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# "The Plebiscite"

GIVING THE TEX. OF THE PLEBISCITE ACT, ITS HISTORY, WITH BRIEF ARTICLES ON "WHY THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC SHOULD BE ABOLISHED," "SUGGESTIONS AS TO METHODS OF WORK," "SHOT AND SHELL FOR THE CONFLICT," ETC., ETC.

BY

## REV. PRINCIPAL AUSTIN, A. M., B. D.

OF ALMA LADIES' COLLEGE, ST. THOMAS, ONT.

WITH

SHORT CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES UPON THE COMING PLEBISCITE VOTE BY A NUMBER OF THE REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE DOMINION.

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## The Prohibition Plebiscite Act.

An Act to enable the Electors of the Province to pronounce upon the desirability of prohibiting the Importation, Manufacture, and Sale as a Beverage of Intoxicating Liquors.

Whereas, it is desirable that opportunity should be afforded to the electors of this Province to express a formal opinion as to whether or not the importation, manufacture and sale into or within this Province of intoxicating liquors as a beverage should be immediately prohibited; and whereas, such opinion can most conveniently be ascertained by ballot in the manner hereinafter mentioned;

Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as The Prohibition Plebiscite Act.

2. (1) Upon the day fixed by law for holding polls for the annual election of members of municipal councils, in the month of January, 1894, the clerk of every municipality, other than a county, shall submit to the vote of the electors hereinafter declared qualified to vote on the same the question, whether or not the said electors are in favor of the prohibition by the competent authority, of the importation, manufacture and sale, as a beverage, of intoxicating liquors into or within the Province of Ontario.

(2) The polling sub-divisions provided in the case of elections to the Legislative Assembly shall be the polling sub-divisions for voting on this question, and the list of voters to be used shall correspond to such sub-divisions.

3. The provisions of *The Consolidated Municipal Act, 1892*, with respect to municipal elections, shall, save where otherwise provided by this Act, apply (*mutatis mutandis*) to the voting on the said question, and to all officers and persons connected with such voting.

4. The persons qualified to vote on the said question shall be all persons who are at the said date entered on the voters' list for the municipality, certified by the county judge under the provisions of *The Ontario Voters' List Act, 1889*, as qualified to vote at the elections to serve in the Legislative Assembly, and unmarried women

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and widows whose names appear on the voters' list as qualified to vote at the election of municipal councillors.

5. No person shall vote more than once on the said question.

6. The voting on the said question shall take place at the time and places at which a poll is held for the purpose of electing municipal councillors, and the persons who act as deputy-returning officers and poll-clerks at such election shall act as deputy-returning officers and poll-clerks respectively at the voting upon the said question. Should the members of the council of any local municipality or of any ward thereof be elected by acclamation, or should it not be intended for any reason to take the vote of the electors in any such local municipality or any ward thereof, the council shall nevertheless duly appoint deputy-returning officers, and the clerk shall supply all proper lists of voters and poll-books and ballets and ballot boxes, and perform all necessary acts for the taking the vote on the said question, and the said deputy-returning officers and the poll-clerks and all other officers of said municipality shall act in all respects as fully for the purpose of receiving the votes of the electors upon said question as though members of the council were being voted for throughout said municipality and in every ward thereof.

7. The clerk of every municipality, other than a county, shall, before the date fixed for taking the vote, cause to be printed at the expense of the municipality, and in the form and colors by this Act provided, a sufficient number of ballot papers for the purposes of this Act, and shall forward the same to the persons appointed to act as deputy-returning officers at the said election and voting.

8. The ballot papers shall be in the form provided in Schedule "A" to this Act, and those required for male voters shall be printed on yellow paper, and those required for female voters shall be printed on blue paper.

9. In the case of municipalities which are not divided into wards or polling sub-divisions, the clerk shall provide himself with the necessary ballot papers, the materials for marking ballot papers, printed directions to voters, voters' lists and poll-book; and the clerk shall perform the like duties with respect to the whole municipality as are imposed upon a deputy-returning officer in respect of a ward or polling sub-division.

10. The clerk shall cause notice of time and places at which the polling shall take place to be published in the same manner, and as far as possible in the same form, as in the case of notice of polling at a municipal election.

11. The clerk shall, in said notice, fix a time when and a place where he will sum up the number of votes given upon the said question in the affirmative and negative, respectively.

12. The clerk of the municipality shall attend at his office on the second Monday in December, 1893, at the hour of twelve o'clock noon, for the appointment of persons to attend at the various polling places, and at the final summing up of the votes by the clerk on behalf of the persons advocating the affirmative and negative of said question respectively.

13. The clerk shall appoint, from among the applicants for such appointment, or on behalf of applicants, for each municipality, ward or polling sub-division in the said district in writing, signed by him, two persons, who may be members of some recognized temperance organization, on behalf of the persons interested in and desirous of obtaining the affirmative answer to the said question, and a like number of agents on behalf of the persons interested in and desirous of obtaining a negative answer of the said question, to attend at each polling place and at the summing up of the votes by the clerk.

14. Before any person is so appointed he shall make and subscribe, before the clerk, a declaration in the form in Schedule "B" to this Act, that he is interested in and desirous of obtaining an affirmative or negative answer, as the case may be, to the said question.

15. Every person so appointed, before being admitted to the polling place or the summing up of the votes, as the case may be, shall produce to the deputy-returning officer or clerk of the munici. pality, as the case may be, his written appointment.

16. In case no person was appointed as aforesaid, or in the absence of any person authorized as aforesaid to attend at a polling place, or at the final summing up of the votes, any elector entitled to vote on the said question, or any elector who is in the same interest as the person so absent, may, upon making and subscribing, before the deputy-returning officer at the polling place, or the clerk of the municipality, a declaration in the form of Schedule "B" to this Act, be admitted to the polling place to act for the person so absent.

17. (1) The clerk of the municipality shall, at least two weeks before the poll is opened, procure from the clerk of the peace the proper lists of persons entitled to vote at elections to serve in the Legislative Assembly under *The Ontario Election Act*, 1892, and shall, before the poll is opened, forward the same in addition to the list of voters appearing on the voters' list to be entitled, under *The* 

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Consolidatea Municipal Act, 1892, to vote in that ward or polling sub-division, at municipal elections, to the deputy-returning officer of such ward or polling sub-division, and the clerk shall attest the said lists by his solemn declaration in writing under his hand. Where the clerk of the municipality has such lists in his custody, he may supply the same to the deputy-returning officers, without reference to the clerk of the peace.

(2) In case from any cause no municipal election is being held, the lists to be so forwarded shall include only persons qualified to vote at elections to the Legislative Assembly as aforesaid, and unmarried women and widows appearing on the voters' list to be entitled to vote at municipal elections.

18. The directions to voters to be furnished by the clerk shall be in the form provided in Schedule "C" to this Act.

19. Deputy-returning officers, poll-clerks and agents may vote on the said question at the places where they are employed in the same manner, and under the same conditions, as at municipal elections.

20. In the poll-book to be provided for use at each polling place at municipal elections the clerk shall add a column, headed "Prohibition," and entry shall be made therein against the names of persons voting on the said question, in addition to the other entries required by law to be made at municipal elections.

21. The oaths to be administered to male persons offering to vote on the said question shall be according to the form set forth in Schedule "D" hereto, and the oath to be administered to unmarried women and widows voting on the said question shall be according to the form set forth in Schedule "E."

