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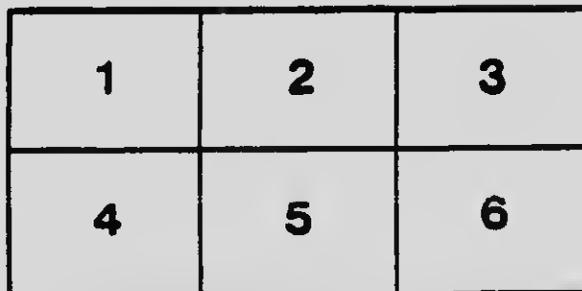
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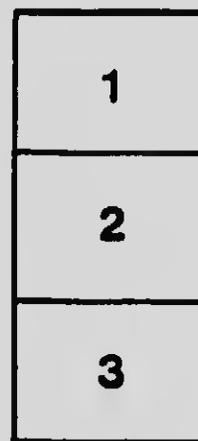
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ABOLISH THE BAR

Mr. Rowell's Speeches in the Legislature, 1914.

Verbatim Statement of the Policy.

What the Policy means.

Liberal Proposals on Liquor Traffic rejected by the Government.

Some Government Records on the Liquor Traffic.

Conservatives' Opinions.

Social Reform and the Liquor Traffic.

**GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
FOR ONTARIO**

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ABOLISH THE BAR

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ABOLISH THE BAR

1. The Policy Itself.

1. The immediate abolition of the bar, including therein the abolition of all hotel and club licenses and therewith the treating system.

2. Such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils. Local Option to be maintained as a means of wiping out the residue of the retail sale where the electors so decide.

3. The strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with the law enforcement and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law.

4. The regulation and inspection of all houses of public entertainment so as to insure reasonable accommodation for the travelling public.

2. What the Abolish the Bar Policy Means.

Hotel liquor licenses abolished.

Club liquor licenses abolished.

Treating system abolished.

Shops—

1. Are dealt with but in a different way.

2. Would come under further restriction.

3. Local Option (with majority vote) would remain to wipe them out.

Note.—In nine-tenths of the municipalities of the Province there are at present no shop licensees. In nine-tenths of the municipalities, therefore, the Liberal policy means complete abolition of the retail sale of liquor.

3. Some Liberal Proposals on Liquor Traffic Rejected by the Government.

1. Abolish the Bar policy. Rejected in three successive years.

2. After the Government refused to accept the Abolish the Bar policy, the Liberals then moved to prohibit the sale of liquor on all public holidays and to close all bars at nine o'clock in the evening and at one o'clock on Saturday. Even these proposals were voted down, except the closing of the bars on Good Friday.

3. Investigation of the actions of W. K. Snider, Provincial License Inspector, who went to the Counties of Welland, Peel and Huron and represented himself as representing the Government in opposing the Scott Act. Rejected.

4. Investigation of charges of an agreement between the Provincial Secretary and the organized liquor interests in connection with Snider's action. Rejected.

5. That Local Option should be made county-wide in its scope. Rejected.

6. That Local Option should include wiping out all club licenses. Rejected.

7. Abolition of the three-fifths majority requirement in Local Option and substitution of a simple majority. Rejected.

4. Some Liberal Policies on the Liquor Traffic Adopted by the Government.

Several of the amendments to the Liquor License Act made by the Government had been previously proposed by Liberals in the House including the closing of the bars on Good Friday. The Liberal proposals, of course, went much further than this, included the abolition of all bar and club licenses and the treating system and, when the Government would not accept this, the closing of the bars on all holidays and shortening the hours of sale in the evenings and on Saturday.

SOME GOVERNMENT RECORDS ON THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

1. Voted down in three successive years the Abolish the Bar resolution.

2. Refused to close the bars on all public holidays at nine o'clock in the evening and at one o'clock on Saturday.

3. Proposed anti-treating legislation and then failed to introduce it.

4. Neglected and made light of the petition of 9,000 young Conservatives asking for advanced temperance legislation.

5. Refused enquiry into the actions of Provincial License Inspector Snider in representing himself as having been sent by his department to work against the Scott Act in the Counties of Welland, Peel and Huron and into the charges against the Provincial Secretary of having made arrangements with the organized liquor interests in connection with Snider's visits.

6. Failed in recent years to enforce the Liquor License Law, as pointed out year by year in the reports of the Dominion Alliance.

7. Voted down the proposal to abolish the three-fifths requirement and to allow Local Option to be carried on a majority vote.

8. Voted down the proposal to make Local Option county-wide.

MR. ROWELL'S OFFERS

1. In Regard to the Petition of the Ontario Young Manhood Association (made in the Legislature, April 14, 1914.)

"While in many respects I prefer the policy we have submitted to the House to the policy submitted to my honorable friend, the Provincial Secretary, by the young Conservative members of his party, I say to my honorable friend that if he thinks the proposal presented to him by the young Conservatives of the Province is a better proposal than ours, if he thinks it is more in the public interests than ours, then if my honorable friend will introduce legislation to carry it out, we, on this side of the House, will unite with him and his friends to lift the whole question out of the region of party controversy, both parties unite and together wipe out this evil from this Province.

"I shall go further and if my honorable friend will accept this policy proposed to him by his young friends, and embody it in legislation, I shall be glad to join my honorable friend, the Provincial Secretary, and any other member of the Government in going before the people and urging their acceptance of such a measure."

Not accepted.

2. His Previous Offer, at London, Ont., July 1, 1912.

"Sir James, join with us and let both political parties unite to wipe out the licensed bar-room in this Province. Would it not be a splendid spectacle for all the Provinces of the Dominion and for other countries of the world to witness the union of both political parties in this Province to wipe out the curse of the licensed bar."

Not accepted.

GOVERNMENT VOTES

Conservative members in the Legislature who rejected the "Abolish the Bar" Policy, April 14th, 1914.

MESSIEURS:

Anderson (Essex)	Gooderham	Mills
Bennewies	Grant	Neshitt
Black	Grigg	Norman
Brewster	Hanna	Pattinson
Brower	Hartt	Peck
Carscallen	Hearst	Pratt
Chambers	Henry	Preston (Durham)
Cook	Jamieson	Preston (Lanark)
Dargavel	Jarvis	Pyne
Devitt	Lucas	Rankin
Donovan	McFarlan	Reaume
Duff	McGarry	Regan
Ehhs	McNaught	Ross
Eiliber	McPherson	Scholfield
Ferguson (Simcoe)	MacArthur	Shillington
Ferguson (Grenville)	Macdiarmid	Sulman
Foy (Peterboro)	Mason	Thompson (Simcoe)
Fraser	Mathieu	Thompson
Galna	Milligan	Torrance

Conservative members in the Legislature who rejected the proposal to include Club Licenses in the operation of Local Option.
April 10th, 1913.

MESSIEURS:

Anderson (Essex)	Gooderham	Mason
Bennewies	Grigg	Mathieu
Black	Hanna	Milligan
Brewster	Hartt	Musgrove
Brower	Hearst	Neely
Carscallen	Hendrie	Owens
Champagne	Hogarth	Pattinson
Charters	Jamieson	Peck
Crawford	Jarvis	Preston (Lanark)
Dargavel	Jessop	Pyne
Devitt	Johnson	Rankin
Donovan	Lennox	Reaume
Duff	Lucas	Regan
Ebbs	McGowan	Ross
Eilher	McCrea	Scholfield
Ellis	McElroy	Shillington
Ferguson (Simcoe)	McGarry	Thompson (Peterboro)
Ferguson (Grenville)	McKeown	Torrance
Foy	McNaught	Vrooman
Fraser	MacArthur	Westbrook
Galna	Macdiarmid	Whitesides
Godfrey	Machin	Whitney

SOME CONSERVATIVES' OPINIONS.

Mr. A. R. Williams, of the A. R. Williams Machinery Co., Ltd.,
Toronto:—

I am absolutely and unequivocally in favor of "Abolish the Bar" and I know that a great many other Conservatives feel the same way as I do. What we want is to see Sir James co-operate with Mr. Rowell to secure the abolition of the bar. If he does not, we will be forced to vote for Mr. Rowell and for the principles in which we believe.

Mr. T. B. Escott, Wholesale Grocer, London, Ontario:—

If I had my say I would turn Sir James Whitney out of power to-morrow and place Mr. Rowell at the head of the Government. Mr. Rowell is sincere and if he is given a majority will undoubtedly abolish the bars of this Province.

Dr. W. L. T. Addison, Toronto:—

Mr. Rowell's offer to Sir James to co-operate in abolishing the bar is a generous move and will strengthen public confidence still more.

Ex-Alderman James Hales, Toronto:—

I am a Conservative. The Temperance people are going to win whether Sir James or someone else gives them the legislation they aim at.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LIQUOR INTERESTS.

The Snider Case.

Text of charges made by C. M. Bowman, M.P.P. for North Bruce, in the Legislature in 1914:—

I, Charles Martin Bowman, a member of the Legislature for the electoral district of North Bruce, in the Province of Ontario, Dominion of Canada, charge that an agreement or understanding was corruptly and improperly made between the Provincial Secretary, acting in and for his Department, and as such representing the Government, and the organized liquor interests of the Province of Ontario, as represented by its organizations and representative, that he (the Provincial Secretary) and his Department of the Government would co-operate with the organized liquor interests in helping to procure the defeat of the Scott Act in the Counties of Welland, Huron and Peel; and that the said understanding or agreement was arrived at under the circumstances and conditions hereinbefore set forth.

