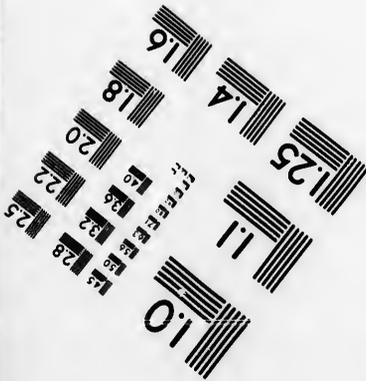
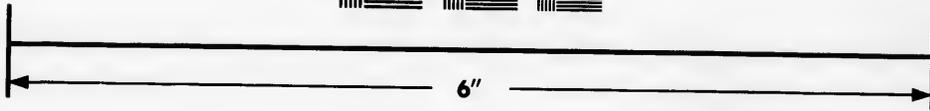
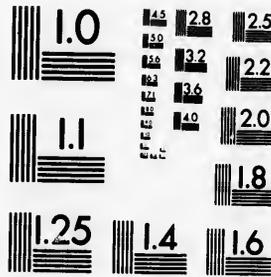


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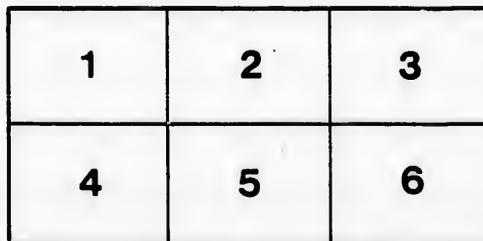
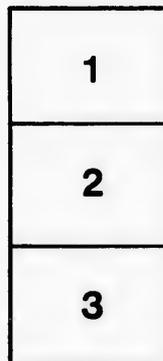
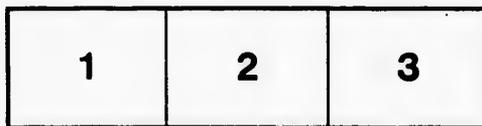
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THE  
**LIQUOR TRAFFIC:**

WOULD IT TO BE  
**PROTECTED, OR TO BE PROHIBITED,**  
BY LAW?

THE SUBSTANCE OF AN ADDRESS  
DELIVERED AT THE TEMPERANCE HALL, CHARLOTTE-  
TOWN, APRIL 5, 1854,  
BEFORE A CROWDED AND INFLUENTIAL ASSEMBLAGE,  
INCLUDING MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE  
LEGISLATURE, SPECIALLY INVITED TO  
ATTEND BY THE SONS OF  
TEMPERANCE,

By REV. J. R. NARRAWAY.

PUBLISHED AT THE UNANIMOUS REQUEST  
OF THOSE WHO HEARD IT.

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FROM THE POWER PRESS OF GEO. T. HASZARD,  
CHARLOTTETOWN.  
1854.

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## ADDRESS ON THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC,

By REV. J. R. NARRAWAY,

Charlottetown, P. E. Island, 5th April, 1854.

WILLIAM HEARD, ESQUIRE, G. W. F. OF S. OF T., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Chairman ;

The subject to which I respectfully invite the attention of this large and influential assemblage, is, THE LEGAL PROHIBITION OF THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS. This subject, in the States of the Northern part of this Continent, has assumed an importance not conceded to any other economic question. Many of the finest minds of the age have discussed its claims—many of the purest hearts have given to it their warmest sympathies, and vast multitudes of the people their most energetic support. Strange, indeed, would it be were it otherwise ; strange if, in these lands of free discussion, of well-established liberty, of physical progress, and of high-toned philanthropy, the innumerable, heart-rending evils which the liquor traffic produces, did not fill the minds of thoughtful, benevolent men with horror, and inspire them with the determination to destroy it. And we, Sir, are influenced by a kindred sentiment—we are inspired with a like determination. It falls to my lot frankly, fearlessly, yet courteously, to exhibit the facts and arguments which prompt us to solicit the co-operation of our countrymen.

Whatever may be urged, in abstract logical sequency, respecting the difference between the *trade* in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and their *use* as a beverage, which leads to intemperance with all its concomitant misery, looking at that trade and its invariable results, in every land in which the fatal commerce is carried on, I cannot relieve that traffic of the responsibility of necessarily and inevitably

producing those terrible effects. My reason, my heart, my conscience charge upon this traffic all the evils of intemperance;—for wherever this traffic exists, there is intemperance; when the traffic increases, intemperance multiplies its victims; when the traffic dies, intemperance itself expires. The most impartial and philosophical induction leads to the conclusion, that the traffic in intoxicating drinks is the poisonous root of the gigantic evil of drunkenness. We must “lay the axe at the root of the tree.”

And yet over this fearful commerce the Legislature of this Colony throws the shield of its protection—beneath the shadow of Law this trade flourishes in its rank luxuriousness of wickedness and woe. The system of licensing the sale of inebriating liquors, though it seems to be founded on the conviction that this trade is of a destructive character, and ought therefore to be placed under legal restrictions, yet operates to give respectability to the vending of these poisonous drinks, and legal sanction to all that the parties licensed may do within the terms of their legal permission—though the trade thus legalized, inflicts incalculable injury upon the public at large.

The Legislature also invests this traffic with the semblance of legal rightfulness by contemplating the importation and manufacture of intoxicating liquors as favourite, at least, proper sources from which to replenish the public treasury,—accordingly, one-fourth of the entire revenue, is obtained from the duties on liquor importations and manufacture.

And, until recently, the efficient services of the Courts of Judicature and of the Executive power, were at hand to aid in the hour of this traffic's need.

If the vendor of intoxicating poisons required aid to sustain and enforce his claim to the property of an unfortunate rum debtor, unable or unwilling to pay for what Robert Hall termed “distilled damnation,” which had well nigh ruined him, body and soul, he had but to invoke

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the majesty of the Law, and the Judge, its constitutional expounder, with all the paraphernalia of his high office, benevolent and patriotic though he might be, yet sworn to enforce the law as he found it on the Statute Book, responded to the invocation, and summoning executive aid to carry out his decisions, by the agent of his court, hasted away to the drunkard's desolate home, and taking him by the throat, loudly commanded, "Pay what for rum thou owest;" and in default thereof, took the land from beneath his feet, the fuel from his half-warmed hearth-stone, the bread from his famished children's mouths, the scanty bed beneath their shivering limbs—nay, if needed, the house over their sorrow-stricken heads, driving them forth homeless on the world. And if there was neither land, nor house, nor bed, nor food, if the ruthless creditor willed it, the officer haled the wretched victim of the poison-traffic to prison, to pine for the free breath and pure light of a bounteous heaven. In the name of Justice and Truth, of Man and of God, this monstrous wrong ought never to have been! Last year, the Legislature happily withdrew the Judiciary of the country from the position it had previously occupied in relation to the liquor traffic. But the trade is still legalized in the other ways to which I have alluded.