22. Immediately after the close of the poll in every polling place the deputy-returning officer shall, in the presence of the persons authorized to be present, count the votes given "yes" and "no" on the said question, and shall make up in separate packets, sealed with his own seal and the seals of such of the persons authorized to be present as desire to affix their seals, and marked upon the outside with a sworn statement of the contents of such packet, the date, the name of the deputy-returning officer and of the ward or polling sub-division and municipality :—

- (a) A statement showing,---
  - (1) The votes given "yes" on the said question by male voters.
  - (2) The votes given "yes" by female voters.
  - (3) The votes given "no" by male voters.

(4) The votes given "no" by female voters.

(b) The used ballot papers which have not been objected to and have been counted.

(c) The ballot papers which have been objected to but which have been counted.

(d) The rejected ballot papers.

(c) The spoiled ballot papers.

(f) The unused ballot papers.

(g) The voters' list, with the certificate of the deputy-returning officer thereto attached, setting forth (1) the number of male voters who were entitled to vote on the said question, (2) the number of female voters entitled to vote, (3) the total number of male voters who have voted, and (4) the total number of female vcters who have voted, and a declaration in the form set out in Schedule "F" to this Act, that the said list was used in the manner prescribed by law, and that the entries therein were correctly made; and shall forthwith deliver the said packets to the clerk of the municipality.

23. Every deputy-returning officer, upon being requested so to do, shall deliver to the persons authorized to attend at his polling place, a certificate (1) of the number of votes given at the polling place "yes" and "no" to the said question, distinguishing particularly between the votes so given by male voters and those given by female voters, and (2) of the number of rejected ballot papers.

24. The clerk of every mulicipality shall sum up the votes given "yes" and "no" respectively, upon the said question, and shall declare the result in the manner provided with respect to municipal elections, and shall, in the case of a township, village or town not separated from the county for municipal purposes, within two weeks thereafter transmit to the clerk of the county in which the municipality is situate by registered letter over his hand and the seal of the corporation, a declaration showing—

(a) Name of the municipality.

(b) The number of votes given "yes" by male voters on the said question.

(c) The number of votes given "yes" by female voters.

(d) The number of votes given "no" by male voters.

(e) The number of votes given "no" by female voters.

(f) The number of male voters appearing upon the voters' lists as entitled to vote on the said question.

(g) The number of female voters appearing to be so entitled.

(h) The number of spoiled or rejected ballots.

25. The clerk of every county, city or separated town, shall, within three weeks after the day fixed for polling, transmit by registered letter to the clerk of the Legislative Assembly at Toronto, a declaration under his hand and the seal of the corporation showing—

(a) The name of the municipality.

(b) The total number of votes given by male voters in the said county, city or town voting "yes" on the said question.

(c) The total number of votes given "yes" by female voters.

(d) The total number of votes given "no" by male voters.

(e) The total number of votes given "no" by female voters.

(f) The total number of male voters entitled to vote on the said question in the said county, city or separated town.

(g) The total number of female voters so entitled to vote.

And the clerk of the Legislative Assembly shall, within two months after the voting, cause a proclamation of the result to be made\_in the Ontario Gazette.

26. The reasonable expenses incurred by the clerk of the municipality, and by the other, officers and clerks in municipalities, for printing, providing ballot boxes, ballot papers, materials for marking ballot papers, polling compartments, transmission of the packets and returns required to be transmitted by this Act, and reasonable fees and allowances for services rendered under this Act, shall be paid to the clerk of the municipality by the treasurer of the municipality, and shall be distributed by the clerk of the municipality to the several persons entitled thereto. Provided, that where a municipal election is being held the ballot boxes procured and used for the purposes of such election shall be used for receiving the votes upon the said question.

27. This Act shall not apply to those portions of the Province in which there is no municipal organization.

28. Any clerk of a county or clerk or officer in a local municipality who shall refuse or neglect to perform the duties prescribed by this Act in the manner hereinbefore provided, or who shall be guilty of any wilful malfeasance therein, shall be liable, on conviction thereof, in addition to any penalty imposed by sections 209 to 222, inclusive, of *The Consolidated Municipal Act*, 1892, relating to municipal elections, to a fine of \$200 and costs, and the provisions of section 420 of *The Consolidated Municipal Act*, 1892, respecting the recovery and enforcement of penalties, shall apply to the penalties imposed by this section.

Attention is called to the following :

1. The form of the question to be answered on the ballot paper is this :--

Are you in favor of the immediate prohibition by law of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage?

2. This prohibition to be voted for is (Section 2) "by the competent authority," and as more fully declared in the following section of Schedule "C" of the same Bill :--

Electors in voting "yes" on this question will be considered as expressing an opinion in favor of prohibition to the extent to which the Legislature of this Province or the Parliament of Canada has jurisdiction, as may be determined by the court of final resort.

3. The ballot paper for male voters will be yellow; for female voters, blue.

#### Origin of the Plebiscite Act.

After the annual convention of the Alliance in 1892, forms of petition were sent out to churches and temperance societies to be signed and forwarded to the Legislature asking for a Plebiscite.

When the Legislature convened, these petitions were presented in large numbers. Some had been sent directly to members of the Legislature from the parties who prepared them. There were sent through the office of the Alliance, 236 petitions from churches, 292 from temperance societies, 185 from municipal bodies, and some from other organizations. There were also presented to the Legislature a number of petitions praying for a prohibitory law.

In the Legislature, Mr. G. F. Marter introduced a bill providing for the prohibition in Ontario of the retail sale of liquor.

The following is the Bill proposed by Mr. Marter :--

An Act to amend the Liquor License Act by prohibiting the sale by retail of intoxicating liquors.

Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows :---

1. This Act shall be read with and as part of The Liquor License Act.

2. On, from and after the 1st day of May, 1894, no tavern licenses or shop licenses shall be issued, renewed or extended within the Province of Ontario.

3. All the provisions of *The Liquor License Act* and Acts amending the same, providing for the issue, renewal or extension of "tavern licenses" or "shop licenses" inconsistent with this Act shall be, on, from and after the 1st day of May, 1894, repealed.

4. From and after the 1st day of May, 1894, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to sell or expose for sale, by retail, liquors or liquor, as defined by the said Acts, within the Province of Ontario; and any person offending against the provisions of this section of this Act shall be liable to the same penalties as are by the said Ac<sup>+</sup>s provided for in the case of sales of liquor without a license as by law required.

Mr. F. J. Davis gave notice of a motion committing the Legisture to the caking of the plebiscite proposed by the Alliance.

On the motion for the second reading of the bill introduced by Mr. Marter, Hon. G. W. Ross offered an amendment, stating that as the extent of the authority of the Legislature was doubtful, it should be defined before prohibitory legislation was enacted, that the House had confidence that the Government would take the necessary steps to secure a definition of the Legislature's jurisdiction, and that a provincial plebiscite on the question of prohibition should be taken.

The leader of the Government supported the amendment on the ground that the bill introduced by Mr. Marter was prohibition to a greater extent than it was certain the Legislature had power to go. The leader of the Opposition supported the bill on the ground that it was not in excess of the ascertained authority of the Legislature to regulate the traffic.

The amendment submitted by Mr. Ross was carried on a straight party division. This precluded a direct vote on the second reading of the bill introduced by Mr. Marter.

Later on, the Plebiscite Bill was introduced by Hon. Mr. Ross.

