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more liquor than formerly, it is evident that an increase in the consumption of brandy and beer as large as the one mentioned above can not have been caused by one class of society alone, and that we here have to deal with more general and deeper causes. Nor are signs wanting that the temperance cause is, on the whole, not in as high favor in the country now as formerly. More attacks on its supposed exaggerations are seen in the press than defences of its sound and beneficial principles * * It should be mentioned further in this connection that about 60 per cent. of the brandy consumed in this country is bought by the cask, by the consumers, and that a goodly number of these casks of 10½ gallons or thereabouts, which can be purchased from all distillers and dealers at low prices, find their way out into the country districts, where drunkenness not long ago was a thing of the past and where brandy was seldom drunk except on visits to the city or some other unusual occasion. That the increase in drunkenness is best explained, not by economic conditions, but by a certain moral apathy, seems to be confirmed in other ways. It is during this period of apathy towards the temperance work that our laws relating to brandy distilling, which were so adequate in their time, have been allowed to become more and more antiquated and no longer fitted to form that effective barrier to the vice of drinking which is necessary. While our legislation has placed the bar trade in brandy under a system of restraint and monopoly, which has contributed greatly towards making the dram high-priced and difficult to obtain, it has opened sluices for the great flood of drunkenness. It has let brandy in quantities of over 10½ gallons in casks or kegs remain an object of free trade for all distillers and tradesmen, who, consequently, and in accord with all laws of competition, vie with each other in selling the goods as cheaply as possible and distributing them far and wide, and the legislation has further sanctioned this great business by exempting it from the municipal tax of 3½ cents per quart to which the retail and bar trade are subject. It is then not remarkable that people follow the hint of the law and prefer to lay in casks of brandy purchased from the nearest distillery or town for almost a song, instead of going to brandy companies and buying a dram at a greater cost, and that in these times of association people have learned to form 'splicing companies' for the purpose of a common purchase of brandy, when the means of the individual is not in proportion to his desire for it. At present 60 per cent. of the brandy consumed in this country has been bought by the cask. The probability is that the wholesale purchase will rather increase than decrease. *It is an old experience that the wholesale purchase of brandy leads to wholesale drunkenness. As far as this is concerned, it is not necessary to produce statistics. They only show that in spite of everything drunkenness is great and constantly on the increase. But by its fruits shall the tree be judged.* Abominable as is this law-protected-cask-drunkenness in itself, it becomes even more abominable, because it to such an extent encourages the violation of the law so well known by the name of 'kitchen bar trade.' The cheapness of brandy by the cask and the high price of the dram sold by the brandy companies make the kitchen bars an extraordinary tempting and paying business. Since the police force has been reduced to a minimum, it is, at least in the country districts, not a very risky business to carry on secret selling. The country highways, even at a reasonable distance from towns, fairly swarm with so-called beer wagons, these 'rolling-saloons,' *from which bottles also are sold, the contents of which do not correspond exactly with the labels.* Meanwhile, it is much more necessary to call attention to the fact that legislation is not effective without the assistance of the executive power, because many temperance people are given to the belief that the mere passage of a good brandy law, strict in its provisions, is sufficient, without entrusting its modification to the management of the police force with its thorough knowledge of persons and localities * * The first and most important thing on the reform programme, is of course to carry out the monopoly in brandy on the part of the companies. All sale of brandy, at wholesale and retail, must be conducted under the strict rules of the companies and at the prices of the monopoly. It is not to be doubted that the consumption of brandy would decrease under such a monopoly. The source of wholesale drunkenness would

thus be stopped. The question of the distribution of the surplus of the brandy monopoly, is on the other hand, a subordinate question, although it is to be regretted that the temperance people have attributed it to such exaggerated importance that the monopoly cause itself may seem endangered by disagreement on this point. The only question here is whether there is sufficient assurance that the large receipts from the brandy trade do not tempt the companies away from their philanthropic aims, and that the moneys earned will be distributed by competent men. The pending report of the majority of the legislative commission in favour of the brandy monopoly surely offers such assurance in both respects. But it is not sufficient to institute reforms as regards brandy alone. It helps but little to drive out the brandy when the door is opened to the beer. The condition necessary for a reformation of the brandy legislation must surely be the taxation of beer, according to the percentage of alcohol contained in it, in such a manner that a distinction can be made between the stronger and more intoxicating and the lighter which is drunk for refreshment." (p. 219-222).

It is stated that all other authorities who were consulted during the progress of the labor commissioner's investigation leading up to the report, expressed the opinion that the prime factor in the increase of drunkenness, in recent years, has been the development of the consumption of beer (p. 223); and this further observation is made: "Returning again to the relation of drunkenness to the company system, the opinion of those in positions of administrative authority, where good opportunities exist for correct judgment, is that compared with previous conditions, the effect of the existing *régime* has been to bring about a notable decline in drunkenness and a very marked improvement in general sobriety. The governors of provinces in their last quinquennial reports submitted answers to enquiries in this direction. Twenty-one of them responded that drunkenness has considerably diminished in their respective regions, one that the situation had remained unchanged, one that drunkenness had not diminished, and two that it was difficult to form an opinion. The testimony of experience, whether from those favourable or unfavourably inclined to particular features of the Gothenburg system, is that it has undoubtedly effected an important reform in drinking habits, particularly of the working people." (p. 226.)

It is also stated that complete statistics showing the development of drunkenness in its relation to crime, during the period the company system has been in practice in Norway and Sweden, are not obtainable.

This most valuable report contains much interesting information respecting the poor, the savings of the people, &c., &c. It is concluded with the following summary:—

Before proceeding to consider the merits or demerits of the company monopoly plan, it is necessary to clearly understand what this method of dealing with the liquor traffic aims to accomplish. It should be borne in mind that it was not originated with the idea of stopping the consumption of intoxicating liquors, but to combat drunkenness and reduce the evils consequent upon inordinate indulgence in alcoholic drinks. It is founded, too, upon the principle that, taking human nature and practices as we find them, it is impossible immediately to eradicate completely this recognized evil; therefore, it is better to regulate it through the higher rather than the lower elements of the community. Those who expect to find that it has effectually put a stop to most of the indirect evils arising from inordinate indulgence in liquor, such as various forms of crime like murders, burglaries or thefts, or specific kinds of immorality, will be disappointed. Its strength lies, in perfect consonance with its aim, along the line of preventive, rather than reformatory efforts. While statistics unquestionably show that on the whole it has decreased drunkenness and, it may be inferred, crimes and misdemeanors which arise therefrom, it is impossible to depict in figures the exact extent to which the latter has been accomplished. The study of its relation to insanity, suicide and divorce opens up fields so broad that it is impossible to explore them thoroughly in the present condition of statistical knowledge. It must be remembered, in relation to these matters, as well as to that form of immorality known as the social evil, that other conditions of

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modern life affect them as well as indulgence in drink. Consequently, one must not expect that the Gothenburg system has succeeded in eradicating the majority, even, of the unfortunate social consequences, to put it in the mildest form possible, resulting from the immoderate use of liquor. But that it has lessened most of them is the universal testimony of all who had opportunities to watch its development.

It may not be out of place to summarize in this final chapter the advantages and disadvantages which have resulted from the operation of the system. These must always be considered, it is important to remember, in the light of local conditions, and it does not therefore follow, because particular results have been accomplished in Norway and Sweden, that the same would ensue in the United States.

1. The thing which strikes an American as the most conspicuous merit of the company system is the complete divorcing of the liquor traffic from politics. In the American understanding of the phrase, the elimination of the "saloon element as a political power" is complete. The stockholders in these brandy companies are, as a rule, prominent citizens in the place—in Gothenburg, for example, some of the very best known. The employes, who deal directly with the practical details of the business, are simply paid servants of the companies, and none of them, so far as could be learned, hold any position whatever under the city or local governments or have friends or backers therein. But then it must be remembered that a high tone in municipal political life as yet prevails in the Scandinavian kingdoms. "Ring" politics, so to speak, are but imperfectly understood.

2. The company monopoly has been so administered that a general reduction of the number of licenses has been brought about everywhere, and, consequently, a lessening of the temptation to drink. Side by side with this, there has been a marked improvement in the character of the saloons, immoral accessories having universally disappeared. The police authorities have uniformly availed themselves of the right, through the contracts made by the companies with sub-licenses, to impose conditions which put an effectual stop upon gambling or immoral practices in places where liquor is sold. The company operates on its own account all the saloons for the lower classes, and is directly amenable to public authority and public opinion for the exercise of its trust.

3. It would be a very strange condition of affairs indeed, in any matter of this kind, if, where the element of private gain was entirely eliminated, a resulting improvement did not take place.

4. A series of efficient checks is imposed against a breach of trust, supposing there may exist an inclination to commit it. In the first place the final decision concerning all matters in Sweden rests with the governor, who is an officer appointed by the crown and a man of high character and wide administrative knowledge; secondly, the licenses hold good only during the governor's pleasure; thirdly, an efficient co-operation is established between the company and the police officials; fourthly, there are three parties to the distribution of the surplus profits, each one active to secure fair dealing; fifthly, the general conduct of the business is open to public inspection, as the bars and places of sale are always put in prominent places, where they may be in general view; and sixthly, the company monopoly secures a strict enforcement of legal and police regulations in relation to the liquor traffic.

5. The companies have in some measure gone beyond the legal requirements in the line of general interest, particularly in raising the age of minority from 15, where the law puts it, to 18, as regards selling drink to young persons, and also in insisting upon immediate cash payment for liquors sold. Again, they have gradually raised the price of drinks, at the same time reducing their strength. The lack of competition permits this.

6. In Norway the saloons are closed on Sundays and at those periods of the day when the workingman is most tempted to drink. It is impossible therefore, for him to spend his leisure moments carousing at bars. Nothing whatever is found in saloons which invites to conviviality. Generally there are no seats even, and the rules of order of all the companies, which judging from personal observations are enforced, prescribe that as soon as the drinking is done the customer must leave the premises.

7. All employes of the company being paid salaries of fair proportions, and civil service principles being established in promotions, there is no temptation to push the sale of drink; on the contrary, it is made to the distinct interest of the employes to act otherwise.

8. All taxes are paid under the company system, while much was lost under the old method on account of underrating the probable consumption in advance upon which basis the tax was assessed.

9. The assistance financially and otherwise in Norway, which has been given to the cause of temperance.

10. The adoption in practice of the principle that the profits resulting from the indulgence of the appetite for strong drink shall be expended for the relief of society itself, which must bear the resulting burdens. The financial gains do not go necessarily to the mere relief of the taxpayer, as has been understood. If this were so the plan might in a sense be called an institution for economic exploitation. On the contrary one can be most positive in asserting that public weal is the primary idea and the rule by which the system is administered.

11. The fact that no single community, so far as has been learned, which has once tried the system has afterwards abandoned it.

12. The attitude of the temperance party. In the lower house of the Swedish parliament, which contains 223 members, 30 are total abstainers. These with 40 additional members, while favoring the inauguration of a régime of prohibition, have never clamored for the abolition of the existing system. The leader of the temperance party in the lower house, in a recent letter made use of these significant words: "As to my personal view of the results of the Gothenburg system, I will merely add that, with all its defects, it is vastly preferable to free trade in liquors or to the ordinary licensing systems."

It is estimated that Norway contains 100,000 total abstainers, and Sweden 194,000; and therefore the attitude of the spokesman of so numerous a body as this should be deemed fairly conclusive testimony. It must not be considered that the temperance party is completely satisfied with the plan, but their efforts are directed to reforms in details being content for the present to refrain from changing the principle. They believe that the educative influences gained from the operation of the system will in the course of time make prohibition a possibility. Their present efforts are directed particularly to divorcing the sale of beer from that of all other merchandise, extending the monopoly of the companies to cover fermented as well as spirituous drinks, and changing the law so that after a certain number of years it will be illegal to sell any beverage containing more than 25 per cent of alcohol.

The disadvantages are for the most part defects in existing law rather than inherent in the Gothenburg system itself:

1. The monopoly does not extend far enough. In order to achieve the maximum of benefit, fermented drinks must be included as well as spirituous. As has already been pointed out in the discussion of the causes of drunkenness in recent years, one effect of restraining the consumption of spirits has been the development of a wider consumption of beer. This is all the more serious since women drink it to a considerable extent, whereas they have only rarely been consumers of spirits. It is certain that this defect will soon be remedied both in Norway and Sweden.

2. A legal defect applicable to Norway is found in the limit for retail sales, which is not fixed high enough. The Swedish practice is much better. Norwegian statistics show that 62 per cent of all the liquors sold in that country are for home consumption. The amount (10½ gallons) is sufficiently small to permit grocers to sell spirits to their customers along with goods, charging for them a much cheaper rate than the companies' price. This fact, together with the progress of prohibition in the country districts and the growing consumption of beer, is principally responsible for the lack of hoped for improvement in many of the small towns. They are incidents of, but not flaws in, the system itself.

3. The third defect is that at present the retail sale of wine and beer in towns and country districts is conducted in connection with general business. This privilege should be abrogated.

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4. From a temperance view of the case, it is feared that the upper classes of society do not wish to go further than the Gothenburg system. Some of them would not like to see the drinking of spirits made unrespectable. Consequently, a practical difficulty may be raised in the future, should it come to a choice between the company system and prohibition. Furthermore it is feared that municipalities will not willingly surrender the revenues now accruing from the companies' profits. Should these decline largely, it is also held that philanthropic motives may be put in the background.

5. A monopoly of production by the state does not now exist. It is generally believed that this would be one of the surest means of contributing to the success of the Gothenburg plan.

6. The question of profits is undeniably conspicuous. Notwithstanding the efforts to eliminate the purely economic features, a few cases have occurred in which rich men, have become members of the companies and the economic features of the administration have been given too great prominence; but it is only fair to state that such instances have been exceedingly few, so few indeed, that a minimum danger only is signalled here. A notable exception to administration for economic ends is the case of the Gothenburg company, where a handsome appropriation is allowed every year for the maintenance of reading rooms. The loss resulting to the company from these and from the conduct of eating houses where liquor is not sold, except in single drams at meals, is winked at. Here indeed we have the spectacle of an administration for public weal, approved and even abetted by the titular recipients of economic advantages.

That the system is perfect no one will be sanguine enough to maintain; but that it represents the best means which have yet been devised for the control of the liquor traffic where licensing is permitted at all, few who understand its true character and have studied its operation will be bold enough to deny.

A commission was appointed by His Excellency the Governor of the State of Massachusetts to investigate the Gothenburg and Norwegian systems of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors.

"Three separate investigations" says the commissioners, "were made in Norway and Sweden; one by Dr. E. L. R. Gould of the Department of Labor at Washington. A second investigation was made in 1893 by one member of the commission, and Mr. John Koren was also sent by the commission to make a final thorough study of the question, both in Sweden and Norway." Mr. Koren is a gentleman thoroughly acquainted with the Scandinavian languages and an expert statistician. The report of the commission is one of great interest and should be read by all who may desire to understand the company system in Sweden and Norway. It was presented in March 1894, and has been printed in full as House Document 192 of the Massachusetts Legislature.