WE CONTEND THAT IN NO WAY, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, SHOULD THIS TRAFFIC RECEIVE LEGAL RECOGNITION, LEGAL SANCTION, OR LEGAL AID.

We sustain this view by cogent reasons, not we think to be refuted. In the first place, *the traffic destroys an immense amount of public wealth.* The full statistics of the trade and its results cannot be obtained, but a sufficient number of facts have been collected and classified to enable us to make, in many cases, a distant approximation to the truth. The Hon. E. Everett, one of the most gifted and high-minded of the Statesmen of the neighbouring Republic, estimated that

the liquor traffic of the United States had cost that country, in ten years, in direct expense, \$600,000,000; in judicial expense consequent on the traffic, \$600,000,000; in destruction of property by fire and other instrumentalities set in motion by this traffic, \$10,000,000; making in ten years the astounding amount of \$1,210,000,000 destroyed by this all-engulfing traffic. To shew that until of late the annual loss thus caused to that country had not decreased but fearfully increased with the increase of the population, I may quote a high authority at Albany who thus speaks:—"The cost to this nation, directly or indirectly, of the traffic and use of intoxicating drinks, may be safely estimated at \$200,000,000 annually." In England it is estimated that the annual cost of intoxicating liquors to the consumers is £64,000,000 sterling.

But let us turn to our own Island-home. What is the amount of wealth annually destroyed by the liquor traffic in this Colony? By an extract taken from official documents, I learn that of Gin, Wine, Brandy and Rum there were imported, in the way of lawful trade, into this Island during the year 1853, 43,706 gallons which, with 6,290 gallons of home-manufactured Whisky, make 49,996 gallons known to have been distributed to our Island consumers during the past year. But a well-informed friend tells me that it is the practice of importers and manufacturers to import and manufacture ardent spirits of as great strength as can be procured for the general trade, in order to pay as little as possible in the way of duty. That friend also informs me that one gallon of strong spirits will bear dilution to the extent of the addition thereto of one gallon of water, and still be regarded as of potent strength; and that there can be little doubt but that dilution is carried still further than this by the retailers before the liquors reach the consumers. If this be a fair and correct statement, then we are at once justified in more than doubling this amount upon which

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duties are paid—that is, of adding to 49,996 gallons, a little over 50,000 gallons of water, making the aggregate, at least, 100,000 gallons. Now a very large portion of this amount is sold by retail at the rate of ninepence per half-pint.

To that amount, large as it is, must be added the ardent spirits smuggled at the outports of the Island and then diluted with water; also, the great quantities of malt-liquors consumed by the people of the colony—such malt-liquors being in part manufactured in this country, part legally imported, and part smuggled. A very small quantity of those intoxicating liquors have been used for medicinal, mechanical and religious purposes. A most reasonable estimate of the cost of inebriating drinks used by the people of this province, as a beverage, last year, is £100,000. Whatever the exact sum total may be, it is frightfully large, and was utterly lost to the public wealth, as no real equivalent was in any form given for the immense sums by which those liquors were purchased. Thus did this destructive trade, in one year, swallow up an amount of wealth more than three times as great as that revenue to which however, it contributed the fourth part. Is it the province of Governments to afford countenance and aid to such a wealth-destroying pursuit as this?

#### THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC DIMINISHES THE PUBLIC INDUSTRY.

It does this in various ways. The wealth destroyed by this traffic is part of the capital realized from past industry, and would, if invested in any beneficial, remunerating branch of commerce, largely stimulate enterprise and industry, and increase the demand for profitable labor.

But this traffic tends more directly to the diminution of public industry, through the time lost in consequence of hard drinking. Some men, not indulging to the extent of entire intoxication, yet frequently drink enough to disincline them for labor; others abstain totally for months, and then

give way to a course of uninterrupted drunkenness for weeks together; others more frequently drink to intoxication, but remain in each fit of drunkenness a comparatively short period; others, when intoxicated are injured by accidents which would not otherwise befall them, and are laid aside from labor for months, perhaps crippled for life, or in the midst of their days are hurried to an untimely grave — by which their country is not only deprived of a living man, but of a living man's labour; others, by drinking to excess subject themselves to lingering diseases, which chain the poor sufferers to their beds of pain and weakness for weary weeks; and, finally, there are the moderate drinkers, as they delight to esteem themselves, who drink daily, but never to excess, yet in the end — as the most skilful and impartial medical men assert — shorten their lives by many years, — and, of course, the amount of industry, which, but for such moderate drinking, they would have contributed to the general stock. With these statements, you must connect the fact, that much of the industry thus lost is, from the special skilfulness of some of the workmen whose time is wasted by drinking, and from the periods when some of the labor is lost, worth four times as much as ordinary labor, at ordinary times; — as, for instance, when a ship ready for sea is hindered from proceeding on her voyage because her crew is drunk, and this delay may greatly lessen the value of her cargo, bringing her late to her destination; or when the farmer through drunkenness neglects his spring labor, so that his seed is unsown, — or neglects his autumn work, by which his harvest is spoiled. Viewing the matter thus comprehensively, I incline to the opinion, that upon an average, for every quart of strong drink consumed in this Island, there is a corresponding diminution of the industry of the colony of two days of ordinary labor.

If this ratio be the correct one, and the people of this country in 1853 consumed 100,000 gallons, or 400,000 quarts

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of strong drink, then the general industry lost by this trade in that year, amounts to 800,000 days of labor.—If a working, instead of a wandering Jew had diligently wrought from the destruction of Solomon's Temple by Nebuchadnezzar until now, he would have to live on, and work on, nearly 100 years before his labor would equal that vast amount; or if 2555 men were to toil for one whole year, they would scarcely supply this industrial deficiency. The loss to the Island of such an amount of productive labor, at the average rate of four shillings a day, would reach the astonishing sum of £160,000. Add to this sum the amount probably paid during 1853 by consumers for the intoxicating poisons, and you have the aggregate value of wealth and industry destroyed in this little Island by the liquor traffic in one year, — that aggregate would thus be £260,000.