It was passed through the various stages of enactment and became law May 27.

#### The Principle of the Plebiscite.

Some people say the Plebiscite is an innovation under the British Constitution. Others go farther, and declare it is squarely opposed to the theory and spirit of British legislation. Its novely may be admitted, but its principle and spirit are as old as representative government. Under the powerful democratic spirit of the age, legislators make frequent appeals to the sovereign people at the polls to find out if they will sustain or oppose certain acts of legislation. In the Plebiscite the people are first consulted and their answer is to guide the law-makers in their legislation. Surely the spirit of the Plebiscite harmonizes fully with representative government, which is "broad-based upon the people's will."

Let no one fear to support the Plebiscite vote for Prohibition lest it may in some way overturn British institutions. The Hon. Oliver Mowat—as even his political opponents will gladly admit—is too loyal to the British throne and too devoted to our Sovereign Lady, Gueen Victoria, to introduce or support any legislation out of harmony with the British Constitution.

#### Advantages of the Plebiscite.

1. The campaign upon which we are now entered will be highly educative. The question of license and prohibition will be thrust for some months prominently before the mind and pressed upon the conscience of the people. The result must be a fuller understanding of the evils of intemperance and a deeper sense of our national sin and disgrace in sustaining legalized bar-rooms and saloons.

2. The people will have an opportunity in January next of giving expression to their views upon the traffic in strong drink, entirely unbiased by any questions of a partisan character. The answer will be clear and strong from the heart of the nation for or against the drink traffic. Heretofore, the question of prohibition in public elections has been but one out of many questions to be decided. The views of the people on prohibition have been warped and biased in their public expression by views of measures and of men. The great advantage of having this question voted on as the sole issue for the time before the people must be apparent to all.

3. Another advantage the people of Ontario will have in this vote is that the whole province may speak decisively and authoritatively on one day its sentence of condemnation upon or verdict of acquittal of the saloon. The verdict recorded by the vote in January will not be a verdict of a township or county or city but of the banner province of the Dominion. From Sarnia to Ottawa, from Windsor to Montreal, the people of Ontario will lift up their voices and say: "Let the legalized saloon live," or "Let the legalized saloon die." The day that vote is taken, Ontario will proclaim to all civilized lands her estimate of the bar-room and her mandate regarding License or Prohibition.

4. Another advantage the vote will confer on temperance men is this: it will settle for a generation, at least, the question whether or no the country is ripe for prohibition. It has been one of the standard excuses of politicians and parties that public sentiment would not sustain so radical a measure as Prohibition. Now the question is to be settled, and in such a way, too, that it would seem difficult for any government to withstand the popular wish, provided it has the necessary power to carry out the behests of the sovereign people.

#### The Importance of the Issue.

Every one who recognizes the power of public sentiment must see the supreme importance of the issue to be decided in January next. This vote will mean weal or woe to tens of thousands of Canadian homes. It will be a victory for the home, the school, the church, or the saloon, the gambling den and other places of iniquity. It will encourage the friends of reform or spread dismay among the temperance hosts. It will be a mandate having in it something of divine authority to our legislators to "go forward" or a sanction of the present license law, which makes a Christian nation a partner in all the sin and misery of the deadly drink traffic. Which shall it be ? Let the Christian people of Ontario speak according to reason and conscience, and the doom of the liquor traffic will not be far distant.

The saloon is now on trial for its life before the jury of the Ontario electorate. It has been outlawed for a time in nearly all parts of this fair province. But through the exigencies of party politics and defects in the law, it has been able to snatch back from the electorate the coveted boon of the "license." To-day it is endorsed, sanctioned and protected by law. To-day the liquor seller is virtually the agent of a Christian people, and the saloon is legally a part of our Christian civilization. In January the electors will declare whether they will continue to endorse, sanction and protect the saloon by law or will strip it of its legal status and power.

According to statements made by leaders in the Ontario Legislature, the vote for prohibition must, in order to effect its purpose, be an overwhelming majority. A mere majority leaves the case undecided and the victory in doubt. If, therefore, prohibitionists would achieve certain victory, let no effort be spared, let no word remain unspoken, let no sacrifice be refused to roll up the grandest majority the world has ever known for prohibition.

## What Leading Men Think of The Plebiscite.

#### REV. DR. BRETHOUR, MILTON.

"The MAJORITY in favor of the prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of all alcoholic liquors on the 1st day of Jauuary, 1894, will be an immense factor in the immediate and final settlement of the liquor problem in the Dominion of Canada. Every citizen, whose privilege it is to vote, should make that vote a matter of conscience. Surely no man can hesitate for one moment on which side his ballot will be cast. Never before have we had such a DIRECT opportunity of NO to the plea for the continuation of the liquor traffic. Shall we, or shall we not, as individuals and as a province, say to this criminal business, which is now on trial and whose guilt has been proved a thousand times, "THOU SHALT DIE ?" THE WHOLE CHRISTIAN WORLD SHALL KNOW THAT THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE OF ONTARIO WASH THEIR HANDS OF ALL **RESPONSIBILITY FOR** THE ACCURSED TRADE."

#### REV. J. R. GUNDY, LONDON.

"THIS IS THE OPPORTUNITY OF OUR LIFETIME. Never before have the people of Ontario had the privilege of pronouncing so directly their judgment on the liquor traffic as now. Let the decision be emphatic. LET EVERY BALLOT BE MARKED AS UNDER THE EYE OF HIM BEFORE WHOM WE MUST GIVE ACCOUNT. Let there be no apathy or indifference, but earnest, determined and united effort, and the result will be an overwhelming majority for Prohibition."

#### J. J. MCLAREN, Q. C., TORONTO.

"Parliament has time and again declared that Prohibition is the only effective remedy for the evils of the liquor traffic, and expressed its willingness to pass such a law WHEN THE COUNTRY IS READY FOR IT. Temperance people have for years claimed that the country was ready, but that the politicians were responsible for the delay. THE CHALLENGE IS NOW THROWN DOWN AND PROHIBITIONISTS MUST TAKE IT UP. On January lst every elector will be asked whether he is ready, and must answer "Yes," or "No." IT IS THE OPPORTUNITY OF A LIFETIME."

#### REV. CHANCELLOR BURWASH, D. D., OF VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, TORONTO.

"The reasons which have led me, after very careful consideration of the whole subject, to vote for prohibition are; 1. Intemperance is not only a moral evil, but the GREATEST SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CURSE FROM WHICH MODERN SOCIETY SUFFERS. 2. The law everywhere is employed to meet social evils and to remedy economic disadvantages. Then why not here? 3. My experience convinces me that prohibition has been of DECIDEDLY PRACTICAL BENEFIT IN DIMINISHING THE EVIL BOTH FROM THE SOCIAL AND THE ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW."

#### BISHOP T. W. CAMPBELL, D.D., OF THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH, TORONTO.

"The temperance cause in Ontario has reached a crisis in its history. IF THE VOTE IN JANUARY DOES NOT GIVE A SWEEPING MAJORITY FOR PROHIBITION THE WORK OF YEARS WILL BE LOST. The friends of the cause must realize that defeat at the polls would be a terrible blow. BOTH INDIF-FERENCE AND OVER-CONFIDENCE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO FAILURE. We cannot spare a single votc. The direct influence of the liquor trade will not be great in this campaign, the territory affected is too extensive; but we must checkmate the efforts that will be made in parliament by giving such a majority that our representatives shall feel that it will not be safe to vote against prohibition. THE CONSCIENCE OF THE PROVINCE NOW HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK. We are confident of the decision; but we must speak with a voice loud enough to startle the politicians who are dreaming that we do not mean what we say."