The commissioners in their report say: "It is believed that the report of Dr. Gould embraced in the fifth report of the United States Labor Commissioner, and that presented by the commission make it easily possible to form a true and adequate opinion upon the merits of the question involved. It will be seen that the conclusions arrived at are in closest agreement with the recent testimony of almost every foreign consul in Norway and Sweden as to the uniform advantages which company control secures. The conclusions are the same as those drawn by Sir F. R. Plunkett in his report of 1890 to Lord Salisbury. In this report the testimony to the great benefit of the system is given from all the Governors of the provinces. It is added 'The Governors appear to have borne unbroken and unvarying testimony as to the beneficial effects which had followed the application of the system.' Of the testimony of twenty-two vice-consuls, it is said, 'They are without exception favorable to the new system.'

"Finally, the commission, after its investigation, may be allowed to express the confident conviction that the evidence for this system, if fairly weighed, abundantly justifies in this Commonwealth such experiment under the Norwegian method as might be tried with entire safety under a permissive bill." The gentlemen signing the report are, John Lowell, H. P. Bowditch, and John Graham Brooks, commissioners.

The commissioners reported the draft of a permissive bill, reference to which, and a short summary thereof, will be found at page 939 of this report.

The appendix to the Massachusetts report contains much valuable statistical information, summaries of the company's regulations, with comments upon the system and the results which have followed its adoption. A few extracts have been made, but it is difficult to convey an adequate impression of the scope and importance of the document by any means short of its entire reproduction.

In regard to the position of the licensed places and the effect of the system on crime, it is remarked.

"In this connection it may be mentioned that one of the first acts of the (Gothenburg) company was to remove the bars from the dingy back streets and courts, and locate them on much travelled thoroughfares, where they may be, as it were, under the surveillance of the public. Complaint is made that this is placing temptation directly in the way of many. But the policy of the company is more than justified by the fact that this turning broad day-light on the saloons has resulted in stamping out the usual loafing outside such places, as well as in exterminating, to a large extent, the confirmed toper and the vicious class of drinkers."

"What has the company system accomplished in the way of diminishing crime, poverty, etc. (p. 47)? The commissioners observe all that can be said is that the statistical data available throw no light on these points, (p. 83), but they further remark, after quoting some statistics of crime, it is impossible to say to just what extent these figures have been affected by the company system. Still, as it may be stated as an incontrovertible fact that the consumption of liquor and the attendant drunkenness have decreased in very perceptible degree under this system, the inference is fair that, with regard to crime and in as far as it is attributable to drunkenness, conditions in Sweden have greatly improved. The same no doubt holds true of the economic status. The unanimous verdict is that the working classes have prospered under the company system as never before, but the statistical evidence at hand is not sufficient to substantiate it. It may be questioned if, in the face of the many disturbing factors influencing the economic conditions of a people, it is ever possible to trace the precise influence of liquor drinking on material prosperity." (p. 84).

In the matter of the distribution of profits in Sweden it is stated in the report of the Massachusetts committee (p. 85) that the surplus profits are in almost every instance distributed with perfect integrity, a fact which has never been brought into doubt, but the complaint is, that under the system the country districts suffer. The concentration of the brandy trade in the towns, which is a direct result of the company system, has caused a large loss of revenue from excise to the country districts. The percentage of the surplus granted the agricultural societies has to be regarded as a compensation for this loss, but it is deemed insufficient, and efforts are being made to secure a larger share for the country districts.

"The ultimate destination of the profits resulting from the sale of liquors, as well of the excise monies, has been the source of much contention wherever the company system has been introduced. The method now in vogue in Sweden, detailed in the summary of the liquor laws, was not the one originally tried. In Gothenburg the surplus was at first expended simply in the interests of the working classes. But, on realizing the large proportions the surplus was destined to assume in time, this plan was abandoned, and the present one of dividing the surplus between the municipality, *landsting* and agricultural society of the district, adopted. As each of these bodies will naturally insist upon a full share for their respective communities, it is obvious that this method furnishes the necessary safeguard. That the surplus profits are in almost every instance distributed with perfect integrity has never been brought into doubt. Another question is in how far the plan affords absolute justice. The complaint is that the country districts suffer under it. The concentration of the brandy trade in the towns, which is a direct result of the company system, has caused a large loss of revenue from excise to the country districts. The percentage of the surplus granted the agricultural societies must be regarded as a compensation for this loss, but is deemed insufficient, and efforts are being made to secure a larger share for the country districts." (p. 85.)

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They further observe that the claim, made in several quarters that the companies have, in general, degenerated into "municipal milch cows," is baseless, and that an adequate refutation of this is found in the fact that none of the principal companies make use of all the powers afforded them of extending their business, but seek on the contrary, to confine the traffic within constantly narrowing bounds.

The commission, having stated fully what they believe to be the advantages of the Swedish system, summarises its defects as follows, (Mass. H. D. 192, p. 87):

"1. The narrow scope of the Swedish system, which does not aim to monopolize at the entire sale a retail and over the bar of all intoxicants.

"2. The absence of sufficient central supervision of the administration of the companies, which is largely responsible for a number of the loose methods previously pointed out.

"3. The practice and manner of sub-licensing, which favours certain classes of society and prevents disinterested control of the whole traffic.

"4. The sale of malt drinks and spirits over the same bar.

"5. The prevailing custom of allowing managers the profit on the sale of malt beverages.

"6. The sale of spirits on Sundays and holidays."

The Chief of Police of Gothenburg reported "The difference between conditions under the old and new order of things is as the difference between night and day," and that dictum was subscribed to in every town visited. (p. 87.)

"The British Minister at Stockholm states in a report issued not long ago by the foreign office, 'I hear from all quarters that the working of the Gothenburg system of licensing continues to be as completely satisfactory as ever.' (p. 89.)

"The British Consul at Gothenburg says: 'I am of opinion from personal observation and experience, that the company has been the means of great improvement, which I doubt anybody can deny, although, from circumstances beyond the control of the company, drunkenness is still considerable here.' Two years ago a report on the system was made to the British Foreign Office, which states: 'There can be little doubt that the influence of the new system has been beneficial from the very commencement.' It says further that the detailed reports received at that time from the British Vice-Consuls throughout the kingdom were 'without exception favourable to the system.' (p. 89.)

"While the law of 1871 (in Norway) does not expressly imply it, the final decision in all matters relating to the companies rests with the Department of the Interior. Its powers are nearly absolute, and upon its approval depends the renewal of the company charters, which are usually granted for a period of five years. It will be noticed that the law does not specify the rate of interest to be received by the shareholders of a company on the capital invested. The by-laws of the various companies all stipulate a five per cent rate of interest, which, by usage, has become almost law, although there is no legal enactment to that effect.

"In order that the companies might obtain full control of all bar trade and retail licenses, a law was passed in 1880 providing for the redemption of all retail and bar trade licenses, that is, those granted previously to 1845, on the payment of a suitable compensation, to be adjudicated by four men. Said compensation is usually fixed at a sum corresponding to the average yearly income of the licensee during the three years preceding the expropriation. If a re-adjudication is requested and is deemed necessary, it must be undertaken by a board consisting of eight men appointed by the king. (p. 93.)

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"All attempts at persuading the (Bergen) company to grant sub-licenses to hotels and clubs have been fruitless. Both travellers and clubmen must either supply themselves with private bottles or visit the dram shops in order to obtain liquor. That class discrimination has been banished and that the restrictions placed upon the sale of liquor operate alike for all is certainly laudable; yet, from a temperance point of view, it may be questioned whether the wisdom of the ground taken is justified by results. It is a notorious fact that drunkenness among hotel employees has increased alarmingly of late, and for this reason: a large number of travellers

provide themselves with a bottle or two of liquor during their sojourn at the hotels, which they keep in their rooms, and on departing often leave only three-quarters emptied. What is left naturally falls to the share of the attendants, and even while the guest remains the bottle is a source of temptation to the waiter. The same is true of clubs. Furthermore, it is a reasonable supposition that the purchaser of the bottle is himself constantly tempted to drink more when a supply is always within reach than when he has an opportunity of buying single drams. (p. 110.)

"Smoking is everywhere forbidden (by the Christiania company). A large placard tells the customer that he must leave at once when having taken his dram or beer. In some bar-rooms scrolls donated by the Queen, and containing passages from the Bible warning against the evils of intemperance are prominently displayed. Contrary to expectations, they have only exceptionally been made the object of profane remarks." (p. 124.)

In respect to the capital stock of the companies it is stated in the Massachusetts report that it is never excessive, and that usually only the amount required for the immediate conduct of business is called in. The number of shareholders varies, according to the size of the capital. In one company, Langesund, the stock was only \$160, divided amongst 15 shareholders. In Tönsberg the capital stock of the company was \$496.60, distributed amongst 67 persons, and in Tromsø the capital was \$2,680, held by 76 persons. Inasmuch as the capital stock is generally small and only part of it is paid up, often only 10 or 25 per cent, the interest falling to the individual shareholders is frequently a mere pittance, amounting in the case of one of the companies just mentioned, to 13 cents per share, in another to \$2.68 per share. The largest dividends were paid to the shareholders of the Christiania company, who received on an average about \$15.00 each. (p. 130-1.)

"Loose methods of administration (of liquor companies) are well nigh impossible in Norway owing to the control exercised by the department of the Interior, to which full annual returns must be made. A company found to deviate from its purpose will lose its charter, as experience has shown." (p. 131.)

"The impression has gone abroad that the municipalities have a considerable share in the administration of the companies, and endeavour to increase the traffic for the sake of the profits. Nothing is more remote from the actual truth. The municipalities cannot hold stock nor dictate in any manner how the traffic shall be conducted. They are not even the final licensing power. The question is how far municipal interests receive undue consideration in the distribution of profits will be treated later on. In this connection it deserves mention that the company system has never been made a political question. The companies themselves have been undisturbed by the party strife raging in the country, and have not sought to wield their influence one way or the other." (p. 131.)

"At the time of the introduction of the company system, malt liquors being then usually of a light quality, were still regarded in the nature of a temperance drink. This mistake, fatal as it seems to us, of encouraging the use of beer as a cure for the liquor habit, was very natural, for the beers commonly used were pure and not known to be productive of drunkenness. But soon, and perhaps to some extent in direct consequence of the restrictions imposed upon the brandy trade, the consumption of the stronger kinds of beer which had come into demand, grew rapidly." (p. 139.)

In the report the hope is expressed that the companies will soon acquire the monopoly of the sale of malt liquors, but it is added that the "danger of pressing a reform beyond the point of public support, is obvious to those in charge of the companies. To establish separate beer shops means a vast addition to the business attended by many complications. There is further the question of compensation for expropriated licenses. Yet a beginning has been made and the time will surely come when all sale of intoxicants, both at retail and over the bar, shall be entrusted to companies." (p. 141.)

It is stated in the Massachusetts report that in 1882 the amount given to temperance and total abstinence societies was 4.4 per cent. The amount appears to have

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gradually declined until in 1890 it was 1·4 per cent, and it is remarked in the report:—
"It has been much commented upon that the companies give the temperance workers such meagre pecuniary support, which evidently is growing less year by year. Repeated enquiries as to the cause of this in some instances are answered by saying:— 'We give all that is asked for;' in others, by 'the demands of these societies are so unreasonable oftentimes.' Requests for a share of the profits are usually transmitted to the directors of the companies, specifying the objects for which support is sought. These documents, as well as the final action of the board of directors, are generally printed in full in the annual report of the companies. A perusal of them makes it clear that the demands of various temperance organizations are not always reasonable, as for instance, when money is asked wherewith to pay brass bands, or to build a club house, furnish gymnastic apparatus, pay for a pic-nic, etc. Subsidies for direct temperance work are rarely if ever refused. On the other hand it is known that the directors of various companies have themselves engaged men to labour in the cause of temperance." (p. 145).

"Finally, the testimony of all well-informed people, prohibitionists, civil and ecclesiastical functionaries and others, is unanimous, to the effect that the company system (in Norway) has proved itself a most efficient temperance agent.

"The influence of the company system on economic conditions and on crimes, such as theft, murder, immorality, etc., so often intimately associated with drunkenness, can only be inferred in a general way. Genuine statistical investigation has scarcely approached the vast field here awaiting research.

"With our present knowledge, we cannot go further than to say that, as far as any social evil is the result of intemperance, the company system has helped materially to eradicate it." (p. 142.)

The danger that this company system might lead to the application of a portion of the profits of the liquor traffic to objects having no philanthropic aim, and the funds for the carrying out of which should be provided in the ordinary way by the municipal authority, is not lost sight of in the report of the Massachusetts commission.

There must obviously be a tendency in such a system anywhere to extravagance in the expenditure deducted from the receipts prior to the realization of the amount divisible between the municipalities and the charitable societies, and also a tendency to relieve taxation by applying surplus profits from the liquor traffic to that end. Indeed, one case is pointed out where the charter of a company was revoked because too great heed had been paid to municipal interests.

The commissioners expressed this view:—"That charitable, educational and industrial organizations, etc., can not receive the same recognition in Sweden as in Norway. Of the latter country it is true that hundreds of objects of real public utility are subsidized by the liquor companies, which, in Sweden as elsewhere, are left to private enterprise or generosity." (p. 146.)

The commissioners further observe:—"Some companies are unwilling to aid any enterprise, which, under other circumstances, would be cared for by the municipality, for fear that the public may, in a measure, come to depend on the brandy traffic. Still it is undeniable that the law on the subject has been rather broadly interpreted, and in the question of profits undue prominence has been given to municipal interests." (p. 146.)

The following is the closing summary of the commissioners:

"THE ADVANTAGES OF THE COMPANY SYSTEM,

which are best exemplified by the manner of its application in Norway, may be summed up as follows:—

"1. It is a 'measure of reform, not of destruction,' recognizing that, while the liquor traffic cannot at the present time be abolished by any legal enactment, it may be reformed.

"2. It does away with all incentive to encourage drinking by taking the sale of intoxicants out of the hands of those to whom intemperance is a gain, and entrust-

ing it to persons pledged to carry it on without any profit to themselves, and in the interest of temperance and morality.

"3. The direct responsibility for the abuses connected with consumption of intoxicants is largely placed on the shoulders of the best people in the community, who will be held to strict account.

"4. Drink selling will be divorced from politics, can no longer serve as an instrument of corruption, and one of the greatest obstacles to all social reform may thus be overcome.

"5. The number of licensed places can be reduced to the lowest limits consistent with public safety and complete control, and temptation to drink minimized.

"6. The consumption of liquor can be effectually checked, as competition is destroyed; prices may be raised, and every restrictive measure perfectly enforced.

"7. All the immoral accessories of the saloon are abolished.

"8. Better policing of the places where drink is sold is made easy, and the co-operation not only of the general public, but especially of the temperance reformers, is invited to secure adequate control as well as the detection of illicit sales.

"9. The system does not interfere in the least with the local option privilege, but rather helps to make no license an actuality; it does not advocate a state monopoly, but leaves the drink problem to be dealt with by each community.

"10. It is a powerful means of education, by holding up intemperance as a vice, society will not tolerate.

"11. By securing for the community at large the use of the profits resulting from the traffic, many of the ills inflicted upon society by the abuse of liquor may be eased, counteracting agencies established and morality advanced generally.

"12. Questionable methods or transactions on the part of those who conduct the sale of liquor for the community can be effectually guarded against by the selection of proper licensing authorities, and securing a system of central supervision."