THIS TRAFFIC IS THE FRUITFUL SOURCE OF PAUPERISM.

For through the intemperance engendered thereby, the professional man, the merchant, the mechanic and the farmer are rendered neglectful of, and unfitted for the duties of their callings. Step by step, the families dependent upon their exertions for subsistence are reduced from competency or comfort to want and beggary. Most emphatically is this true in the case of the farmer and mechanic. Watch the course of that intemperate farmer, as he speeds downward to ruin; mark him scattering the gracious gifts of a kindly soil "by the wayside" of this all-devouring commerce; follow him to his half-tilled acres; take note of his prostrate fences — his tottering barns, through which the stern blast of winter whistles at will — his unfed cattle, with their famine-protruded ribs — his unploughed soil — his weed-covered fields. "The drunkard shall come to poverty." Go "again by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding" — lo! "it is all grown

over with thorns, and nettles have covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof is broken down." "His children are fatherless, and his wife a widow,—his children are vagabonds and beg, or they seek their bread out of their desolate places." Nor does the traffic, when its victims are drawn from the ranks of the skilled mechanic, less surely swell the flood of pauperism that overflows the land. The hard-won earnings of the mechanic's sweating brow and toiling hand, that should go to make glad his needy home, are swallowed up by this fell traffic—which starves the fainting mother and her ill-clad children, strips the drunkard's abode of the last sad relics of happier days, and oft ends with casting both wife and children forth upon the cold charity of an iron-hearted world.

Yes, and this poverty-producing trade tends to perpetuate the evil by the wanton destruction of the food which God gives for the maintenance of human life. I learn that during the terrible famine that decimated the swarming millions of Ireland, a few years ago,—even when that famine, like a death-demon, breathed its pestilential breath over the quivering vitals of a horror-stricken race,—when the wail of a nation's agony thrilled the hearts of every kindred people, smote the flinty rock, and summoned forth the gushing streams of national benevolence,—when in once crowded villages there were not enough of the living to bury the dead,—when the piteous cry for bread resounded throughout the whole land,—even amid these terrors of starvation, the deadly fires of the distillery burnt on, and blazed, and leaped, and danced, as though in rival emulation of perdition's quenchless flame.

And now, in England, it is calculated that the land in that country perverted to the production of grain, &c., for intoxicating drinks, which debase and destroy the people, would supply bread enough to give the whole population half a pound each, daily, throughout the whole year. I do

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not know what quantity of grain, raised in this Island, is yearly destroyed in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors; but whatever the amount may be, it is so much valuable, nutritious food transmuted into a health and life destroying poison. Can it be the province of law to shield a trade which thus impoverishes great numbers of the people, and ruthlessly destroys vast quantities of human food?

THIS TRAFFIC DEBASES THE MINDS AND BRUTALIZES THE HEARTS  
OF ITS UNHAPPY VICTIMS.

There are calamities that befall mankind,—difficulties to surmount,—dangers to brave, and sorrows to endure, which wake to life noble energies and faculties, and bring up from the depths of the human soul, sweet-flowing, heart-purifying sensibilities, that consecrate and elevate their possessors in the scale of intelligent being. And when these calamities of an evil day, prove too powerful for him, “that resisteth even unto blood,” wrapping the garb of his humanity around him, like dying Cæsar, he falls bravely and gracefully, denuded of no attribute of impressive manhood. Many a heart bursting with its overcharge of mortal anguish, like the expiring swan, singing its own melodious requiem, hath, even while trembling in its death-throb, poured forth strains that melted all human hearts. It is said of a regiment of the French Army, that when its muster roll was called after the carnage of some fiercely contested battle, as the names of its slain warriors were rolled out, the touching response was spontaneously given by the gallant survivors:—“Dead upon the field of honor.” Ah! how different from all this, the condition and fate of those who struggle, and then perish in the lurid fires of intemperance! How sad, how awful the spectacle of a human being in the process of being de-humanized by the infernal alchemy of drunkenness—to behold the mind of the wise statesman, the sagacious counselor, the profound

philosopher and the brilliant scholar, shrivelling up into drivelling imbecility—to behold the lips, which from the pulpit, the senate or the bar, had swayed, as if by magic, the emotions, the reason and the will of their fellow-men, now moving in sputtering idiocy—to see a man like poor drunken Sheridan, whose genius had blazed forth in overpowering brilliancy, in that high arena, whereon was assembled, perhaps a more illustrious audience than ever before yielded themselves up delighted captives of oratoric power—to see him, when he said to a low drunkard, wallowing in a London gutter :—“ My poor fellow, I can’t help you, but I will lie down and keep you company ”—to watch the hardening of a gentle, tender, man-loving heart, until it becomes dead to every humane feeling and cruel as the grave—Merciful God! what a sight is this! There is nothing but degradation attendant upon the progress of this trade,—every thing noble dies beneath its touch—its misery and woe are alone immortal. Is it the proper work of Governments to fawn upon it, and protect its interests?

THIS WRETCHED PURSUIT IS THE FOUNDATION OF INCALCULABLE SUFFERING.

This suffering is not inflicted merely upon the miserable slaves of intemperance, but also, upon all those connected with them.

Who can depict the heart-woe that embitters the weary existence of the drunkard’s wife? What untold anguish is hers, over whose trusting, faithful heart, in spite of all her cherished hopes of mutual happiness through swift-flying years of a golden future, comes the dread conviction that her fate is indissolubly linked with that of a slave of intoxicating drinks! Ah! it were well if those who garland the poison cup with roses—who speak in soft and silken phrase of the flowing bumper, and the sparkling wine—it were well, if, when the circling song, “ and music’s voluptuous

swell," and the ringing echo of convivial cheers have died away, they would repair to the home of the weeping wife, where she keeps her sorrow vigil, waiting the return of him whose presence she dreads—him who hath scattered his altarpews to the winds of heaven — him whose curses fall faster upon her crushed heart, than did his words of love and tenderness in her young, joyous, maiden days — him whose drink-begotten cowardice hath dared to prompt the villain's blow against her feebleness — him to whom she yet clings in the sacred mystery of her woman's love — it were well, I say, for the apologist of this awful traffic, to visit the abodes of sorrow, to survey the wreck of all domestic happiness, to watch the progress of the sad tragedy, which closes in despair and death. Does not this vile traffic render the marriage tie, like the cruel connection of the living with the putrid carcase of the rotting dead? — the horrid mode of torture once practised by hideous tyrants, at whose deeds shuddering nature stood aghast.

