous and unworkable, and as regards this particular measure, the epithets may be such as it richly deserved, and the temptation to treat the thing with contempt and to dismiss it from consideration as being unworthy of discussion may have been very great—but it will not do: such a mode of procedure does not begin to touch the necessities of the case.

The party of reckless fanatics for whose delectation and at whose command this measure was framed and brought forward by a British Chancellor of the Exchequer, are impervious to ridicule, for buffoonery and exaggeration are the ordinary food with which their appetites are accustomed to be appeased. Nothing could better serve the designs of these people or be more agreeable to their wishes than that the matter should be dismissed even in this contemptuous fashion; anything is better than exposure, for if the broad glare of daylight is once brought to bear upon their schemes, and the true tendency of the latter is revealed to the public, such a blow will be dealt to them that their task will be hopeless.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer himself appeared to be shrewd enough to see that it would never do to give the House of Commons a chance of discussing upon its merits the Bill which was to give this country a first instalment of 'prohibition': no Government in a free country like England could survive such a discussion, if the opponents of the measure were in possession of a full knowledge of the subject; and it is therefore all the more necessary that this matter should now be dragged forth into light, for the evils which accompany the working of a prohibitive law are of so distressing a nature and so insidious in their operation, that nothing short of the fullest exposure will be of any avail.

Now, the very introduction of such a measure as the Local Veto Bill in itself proves the existence of an evil which lies beneath the surface, and is the cause of the corrupt growth: the evil of tyranny and intolerance, which bears fruit in schemes that are incompatible

with freedom, and whose consequences are so far-reaching as to sap the foundations of social order and decency. If a farmer has a bit of land which is covered with a noxious growth of weed, he is not satisfied with running the mowing-machine over it and cutting down the weed as it stands. What he does is to plough up that land before the weed has had time to form its seed, so that by this means he can get at the roots, and throw them into a heap and burn them. That this particular Liquor Bill has vanished into limbo is a mere incident. The extraordinary fact remains staring us in the face, that in the end of the nineteenth century we have had for three years a body of Ministers in power who usurped to themselves the title of Liberals, and had so far forgotten the principles of their early training as to trifle with the liberty of the individual—that priceless possession of Englishmen—and coquet with a band of petty tyrants, to whom nothing is sacred that lies in the way of the consummation of their fanatical ideas. The fate of a Party whose leaders can condescend to such practices and play the part of catspaw to people of this description, is a matter for the electorate to attend to now that these Ministers have run the length of their tether. What I wish to do is to try to bring home to Englishmen the true significance of this bastard tyranny which has already got so far as to haunt itself from the Treasury Bench in the British House of Commons.

That it is perfectly reckless and unconcerned as to the loss of property and means of livelihood of those who have hitherto carried on the business of the liquor trade under the protection of the State, and under conditions imposed by the authorities for the proper conduct of that business, is clearly evident from the pages of the Liquor Bill itself; but that is a matter more immediately concerning the traders themselves. The interests of the brewers and distillers and retailers, and of the many thousands of investors who depend, more or less, for their means of support upon the stability of these concerns, are of very great importance, and must by no means be trifled with, but they do not fall within the scope of this paper. Those who are engaged in the liquor trade itself are a very formidable section of the community, who know well how to look after their own interests, and display every intention of doing so in a most effectual manner. They are perfectly capable of taking care of themselves, and it will be well for the rest of the nation if they know how to follow their example.

That which is the matter of the gravest concern to the people of Great Britain is to discover what are the real objects and aims of the men to whose crudities the Radical Government proposed to sacrifice the rights of the remainder; what is the character of these individuals, and what is the inevitable result of the means by which they would attain their ends. As long as the teetotaler confines his attention to his legitimate business of reclaiming the tipplers and the drunkards, there is no need to fall foul of him, for no one but an outer barbarian wishes to encourage drunkenness. It is when he comes forward with the impudent proposal to harass the rest of the

community by causing them the greatest inconvenience in obtaining such refreshments as they wish to procure, or perhaps to prevent their being obtained at all, that it is time to call a halt and drive him back into his own haunts.