The following extracts are taken from a report prepared by Mr. Constable, Third Secretary of the Legation at Stockholm and forwarded by Sir F. Plunkett to the Marquis of Salisbury on the 9th October, 1890:—

"The scheme for regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, widely known under the name of the Gothenburg system, originated in Sweden in the year 1865. The object aimed at by its founders was the decrease of the widespread poverty of the working classes, in so far as it was caused by the abuse of intoxicating liquors. The means by which it was proposed to bring about this result were: "

(1) "The radical reform of the manner in which the public house traffic was conducted."

(2) "An artificial heightening of the price of spirituous liquors, to be secured by the suspension of the principle of competition."

"With these ends in view, the authorities agreed to transfer the public house license, then existing in Gothenburg, to a company who consented to undertake the business on the understanding that neither the shareholders, nor the persons engaged as managers, should derive any profits from the sales beyond a fixed percentage on the capital invested."

"This principle of no profits to the sellers is the keystone of the system whenever it has been established in Sweden."

"It is important to notice that in the first year of operation of the new system, viz.—1866, the convictions for drunkenness in Gothenburg dropped from 2,070, at which figure they stood in the previous year, to 1,424."

"There can be little doubt that the influence of the new system must have been beneficial from the very commencement, but this influence was, during the first ten years of the company existence, more than counterbalanced by the rise in workmen's wages, which was considerable towards the latter end of the decade."

"At the conclusion of these ten years it was evident that, on the whole, the cause of public order and morality had not prospered in Gothenburg, and many people were ready to pronounce the new system a failure. In the year 1876, however, a change set in, and the last 14 years have been marked by a steady diminution: "

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- (1) "In the consumption of spirit per head of the population."
- (2) "In the convictions for drunkenness (proportionate to the population)."
- (3) "In the number of cases of delirium tremens."

"In the year 1876 the total amount of spirits, native and foreign, consumed in Gothenburg stood at a total of 1,777,728 litres, or 28.90 litres per head of the population."

"The returns for the year 1889 show that the quantity of spirits consumed in that year amounted to 1,568,154 litres. The population having in the interval increased from 61,505 to 97,677 the amount consumed per head has therefore fallen from 28.90 to 16.05 litres."

"In Gothenburg the new system cannot be said to have come into force before the year 1874, because, until that date, the retail trade was not brought under the control of the company."

"In the year 1889, 3,285 convictions for drunkenness appear on the Gothenburg registers, as against 2,410 in 1876. This shows a slight improvement, considering the large increase of population which has occurred in the interval, for if the convictions had maintained the same proportion to the population, and had kept pace with its increase they would have stood at about 3,900 for the year 1889. Still, the progress in this particular is much less than might have been expected from a consideration of the great diminution in the quality of liquor consumed and in the number of cases of delirium tremens, and the explanation probably is that the police surveillance has become much stricter of late years."

"In 1876, 89 cases of delirium tremens were treated in the hospitals of Gothenburg, whereas in 1889 only 42 cases occurred."

"From a commercial point of view, the affairs of the Gothenburg licensing company are very prosperous. In 1889, after paying the 6 per cent to the shareholders, defraying all expenses of management, and handing over 72,400 kroner (£4,022 4s. 5d) as compensation to merchants for the loss of their licenses, it was able to pay 682,231 kroner (£37,901 14s. 5d.) into the municipal and provincial treasuries."

"The sums paid in the public treasuries are used for bettering the condition of the poorer classes and furthering works of general utility."

"In Stockholm the Gothenburg system has only existed since 1877. The question of its introduction had often been canvassed previously to that date, but there were great difficulties in its practical application, in consequence of the large number of permanent licenses which had been granted by the authorities and which had become in the course of time valuable properties. In 1866 there existed no less than 367 of these permanent licenses. In that year, however, the town council of Stockholm appointed a commission to inquire into the titles of the holders of the licenses. These were for the most part pronounced good, but the upshot of the inquiry was that an offer was made on the part of the municipal authorities to the holders of licenses privileged by burghership of a yearly payment of 450 kroner (£25) during the life of each holder, if he would consent to forego his rights. This offer proved to be not high enough, and 146 of the holders elected to retain their trading privileges. In 1875 a new commission was appointed; the result of this second inquiry was that negotiations were entered into, promptly and simultaneously, with all the remaining holders of licenses, so as to prevent, as far as possible, their consulting together and combining to raise the prices. This action was so successful that the town purchased all the licenses, with the exception of 13, for annuities varying between 500 kroner (£27 15s. 6d.) and 2,000 kroner (£111 2s. 2d.), which amounted in all to an annual payment of 124,100 kroner (£6,894 8s. 3d.)

"The population of Stockholm at the time of this transaction was about 144,000.

"The public houses of Stockholm during the last few years, before the formation of the company, had nearly reached the number of 200, a proportion of about 1 to every 750 inhabitants.

"The first use the company made of their monopoly was to reduce the number to 87, a proportion of 1 to every 1,695 inhabitants.

"The Stockholm company have been careful in selecting good open situations for their public houses, so that, in addition to the advantages accruing from the diminution in the number of such establishments, a great advance has been made in the matters of light, air and cleanliness.

"These improved conditions have, in the opinion of Herr Rubenson, chief of police of the city, greatly conduced to the decrease of drunkenness which has taken place in Stockholm during the last thirteen years. He considers that the lower orders feel a certain restraint in the light, well ordered and respectably frequented premises of the company, and are ashamed to conduct themselves otherwise than properly in the midst of such surroundings. They could, of course, drink in their own houses, and it was at one time thought that this would be a danger attendant on the methods pursued by these patriotic associations, but in practice these fears do not seem to have been justified.

"It is generally considered that the early hours of closing enjoined by the statutes of the Stockholm company have had much to do with the diminution of drunkenness.

"It should be observed, however, that the returns published of the cases of delirium tremens and chronic alcoholism are not so favourable for Stockholm as they are for Gothenburg.

"In order to make the evidence with regard to the working of the Gothenburg system as complete as possible Her Majesty's Consuls at Stockholm and Gothenburg were requested to obtain returns from the Vice-consuls within their respective districts.

"Replies have been received from 22 Vice-consuls in all, and are without exception favourable to the new system. In every case except one where statistical information has been supplied the figures show a decrease in the quantity of spirits consumed and in the number of fines for drunkenness, never less and often greater than is the case for Gothenburg. This seems to be of importance in showing that the scheme works quite as well when applied on a small scale as it does for such considerable towns as Stockholm or Gothenburg. The single exception above mentioned is in the case of Umea, which was partially destroyed by fire two years ago. The large influx of working men brought into the district for the rebuilding of the town seems a quite sufficient explanation of the increase of crime and drunkenness which appears lately to have taken place there.

"Another unanimously favourable expression of opinion was obtained from the governors of provinces in Sweden in the year 1877. A committee of the Diet, appointed by the King, had submitted a series of questions to these officials, of which the fourth stood as follows: 'What results have been found to accrue from the transfer of the liquor trade to companies in different communes in the way of promoting order and morality?' From the *résumé* of the replies received, published by Dr. Wieselgren in his account of the Gothenburg system, the governors appear to have borne unbroken and unvarying testimony as to the beneficial effects which have followed the application of the system."

Mr. Thomas M. Wilson, C. E., for many years resident in Norway, published in 1891, a volume on local option in that country with an account of the establishment and working of the society for retailing ardent spirits in Bergen. Mr. Wilson's work is very frequently referred to and quoted from.

In the preface he says that he "was an opponent of the societies when they were introduced, but the nearly 20 years' experience of their working, since acquired, has enabled him to realise how mistaken his original views were, they having been based upon a fear of evils supposed to be attached to the system, which subsequent experience has proved to have been entirely imaginary."

"The author now realises, fully, his earlier mistake, and is perfectly satisfied that the societies for retailing ardent spirits in Norway have effected a maximum of good to the community at large, with a minimum of inconvenience to the legitimate consumer of alcoholic drinks."

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In the introduction he writes that the Gothenburg Society had not been long in operation before it was generally acknowledged to have effected remarkable moral and financial results. The ratepayers speedily realised that every farthing of the society's annual surplus was a direct saving to the ratepaying pocket, while the diminution of drunkenness diminished the ratepayers' burdens in maintaining the police, and other public establishments.

He says that the Norwegians recognize that the Gothenburg system contained an objectionable feature in principle. They considered that it had become a large trading concern conducted in the interest of the local ratepayers, in reduction of the public burdens, and while adopting the general principle of that system, they endeavoured to guard against the danger of the application of profits in direct reduction of public burdens, which might lead to the purity of the motive, in controlling the liquor traffic, being imperilled, and eliminated that objectionable feature from their system: "under the Norwegian system of local option therefore, neither any private individual nor any public body has a direct interest in the profits derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors."

Mr. Wilson adds:—"Any charity or institution, etc., which derives aid, however small, from the local treasury or rates is disqualified from participation in the grants of societies established under the Norwegian system of local option."

Much valuable information is given in the volume as to the parliamentary powers of the companies, vested rights and compensation, the revenue question, the progress of local option, which is stated to have been in Norway as follows:—

Number of societies in operation on 1st January,

1875	1876	1877	1879	1880	1882	1886	1887	1889
15	22	30	35	41	44	49	50	51

Much statistical information in regard to the operations of the societies is also given.

This writer confirms the opinion, expressed by others, that the diminution in the consumption of ardent spirits has been accompanied by an increase in the consumption of wine and ales, especially of ales, and adds that the Norwegian breweries are almost all flourishing institutions. (p. 31).

He states that the societies look forward to the day when the wine and ale licenses and the existing privileges will fall into their hands, and that they endeavor to do whatever is possible to promote that object by buying up the privileges, when obtainable, at a reasonable cost (p. 32); that there are no societies formed to retail ardent spirits in the rural districts of Norway. He adds that the societies' mode of working and the habits of the people have quite accommodated themselves to each other, and the inconveniences, that were feared in the beginning, have been restricted to a minimum. There is no real inconvenience, whatever, caused to any class of the public beyond the hotel visitor, but, it must be admitted, that the monopoly of licenses by the societies has caused the hotel visitor inconvenience, inasmuch that he cannot purchase spirits if he desires to do so in his hotel. He expresses the opinion that the hotel visitor's problem will be solved before long, so that he may have his legitimate wants supplied, without, as at present, having to personally proceed to the nearest societies' bar to consume a glass of spirits, or send a hotel porter to purchase a bottle, when probably a single glass is all that he wants.

Reference is made to the annual reports of the Bergen company. It is stated that in the report for 1880 the directors of the Bergen company refer to certain scientific investigations, which they have caused to be made, of the effects of the consumption of various kinds of alcoholic drinks, the results of which tended to show that the effect of the consumption of alcoholic liquors, injurious to health, stands in a direct relation to the raw material from which the alcohol is produced, and that they had, therefore, taken the necessary steps to secure the supply, and to deliver to the society's customers, spirits free from fusel oil, instead of the potato spirit so much in use in Norway.

This is written on the bars in Bergen:—"The bar premises are quite plainly fitted out, without the slightest glitter of the gin palace; they are kept clean and respectable, while the stewards and assistants are exhorted to exhibit every courtesy in dealing with the customers. There are no seats of any kind provided, no private compartments, nor any conveniences for loitering on the premises. There are no barmaids, only men in uniform, each with a distinguishing number on his collar to enable his identification in case of complaints." (p. 69).

Reference is frequently made in this volume to the evils resulting from the ale and wine business not being controlled by the societies. In 1884 there appear to have been 60 licenses for the sale of wine and ales in Bergen. The company that year applied for, and obtained, a third license for the sale of ale, but it is remarked that the directors did not consider it prudent to undertake more of these wine and ale licenses until further experience of the trade had been obtained. (p. 72.) And again—"The result of the years trade under the three wine and ale licenses held by the society had been scarcely £2 10s. of profit." In 1882 the society adopted a resolution to set aside a portion of the annual surplus to form a fund with which to buy up the existing privileges to sell wines and ales—*independent of a municipal license*—with the view of extinguishing them, and thereafter, monopolizing the wine and ale shop municipal licenses. In 1885 "another license to retail wines and ales, making new the fourth, had been granted to the society. The loss on this trade had been for the year almost £150, caused, however, by some extra outlays in adapting premises, to make them more suitable and comfortable." (p. 73).

The company appears to have held a reserve fund of £1,850 sterling in 1890, for the purpose of buying up these wine and ale vendors' privileges. (p. 78).

The remarks made on this subject leave the impression that financial considerations have retarded progress in the acquirement of the control in Bergen of these ale and wine retailing establishments by the organized company.

It is mentioned that the Bergen society, some years ago, erected a number of workmen's dwellings for sale to respectable workmen at cost, on easy terms of payment, and gave the impulse to the formation of the Bergen coffee house society, which is said to have done much good. (p. 87).

Taken from this volume is a tariff of prices for spirituous liquors sold at the society's bars in Bergen, which will be found in appendix No. 131.

Mr. Wilson observes that the Bergen society for retailing ardent spirits, it has been shown, can earn on an average 125 per cent. on the capital employed, (p. 92); that the average of its capital for 13 years was equal to 2s. sterling per head, of the mean population of Bergen; that that capital had returned an average of 2s. 8½d. sterling, per annum, per head, of the mean population; that of this amount 2s. 2½d. sterling, per annum, per head of the population had been distributed, while 6d. per annum, per head of the population represented the company's reserve fund, fittings, utensils and business premises, but which is also distributable eventually in grants.

"The moral results of the work done by the society for retailing ardent spirits in Bergen, are—as will have been gathered from the account we have in the preceding pages given of its establishment and work—very great, and through its financial aid to objects of public benefit and utility, very far reaching on the well being of the community."

"Then the diminution of drunkenness effected by the society's work, necessarily carries with it an improved condition in not a few homes, and we may reasonably presume, also, that it carries along with it a reduction in crime, although we are not in position to shew this distinctly here.

"When we think of the society's labourer's dwellings, labourer's waiting rooms, the coffee house sprung from the society's work, &c., its contributions to museums, workmen's lectures, clubs, reading rooms, theatre, &c., besides the host of other beneficent objects, it is not difficult to understand why it is, that English visitors to Bergen are impressed by the well to do look of the population, the absence of drunkenness, beggary and squalid misery, and the well clad and well nourished appearance of the meanest member of the community."

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"There is, really, not a tittle of the wretchedness, squalid misery and poverty, drunkenness and beggary so prevalent in English towns of similar size; that the difference is due, to no small extent, to the fact, that in Bergen the sale of ardent spirits is strictly controlled while in the English towns it is not, is indubitable, and is a fact that quickly impresses itself on the minds of those who know the peoples and circumstances of both countries intimately."

A small volume was issued in 1893 by the Church of England Temperance Society, London, on "The Gothenburg system of public house licensing; what it is, and how it works," by Mr. J. Johnson, with a preface by the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, and an appendix containing the Bishop of Chester's licensing proposals.

The work consists of an introduction by Mr. Johnson, a preface by the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, evidence as to the working, and the results of the system given before the select committee of the House of Lords in 1877, extracts from the reports of Her Majesty's minister at Stockholm, which are referred to elsewhere in this report, a paper by the Norwegian Vice-consul at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. Conradi, a statement of objections to the Swedish and Norwegian systems by a committee of the United Kingdom Alliance, the licensing proposals of the Bishop of Chester, and some letters addressed, by His Lordship, to the press.

