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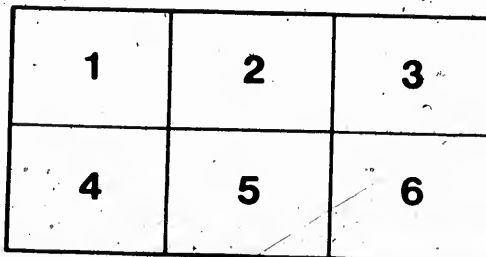
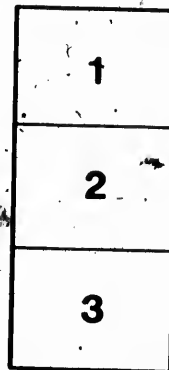
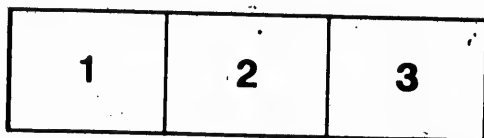
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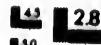
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← PAGE SERIES.]

[No. 1.

## IS MORAL SUASION SUFFICIENT ?

BY PROF. G. E. FOSTER.

Whence comes this cry of "Moral Suasion is sufficient?"

Not from the thousands of Temperance workers, who, for long, weary years, have been doing their best to put a stop to the fearful ravages of Intemperance; nor from the Churches, which are rapidly coming face to face with the terrible fact that they are saving less people than the dram-shops are sending to perdition; nor from the Schools, that find their best efforts hindered and their best work often destroyed by the wiles and weapons of the public drinking place; nor from the Homes which have all these years been delivering over their loved ones as sacrifices upon the cruel altars of a legalized Liquor Traffic. No! not from these.

The cry comes mainly from a class of men who have never stirred hand or foot to free the enthralled victim from the chains that bound him; whose whole lives, energy, and ingenuity have been devoted to making Liquor, selling Liquor, and inducing people to drink Liquor. It comes from the distillers, brewers, and rum-sellers of Canada, from the Ontario Trade Benevolent (?) Association and its advocates.

The cry is as hollow as it is dishonest.

From no pulpit, platform, or paper have these men attempted to use that moral suasion which they now so lustily praise. Their whole time has been given to the cruel and relentless pushing of a traffic whose dark and dreary history is full of human degradation, human misery, and human woe.

And now when the burden has grown so heavy that it can no longer be borne, and the people are demanding that the dram-shops—the very source and fountain of drunkenness—be closed up, these men come to the front and solemnly declare, "moral suasion is sufficient."

Sufficient for what?

To protect innocent, sober children from the constant allurements, associations, and solicitations of the dramshop, which can exist only as it turns these into tippling youth and drinking men? *No.*

To save drunkards who every day must pass the open bars, while appetite pleads within and temptation pleads without? *No.*

To take away a single license from a saloon, or shut the door of a single bar-room, in which stands a man planted and protected there by law to sell to all whom he can induce to buy? *No.*

The dramshop is there by law; nothing but law can take it away. It laughs entreaty, eloquence, logic, and prayer to very scorn. *It fears the ballot.*

Why is moral suasion alone not sufficient?

1. *Because history proves it.*

If moral suasion is sufficient, why does every Christian country bring in the strong arm of the law to punish drunkenness and fetter the drunkard maker? And yet no government would dare for a single week to let the traffic go unchecked to be met by moral suasion alone. Government will allow but one person in five hundred to sell; closes up the bar on Sundays, Saturday nights, election days; forbids sale to minors, Indians, drunkards; imposes fines and penalties for every infraction.

Why? Moral suasion has not been found sufficient, and the law has to be added.

Christian governments forbid the sale and manufacture of liquor in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Kansas, the North-West Territories, etc.

Why? Moral suasion has not been found sufficient, and the law must step in.

Christian governments forbid the sale of liquors in Bessbrook, 61 sq. miles of territory in Tyrone, Ireland; in 1500 parishes in England, inhabited by 250,000 souls; in one-half of Maryland, in three-fourths of Massachusetts, in Potter Co., Penn., in Vineland, N.J., in over 600 towns in Illinois, in nearly half of Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, South Carolina, and Arkansas, in large districts of nearly all the other States; in 27 counties and cities of Canada.

