

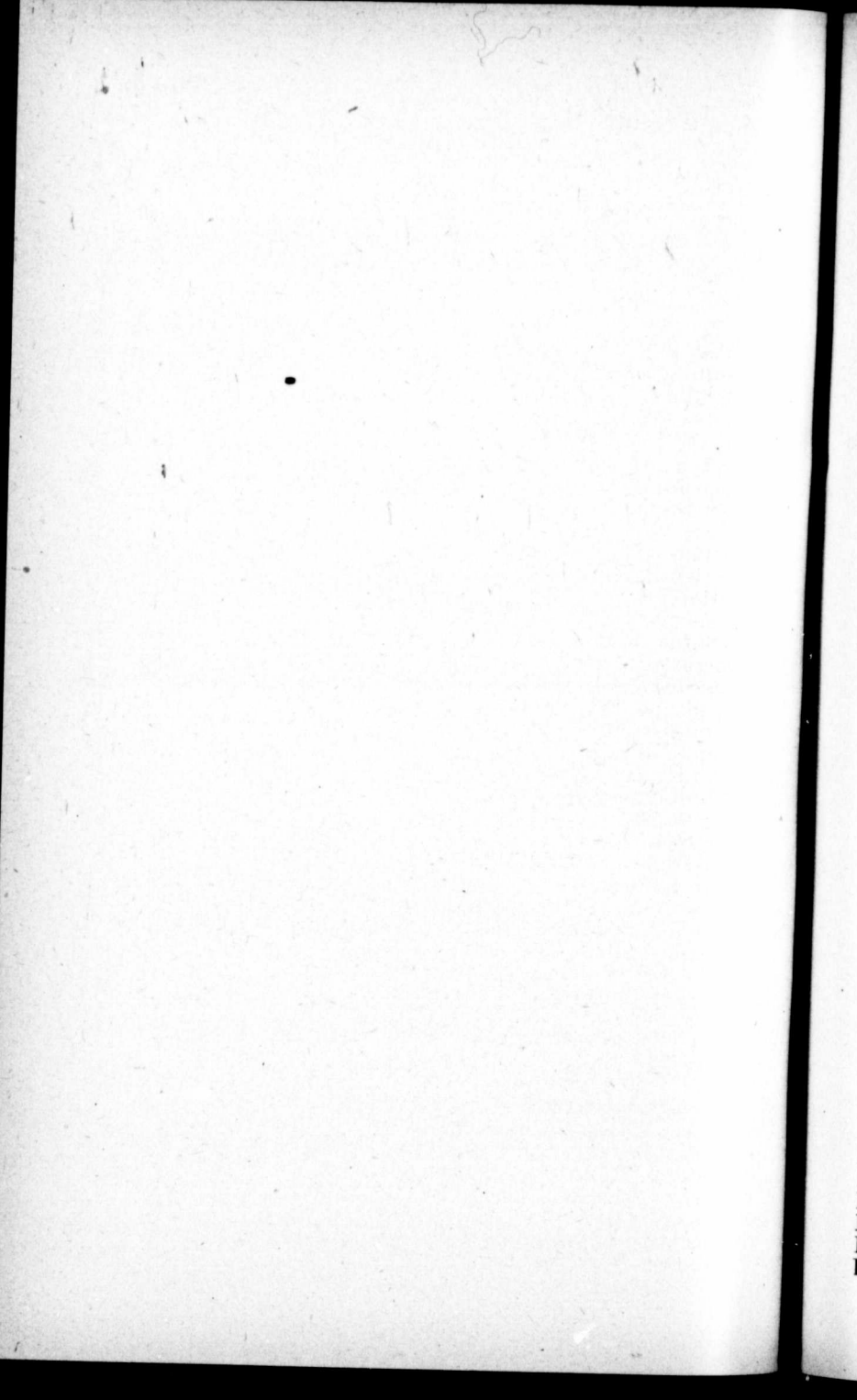
THE
VANGUARD

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On page 64, in table at foot of page, 4th line of figures, opposite 1888, for 161 read 151.

THE VANGUARD.

JUNE, 1894.

THE POSITION OF THE LEADERS OF THE RESPECTIVE PARTIES IN ONTARIO.

There is at the present time a good deal of controversy in reference to the exact attitude respectively of the political parties of this Province on the prohibition question. In order that the matter may be fairly and thoroughly understood we submit for the information of our readers the exact words of both leaders.

Sir Oliver Mowat's statement to the deputation that waited upon him from the Prohibition Convention, February last, was in the following terms:—

“If the decision of the Privy Council should be that the Province has the jurisdiction to pass a prohibitory liquor law as respects the sale of intoxicating liquor, I will introduce such a bill in the following session, if I am then at the head of the Government.

“If the decision of the Privy Council is that the Province has jurisdiction to pass only a partial prohibitory law, I will introduce such a prohibitory bill as the decision will warrant, unless the partial power is so limited as to be ineffective from a temperance standpoint.”

It may be thought, however, by some that it would be fairer to take, as the expression of Sir Oliver Mowat's views, the statement by him in the opening of the present election campaign, and as a statement under similar

circumstances is that by which the Conservative leader will have to be judged, we subjoin the deliverance made by Mr. W. R. Meredith at London, on May 21st, in his opening campaign speech, and that made by Sir Oliver Mowat in the same place on May 27th, these respective statements being the announcements of both leaders of their attitude upon this important question.

MR. MEREDITH'S STATEMENT.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say a word or two to you with regard to the license system as it prevails in Ontario. There is no question that more nearly touches the highest interests of society than the question of the regulation of the liquor traffic. There is no man or woman in this audience that will not join with me in saying that he deplors the evil that the misuse of liquor has brought upon the people of this and other communities, and anything that would tend to ameliorate the condition of the people of this country with regard to that traffic is something that deserves the attention of everyone that aims to be a statesman, or to have any interests in managing the affairs of any country. * * *

"What the Opposition contends is that so long as the license system prevails we must not leave it to the power of the Government to say who shall hold these licenses. We say, let the cities elect by the body of the people, the three commissioners, who shall have to determine what the number of licenses shall be, and those who shall have the licenses; and in the rural districts we say, let these commissioners be appointed by the County Councils of the country. I ask you whether or not boards so constituted would not be likely to be more free from political influences. No one who approaches the subject intelligently will say that I am not right, and that this is not the only fair way so long as the licensing system prevails, and that the traffic should not be removed entirely from the Government of the day.