The object of the Church of England temperance society in publishing these documents, seems to have been to diffuse information in regard to the Gothenburg system, and to aid in the discussion of the question of its applicability to England.

The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain gave evidence before the committee of the House of Lords. He explained the bill which he had brought before Parliament in 1877, founded upon the Gothenburg system, and under which it was proposed to give town councils the right to acquire by agreement, or failing agreement, by compulsion, all the existing interest of license holders in leases, good-will, stock and fixtures, to enable them to carry on trade for the convenience, and on behalf of the inhabitants, but so that no individual should have any pecuniary interest in, or derive any profit from, the sale of intoxicating liquors. He explained that the town council of Birmingham had by a majority of 46 to 10 members approved of the plan, that the Board of Guardians of that city had also approved of it, that the latter numbered 120 gentlemen, representing directly a population of 400,000 persons.

The Committee of the House of Lords in their report state:—"The effect of the law of 1855 upon the well-being of the population, and the prosperity of Sweden, appears to have been very beneficial, especially in the rural districts, which contain seven-eighths of the population of that country." (p. 21.)

The committee, after quoting a number of facts and statistics, proceed to report:—"Still stronger evidence in favour of this system would seem to be offered by its gradual adoption, after observation of its working, by every town in Sweden, having a population exceeding 5,000, except one. It is in force in no less than 27 towns having 5,000 inhabitants and upwards, and in 19 towns of smaller population. It has been adopted at Stockholm after prolonged discussion, and in spite of the large number of public houses having vested interests, which it was necessary to purchase.

"It cannot, however, be denied that the almost universal adoption of this system was not due simply to the desire of promoting temperance, but also, and perhaps mainly, to the hope of applying the large profits, derived from the sale of liquors, to the reduction of local taxation; a perfectly legitimate object in itself. That the results of the system, however, have on the whole been good may fairly be argued by the support which it has received from those in whose view the temperance of their countrymen is of still greater importance than relief in taxation." (p. 23-24.)

After reviewing, at length, Mr. Chamberlain's licensing proposals, the committee concluded:—"It is improbable that in the first instance many boroughs would avail themselves of these powers. As in Sweden, the results of the experiment by one community would be prudently awaited by others. It might fall to Birmingham alone to furnish the experience which would determine other towns to adopt or

reject so novel and vast an undertaking. If it succeeds, great public good will have been done; if it fails, the loss will affect only the community which has committed itself to the experiment.

"The committee, therefore, are of opinion that legislative facilities should be afforded for the adoption of these schemes, or some modification of them." (p. 28.)

Mr. Conradi, in his paper stated that when he left his native town of Christiansand, some thirty years previously, it had a bad reputation for drunkenness and rowdyism. It was a town often filled with foreign sailors, boatmen, porters and hangers-on. The boatmen in Christiansand had in particular a bad name all over Norway. Brawls were not infrequent. A drunken person was a daily sight. Beggars were to be seen in the streets, dirty and sickly looking, with disease and poverty stamped upon their person. "I have visited my native town almost every year since the new licensing system was introduced, and I have been particularly struck by the rapid change for good which has been brought about. The old toppers have died out, and a new generation of sober people have sprung up under precepts and teaching which their fathers did not enjoy. As the moral tone improved, so did manliness and self respect. No ragged child is now seen in the streets, and the last beggar I saw was a sickly remnant of bygone days." (p. 51.)

The reports of the committee of the United Kingdom Alliance contains a short review of the Gothenburg system, and the proposals of the Bishop of Chester. In one part of their report, the committee say:—"Your committee are of opinion that while it may be taken as proved that while certain advantages have accrued from the Bergen system, closer investigation than has yet been made, as to how these advantages have arisen, is necessary." (p. 66.)

"In both Sweden and Norway the national drink is spirits, and until comparatively recently, the superstition that wine and beer are temperance drinks, prevailed. It prevails in these countries no longer. The beer is said to be light, and quantity consumed per head of the population is small—about a fifth of the quantity consumed per head of the population of England—but the people get drunk upon it, and the beer-houses are found to be sources of drunkenness and degradation. Intoxication with wine also takes place, and is being recognized, especially in Bergen, as a nuisance and a danger. The quantity consumed is not large, but the Bolag finds the wine shops as well as the beer-shops are blocking the progress towards sobriety in Bergen." (p. 69-70.)

The views of His Lordship the Bishop of Chester are well known, and it is unnecessary to refer to them at length. It is sufficient, here, to quote a paragraph from one of his Lordship's letters, addressed to the *Guardian* newspaper, and dated the 26th September, 1892: "It should further be noticed that under the Gothenburg system proper, while the local authority retains full control of and is adequately represented on the directorate of the company or society, the much enduring rates escape any new liability, and the labour of the management, as well as the financial risk, is laid upon the shoulders of those who have faith in the enterprise and are devoted to the cause of temperance and the entertainment of the people. Such a plan as this may be introduced with equitable consideration (a less equivocal word, perhaps, than compensation) for the publican. It will bring with it, almost as a matter of course, those details of reform which are aimed at, but imperfectly secured, by restrictive legislation. It will not involve—it will, indeed, save us, as perhaps nothing else can save us, from—that unjustifiably violent and practically ineffectual interference with personal liberty which is one of the most conspicuous blemishes of prohibition. Prohibition has no right to prohibit; as a matter of fact and experience, it does not effectually prohibit, and if by what I must be permitted to regard as a radically unsound enactment, it were in England given the chance of being adopted, as soon as it presented itself in practical shape to country district or town, it would in the large majority of instances, be discomfited by an enthusiasm of counter-prohibition far stronger than itself." (p. 94.)

In August, 1893, the fourth International Congress was held at the Hague "to take cognizance of the measures adopted in order to contend against the abuse of

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alcoholic liquors, and to propagate these measures in so far as they may seem efficient and beneficial."

About 200 persons took part in the congress, among whom were several diplomats, and also the representatives of Her Majesty the Queen of Holland, of the Holy See, of the governments of France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, Norway and Luxemburg, as well as several delegates from scientific and temperance societies.

During the debates Mr. H. E. Berner, director of the Hypothecary Bank of the Kingdom of Norway, a former deputy and president of the permanent commission against the abuse of alcoholic liquors, of Christiania, drew attention to the Gothenburg system and the recent law of the Grand Duchy of Finland on alcohol, adopted in 1890. By that law the Gothenburg system was adopted as being one of the most efficient means of checking drunkenness. During the course of the debates of the Congress, Mr. Berner made the following remarks:—

"In most countries it (the retail sale of intoxicating liquors) is at present generally conducted by private individuals specially licensed to carry on this trade, and for this privilege they have to pay a separate tax of larger or smaller amount. This retail dealer, like every other tradesman, is desirous of promoting the sale of his goods as much as possible; in other words it is his interest to sell as much intoxicating liquors as possible, and to see that neither public law nor municipal enactment throw any impediment in the way of the trade in drink, or prevent its being a flourishing one. The enormous incomes derived from this traffic by licensed victuallers, and the extensive interests connected therewith, explain the stubborn and energetic resistance that is made to retain the licenses.

"The consciousness of the frightful evil, such an arrangement in the trade in intoxicating liquor involves, led the people in Norway, Sweden and Finland, to introduce a purer system, by intrusting the retail sale of intoxicating liquors to philanthropical companies, whose object shall not be to make profit out of the spirit trade, but who will endeavour by various means to limit it as much as possible, since, under existing circumstances, it cannot be entirely forbidden. The chief point in this system is that the selling of intoxicating liquors is restricted by the shareholders, having no personal interest in the trade.

"The surplus of these companies may be used for objects of public benefit or of a charitable nature, and it should especially be used for the benefit of the working classes, by procuring for them nobler recreation than is found under the coarse and demoralizing influence of the drinking shop."

"This was the simple, fundamental idea of the 'Bolog' arrangement made in the Swedish city of Gothenburg, in 1865, the city from which the system has become most known in other countries, though previous to the year mentioned the system had been introduced into other Swedish towns where, quite independent of each other, they had come to the conclusion that the private retailing of spirits, then existing, was an encouragement to drunkenness, whereas this vice might be restricted by separating the traffic from private interest * * *."

"It rests in these three countries with the town council to decide the maximum number of retail spirit licenses to be issued, and also to decide whether these licenses shall be entrusted to private individuals or to companies, the statutes of which are approved either by the government or a local authority.

"Further characteristics of the 'Samlag' or Gothenburg system will be given briefly; however, we shall keep the arrangement of Norwegian 'Samlags' more especially in view, partly because I am better acquainted with them, and partly because, in certain respects, the grand principle is here generally carried out with greater consistency.

"As the object of the authorized company is to endeavour to diminish drunkenness, their statutes allow the members, for their labour and risk, to receive only such interest upon their working capital as is usual in these countries, viz., at the highest 5 to 6 per cent, whereas the great surplus is to be applied to redeeming older licenses, and then, as in Norway, wholly to objects of public good, or, as in Sweden, it accrues to the municipal funds, to be applied by the municipal authorities, or, finally, as in Finland, it partly, $\frac{2}{3}$ (two-fifths), goes into the national

exchequer, or to that fund of the same that is employed for the improvement of the means of transport, and the residue (three fifths) is employed by the municipal authorities, for objects of public benefit, but not such as the municipality itself is bound to undertake the means derived from taxing its members.

"The board of directors of these authorized companies generally consists of three to five members chosen amongst the shareholders, at an annual general meeting.

"For a better understanding of the whole authorized company arrangement, let us look at the Christiania authorized company, the largest of all such in Norway, the others being of nearly the same construction and having nearly the same statutes.

"This company, which was established by the efforts of the Christiania municipal council, began its operation on the first of January, 1886. Its first endeavors were to get the older retail licenses into its own hands. Of such licenses there were 72, and of these a number were life-long, and could not be taken from the holders except by giving compensation. Agreeably to the law of first May, 1880, it was decided that the annual compensation, as a rule, shall be the average income of the last two years. All the life-long privileges were redeemed. The amount of the indemnification was, at first, 22,000 *kroner, annually (by death it is now reduced to 13,000 kroner). The authorized company, as soon as formed, granted as many licenses as it considered necessary. The number is 27 at present; twelve of these licenses are made use of by hotels and restaurants, the owners of which have been approved of as managers in the service of the authorized company; thus only fifteen are really made use of by the company's own retailers.

"From the rule that the company alone shall be allowed to retail spirits, four exceptions have been made, viz.: For one hotel and three private societies; the hotel license is only to serve travellers living there, and the societies only to their own members."

"Since the law of 1871 came into force in Norway, authorized companies, in accordance therewith, have been established in all the towns in later years, the number of drinking places has been reduced from 501 to 227, or from one to every 591 inhabitants, to one to every 1,413 inhabitants. With the older concession-holders and drinking places in villages, there are, now in Norway, altogether 304 serving and retail places for spirits, or about one for every 6,600 inhabitants. Furthermore, the consumption of spirits which for the five years, 1871 to 1875, amounted to 2.8 litres (of 100 per cent alcohol strength) per inhabitant, has steadily decreased for each five years; thus for 1875-80 to 2.4 litres, for 1881-85 to 1.7 litres, and for 1886-90 to 1.5 litre.

"In Sweden, likewise, the number of retail sale places has been gradually reduced. In 1885-86, when the Swedish spirit law, now in operation, was put in force, there was a retail license to every 830 inhabitants in the towns, and 3,863 for the whole kingdom; whilst in 1889-90 there was a fixed license for every 969 inhabitants in the towns, and 4,713 for the whole kingdom. According to the official Swedish statistics, the consumption of spirits (of 100 per cent alcohol contents) for the five years 1871-75 was 5.4 litres, for the five years 1876-80, 5 litres, for 1881-85, 4 litres, and for 1886-90, 3.4 litres. As to the Grand Duchy of Finland, I have no list of the retailing places for spirits there; but the average consumption per inhabitant has been 2.5 litres for 1881-86, and for the years 1887-88, the last of which we have a statement, it has gone down to 1.3 litres."

"On the whole it is evident that in these three countries the consumption of spirits has been decreasing, whilst in most European countries, during the same period, the opposite has been the case, and the consumption of intoxicating liquor, per inhabitant, in the first named countries is also less, and very considerably so, than in most European countries.

"It is also worthy of remark that the rise in the price of spirits in Norway (as just now incidentally mentioned), also appears to accompany the arrangement of the authorized retail spirit companies in Sweden and Finland, and the high price is a fresh obstacle raised against brandy becoming a popular beverage.

*A kroner is equal to about 20.8 cents.

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"Furthermore, the arrangement of these authorized companies in the three countries has been of exceedingly great importance in hindering the development of that class, so dangerous to society, the bar keepers so well known in other countries, and who in connection with the producers of intoxicating liquor, with their wealth and their numerous customers, often held in a state of dependance by that very traffic in drink, may offer a stubborn and often an insurmountable resistance to all temperance measures. Of what economical instrument of power the arrangement of these authorized companies may deprive those classes interested in the extension of the trade in intoxicating liquor may be gathered from the following facts: The net income of the authorized retail spirit companies in Sweden in 1889-90 was 6,978,433 kroner, 28 cents, and in Norway, where, as yet, only one third of the spirits consumed is served out by the authorized companies, in 1891 was 1,514,113 kroner; whilst in Finland, in 1888, it was 1,084,711 francs, which sum on account of the new spirit, of 1891, will certainly be considerably increased hereafter. This will also be the case with regard to Norway, next year, when the new law, which so considerably extends the operations of these authorized companies will come into force * * * *"

"According to a Norwegian law of 1884, the retail sale of beer, wine and cider, for which article a license is required, may also be transferred to the authorized companies. Where an authorized retail spirit company has been established already, it, of course, follows that to such a company shall also be transferred the license for retailing beer, wine and cider. As the sale, but not the serving in bottles, of large quantities of wine, may yet be carried on by every shop keeper in Norway, and the sale of beer also by everybody, the authorized companies have in this connection another kind and that a very stubborn kind of competition to sustain to that met with where the sale of spirits only is concerned. The fact also is that several authorized retail companies are losers upon their ale and wine licenses, which they continue to retain simply for the purpose of bringing this trade in intoxicating liquors also in some degree under the control of the statutes of their order.

"As on the whole, the objects of these authorized companies is to restrict the abuse of intoxicating liquor, they will, everywhere, endeavour to bring under controlling rules such kinds of beer and wine, as for the greatest part, are simply made use of as substitutes for ardent spirits."

"The formation of the authorized retail spirit companies to a great degree, and in an energetic manner, has contributed, and will continue to contribute, towards solving one part of the great social question of our day, inasmuch as it has effected a diminution in the case of drunkenness, and held forth improvement in the economical, moral and sanitary conditions of the people."

"It is true that the carrying out of the arrangements of the authorized companies has had the support of the general abstinence movement to a great extent, and this movement may be called its father; that even, without the formation of authorized retail spirit companies, voluntary abstinence societies might perhaps have been able to a certain degree, to limit the vice of drink; but such grand results as have now been obtained could scarcely have been achieved except by means in which lay the principle of endeavour to restrict drinking. Against a retail system conducted by private persons with an interest in the proceeds, it would certainly have been impossible to have advanced as far as has been reached by the aid of authorized companies, founded on a restrictive principle.