I further charge that the said W. K. Snider did not go to the said counties in performance of any official duties of his office, or because he thought it a part of his official duty to do so (as alleged by the Provincial Secretary), but went to the said counties upon the request and direction of the said Provincial Secretary, in order to carry out the said understanding or agreement so arrived at by the said Provincial Secretary and the representative of the organized liquor interests.

I further charge that the said W. K. Snider in so visiting in his official capacity the said counties, then and there stated that he represented the Department of the Provincial Secretary and the Government, and endeavored to persuade the parties he interviewed to work for the defeat of the Scott Act, and advised them that it was the desire of the Department and of the Provincial Secretary that the Scott Act should be defeated; and that the said statement of the said W. K. Snider in the said counties that he was there representing the said department and acting upon instructions from the said department, was true in substance and in fact.

Mr. Bowman and the Opposition asked for a Royal Commission to investigate these charges, which were denied by the Provincial Secretary. The Government, however, refused to grant an investigation, or to allow any light into the affair. Allan Studholme, Independent Labor member for East Hamilton, strongly supported the Opposition in its demand for an investigation.

Mr. Steele's Letter.

(Extract from letter written by Charles Steele, Port Colborne, Ontario, ex-Warden of Welland County and formerly Secretary of the Conservative Association, and independent

10 THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LIQUOR INTERESTS

Conservative temperance candidate in Welland at the present elections, dated Port Colborne, April 25th, 1914):—

A co-member of the Council intimated to me, that the Provincial Secretary, or his assistant, was at the offices of Messrs. Raymond & Spencer, in town, and wished to interview the Conservative Reeves of the various municipalities.

We went together to Raymond & Spencer's office, and there met Mr. Spencer, who, by the way, was the active Secretary of the so-called "Business Men's and Manufacturers' Association," during the Canada Temperance Act campaign, which association was formed to oppose the passing of the Canada Temperance Act.

I was there introduced to a Mr. Snider, who represented himself to me as representing the Provincial Secretary's Department. He stated he was visiting the counties with the purpose of explaining to the Conservative voters the undesirability of passing the Canada Temperance Act.

Mr. Snider gave certain reasons for this attitude, one of which was that should the Canadian Temperance Act carry, it would be exceedingly difficult for the Government to enforce it, and if they failed in so doing, it would cast discredit upon the Department and the party.

My further say that he made clear to me the fact that the Government were not favorably disposed towards the Act, and desired to see it defeated.....

I feel that the people of the Province will not be satisfied until this whole question of Snider's conduct is thoroughly investigated.....

If the Government will not permit investigation into Mr. Snider's conduct, I fear a great many Conservatives will be compelled to believe what they would be very reluctant to believe, namely, that the Government sent him there and authorized him to do what he did.

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

Effective legislation dealing with the liquor traffic is an essential part of any adequate programme of social reform.

Hon. Herbert Samuel, Member of the Asquith Government.

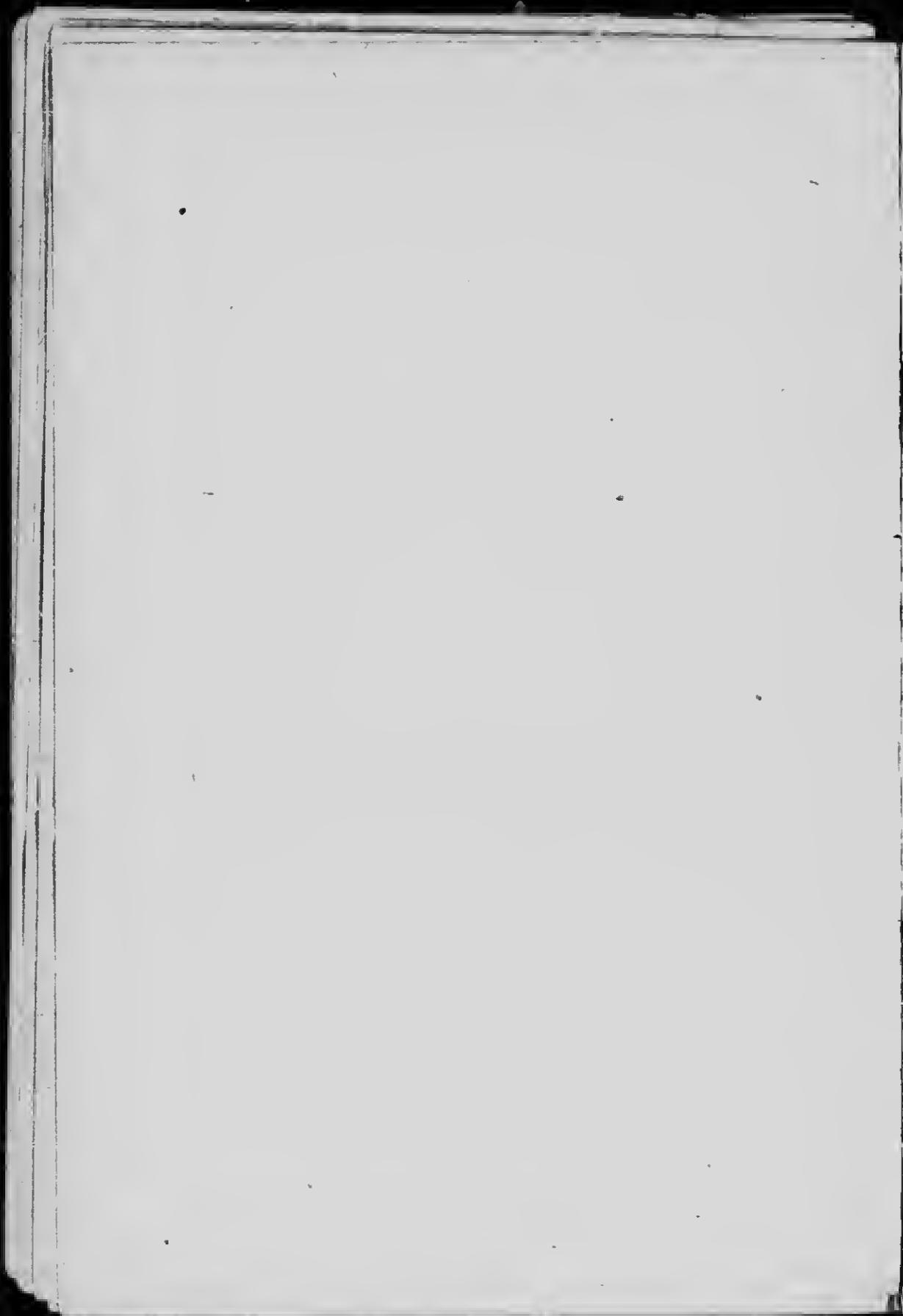
“If social reformers were to leave intemperance unfought, it would be like an invading army that left unchallenged behind it the strongest positions of the enemy. Their work would be incomplete and what little they had accomplished would soon be undone.”

Rt. Hon. Lloyd George.

“If you are going to deal with the problem of the housing of the people, what is the good of doing it when you know that so long as drink is allowed a free hand on the hearth, the result will be that although you may convert every slum into a garden city, that garden city would soon be reduced to slums again.”

Rt. Hon. Lloyd George.

“Wherever you find those poor creatures whose brain is shattered, wherever you find human beings huddled together in wretchedness, wherever you find men living in a condition of vice and crime, they all bear testimony that drink is the prime agency in the creation of all these unsightly masses of pain and degradation, and I say this, that the Government would fail abjectly in its duty if, through any base fear of any forces, or combination of forces, they would shrink from doing all in their power to cut from the social organism this most malignant growth that drains the vitality of the nation.”



SPEECH BY

MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.P.

(Leader of the Opposition)

Delivered in the Ontario Legislature on April 14,
1914, on moving the Resolution for the
"Abolition of the Bar."

Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by Mr. Clarke, the following resolution:—

That in the opinion of this House the public interests demand: (1) The immediate abolition of the bar, including therein the abolition of all hotel and club licenses and therewith the treating system; (2) such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils. Local Option to be maintained as a means of wiping out the residue of the retail sale, where the electors so decide; (3) the strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with law enforcement, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law; (4) regulation and inspection of all houses of public entertainment so as to ensure reasonable accommodation for the travelling public.

Mr. Speaker,—All men interested in social legislation recognize the great importance of the liquor problem as well as the difficulty of effectively dealing with it. In all civilized countries efforts have been put forth and are now being put forth to remedy its evils, each country endeavoring to suit its legislation to its own peculiar conditions. In dealing with this question in Ontario, I realize the difficulties in the way, difficulties of jurisdiction, as well as difficulties inherent in all such legislation. I believe the resolution I am now submitting to this House embodies the most effective and practical proposals for the solution of the problem which the situation

warrants and public opinion will support. The prohibition of the manufacture, the importation and export of intoxicating liquor is beyond the jurisdiction of this Province and rests solely with the Parliament of Canada, the power of this legislature is limited to prohibiting the retail sale of liquor.

I am quite aware that the effort to deal with this problem in the way outlined in the resolution submitted will be opposed by the strongest, best organized and most resourceful opposition which could confront any legislative reform. The organized liquor interests will combine, as they have been combining in recent years, and as they are combining to-day, to fight with all the resources at their disposal any such proposal as that which I now present to the House and to the country. (Cheers.) We have no complaint to make on this score. It is what one would expect. The liquor men are defending what they believe to be their business interests, and they realize that if we come into power the bar must go out. But their opposition, strong and influential as it may be, and the immense financial resources which they can command, will not deter us from proceeding along the lines which we believe it our plain duty to follow. (Cheers.)

NEW FORCES LINING UP.