### REV. E. B. RYCKMAN, D.D., COATICOOKE, QUE.

"The policy of prohibitionists has been, and is, what Lincoln's was in the gloomiest days of "the war,', i.e. "Keep pegging away." No matter what politics may have had to do in bringing on the Plebiscite. IT GIVES US ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK. We must embrace it with a will. If any are annoyed at having to answer the same question so often let them speak the louder. There is a time to shout. Let the echoes fly. IN RINGING OUT THIS CENTURY AND RINGING IN THE NEXT, WF. SHALL, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RING OUT THIS OLD DEMON, DRINK."

#### REV. D. PROSSER, PRESIDENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ONTARIO.

"Temperance is the handmaid of religion. And in this age, when wickedness rages rampant, and almost every crime may be traced to drunkenness as its cause, THE PEOPLE OF GOD SHOULD BE UP AND DOING. The putting down of drunkenness and the reforming of drunkards is a work worthy of Him whose name we There is a great work for us to do, which must be done now. bear. Even though we cannot now accomplish the complete reformation of every whisky-soaked wretch, yet, God helping us, we can do something for the children. WE CAN SAVE THE NEXT GENERATION FROM BECOMING DRUNKARDS. And as this important crisis is coming upon us, we should think of our children, of their futurity, of what they may be if the fatal cup is not withheld, and then vote as you pray and pray as you vote."

## REV. DR. ANTLIFF, OF LONDON.

"The plebiscite vote may be an innovation in our political system, but it is AN INNOVATION IN THE RIGHT DIREC. TION, for the duty of legislators in a country where in the last analysis the people are the rulers is to embody in laws what the majority of the people desire, unless such desire should be contrary to the declared word of God. In the matter of the prohibition of the liquor traffic IT IS REASONABLE THAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY OF DECLARING THEIR WISH UNTRAMMELLED BY THE INFLUENCES OF PARTY-ISM THAT PREVAIL IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. It is to be hoped that at the approaching plebiscite vote in Ontario the friends of good order and religion will give such an overwhelming majority in favor of prohibition that our statesmen will see that the mind of the country is fully ripe for the measure and determined to have it."

## REV. W. KETTLEWELL; GRAND COUNCILLOR, ROYAL TEMPLARS OF TEMPERANCE.

#### What is the Issue?

"The question to be decided at the polls on the lst of January is not whether a plebiscite is the best method of approaching a solution of the liquor problem; it is not whether the motives which have actuated the advocates of this method are worthy or otherwise, nor yet whether the use or sale of liquor is in itself sinful; but the question to be decided is WHETHER THE TRAFFIC IN IN-TOXICANTS IS SO INIMICAL TO THE WELFARE OF SOCIETY THAT IT OUGHT TO BE PROHIBITED BY LAW. The evils connected with the traffic are admitted. These vils are not INCIDENTAL, but natural and inseparable. They are not private, but public and social. None can remain in society and be unaffected by them. Shall they be abated ? Shall the source of these evils continue to be provided by law, or shall the traffic be prohibited ? WE ALREADY PROHIBIT THE SALE OF LIQUOR BY 599 OUT OF 600 OF OUR CITIZENS. SHALL WE GO A STEP FURTHER AND BREAK UP THE MON-OPOLY BY RESTRAINING THE 600TH ? THIS IS THE ISSUE."

#### BISHOP BALDWIN, D.D., LONDON.

"PROHIBITION IS A MEASURE, I SHOULD SAY. INDISPENSABLY NECESSARY IN ABSOLUTELY AND THE INTERESTS OF HUMANITY AND RELIGION. To remove strong drink from our land would be to remove THE MOST POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO VICE OF WHICH WE HAVE. The vast majority, I imagine, of those who ANY KNOWLEDGE. to-day are engulfed in the passion for stimulants contracted the habit as minors, or as extremely young men. PROHIBITION, THERE-FORE, WITH THE BLESSING OF GOD, WOULD SAVE THE YOUNG."

#### REV. J. S. WILLIAMSON, INGERSOLL. The Plebiscite.

"However much prohibitionists may differ in their opinions regarding the witdom of taking a plebiscite on this burning question of the day, one thing is certain, NO TRUE PROHIBITIONIST CAN BE INDIFFERENT AS TO THE RESULTS. All minor points must be dropped and one grand united, determined effort put forth to MAKE THE VOTE SO DECISIVE THAT NO GOVERNMENT CAN AFFORD TO DENY OUR PROVINCE ALL THE PROHIBITION LEGISLATION WITHIN ITS POWER. The white heat is already on. Let the thousands of prohibitionists strike such a blow now as shall shatter the iron-hearted traffic into ten thousand fragment's and send consternation through the ranks of the enemy."

#### REV. E. W. DADSON, B.A., PRESIDENT OF THE BAPTIST CONVENTION OF ONTARIO AND QUEBEC.

"EVERY MAN WHO HAS ANY THOUGHT OF LOVING HIS NEIGHBOR AS HIMSELF OUGHT TO GIVE HIMSELF WITH HEART PURPOSE TO THE CARRYING OF THIS MEASURE. IF IT SHOULD FAIL THROUGH THE NE-GLECT OF CHRISTIAN MEN, THERE IS VERY LITTLE INCLUDED IN CHRISTIAN BUSINESS THAT CAN HOPE TO SUCCEED."

#### REV. T. G. WILLIAMS, D.D., MONTREAL.

"The tide in favor of prohibition has been steadily rising for years past, and notwiths' anding the loud assertions of the saloon and its friends to the contrary, it still continues to flow. This grand result has been achieved by the unceasing effort and unflagging zeal of men and women who have labored with Christ-like spirit and many discouragements and in the face of unprincipled opposition. Though derided, their numbers have steadily increased and their force has THE LARGE ADVANCES HAVE BEEN MADE multiplied. AND SIGNAL VICTORIES OF THE PAST WON BY ENER-GETIC AND UNITED ACTION ON THE PART OF THE AND PROHIBITION, AND BY SEIZING FRIENDS OF ADVANTAGE TO **OPPORTUNITIES** THEIR TURNING AFFORDED UNWILLINGLY UNWITTINGLY BY AND THE COMING PLEBISCITE PLACES THEIR OPPONENTS. THE POSSIBILITIES OF A GRAND MORAL VICTORY IN THE REACH OF THE TEMPERANCE PEOPLE OF ON-TARIO. Remember the grand victory won in Manitoba, the moral effects of which are felt from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and under its inspiration let every man, woman and child work faithfully to make this Plebiscite shake the foundations of the saloonists and make them set their houses in order for the coming of prohibition."