"My conclusion therefore shall be:

"The authorized retail spirit company system (the Gothenburg system) for the sale and serving of intoxicating liquor, as in operation in Norway, Sweden and Finland, is deserving of recommendation on account of its introducing a new regulating principle instead of the tavern-keeper's selfish desire of enriching themselves by the intemperance of their fellow-creatures.

"This system has been an effective means of combatting intemperance in the above-named countries by placing all such traffic under very strict control, diminishing the number of drinking places, and raising the price of spirits.

"The Gothenburg system, as practised in Norway, Sweden and Finland, ought to be improved in some respects and to be introduced anew into other countries as being one of the most effective means towards diminishing the consumption of alcoholic drinks (spirits, ale and intoxicating wines)."

On the same subject the chairman called on Mr. Lars O. Jenson, of Christiania. This speaker approved of the Norwegian system, and, amongst other things, said:—

"The *samlag* system of Norway has been an improvement when compared with the old drinking shop system:

"1. It offers no inducement for the bar-tender to push the sale of intoxicants as much as possible.

"2. It secures comparatively easy obedience to the liquor laws.

"3. It does not allow the sale on credit.

"4. It secures an early closing of the drink shops, and really many *samlags* close their premises of their own accord, when it is to be feared that people will indulge more than usually in spirits.

"It hinders the formation of an organized liquor party, because the money derived from the traffic is used for charitable institutions and for the public benefit, and does not go to the liquor dealers."

Another orator, Mr. Blonquist, of Stockholm, admitted that the Gothenburg system had done much good, but said: "We have in Sweden the same experience as in the United States and Canada, that the local veto works best in thinly populated districts. In the Swedish towns it has not been possible to apply the local veto."

In the London *Times* of the 21st January, 1895, appears the following:—

"The Public-house Reform Association have just published, through Messrs. Cassell & Company, a shilling book on "Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic," by Dr. E. R. L. Gould. To this Mr. Chamberlain contributes an introduction, whence the passage which follows is taken:—

"Those advocates of reasonable reform in the control and management of the liquor traffic who desire to eliminate altogether the element of private gain from the sale are generally spoken of as adherents of the Scandinavian or Gothenburg system. The description is not altogether accurate, because, in the first place, there is, strictly speaking, no uniform system in either Sweden or Norway, and the practice not only varies in the two countries, but also in the separate towns and districts in each; and, in the second place, because no one has yet proposed that any of the plans adopted in either Sweden or Norway should be transferred bodily, and without adaptation, to this country, where the history and character of the trade, the habits of the population, and many other important conditions, are widely different."

* * * * *

"On the other hand, it may be readily admitted that the results of all experiments made elsewhere should be watched with interest for the suggestions they may afford to ourselves, and that, when these experiments have conspicuously failed, we should exercise even greater caution than usual before we assume that they will be more successful with us than with them by whom they have been already tried. On this account I welcome the exhaustive and impartial history of temperance legislation in Sweden and Norway which Dr. Gould has contributed to the discussion of the general question. Appointed to report on the subject by the United States Department of Labour, the author of the following treatise commenced his task, as he tells us, 'absolutely without prejudice,' and he came away 'a convert to the system.' Is not this general statement from a competent observer of more value in itself than any statistics, however elaborate, especially when it is confirmed, as I believe it is, by every person who has studied the results on the spot without preconceived opinions?"

"Mr. Chamberlain speaks also in his introduction of his own visit to Sweden 18 years ago, and of the evidence he then collected in favour of the Gothenburg system, which, he contends, 'has done more for the promotion of temperance than any other plan yet proposed or tried.'"

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There was presented to the Imperial Houses of Parliament, in 1893, a report from Consul-General Mitchell to the Earl of Rosebery, dated Christiania, February 17th, 1893, on "The Gothenburg system regulating the sale of spirituous liquors in Norway."

The Consul-General remarks in the introduction of his report:—

"It is reported or alleged,—

"1. That the 'Gothenburg system,' as modified in Norway, is superior to the prototype institution, for while in Norway no private individuals or public body is supposed to have a direct interest in the profits derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, those profits are applied in Sweden to the direct reduction of public burdens, leading easily to the imperilment of 'the purity of the motive in controlling the liquor traffic.'

"2. That to the adoption and extension of that system in Norway is attributable 'a very considerable reduction in the home consumption of spirits,' and all the beneficial results arising therefrom.

"The object of the present memorandum is therefore to inquire into the correctness of those views and statements by the light of facts and figures drawn from Norwegian official sources."

Printed as appendices to the report are several statistical statements, obtained from the statistical bureau of Christiania, and from governmental and other sources, relating to the consumption of spirits in Norway, sales by, and gross and net receipts of, the Norwegian societies, details of the distribution of the surplus of the associations for the year 1890, and figures showing the consumption of tobacco, the duty on imported spirits and tobacco, and the numbers and membership of Norwegian total abstinence societies.

Mr. Mitchell points out that the aggregate share capital of the liquor companies was returned at the close of 1891 at £33,000 sterling, and their accumulated reserve funds to about double that amount; that by October, 1892, permission had been given to 51 towns and hamlets for the establishment of the system, leaving only three small towns unprovided with it. By the end of 1891, 43 per cent of the spirits consumed in Norway was supplied by the associations, the net profits of which had grown from £43,875 in 1881 to £104,409 in 1890. Of this last amount 18½ per cent had been applied to the promotion of education, apart from contributions to museums, libraries and gymnastic establishments; 8 per cent had been absorbed in grants to asylums for children, etc., and 14 per cent devoted to such objects of public utility as the improvement of streets, road-making, waterworks, etc., which should not be included amongst objects that should be "dependent for their existence on the voluntary support of the public alone." Theatres and other places of amusement had benefited to the extent of six per cent. The total abstinence movement had been receiving less support, only 1·4 per cent of the profits having been devoted in 1890 to an object which, theoretically, might be considered identical with that of the companies, under their original organization. During the last 15 years the practice of applying the profits to philanthropic purposes had been more and more departed from, and the associations, in several towns, had made contributions towards the construction of waterworks, public schools, and even railways.

Comparison is made of the price of Government securities, and bonds of the Land Mortgage Bank of Norway, with the price of the shares of the liquor associations, accompanied by the remark that the right reserved to the municipalities to buy up at par the shares of the liquor companies alone prevents them from being constantly at a premium.

The consul-general remarks (p. 3):—"But another, not inconsiderable, advantage accrues from holding shares in the associations. The disposal of the surpluses, after payment of 5 per cent interest, bestows power, political as well as social, on shareholders guided solely, at their annual meetings, by their own discretion or interest in the allocation of grants. Exceptionally, communal representatives attend to give advice or urge claims at those meetings;" and further proceeds to observe that the municipalities themselves are strongly interested not only in the establishment of associations for the sale of spirits, but also in their prosperity, and that the

favour with which the companies are regarded by the government and municipalities facilitates the establishment of their dealings on a basis satisfactory to all parties concerned, that is, the shareholders, the municipalities and the central government.

"At Christiania, a couple of months ago, the local association succeeded, by some favourable side wind, in obtaining permission to purchase premises in a quarter of the town in which a couple of large breweries, one of the principal iron and mechanical works, and some other industrial establishments are concentrated. The premises were being hastily converted into an attractive 'gin palace' when the owner of the iron works (an alien) protested, and brought before the 'plenum' of the municipality the fact that the license had been procured by the suppression of the strong objections formally recorded against such a providing of temptation to the large number of workmen employed in the immediate vicinity; and many workmen joined in that protest. The municipality was thereupon compelled to revoke the license; and the association has been driven to set up its shop in a street where fewer 'drams' are likely to be called for.

"Another instance of the doubtfulness of 'purity of motive' is that the Christiania association keeps a shop close to the Western Railway station. Complaints have recently been made in the local journals of the facilities which that shop affords to the large number of peasants and workmen who travel by that line for obtaining not only 'drams' before starting, but also a good provision of corn brandy for consumption on the journey or at their own homes."

On these and some other grounds which are mentioned in the report it is said, "It may boldly be asserted that the original, purely philanthropic, object of the associations (considered collectively), has been gradually departed from, and that the old licensed victualler, often under circumstances of great hardship, has been replaced, throughout the great part of the country, by hundreds of holders of five per cent shares, by administrators politically and otherwise interested in the distribution of larger and larger surpluses from the sale of spirits, and by municipalities well content to improve and embellish their towns without recourse to direct communal taxation for those purposes." (p. 5.)

"It is urged by the association and their supporters, in support of further legislation, that the competition of the licensed vendors, backed as they are by the distillers, and well served by travellers who take orders for kegs of 'braeandevin' and frequently give long credit, interferes with the full attainment of the 'philanthropic object' of the Gothenburg system, namely, a reduction of the great evil of drunkenness in this country." (p. 5.)

It is stated that the company system is considered from an administrative point of view to be successful, because it simplifies excise control, and leaves the government to deal with registered associations instead of with private individuals. The government also looks with favour on an unchecked enhancement of the price of spirits as an impediment to larger consumption; that, owing to the imposition of higher import and excise duties, the price of ordinary corn brandy has already nearly doubled since the date of the institution of the companies; that it is now a very general practice for yeoman farmers to club together in the purchase of a keg or cask of spirits and of cases of beer, to be promptly distributed in their neighbourhood for consumption at home, and, although the practice is a violation of the law, it is one that is not easily detected. It is pointed out that there has been a large increase in the number of arrests for drunkenness since 1889 in Christiania, Bergen, and Trondhjem. (p. 7.)

Mr. Mitchell comes to the conclusion on grounds stated at some length in his report, such as the economic condition of the bulk of the population, that is, of the agricultural classes, the marked change in the mode of living of those classes, brought about by education and wider intercommunication, to some extent by growing contact with travellers, native and foreign, the increase of communal taxation for local purposes and emigration from the country, that the diminution of the drink bill of Norway between 1880 and 1885, credited to the associations, was almost entirely the outcome of the acute economic crisis through which the bulk of the consumers of spirits were then passing; that the subsequent rise and fall in the rate of con-

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consumption accorded with the earnings of the people, especially in towns, to which the rural population had been resorting more and more, where wages have for some time been on the increase as a result of the development of industries, and that, in short, the drink bill of Norway has oscillated with the earnings of the lower classes, irrespective of any philanthropic influence of the liquor companies, but, that although the consumption of spirits show but a small decrease from the consumption in 1881-85 and the rate for the last three years has been growing, it is remarked that "it cannot be denied that outwardly, and especially in towns, there is a decrease of cases of gross inebriety." (p. 10.)

"This can well be accounted for by the greater vigilance of the police and the increase of its strength and efficiency. The penalties for public drunkenness have been made more severe, and where the shops or bars of the associations are well conducted a smaller number than formerly of besotted people are to be found in the streets of a town." (p. 10.)

"Dram drinking appears to be on the decrease where 'bars' are not conveniently available, but chiefly because drinkers of drams have, with their native sagacity as to the value of money, discovered that it is more profitable to buy spirits by the bottle, from which a greater number of drams can be extracted at home, at a smaller cost per dram." (p. 10.)

It is observed that, out of the towns, the continued excessive use of spirits is often painfully apparent, more especially on market days on the high roads leading out of the larger towns.

"To give to the associations the entire, or good part of the credit, for a decrease in visible drunkenness would indeed be to deny, not only the results of education and of more practical religious training, but also the influence of the total abstinence societies that exist throughout the country. A table among the appendices shows that, from one total abstinence society, in 1859, their number had grown to 853 in 1891, and their members respectively from 30 to 100,000 (including women and children), or to about 5 per cent of the population.

It is only right also to acknowledge the work done in the same direction during the last few years by the so-called 'Salvation Army.' It has certainly rescued in Norway many units from the condition of confirmed drunkards, while even its religious teaching, conveyed in a form grotesque and objectionable to the cultivated mind, has not been without effect on the ruder and poorer classes. Reference must further be made to the growing activity of Norwegian ladies and gentlemen, who devote themselves to the task of rescuing the lower classes from drunken debasement." (p. 11.)

Reference is made to the quality of the liquors supplied, which are condemned as being in many instances a very inferior article sold at a high price; that the strength of the ale supplied, as well as the quantity consumed, is increasing.

Allusion is made to a reported increase in the use of ether or "naphtha." In one of the tables appended to the report the consumption of spirits per head of the registered population of Norway is shown to have been in 1876, 5.95 quarts, and in 1891, 3.22 quarts. In the period between these years, namely 1887, the consumption had fallen as low as 2.51 quarts per head. (p. 15.)

Taking the average gross receipts of the companies in 1891, and the gross quantity of spirits taken from them, it is stated that the receipts were equal to 5s. 10d. per gallon, and the average expenditure 3s. 2d. per gallon, leaving a net balance of 2s. 7d. (2s. 8d?) In 1890 the profit is said to have been 2s. 6d. per gallon. (p. 18.)

The reserve funds, the amount written off real property and fittings, and the amount applied to, or destined for objects of public utility, are given as under:—
(p. 18.)

	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
	£	£	£	£	£
Added to reserved funds.....	5,856	2,063	1,155	976	298
Written off real property and fittings.....	1,968	3,212	1,035	2,421	1,913
Applied to or destined for objects of public utility.....	38,847	48,649	60,250	73,527	81,911
Total.....	46,671	53,924	63,340	76,924	84,117

The number of licenses granted in Norwegian towns and hamlets in 1891 for the sale of ale, wine, mead and cider, are reported to have been 617, of which the companies held 168. The highest sum paid for a license appears to have been £22 stg., the lowest £7 stg. (p. 24.)

An official estimate of the consumption of ale in Norway, said to have been obtained from the finance department of the Government, which shows it to have been 5 gals. 0 qts. (imperial) in 1883, and in 1892, 5 gals. 3 qts. (imperial) per head of the population, is included in the appendices.

Towards the close of last year the London *Times* employed a special correspondent to investigate the Gothenburg system. The letters of this gentleman, published in the paper, have led to a very active discussion of the company system, which is being continued at the present time (February, 1895). It is only necessary to say that this discussion has called forth a great variety of opinions as to the merits or demerits of the Swedish and Norwegian arrangements.

The undersigned believed that it will be generally admitted,—

1. That the introduction of the company system had the effect of reducing the number of public house licenses for the sale of liquor, and improving their condition and management.

2. That since the adoption of the company system there has been an improvement in the quality and a large reduction in the consumption of spirituous liquors; that there has been a large increase in the consumption of malt liquors and wine, but not to an extent to carry the present ratio of consumption of alcohol up to the figure at which it stood before the operations of these companies were commenced.

3. That, although there are no complete statistics whereby the fact can be conclusively established, there has been a decrease in drunkenness and an improvement in the general condition of the population.

4. That the excessive number of establishments permitted to sell malt liquors and wines (and which establishments are only to a very limited extent under the control of the liquor companies), the exemption of wholesale sales from taxation, and the fixing of the quantity which can be so sold at a comparatively low figure, stand in the way of a full realization of the results which might otherwise flow from the operation of the company system.

5. That whether it can be, even in part, attributed to the establishment of the company system, the discontinuance of what was practically free trade in the distillation of spirituous liquors, and the concentration of the manufacture in a comparatively limited number of establishments under organized governmental supervision, has been attended with beneficial results in Sweden and Norway.

6. That whilst complaints on the subject have not been numerous, a fact which, under the circumstances, should not perhaps cause any surprise, the tendency in the distribution of the surplus profits has been in the direction of relieving communal taxpayers—or, in other words, of applying that surplus to objects which should be promoted out of the sums raised by municipal taxation.