It is the height of the ambition of these loud-mouthed fanatics to have the power of interference with the liberty of other people; what they are pleased to call the 'moderate drinker' is their particular detestation, and the only plan which occurs to their disordered imaginations for the purpose of putting a stop to the evils of drunkenness, is the imbecile one of stopping the sale of liquor to everyone. Most thinking men would probably be prepared to follow Mr. Justice Wills when from the Bench he ridiculed the notion that the lust of drink—"that curse to humanity"—could be expelled from the human heart by severe enactments applied in a harsh spirit, and went on to say that the habits of mankind were ineradicable except by the slow and gradual process of teaching better things, and by the formation of that juster state of public sentiment so well illustrated in the habits of the higher classes of society during the past century.\* But considerations which are sufficient to satisfy thoughtful people do not appeal to these half-educated enthusiasts.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that what the teetotaler is aiming at—the man who is already strong enough to have brought a Chancellor of the Exchequer to his feet—is the entire suppression and extinction of the trade in intoxicating liquors. It is true that 'total prohibition' in Great Britain may be a grotesque idea, but it is not more grotesque than the spectacle of the Government which sold its birthright for a mess of pottage. Formerly the teetotalers were content to be known by such inoffensive terms as the "temperance party," and "The United Kingdom Alliance," and what they advocated was called a "Permissive Bill"; but now they have thrown off all disguise and impudently proclaim themselves the "Prohibition Party," which alone is a sufficient indication of their intentions. As to the question whether prohibition has ever been a success or not, apparently they do not stop to enquire or to investigate the matter. Sir Wilfrid Lawson himself is so densely ignorant of the subject that he not only makes the grossest mis-statements as to the practical effects of prohibitive systems of law, but he cannot even specify the particular places where such systems have been tried.† This fact affords a slight indication of the character of these people, who care nothing about the good or evil effects of their proposals as long as they can ride rough-shod over everyone and sweep everything before them that stands in the way of the accomplishment of their ends.

How is their true nature to be ascertained and exposed to view? Englishmen at home have no opportunities of discovering their

\* *Montgomery Boroughs Election Petition*, December 1892. Per WILLS, J.

† *Vide* speech by Sir W. Lawson, M.P., in House of Commons on introduction of the first liquor Bill of the late Government, 27th Feb. 1893.

capabilities for mischief, for here they have scarcely yet begun to show themselves in their true colours. Such knowledge can only be obtained from the experience of those who have witnessed their conduct when the law has invested them with power, and given them the chance of showing to what an extent they will carry the exercise of that power. If you want to discover the atrocities of which mankind is capable under the influence of religious bigotry, you must read the history of the Holy Inquisition, and go back to the fires of Smithfield and the massacre of St. Bartholomew; or if you wish to appreciate the true spirit of Puritanism, you will follow the doings of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland, and the methods of the generals who grafted the cruelties of the ancient Jews into their practice of Christian principles, or you will read the history of the sectarians in New England in the last century. If you want to know the Russian, you will not stop in St. Petersburg, but follow him along the roads into Siberia; or the Turk, then you will get away from the neighbourhood of the British Embassy, and make yourself acquainted with his behaviour in Armenia.

Where the law of prohibition is in full swing, there it is that your thorough-going teetotaler throws off the mask of temperance, and harks back to the genuine tyranny of his savage nature, for he will consign your soul to hell or your body to prison with equal indifference. The evil consequences of prohibition are amply sufficient in themselves to make thoughtful men shudder at the idea of running the risk of their development. Chicanery, deceit, and fraud, and widespread contempt for the law are among the least of the evils engendered by a system of repression; but if you make a freeman into a slave by robbing him of his individual liberty in any particular, you must not be surprised if, *quoad hoc*, you develop in him the vices of slavery; they are his only means of defence, and the only methods by which he can defy you, for you will never get him to accept with complacency the imposition which you lay upon him; all that you succeed in doing is in rousing his antagonism, and the rest follows in due course. This is just where the teetotaler shows himself to be the enemy of progress; the slow and steady process of education, which is the only certain means of enlightenment and improvement, is insufficient to satisfy his ill-balanced mind, and he resorts to the employment of force to reform the morals of the people, with the only result of making their last state worse than their first.