While the problem presents many difficulties, I am glad to think that it is steadily becoming more easy of solution. Men interested in social progress, men interested in industrial advancement, men interested in applying modern science to social conditions, are more and more realizing the great barrier which the liquor traffic presents to real and permanent advancement along any of these lines. It is no longer a question as it used to be years ago between the forces of religion and morality on the one hand battling against the evils of intemperance, and the organized liquor traffic on the other; but to-day these forces of religion and morality are reinforced by the demands of modern business for industrial efficiency; by the teachings of modern science as to the effect of alcohol upon the human system; and by the experience and testimony of social reformers the world over that the liquor traffic presents one of the greatest obstacles to the progress and improvement of modern civilization. Hence, every man desiring the welfare of his race and the highest interests of his country must be concerned in removing this barrier—this obstacle—out of the way, so far as it is possible to do so.

THE ISSUE.

The issue, as we present it in this resolution, is not a question between total abstainers and non-abstainers. It is not a question between prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists. The crucial question, Mr. Speaker, is this: Is the open bar as it exists in the Province of Ontario—the legalized sale of liquor in the hotels of the Province, with the treating habit inseparably associated therewith—a benefit or a bane to the community in which it exists? (Cheers.) If it is for the benefit of the community, then let it be protected and perpetuated; but if, on the other hand, it is not only NOT a benefit but is a positive detriment to the community, industrially, socially, morally, religiously, then should it not be wiped out? Mr. Speaker, may we not fairly ask that all men, irrespective of their personal habits as to drinking or not drinking; irrespective of their theoretical views on prohibition; irrespective of their party affiliations; should unite as patriotic citizens on this one broad, common platform and say: "We believe the open bar to be a public nuisance, a curse and a handicap wherever it exists, and we will agree to wipe it out." (Loud cheers.)

A STRONG POSITION.

Mr. Speaker, in making such a proposal, we are not taking extreme ground. We are taking ground, upon which, I believe, we can appeal to all classes of citizens, irrespective of whether they are abstainers or non-abstainers; whether in theory they are prohibitionists or opposed to prohibition. But some will say, and I have heard it said by some of our Conservative friends: "If you would give us complete prohibition we would be glad to support you, but as your measure does not wipe out the traffic root and branch—does not go far enough—therefore we will not support it." I have already pointed out that we cannot in this Province go to that length; but what I do submit is, that it is no excuse for any man interested in curtailing the evils of the liquor traffic and reforming social conditions to say: "Because we cannot go the whole distance we will not go with you at all."

Will not the wise, the common-sense and patriotic man say, even though he desires more than we have proposed, "The proposal you make is good as far as it goes, and we will heartily co-operate with you to carry it into effect."

LOCAL OPTION NOT ENOUGH.

There are others who object and tell us, "You are going too far; your proposal is too radical; the conditions are well enough as they are, and there is no necessity for taking any advanced stand." This was the position taken by the Hon. the Provincial Secretary in this House a few days ago on another matter—that the Government had gone as far apparently as they thought public sentiment would warrant; and it is suggested in some quarters that Local Option provides a sufficient solution of the problem. Local Option has proved to be a most valuable instrument for fighting the evils of the liquor traffic—one of the most valuable, one of the most effective—and it has the hearty support of men on this side of the House. The Local Option law was passed by the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat. It has been amended by the present Government, and it has proved effective in a large number of municipalities in wiping out the retail sale of liquor within the limits of these municipalities. But, Mr. Speaker, Local Option and Local Option alone is not sufficient, for, as it has been pointed out by Social Reformers in Great Britain, Local Option is ineffective in the communities where it is most needed. A distinguished member of the present Government of Great Britain, the Right Hon. Mr. Herbert Samuel, discussing the problem of the liquor traffic and the best legislative methods of dealing with it in Great Britain, points out that there was a time when the Liberal party in Great Britain thought that Local Option would prove a sufficient solution of the problem, but careful study had convinced them that Local Option was inadequate. He says:—

It has been most clearly recognized that local option might prove an ineffective weapon, and he enforced least often in the localities where reform is needed most, for where the public houses have the greatest number of patrons, there also they are likely to find at the poll the greatest number of defenders. (Cheers).

The truth of Mr. Samuel's statement will be obvious to all. In the places where the liquor traffic is the most strongly entrenched, where its influence is the most widespread, where the evil consequences are the most serious, there Local Option is the most difficult to carry.

In view of these conditions I venture to say that it is impossible to carry Local Option with the vote now required in any of the large cities of the Province, as it has proven impossible to carry it in many of the smaller cities and towns of the Province in the contests which have already taken place.

Unless we are prepared to concede to the liquor traffic the right to retain the full power it now enjoys in the larger centres of population in the Province, unless we are prepared to concede to it the enormously increasing power it will enjoy in the future as our cities increase in population, we must deal with the traffic by some Province-wide measure. (Cheers.) Just as in Great Britain they reached the conclusion after a careful study of the problem, that Local Option was not in itself sufficient, so we in this Province must reach the same conclusion.

SOCIAL REFORMERS AGAINST THE TRAFFIC.

Local Option is not sufficient for this further reason. It is in the larger centres of population where under the existing conditions we cannot carry a Local Option by-law, that the social problems are the most serious and the most difficult to solve. The larger the centre of population the more difficult it is to grapple with the problems relating to social conditions—the problem of slums, of sanitation, of housing, of crime, of physical and mental degeneracy of all sorts. Mr. Samuel, in dealing with the question of the liquor traffic and social reform points out,

If social reformers were to leave intemperance unfought they would be like an invading army that left unchallenged behind it the strongest positions of the enemy. Their work would be incomplete, and what little they had accomplished would soon be undone.

My honorable friend, the Provincial Secretary, is devoting much thought and attention to prison reform, and to the care of the physically unfit in all Provincial institutions of Ontario. That is a good work. It is reformatory and corrective. But I venture to say that a vastly more important and beneficial work would be to devote more thought and attention to prevention; to curtailing the traffic which is the most prolific source of the crime and degeneracy to which I have referred. (Loud cheers.) We are spending, I believe, over a million and a quarter for the new prison farm at Guelph, its plant and equipment—a million and a quarter to take care of and help reform from 500 to 550 prisoners. We are spending, I believe, for plant and equipment more than \$2,500 for every prisoner housed at the Guelph Prison Farm. Reformation, viewed simply from the standpoint of the expenditure of public money, is a vastly more expensive process than prevention, viewed from the standpoint of our citizenship incalculably more expensive. I venture to suggest that

it would be a much more profitable investment for this Province to make, if we were to spend an equal sum in trying to remove from our midst a traffic which is so largely supplying the prisoners for whom we are providing a Guelph Prison Farm, as well as the inmates of our other Provincial institutions. (Applause.) In other words, if modern science teaches us anything it is this, that **prevention is vastly better than cure**; and while it is fitting that we as a Christian people should adopt all suitable means of reformation, for rehabilitating a man who has fallen down, if we are half wise, and half prudent, we will leave no stone unturned to prevent the man from stumbling and falling. (Cheers.) I therefore submit, Mr. Speaker, that in this day when social reform is in the mind and thought of the people, no plan of social reform which leaves the traffic in liquor out of account can ever be permanently effective, and that every adequate plan of social reform must include some strong and effective method for dealing with the liquor traffic.

LLOYD GEORGE ON THE TRAFFIC.

Let me but reinforce and buttress the conclusion which I have stated by reference again to the views and experience of the statesmen of Great Britain. And I refer to the statesmen of Great Britain for this reason—if there is any group of men in any country of the world who are entitled to speak with authority on questions of social legislation—legislation conceived in the interests of the masses of the people; legislation designed to improve the conditions of the masses of the people—they are the members of the present Government in Great Britain, who in the past ten years have done more than any other group of men in the world to improve the social and industrial conditions of the masses by placing on the statute book of Great Britain great measures of social reform. No man has studied social conditions with greater care than Mr. Lloyd George, and no man has more fairly or forcibly expressed the aspirations of the people for better conditions. Mr. Lloyd George says:—

If you are going to deal with the problem of the housing of the people, what is the good of doing it when you know that so long as drink is allowed a free hand on the hearth the result will be that although you may convert every slum into a garden city, that garden city would soon be reduced to slums again.

In discussing the Bill introduced by his Government into the House of Commons to deal with this question, he said:—

Wherever you find those poor creatures, whose brain is shattered; wherever you find human beings huddled together in

wretchedness; wherever you find men living in a condition of vice and crime, they all bear testimony that drink is the prime agency in the creation of all these unsightly masses of pain and degradation; and I say this, that the Government would fail abjectly in its duty if, through any base fear of any force or combination of forces, they would shrink from doing all in their power to cut from the social organism this most malignant growth that drains the vitality of the nation.

The Right Hon. John Burns, speaking at the laying of the corner-stone of one of the new civic housing schemes of the city of Liverpool, and referring to a change which had been brought about in that city by the cutting down of the number of licenses, said:—

As the drinking places diminish the slums vanish. (Cheers).

LABOR AGAINST THE SALOON.

The voice of labor in Great Britain pleading the cause of the great mass of the people whose voice is too often unheard, and too often, when heard, unheeded, joins that of the social reformer in the protest against the evils of the traffic and in the demand for measures for its curtailment.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., one of the most influential labor leaders in the House of Commons in England, who was a member of the board appointed to settle the great railway strike, made this statement:—

I have no hesitation in saying that there is no factor which is keeping the workers back more than is to be found in connection with the liquor traffic.