Since the foregoing in reference to the Gothenburg system was written a further communication from Consul General Mitchell to the Earl of Kimberley, dated

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Christiania, 5th December, 1894, has been printed and laid before the Imperial Houses of Parliament. With this despatch the Consul General transmitted a translation of the law regulating the, wholesale and retail, sale of spirits in Norway, passed at the close of the last session of the Storting, and which is to come into force on the 1st of January, 1896.

The law obliges the samlags (liquor companies) to pay over 65 per cent of their profits from the traffic to the government, 15 per cent to the commune where the samlag is located, and the 20 per cent remaining is to be retained by the samlags for distribution among temperance societies and other institutions and societies of public utility. The distributions the first year is apparently to be 15 per cent to the government, 15 per cent to the commune, 20 per cent for distribution amongst temperance societies and other institutions, 50 per cent to the samlag to be used according to the terms of the existing law, the last mentioned distribution to be reduced by 10 per cent per annum until extinguished, and the reduction, made year by year, to be added to the percentage to be taken by the government.

The receipts, as well as the taxes on the right of sale, are to be reserved for a fund, the use of which will be settled by a separate law. The Consul General remarks that it is assumed that a fund for the bestowal of pensions on old workmen is intended.

Spirits are not, after the 1st January, 1896, to be sold wholesale in less quantities than 55 gallons.

Local option is provided for thus:—

“Before the recognition of a scheme of a samlag takes place * * * it shall be decided by a general vote, in which men and women over 25 years of age have a right to take part, whether the establishment or the continued working of a samlag * * * shall be permitted within the limits of a town * * * It cannot be established or obtain a renewed recognition of its established scheme, if the majority of those entitled to vote are against it.” (Sec. 6.)

Out of the samlag's share of the net overplus nothing can be applied to an object which the commune itself, under the laws in force, is responsible to provide for.

In the fourth clause of their instructions the Commissioners are directed to report on “The effect that the enactment of a prohibitory law in Canada would have in respect of social conditions, agricultural, business, industrial and commercial interests, of the revenue requirements of municipalities, provinces, and of the Dominion, and also as to its capability of enforcement;” and the fifth and last clause of their instructions requires them to report “All other information bearing upon the question of prohibition.”

There are few social questions which have been more anxiously considered than that of prohibition, and so great and important is the question involved, that almost every civilized nation has given considerable attention to it. The advocates of the prohibition of the liquor traffic claim that where laws of a prohibitory nature have been enacted material benefits have followed, that the customs of the people have improved, the condition of the community been greatly advanced, the moral tone raised, and marked social advance been made. On the contrary, it is asserted by those opposed to prohibitory legislation, that such enactments have been followed by the development of other evils, that the traffic in intoxicants has been driven into corners, back alleys, and other hiding places, that it is carried on in the lowest places by the dregs of society, that it produces perjury and hypocrisy amongst the people, corruption among officials, tends to increase drunkenness in homes and the sale of adulterated and poisonous liquor.

The agitation in favour of prohibition in the state of Maine began early in the decade commencing with the year 1830, and with it is intimately connected the name of General James Appleton, who was the first to outline and advocate prohibitory legislation, on the platform, the hustings and in the legislature. In 1837, as chairman of a joint committee of the legislature which reported in favour of prohibition, he said, in presenting the report of the committee: “If we have any law on the subject, it should be absolutely prohibitory.” The report was laid on the table. The effects were to follow later on.

Amongst Gen. Appleton's most zealous co-workers was a young man born in Portland in 1804, who has since been known to the world as "the Father of the Maine law." General Dow spent several years in canvassing the state, scattering temperance literature, holding mass meetings, and delivering lectures.

These two advocates of prohibition were ably seconded by the followers of the Washingtonian movement. This movement took its rise in Baltimore in 1840, when six members of a drinking club signed the following pledge:—"We, whose names are annexed, desirous of forming a society for our mutual benefit and to guard against a practice—a pernicious practice—which is injurious to our health, standing and families, do pledge ourselves, as gentlemen, that we will not drink any spirits or malt liquor, wine or cider." They adopted the name of "The Washingtonian Temperance Society," and were popularly known as "The Washingtonians." Early in their existence the founders were joined by John Henry Willis, who, from being a confirmed drunkard, became the foremost leader of the new society. At the close of the year 1840 the Washingtonians numbered 700 members, all reformed drunkards, and, owing to an account of their work appearing in the "Journal of the American Temperance Union" edited by Rev. John Marsh, they were, early in 1841, invited to New York. Other invitations followed, and were accepted, until branch societies had been founded in 160 cities and towns, the aggregate membership being some 100,000 persons at the close of 1841. The next year, 1842, saw the formation in New York City of the Sons of Temperance, the founders of the new society being all interested in the Washingtonian movement. The objects of the new society were "to shield themselves from the evils of intemperance, to afford mutual assistance in case of sickness, and to elevate their character as men." As the Sons of Temperance grew, the Washingtonian movement declined, and, in 1843, expired, but not until some 250,000 persons had taken the pledge. The Sons of Temperance grew with rapidity, until the whole of the North American continent was included in their national division, and charters had been granted for divisions in Great Britain and Ireland, Australasia, and Victoria and South Australia. The original plan was widened, early in their history, by the addition of prohibition.

The joint efforts of Messrs. Appleton and Dow, and their associates, resulted in the passage through the Maine legislature of the prohibitory Act of 1846. This was a very crude and unsatisfactory measure, described as containing no adequate provision for the punishment of law breakers, or for the seizure of liquors illegally held for sale.

It was the first prohibitory law enacted in any of the states, and provided,—that the selectmen might, at annual meeting, license one person in every town of less than 1,000 inhabitants, two in any having over 1,000, and three to five in any having over 3,000 inhabitants to sell wine and strong liquors for medicinal or mechanical purposes only. All other selling it prohibited. The penalty for the violation of these provisions was \$1 to \$20. On conviction for a second offence the penalty was \$5 to \$20, and the offender was to give a bond in \$50 not to violate the Act for six months. On breach of such bond the license, if the offender was licensed, was to be revoked. Provisions denying right of action on obligations to pay for liquor sold in violation of the law were added. In 1850, being a common seller of liquor without license was made punishable by a fine of \$20 to \$300, or by imprisonment for from 30 days to 6 months.

Not satisfied with the working of the law General Dow and his friends persisted in their agitation to amend it, and a legislature pledged to prohibition was chosen. General Dow, now mayor of Portland, himself drafted an Act, which he believed would be effective, and which his friends thought it improbable the legislature would pass. On 29th April, two days before the adjournment of legislature, General Dow arrived in Augusta, the state capital, and the next day asked the immediate appointment of a committee to consider his bill. This was granted, and in the afternoon the legislature adjourned to hear him in support of it. The bill was presented, its printing rushed, and on the same day it was passed by a vote of 86 to 40 in the House, and of 18 to 10 in the Senate. Governor Hubbard, a democrat, signed it on 2nd June, 1851, when it became at once the famous "Maine law."

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This law prohibited any one from selling or manufacturing any intoxicating liquors. Agents were to be appointed in towns or cities for the sale for medicinal and mechanical purposes only, during good behaviour, the penalty for manufacturing and being a common seller, without such appointment, being \$100 for the first offence, \$200 for the second, and \$200, with four months' imprisonment, for the third. In case of selling in violation of the Act, the punishment was a fine of \$10 for first offence, \$20, for second offence, \$20, and imprisonment from 3 to 6 months for the third offence. If the defendant prosecuted an appeal, he had to give a bond not to violate the Act pending decision of the appeal, and in event of final conviction to pay double the fine originally imposed. This last clause was pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Search warrants, seizure and destruction of liquor were authorized on the complaint of three inhabitants, whilst liquor was again made void consideration for any promise to pay or in payment. In 1853 this law was amended so as to elaborate the seizure and forfeiture clauses, and provisions to meet cases of destroying liquors to prevent seizure were included. Liquors used by any chemist, artist, or manufacturer in his trade, and the manufacture and sale by the manufacturer of cider, were exempted from the provisions of this law. Agents were prohibited from selling to minors, without an order of the parent, and to intemperate persons. Intoxication was punishable with 30 days' imprisonment, which the judge might remit, if satisfied that the public weal and objects of the law would be advanced thereby.

The penalties were also enlarged, becoming \$20 for first conviction, \$20 and 30 days' imprisonment for second conviction, \$20 and 60 days for third, and \$20 and four months for fourth and subsequent convictions.

In 1855 there was a very elaborate re-enactment of the law, everything being worked out in minute detail, especially the search, seizure and forfeit clauses. Some of this elaboration has not been preserved in subsequent re-enactments and revisions of the law. The penalties were again increased, illegal sale being punishable by a fine of \$20 and 30 days' imprisonment for a first conviction, up to \$200 and six months' imprisonment for fourth and subsequent convictions. The first offence of unlawfully manufacturing was punishable with \$200 fine and six months' imprisonment.

The year 1856 saw a revulsion of public sentiment which swept away all this legislation, substituting a license law. This law allowed inn-keepers to sell to guests and lodgers, but not to maintain bars. One or two people might be licensed in each town, and for every 3,000 inhabitants. Liquor sold to others than guests or lodgers was not to be consumed on the premises, and drinking houses, or "tippling shops," were prohibited. The penalties for selling contrary to the law ranged from not exceeding \$20 for the first conviction to not exceeding \$100 for the third, with alternate imprisonment up to six months.

This law lasted for about two years. In 1858 the question was submitted to the people, whether they would have the license law of 1856, or a prohibition law which was submitted in 1858. They chose prohibition, and the law was enacted. It was short and moderate. The first conviction for selling incurred a fine of \$10, which rose to \$20, and three months' imprisonment for the third. Another act of the same year declared houses for the illegal sale of liquor to be common nuisances, punished the keeper by a fine not exceeding \$1,000, or imprisonment up to one year, if a tenant, made his lease void, and if the owner was privy to the sale or knowingly permitted it, he was subject to the same penalty.

A state commissioner for providing liquors authorized to be sold, from whom town and city agents were obliged to buy, was appointed in 1862, and civil damages were awarded by the Act of 1872.

In 1883 it was decided to submit a prohibitory amendment to the constitution to popular vote, and this was done in 1884, when it was carried.

The law of 1858 is virtually the law of to-day, though in the intervening years 45 or 50 amendments have been made, with a view of adding greater stringency to its conditions.

Maine is always claimed as the first state to have inaugurated prohibition, and in one sense it is, though the principle had been temporarily adopted in other portions of the country before.

As far back as 1733, in the old colonial days, in Georgia, James Oglethorpe, acting on his own responsibility, proclaimed that "the importation of ardent spirits was illegal," and in 1735 he was supported by the passing of the act of the legislature prohibiting it. This lasted till 1752.

Oregon was under prohibition from 1844 to 1849, and Mississippi had partial prohibition from 1839 to 1842. The conditions of these states, however, so materially differed from that of Maine as to render any comparison useless.

Maine was an old established state, in which the civilization of two centuries had developed trade, thought, and the capability of action, and was comparatively well settled. Her claim therefore to be the leader in the prohibition movement must be at once conceded.

The advocate of the system in Maine claimed that prohibition was a success in Portland and other cities, and other states began to follow her example, until soon there was a long list of states in which prohibition was an accepted principle in legislation.

The following table shows the states which adopted prohibition, with the duration of its continuance.

Table showing the states that have adopted prohibition and those that have repealed such enactments:—

Adopted.	State.	Repealed.	Remarks.
(1). 1846.	Maine	1856	Re-enacted, 1858.
(2). 1851.	Illinois	1853	
(3). 1852.	Massachusetts	1868	Re-enacted, 1869, repealed 1875.
	Rhode Island	1863	
(4). 1852.	Vermont		Still in force.
(5). 1854.	Connecticut	1872	
(6). 1855.	Delaware	1857	
(7). 1855.	Indiana	1858	
(8). 1855.	Iowa		Partial law only; re-enacted more completely, 1883. In 1894 passed a law to tax the traffic and providing for local option.
(9). 1855.	Michigan	1875	
(10). 1855.	Nebraska	1858	
(11). 1855.	New Hampshire		Still in force; sale only prohibited.
(12). 1855.	New York		Declared unconstitutional.
	Maine		Still in force.
(13). 1867.	Kansas	1879	Partial law only.
(14). 1874.	Rhode Island	1875	
	Kansas		Constitutional amendment; still in force.
(15). 1879-80.	South Dakota (then a territory)		Continued in force by state, 1889.
(15). 1885.	Rhode Island	1880	Constitutional amendment carried and subsequently annulled.
(16). 1887.	Alaska (territory)		Still in force.
(18). 1890.	North Dakota (as a territory)		Still in force under state law.

From the above it appears that prohibition has been carried in 16 states, and put in force by order of the federal government in the territory of Alaska. It is in force in 7 states only (in one, Iowa, only nominally), and in Alaska. Alaska is counted in this enumeration, as prohibition is the law there, not however by the action of the inhabitants. It is apparently, totally disregarded.

The tide of prohibition seems to have reached the full in 1855, when there were 12 states under prohibition. Then the ebb commenced. In 1867, there were only 7, and in 1877 the lowest point was reached, only 5 states being then under prohibition. In 1887 the average point of 7 was again reached, but has since been practically reduced to 6, Iowa having, in 1894, enacted a law taxing the traffic and

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granting what is in reality local option. The states now under prohibition are, according to date of existing enactment, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Kansas, Iowa (with local option), South Dakota and North Dakota. From this it would seem that legislative prohibition is not progressing, and this is also evidenced by making a careful examination of the popular votes in the polls for constitutional amendments in favour of prohibition, submitted since 1880, given in the following table.

Table showing votes on constitutional amendments in favour of prohibition since 1880.

Year.	State.	PROPOSED AMENDMENT.		Vote at the nearest great political election.	No. not voting on amendment.
		For.	Against.		
1880	Kansas	91,874	84,037	201,236	25,325
1882	Iowa	155,436	125,677	292,048	10,335
1883	Ohio *	323,189	240,975	721,310	157,146
1884	Maine	70,783	23,811	142,413	47,819
1885	South Dakota †	15,570	15,337	86,768	55,861
1886	Rhode Island	15,113	9,230	26,875	2,532
	Michigan	178,636	184,281	380,895	17,968
	Texas	129,270	220,627	357,513	7,616
1887	Tennessee	117,504	145,197	303,784	41,083
	Oregon	19,973	27,958	54,954	7,923
	West Virginia	41,668	76,555	159,540	41,317
	New Hampshire	23,786	30,976	90,922	34,160
	Massachusetts	85,242	131,062	344,517	128,213
	Pennsylvania	296,617	484,644	997,568	216,307
1888	Rhode Island	9,956	28,315	43,111	4,840
	South Dakota	39,569	33,456	77,827	4,862
	North Dakota	18,552	17,393	38,098	2,153
	Washington	19,646	31,489	58,443	7,408
	Connecticut	22,379	49,974	153,978	81,625
	Totals	1,676,603	1,960,994	4,531,790	894,193

NOTE.—In 1889 Nebraska defeated both prohibition and license majority 29,436 against prohibition.
 * Although the majority of votes cast, were recorded in favour of the amendment, it did not receive the majority of possible votes, and hence under the State constitution, the amendment failed to be adopted.
 † Territory.