"It is all very well to talk about the responsibility of the Government, and no doubt it sounds very well to say that these commissioners are appointed by the Government, but what does it mean? It means that the defeated candidate,

it may be, in the interest of the party, has the nominating of the three commissioners, and I ask you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, is it not insulting to the intelligence of the community that the defeated candidate has to decide who are to carry on the business in the city of London, rather than three men chosen by the people of London. And, having a board so chosen, you would have a reflex of public opinion and would have the law administered in accordance with the wishes and judgment of the people of the locality.

“Now, Mr. Chairman, I don't want to shrink from expressing my opinion upon any public question engaging the attention of the electors of the Province of Ontario, no matter what the result of expressing that opinion may be. I now have something to say with regard to what has recently transpired regarding what disposal shall be made of the liquor traffic of this country. You recollect that in 1893 a bill was introduced by Mr. Marter, a member of the Opposition, which proposed to abolish the sale by retail of intoxicating liquors throughout the Province. That proposition was made when it was doubtful whether the Government had the power, and the Government said that it would be unwise to do anything until the question of jurisdiction was determined, and they proposed a vote of the people as to whether prohibition of the liquor traffic should be enacted. Pending action looking to the ultimate determination of the jurisdiction of the Province a vote was taken, and the people of the Province passed in favor of prohibition by a considerable majority, and a case is now before the courts for the purpose of determining whether the jurisdiction rests with the province or whether it does not; and, as a public man, I deem it my duty to obey the mandate of the people of the Province of Ontario, and whatever differences of opinion there may be as to whether a prohibitory law could be enforced—and many good men hold that it cannot—I deem it my duty and the duty of everyone to bow to the will of the people, when the majority of the people are determined.

“Now, Mr. Chairman, I say it is the duty of the Legislature of the Province to do this; that when it shall have been determined where the jurisdiction rests to deal with this question, then it will be the duty of the Government in

power in Ontario to bring in a bill looking to the carrying into effect of prohibition. But, it having been said that no such law as that would be effective, and that the result would be disastrous to the interests of the temperance people of the country; that it would be in the interests of every temperance man and of the whole community that any measure should be again submitted to the people of this country, in order that they should have an opportunity of again pronouncing their will concerning it."

SIR OLIVER MOWAT'S STATEMENT.

"We have had lately a very important moral question before the community—that tremendous evil of intemperance, which everybody feels has been occupying public attention in a special way. No evil that afflicts the community of this day exceeds in magnitude that of intemperance. We all admit that, and the only question is as to what means can be adopted for lessening those evils. You all know that I have announced my conviction that the time had come when the great experiment of prohibition should be tried in this country. There may be difficulties in enforcing the law, but my view is that we should shoulder those difficulties and not despair of finding a way of conquering them. I have announced that as far as I am concerned and as far as concerns those who in this matter may follow me or whom I may influence, we propose, provided the Privy Council decides that we have the jurisdiction, we propose, I say, to pass such a law, and I know that in passing such a measure and in our efforts to enforce it we will have the moral support of the women of this country as well as of a large portion of the men of this country."

PROHIBITION IN MAINE.

The State of Maine has had a prohibitory law in continuous operation for over thirty-five years. Volumes have been written about the law and its enforcement. That law is not at all so thorough-going as would be the legislation which Canadian prohibitionists are seeking. It prohibits the manufacture and common sale of intoxicating beverages, but does not interfere with the importation of liquor, which is practically free. This important matter must be borne in mind in any investigation into the working of the Maine law.

In 1874 the Governor-General of Canada appointed a commission to inquire into the working of the prohibitory liquor law. The gentlemen constituting the commission were Col. F. Davis and Rev. J. M. Manning. The report of these careful inquirers was a very instructive document, and is well worthy of consideration. It forms the basis of the statement made by E. J. Wheeler in his valuable work on "Prohibition the Principle, the Policy and the Party." That statement is perhaps as complete a summary of the facts about Maine as has yet been made public in so condensed a form. We, therefore, place it before our readers exactly as it stands, believing that they will find it instructive and valuable. It is as follows:—

THE RESULTS IN MAINE.

This was the pioneer State in the movement and gave to State prohibition the first trial it had ever had. The initial movement leading to the adoption of the policy took

place prior to 1840 and had its origin in the mind and heart of General James Appleton, a citizen of Portland, who was in 1837 a member of the State Legislature. The policy was first adopted by the Legislature in 1846, but certain essential clauses were lacking to the law until 1851, when General Neal Dow framed a bill which was enacted into law and has become known to the world as "The Maine Law." The important feature added by General Dow was the search and seizure clause.

The law became at once a political issue of magnitude. Five years later its enemies, by a political coalition, succeeded in electing a hostile Legislature, by which the law was repealed and a stringent license law substituted.

The triumph over the law was a short-lived one. Out of the changing political conditions of that time was born, in 1854, the Republican party, which in Maine, the State of its birth, planted itself on the two issues of Abolition and Prohibition. Succeeding to power in the Legislature the following year, instead of at once re-enacting the law, it was submitted to popular vote, and by a majority of 22,952 (28,864 for, 5,912 against) prohibition was adopted. The law, therefore, was re-enacted in 1858, after two years of license, and with various additions has remained the law of the State ever since. It was not, however, embodied in the State constitution until 1884. Being voted on in September of that year, after thirty years' trial, it received a majority of nearly three to one in its favor (70,783 for, 23,811 against).

Twice, then, the verdict of the citizens of Maine has been taken by popular vote; once after five years of trial, and once after thirty years of trial. Twice the verdict rendered has been in its favor, and by a majority twice as large in the second instance as in the first.