So vehement indeed is his tenacity of purpose, that the teetotaler will not hesitate to turn society into a pandemonium rather than abate any of the requirements of his overweening self-conceit; but if I were to attempt to describe the scenes of aggravated and grovelling drunkenness which I have witnessed under the auspices of the law of prohibition, their very repulsiveness would render their recital unfit to appear in print.

Yet, deplorable as it was to see men becoming ever more and more degraded, till drunkenness was treated with laughter, and the feat regarded as something to be proud of because accomplished in defiance

of an intolerant law, and in despite of a watchful police, in my opinion these were not the most distressing effects of such a law. Detestable as the vice of hard-drinking may be, the individual who is foolish enough to give way to it has only himself to thank for the results that follow; he is under no compulsion from outside in the matter, and the effects which the practice produces will cease more or less when he chooses to put a stop to it. To my mind, the ruthless disregard of the life and liberty and property of individuals (for what is life without liberty?) which the teetotaler displays without remorse when he appears upon the scene, armed with the powers which the law confers upon him, are the most distressing consequences of the abominable law of prohibition, and it is here that he reveals the true inwardness of his nature. In this matter I can fortunately set out in full the facts upon which I base my conclusions, and leave the reader to form his own judgment thereupon.

The first case which I shall mention I have had occasion to refer to before, but it has never been presented in all the beauty of complete detail. It happened in the town of Buffalo Hump, in the Canadian Territories, where there was a small band of bigoted prohibitionists, most of them attendants at the Methodist chapel. One of these, named Jobson, a small storekeeper, sent over to me one morning to borrow a copy of the liquor Ordinance. The move was so suspicious that it at once struck me there was mischief afoot, so I merely told the messenger to say that there was no such Ordinance. If he had wanted any information on a matter of law he could have come to consult me in the usual manner. In the afternoon Jobson himself appeared, and preferred his request of the morning in his most affable style, but without asking my advice. I therefore repeated my previous statement, which, as I intended should be the case, he simply did not believe.\* Thinking it time to see what was going on, I called on the Postmaster, and asked him if he had had any enquiries for the "liquor Ordinance." "Oh, yes; Shuffle was in here looking through all the Ordinances we've got, but he couldn't find what he wanted." (Shuffle was the teetotal magistrate. His full name was Shufflebottom, but in Canada and America, as Sir Wilfrid Lawson puts it, men are not given to using long words when short expressions will answer the purpose. He kept a shoemaker's shop in the town, and on Sundays frequently acted as a local preacher at the chapel. Here he was wont to declare that a glass of whisky meant eternal damnation, and that the man who amused himself at the billiard-table was on the high road to perdition.) I afterwards heard that he had been down to the Mause on the same errand, but with a like result, and it was clear that no copy of the law was to be found in the place. But, as will be seen, such a trifle was no obstacle to a teetotaler on the war-trail.

---

\* That the reader may appreciate the point, I must state that the prohibitory liquor law was to be found, not in an ordinance of the North-West Council, but in a statute of the Parliament of Canada. Local Magistrates were supplied with copies of the ordinances, but not of the statutes.