#### CROSSLEY AND HUNTER, EVANGELISTS.

HIND-THE GREATEST asked 'WHAT IS " When WORK ? WE ANSWER. EVANGELISTIC RANCE TO 'STRONG DRINK.' THE BAR-ROOM IS SATAN'S CHURCH. The liquor traffic is an EVIL, hence it is an OUTRAGE on law and a gross iniquity to LICENSE it. The function of law is to PRO-HIBIT evil. Prohibition is a moral question, and not merely a financial or political one; hence, NO ONE CAN TAKE A NEUTRAL POSITION. He that is not for prohibition is against it, and so becomes responsible for license and its results. The only question before us in this contest is, ' Are you in favor of prohibition or license ?' LET US KEEP OUT EVERY OTHER QUESTION AND AVOID ABUSE, SO MAY WE HOPE TO HAVE THE SYMPATHY, VOTE AND CO-OPERATION OF CHRISTIAN MORALIST, CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, TORY AND TOTAL ABSTAINERS AND MODERATE AND GRIT, DRINKERS. We appeal to every lover of God, humanity or country, to vote without fail in favor of prohibition on January 1st, 1894."

## REV. W. H. WITHROW., D.D., TORONTO.

"The theory and practice of British legislation are alike, 'broadbased upon the people's will.' This is expressed in the maxim, 'Salus Populi Suprema Lex.' 'Government of the people, for the people, by the people,' is the ideal of modern legislation. While there are different modes of ascertaining the popular will, the plebiscite on a non-partisan question affecting the morality, the welfare, the highest happiness of the commonwealth, presents special advantages. IT SEPARATES THE QUESTION FROM STRIFE AND RANCOUR OF PARTY POLITICS AND LIFTS IT INTO THE SERENER ATMOSPHERE OF HIGHER ETHICS AND CIVIL RIGHTEOUSNESS. Persons differing widely in their political relationships can here unite upon a common ground, and with a united voice demand a much-needed reform. That government is wise which endeavors to find out and be guided by the convictions of the best friends of society, the moral and religious part of the community. While governments cannot be expected to outrun moral convictions, they should be held sternly to account for neglecting or overruling these convictions when strongly expressed. We trust that the approaching plebiscite will be such an overwhelming verdict in favor of the prohibition of the liquor traffic as shall convince both our governments at Toronto and Ottawa that the time is fully ripe for. this great measure. LET THE TEMPERANCE PEOPLE CLOSE UP THEIR RANKS AND ACT AS ONE MAN TO PROMOTE THIS RESULT. Let the electors of this province thunder forth their will in tones which those who make our laws will understand-such a clear, strong, overwhelming verdict against this greatest evil of our land and age, that it may stand forever demonstrated that the voice of the people is the voice of God-and, like His voice, omnipotent."

#### REV. W. JACKSON, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE MONTREAL CONFERENCE, PERTH, ONT.

"We sometimes boast of this Province of Ontario as one of the most Christian states on this continent. IF OUR BOASTING BE TRUE WE OUGHT TO ARISE IN OUR MIGHT AND BLOT THIS ACCURSED TRAFFIC OUT. THE PROFESSING CHRISTIANS OF ONTARIO ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO DEMAND A STRINGENT PROHIBITORY LAW AT THE HANDS OF OUR LEGISLATORS. The plebiscite affords them the opportunity of showing what they CAN do by united and concentrated effort. If Christians CAN blot out this traffic it is hardlyneedful to say that they OUGHT."

#### REV. WM. JOHNSTON, PRESIDENT OF BAY OF QUINTE CONFERENCE, TWEED, ONT.

"I have long been convinced that the chief source of poverty, wretchedness and crime in this fair land is the legalized traffic in intoxicating drinks, and that the misery thereby produced overweighs a hundred-fold any advantage the country gains from revenue or otherwise. I REGARD IT AS THE IMPERATIVE DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN, THE PATRIOT AND THE PHILANTHROPIST TO USE EVERY LAWFUL MEANS TO PROHIBIT THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF INTOXI. CANTS AS A BEVERAGE THROUGHOUT OUR DOMINION; and now that the electors of Ontario are asked for an expression of their views on the subject by a Plebiscite vote, to be taken in January next, I sincerely trust that all lovers of humanity will give their emphatic declaration by marking their ballot for the Plebiscite."

#### REV. GEORGE DOUGLAS, LL. D., OF WESLEYAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, MONTREAL.

"When the Mowat Government consented to a Plebiscite I felt that A SUPREME HOUR HAD COME WHICH WOULD LIKELY DETERMINE THE DESTINIES OF PROHIBITION FOR A GENERATION. If the manhood, moral and religious, of the province, proclaim in trumpet tones its determination that prohibition shall be the law of the land, that voice will be potential to guarantee the desired result. DOMINANT ABOVE ALL OTHERS IS THE VOICE OF ONTARIO IN OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. LET HER BE FLANKED BY MANITOBA IN THE WEST AND BY THE MARITIME FORCES IN THE EAST AND NO GOVERNMENT COULD RESIST SUCH A UNITED DEMAND. The Moloch of our age, the destroyer that blights home and heart, that smites with a ruin more terrible than the grave, would disappear, and our Dominion would stand before the world regenerated and free. THE MAN WHO IS INDIFFERENT TO THESE TREMENDOUS ISSUES SHOULD KNOW THAT HIS INDIFFERENCE LENDS AID THE FORCES THAT WILL DESTROY UNCOUNTED TO THOUSANDS ALONG THE GENERATIONS. If I were a citizen of Ontario, as I am of Quebec, I would by prayer, by endeavor and vote, seek to hasten the excelsior time when Ontario and the Dominion shall be free forever from the curse of intemperance. May God give victory to the right !"

## Why the Traffic in Strong Drink Should be Prohibited.

1. BECAUSE IT IS CONDEMNED BY THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION, AS EXPRESSED IN THE HIGHEST CHURCH COURTS.

(a) The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1888, declared, "The liquor traffic . . . can never be legalized without sin. . . . License, high or low, is vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy;" and also affirms, "We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that propose by license, taxing, or otherwise, to regulate the drink traffic."

(b) The Kansas Methodist Conference, in 1888, declared, "Partisan friendship with the saloon must be accepted as hostility to the church, the home, and all that is valuable in society. No party is worthy the support of Christian men that fails to antagonize the saloon."

(c) The Philadelphia Methodist Conference, in 1888, declared, "High license is not a temperance measure. It is a trap adroitly set for timid and half-informed temperance men. It was originally offered and is now urged as a compromise by the influential political friends of the saloon. Their object is to kill the movement for Prohibition, and prevent the threatened annihilation of the liquor traffic. We pray God to open the eyes of those who have been deceived."

(d) The Supreme Court of Presbyterianism in Canada has declared, "The general traffic in intoxicating liquors is contrary to the Word of God and the spirit of the Christian religion, and it ought not to be legalized by the votes of a Christian people."

(e) In 1888, the Presbyterian Assembly of the United States adopted these sentiments: "In view of the evils wrought by this scourge of the race, this assembly would hail with acclamations of joy and thanksgiving the utter extermination of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage by the power of Christian conscience, public opinion and the strong arm of the civil law." (/) The Mississippi Baptist Convention of 1884 resolved, "That we raise our uncompromising protest against the use, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage . . . We will endeavor to bring about prohibition as soon as practicable."

(g) The Quadrennial Convention of the Christian Church, held in 1882, resolved, "Intemperance is the greatest evil of the age, and liquor-selling is the 'crime of crimes' against God and man."

(h) Bishop Ireland (Roman Catholic) has delivered many of the most powerful speeches for the cause of temperance ever given by man. He declares: "Intemperance is an evil most heinous before God, and most dreadful in its results."

Cardinal Manning, of the Roman Catholic Church, says, "So long as the revenue is raised upon intoxicating drinks, I hold that we are all partakers of the crime and misery, and the disease and cruelty, and the evils of body and soul in time and eternity, which are caused in such prolific abundance by the trade in strong drink."