In making their inquiry in 1874 the Canadian Commission already referred to bestowed a large share of their attention on Maine. Inquiries were directed to those whose official positions gave them the best opportunities for knowing the facts, and were directed to those opposing as well as to those favoring the principle of prohibition. As an indication of the extent to which the commission conducted its investigation, the names are here given of those from whom they obtained responses, either orally or by letter, namely: Governor Dingley; ex-Attorney-General Drummond; Judge Clifford, of the United States Supreme Court, an ex-mayor of Portland; Alderman Carleton, of Portland; Mr. Hobbs, of "The Portland Argus"; Deputy Marshal Brydges, of Portland; Inspector-General Alger, of Bangor; Judge Goodman, of the Bangor Police Court; Recorder Lyons, of the same court; Mayor Blake and Alderman Crosby, of Bangor; Warden Rice, of the State prison; Secretary of State Stacy; Judges True, Farwell and Bennoch, of Augusta, Rockland and Orous, respectively; two selectmen of Orous, the overseer of the poor in Bangor, the city marshal of Rockland and the proprietor of a hotel in Rockland.

In addition to the opinions obtained from the above men, official reports and messages are quoted from Governors Chamberlain, Perham and Dingley, and from the mayors and city marshals of Lewiston, Bangor, Rockland and Augusta.

Two of the questions asked by the commission were as follows:

"Is the liquor law enforced, and, if not, what is the hindrance to its working?"

"What have been the results of a change from prohibition to license, or vice versa?"

In the replies received to these two questions, one thing is especially noticeable, namely, that while many, especially those resident in Portland and Bangor, admit that there is a lax enforcement of the law, yet all, without exception, testify to the good results of the law even when it is poorly enforced.

A few extracts will indicate the nature of the replies on this point. United States Justice Farwell said: "The law being on the statute book, even if not enforced, has a good moral influence, as it familiarizes the people with the fact that rum is outside of law." "Where the law is only partially enforced," said Warden Rice, of the State prison, "it has a good influence, because it outlaws the traffic." Mayor Blake, of Bangor, though expressing his preference for a license law for cities, stated that, "although the law had been only partially enforced, yet the sale of liquor had been driven into the lowest quarters and into the hands of the most disreputable class, and that certainly the absence of the open sale diminished drinking, and consequently crime."

In fact, however great the diversity of opinion expressed in regard to the extent to which the law was enforced, there was absolute unanimity on this point, that, whether well enforced or not, the law accomplished certain excellent results. This is a point that requires explanation. Just how a law, not enforced, can accomplish such results is at first thought an enigma. Consideration will be given to this point farther on; at present the aim is simply to ascertain facts.

An opinion of especial value, both by reason of the high position of the one expressing it and the care with which, evidently, it was given, was that from Judge Woodbury Davis, for ten years a member of the Supreme Court of Maine. On the point to which attention has been called already, Judge Davis says:

"Such laws are not valueless, even in communities where they are but rarely enforced. As teachers of public conscience, the standard of which is seldom higher than human law, their value is above all price."

Speaking of the extent to which the law was enforced Judge Davis says :

"Of our four hundred cities and towns, making the estimates below what I believe the facts would justify, I am satisfied that in more than one hundred the law prevents any sale of liquor whatever for a beverage. In at least two hundred of them it is sold only in the way that Dr. Bacon calls 'on the sly,' just as in the same towns there are persons guilty of lewdness and other crimes. In most of the other hundred towns liquors are sold probably without much restraint."

So much for opinions on the law and its results, as obtained by the Canadian commissioners. The figures obtained were equally instructive, though the commission was hampered somewhat in this respect by the fact that a number of the cities in Maine, especially Portland, Bangor and Augusta, "had suffered from fires that had, to a very great extent, destroyed their public records."

The warden of the State prison supplies figures showing the number of committals to the prison for the two years (1855-56) just before the prohibitory law was repealed, the two years (1857-58) during which the prohibitory law was replaced with a stringent license law, and the two years (1859-60) after the re-enactment of prohibition. A better test could hardly be imagined. The following are the figures :

COMMITMENTS TO STATE PRISON OF MAINE.

Two years of Prohibition.	Two years of License.	Two years of Prohibition.
1855 29	1857 52	1859 48
1856 36	1858 69	1860 41
—	—	—
65	121	89

Here, it will be noticed, there appeared an immediate increase in commitments as soon as the prohibitory law was repealed, and an immediate decrease as soon as the law was re-enacted.

The city marshal of Bangor, in his report the year after the law was repealed, calls attention to the increase of crime as follows :

“ In my report relating to matters connected with the police department of the city, at the close of the municipal year 1851-52, I stated that the city had been freer from crime and disturbance than during the year previous, or any year since I had been connected with the affairs of the city. This I attributed to the stringent law passed in 1851 for the suppression of drinking houses and tippling shops. This year (under license) I have to report that never since I have had any acquaintance with the police department of this city, have there been so many commitments for offences as during the year now closed.”

According to the report of the same official the arrests in Bangor for drunkenness, disorderly conduct and assaults numbered 93 in the last eight months (1850-51) preceding prohibition, and 45 for the first eight months under prohibition.

Bangor and Portland were at this time the only two cities in Maine with a population of more than 10,000. In Portland the effects of the law were still more marked. In Cumberland county (including Portland), according to figures quoted by the commission from a work on “The Maine Liquor Law : Its Origin, History and Results,” by H. S. Chubbs, secretary of the Maine Law Statistical Society, the results were as follows :

	For nine months preceding pro- hibition.	For nine months under prohibi- tion.	Decrease under prohibition.
Number of commitments to county jails, exclusive of those for violating the liquor law	279	63	216
Commitments to watch house	431	180	251
Commitments to alms house	252	146	106
Commitments for drunkenness to the house of correction	*34	†8	26
Total	996	397	599

*Five months.

†For seven months.

From these figures it appears that in Cumberland county, containing the largest city in the State, the committals were reduced 60 per cent. in the first nine months of prohibition. In these two cities, therefore, Portland and Bangor, the law seems at the beginning, without any doubt, to have been attended with a most marked reduction in crime. That this result was general throughout the State seems to be shown by the figures given by the warden of the State prison, and might have been inferred from the fact that in these two cities the enforcement of the law has always been attended with greatest difficulty.