Thus it will be seen that out of 19 elections where constitutional prohibition has been submitted, it carried in 8 and was negatived in 11. The following figures show the value of the decisions:—

The majority in favour of prohibition in the eight successful elections was.....	180,110
But it was short of an actual majority of the voters in these states .. .	63,262
The total prohibition vote was short of half the votes cast	142,195
And it was short of half the votes cast at the nearest great political election.....	589,292
The total prohibition vote in the 11 elections where the principle was negatived was.....	946,577
Which was less than half the vote polled in the nearest great political election in the states by.....	679,347

Of the eight states where the principle was affirmed, Rhode Island has since re-considered the question, whilst South Dakota territory, as well as the state election, is included.

It will be noticed that up to 1887 the elections show large and substantial majorities in favour of prohibition, but that since that date in 11 out of 13 elections, the adverse majorities have been proportionately greater; and it is also noteworthy that in every case large numbers of voters did not register their votes, the

general trend of evidence being, that in all elections, the promoters of the legislation exerted every nerve in order to carry prohibition, and leave no favourable vote unpolled. It is a justifiable conclusion that the majority of those who did not vote would have cast adverse votes had they exercised the franchise. On the other hand, it is claimed by those favourable to prohibition that influences of extraordinary potency were exerted to bring to the polls every opponent of prohibition: that the national protective association of liquor manufactures and dealers managed the campaign shrewdly and unscrupulously; that diligent agitation of high license and local option was maintained in order to satisfy people who were in favor of prohibition and wean them from their love for it. That artful opposition was made by prominent politicians, and antagonistic use made of the political machinery of both the great parties; that all the great newspapers were opposed to prohibition, and unfair means were resorted to by anti-prohibitionists. In order to fully appreciate the value of some these latter claims, it should be noted that in 10 out of 19 elections the prohibition vote was taken in conjunction with the presidential or state elections; in 2 cases it was taken in connection with town elections, and 7 were special elections.

Were the pleas of undue political influence and the improper use of political machinery to defeat prohibition well founded, it would be natural to look for the chief manifestation of their adverse effects, in those elections where the prohibition vote was taken concurrently with other political issues; but the results show that prohibition was defeated in both the cases where the vote was taken simultaneously with municipal votes, and was successful in 7 out of the 10 cases where comparatively greater political issues were in question. Again, prohibitionists claim that their friends abstained from voting. If this be so, the only conclusion that can be arrived at, in the face of the immense number of voters who failed to place themselves on record in the elections—for instance, Pennsylvania, 216,307; Massachusetts, 128,213, and Tennessee, 41,083; is that the prohibitory amendments were killed by the apathy of prohibitionists.

In short, after mature and impartial consideration of the whole question, the evidence adduced before the Commission being also weighed, it becomes evident that the change which took place after 1886 was due to a reaction of public sentiment. That the reaction took place is admitted even by those who deny its conclusiveness and permanency.

The reasons of this reaction will be seen by anyone who dispassionately reads the evidence taken in the United States by the Commission, especially that taken in Maine.

The first great reason is non-enforcement. "Where is prohibition enforced?" has been asked repeatedly, and the conclusion any thoughtful reader must arrive at, is: nowhere efficiently, and only indifferently in small scattered populations. The whole trend of the evidence only proves this much, that prohibition prohibits where no one wants intoxicating liquors, but nowhere else. Some few witnesses testify that prohibition is enforced, but the vast majority admit, in many cases with reluctance and sorrow, that it does not.

The following table shows the census of the undermentioned states :

State.	Number of witnesses examined	Law enforced.	Law not enforced.	Expressed no opinion.
Maine	81	16	61	4
Kansas	66	6	58	4
Iowa	37	2	35	
	184	24	154	6

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It is urged that prohibition, where enacted, has been an educational factor, but the evidence does not support this claim, despite the fact, as one witness pointed out, that the Commission had the best side put before them. So far from the evidence showing prohibition to have been an educator, it proves that in order to obtain the benefits which advocates of prohibition claim result from it, a higher education is necessary,—and that to such education and its accompanying improved civilization, and above all to the extended influences of christianity, and not to prohibitory enactments, are such results due.

The advocates of prohibition in Canada aim at the entire suppression of the use of intoxicants for beverage purposes. They desire to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale for all purposes other than sacramental, medicinal and mechanical. Some of the extreme advocates of the system would eliminate the first, that is, sacramental, from the list of exemptions.

The Commissioners have not been able to discover that any such sweeping system of prohibition is in force in any self-governing community. The question was put again and again to witnesses, but only to elicit the answer that they did not know of any country, state or colony, where such a law was in force.

The secretary of the Dominion Alliance, Mr. Sponco, after the taking of evidence by the Commission had practically been closed, addressed a letter to the secretary of this Commission, from which the following is an extract:—

"I enclose to you a copy of a brief history of Pitcairn Island, by Dr. F. R. Lees, a place in which I understand there is in force a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquor. This is the kind of prohibition concerning which the commissioners made frequent inquiry, but received comparatively little information." "Kindly lay before the chairman of the Commission and oblige."

The papers inclosed with the letter contain extracts from a very graphic and interesting account, by the late Dr. Lees, of the mutiny on board the Imperial ship "Bounty" and the landing of a number of the mutineers, with a few Tahitian men and women on Pitcairn Island, an island, the area of which is three square miles. It describes how, through the knowledge possessed by one of the mutineers of distillation, a highly intoxicating and deleterious spirit was distilled from a native plant, and some frightful scenes of dissipation and crime resulted from the unrestrained use of this liquor; how, at a later period, the distillation was put an end to, and the use of intoxicants of all kinds stopped.

The mutiny took place in the year 1789, and Dr. Lees' book appears to have been published in the year 1853.

The mutineers were, as is well known, a long time on the island without being discovered. At a later period they were transported to Norfolk Island, but subsequently two families returned to Pitcairn. It is understood that the same system of prohibiting the importation and use of liquor has been continued, but the Commissioners have not been able to secure any very recent reports on the condition of matters on the island.

Sir Wentworth Dilke, in his work on "Greater Britain," published in 1869, writes: "Besides the cloth, tobacco, hats and linen, there was a bottle of brandy given for medicine, as the islanders are strict teetotalers."

In the Statesman's Year Book for 1894 the population of the island is stated to be 120.

Since the foregoing in reference to Pitcairn Island was written, there has been received, in response to a communication addressed to Sir Charles Tupper, the following papers:—

"DOWNING STREET, 10th December, 1894.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Marquess of Ripon to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th ultimo, enclosing a copy of a letter from Sir Joseph Hickson, chairman of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic sitting at Montreal, in which he applied for recent information regarding Pitcairn Island.

"I am to express his Lordship's regret that this office is in possession of extremely little recent information regarding the island, nor are the Lords Commissioners of

the Admiralty able to render much assistance, as the copy of the inclosed letter from their Lordships' department will show.

"I am, however, to inclose a copy of the parliamentary papers in which an account of the transfer to Norfolk Island will be found, and also an extract from a report from the commander of Her Majesty's ship 'Cormorant,' showing what the population was in 1889, and on account by the same officer of his presentation of some jubilee coins to the islanders.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

" JOHN BRAMSTON.

"The High Commissioner for Canada."

" ADMIRALTY, 5th December, 1894.

"SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 17th ultimo, forwarding a copy of a letter from the High Commissioner for Canada asking for recent information about Pitcairn Island, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Marquess of Ripon, that no recent full report on the island has been received.

"Her Majesty's ship 'Acorn' visited the island in 1890, and Her Majesty's ship 'Hyacinth' in 1893; but no special report of either visit has been received.

"Information concerning this island is contained in the Sailing Directions for the Pacific Islands, volume II. As regards the history of the removal of the islanders, I am to observe that the papers presented to Parliament by your department contain the reports of the naval officers concerned.

"I am, &c.,

" EVAN MACGREGOR.

"The Under Secretary of State,
"Colonial Office."

"PRESENTATION OF JUBILEE COINS AT PITCAIRN.

"HER MAJESTY'S SHIP 'CORMORANT,' AT SEA
(Lat. 28° 13' S.; Long. 107° 17' W.), 22nd July, 1889.

"SIR,—With reference to Admiralty letter M.2,136 of 5th September, 1888, No. 156, and its enclosure—I have the honour to report that I arrived at Pitcairn island on the morning of the 10th instant, and having seen the chief magistrate, Mr. James Russell McCoy (in the inclosure to Admiralty letter relative to this subject, the chief magistrate is mentioned by name as Mr. John Adams, but there are none of the Adams' family on the island, and the present incumbent has been magistrate now for over three years) I arranged that the presentation should take place that afternoon in front of the school room.

"Accordingly, at 2 p. m., all the inhabitants being present, I explained to them the mission with which I was entrusted, the manner in which Her Majesty wished certain of the coins to be disposed of, and the discretion given to me in awarding the remainder. With reference to this discretion, I told them that these coins were not to be looked upon as commercial articles, but rather as memoirs of the Queen's jubilee, by which Her Majesty desired to express her approval of their loyalty.

"I considered therefore that the wishes of Her Majesty would be best met by distributing them as generally as possible among the families, and to this end I proposed giving the coins as far as they would go to the women of the island, in accordance with age seniority.

"Then, as I explained to the men, all the married couples would have a memoir in the family, and in due time, when the present unmarried men took upon them the same responsibilities, they would also have a share in the remembrance.

"This appeared to meet the hearty approval of the islanders.

"As there are now 67 women and girls on the island and there were 58 coins for distribution, all but the very little ones came in for one.

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"The names of the women were then called out in turn, and I presented them each with their due, being generally answered with 'Thank you, thank you, sir, and thank our Queen, God bless her.'

"After this three choirs were given for the Queen and the National Anthem sung very nicely, every one taking a part, and the smallest children apparently knowing all the words by heart.

"I then took a photograph of the islanders, telling them that should it be successful I proposed forwarding it on, and the proceedings terminated. I forward herewith the group in question, as well as one or two other views which, under the circumstances, may interest Her Majesty.

"Inclosed is a letter of thanks from the islanders.

"I have, etc.,

"J. E. T. NICOLLS,

"Commander.

"Rear Admiral,

"ALGERNON C. F. HENEAGE,

"Commander-in-chief, &c., &c., &c.,

"Pacific."

"PITCAIRN ISLAND.

"Visited 10th July, 1889.

"A fresh westerly breeze was blowing, with an accompanying swell, on our arrival here on the morning of the 10th, so not caring for the exposed look of the anchorage off Adam's Town, I went round to leeward, and anchored off the west landing.

"*Inhabitants.*—The inhabitants have been increasing since our last visit, and now run as follows, viz:—

"Married men (2 widowers).....	21
"Unmarried (over 14 years).....	9
"Boys.....	28
"Total.....	58
"Married women (3 widows).....	23
"Unmarried (over 14 years).....	18
"Girls.....	26
"Total.....	67
"Grand total.....	125

"From this it appears the male element is on the increase.

"*Supplies.*—The prices remain the same.

"*Present from the Queen.*—I duly presented the coins sent by the Queen for distribution, and as perhaps Her Majesty may take an interest in it, I have written a more detailed account, which I attach, together with photographs of the place, which may also be of interest.

"J. E. T. NICOLLS,

"Commander.

"Her Majesty's ship 'Cormorant,'

"At sea, lat. 28° 13' S.; long. 107° 17' W.,

"July 22nd, 1889."

The printed papers forwarded were:—

Correspondence on the subject of the removal of inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island to Norfolk Island. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, February 5, 1857.

Further papers (part I) respecting the same, presented to both Houses of Parliament, June 11, 1857.

Further papers (part II) respecting the same presented to both Houses of Parliament, June 11, 1857.

Return to an address of the Honorable the House of Commons, dated 30th July, 1862, for "copy of correspondence with the Government of New South Wales in reference to Pitcairn Islanders settled in Norfolk Island (in continuation of papers presented 11th June, 1857)." Colonial Office, May 19, 1863.

On Sunday, the 8th of June, 1856, the former inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island, to the number of 194 souls were landed in Norfolk Island. This island, which contains an area of 8607 acres was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, but does not seem to have been utilized in any way till 1788, when it was taken possession of as a convict settlement. In 1805 the settlement was abandoned, but in 1826 the island again became a convict settlement for New South Wales convicts, and in 1844 it was transferred from the administration of New South Wales to that of Tasmania. The island is well watered and very fertile, and it having been decided to remove the convicts for ever, was considered the spot most adapted in every way for the future home of the simple minded descendants of the mutineers of the "Bounty." They found themselves in a much larger island, possessed of the fine buildings formerly used for the penal settlement, but without their accustomed scenery or food. On June 28, 1856, Captain Freemantle, of H. M. S. "Juno" wrote, "The voyage from Pitcairn Island has tended in some degree to unhinge the islanders from their usual quiet habits, and the astonishing contrast, between the home they have left, and the one they have taken possession of, has contributed still more to unsettle their minds. Perfect strangers to everything they see, and diffident of acquiring skill and knowledge in the different pursuits and occupations necessary for their future maintenance, they appear generally in a depressed mood."

Prior to the transference of the islanders from Pitcairn to Norfolk Island, the question of again placing Norfolk Island under the administration of New South Wales, instead of that of Tasmania, had been raised, and in 1856 the 18-19 Vic., chap. 56, sec. 7, known as the "New South Wales Act" was passed by the Imperial parliament, and gave Her Majesty power to make fresh provision for the government of Norfolk Island. In accordance with this act an order in council dated Buckingham Palace, 24th June, 1856, was issued, making Norfolk Island a distinct colony, under the administration of the Governor of New South Wales, but not the legislature, courts of justice, or magistrates. This order in council provided "that the said governor for the time being of Norfolk Island, shall have full power and authority to make laws for the order, peace, and good government of the said Island, subject, nevertheless, to such rules and regulations as Her Majesty at any time by any instruction or instructions, with the advice of the Privy Council, under her sign manual and signet, may think fit to prescribe in that behalf." Throughout the whole of these proceedings, from the time the sight of a man of war first startled Adams from his fancied security in Pitcairn, these people had been treated by the British government as "wards" unable to help, or defend themselves. In despatches they are spoken of as recipients of Imperial bounty, and "attached subjects of the crown." It was also early pointed out to the Pitcairn islanders that Norfolk Island could not be "ceded" to them, but that the title to all land would remain vested in the crown; whilst they begged, as a privilege, that they might live at Norfolk Island in as great seclusion as they had maintained at Pitcairn, and this boon was granted, by implication at any rate. In accordance with the powers conferred upon him by the order in council, Sir William Denison, Governor, drafted a set of "laws and regulations for Norfolk Island" which were published in the "New South Wales Government Gazette," Friday, 30th October, 1857. These regulations contain the following prohibitory clauses:—

"35. No beer, wine or spirituous liquor of any kind shall be landed upon the island, except such as may be wanted for medicinal purposes, and this will be placed among the other medicinal stores in charge of the chaplain, to be issued by him at his discretion, all issued to be noted in the register.

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"36. Should any beer, wine or spirits be landed or found in possession of any person on the island, (whether such person be an inhabitant of the island or a visitor) the vessels containing the same will be immediately destroyed, and the contents thrown away. The person in whose possession these articles are found will be liable to a fine of 40s."