Early next morning the whole mystery was explained. While I was at breakfast, Ryan, who kept the billiard-hall, came into my office in the custody of a strange constable to tell me that he had just been sentenced by Shuffle for having a keg of whisky in his possession without a permit from the Governor. He seemed to think that I could help him out of his trouble, but it was too late, though, knowing what I did of the previous day's performances, I was anxious to ascertain how he could have been convicted at all. It appeared that he had had the keg sent up by rail, and had signed for the receipt of it in the ordinary way in the official book kept by the Station-Agent, who was another of the teetotal band. The mockery of a trial began in the magistrate's shop, though when a customer came in under pretence of making some trifling purchase, to see what was going on, the justice coolly retired into a small back-room to avoid public curiosity, and thus turned what should have been an open court into an underhand and illegal inquiry, taking care at the same time not to inform any other magistrate of the matter in hand. I asked Ryan what evidence there was against him. He said that Shuffle showed him the railway book, and, pointing to his name, asked him if that was his signature, to which he replied "Yes," so that instead of being advised by this man not to commit himself, he was positively invited to give evidence by which he could be convicted. And it is, moreover, probable that the teetotal Station-Agent had no right whatever to divulge the business of the Company, nor to permit the book to go out of his office without a *subpoena* having been served upon the Company to that end. But teetotalism covers a multitude of sins. I then asked the policeman whether the magistrate knew what the law was. "No," said he, "I had to tell him that myself." "And what was the sentence?" "A fine of 200 dollars (40 guineas) and costs, or six months' imprisonment with hard labour." Such are the tender mercies of the prohibitionist. Even the law itself did not demand such a punishment, and would have been satisfied with the minimum penalty of 50 dollars, and if this was not paid, the magistrate might commit the defendant for any period not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour, but the length of such imprisonment was entirely in his discretion. The law was enacted in the early times, long before the teetotaler appeared on the scene, and such extreme punishment was intended for the grossest cases of wholesale supply of alcohol to the Indians by roaming fur-traders. The very fact of such wide discretion being allowed to justices was a proof that some amount of discrimination was needed, or otherwise justice would be a by-word and a fraud. Who but a vindictive fanatic would be capable of supposing that six months' imprisonment with hard labour was a fit and proper sentence for the artificial crime of the possession of a couple of gallons of whisky? None indeed but a teetotaler intoxicated with the possession of power could be guilty of such a monstrous travesty of justice.

The flagrant methods of the teetotaler in power are thrown into far greater relief when one comes to look at the behaviour of other

magistrates in carrying out the prohibitive law. In the Canadian Territories, besides the local justices, the superior officers of the Mounted Police also acted in that capacity, particularly in the trial of liquor cases. This, of course, was a *remnant* from early times when an offender would be caught red-handed in his nefarious traffic far away on the prairies, with no settlement except a Hudson Bay Company's Fort, where a white man could be found within hundreds of miles, and it would be necessary to administer justice summarily.

Doubtless many a philosophical radical who is ready to bow the knee to the tectotaler and support his Liquor Bills, would consider it the height of impropriety that a man should be arrested by a constable and then brought for trial before the officer under whose orders the constable was acting. What possible chance would there be of even-handed justice for the criminal? The lapse from virtuous principles in the administration of the law would be shocking to such a man. But the most beautiful theories have a knack of working out badly in practice, and being incapable of standing the wear and tear of everyday life; and, as a fact, these officers of police were invariably the most lenient in dealing with offenders, and were delighted to stretch a point in the interpretation of the prohibitive law. The first whisky trial I ever saw took place before one of these gentlemen. There was a man at Buffalo Hump who kept a shanty in the hot weather where he sold "soft drinks" to the thirsty crowd. The police, however, discovered something there which did not come under that designation, and gave information. A Colonel of Police took the case, and the man pleaded guilty, but said he was obliged to do something or other to support his family. (He had only one arm.) The officer said he was very sorry, he was obliged to fine him 50 dollars, but he would not saddle him with any costs, and there was an end of it.