Again he has said:—

The money invested in the liquor traffic is invested to the least possible advantage. It is said that 100,000 persons are engaged in the trade, but the same amount of money, if invested in other employments, would give employment to three millions of people.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., the leader of the Radical section of the Labor Party, stated that

Those best acquainted with the labour movement would bear him out that the strongest ally on the side of reaction was intemperance. It made every movement more difficult and tended to thwart all well meant effort.

"If we could get rid of the drink traffic," said Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., "the task of the social reformer would be much easier. If we could only get the people to have clear heads we should begin to have clear thinking."

We might multiply the testimony, but multiplication is unnecessary. The great leaders in the labor movement in Great Britain agree that labor has no greater handicap than the evils of intemperance, and that no greater boon could be conferred upon the cause of labor, and no greater help could be given to labor's efforts to improve its condition than to remove out of its way the evils of the liquor traffic.

The testimony of such men emphasizes once more, not only the necessity for effective action, but the special necessity and importance of action in great centres of population in the interests of the masses of the people, where Local Option under existing conditions will not meet or reach the situation.

Again I say, Local Option, good as it is, and valuable as it has proven itself to be, is insufficient. A Province-wide measure is an absolute necessity if we are effectively to curtail the evils of the traffic in the great centres of population.

GOVERNMENT ADMITS LOCAL OPTION INSUFFICIENT.

It is perhaps, Mr. Speaker, unnecessary to further argue this point, and I only do it because of the effort which has so often been made by members of the other side of the House, as well as by the Government press, to argue that Local Option alone was sufficient. And yet I must confess, Mr. Speaker, my great surprise that any member of this Government, that any member on the Government side of the House, that any journalistic supporter of the Government, should present such an argument. For has not this Government by solemn resolution of this legislature, supported by all the members of the Government side of the House, declared that Local Option is insufficient, and that Province-wide legislation is necessary. For have they not by resolution declared that legislation to put an end to the treating habit is necessary and should be enacted—a measure Province-wide in its application, dealing with some of the evils in connection with the open bar. So that if we are to treat seriously the solemn resolutions of this House, we must say that this House on both sides is a unit on this one thing if no other, that in addition to local option a Province-wide measure is necessary to curtail the evils of the traffic. And the question then is, what form should that Province-wide measure take? Now what is our proposal?

THE PRINCIPAL PLANK.

The first clause of the resolution which we submit to the House is this:—

(1) The immediate abolition of the bar, including therein the abolition of all hotel and club licenses, and therewith the treating system.

That means, Mr. Speaker, that after this law is placed upon the Statute Book and goes into effect no further hotel or club licenses shall be issued within the limits of the Province of Ontario. The effect would be to wipe out the retail sale of liquor in nine-tenths of the municipalities of the Province of Ontario. It would put an end to the sale of liquor for consumption on the premises in any and every part of the Province of Ontario. This is not a new proposal. That proposal, while presented by us, is one that has been before the people of this Province for many years, and I want to draw attention to the circumstances under which that proposal was first submitted to the people of the Province and to the political parties of this Province.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT FOR ABOLISH THE BAR.

Following the referendum in the year 1902, a meeting was held in the city of Toronto, called by the executive of the Dominion Alliance, to consider what action should be taken by the men interested in seeking to curtail the evils of the liquor traffic. To that meeting were invited representatives of the various churches and social and moral reform organizations of the Province. After a most careful consideration of the whole situation this body of representative men reached a definite conclusion as to the policy, which, in their judgment, should be urged upon the Government of the day as the best and most feasible proposal then available for dealing effectively with the evils of the traffic. Let me read the resolution passed on that occasion.

That in view of the recent expression by the electors of the Province of Ontario, in favour of the Liquor Act of 1902, we deem it advisable to appoint a deputation to wait upon the Government and request that effect be given to said vote by the abolition of the public bar, the treating system, and drinking in clubs, and the imposition of such other restrictions on the liquor traffic as shall most effectually curtail its operation and remedy its evils.

ABOLISH THE BAR

THE PEOPLE APPROVE IT.

This resolution which embodied the consensus of opinion of social reformers and church leaders at that meeting, was moved by the Rev. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, and seconded by the late Principal Caven, one of the wisest, sanest, most moderate, most highly esteemed and public spirited citizens of the Province of Ontario. (Cheers.)

This resolution was subsequently endorsed by the organized forces of temperance and the annual convention of the Dominion Alliance, not only once but many times, year after year through a series of years—not as expressing their ultimate goal (for they hope for the complete prohibition of the liquor traffic)—but as embodying that measure of reform immediately available, and which, in their judgment, was the next and most important legislative step which could and should be taken to meet the conditions of the people of this Province.

It was this policy which the representatives of the Dominion Alliance and the organized temperance forces of the Province submitted to the Government and asked the Government to adopt, and which the Government failed or declined to adopt. This was the policy which they submitted to us—a policy which we, after carefully studying the whole situation as it exists in the Province to-day, believed the public interests demanded and that public opinion would support. Let me read to you the resolution of the Dominion Alliance submitted to the Government and to us and which they urged us to adopt.

The abolition of the bar and the treating system and the drinking in clubs and the imposition of such further restrictions upon the liquor traffic as will most effectively curtail its operations and remedy its evils.

THE CHURCHES ENDORSE IT.

This policy of the abolition of the bar is one upon which men, though differing on the theoretical question of prohibition, but interested in the curtailment of the evils of the traffic, find themselves able to unite. The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada meeting in the year 1908 declared for the abolition of the bar. Let me read from the resolution they passed:—

In glancing over the several Provinces of the Dominion, it is manifest that there is a great consensus of opinion concerning

the bar under our present licensing system, namely, that it is a public menace; and your Committee would urge upon the Synod that it is the duty of every man to endeavour to further the effort to abolish the bar.

Now it is said on some occasions that we are too radical in this matter, that our resolution goes too far. No one will charge that the Church of England in Canada has been unduly radical in dealing with this important question. They have dealt with it in a way which they thought was sane, wise and moderate, and I commend, not only to the members of this House but to the people of this Province, the resolution which I have read.

When any man says, on the one hand, that we are too radical, and when another says, on the other hand, that we are not radical enough, I say you have in that resolution a platform on which all moderate men, irrespective of party and irrespective of creed, may stand and march together to wipe out completely from this good Province an institution solemnly declared to be a public menace. (Cheers.)

But the General Synod does not stand alone. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg declared for the same thing—for the abolition of the bar and therewith the treating system. The Presbyterian Church in Canada is on record, and this policy is affirmed and supported by this great religious organization. At its last General Assembly it went further and declared for the complete prohibition of the traffic.

The Methodist Church has repeatedly gone on record, in its Conferences, not only in favor of this measure, but in favor of total prohibition. What is true of the Methodist Church is equally true of the Baptist and Congregational Churches; and perhaps no clearer or stronger note has been sounded in connection with the urgency of dealing effectively with the liquor traffic than has been sounded by the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. I hold in my hand the pastoral letter issued by the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada following the meeting of their first great council in the city of Quebec in November, 1909. I shall read but one sentence:—

Almost everywhere the civil authorities have given their weighty co-operation, and have devoted themselves in a truly Christian spirit to the checking of this trade. It has been, above all, realized that the evils should be attacked at their source, namely, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors should be suppressed.

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They go on to deal with the most effective way for suppressing the evils of the traffic, and call upon the members of their church to assist in the work. (Cheers.)

THE COMING ISSUE.

The reason I quote these resolutions is this—that the policy we are submitting to the House is not our policy, but was the policy framed by the religious leaders, the social and moral leaders of this Province; it is the policy which the Church of England in General Synod has endorsed; it is the policy which the Presbyterian Church has declared to be its own; it is the policy upon which all the other churches have stood and are standing in fighting the evils of the liquor traffic. It is the policy submitted to us and which we were urged to adopt by the leaders of the organized temperance forces of this Province both Conservative and Liberal. And when the fight comes on, it will not be a fight between the men on the Government side of the House and the men on this side of the House, but the real issue in the next election in this Province will be this: Shall the organized liquor forces of the Province triumph over the organized forces of our common Christianity along the line of the policy which those Christian forces themselves have formulated? (Cheers.) Every elector of the Province must take the responsibility of deciding on which of these sides he will cast his vote and influence.

If defeat come, and I do not believe it will come, it will not be the defeat of the men on this side of the House, and it will not be the triumph of the men on the Government side of the House, but it will be the defeat of the organized forces working for the improvement of the social and industrial conditions of our country, by curtailing the evils of the liquor traffic, on the issue they themselves have chosen. And if victory is won, it will not be our victory, but the victory of the cause which we champion. (Loud cheers.) It is well that the House and the country should know it and should face the issue squarely and march along under the banner of one side or the other. (Cheers.)

Our policy, Mr. Speaker, includes the abolition of the bar and the club licenses and with them the treating system. I believe the only really effective way to overcome the admittedly great evils of the treating system and the disastrous consequences that flow therefrom is to wipe out the institution which gives rise to the system. If we abolish the bar we will abolish treating with it.

THE SECOND PLANK.

We do not, however, stop with the abolition of the bar and club licenses and the treating system. We propose:—

(2) **Such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils. Local Option to be maintained as a means of wiping out the residue of the retail sale where the electors so decide.**

The first part of this clause, namely, "such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils," is in substance the same as the second clause of the original resolution to which I have already referred, adopted in the year 1902 and repeatedly affirmed at the gatherings of the temperance forces of the Province in annual convention assembled.

SHOPS ARE INCLUDED.