2. BECAUSE THE LEGALIZED LIQUOR TRAFFIC MAKES EVERY VOTER, TO THE EXTENT OF HIS ACQUIESCENCE, A PARTNER IN ALL THE SIN AND SUFFERING, WRETCHEDNESS AND RUIN, THAT SPRING FROM THE BAR-ROOM AND THE SALOON.

The liquor-seller, under license, is the agent of the Government, and the Government, under representative institutions, is the agent of the sovereign Christian people. Qui facit per alium facit per se. What one does through another he does himself. This principle is everywhere admitted as both legal and just. Every Christian voter who consents to the legalized traffic is, in effect and in morals, selling liquor through his agent, the liquor-seller, to demoralize and curse his fellow-countrymen. The nation becomes, in effect, a liquor-seller through its recognized agents, the liquor-sellers; and both individual and nation are partners in the guilt incurred.

3. BECAUSE PROHIBITION NOT ONLY FREES THE CHRISTIAN NATION FROM THE GUILT OF PARTNERSHIP WITH THE RUM TRAFFIC BUT ALSO ABATES VERY LARGELY THE EVILS OF INTEMPERANCE.

Kansas, with prohibition, and 100,000 more people than Texas, has but one penitentiary and 996 prisoners. Texas, with saloons and 100,000 people less than Kansas, has two penitentiaries and 3,000 convicts.

The bank managers of Maine have just reported that of the 661,000 people of that State, 146,666 have \$50,278,452 deposited in the savings' banks, so that prohibition cannot have ruined business.

\*...**\*** 

A glance at local option in operation in Illinois shows that the prohibition town of Pullman, with a population of 11,000, gets along admirably with a police-force of but two constables in all.

The Dakota Farmer says: "Notwithstanding the efforts of the liquor-dealers to the contrary, drunkenness has been almost wiped out—many a former moderate drinker has quit the habit; and, above all, a host of young men have started on a sober and industrious career under three years' influence of prohibition. The drink bill of 'the two Dakotas dropped off 60 per cent. the very first year, and has been growing materially less ever since, and no one has been made the poorer thereby but the saloon-keepers, brewers and distillers.

James G. Blaine said, in 1888, "Maine, for the last thirty-seven years, has been under a prohibitory law. I think the State has derived great advantage from it. I think that the State is far richer and far better bacause of that law than it would have been without it."

Hon. John A. Martin, who retired as Governor of Kansas, in 1889, said: "Fully nine-tenths of the drinking and drunkenness prevalent in Kansas eight years ago has been abolished . . . The population of the State is steadily increasing, the number of criminals steadily decreasing."

General Neal Dow says :---

X

"The liquor traffic in Maine is reduced to one-twentieth of its former proportions. In more than three-fourths of our territory, containing far more than three-fourths of our people, the traffic is practically unknown. An entire generation has grown up there never having seen a rum shop or the results of one. Our State saves annually, directly and indirectly, more than \$20,000,000, which, under any form of license would be spent and wasted in drink. In the old rum time, Maine was the poorest State in the Union, spending in strong drink the entire v lue of all its property in every period of 20 years, as the nation is now doing in every period of 35 years. As one of the results of the law, Maine is now one of the most prosperous States in the Union. After more than 30 years' experience of the benefits of prohibition our people in 1884 put it into the constitution by a majority of 47,075, the affirmative vote being three times large than the negative. I feel myself warranted in declaring the Maine law to be a great success. In Maine the word failure is never seen or heard in connection with prohibition. It is our friends in distant parts of the country who are continually proclaiming that old, old error to the world."

4. BECAUSE THE FEARFUL EFFECTS OF THE LEGALIZED DRAM SHOP ARE ADMITTED EVEN BY THE MEN ENGAGED IN CARRYING IT ON OR IN DEFENDING IT IN THE PRESS AND ON THE PLATFORM.

Bonfort's "Wine and Spirit Circular," the most prominent organ of the liquor sellers in the United States, declares :---

"It is all very well for the wine and spirit trade to quiet its apprehensions by reverting to the majorities against prohibition in the Michigan, Texas, Tennessee, Oregon and West Virginia elections, but the fact is still apparent that THE SENTIMENT AGAINST OUR BUSINESS IS CONSTANTLY GROWING IN THIS COUNTRY AND GAINING FRIENDS AMONG THE MOST SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENT IN OUR POPULATION. We are all familiar with society's complaints against the liquor traffic. We realize that there is good ground for many of these complaints. We deplore the facts, but stand helpless and without a word of advice to those who would correct them. Herein lies our weakness. We are without a policy. WE SEE YOUNG MEN BECOMING DRUNKARDS, BUT WE OFFER NO REMEDY. WE SEE OLD MEN TURN TO COMMON SOTS, BUT WE OFFER NO REMEDY. WE SEE THE SLUM OF SOCIETY ALL FLOCKING INTO THE RETAIL LIQUOR BUSINESS, BUT WE OFFER NO REMEDY. WE SEE THESE MEN GAIN CONTROL OF CITY GOVERNMENTS, BUT WE OFFER NO REMEDY. WE SEE THE RETAIL LIQUOR BUSINESS DRAGGED DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF THE BAWDY HOUSE AND LITTLE HELLS ARE OPERATED IN PUBLIC PLACES UNDER LIQUOR LICENSES, BUT WE OFFER NO REMEDY.

5. BECAUSE THE TRAFFIC ITSELF IS THE WORST FINANCIAL SPECULATION A NATION EVER ENGAGED IN.

From a paper published recently by Mr. T. W. Casey, we glean the following facts and figures :--

#### REVENUE FROM LICENSES AND FINES.

According to the last official report there were, during the last license year, issued as follows: Tavern licenses, including wine and beer, 3,040; shop licenses, 403; wholesale licenses, 21; total for Ontario, 3,464.

The total public revenue received from these licenses, including fees, transfers, removals, fines, etc., was \$665,609.10.

There was deducted from this sum the expenses of the license commissioners, the inspectors' salaries, and similar charges to the amount of \$75,517. The balance was divided, according to the provisions of the license act, between the provincial treasury and the various municipalities in which the licenses were issued, and the fines collected, as follows:—To the provincial treasury, \$300,604; to the municipalities, \$289,487.

These amounts represent the sum total of the public revenue from all sources, and to all parties, from the license system in Ontario.

#### THE CONTRA ACCOUNT.

Sir Oliver Mowat says that as a result of over twenty-five years' observation and official experience, "it is no mere oratorial flourish" to state that fully three-fourths of the poverty, crime and wretchedness arise from this one source, the licensed liquor traffic. We take this statement then as the basis for the following calculations.

The official statistics for commitments are :-Fifty-two county jails, 9,011; Central Prison, 935; Andrew Mercer female prison, 234; Penetanguishene Boys' Reformatory, 252; Kingston Penitentiary, 702; total, 11,144.

These cost, Common jails, \$135,706; Central Prison, \$65,955; Mercer Female Prison, \$26,725; Penetanguishene Reformatory, \$36,977; Kingston Penitentiary, \$139,358. Total cost, \$404,721. These are only a few of a number of items of hard cash paid out. Add to this list a large number more in the various lock-ups, police cells and the like, and the thousands in our hospitals, poor-houses, and inebriate and insane asylums, and the enormous burden laid upon the shoulders of the tax-payers who never drink, by those who do drink and sell, is something that no free and intelligent people should tolerate.