On another occasion, the whole place was thrown into a state of consternation upon hearing that a man who had been sent to prison in default of paying a fine, had turned informer in order to raise the money, and had laid charges against the principal men in the neighbourhood. The member for the Council, as well as his opponent who had failed to be elected, and the local doctor and magistrate were all implicated in this business. The police were hard at work scouring the country round and serving *subpoenas* on unwilling witnesses, and finally the hour came for the trial of the cases before an officer dressed in all the magnificence of a Colonel of Dragoons, and the informer was brought out to substantiate his charges. The trials did not take place in a corner, but in the public room of the hotel in the market street. The doctor's case was the first taken, but of course he produced the necessary permit for the possession of the liquor, and that was dismissed. Then came the agent of the member of Council, who it was alleged had treated the supporters of the latter to whisky on the day of election. By the word 'agent,' I do not mean the official who is called in England an election agent, but the business manager of the member in the town, who was himself absent in another part of the constituency. The colonel held that the agent

was simply acting as a servant of the member, and had a perfect right to dispense hospitality to his friends. Second case dismissed! The next was more alarming to those concerned. At the time of the election, the whisky had been in the possession of a storekeeper who was merely an active supporter of the other candidate, and the latter lived at some distance in the country. There was no relationship as of master and servant. It was nothing more nor less than a case of treating the supporters of the candidate when they happened to turn up, not for purposes of corruption, but by way of good-fellowship. The defendant pleaded that he was merely acting on behalf of his candidate, who had a permit for the liquor. The magistrate shook his head, and said that it was the candidate's business to distribute his whisky himself; he further advised the storekeeper to be more careful in future, and then he dismissed the case. It was distinctly stretching a point, for under the letter of the law a conviction might have been had, but the magistrate was merely a Superintendent of Police, and not a teetotaler devoid of the ordinary instincts of humanity.

To return to the latter by way of contrast. When Shuffle was prevented by circumstances from imposing a ruinous fine, he could show his malignity in other ways. One morning I was sitting indoors enjoying a pirated edition of the latest English novel, when I was startled by the sudden appearance of an old friend in a high state of excitement, who told me that a man named Hopkins—a quiet, inoffensive sort of fellow—had been arrested for having a bottle of whisky without a permit, and was just going to be tried for the offence. He added that the man had already been brought up at the hotel, and the trial adjourned to the Capital, but that after all, Shuffle and another magistrate (not a teetotaler) were going to take the case at the Public Hall. I represented to him that it was impossible for me to go running about in these cases, unless I was sent for to take part in the business, but he was so persistent in begging me to come with him, and so wanting in the display of his ordinary characteristics, which were those of the most cautious Yorkshireman, that I began to think I might miss something worth seeing. My old friend had evidently taken quite as much as was good for him, and when we got to the hall, I found that most of the men present were pretty much in the same condition. Such a sight in a 'Court of Justice' I never elsewhere witnessed—the only place where it would be possible would be on the stage of one of Gilbert's operas, and even there it would be regarded as altogether too ludicrous for a satire. Shuffle was sitting at a small table in front of the platform engrossed in the contemplation of some sheets of foolscap, and beside him was Collins, the other magistrate, with a face as red as a turkey-cock's, and arrived at that condition where it was only safe for him to sit still and say nothing. The men who were scattered about the hall were all chatting and chaffing each other in loud tones, and discussing the performance in the most barefaced manner, while on the platform behind Shuffle (who appeared blind to his

surroundings) was a young Englishman just able to stand, engaged in the unique occupation of solemnly waving a common broom over the tectotaler, apparently to keep his head cool, after the style of a *punkah-wallah*.

We went and sat down behind Hopkins, who looked as if he was being tried for his life. The constable stood in front of the table, and, having proved the possession of the whisky without a permit, the case for the prosecution was finished. Then a hotel-keeper stepped forward and produced a permit, which had been issued to Hopkins some time previously, but which the witness had taken from him in the course of some dispute, and had kept in his own possession. That of course was amply sufficient to cover the fullest requirements of the law, in the absence of proof that the liquor in question had not been obtained under the particular permit, for lapse of time had nothing to do with the matter, and such proof was not forthcoming. Everybody saw this, and the men loudly demanded the release of the prisoner, but Shuffle still held his head down, and said never a word. I saw that the man would be condemned, and instantly offered to defend him, to which he agreed. Thereupon I told the Bench that I appeared for the prisoner, when, instead of waiting to hear what I had to say, Shuffle turned to Hopkins and asked him if he wished me to defend him. The fellow was evidently scared, and said "No!"