The condition in Maine during the last few years under the prohibitory law has been the subject of much discussion and contradictory testimony. On the one hand it has been asserted by credible investigators that the law fails of its purpose in that saloons are prevalent and drunkenness is rife. Other equally credible witnesses assert just as emphatically that the law, if it has not made an end to the

traffic, has checked it to a great extent and disrobed it of its attractiveness. The only official statistics bearing directly on the question are those of the Internal Revenue Department. A special tax of \$25.00 is imposed by the Federal Government on every retail liquor-dealer in the nation. As the penalties for selling at retail before having paid this tax are very severe, there are few who undertake, even in prohibitory States, to evade the payment of this tax. The records of the Internal Revenue Department show, therefore, from year to year, the number of those selling at retail in each State. But the records show more than this, especially for prohibitory States, for the payment of this tax does not give anyone the right to sell liquor in violation either of State or local laws. John Smith, for instance, may undertake the sale of liquor in Maine. The first step he takes is likely to be the payment of this \$25.00 tax, inasmuch as his failure to do so will be a penitentiary offence, and since until January, 1888, the payment of this tax was not held to be prima facie evidence against him.* If after the payment of this tax the officers of the State discover that John Smith is selling liquor contrary to the law of the State, and place him in the jail and his stock of liquors in the sewer, the payment of the Federal tax does not save him. But, just the same, though he may have been selling only a week, the internal revenue report includes him, of course, in the list of special taxpayers for Maine. Neal Dow is authority for the statement that at one time, a few years ago, there were in the Portland jail forty of these special taxpayers.

So that the reports show not only the number of actual open and secret dealers in liquor, including town agents and druggists, but the number of would-be dealers as well.

*The decision made by Judge Whitehouse that the prima facie act was unconstitutional was not reversed by the State Supreme Court until January, 1888.

The aggregate number of all these has been for the last few years, according to the internal revenue reports, as follows :

1883	{	Retail dealers in distilled liquor.....	1054
		Retail dealers in malt liquor.....	108
		Total.....	<u>1162</u>
1884	{	Retail dealers in distilled liquor.....	974
		Retail dealers in malt liquor.....	103
		Total.....	<u>1077</u>
1885	{	Retail dealers in distilled liquor.....	1014
		Retail dealers in malt liquor.....	80
		Total.....	<u>1094</u>
1886	{	Retail dealers in distilled liquor.....	951
		Retail dealers in malt liquor.....	73
		Total.....	<u>1024</u>
1887	{	Retail dealers in distilled liquor.....	919
		Retail dealers in malt liquor.....	92
		Total.....	<u>1011</u>

During these and the preceding years the State of Maine constituted an internal revenue district by itself. In 1888 it was combined with Vermont and New Hampshire, and the figures for the three States are given together, the number of retail dealers being in that year 2,427 for the three States, a decrease of 461 from the preceding year.

Comparing Maine with the four New England States, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire (the manufacture of liquor is allowed by law in the last State and the sale follows with little hindrance), and we find, by the figures of the Internal Revenue Department, the following results :

In Maine one retail dealer, on an average, from 1883 to 1888, to.....	610	of population
In New Hampshire, one to.....	263	"
In Rhode Island, one to.....	217	"
In Connecticut, one to.....	213	"
In Massachusetts, one to.....	242	"

One other thing the internal revenue reports tell us, and that is the amount of liquor manufactured in each State. The records for Maine during the last five years are as follows :

1883	{ Distilled liquor.....	None
	{ Malt liquor.....	"
1884	{ Distilled liquor.....	None
	{ Malt liquor.....	"
1885	{ Distilled liquor.....	None
	{ Malt liquor.....	"
1886	{ Distilled liquor.....	None
	{ Malt liquor.....	2,170 gals.
1887	{ Distilled liquor.....	None
	{ Malt liquor.....	"

So much for the story as told by the reports of the Internal Revenue Department. It is, in brief, that there is practically no liquor produced in Maine, and that the number of retail dealers, including town agents, druggists and open and secret violators of law, is but little more than one-third as large, in proportion to population, as in the four other New England States.

So far as personal testimony goes it is exceedingly contradictory ; but this has been, broadly speaking, the case, that those who were opponents of the law have testified against it, and those who were friends of the law have testified in its favor. Justin McCarthy, in 1874, after personal investigation, concluded that the law was a failure. Canon Farrar in 1885, after a personal investigation also,

concluded that it was an undoubted success. But Justin McCarthy, as well as Canon Farrar, agreed that the voice of the people in Maine was strongly in favor of the law. This appears also from the vote on the prohibitory amendment taken, as has been stated, in 1884, after thirty-one years of trial of the law, the vote standing three in favor of the amendment to every one against. This seems to bear out the statement made by Congressman (now Senator) Frye, of Maine, in a letter to the Chicago Advance March 19, 1874, in which he said: "When the law was enacted I have no doubt two-thirds of the people were at heart opposed to it; now they could not be induced to repeal it."

Every Governor of Maine, from 1867 down to the present time, has publicly borne testimony to the good results of the law, the following catch-words sufficing to show the nature of their testimony in each case: Governor Chamberlain: "As well executed generally in the State as other criminal laws are"; Governor Perham, referring to liquor trade: "Probably not one-tenth as large" [as before prohibition]; Governor Dingley: "Has effectually closed both open and secret dram-shops in three-fourths of Maine"; Governor Robie: "Has worked immense advantages for the State of Maine"; Governor Bodwell: "Nowhere that I have been are the people so free from all the evils incident to the liquor traffic as in this State."

Testimonies just as strong as these against the law could, no doubt, be cited, but very few, if any, of them would be from public men resident in the State and daily under the operations of the law. If one attempts to explain this uniform testimony of the public men of Maine in favor of the working of the law, by attributing it to political interest, one has still to explain why it is that political interest in Maine requires political leaders to be outspoken in favor of the law. In 1885, *The Voice*, of New York, published

the opinions of mayors and selectmen of towns and cities in Maine. The request had been sent to the mayor of every city having a population of one thousand or more. Of the replies received forty-two declared the law to be an unqualified success, and the saloon to be, in those cities, entirely extirpated. In ten cities the open saloon was said to be unknown, but liquor was sold in secret. In eight cities the law was declared to be an unqualified failure and saloons to be running openly.