The following sums also have a direct bearing on the question of loss from the liquor traffic:—Administration of justice, \$391,689; hospitals and charities, \$151,574; insane asylums, \$185,081; reformatory asylums, \$9,216; Central prison, \$46,915; lock-ups in out-lying districts, \$14,967; Crown counsel prosecution fees, \$8,882. Making a total cost of \$808,324; add this to the above \$404,721, and we get a total of \$1,213,045; three-fourths of these sums, all paid out of the provincial treasury during the year, would represent \$909,-783; paid in for license fees, etc., \$300,604; balance to the loss side, \$609,179.

The items given above are taken from our official reports, and it is clear enough that, if Sir Oliver Mowat's estimate is correct, our provincial treasury loses over half a million dollars every year, because of the continuance of the license system, over and above every dollar of revenue thus obtained.

#### THE MUNICIPAL ACCOUNT.

The municipalities do not fare any better. They receive, all told, from liquor licenses and fees, \$289,487, and against this comes all the expenses of the police, constables and the like, the payment of jurors and other court expenses of trials, the thousands and thousands required for the maintenance of the poor, the aiding and supporting of hospitals and kindred institutions, which, all added together, swallow up that revenue as completely as the lean kine of Pharaoh's dream swallowed up the fat kine, and yet remained lean.

Dr. Willard Parker declares that "in 1867 the State of Pennsylvania for every \$14 received from license fees spent \$100 in support of the victims of alcohol."

6. BECAUSE OF THE FRIGHTFUL EFFECTS OF INTEMPERANCE, WHICH IS LARGELY THE RESULT OF THE LICENSE SYSTEM.

(a) Rev. Sam. Small, M. A., declares that reliable statistics show that intemperance is the proximate cause of 100,000 untimely deaths each year in the United States; that it yearly makes 60,000 widows and 250,000 orphans, and that 600,000 men every day are too drunk to earn their wages.

(b) Dr. Willard Parker has affirmed that "Ten per cent. of the annual number of deaths in the United States are due to alcohol; that fully 35 per cent. of the insane are so either directly or indirectly through its use; and that from seventy-five to ninety per cent. of the inmates of the penal and pauper institutions owe their condition to its influence; in addition, forty per cent. of the inmates of the asylums for idiots are the offspring of parents addicted to drink."

(c) Sir William Gull, a Fellow of the Royal Society and Physician to Her Majesty, stated in his evidence in 1877-78 before the Lords' Committee :---

"I should say, from my experience, that alcohol is the most destructive agent that we are aware of in this country. \* \* \* I would like to say that a very large number of people in society are dying day by day, poisoned by alcohol, but not supposed to be poisoned by it. I know it is a most deleterious poison."

7. BECAUSE THE LICENSED LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND ITS NATURAL RESULT, INTEMPERANCE, IS THE MOST ' FRUITFUL SOURCE OF CRIME IN CHRISTENDOM. (a) A Committee of this Parliament of 1875 reported that the commitments to the common gaols of Ontario and Quebec in the year 1870, 1871 and 1872 were 28,289, of which 21,236 were for drunkenness and kindred crimes—80 per cent. of the total. In nine years, from 1875 to 1883, inclusive, the total number of commitments to the gaols of Ontario were 98,069, of which 33,444 were for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, or 34 per cent. of the whole. In 1881, the nine cities of Ontario had a total number of arrests for all crimes of 13,196, of which 6,926 were for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, a being 45 per cent. of the total arrests in those nine cities.

(b) The investigations of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics show, that during the twenty years, from 1860 to 1879, the total number of sentences pronounced in the Commonwealth was 578,458, of which 340,814, or 60 per cent., were for what the Bureau denominates distinctly rum crimes, that is, crimes which came directly from violations of the license laws, and cases of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and from excessive indulgence in spirits. 1

Subsequent investigation showed that very many of the remaining 40 per cent. of crimes were indirectly attributable to strong drink, swelling the 60 to 72 per cent. as the correct proportion of crimes originating in intemperance.

(c) Mr. Frederick Hill, late inspector of Prisons in England, and a high authority on penal science, writes :--

"I am within the truth when I state, as the result of extensive and minute inquiry, that of four cases out of five, when an offence has been committed, intoxicating drink has been one of the causes."

(d) Dr. Elisha Harris, of New York, after a thorough inspection of prisons, says :--

"After two years of careful inquiry into the history and condition of the criminal population of the State, I find that the conclusion is inevitable that, taken in all its relations, alcoholic drinks may be justly charged with far more than half the crimes that are brought to conviction in the State of New York, and that fully 85 per cent, of all convicts give evidence of having, in some larger degree, been prepared or enticed to the criminal acts, because, of the physical and distracting effects produced upon the human organism by alcoholic drinks."

(e). Governor Dix, of New York, said :---

"Intemperance is the undoubted cause of four-fifths of all the crime, pauperism, and domestic misery of the State of New York." 8. BECAUSE THE OBJECT OF ALL LAW SHOULD BE TO MAKE IT AS EASY AS POSSIBLE TO DO RIGHT AND AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE TO DO WRONG. The license law, with its 3,400 shops, saloons and bar-rooms, reverses this object and makes it extremely easy to do wrong and extrem. Jy hard for many to do right.

9. BECAUSE ALL ATTEMPTS AT REGULATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC BY LAW HAVE PROVED CON-FESSED FAILURES.

Since 1550, when the first license Act was published in England, over \* Dacts have been passed—each onea failure. What is the result of all h legislation? Here are a few : 1. Over 3,000,000 of "submerged ...sses" in England, according to General Booth, who declares that "the tap-root of all the evil is the drink traffic." 2. In Ireland, over \$10,000,000 more is spent in drink than in rent yearly. 3. The saloon has become the most potent factor in the political life of the United States. According to Joseph Cook, it holds the two parties in most abject slavery. 4. In Canada we spend at least \$28,000,000 per year in strong drink, say \$40 per family every year.

10. BECAUSE THE SENTIMENT OF TEMPERANCE MEN REPRESENTING ALL THE ORGANIZATIONS, THE CHURCHES AND BENEVOLENT AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES IS NEARLY UNANIMOUS IN FAVOR OF PROHIBITION.

The recent convention in Toronto, with over 1,000 accredited delegates, representing all classes, creeds and parties, resolved ;--

"That whereas, the leading politicians of both political parties have expressed themselves as in favor of the legal suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors when the country is ready for it; and, whereas, an opportunity is afforded the electorate of this Province on January 1, 1894. to express their desire for the immediate suppression by law of the liquor traffic; therefore be it resolved, that in order that no Government or Legislature may have any further excuse for refusing to pass a prohibitory liquor law, this convention calls upon every qualified voter to lay aside every personal and party consideration, and rally to the polls and roll up a decisive and overwhelming majority in favor of the total prohibition of the legalized traffic."

## Suggestions as to Methods of Work.

1. The main dependence must be placed npon HAND-TO-HAND work with the electors. THIS 1S THE WORK THAT TELLS MIGHTILY in the final result. Arrangements should be made for reaching and doing individual work with every elector. To accomplish this, thorough organization will be absolutely necessary. Let there be a recognition of the principle of division of labor. In some constituencies the W. C. T. U. have undertaken to visit every woman entitled to vote. This is a suitable work for this splendid organization in every place.