Still there was silence, till the constable, eager to get his judgment (and half the fine), said to the other magistrate, "Now then, Jim, hurry up," whereupon the latter blurted out the usual formula, "Fifty dollars and costs," and not another word was said. Shuffle noted down the sentence, but took no other active part in the business, clearly wishing to fix the odium upon the other justice, who, to judge by appearances, seemed to be somehow in the power of the constable. My advice was then taken as to the proper course to pursue, which was to appeal to the High Court, but for this it was necessary to give security for the penalty and costs, and Shuffle refused to accept the security that was offered. The same evening, Hopkins, who had relied in vain upon the unassisted instincts of a tectotaler, was removed to the capital for a long term of imprisonment—how long I forget, but doubtless the police records will show—deprived of his means of employment, and robbed of his liberty to satisfy the conceit of a petty tyrant under the pretence of the administration of an oppressive law.

The meaning of the word liberty is utterly unknown to such men; they are incapable of estimating the value of the possession which they will ruthlessly tear away from their victims, and it is nothing short of a political crime to attempt to entrust such men with even the faintest shadow of power.

As I have already said, the people of Great Britain, from their own experience alone, can have no conception of the virulence of the tectotaler when he once begins to have the mastery. Directly they can be brought to realise this, there is not a party, no matter what its name or what its profession, which, if its leaders proposed to invest

him with power in any shape whatever, would be allowed supremacy for a moment when the voice of the people could be heard.

It is considerations of the kind which I have endeavoured to indicate herein which will give some faint idea of the meaning of the words of a distinguished prelate of the English Church, when he said that he would rather see England free than England sober.

---



---

## PRESS COMMENTS

ON

### "AN OBJECT-LESSON IN PROHIBITION,"

By the same Author.

(*Vide Nineteenth Century*, May 1895.)

~~~~~

#### The Guardian.

The *Nineteenth Century* is unpleasant reading for liquor prohibitionists. Mr. Down gives us the history of an experiment tried in the Canadian North-west Territory for some twenty years previous to 1892—the year which saw its complete abandonment.

#### Morning Post.

Attention is drawn by Mr. Down, in the *Nineteenth Century*, to the system that formerly prevailed among the settlers of North-west Canada as "An Object-Lesson in Prohibition." The subterfuges, dishonesty, and police tyranny that the conditions promoted were such that Englishmen may well hesitate before taking a step in this direction.

#### Saturday Review.

Mr. T. C. Down contributes a conclusive demonstration of the futility and tyranny of prohibitive drink legislation in "An Object-Lesson in Prohibition," which records the utter collapse of a most stringent liquor law in the North-west Territories of Canada. The failure of this experiment was signal. It caused the most scandalous demoralisation among the white population. . . . For ten years the North-west groaned under this legalised tyranny, with results that Mr. Down proves to have been exceedingly disastrous to the community.

#### Religious Review of Reviews.

To the Local Veto Bill we owe the contribution of Mr. T. C. Down, who tells the story of the working of the prohibition law which was in force in the North-west Territories of Canada from 1873 to 1892. His conclusion is that such a law cannot fail to be ineffective, its main result being a lowering of the moral tone of the community, who do not hesitate to evade it on every possible occasion.

#### Christian World.

Under the title of "An Object-Lesson in Prohibition," Mr. Down relates the results of total prohibition in the Canadian North-west Territories. . . . The results, according to the writer, were unlimited smuggling, an immense amount of drunkenness, a contempt for the law among all classes, the demoralisation of the police occupied in enforcing prohibition, and the final collapse of the system as soon as the districts in question were allowed a voice in the question. . . . The business was finally disposed of by a new licensing law which came into operation during the summer of 1892.