Now it is said by some of our friends on the Government side of the House, why do you not include shops in your policy? **The answer is we do include shops in our policy, but we treat them in a different manner from the bars and clubs.** Many honorable members on the Government side of the House refuse to support us in entirely abolishing the bar because they say we are going too far—we are going ahead of public opinion—and then in the same breath they attack us for not going farther and including the shops. One argument of my honorable friends is an effective answer to the other. But I wish to discuss this phase of our policy quite irrespective of any such criticism. Our policy goes as far as the organized temperance forces of this Province asked us to go when they presented their request to us, the same request that they presented to the Government. During the session of 1912 as already stated I was waited upon by a deputation of representative men of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches—men chosen by the organized temperance forces of this Province to present their requests to the Government and to my colleagues and myself.

Let me read to you again the resolution and request submitted to us:—

ABOLISH THE BAR

The abolition of the bar and the treating system and the drinking in clubs and the imposition of such further restrictions upon the liquor traffic as will most effectively curtail its operations and remedy its evils.

I should think, Mr. Speaker, when in our policy we have gone as far as the organized temperance forces of the Province requested us to go, no temperance advocate has a right to say that we are not taking sufficiently advanced ground and that our policy is not radical enough. Why was the policy of abolish the bar originally adopted? One of the reasons was that there was not entire unanimity even among the men strongly opposed to the liquor traffic that prohibition was under all circumstances the best and most effective method of dealing with the evils of the liquor traffic. There were some men who did not in theory believe in prohibition and yet were strongly opposed to the continued existence of the bar. That I believe would be the case with many members of the Roman Catholic Church, many members of the Church of England, and no doubt members of the other churches as well. But what these representative men were able to agree upon was that the bar was a public menace, and that whatever differences of opinion might exist among them on the question of prohibition, they could at least unite all their forces in opposition to the continued existence of the open bar. And that union of forces in 1902 marks the commencement of the most striking progress of the temperance movement in the Province. On that policy they were able to unite; in that union they found strength. Is it not the wise, prudent and statesmanlike course in dealing with this great and difficult question, that, with this experience to guide us, we seek to unite in this great campaign all those who are opposed to the continued existence of the open bar?

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT.

As we cannot, under our law, prohibit the importation of liquor for consumption by citizens in their homes, as private citizens are entitled to import liquor for their own consumption, there are men in this Province who believe that on the whole it is in the interests of temperance and sobriety that liquor should be sold for consumption off the premises in shops, rather than it should be imported by or on behalf of each individual without the restrictions and safeguards which might be imposed over sale in shops directly controlled by the law of the Province.

We are not now concerned whether this view is the right or the wrong view to take. It is held by many men who are opposed to the continued existence of the bar. In propounding any policy we must have regard, not to what we believe men should think about these subjects, but what men actually do think and believe; they are entitled to their views just as much as we are entitled to ours; they entertain these views. But even if we differ from them should we not be prepared to walk side by side with them and go to the polls and wipe out the bars? Is it not the part of wisdom and patriotism to work together as far as we can? Let us unitedly accomplish that upon which we agree. (Cheers.)

After we have wiped out the bars and club licenses and done away with the treating system we can deal with the residue of the traffic in the way most effective to limit its operation and to remedy or curtail its evils.

FURTHER LEGISLATION FOR SHOPS.

Let me go a step further, Mr. Speaker, we do not propose that shops should remain as they are under existing conditions. I believe there are some abuses in connection with shop licenses which could be remedied by legislation, and others by administrative action. What we promise is the enactment "such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils." We not only promise for the present: we promise for the future. And why do we promise for the future? Because we have set for ourselves this task: To endeavor as best we can to limit and curtail the evils of the liquor traffic. Whatever new difficulties may arise, whatever new situations may confront us, we shall meet them in the same spirit and with the same resolution as we have met the present, and we will promote all such legislation as experience may show to be necessary for the attainment of this end.

NEED NOT HAVE SHOPS.

Then, further, Mr. Speaker, the Local Option law to which I have referred, a good law, will still continue on our Statute Books, and under that law we remit to the people of each local community the absolute right to wipe out the shops whenever they think it in the public interest, or in the interest of temperance, to do so. We leave in their hands the complete authority and discretion, so that any community can take that step whenever it considers it desirable.

Now, it may be suggested that the area of the present Local Option district is too restricted; there may be a village or a town where a shop exercises an influence over the whole of the surrounding country; but there is nothing to prevent the Local Option area being enlarged; there is nothing to prevent the Local Option Act being amended, so as to make it broad enough to include a county, and it can be made to cover a county area, just as the Scott Act covers a county at the present time. I make this suggestion to my honorable friend, that if he finds difficulty in making effective the Scott Act, he has the opportunity in his own hands to make Local Option county-wide. Then you have all the benefits of the Local Option Act and all the provisions for enforcement so that you can make it just as effective as you can in more restricted areas. (Cheers.) There is no reason why the Local Option Act should not be amended from time to time so as to enlarge the area covered by it, so that the people in any community, whether it be a larger or a smaller, may have in their own hands the right to determine whether the sale of liquor should forever cease, or whether it should continue under the strictest possible regulations governing such sale for consumption off the premises.

LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Now, I have already covered the ground embraced in the original resolution of 1902, the ground embraced in the resolution repeatedly affirmed by the various gatherings of the temperance forces of the Province, but we do not stop there. Our resolution goes further, and I want to draw the attention of the House for a few minutes to the remaining provisions of the resolution. The third is:—

(3) The strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with law enforcement, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law.

When my honorable friends, the members on the present Government side, were in Opposition, there was a pledge they made to the people of this Province—that if returned to power they would eliminate political influence from the administration of the law. I am not now going to take up the time of the House in discussing a self-evident and well-known proposition; but simply say they have not done anything of the kind from first to last. (Cheers.) To-day political influence is one of the most dominant factors in most of the constituencies

throughout this Province in connection with the administration of the law. In the appointment of the License Commissioners, and the appointment of the License Inspectors, made on the nomination or recommendation of the sitting members of the House or of patronage committees or of defeated candidates, in that respect the Government has entirely failed to carry out its pledge; it has entirely failed to remove political influence from the administration of the law.

Then there was another matter which my honorable friend suggested on some occasions, and that was the appointment of a Central Provincial Licensing Board. That hardly reached the stage of a definite proposition. It did emanate from my honorable friend, the Provincial Secretary, but apparently never received the endorsement of the Government, so that it has never been submitted to this House as a practical proposal. Let me repeat what I said a year ago in connection with this—that we do propose to eliminate political influence from the administration of the law, and we propose to do it in this way. Where the residue of the traffic continues to exist we propose to deal with it by one or more licensing boards, upon which we will ask to sit not only men who have been Liberal in their conviction and policy but men who have been Conservative as well—(cheers)—and wholly to eliminate partizanship. By putting men of the highest standing from both parties on such Boards we may eliminate political influence. (Cheers.)

HONEST ENFORCEMENT.

Another important consideration is this:—

The enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with law enforcement.

It must be self-evident, it must be an obvious fact, I submit, that you cannot expect the same strict enforcement of law from a man whose personal sympathies are not with the enforcement of the law. (Cheers.) Therefore I say that in the choice of license inspectors and all classes of license officials who are required to see that the law is properly carried out, those men and those only should be chosen whose sympathies are with the enforcement of the law and who conceive it to be their duty to see that it is strictly enforced. That constitutes an important part of the policy which we are submitting to the House and to the country

HOTEL ACCOMMODATION.

Then the last part of our policy is this:—

(4) Regulation and inspection of all houses of public entertainment so as to ensure reasonable accommodation for the travelling public.

Everyone admits the great importance of good hotel accommodation throughout the country. Everyone admits the great difficulty in obtaining the most satisfactory accommodation in many of the smaller centres of population in the Province. From what I have been able to gather from men travelling through the country, my belief is that in communities where Local Option is in force the hotel accommodation is to-day, on the whole, just as good as, or better than it is in corresponding communities where local option is not in force. That is what I would expect to be the case. If a man expects to make his chief profit by the sale of liquor over the bar, it is natural that his thought and attention should be devoted to the profitable part of the business, to pushing that aspect of it which will secure for him the largest return. But if he is limited to making his profit, as do other business men in the same community, in carrying on what is a proper and legitimate business, namely, providing accommodation for the travelling public, I believe he will cater to the travelling public and thereby secure for them better accommodation than they could otherwise secure.

We propose to deal with this matter so as to secure the best possible accommodation for the travelling public; and I can see no reason why municipalities should not be permitted to assist in providing this accommodation. No men are more deserving of consideration at the hands of bodies entrusted with legislative and administrative powers dealing with hotel accommodation, than the commercial travellers who spend so much of their life upon the road.

LIQUOR MEN WILL FIGHT.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that is, in brief, an outline of the policy which we have to submit to this House. I have submitted it to the House on former occasions, and I am more convinced to-day than I have ever been of the importance and urgency of that policy in the interests of the people of Ontario; and more convinced than ever that if that policy is made plain, and clearly understood by the electors of the Province, they will conscientiously support it. It is true that

since this policy was introduced the liquor interests have organized more effectively than they had been organized. It is true that they have collected and are collecting large funds to fight against the adoption of that policy. That will not deter us one whit. We knew it would be done before we started on our course. (Cheers.)

THE TRAFFIC'S INFLUENCE.