Little less than the drunkard's wretched wife, suffers the widowed mother of a drunkard son. Oh! you may measure time, measure industry, measure wealth destroyed by the agency of the liquor traffic—but you have no standard, no sorrow-meter by which to gauge the bitterness of despair—by which to fathom the abysses of misery drunkenness creates.

#### THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC ALSO INEVITABLY LEADS TO CRIME.

How could it be otherwise?—intoxicating drinks, while they deaden the moral sensibilities, and subvert the reason, bring the will beneath the tyranny of the worst passions of our nature, stimulated to their utmost strength by maddening draughts. Hence, Judges, Lawyers, Generals, Jailors and Chaplains of Prisons, all testify that three-fourths, in many cases, nine-tenths of all serious crimes

against property and life are directly traceable to the use of intoxicating drinks. Said Judge Anderson, "Drunkenness is the most fertile source of crime, and if removed, the assizes would be mere nullities." Judge Pattison said to a Grand Jury:—"If it were not for drunkenness, you and I should have nothing to do." And but a few weeks ago, that most eminent and amiable man, Thomas Noon Talford, who wore the triple honours of Poet, Orator and Judge, gave his dying testimony to the same effect—for while lamenting to the Grand Jury of Stafford, the hundred cases of crime which stained the calendar, and pointing out with pathos and patriotism the causes of such a fearful state of things, among which stood preeminent the traffic in strong drink, he fell suddenly forward, and died upon the judgment seat.

The Earl of Harrington lately observed at Derby:—"When I served at Madras as Deputy Adjutant General, I desired the commanding officers of Regiments to send in returns of the crimes committed by the soldiery. Nearly all were traced to drunkenness." The ever to be revered Duke of Wellington, so distinguished for his powers of observation and love of truth, when before a Committee of enquiry, in answer to the question of Lord Wharcliffe, "Is drunkenness, in your opinion, the great parent of all crime in the British army?" said, "*Invariably.*" In 1849 there were committed to the prisons of the State of New York, 36,114 persons for crimes committed under the influence of drunkenness. And the Hon. E. Everett has asserted that in 10 years, drunkenness had been the cause of 1500 murders and 2,000 deaths by suicide in the United States.

THE TRADE IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS DESTROYS INNUMERABLE LIVES.

A document issued by the New York State Temperance Society in 1852, declares that 30,000 persons have been

annually committed to the drunkard's grave in the United States; and in 10 years, 300,000. Supposing when this calculation was made, the population of the great Republic was taken to be twenty-three millions, then at the period referred to, every 766th person in the United States was yearly destroyed by the liquor traffic. Applying the same rule to Great Britain and Ireland, whose population is about 27,000,000, the annual immolations—the whole burnt offerings for the year, upon the Altar of Bacchus, in these countries, are 35,248 human lives. If the population of the North American colonies is 2,500,000, the same ratio of slaughter gives 3,263 as the colonial tribute to the drunkard's unhal- lowed grave. And if the population of this Island now is 70,000 souls, then our contingent of human life, perhaps of human souls, to the liquor traffic is 91 per annum. I do not think this estimate beyond the truth. Intemperance destroys life in countless ways. In 1839, Mr. Wakly, Coroner and M. P. said:—"There are annually 1,500 inquests in the western division of Middlesex, and accord- ing to that ratio, (of, out of every 5 deaths 3 being caused by intemperance,) 900 of the deaths are produced by hard drinking." Subsequently he remarked:—"Gin may be thought the best friend I have: it causes me to hold annu- ally 1000 inquests more than I should otherwise hold. But besides these, I have reason to believe that from 10,000 to 15,000 persons die in this metropolis annually from the effects of gin-drinking, upon whom no inquests are held. Since I have been coroner, I have seen so many murders, by poison, by drowning, by hanging, by cutting the throat, in consequence of drinking ardent spirits, that I am astonish- ed the legislature does not interfere." Now in 1839, the population of London was not 2,000,000; and 15,000 deaths by hard drinking in that city, at that date, was in the ratio of more than 170,000 deaths for 23,000,000. But adopt- ing the American data, and excluding the more distant British colonies from our estimate, the Anglo Saxon and

the Anglo American annual death offering through the liquor traffic amounts to 68,602 souls. What heart stands not appalled at this fearful trade! Who wonders not that it is not smitten by the thunders of God's wrath!

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC COMES INTO COLLISION WITH THE WHOLE  
TENOR OF GOD'S LAW.

That law says:—"Thou shalt not kill"—this traffic kills vast multitudes, dragging them through protracted agony to a dishonoured grave. That law crieth, "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also."—That law commands:—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" and it asserts, "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour"—this traffic is divorced from all human love, and it inflicts, knowingly, deliberately,—not under the unreasoning impulses of fierce passion,—not through the heedlessness of unguarded moral weakness, but under the influence of cool, clear-headed calculation of sordid gain, inflicts upon myriads of immortal men immeasurable and irretrievable evil. That law enjoins: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets"—this traffic, as experience everywhere demonstrates, enriches itself at the expense of all that enlightened men hold dear—it strips its victims of wealth, of health, of home, of friends, of intellect, of heart and of life. Human laws may foster and licence and protect this trade. But human laws cannot repeal the eternal laws of God. Human laws cannot wipe away the curse with which the Creator of men hath branded this traffic that makes men drunken. Human laws cannot transmute the principles of eternal right into the principles of everlasting wrong. Human laws therefore ought not to shield, to foster, to legalize a traffic which in all its aspects and results is prohibited by the enactments of the King of Kings—enactments as binding upon law-makers as upon law-keepers.