Why? Moral suasion has not been found sufficient, and law gives its added protection.

In Great Britain, after a century of moral suasion, the House of Commons in 1880, by a vote of 245 to 216, declared that moral suasion was not sufficient, and that the people of each district should be allowed the power to close the dramshops. Today, if there is one steadily marching and

promisingly victorious thought in the Anglo-Saxon mind, it is this, "Let the law be joined to moral suasion in the righteous and relentless crusade against intemperance."

2. *Moral Suasion is not Relied on Solely in other things.*

Moral suasion teaches honesty; the law shuts up the gambler's shop, the counterfeiter's den, the lottery swindle, punishes the embezzler, the sharper, and the rogue.

Moral suasion teaches virtue; the law roots out the bawdy-house; punishes indecency, public vice, and immorality.

Moral suasion teaches reverence for the worship of God and His holy day; the law places its sentries to guard each church door from intrusion or disturbance, and protects the sanctity of the Sabbath day with severe penalties.

Moral suasion works for education; the law backs up the school and college, compels attendance, and puts disabilities on ignorance.

Moral suasion commends cleanliness, precautions for safety, etc.; the law enforces health provisions, fire limits, building security, and purity of food.

Everywhere moral suasion is backed up by law. The two are joined, and together they do their best work. But in this matter of intemperance the law sets up thousands of men, whose business it is to create and perpetuate intemperance; whose living and gains depend on their success in doing this.

Moral suasion teaches the children to be sober; legal drink-shops teach them to become tipplers.

Moral suasion saves the drunkard from his ruin; legal drink-shops drag him back again.

Moral suasion builds up a happy home and brings back the light and love to it; legal drink-shops tear it down again, and chase away all light of hope and warmth of love.

All we ask is British fair-play. Let the law shut up the drink-shop, and moral suasion will do the rest.

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3. *Because the Rumsellers like Moral Suasion alone.*

Joseph Cook says, "Tell me what the rumsellers want, and I will tell you what I, as a temperance man, do not want." The rumseller is yet to be found who does not dance to the piping of "moral suasion is sufficient." Why do they favour moral suasion? Because they *do not fear it*. They are quite willing for temperance people to pick up the *rubbish* they have made, and remove it out of their road; they are confident in their power to utilize the *new material*. They do not care so much for the custom of the toper; you may have him *if you can keep him*, so long as you give them a chance to get the custom of better and sounder victims. In fact they are rather glad to have you take the drunkard, who is a standing disgrace to their trade—clothe him—get him to work and earning something. They are sure of the less excessive drinkers, and by and by, when the drunkard has saved up a little, they are pretty certain that they will get it all.

Moral suasion doesn't punish them, but has the stripes laid on their victims; doesn't make them pay for the trouble they cause, but lays it on the taxpayers. So they love moral suasion as compared to legal suasion.

Now, when they make a man helpless, society takes care of him and foots the bills; when they turn an orderly person into a "drunk and disorderly," society sends its officers and removes the obstruction, and foots the bills; when they make a criminal out of a law-abiding citizen, society seizes, judges, hangs, or imprisons him, and foots the bills. So they love moral suasion.

But legal suasion they hate, for that punishes the *victimiser* instead of the *victim*; shuts up the *causer* of disorder and violence and crime, and protects the citizens from his wiles.

But society is beginning to see pretty clearly that it is more consistent and promising to prevent rumsellers from debauch-

ing citizens, than, after allowing this, to go to great trouble and expense, to patch up the ruins: from turning good material into rubbish, than to be all the time cleaning away the rubbish; more humane to put the padlock on the liquor than on the citizens who become filled with it; more statesmanlike to close up factories of idleness, disorder, crime and ruin, than to build poorhouses, jails, penitentiaries, and homes in which to store and tend the products. The rumsellers don't like legal suasion? Then the interests of the country demand it. Stop rumselling, and the ruin of manhood and womanhood largely ceases.