I am not here to say that the liquor traffic only seeks to exert its influence with one party in the administration of the law; it will seek to exert its influence no matter which party is in power, because on all occasions and under all circumstances it is fighting for what it conceives to be its rights, and in so fighting it will not, according to the admissions of its own supporters, stop at the exercise of any influence which it believes will be effective in accomplishing its object. It is only recently, within the past year, that the National Liquor Dealers' Journal of the United States, in trying to awaken the traffic in the United States to the necessity of reform from within, spoke of the great advance temperance was making in the United States, and of the battles the dealers were compelled to fight in the different States, and likely to be compelled to fight all over the country; and in the course of that article it used this very striking and significant language:—

To us there is the handwriting on the wall, and its interpretation spells ruin, for if the liquor business is to stop it seems incapable of learning any lesson of advance or any motive to proceed. It has formed alliances with the slums that repel all conscientious and patriotic citizens. It deliberately aids the most corrupt political power and backs with all its resources the most unworthy men, the most corrupt and recreant officials. It does not aid in the uprooting of corrupt municipal or state administration because it has to look for its own laws.

This is the language of the Liquor Dealers' Journal of the United States. Because we live on this side of the international boundary, it does not change the character of the traffic or of the fight that it will wage; and we are doing a wise and a patriotic thing in endeavoring to abolish all political partisan influence in the administration of our liquor laws.

ABOLISH THE BAR

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

It is true that in certain by-elections they have combined their influence with the Government to defeat us, and some people have thought that those by-elections were not as encouraging to us and our policy as they should have been. Let me say, with a knowledge of all the by-elections, with some knowledge of what has taken place in each of them, for I have had an investigation made, that nothing has occurred in a single by-election which shows any real ground for discouragement. (Loud cheers.) There is not one thing that has occurred that would cause me to deviate one hair's breadth from the policy I originally announced and propounded to the people of the Province. (Cheers.)

It is said that because of this policy some men who hitherto co-operated with us can do so no longer. That is true. I regret it, but I knew it would be the case when we launched the policy, and said so the day that I introduced it.

Liberalism in its spirit and outlook must be progressive; it cannot stand still. The moment it stands still it ceases to be Liberalism and becomes Conservatism. And though some may fall by the way because they believe our policy to be too advanced or too radical, while we may regret that they cannot follow us, this does not deter us one whit either, because we believe the course we have taken is in the public interests.

ENCOURAGEMENT.

Not only have there been no real grounds for discouragement to those who know the inside history of the past two years, but, on the other hand, there are great grounds for encouragement.

Through all British-speaking communities the tide is running steadily against the organized liquor traffic. (Cheers.) In all English-speaking communities the traffic is being steadily beaten back, and new territory is being won for sobriety and for the highest and best interests of the whole community. Marvellous progress is being made in the United States. Within the past two weeks a thousand saloons were closed in the State of Illinois alone. In the past few months two more States voted on the question of prohibition for the State. Amendments are now pending before the National Legislature dealing with the whole broad issue throughout the country. I only mention these facts to indicate how steadily and how

irresistibly the tide is running against the organized liquor traffic in the United States.

What is true of that country is true also of the Mother Country. In the year 1908 the present Liberal administration in Great Britain introduced a Bill into the House of Commons that would have cut off 30,000 licensed places—about one-third of the total number of licensed liquor places in England and Wales. That Bill carried in the House of Commons by an enormous majority. It also contained a Local Option provision to the effect that after the reduction had been complete, it would empower communities to wipe out the residue of the traffic if they saw fit. That Bill was defeated in the House of Lords, but the Government has promised, through the Prime Minister, that before the present parliamentary term ends that Bill will be re-introduced, because the Government recognized the paramount importance of further curtailing the evils of the liquor traffic in England and Wales by the introduction of a radical measure such as the one they had promoted before.

SCOTLAND GETS ADVANCED LAWS.

Two years ago they introduced a Bill dealing with Scotland, and that Bill carried in the House of Commons but was so mangled in the House of Lords that the Government rejected it and would not accept the amendments. Last year it again passed the House of Commons and was on its way to become law under the Parliament Act by passing the House of Commons three times, when the Lords capitulated. Certain amendments were agreed upon between the Lords and the Commons and that Bill became law, not as effective a law as if the original Bill had passed, but still the most advanced liquor legislation that Scotland has had.

The same spirit is moving in France and in Germany. There is a steadily increasing volume of intelligent and informed public opinion hostile to the evils of the liquor traffic, and great advances—advances which ten years ago would have seemed impossible—are now being made in both these countries.

In our own Dominion, in the Province of Quebec, they have made great advances. In the Province of Manitoba at least one political party is prepared to make a great advance along temperance lines; and I want to say that in the Province of Ontario the events of the past two years have been a most striking indication of the increasing conviction of the people of the Province that the open bar must go. (Loud

cheers.) The Local Option contests of January, 1912, and the Local Option contests of January, 1913, were a most striking indication of that fact; and we have had no more splendid illustration of the determination of the people of this Province to get rid of the bar than the vote on the Scott Act in Welland, Huron and Peel during the month of January of this year. (Applause.)

I want to say that all the power and influence of the liquor traffic, with the tremendous campaign fund they had raised, aided by the co-operation of the Government through Mr. Snider, could not defeat the Scott Act in the county of Huron. (Cheers.) I want to say the same in regard to the county of Peel; and I want to say that had there been an honest vote it would not have been defeated in the county of Welland. (Cheers.) The organized liquor traffic with all the money at its disposal in Welland, aided by Mr. Snider, the Government License Inspector, asking Conservatives to vote to defeat it, could not have defeated it in Welland had there been an honest vote. (Cheers.) I say there could be no more striking indication of the strength and power of the opposition of the people of this Province to the organized liquor traffic than is found in those Scott Act contests.

THE O.Y.M.A. PETITION.

One word further. If one wanted further evidence of the real feeling and sentiment of this Province on the matter, I do not think it could be found better than in the petition presented to the Government quite recently from Young Temperance Conservatives of the Province. (Cheers.) According to the press reports nine or ten thousand of those young Conservatives presented a petition to the Government urging them to take what they claimed to be even more advanced ground than we have taken on the matter. I am not now concerned with discussing the question of whether the position they took is more advanced than ours.

They do ask the Government to pass a Bill wiping out all hotel, club and shop licenses, but that this Bill should only be brought into force by an affirmative vote of the electors of the Province.

Our policy involves larger and higher political responsibilities than that. Their policy involves only the pledge to give the people the opportunity to pass upon it; our policy involves the pledge that we will wipe out all bar and club licenses (loud cheers), and that we will give the people the opportunity of wiping out shop licenses if they so desire. It shows,

however, that, working within my honorable friend's own party and among the young men of his own party is the deep-seated conviction that more advanced legislation is necessary than this Government has so far yielded to giving. (Applause.)

Something was said about taking this matter out of politics. It has been in politics ever since there was a Province, ever since we have had temperance legislation put upon the Statute Books. It will be in politics as long as there is an organized liquor traffic in the Province; but it may not necessarily be in party controversy or party politics. There are only two ways to remove it from party controversy and party politics—either to leave the liquor traffic alone in undisputed possession of the field, or for both parties to unite on some great advance, avoid party controversy, and remove the open bars from our Province. (Applause.)

I say, Mr. Speaker, that when we first introduced our policy into this legislature, we asked the Government to cooperate with us on this policy and for ever wipe out the bars, not because we proposed the policy, but because the policy was the policy of those who have been fighting the evils of the traffic for years—the policy of the organized forces working for the improvement of the conditions in our Province, and was a policy which the public interests demanded and public opinion would support. And we said: **Let both parties agree; let us unite and for ever wipe out the open bar.**

Our suggestion to take this matter out of politics by both parties agreeing to wipe out the bar was not accepted by the Government, nor was any advance made towards securing a united policy.

A FURTHER OFFER.

I desire, Mr. Speaker, to make this further proposal to my honorable friend: **While in many respects I prefer the policy we have submitted to the House to the policy submitted to my honorable friend the Provincial Secretary by the Young Conservative members of his party, I say to my honorable friend that if he thinks the proposal presented to him by the Young Conservatives of the Province is a better proposal than ours; if he thinks it is more in the public interests than ours; then, if my honorable friend will introduce legislation to carry it out, we on this side of the House will unite with him and his friends to lift the whole question out of the region of party controversy, both parties unite and together wipe out this evil from our Province.**

ABOLISH THE BAR

I shall go further, and if my honorable friend will accept this policy, proposed to him by his own friends and embody it in legislation, I shall be glad to join my honorable friend, the Provincial Secretary, and any other member of the Government in going before the people and urging their acceptance of such a measure.

THERE MUST BE PROGRESS.

We cannot stand still, Mr. Speaker; the people of this Province will not stand still—(hear, hear and cheers)—and permit the open bar to continue its baneful influence in our midst. (Loud cheers.) The people of this Province are determined to move, and move they will. If my honorable friends will move with us we will move with them side by side on this matter—(cheers); but if my honorable friends will not move, then to the contrary we will go on this issue, let the fight come early or late, and we promise the people of this Province the opportunity of passing upon it for which they have been asking for years.

That opportunity, Mr. Speaker, they shall have. If the result is against us, it is against the people who are fighting for that great measure; it is their failure, and not ours. But I do not believe it will be—(hear, hear)—because I realize and believe that when my honorable friend introduced, two years ago, in this House, his anti-treating resolution, he was paying a compliment to the independence and patriotism of the temperance Conservatives. He believed he could not hold them unless he gave them some measure of advance in order to retain them within the limits of the party. He paid a poor compliment to them if he thinks he can continue to hold them without making a great advance on this issue; and I have yet to be convinced that the men who came to us, and who for years have prayed and fought for this policy, who came to both the Government and ourselves and asked us to adopt it, will go back on all their past record and life work when the supreme opportunity comes for giving effect to that policy. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Speaker, I do not think so meanly of the temperance Conservatives of this Province as to believe they will do any such thing. I believe they will be true to their convictions, true to the policy they have been agitating for, and that they will support us in this measure; and I hope the Government will take warning in time, and will join with us in making a great advance on this most important question. (Loud and continued cheering.)