Thus have I proved that the traffic in intoxicating liquors destroys the public wealth, weakens the springs of the public industry, tends directly to pauperism, debases the minds and petrifies the hearts of its victims, impels to terrible crimes, destroys innumerable lives, and wars with the supreme laws of Heaven; and from these considerations do I deduce the proposition, that, neither directly nor indirectly, should the spirit of our legislation favour the existence of this terrible trade.

But, Sir, secular governments would ill discharge their duty, if they contented their official conscience with simply not aiding and abetting a traffic so destructive to all the material interests of the people. If the law-making and law-executing powers withdraw their sanction and assistance from this dreadful pursuit, and then stand aloof with folded hands and averted eyes, and deeming their duty done, permit the fire-flood to rush over the land unchecked, those powers prove recreant to the high purpose for which men give them official life, and God permits them to exist.

THIS LIQUOR TRAFFIC SHOULD UNQUESTIONABLY,  
SAVE FOR MECHANICAL, MEDICINAL AND RELIGIOUS PURPOSES,  
BE ENTIRELY PROHIBITED BY LAW.

I would not devolve the duty of Christ's Church upon the shoulders of the State—I would not have the Statute-Book to supplement or supersede the Bible—I would not have the Ark of the Sanctuary either borne or steadied by the statesman's hands—no, but I contend that the liquor traffic is destructive to those worldly interests which it is the duty, the sole duty, of constitutional governments to conserve and develop. And if governments do not protect those interests, by warding off or destroying the influences that subvert the wealth, the strength, and the lives of the people, they are contemptible nullities. Nor would they be relieved of responsibility, by shewing that they enact laws to protect

our property from the thief, our reputations from the slanderer's envenomed tongue, and our lives from the steel of the assassin, the arsenic, the prussic acid, the strychnine of the stealthy poisoner, if they leave us undefended from the dreaded assaults of intemperance upon our ships, our farms, our merchandize, our industry, our homes, our bodies and our souls. From the very nature and design of secular governments, it is their duty to prohibit this liquor traffic.

All other means which a warm-hearted and tireless benevolence hath devised, have failed to reach the source of the wide-spread evil. More than a quarter of a century has rolled away since philanthropic men began the temperance movement — they have spared no pains, shrunk from no toil, omitted the use of no honorable weapon, — they have summoned the aid of truth, of science, of logic, of pathetic appeal — invoked the help of religion, carried their cause before the generous sympathies of the great heart of mankind; and yet the fell destroyer, rages unchained, throughout our sorrowing country. For many years, temperance men stood shuddering on the banks of the surging torrent of drunkenness, with scarcely a higher hope than to be able to snatch from the waters of death, a few strugglers in the flood — with unwonted success, came unwonted hopes. They braced their energies for more gigantic efforts — they attempted to stop the supplies, to dry up the rills that trickled down to the turbid stream — they sought to preserve the young. Nor were their attempts wholly in vain. But still, notwithstanding their energies, their efforts, their contrivances, on rushed the river of wide-wrought ruin. At last, temperance men began to turn their anxious gaze toward the primary sources of the evil — slowly they have wended their cautious way upward, tracing the course of the deadly current, in search of the prolific fountain of so much misery — and one after the other, they pause before the bar-room of the retailer, the vaults of the importer, and the fires of the distiller, — these are the fountains —

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they must be dried up. And the faithful enforcement of a prohibitory liquor law will do it. It is in vain for the legislature to attempt to regulate this traffic, by any new adjustment of the licence system. During the past year, the legal trade in intoxicating drinks, exceeded that of the previous year by 1110½ gallons; and, I am acquainted with no facts, to warrant the belief, that the illicit trade in those liquors, suffered any diminution as compared with 1852. Certainly the legislation of the last House of Assembly, much as they might have desired it to prove otherwise, has, in no degree, lessened the consumption of intoxicating liquors. The time has come, when, following the example of older and wealthier countries, the Legislature of this Colony, should, except for strictly mechanical, medical and religious purposes, wholly prohibit the trade which inferior enactments cannot reach. With all these facts, patent to every thoughtful enquirer, we are told that we ought to depend upon moral suasion — we are told this, by those who, with a few exceptions, have never strengthened us in dark days, by their example, or encouraged us by their influence, given in any substantive form. Moral Suasion, Reason, Argument, Entreaty, have we not tried ye, faithfully and long?

Oh! Yes; all these have we poured upon the benumbed conscience, the buried heart, the enfeebled intellect of the unhappy drunkard, — thank heaven, not without result. Many, very many have been recalled to the ways of sobriety; many sad and wretched homes have been made glad with the sunshine of re-awakened love; many withered hearts freshened and vivified by recovered hope; — had it been otherwise, temperance benevolence would have died in despair. And, without doubt, vast multitudes of the young — through the loud warnings given by temperance institutions — have been preserved from the Circean enchantments of the empoisoned cup. Alas! nevertheless, many — oh! how many — have perished beyond hope; they were pitted, — they

were sorely wept, — they were clung to with the tenacity of undying affection, — they could not resist the temptations with which this traffic assiduously plied them, and they were lost. And no sooner were they gone, than others, similarly infatuated, hastened to fill the vacant ranks of the intemperate host. The drain upon the ingenuous, noble-hearted youth of the land has never for one moment ceased; the silent, insidious approaches of the serpent vice find no match for its satanic power in the unheeding thoughtlessness of the young.

It cannot truthfully be urged that the temperance advocates have neglected to make their appeal to those who prosecute this commerce in intoxicating drinks. On the contrary, language and argument have been exhausted in this work. Chemistry came to the aid of temperance, and by the methods known to that splendid science, demonstrated that alcohol, which is the result of fermentation and distillation, is a poison, sure and deadly, — that the processes of fermentation and distillation destroy the nutritious qualities of the precious grain, and the other valuable alimentary substances, which, by chemical influence are transmuted into intoxicating drinks.

Physiology asserted that the mysterious laws of life cannot subject the fiery potions to their sway, — that alcohol cannot be assimilated to the human frame, — that it cannot possibly repair the wastes of toil and of time upon the human body, — that, like other poisons, it may, in skilful hands, aid nature when rallying against disease; but that never can it be truthfully declared an article of human food.