Nevertheless, it is admitted that in all the larger cities of Maine, liquor is still sold, and in some of them the liquor traffic openly defies the law and is carried on without concealment. This has been the case in Bangor and Belfast, and frequently in Portland. Neal Dow stated in 1885 that there were one hundred places in Portland where liquor was sold, not including forty drug stores. Volney B. Cushing (prohibition candidate for Governor in 1887) said in that year that in his home—Bangor—there were one hundred saloons openly defying the law, and 813 out of 1,094 arrests the year before were for drunkenness. To assert that the liquor traffic has been eradicated in Maine would be flying in the face of numberless testimonies from unimpeachable witnesses. But to deny that the law has been attended with a marked decrease of crime and drunkenness, and that it has very greatly checked the sale of liquor and the habit of drinking, is to contradict the report of the Canadian Commission, the official figures of the Internal Revenue Department and the overwhelming verdict of the people of Maine after a trial of the law for more than a generation.

HOW SHOULD THE STATE DEAL WITH DRUNKENNESS ?

The question of the treatment of habitual inebriates is one of much importance. There certainly rests upon the State a responsibility in relation to the community that is injured by this vice. There is also a responsibility of the State towards the victims of the vice. The latter responsibility is increased by the fact that government authorizes the traffic which facilitates the development of the vice.

Four years ago the Ontario government appointed, under the great seal of the Province, a commission to collect information regarding prisons, houses of correction reformatories and the like, with the view of ascertaining any practical improvements that might be made in the methods of dealing with the criminal classes in the Province. Among the particular matters into which this commission was requested to inquire, were the following: The causes of crime in the Province; Any improved way of dealing with tramps and habitual drunkards in the Province.

This commission reported the following year, submitting a great deal of valuable information and some commendable suggestions. So far the suggestions made in reference to the treatment of habitual drunkards have not been carried out. The subject is, however, of so much importance and interest, that it is well worth while to reproduce those portions of the report dealing with the question of the evil of intemperance and the recommendations made for the treatment of confirmed inebriates. These statements and

recommendations are as follows:— (Sub-headings are added to paragraphs for the convenience of the reader.)

EXTENT OF THE EVIL.

Drunkenness does more than any other cause to fill the gaols, and it unquestionably does much to recruit the ranks of the criminal classes. Of the 11,893 persons committed to the gaols of the Province during the year 1889, no less than 4,777 were charged with having been drunk and disorderly, and in all probability excessive use of drink was the chief cause of trouble in the case of the 534 persons who were committed on the charge of common assault. Of the 11,587 cases disposed of in the police court of the city of Toronto, 5,441 were cases of drunkenness and of disorderly conduct caused by drunkenness. The proportion in the other cities, as will be seen by reference to the returns published elsewhere, was about the same. The number of convictions on charges of drunkenness in the Province during the year was 7,059, very nearly one-third of the whole; and of the 675 prisoners in the common gaols at the close of the year, a very large proportion were habitual drunkards.

GREAT BRITAIN'S RECORD.

A similar state of things exists in other countries. In England and Wales the convictions for drunkenness were 166,366 in the year 1889, or nearly one-fourth of the total number. A few years before they were 205,567. In Scotland the convictions for this offence numbered 28,740 in the year 1889. How many of these paid the penalties of imprisonment, the reports do not state, but the proportion was probably large.

RECIDIVISTS.

A very large proportion of those convicted of drunkenness are habitual drunkards who are fined or imprisoned

many times. The commissioners of prisons of England and Wales caused enquiries to be made at some of the largest prisons, "with a view to eliciting information which may throw some light on the subject of re-conviction." They say that the prisoners who are frequently convicted are addicted to committing the same crime or offence time after time, these offences being in the case of males: drunkenness, theft, assault, and vagrancy; and in the case of females, drunkenness, theft and vagrancy. Of the last 1,700 male prisoners received on re-conviction at the prisons from which returns were asked for, 466 or 27.4 per cent. were for drunkenness; 273 or 16 per cent. for theft; 142 or 8.3 per cent. for assault, and 137 or 8 per cent. for vagrancy. Of 1,300 female prisoners, 696 or 57.5 per cent. were for drunkenness; 146 or 11.2 per cent. for theft, and 92 or 7 per cent. for vagrancy.

In Scotland the number of re-convictions is large. Of those convicted on all charges in 1889, 4,803 had been convicted once before; 2,430 twice before; 1,477 three times before; 1,074 four times before; 695 five times before; 1,564 six times and under ten; 1,370 ten times and under twenty; 914 twenty times and under fifty, and 379 fifty times and upwards. The total number convicted more than once was 14,706. A large proportion of these were drunkards.

DRUNKENNESS IN IRELAND.

The total number of persons committed to local prisons in Ireland during the year ending March 31st, 1888, was, males 10,769, females 6,764, total 17,533. The report does not state the number of these who were previously convicted, but the proportion probably was large.

DRUNKENNESS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In the State of Massachusetts the whole number sent to gaols and houses of correction to undergo sentence for drunk.

eness in the year 1889 was 13,286, of whom 11,863 had the option of paying a fine. 1,023 were sentenced to imprisonment for terms of less than six months; 362 for terms of six and less than 12 months, and 38 for one year and less than two. The total number convicted of drunkenness and held in all the penal institutions on one day for non-payment of fine and costs was 1,542; and the total number of those so convicted and held on term sentences was 811.

The total number sent to the Boston house of industry during the year 1889 for offences of all kinds punishable by imprisonment in that institution was 13,749. Of these 44 were committed as habitual drunkards, and 11,958 others on charges of drunkenness. One of those convicted as a common drunkard was committed 18 times. But of those not so classed many were committed more frequently. 1,006 were committed a third time; 724 a fourth time; 596 a fifth time; 1388 more than five and less than ten times; 1,405 ten times and less than twenty times; 576 twenty times and less than forty times, and several others even more frequently, one who died in confinement having been committed 176 times.

A DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

The fact that no general persistent effort has been made in any country to provide by law against the continuance of this deplorable state of things proves that so far it has been found difficult if not impossible to deter or reform the drunkard by any legal process. Massachusetts is doing something to test the value of continued reformative restraint and training. During the year 1889 fifty-two common drunkards and seventy-seven convicted of drunkenness for the second or third time were sent to the reformatory for men, the whole number sent from 1884-5 inclusive being 354 common drunkards and 654 convicted of drunkenness more than once. To the reformatory for

women, 92 were sent for drunkenness, the average length of whose sentences was one year, two months and six days. The superintendent of the reformatory for women says that many of the drunkards entrusted to her care have been thoroughly cured. Her opinion is that it requires fully two years to quench the craving of a confirmed drunkard for alcoholic stimulants, and to build up the moral and physical strength sufficiently to enable her to resist temptation when she returns to the world. During the past nine years, 917 women have been committed to this institution on charges of drunkenness.

INEFFECTIVE EXPERIMENTS.

That these partial and feeble efforts have been insufficient to reduce the amount of drunkenness perceptibly, is shown by the reports from the gaols and the Boston House of Industry, which have been quoted. Some effort more thorough and general is absolutely necessary.

It was supposed at one time that a very large number of the drunkards of the country could be rescued from the terrible degradation in which they are sunk, by the establishment of inebriate asylums in which at least those who desired to shake off the dreadful habit would be effectually assisted by skilful medical treatment. The belief in the efficacy of such treatment is neither so general nor so strong as it was a few years ago.

Compulsory abstinence from the use of alcohol in any form, and a careful strengthening of the moral and physical nature may be successful in rescuing many of those who have not become mere wrecks mentally and physically, and who are not thoroughly depraved. To achieve any marked degree of success in dealing with this monster evil, prevention and earnest rational means of restoring the fallen must be combined.

DIFFERENT CASES TO BE CONSIDERED.

The evidence given as to the causes of drunkenness, its effects and the best modes of dealing with it, differed very widely. Some witnesses thought drunkenness a disease. Even those who refused, on scientific grounds, so to regard it, thought that the drunkard is in most cases to be pitied rather than condemned. That a love of stimulants and a consequent tendency to become drunkards is hereditary is an opinion which we found to prevail very generally. That some, because of their peculiar nervous organization, or other constitutional weakness, become victims of this dreadful passion more readily than others, and having fallen, can do less to rid themselves of it, was generally admitted. Few, if any, thought that those whose only offence is drunkenness, should be treated as criminals. Many who frequently drink to excess, are amiable, inoffensive, and industrious when sober; good fathers, sons and brothers, and even when drunk are harmless. Many, notwithstanding their occasional outbreaks, do much towards supporting their wives and families. To take them away for six or seven months, even for the purpose of effecting a cure, would be to inflict much suffering on those who depend on them for their daily bread. The brutal ruffian who drinks all the money he can get hold of, including the earnings of his wife, and the alms which he forces his children to beg, and who takes a savage pleasure in maltreating those he should cherish and protect; the sot who is never sober, and who spends an utterly worthless, and useless existence, everyone seemed to agree, should be locked up as long as may be necessary where they could do no harm to themselves or anyone else. But these are by no means the only drunkards whose cases require consideration.

THE EFFECT OF PUNISHMENT.

On some points the governors of gaols and others, who have had special opportunities for observation, were almost unanimous. On those who have not yet become the slaves of alcohol, imprisonment even as now managed, has a deterrent effect. Of those arrested for drunkenness, calculating not the number of arrests, but the number of persons arrested, more than one-half do not subject themselves to arrest a second time. Those who feel the shame and disgrace of the position, avoid it thereafter. Even of those who are twice arrested, a large proportion afterwards avoid gaols and lock-ups. Those who are arrested more frequently, become utterly case hardened, shameless and indifferent. For them, the gaols as at present conducted have no terrors ; they are places of rest and refreshment, not of punishment.

THE PRESENT PLAN A FAILURE.

It is admitted on all sides that the present mode of dealing with those arrested for drunkenness is not effectual as a means of preventing drunkenness, and that as a means of reclaiming those who had become addicted to the excessive use of strong drink, it is an utter failure. The imposition again and again of a paltry fine with the alternative of a few days, or a few weeks imprisonment has no serious effect either reformatory or deterrent, and a cry against the continuance of this absurd system, has arisen in every country in which drunkenness is prevalent. The superintendent of the Boston House of Industry speaks of the system as useless, and says, "I would suggest that a law be passed whereby rounders or common drunkards be committed to some institution for an indefinite period of time, and their release depend on their reformation." The Board of State Charities of Ohio says : "In our workhouses on the average, fully one-half the prisoners are recidivists,

and many of them have been convicted scores of times. This class is largely habitual drunkards who make the workhouse a place of refuge to sober off in and recruit their wasted energies at the expense of the public. When at large they are a terror to their families, and a nuisance to the community. To them temporary imprisonments are neither reformatory nor preventive, and the costs of repeated convictions are unnecessary expenses to the government. . . . To remedy this condition of affairs, workhouse superintendents are substantially unanimous in recommending cumulative sentences doubling the fine and time at each repetition; and if this should prove insufficient, then, after the third or fourth offence, make the sentence indefinite with a five years' limit, with power of parole for good conduct at the end of one year. This action would at least protect the public to a large extent from this class of offenders, and would make their labor of sufficient value to pay the expenses of the prison, and possibly something for the support of their families. The secretary of the Board of Charities of the State of Minnesota in his report for 1889, said: "The committal of this class of convicts to prison for ten days or less, is worse than useless. It only cleans them up and whets their appetites for a new debauch."

The evidence to this effect corroborated as it is by the observation of every one who has given attention to this subject is conclusive.

CONSENSUS OF OPINION.

The witnesses who appeared before the commission were satisfied that in many cases the reformation of drunkards can be effected if the effort be made in time, and proper means be employed, and that much good can be done even in cases in which occasional relapses may occur. They agreed that to effect a cure, it is absolutely necessary that

a drunkard should be kept under restraint until the craving for strong drink has been subdued, and the physical, mental, and moral nature has been sufficiently strengthened. Three months may be sufficient in some cases to work this great change, six months may be sufficient in others; but in many cases at least a year would be necessary, and in not a few cases even more than a year. It was the general opinion also, that it is absolutely necessary that the minds and bodies of those under restraint should be actively employed, that habits of industry should be enforced, and that all wholesome influences, physical, intellectual, moral and religious, should be employed to give the strength needed in what must be a life-long struggle.