REPLY OF
MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.P.
(Leader of the Opposition)

At the Conclusion of the Debate on his "Abolish the Bar" Resolution. Delivered in the Ontario Legislature on April 14, 1914.

Mr. Speaker, it will not be necessary for me to detain the House at any length in closing this discussion. Any arguments advanced from the Government side have been so completely answered by my colleagues that little remains to be said. I feel, however, that I cannot permit this discussion to close without pointing out how completely the Provincial Secretary has failed to deal with the real issue presented in this motion, and the whole effect of his address appears to be an intimation that the Government has gone practically as far as it intends to go at the present time in curtailing the evils of the liquor traffic. The Provincial Secretary has spent much time in contrasting the legislative record of the present Government on this question with the legislative record of their predecessors.

AN UNFAIR METHOD.

It is not my intention to enter into any protracted discussion of this matter, but I desire to point out how unfair the Provincial Secretary has been in his statement of the case. The Provincial Secretary has said that since the present Government came into power amendments have been made to the License Law almost every year. The majority of them are, however, of relatively small moment so far as curtailing the evils of the traffic is concerned. The policy of their predecessors was to periodically revise the Act, and in the periodical revisions to embody the important amendments which the Government felt should be introduced into our License Law.

ABOLISH THE BAR

The unfairness of the course pursued by my honorable friend will be obvious to every member of the House when I point out that he has contrasted the legislation of the present Government for the past nine years with the legislation of their predecessors for seven years, and has contrasted them as if they covered about the same period. It starts with the year 1898. Why did not my honorable friend compare nine years' legislation of the present Government with the nine years' legislation of their predecessors? Because my honorable friend knew that if he even took eight years and went back to the year 1897, he would find in the "Act Further to Improve the License Law" of that year, passed by the Liberal administration, more radical and progressive amendments to the Liquor License Law than have ever been passed by the present Government. And with a full knowledge of that fact my honorable friend has deliberately chosen to ignore it, and has sought to convey to the House and to the country the impression that their predecessors failed to propose any advanced temperance legislation.

Hon. Mr. Hanna: Would you like to know why I started with the year 1898?

Mr. Rowell: Certainly, I would be glad to know what explanation my honorable friend has to give.

Hon. Mr. Hanna: I started in 1898 because that marked the retirement of Sir Oliver Mowat as Prime Minister, and covered the Premierships of the Hon. Mr. Hardy and Sir George Ross, and also the period of the greatest political activity of my honorable friend.

THE 1897 PROGRAMME.

Mr. Rowell: My honorable friend's explanation only puts him in a worse position. Sir Oliver Mowat retired in 1896, and if my honorable friend has intended, as he says, to cover the period of the Premierships of Mr. Hardy and Mr. Ross, he must have included within that period the legislation of 1897. What possible explanation can there be of the course my honorable friend is pursuing? I leave it to the House and to the country to judge, when I point out the general character of the chief amendments passed in the year 1897, as these have been summarized for me.

(1) All saloon licenses were abolished.

When has my honorable friend ever proposed even as radical a step as that?

(2) The ratio of population to each license was increased, so that for the first one thousand of a population only three tavern licenses could be issued, instead of four, and above the first thousand, one license for every six hundred of population, instead of four hundred. The effect of this was to cut off 154 licenses at the end of the license year.

My honorable friend has never introduced any amendment to the License Law increasing the ratio of population per license and thereby automatically largely reducing the number of licenses.

(3) All hotels were closed at 10 o'clock in townships, villages and unorganized territory, and at 11 o'clock in cities and towns. Before 1897 there were no fixed hours for closing hotels in thirty-seven out of ninety-seven license districts in the Province, and in these cases hotels were often open all night. The power of still limiting the hours for sale was left in the hands of Boards of Commissioners.

(4) The sale of liquor to minors was prohibited, the age limit being raised from 18 to 21 years.

(5) License holders were prohibited from allowing minors to loiter on the premises.

(6) No licenses could be granted to premises within three hundred yards of a church, school, university or any other educational institution.

(7) Provision was made for preventing the issue of licenses in a residential district.

(8) Licenses were forfeited for three several convictions, on different days, within a period of two years, and the licensee disqualified from holding a license for three years.

THE PROVINCIAL VOTING.

When has my honorable friend ever introduced any legislation as advanced as this? And yet my honorable friend has not been fair enough to tell the House and the country of this legislation passed by his predecessors. Another statement made by my honorable friend equally unfair and equally incorrect is the statement with reference to the referendum of 1894. My honorable friend says, in effect, with reference

to that referendum, no reason was given by the Liberal party for not giving effect to that referendum, and no offer was made to give effect to it. My honorable friend must know—for he cannot be ignorant of the legislative history of this Province—that the very proposal made in 1894 to have a referendum also contained the proposal to ascertain the jurisdiction of the Province to prohibit the retail sale of liquor, by a case to be submitted to the courts and carried through to the Privy Council. My honorable friend knows that the answer given by the Privy Council to that stated case left the whole matter in great doubt and uncertainty, and it was not until the Manitoba Act passed by the Government of Hugh John Macdonald was carried through to the Privy Council that the right of the Provinces to prohibit the retail sale of liquor was established, and this was not until after the year 1900. My honorable friend must know that the reason why action was not taken was because the question of jurisdiction was still before the courts. My honorable friend also refers to the referendum of 1902, and he says 199,000 people voted in favor of that referendum and there was not a move made or a finger raised or a note heard on the part of the Government with a view to giving effect to that referendum.

Does not my honorable friend know that in 1902 the Liberal Government passed through this House an Act prohibiting the retail sale of liquor in this Province, the Act to come into force on a vote equal to 50 per cent. of the electors who had voted in the preceding Provincial election; and the reason that the law did not go into effect was that the vote was not sufficient under the conditions imposed to carry the Act?

MR. ROWELL'S RECORD.

My honorable friend has further said that during all this period I uttered no word of disapproval of the course of the Government. I want to say to my honorable friend that when the jurisdiction of the Province to deal with this matter had been settled, I was one of those who urged upon the then Prime Minister, Sir George Ross, to take strong and vigorous action. I was one of those who thought that the vote required under the referendum imposed a handicap on those in favor of the Act which should not have been imposed, and I expressed that opinion to the former Prime Minister on more than one occasion. Whether I was right or wrong in my view, I urged upon him as strongly as I could that such handicap should not be imposed. When the question was submitted to

the country I did my best to secure the ratification of the Act by the vote of the people, and gave of such ability and energy as I have, to inducing Liberals and Conservatives alike to vote in favor of the Bill.

HON. MR. HANNA'S RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, I have one word more to say to my honorable friend and to the other members of the Government in reference to this matter, and that is to ask my honorable friend where he and his colleagues stood at that time on the question of that Bill. I have here the Journals of the House for the year 1902, when this Bill came before the House, and I find that my honorable friend, the Provincial Secretary, and every one of his colleagues who were then members of the House voted against this Bill to prohibit the retail sale of liquor in this Province. It is true that Mr. Marter and one or two others voted with the Government, but with these exceptions the then Opposition voted solidly against this advanced temperance measure. And my honorable friend did not stop there. When Mr. Marter moved in the House to amend the Bill by striking out the provision requiring more than a bare majority of the votes, how did my honorable friend and his colleagues vote on that motion? To a man the present members of the Government who were then in the House voted against Mr. Marter's amendment and voted in favor of retaining the provision contained in the bill requiring the vote I have mentioned.

After such a vote and after such action, it does not lie in the mouth of my honorable friends, the members of the Government, to challenge the fairness of the requirements of that Act, for they themselves voted for that very requirement. If my honorable friend admits the fairness of the requirement of that Act, then he must admit that it was a great and radical temperance measure, compared with which any amendments introduced by him are of relatively small importance. Personally I never did believe in the vote required by that Bill and do not now believe in it. And I simply wish to point this out, as my honorable friend has raised the question, that at the very time when he and his colleagues, Conservative members of the House, were supporting the then Government (the Liberal administration) in putting this provision in the Bill, I, with other members of the Liberal party, was urging the Government to dispense with or modify this provision.

**ABOLISH THE BAR
LICENSE REDUCTION.**

But my honorable friend and those who have followed him in this discussion say: See what a wonderful record we have; how enormously the number of licenses have been cut down since we came into power; and one honorable member has been bold enough to say that the Liberal administration did nothing during its whole period of office compared with this. My honorable friend forgets that by one Act of the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat, namely The Crooks Act, the Government wiped out more than 1,880 licenses in this Province and reduced by more than 30 per cent. the total number of licensed places.

How about my honorable friend's record in license reduction? Every honorable member of the House knows that this reduction has been brought about by the action of the people themselves in bringing into force the Local Option law passed by the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat. If one party were disposed to claim credit for this result, the Liberals could claim it because they passed the Local Option law; but I would not suggest that either party should claim particular credit for what has been secured by way of license reduction—the Liberals passed the law; the Conservatives have amended it to make it in some respects more workable—but the people themselves are the ones, who, using the law, have brought about these desirable results. The results have been secured by the co-operation of those opposed to the bar in the different local municipalities of the Province, fighting for its abolition under the Local Option law.

IMPORTANT AMENDMENT NOT MR. HANNA'S.