Anatomy, with its scalpel, laid bare the haunts and ravages of this enemy of health and life — found it on the brain — saw it undecomposed in the blood — and upon every vital portion of the human organism traced the results of its desolating, life-sapping power.

Political Economy, with the correctness of mathematical formulæ, showed its destructive effect upon “the wealth of nations,” and their wealth-producing industry.

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High-minded Judges, upon whose spotless ermine no stain could be found, in impressive terms declared this bane of all good the chief source of all great crimes.

Ragged, shivering, starving Children clamored in the ears of the traffickers in this liquid poison, for the bread which their wretched parents, through intemperance, had robbed them.

Distressed Wives, with their scar-covered hearts, came to beg that the husbands whom still they loved, and who once were worthy of their love, might not be enticed to utter ruin.

The weeping Widow, with sorrow-blanchéd locks, came to beg back the dutiful affection and manly character of her only son, lost in the entanglements of the dreadful traffic.

The modern Howards of the great temperance philanthropy, in their circumnavigation of charity, found the unhappy victims of the liquor traffic peopling penal colonies, filling convict ships, crowding prisons, filling solitary dungeons with remorseful lamentations, or expiating the guilt of murder upon the scaffold. These facts were laid before the consciences of the men engaged in this pursuit;—nay, I might almost add, in the solemn words of prophetic vision, "death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them," and the ghastly spectres of the slain came trooping before the unclosed eyes of the men whose traffic had wrought their eternal woe.

With what result came science and truth, and want and woe, to plead against the continuance of this terrible evil? So far as this Island is concerned, let the fact that in 1853 there must have been sold, in lawful and unlawful trade, 100,000 gallons of intoxicating drinks, answer the question. Sir, nothing remains to the people but to invoke—nay, to *command*—the interference of prohibitory law.

But, while the evils of intemperance are admitted and deplored, yet are we told that to stop the traffic that necessitates those evils, is unconstitutional, — an unwarrantable

interference with personal liberty. Oh! my poor, thick-headed countryman, John Bull! Now, if a man set up a gunpowder manufactory in this town, you can constitutionally compel him to remove it where an explosion can do no harm to the persons or property of other men. Or if he engage in any other manufacture which may tend to destroy the public health, by mixing deleterious gases with the air we must breathe, you will compel him to desist. And yet, you have no right to stop a trade a thousandfold more dangerous and destructive to the people at large than any other manufacture known to the civilized world! Ah! what logic is this! You may confine other poisons to the druggist's shelf, to be dispensed, with the utmost care, for proper purposes only; but you must, forsooth, allow *this* poison "ample scope and verge enough" to fill the wide earth with misery and woe! You may make laws to prevent your dogs and cats, your sheep and swine from having poison put within their reach; but you must not by law remove a stumbling-block out of your *brother's* way! You must not have as many safeguards for the health and life of your children as for your pigs! You may legally and justly attempt, by your refusal to permit men to retail spirituous liquors without license, to *diminish* the terrible evils of intemperance; but it suddenly becomes unheard-of tyranny to endeavor, by legislation, to *prevent those evils altogether!* You may suppress a gambling house, and remove a nuisance; but a grogery is a sanctuary of liberty, not to be violated by a prohibitory law!

What said the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1834,—a Committee upon which sat some of the most eminent statesmen of that land of freedom, including the most distinguished public man of our times, the lamented Robert Peel? Advocating a prohibitory liquor law, they said:—*"That the right to exercise legislative interference for the correction of any evil which affects the public weal is unquestionable."* And Chief Justice Taney, who presides over the Supreme

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Court of the United States—a Roman Catholic gentleman, of high character and profound legal knowledge—declared, not long since, “That the enactment of a prohibitory liquor law would not be a violation of the Constitution of the United States.”

But we have been assured that if intemperance by strong drink were prevented by the law we seek the enactment of, intemperance by opium would take its place with equal detriment to the public welfare; and it is urged in proof thereof that, in Turkey and other Mahomedan countries in which the sacred books of Islam forbid the use of wine, the opium-eating vice is fearfully prevalent. Now but a few weeks have transpired since a Russian officer attributed the several defeats of the Russian Armies on the Danube by the Turkish forces, to the fact that the Turkish soldiers were always sober—the Russian soldiers, always drunk. But, Sir, the short and conclusive answer to this objection is—destroy this liquor traffic at once—if the opium traffic take its place and do public injury, then destroy that likewise,—that is all.

We are met too with the objection that the prohibition of the Liquor trade will entail upon the public treasury the heavy loss of more than £7000, now received for liquor duties and licences. Last winter this was deemed an almost insuperable impediment to the enactment of a prohibitory law. I can see no real force in this objection. In the first place, such a revenue is a revenue from wickedness, misery and death. To encourage a traffic of this kind for purposes of revenue, is perverting the powers of legislation and government from their constitutional ends—which are to conserve the interests, and develop the resources of the people—while this traffic destroys both the one and the other. Therefore, if by the enactment of a prohibitory law the treasury should sustain a final loss of £7,228—let it be so—increase your duties upon other articles of trade to make up the needed amount.

But sir, the revenue of the Island is rapidly increasing, and at the ratio of recent increase will soon be beyond the amount required for the frugal wants of this colony. A large surplus revenue beyond the requirements of the public service is in the last degree impolitic—for such surpluses would be much more conducive to the general well-being, were they to remain in the hands of the people to maintain the activities of successful trade.

Irrespective of these considerations, there is much reason to suppose, that the traffic in spirituous liquors which brings £7,228 into the public revenue, takes, or keeps from the pockets of the people, in all its results upon capital, industry and time, not less than £260,000—making the Island poorer by this immense sum yearly. Put an end to this trade—save this sum to the people, and you enrich them to that amount. They will not uselessly hoard it—they will expend their liquor savings in the purchase of articles of food, of comfort and of taste which sustain life and refine it. They will buy bread instead of rum—tea and sugar, and coffee, and clothing, and furniture, and books, instead of whisky and wine, brandy and gin, beer and porter. The increased consumption of the substantial comforts of life, will extend your commerce in those branches of trade which furnish such comforts to the consumers; and your present scale of duties, brought to bear upon larger importations, will rapidly more than repay the sum lost to the revenue by the withdrawal of your legislative patronage of the liquor traffic.