A PLAN RECOMMENDED.

The commissioners recommend that the government, out of the funds derived from the fees for Provincial licenses (which might be temporarily increased for that purpose) shall erect in the centres of population one or more industrial reformatories for inebriates. Every such reformatory should be near a city, and should have attached to it a sufficient area of good land for the employment of the inmates in farming and market gardening; it should also be furnished with means for employing the inmates in suitable industrial occupations. While the institution should be chiefly an hospital, having for its main object the reclamation of drunkards and the cure of inebriety, it should also be provided with the means for the safe custody of such of the inmates as may attempt to escape therefrom. When the reformatory has been established by the Province, the cost of maintaining it should be defrayed by the respective municipalities from which the inmates are sent.

That to this reformatory be committed all habitual drunkards, that is to say, all who have been previously convicted of drunkenness three times within two years; such other persons addicted to the use of strong drink as in the opinion of the county judge may be reclaimed by timely restraint and judicious treatment; and those who may be compulsorily committed to an inebriate asylum under the provisions of the Inebriate Asylum Act. The first committal to this reformatory should be for a period not shorter than six months; the second for not less than one year, and the third for two years, less one day. That any inmate whose term of imprisonment exceeds six months, may, after he has been detained for six months or more, be permitted to return home on parole, if he has given satisfactory evidence of a sincere desire to live soberly, and of strength of mind sufficient to enable him to keep his good resolution—such license to be granted on the recommendation of the superintendent, endorsed by the inspector of prisons, and approved by the Provincial secretary; such license to be revoked if the conditions on which it is granted be not observed.

That if the families of any inmates of a reformatory for inebriates be wholly dependent on them for support, a portion of the proceeds of the earnings of such inmates be paid to their families; also that a portion of the net earnings of the inmates after defraying cost of maintenance shall be set apart to form a fund, out of which those whose general conduct has been good, and who give evidence of being reformed, shall be assisted in their efforts to earn a living for a time after leaving the reformatory.

That if, after a third commitment to an industrial reformatory for inebriates, a drunkard again be convicted of drunkenness, he shall be sentenced to the Central Prison for the full period authorized by law.

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UNITED STATES LIQUOR STATISTICS FOR 1893.

The report of the Commissioner of Inland Revenue for the United States, for the year ending June 30th, 1893, contains a number of instructive tables relating to the extent of the liquor traffic. The table given below is compiled from this report. It sets out the number of persons who have taken out tax receipts as dealers in all kinds of liquor, and also the number of persons who have taken out tax receipts as dealers in malt liquors alone.

It must be remembered, however, as has already been explained in *THE VANGUARD*, that a tax receipt or Federal permit does not mean that the holder is free to sell liquor, but must still comply with the license laws of the State in which he is, the United States so-called license being simply a receipt for the national tax imposed upon those who sell intoxicating drinks. Such receipts are taken out by druggists and by persons who propose to violate law in prohibitory States, where it has been well said that the receipt is the lawbreaker's badge. They are, of course, also taken out by all regular licensees.

In the table the population is given according to the census of 1890. The States of Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota are grouped together in the report. The former is a high license State, the other two are under prohibition. It will be seen that there are other groups also, so that it is not possible in this case from the returns to know the exact figures for the respective States. The States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee have in them a great deal of prohibition territory through the operation of local option laws. This is also to some extent the case with Massachusetts. The States in which general prohibitory laws are in force are Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont. The new South Carolina law came into operation subsequent to the period covered by this report.

TABLE OF STATISTICS OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN UNITED STATES.

States and Territories by collection districts.	Population (1890)	Retail dealers in distilled liquo's	Retail dealers in malt liquo's	Total dealers	Liquors withdrawn for consumption			Total revenue collections on liquors.
					Distilled liquors gallons.	Malt liquors gallons.	Total liquors gallons.	
Alabama.....	1,513,017	1,098	77	1,175	18,047	1,384,491	1,402,538	\$85,230 43
Arkansas.....	1,128,179	718	19	737	75,988	.....	75,988	91,072 34
California & Nevada.....	1,253,891	13,572	186	13,758	858,021	24,422,575	25,280,596	1,836,571 46
Colorado & Wyoming.....	472,903	3,399	164	3,563	.....	7,276,785	7,276,785	306,138 44
Connecticut & Rhode Island.....	1,091,764	4,903	157	5,060	254,277	12,677,109	12,931,386	756,155 02
Florida.....	391,422	439	14	453	.....	.....	.....	8,846 38
Georgia.....	1,837,353	1,723	71	1,794	350,572	2,147,277	2,497,849	427,486 84
Illinois.....	3,826,351	18,690	1,194	2,884	31,342,310	105,936,145	137,278,455	31,866,000 66
Indiana.....	2,192,404	8,121	376	8,497	5,996,902	19,784,324	25,781,226	6,188,533 37
Iowa.....	1,911,896	5,985	291	6,276	258	4,047,515	4,047,773	292,348 82
Kansas, Indian Territory & Oklahoma.....	1,488,930	2,786	660	3,446	1,207	83,080	84,287	72,028 63
Kentucky.....	1,858,635	4,867	181	5,048	27,021,180	11,211,243	33,232,423	24,777,301 18
Louisiana and Mississippi.....	2,408,187	5,281	108	5,389	633	9,060,835	9,061,468	413,631 47
Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia and two counties of Virginia.....	1,441,275	6,173	111	6,284	1,748,419	26,431,251	28,179,670	2,520,886 35
Massachusetts.....	2,238,943	5,055	191	5,246	642,878	38,495,180	39,438,058	2,150,835 46
Michigan.....	2,093,889	8,072	369	8,381	.....	22,481,665	22,481,665	871,026 37
Minnesota.....	1,301,826	3,720	201	3,921	2,171,010	12,913,670	15,084,680	2,449,633 20
Missouri.....	2,679,184	8,433	407	8,840	3,329,497	70,715,619	74,045,116	5,329,645 26

Montana, Idaho and Utah.....

Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota.....