*Moral Suasion leaves the inciting cause untouched.*

Over and above all other things, the *drinking place* is the cause of *drinking*. Men meet on the street, and one says to the other, "Come and have a drink."

Come where? To the drinking place.

Young men go out after night—they meet each other, and they go to drink. Where? To the drinking place. Children grow up in our villages and cities—become accustomed to the associations, and learn to tittle. Where? At the drinking places.

Men who set their faces towards sobriety and fortify themselves with all of love's persuasion and religious warning—pass along our streets and are drawn in despite themselves. Whither? Into the drinking places.

Idleness congregates, vicious people gather—vile women make assignations—criminals herd and hide—vice becomes bold, and ruin stalks in horrid majesty.

Where? In our drinking places.

Paupers come to our poorhouses—disorderly persons to our jails—thieves, vagrants, criminals of every dye are brought to our prisons.

Whence come they? From our drinking places. Remove these, and treating, tipping, boozing, drunkenness, poverty, vagrancy, disorderly conduct, thieving, crime and murder would be deprived of this place of conception and birth, cradling and rear-

ing, trading and resort, plotting and hiding, and would sink into almost total insignificance compared with their present awful proportions. How will you remove the drinking places? You will not sing them out, frown them out, pray them out, speak them out, or lead them out.

You must DRIVE THEM OUT with the strong scourge of the law. They exist by law, are kept by law, protected by law. Only by law can they be annihilated. So long as they remain, the cause exists. Remove the cause and the disease can be coped with. Let it remain, and so long death will strike down the innocent, and the sound of mourning be heard in the land.

3. *The results of moral suasion alone are not satisfactory.*

It has done a glorious work. Light has been spread, truth scattered, convictions fastened, and good incalculable resulted. But withal, the amount of liquors drunk has increased—the waste has amounted up to almost fabulous figures—the pauperism and crime have made rapid strides. In spite of moral suasion, 120,000 persons die annually in Great Britain from intemperance, and fully 100,000 in Anglo-Saxon America; the terrible army of drunkards go on tramp, tramp, tramp, to the grave of disgrace; billions of dollars are annually wasted, and millions of bushels of grain destroyed on this *poison* that, as a beverage, never helps, always harms; criminals in long line march to jail, prison, and scaffold, seven-tenths of whom have graduated in the demoralizing drink hells of our country; children come up in our homes and schools, and their tender feet march out to the recruiting drill shops of

drink, and soon they pass to fill the ranks of drunkards gone; homes tumble in ruins about the dead hopes and ruined happiness of once happy inmates; womanhood bleeds at heart, and manhood sinks into devilishness before the awful breath of this withering curse. The platform may speak, the pulpit preach, the printing press teach, and the home twine all its tendrils of love. In vain. The dram shops are kept running by law—the mill wheels revolve ceaselessly, the cruel, relentless machinery, manned by avarice and appetite, each day receives its golden grain of human good, and grinds not its mournful grist of human woe.

The mill must be stopped. Only the law will do it.

The rumshops are a constant *immoral suasion*, nullifying and hindering our *moral suasion*.

There are 4,000 of these, big and little, wholesale and retail, in Ontario.

They are open from 6 o'clock in the morning until 10.30 p.m., five days in the week, and until 7 p.m. on Saturdays.

These shops have men behind the bars whose whole business is to supply as many drinks as possible; are open 95 hours per week, displaying their temptations, using their associations and allurements, and busy rivetting the chains of appetite about young and old.

The influence of these men is bad; the atmosphere of the bar room is bad; its associations are impure and degrading; its teaching power, tending towards ruin and utter vileness, is simply incalculable.

Shall we quietly submit to have 4,000 places constantly flooding society with their *immoral suasion*? Think of it, Christian readers.

"THIS MOST DETESTABLE TRAFFIC. I USE STRONG LANGUAGE BECAUSE I SEE THE MISCHIEF THE TRAFFIC IS DOING. I KNOW THAT EVERY EFFORT I MAKE AS A MINISTER OF RELIGION IS MORE THAN NEUTRALIZED BY THE EFFORTS THAT ARE BEING MADE IN AN OPPOSITE DIRECTION."—THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.