One would think the way my honorable friend and those who have followed him talk, that progress was to be measured by the number of amendments made. We have been told repeatedly from the Government side of the House: Why, look what a wonderful Government this is; they have passed over 40 amendments to the Liquor License Law. It reminds one of Heintz's 57 varieties of pickles. Progress is not measured that way; it is measured by the importance of the amendments made; and in my judgment the most important and valuable amendment made to the Liquor License Law by my honorable friend is the amendment making compulsory the submission of a Local Option vote when petitioned for by 25 per cent. of the electors. But that amendment was no part of the policy of my honorable friends when they went to the

country in the year 1905, but it was part of the policy of their Liberal opponents, and embodied in the platform adopted by the Liberal Convention in December, 1904. The Liberals did not have the opportunity to put it into effect, but the present Government was wise enough to adopt this portion of their opponents' policy and give effect to it.

THREE-FIFTHS A BAR TO PROGRESS.

But at the very time they passed this beneficial amendment they gave back to the liquor interests more than they took from them, by imposing the three-fifths handicap. There are, I believe, above three hundred licensed places selling liquor to-day which would have been wiped out but for this three-fifths handicap. The liquor interests can afford to have two score minor amendments passed, so long as they retain that barrier to progress, the three-fifths requirement, which ensures to them the keeping open of hundreds of places for the sale of the liquors they produce.

There could be no better evidence of the weakness of my honorable friend's position on this issue, than the attempt he has made to exalt into an important question and to make party capital out of some person in the north country printing a fancy ballot of which neither I nor my colleagues had any knowledge, and of which I had never even heard until my honorable friend produced it and read it in the House. I shall not detain the House longer in endeavoring to correct other inaccuracies of statement in my honorable friend's address. I have given you a few samples. Surely the issue is big enough and the interests at stake are large enough to enable us to discuss this great question on broad national grounds, as I think my honorable friend must admit I endeavored to do in presenting this motion to the House.

A CONSERVATIVE'S ADMISSION.

My honorable friend from Brockville, in his discussion of this question to-night, has been frank enough to admit what is obvious to every man who knows anything of the facts or takes trouble to make any inquiry, namely, that the liquor interests are supporting the Government and will support the Government in the approaching elections. My honorable friend from Brockville says that he expects the support of the liquor men in his riding, and he asks, how can you ex-

pect otherwise? If your policy went into effect, it would seriously depreciate the value of their property—they have their financial interests at stake—and how could you expect them to go against their financial interests and support a policy which is attacking them? Well, what the honorable member has said is only what every thoughtful person knows, but it is refreshing, in face of the repeated denials on the part of the Government, to have this frank admission in the House. The Minister has denied the alliance between the liquor interests and the Conservative party. It is easy to deny a charge which has not been made. I have not stated in this House that there was an alliance between the liquor interests and the Conservative party. What I have said is, an alliance between the liquor interests and the Government; and I believe that the thoughtful and sincere temperance Conservative, when he realizes the real situation, will be the first to repudiate the right of the Government to represent him in any such understanding with the liquor interests, and will support us in our policy, in which he thoroughly believes because it is the policy for which he has worked for years.

THE ANTI-TREATING PROPOSAL.

I notice in the amendment moved by my honorable friend he still affirms the desirability of prohibiting treating; but my honorable friend has uttered not one word on behalf of this policy. Two years ago the Government called upon this House solemnly to vote in favor of anti-treating legislation. My honorable friend has offered no justification for the failure of the Government to carry out that promise to the legislature and to the people. My honorable friend has not even offered an excuse. The reason must be self-evident, because my honorable friend can offer neither justification nor excuse.

SINCERITY.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, we are entitled to know from my honorable friend and the other members of the Government, before voting on this amendment, why the Government has completely failed to propose any legislation to carry out their anti-treating pledges. Is it because the original resolution was introduced purely as a piece of political strategy and without any sincere conviction of either its value or its efficiency? Or is it because outside pressure prevents the Government from doing it? My honorable friend and those who have followed him, particularly those who have followed

him, have sought to excuse their failure to deal with this and other matters by questioning my sincerity. How about the sincerity of the Government in anti-treating proposals?

I am the last one in the House to discuss personal matters, and I have only this to say, whatever my honorable friend may do, there is one body and one interest in this Province which does not question my sincerity, and that is the liquor interest. Go so far back as the year 1890, when I contested East York for the House of Commons. The question of temperance was not an issue in that election, and yet the liquor interests, Liberal and Conservative, combined to defeat me in that election; and in the annual report of the Licensed Victuallers' Association of the Province, presented at the meeting of the association which followed that election, the men directing the organized liquor trade pointed out that the liquor interests had centred their forces in East York, and they claimed the credit for defeating me. I believe they claimed far more than they had any right to do—I do not believe they are entitled to all that credit—I think my honorable friend who carried East York (Mr. Maclean, the editor of *The World*) is deserving of some share of credit for winning that election. I only mention it as an evidence of where the organized liquor trade stands to-day and has always stood with reference to me. This is one of the reasons why they are in such close co-operation with the Government to-day; this is one of the reasons why they are raising such an enormous campaign fund to help defeat us in the approaching election and to secure the election of the Government candidates. They know this is a fight vital to their existence. They know if we are returned to power at the next election every bar in this Province will be abolished. They are alive to the real importance and significance of the issue; and if they win they will hail it as a victory over the organized forces working for social progress and social righteousness—the forces which have urged us, just as they urged the Government, to adopt this policy and present it to the country.

A GREAT ISSUE.

Mr. Speaker, I close as I opened. The people of this Province are facing a great issue and they have before them a great opportunity, the opportunity of for ever the licensed bar in this Province. I believe they will rise to it. I believe they are big enough to forget for once, at least, party alliances, and register their convictions and their prayers in the ballot box. And if they do, the open bar in this Province will be for ever wiped out."

NOTE ON GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT.

The Hon. Mr. Hanna, in his address on the Abolish the Bar resolution, made great claims for the Government with reference to law enforcement. The following resolutions passed by the Dominion Alliance Convention upon the report of their Executive Committee on the question of law enforcement, are the best commentary on this claim. This committee is composed of men of both political parties, and its report is based upon actual information received at the office of the Alliance from correspondents in the different counties of the Province, and upon the investigation of its own officers.

In 1911.—To-day, instead of praise, there must be censure of the present Government for laxity along this line. Conditions in the Province of Ontario now are not as good as they were three or four years ago, so far as the local officers are concerned.

In 1913.—We regret that we cannot record any improvement in the general enforcement of the law in the Province of Ontario during the past year. What was said in our report of last year in regard to the conditions is still true. There is great need for a decided tightening up in the administration of the liquor license law throughout the Province. Recognizing, as we do, that the measure of good results from any restrictive legislation depends upon the efficiency of enforcement, the question is to us one of vital importance.

In 1914.—During the past year there has been little change in the situation throughout the Province regarding law enforcement. Certainly, there has, on the whole, been no improvement in conditions. The criticisms made in the last report of the Executive Committee can be repeated with added emphasis. The enforcement of the Liquor License Act in the Province of Ontario to-day is exceedingly lax, and the permitted violations, together with the incompetence, or worse, of some local license inspectors, is a positive menace to the permanence of local prohibitory laws, and prevents the obtaining of those good results which might be secured were the will of the people effectively carried out.

NOTE ON POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

The Hon. Mr. Hanna also makes great claims that the Government has carried out its pledges to the temperance people. If there was one pledge more emphasized than another by the members of the present Government before they came into power, it was that they would remove political influence from the administration of the law. They started in by removing not only the existing License Commissioners all over the Province but all the License Inspectors as well, no matter how efficient they were, and appointing Conservative partisans in their stead.

Within a year after the Government came into power the License Inspector of the city of Toronto, one of the most impartial and efficient in this Province, was dismissed, because he would not serve the interests of the Conservative party in the city of Toronto in administering the license law. The Board of Commissioners composed of J. W. Flavelle, chairman, John I. Davidson, and J. A. Murray, all strong supporters of the Government, but thoroughly representative and responsible men, resigned as a protest against the action of the Government in dismissing this license inspector.

The following is an extract from the letter of the Board to the Hon. Mr. Hanna, forwarding their resignations:—

The Commissioners accepted office reluctantly as a public duty on the personal assurance of the Premier and the written statement of the Provincial Secretary that the Government desired a fair, fearless and non-partisan administration of the License Act;

and then after reviewing the cause which led to their resignation they state:—

The course followed seems to have been designed by men influenced with passion for office or for dispensing patronage, who determined to get rid of Commissioners who refused to play the part of hired men, subject to the dictation of party followers. The Government by its actions has approved of this course, hence the usefulness of the present Commissioners is at an end. They accepted at full value the statements made by the Premier and his responsible minister, the Provincial Secretary, that they desired an honest, non-partisan enforcement of the License Act, and as no other administration was possible while the office was held by the present Board they step aside to permit the Government to secure a Board in accordance with its present policy.

ABOLISH THE BAR

What did the Toronto News, one of the strongest and most influential journalistic supporters of the Government, say with reference to this action on the part of the Government?

We venture to think that these proceedings change the whole relation of the Government to the liquor trade in Toronto and throughout the Province. There could be no clearer intimation that the enforcement of the law is held to be secondary to the interests of the Conservative party, and that the spoils faction, which, noisy as it is, does not constitute two per cent. of any political party, exercised a controlling influence over Mr. Whitney and his associates.

Conditions in Toronto have not improved, but have grown worse since the resignation of this Board of License Commissioners. And what is true of Toronto is undoubtedly true of other important centres of the Province.

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