It is urged, moreover, that the expense of executing a prohibitory law will place the costly experiment beyond our means. We are affrighted at the prospect of a coast guard at a cost of £15,000 per annum. Sir, no such lavish expenditure will be needed. If men can be found, dead to the better feelings of human nature, pursuing a trade which the law will stamp with infamy, let them do it—faithful

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magistrates and other officers, forthcoming at the call of patriotism and humanity, and aided by an enlightened public opinion, will seize and destroy the poisonous beverages wherever they may be found with legal proof of being sold, or legal presumption of being intended for sale, otherwise than as the law shall specifically permit, for medical, mechanical and religious purposes.

Again, it is loudly asserted that it is unjust to prohibit the liquor traffic unless you indemnify those who have capital invested in its prosecution. Let us view this question dispassionately. Sir, I have no political prejudices to sway me. I discuss this vital subject upon its own merits.

I do not deem this objection of a formidable character. I apprehend so far as this Island is concerned that very little loss would be sustained by any parties now engaged in this traffic. By far the larger portion of persons pursuing this trade is made up of the *retailers* of the "burning fluid." To talk of compensating these, if they are compelled to relinquish their deadly trade, is ridiculous to puerility. Well, then, there are the *importers* of intoxicating liquors, what compensation will they have a right to demand? None whatever, for in the first place, their present stock of liquors will be exhausted long before a prohibitory law can receive the Royal assent, and if in view of the probability of such a law being enacted, liquor importers shall add to their present stock in order to claim compensation when that law goes into operation, they will merit public execration instead of indemnification. And with respect to the capital diverted from liquor importations, let it be directed to the sugar and tea market—to the furniture and cotton trade, increasing demands for these articles will compensate for the absence of liquor profits.

There finally remain to be considered the interests of liquor *manufacturers*. Ten distilleries, I believe, are in

operation in this Island. Suppose you put out their fires by law, what amount of loss will be inflicted upon their owners? The building in which the manufacture is carried on, will still be most valuable property, the copper furnaces and stills will bring nearly their value in the market for the brass founder, many other of the utensils used in the business will find ready sale, and as for the liquors already manufactured, or in course of being manufactured, no doubt can remain upon any mind that they will be disposed of in answer to the paroxysmal cravings of a dying trade. Then, there will remain, at most, a possibility that a few hundreds of pounds worth of capital may be sunk beyond recovery by distillers, if the prohibitory law be enacted. And will you allow a few hundreds of pounds worth of property to prevent you from rescuing hundreds of *thousands* of pounds worth of property, and hundreds of human lives from the devouring vortex of this trade? If you deem it *just and right* to give the gentlemen engaged in the manufacture a few hundreds of pounds, in order to enable you, with a clear conscience, to stop the flood-tide of evil now surging over the land, by all means so do;—aye, and if you deem it a most unjust demand for them to make upon you, still give them the paltry compensation, if you cannot otherwise obtain this law. But I, Sir, contend that their claim to compensation is totally unfounded in justice and truth. Why, when the *retailer* and *importer* seek no compensation—or if they were to seek it, would be laughed to scorn for their presumption—why shall the *distiller* make such a demand? Is it because his share in the ruinous trade has been less destructive to life and property than that of the other parties? Sir, some of those manufacturers are men of much sagacity, talent and energy;—have they not read the signs of the times?—have they not seen the change coming over the public mind in reference to the liquor traffic?—have

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they been unconscious of the progress of the mighty temperance sentiment in surrounding lands? They have seen it all — understood it all; and if, after timely warning, they still risk their capital in this trade, they do so, like men in other hazardous enterprises, at their own proper peril. The railroad system of England destroyed the stage-coach business;—did the owners of coaches and horses obtain compensation? The British Parliament repealed the Navigation Laws, and thereby placed foreigners on the same footing as British colonists;—did your ship-owners, when expecting ruin to their shipping interests, demand compensation from the heavily taxed British people? The interests and action of the public at large are continually rendering old branches of trade unprofitable, and driving capital into new channels of industry; but do the sufferers thereby din their demands into the public ear? Why then, when the public weal demands the suppression of a traffic fatal to the best interests of the country, shall compensation be demanded for those who ought never to have embarked their capital in it? What is meant by this demand! Is it meant that we are bound to pay men to forbear furnishing the poison which spreads misery, poverty, despair and death? Did God, or nature, or law give any man the *right* to inflict such terrible *wrong*? If you say this, the time for reasoning is past;—the hour is for action, prompt and decisive.

The opponents of a prohibitory liquor law urge that the breweries and distilleries furnish a market for the surplus grain of the farmer, and secure for him a remunerating price which he could not otherwise obtain. Most fallacious is the statement. That much precious grain is destroyed in the production of malt liquors, I believe,—how much I have no means of knowing. But that any considerable amount of grain is used for whisky distillation is evidently untrue. Last year, according to the official returns from all the distillers in the Island, the number of gallons of whisky distilled was 6,290. I am told that one bushel

of oats will produce, upon an average, one gallon of spirits. At this rate, if the whole amount of whisky distilled was manufactured from grain, 6290 bushels would be the entire quantity used in this Island for the production of ardent spirits,—a quantity of no very great moment, and entirely too small to affect the market price of oats in any appreciable degree. Small as that quantity would be, when compared with the grain trade of the Island at large, nothing like that amount was probably used for distillation. Molasses has been largely made use of for the liquor manufacture. But whatever the quantity of grain may be which was purchased either for brewing or distilling, for it, or for an equal quantity of the grain suited to the demand, a more profitable market could have been elsewhere obtained—more profitable, inasmuch as the trade there prosecuted would have been beneficial to all—injurious to none. The price of grain in our Island markets will henceforward be regulated by abundance or scarcity, and by the extent of the demand in the surrounding Colonies and in the United States. The liquor manufacturer is not the farmer's friend.

By some we are met with the objection, that it is wrong by law to remove temptation out of the way of our fellow-men, because temptation is by Providence intended as a disciplinary process. To state this objection is almost to refute it. According to this marvellous argument, it must be a sad encroachment upon the disciplinary process to call in the aid of Chubbs and Hobbs, that by their wonderful locks temptation may be taken from the path of some weak man, whose notions are not very well defined respecting the difference between *meum* and *tuum*—what belongs to himself, and what to other men belongs. This objection implies that it is better to leave temptation in the way of the poor drunkard, though thereby his innocent wife and children may suffer incalculably, than remove it from his path, and thus prevent that suffering;—that it is better to let intemperance prompt an unhappy wretch to commit murder, and

for you to hang the murderer, than to take away the incentive to this awful crime — thus saving the life both of him that would murder, and of him that would be murdered. This theological namby-pambyism is sickening to all common sense.