2. The best men must, if possible, everywhere be chosen as leaders, and all temperance organizations and temperance men should loyally accept their due share of the work and a fair proportion of the expense. Both TIME AND MONEY must be cheerfully laid upon the altar of our country in this fight.

3. Public meetings are useful in rallying the temperance forces, arousing enthusiasm and diffusing information. If, however, the chief dependence be placed on public meetings to the neglect of individual work, they will hinder rather than keep us in the conflict.

4. Attention must be given to the judicious use of suitable literature. Neal Dow declares they carried prohibition by sowing Maine knee-deep with temperance literature. The generous offers of The Templar of Hamilton, and The Citizen, of Toronto, should be accepted by thousands. Send \$5 for 1,000 copies of these papers and let every home in Ontario receive one.

5. Care should be taken to avoid alienating any who might be induced to vote with us. Let us sink partyism, sectarianism and everything that would separate any class of voters from us. Avoid abuse and intemperate or offensive language respecting any class. LET US WIN ALL AND OFFEND NONE. We cannot afford to lose one vote.

## Shot and Shell for the Conflict.

## INCE SOUL'S TERRIBLE ARRAIGNMENT OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

"I am aware that there is a prejudice against any man engaged in the manufacture of alcohol. I believe, from the time it issues from the poisonous worm in the distillery until it empties into the hell of death, dishonor and crime, that it is demoralizing to everybody that touches it, from the source to where it ends. I do not believe that anybody can contemplate the subject without being prejudiced against the crime. All we have to do is to think of the wrecks on either side of the stream of death, of suicides, of insanity, of poverty, of the destruction of the little children tugging at the breasts of despairing wives asking for bread, of the men of genius it has wrecked, of the struggling with imaginary serpents produced by this devilish thing; and when you think of the jails, of the almshouses, of the asylums, of the prisons, and of the scaffolds on either side, I do not wonder that every thoughtful man is prejudiced against this vile stuff called alcohol. Intemperance cuts down youth in its vigor, manhood in its strength, and age in its weakness.

"It breaks the father's heart, bereaves the doting mother, extinguishes natural affection, erases conjugal love, blots out filial attachments, blights parental hope, and brings premature age in sorrow to the grave. It produces weakness, not strength; sickness, not health; death, not life. It makes wives widows, children orphans, fathers fiends, and all paupers. It feeds rheumatism, nurses gout, welcomes epidemics, invites cholera, imports pestilence, embraces consumption, and covers the land with misery and crime. It genders controversies, fosters quarrels, breeds riots It crowds your penitentiaries, and furnishes victims to the scaffold. It is the blood of the gambler, the element of the burglar, the prop of the highwayman, and the support of the midnight incendiary. I's countenances the liar, respects the thief, esteems the blasphemer. It violates obligations, reverences frand, hates love, scorns innocence and virtue.

"It incites the father to butcher the helpless offspring, and the child to grind the parricidal axe. It burns up the men, consumes the women, detests life, curses God and despises Heaven. It suborns witnesses, nurses perfidy, defiles the jury box, and stains the judicial ermine. It bribes voters, disqualifies votes, corrupts elections, and endangers the government. It degrades the citizens, debases the legislator, dishonors the statesman, and disarms the patriot.

"It brings shame, not honor; terror, not safety; despair, not hope; misery, not happiness; and with the malevolence of a fiend, calmly surveys its frightful desolation, and, unsatisfied with havoc, it wipes out our national honor, then curses the world, and laughs at its ruin. It does more—it murders the soul. It is the sum of all villanies, the father of all crime, the mother of all abominations, the devil's best friend, and God's worst enemy."

#### BISHOP IRELAND ON PROHIBITION.

"We have seen there is no hope of improving, in any shape or form, the liquor traffic. There is now nothing to be done but to W1PE IT OUT COMPLETELY. I have lost too much of my time striving in the pist to repair the fearful evils wrought by the liquor traffic. I have lost too much time in speaking of total abstinence in hall and pulpit to men, who, while listening, were with me, but who, when out in the street, would be invited by the saloon-keeper to come and take a drink, and forget their resolutions. . . . We Catholics will unite with our fellow-citizens of all classes and all denominations to do away with that terrible shame, sin and disgrace of the saloon. All those who violate the law and disgrace us go into the saloon first, and would we be patriots, would we be Americans, if we did not turn round and meet with our whole strength the spring of crime, the accursed saloon?

So come and say to your friends that you have enlisted for war, but meaning business this time—CLEAN OUT THE WHOLE INSTITUTION OF DRAM-SELLING."

#### THE RELATIONSHIP OF VARIOUS PARTIES TO THE SALE OF LIQUOR.

The relationship of the various parties to the sale, is well put by Rev. J. McQueen Auld, in the N. Y. Voice:

This is a soul in hell !

This is the rum that sent the soul there.

This is the saloon-keeper that sold the rum that sent the soul there.

This is the license that permitted the saloon keeper to sell the rum that sent the soul there.

These are the preachers and church-members that voted for the license parties or that signed the license that permitted the saloon-keeper to sell the rum that sent the soul there.

Query: How is the Almighty going to separate that crowd on the Judgment day?

#### "LICENSED "-TO DO WHAT ?

"Licensed to make the strong man weak, Licensed to lay the strong man low; Licensed the wife's fond heart to break, And make the children's tears to flow.

Licensed to do thy neighbor harm, Licensed to kindle hate and strife; Licensed to nerve the robber's arm, Licensed to whet the murderer's knife.

Licensed thy neighbor's purse to drain, And rob him of his very last; Licensed to heat his feverish brain, Till madness crowns thy work at last.

Licensed, like spider for a fly, To spread thy nets for man, their prey; To mock his struggles, suck him dry, Then cast the shattered hulk away.

Licensed, where peace and quiet dwell, To bring disease and want and woe; Licensed to make this world a hell, And fit a man for a hell below."

## Lucas House.

\_\_TEMPERANCE HOTEL

56 Louisa and 60, 62 and 64 Teraulay Streets

## TORONTO, ONT.

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TERMS-\$1.00 PER DAY.

SPECIAL.—Day guests may take any cab from the Union Station. We refund 25 cents to each for cab fare. Let Temperance people and the public note this offer.

Lucas & Co., Props...

# Actual Experience... Always Shows...

That total abstainers are very much better lives than those who are not total abstainers.

NAME OF COMPANY	DEATH CLAIMS IN TEMPERANCE SECTION.	DEATH CLAIMS IN GENERAL SECTION
Sceptre Life	49.18 per cent. of expec- tation	80.86 per cent. cf expec- tation
Scottish Temper- ance Life	46 per cent. of expectation (9 years' experience)	66 percent. of expectation (9 years' experience)
Temperance & Gen-	70 per cent. of expectation (27 years' experience)	of par capt of aurostation
	_	Expected losses, 8,049 Actual losses, 7.881

## The Temperance and General... Life Assurance Company...

Which is having a remarkably low mortality, is the only company in America that gives total abstainers all the advantages they have a right to receive through proper classification. Its plans and policies are the very best, and its management the most economical and careful. All total abstainers should consult this company direct, through one of its officers, before insuring their lives. Correspondence solicited. Mention this publication.

Hon. G. W. Ross, President; Hon. S. H. Blake and Robert McLean, Vice-Presidents.

Dr. W. Nattress, Medical Referee.

H. Sutherland, Manager.