424,448 3,415

87

3,502

420

2,661,257

2,661,677

\$171,452 10

United States Liquor Statistics for 1889.

Minnesota	1,301,826	3,421	2,171,010	12,913,670	15,081,680	2,419,635	20
Montana	2,070,184	8,840	3,320,497	70,715,619	71,045,116	5,329,645	26
Utah	424,448	3,415	87	3,502	420	2,661,257	\$171,452 10
Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota	1,570,437	3,879	308	4,187	3,780,185	5,263,932	3,663,461 74
New Hampshire	1,370,038	2,940	410	3,350	22,378	12,497,805	476,881 68
New Jersey	1,444,933	8,681	267	8,948	644,850	59,389,180	2,599,972 91
New Mexico and Arizona	213,213	1,339	28	1,367	3,740	220,534	45,562 25
New York	5,997,853	40,978	1,584	42,572	4,185,499	309,331,919	14,152,909 05
North Carolina	1,617,947	1,352	62	1,414	749,857	749,857	742,888 23
Ohio	3,672,316	16,792	293	17,085	8,642,829	87,879,017	10,866,999 53
Oregon, Washington and Alaska	663,157	3,772	81	3,853	30,898	6,842,475	324,081 63
Pennsylvania	5,258,014	13,181	532	13,733	4,761,650	111,114,323	8,032,436 70
South Carolina	1,151,149	847	26	873	39,785	163,215	50,141 65
Tennessee	1,767,518	2,431	35	2,466	1,088,553	3,020,175	1,128,122 57
Texas	2,235,523	4,461	1,091	5,552	12,580	4,067,758	256,787 12
Virginia	1,655,980	2,802	77	2,879	199,583	2,463,880	326,621 04
West Virginia	762,794	1,373	65	1,438	266,298	4,722,633	409,655 61
Wisconsin	1,686,880	8,585	390	8,975	572,052	93,589,082	3,548,836 51
Totals for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893	62,622,250						
Totals for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892	219,863	10,073	229,936	99,112,366	1,072,326,549	1,171,438,915	\$127,240,362 00
	215,434	10,031	225,465	94,946,327	987,555,406	1,082,501,733	\$121,347,436 42

RECORD OF EVENTS.

THE DOMINION CONVENTION.

Arrangements have been completed for the Dominion Prohibition Convention to be held in Montreal on July 3 and 4. The railways have granted specially low rates. Many delegates have already been elected, and the convention bids fair to be great in point of numbers as well as in importance. Hon. Neal Dow will be present as a visitor, along with Miss F. E. Willard and Miss Anna H. Gordon. Governor Schultz, of Manitoba; Governor Tilley, of New Brunswick, and many other prominent statesmen are expected to take part. The meetings will be held in the great National Monumental Hall on St. Lawrence Main street, which comfortably accommodates audiences of 2,000 and upwards.

THE DOMINION W. C. T. U.

The annual convention of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union was held in London, early in the present month, presided over by Mrs. E. F. M. Williams, of Montreal. The membership had largely increased. The finances were in good position. Juvenile work had been specially prosperous and encouraging. Reports of officers and superintendents spoke of the great gain made in the plebiscite campaign. Strongly worded resolutions were adopted setting out the views of the convention on such important public questions as the liquor traffic, woman's suffrage, Sabbath observance, etc. The meeting was in every sense a success. Officers for the ensuing year are as follows: President, Mrs. Ella F. M. Williams, Montreal; Vice-President at Large, Mrs. Todd, St. Stephen, N.B.; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Tilley, Toronto; Recording Secretary, Mrs. A. O. Rutherford, Toronto; Treasurer, Mrs. Tilton, Ottawa.

A NEW EXPERIMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Massachusetts Legislature is dealing with a bill proposing to give towns a choice between prohibition, license and a measure modelled on the Norwegian liquor system, already described in *THE VANGUARD*. The proposition has met with much approval and will probably become law.

PROHIBITION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The situation in South Carolina has changed again. It will be remembered that the dispensary law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State, so far as it undertook to establish liquor-selling as a State monopoly. That part of the law, however, which prohibited all other selling still remains, and in it South Carolina will have statutory prohibition till its legislature again convenes and amends or repeals the existing enactment. Prohibitionists are much elated over the new turn of affairs. The Governor, however, has stated that he is not provided with machinery for the strict enforcement of the law.

A GREAT CELEBRATION.

Probably never before was there gathered on this continent such a representative array of prohibition workers as that which was convened in Prohibition Park, Staten Island, early in the present month, to do honor to General Neal Dow, the father of prohibition, who has lately celebrated his ninetieth birthday. The veteran delivered a stirring address. It would be impossible to give a list of even the widely known of the delegation who took part in this interesting meeting. A practical outcome of it was a resolution in favor of a committee of heads of national temperance organizations to consult and advise in reference to plans for co-operation on the part of the many temperance agencies now in operation.

IMPORTANT MEETINGS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

An interesting event that occurred last month was the annual meeting of the Total Abstinence Union of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The executive report showed an increase in the membership, which now numbers 32,275, distributed among 230 societies. The annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Ministers' Temperance Society was held at the same time, and formally ended by amalgamation with the organization previously named.

The Scottish Free Church Temperance Societies' annual meeting, was also large and interesting. There were reported to be 1,156 adult societies and Bands of Hope, with a registered membership of 125,662. The number of abstaining ministers in charge reported was 754. Over 90 per cent. of the students in training were teetotalers.

Another important annual meeting held in May was that of the Scottish Temperance League, founded in 1844. A year of hard work was reviewed. One important item of that work was literature circulation, the League having sent out during the preceding twelve months 18,267 books and 649,000 tracts. Sir William Collins was re-elected president.

There were 428 delegates and 60 members of the executive committee present at the annual council meeting of the National British Women's Temperance Association, which opened in London on May 9, with Lady Henry Somerset, the president, in the chair. Miss F. E. Willard was a visitor and received a very cordial greeting. Many presents were tendered to her, as she was about leaving for America.

Sir Wilfred Lawson presided at the yearly meeting of the British Congregational Total Abstinence Association recently held in London. The executive committee's report showed that of 2,780 ministers in Congregational churches 2,160 were total abstainers.