Then, again, there are others who assert that such a law must of necessity be impracticable, and that experience has demonstrated this to be the case. It has been unblushingly, and with reckless mendacity alleged, that the operation of a prohibitory law in the States of Maine, Massachusetts and elsewhere, has been productive of a greater amount of drunkenness than previously existed. The falsehood has been extinguished by a mass of evidence overwhelming; and much of that evidence has been furnished by men formerly engaged in the traffic themselves. One formerly engaged in this trade recently asserted, that he used “to sell more in Portland in a month than is now sold in that city in a year;” and “the largest of all the former dealers in this traffic makes the declaration, that those statements are false which attempt to make the impression that the Maine Law is a failure.” Hon. Neal Dow states, that the least sanguine — the most cautious — of temperance men, are convinced that there is not more than one-tenth the quantity of intoxicating liquor sold, since the enactment of the Maine Law in that State, that was sold prior to its enactment; while others, of a more hopeful cast, declare that not more than one-fiftieth of the former quantity is now sold.

The Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maine, in writing to the Rev. Dr. Andrews respecting the operation of the Maine Law, says:—“What were the actual expectations, I cannot say; but every reasonable expectation must have been more than satisfied. Whatever it is in the power of a prohibitory law to accomplish, without extreme severity or inquisitorial scrutiny, this law has, in my opinion, accomplished. The law has been, I believe, generally executed, though not everywhere with equal energy; and the amount of intoxi-

cation has been, in consequence, most evidently, strikingly, and even, I think I may say, *wonderfully diminished.*" He was asked the question:—"Has the law been found in its operations to be oppressive to any citizens not guilty of its violation?" He replied, "So far as I know, not in the least." He said, also, among other equally decisive observations, "I never appeared here as its public advocate; and I am not blind to such arguments as may be urged against legislation, which, though it is peculiarly humane in its operation upon *persons*, is so sweeping with reference to *things*. Nevertheless, I am most devoutly grateful for the practical working of the law; and believe that to every family in Maine it is of more value than can easily be computed." Joseph Nye, Esq., of Waterville, Maine, says: "There is but very little liquor sold now, compared with the time previous to the passage of the law. Quarrelling and fighting in our streets have entirely ceased, and all is peace and quietness. The change in regard to the expense of paupers is almost incredible! But what rejoices my heart the most is to see the families that have been made happy by the enforcement of the law. Many a poor woman has come to me, and with tears implored me to continue to enforce the law, as by so doing, it had been the means of reforming her husband, and by so continuing it, would be the means of saving him." The Grand Jury of Chittenden County, Vermont say:—"The Grand Jurors in obedience to the charge of the Court have enquired into the operations and effect of the present Liquor law, and are unanimous in the opinion of its good effect upon the morals and happiness of the community. They commend the fidelity of those officers of the law, whose duty it has been to see this law enforced." A large amount of evidence besides, all tending to the same conclusion, have I seen; but want of time forbids me to furnish more.

But a deluge of reactions will come back upon the country before which all sobriety is to be swept away—thus at least is it predicted. I doubt the inspiration of the seer.

Professor Stowe, husband of the world-known Harriet Beecher Stowe, in a public meeting in Glasgow, Scotland, in the course of his speech remarked:—"A friend of mine in Portland, had been very much opposed to the Law, having prior to its passing, opened a distillery worth \$10,000, which then, was rendered useless for distilling purposes. In less than six months after the Law was in operation, he came forward in public meetings, and stated that if he had ten distilleries he would go for that Law, such was the improvement he saw around him, it would compensate for all the loss." Many others I doubt not, when they witness the beneficial effects of a prohibitory law, though now opposed to its enactment, will range themselves amongst its most strenuous supporters—when they see empty prisons and crowded schools—deserted grogeries and well-filled churches, diminished pauperism and increasing industry, when they hear the loud-uttered thanksgiving of the happy wife and rejoicing widow, then will they hasten to enforce a law that is the instrument of such amazing good.

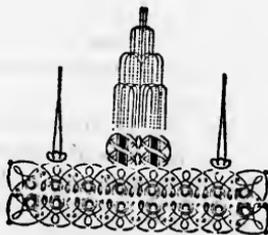
Gentlemen of the Legislature, the people invoke your sympathies—your effective aid. They ask you to enter upon no untried experiment of doubtful propriety, you have before you the example of the legislators of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Michigan, Vermont and New York. You have before you the inspiring example of the ablest Colonial Statesmen of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. You have the light of their investigations to assist you in your onward course.

Gentlemen, we appeal to your patriotism—you will not turn a deaf ear to the voice of your suffering country. You will not permit this accursed traffic to sap her vitals, to slay her sons, to make her daughters despairing wives, and heart-broken widows. You will not allow your country to lag behind in the great race of improvement—her wealth wasted—her beauty blighted—her best and noblest immolated at the shrine of the fire-demon of intemperance.

Give us this law, and you enrich the people. Give us this law—and you clothe the naked—you feed the hungry—you give a home to the houseless—you bind up the broken in heart, and you dry up oceans of misery.

Give us this law: and by thousands we vow to aid you in the enforcement thereof—we will defend you in the pulpit—through the press—on the platform—by the fireside. The drunkard from whose path you will take the terrible temptations to ruin will fight your battles—the grateful wife will teach her guileless babes with reverence to lisp your honoured names; and the comforted widow will nightly breathe them in saintly orisons at the throne of God.

Gentlemen, your actions are immortal, but you yourselves must die. Give your country this law; and then, when in the cool, calm evening of life you hold communion with the past—while the strife and tempests of human passions reach you not—the welcome memories of your patriotic deeds will cluster around your death-pillow; and upon your trembling hearts will descend the fragrance and the blessing of answered prayer, offered by thankful lips upon your behalf.—You will be honoured while living—mourned when dead! Gentlemen, my duty is done.



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