In consequence of the law officers of the crown taking exception to the phraseology of some of the clauses, these regulations were amended in November 1859, but the clauses quoted were not, in any wise, altered.

Between these two dates, however, a change had come over the islanders. A few had never been anxious to remove from Pitcairn, and had only done so, apparently, because the remainder left. The gloominess spoken of by Capt. Freemantle in June 1856, appears to have increased, and been augmented, 1st. by a lack of food which occurred in the first year: 2nd, by the difficulty of learning the various agricultural and other industries, and, 3rd, by the persistent efforts of the Bishop of New Zealand to establish a Melanesian College on the island. Sir William Denison distinctly, and consistently, opposed this proposal (Further Papers, Part 1), whilst Sir John Young, in May 1862, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, strongly condemns it. (Correspondence relating to Pitcairn Islanders at Norfolk Island, p. 47). This last cause some of the simple islanders took very deeply to heart, having conceived that they owned the island "in toto." As a result of this feeling, two families named Young left the island in November 1858, and returned to Pitcairn, where they settled numbering in 1860, sixteen souls in all. These were afterwards joined by others. In 1860, Capt. Montrossor of H. M. S. 'Calypso,' writes of Pitcairn, that "in the literally infant state of this colony, they have as yet no recognized laws, and no magistrate, but it is the intention of the heads of the two families, as their children grow up to establish the same rules which have been handed down to them from the time of old John Adams."

In 1867 the Melanesian College of St. Barnabas was founded in Norfolk Island by Bishop Patterson, in whose memory later on a memorial church was erected in connection with the college. Speaking of this, Lady Belcher, (Mutineers of the "Bounty," 1871, p. 315), says one of the causes which led to the establishment was that the isolation of the islanders had been destroyed. "Strangers had by this time become domesticated among the original colonists, and the not in frequent visits of whaling vessels, with their disturbing accompaniments, rendered absolute isolation impracticable."

The population at present is 750 (Statesman's Year Book, 1894), of these, the Encyclopaedia Britannica states, two-thirds are descendants of the old Pitcairn Islanders.

The following is a copy of a letter from the Imperial Colonial Office addressed to the High Commissioner for Canada on the 6th February, 1895.

"COLONIAL OFFICE, DOWNING STREET, 6th February, 1895.

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 9th ultimo, I am directed by the Marquess of Ripon to transmit to you a copy of the regulation as to the liquor traffic in Norfolk Island.

"I am to add that there is no information in this department as to the working of the regulation.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant.

"R. H. MEADE.

"The High Commissioner for Canada."

The regulation referred to in the foregoing letter is No. 35, recorded at page 1233 of this report.

The prohibitive laws in force in the United States aim at the suppression of the liquor traffic, or the buying and selling of liquor for beverage purposes, within the boundaries of the particular states which have adopted such laws. Under the Federal constitution the right to procure for his personal use such liquors as he may desire, is practically, secured to every citizen of the country. In each and every one of the states in which prohibitive laws exist, a citizen can import, either from a foreign country, or from any neighbouring state where they are to be had, any liquors which he may wish to obtain for his personal use.

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" Q. 9675 a

" Q. 10818 a

" Q. 14134 a

" Q. 11238 a

The evidence taken by the Commission has developed the fact that amongst a very considerable number of the advocates of a prohibitive system for Canada, the law in the United States has not, in this matter, been clearly understood.

Amongst the advocates of the system there are many differences of opinion as to the character of the legislation which should be sought for. Some would permit individual liberty as to the use of liquors as a beverage, whilst prohibiting the manufacture or sale of them within the country, but this is not the view of the Dominion Alliance, practically the head, and probably the most important and active of Canadian temperance organizations.

These observations in regard to the character of the prohibition, which has heretofore existed, or now exists, are rendered necessary before proceeding to examine what the effect of such prohibition as has existed elsewhere, has been.

No where, so far as this Commission has been able to investigate, have prohibitory laws had the effect of stopping the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

The Commissioners have anxiously sought to ascertain if the operation of these laws has had the effect of lessening the consumption of liquor, curtailing intemperance and reducing the number of offences against the laws, to a greater extent than the system of license and regulation, which it is needless to say, has been much more generally resorted to all over the world, than has the prohibition of the traffic.

General prohibitory laws are, practically, confined to the United States. Local option laws exist in some of the colonies, have existed, and do exist, in Canada. Prohibition against the giving or selling to the aboriginal inhabitants, in many of the colonies, as in Canada, has existed and exists.

In previous portions of this report, comparison has been made, as far as it has been possible, of the results secured under the prohibitive system elsewhere, with those which have been obtained in the Dominion under the license and local option systems which have been in force, and the conclusion arrived at by the undersigned, is, that, progress towards the suppression of intemperance, the curtailment of offences against the laws, and the suppression of vice generally, has been greater and more solidly satisfactory in Canada than it has been in any of the neighbouring states similarly situated which have adopted prohibition.

The evidence now submitted affords ample proof that prohibition and persuasion do not travel on parallel lines with equal zeal. Where prohibition has been adopted, in many cases individual effort, and the efforts of temperance organizations to promote sobriety, and personal abstinence from the use of intoxicants, have become less effective, and in not a few instances have been to a great extent abandoned.

"Temperance implies self-restraint, and self-restraint ends where coercion begins," said Professor Goldwin Smith in his evidence, and it may be added that when the law undertakes to prohibit, persuasion generally ceases.

Rev. Professor Clarke, of Toronto, in his evidence said:—"As a principle it seems to me to be quite inconsistent with the divine government of the world for one thing. God does not make us good and strong by locking up all the cupboards in our houses, or in the universe, which may contain anything hurtful."

The undersigned have already expressed the opinion that more substantial progress has been made under the system pursued in Canada for regulating the liquor traffic, than has been achieved under prohibitory legislation in the states of the United States which have adopted prohibition, and, it is only necessary to add, that they do not believe the social condition of the people of the Dominion would be improved by the enactment of a general prohibitory law.

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The agricultural interests, so far as they are represented by money considerations, are set forth in a previous portion of this report.

The adoption of prohibition would deprive the farmers of a market for a considerable portion of the product of their farms. The barley which is supplied for malting purposes is produced on soils peculiarly adapted to produce it. A home market affords the farmer a ready means of converting this crop into cash at a season of the year when the latter is in many instances indispensable, if he is to meet engagements. That some other crop could be produced instead of barley, is doubtless true, but it is undoubtedly also true that this change, if it could be brought about at all advantageously, would, for a time, inflict considerable loss upon the producer.

The production of hops is one of the expanding industries of the agriculturalist. This branch of farming probably leads to the employment of a larger number of laborers than any other, in proportion to its magnitude. There have been small shipments of hops to England, but it is manifest that this outlet for Canadian hops could not, for many years to come, take the place of the present home market, which absorbs about 860,000 lbs per annum.

The following is an extract from the report of the Minister of Agriculture for the year 1893:—

"I desire to call attention to an industry which I consider as capable of a considerable degree of extension, that is hop growing. In the year 1892, the United Kingdom imported from all countries twenty one million pounds of hops, of which Canada only exported to that country 24,000 pounds, whilst the United States sent to Great Britain over twelve million pounds, valued at upwards of two million dollars. In the year 1891 the census figures show that there was a net import into Canada, of 341,312 pounds which at twenty-five cents per pound, the average price calculated during a period of ten years, is equal to \$85,330, paid out for an imported article. Now it seems to me that the cultivation of hops is an opening for agriculturalists in an industry which has hitherto been completely overlooked; for the importation of an article from abroad which can be raised on our own soil, takes out of the country an amount of money which would be far better circulated among our own people.

"I have called the attention of the director of the experimental farm to this matter, and expressed the desire that a bulletin be issued, as soon as possible, to supply full information on the subject of hops and hop growing."

An increasing quantity of corn, grown in Canada, is being used yearly for the production of spirits. One firm alone uses between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 pounds. A small quantity of wheat is made use of, and a large quantity of rye.

The farmer finds also in connection with the brewing and distilling establishments of the country, a home market for a large number of cattle which are fed from the refuse of these establishments. That the cattle thus disposed of by the farmer, and fed by the distillers, could not be fed with equal advantage and equally satisfactory financial results, on the raw grains purchased from the farmers, and used by the brewers and distillers, is doubtless a fact.

The stoppage of the making of spirituous and malt liquors would, just to the extent that such products, as have been mentioned, are now made use of in their manufacture, destroy the market therefor.

In some parts of Canada, as stated elsewhere, large quantities of wines are made by manufacturers from grapes grown in the locality where the manufacture takes place. Not only is wine extensively manufactured in this way, but many farmers who grow grapes also make wine. This is a growing industry, and its stoppage would deprive many persons of their present employment, and would lessen the demand for grapes, thus probably compelling the destruction of vines in order to fit the land for other purposes.

That prohibition of the traffic would adversely affect the agricultural interests of the country, the Commissioners believe is a fact beyond successful contention.

A large quantity of coal, the product of Canadian mines, is used. This would, no doubt, readily find some other market, and the amount now paid for transportation of material used, would probably be in a short time, in part at least, distributed into other channels.

Prohibition, such as is sought for, could hardly fail to close every brewery and distillery in the country. Such liquors as might be required for medicinal, mechanical, etc., purposes would not be made in Canada. The idea, given expression to in some parts of the evidence, that the Government might undertake the manufacturing and supplying of liquors which would be required for these purposes, and by imposing extra charges upon them, or disposing of them at high prices, partially recoup the revenue, which would be lost to the country by the adoption of prohibition, the Commissioners believe to be undesirable and impracticable.

The business, industrial and commercial interests are so closely interwoven that they have to be considered conjointly.

Adopting the view, that the breweries and distilleries would be closed, wholesale houses to a very large extent, also closed, and the retail trade in liquor put an end to, there would probably be thrown out of employment not less than 30,000 persons, many of them having families, and all at present earning their livelihood directly from the liquor traffic. This is an estimate. The data does not exist from which a correct statement can be compiled. It excludes the numbers engaged in the making of cider and native wines.

That the cognate trades furnishing supplies to brewers and distillers, amongst which may be mentioned coopers, bottle-makers, cork-cutters, capsule-makers, etc., would be largely affected, cannot possibly be questioned. That real estate, buildings and machinery, occupied and employed by brewers and distillers would be seriously affected in value, there cannot be any doubt. In fact, much of it would be rendered almost valueless.

That property occupied by the wholesale and retail vendors of liquors would also be depreciated in value if the traffic in liquor was put an end to, is, the Commissioners believe, a certainty.

It is not, of course, practicable to definitely determine to what extent all these interests would be affected by the adoption of a law prohibiting the making, importing and selling of liquors, but it is impossible to suppose that so serious an interference, as it must bring about, with a business, which, one way and another, affects investments and the employment of money, in the aggregate, equal in amount to that of the whole of the capital of the chartered banks of Canada, could take place without causing a very grave disturbance of the industrial, commercial and financial affairs of the country.

The following question was put to several of the leading bankers of the Dominion:—

“What, in your opinion, would be the effect on financial, agricultural, commercial, industrial and business interests generally, and upon the revenue requirements of the Dominion, and provinces and municipalities, of the enactment of a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale, except for medicinal, sacramental and mechanical purposes, of all intoxicants?” The answers obtained were as follows:—

Alfred Brunet, Esq., Manager of La Banque Nationale, said that he had no doubt that the prohibition of the manufacture and traffic in liquor would diminish, considerably, the revenue of the country, and would also interfere with the trade of the country, for the reason that liquor being a large item in the business of the country, it would diminish the business to a certain extent and would certainly reduce the revenue of the Dominion Government largely.

E. S. Clouston, Esq., Manager of the Bank of Montreal, Montreal, said that he could only give a very “sketchy” answer to this question, as he had not given it any fair consideration. He had never looked upon the question of prohibition as being a practical one. “The liquor traffic no doubt gives employment to a large number of people, farmers and others, and assists many through a large number of channels and is the means of a great deal of good, and financially it is productive of a large amount of revenue, both Dominion and Provincial” (030734). It is one of the means by which money is kept in circulation, and the Bank of Montreal has a good many accounts directly and indirectly with those in the liquor traffic. The passage of a prohibitory law would cut off almost wholly the revenue now collected

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by the Dominion Government of \$6,000,000 or \$7,000,000 a year from excise and customs duties on liquors of all kinds. Such a state of affairs would have a very serious effect, and he did not see how they could replace the loss of the revenue. Total prohibition would mean a very large expense to make the law effective. In the province of Quebec the loss of so much revenue would be a very serious matter. Such a law would take away a market for a certain amount of grain, but he did not think it would make a very serious difference to the agricultural community. It would have a depressing effect on the property occupied by those selling liquors, and it would injure the value of property in some cases near these places. It would depreciate the value of property held by brewers and distillers, and would render their plant perfectly useless, although the real estate could be used for other purposes.

A. D. deMartigny, Esq., Manager of the Jacques Cartier Bank, said, in regard to the effect of a prohibitory law, that he could not express an opinion on that as he had not made a sufficient study of it. He thought a prohibitory law would do great damage to the country. It would effect the revenue of the Dominion to a large extent, and also the revenues of the large cities and municipalities. No doubt the government might devise some other scheme of taxation, but he thought the liquor traffic should pay the highest amount of taxation, because it is a traffic that is not absolutely necessary.

Henry Barbeau, Esq., Manager of the City and District Savings Bank, said that it would be necessary to replace the revenue which would be lost by the enactment of a prohibitory law, but he did not think it could be done very easily. To raise the amount would be to the detriment of other trades. The province of Quebec could not afford to lose the revenue from the liquor traffic without imposing taxes in some other way, and direct taxation would be the only way. Direct taxation, though unpopular in Quebec, is practicable. A prohibitory law, such as is referred to in this question, would injuriously disturb financial operations very much. He had not observed that the drinking habits of the people interfered with their savings. (29,908).

M. J. A. Prendergast, Esq., Manager of the Bank of Hochelaga, Montreal, said,—“A law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of spirits would I believe have a beneficial effect on all interests, particularly if light wines were imported in their stead. It would create a new industry in the country, and incite farmers and vine growers to put more of their capital and energy into this industry; and I believe the whole community would benefit by that, as well as by the increased duties and excise collected on the importation and manufacture of light wines, and I think that the decrease of the evil effects arising out of drunkenness would be felt very beneficially in every branch of the trade.” He thought the revenue derived in that way would eventually replace the present revenue which would be lost, although there might at first be a deficit. The deficit could be made up by direct taxation, and he saw nothing more equitable than income tax. (29861).

F. Wolferstan Thomas, Esq., Manager of the Molsons Bank, Montreal, thought that if the liquor business were closed entirely it would have a very baneful effect on a great many interests. There would be a loss of the cattle which are now fed by the refuse from the manufacture of spirits. There would be more, or less, of trade and commerce affected by it as a medium of exchange. “But still I come back to what my full belief is, that if the monies now invested in the manufacture of spirits and liquors were applied in other directions to improve the system of agriculture, for instance, I believe the county would be very materially benefited, and still, I do not say, I believe in prohibition.” It would necessarily drive all the brewers and distillers out of the business. Such a prohibitory law is very undesirable. (030666). Mr. Thomas had no doubt, but that the money, now invested in distilleries and breweries and the liquor business generally, would find other employment, if it were out of that business. (030702). “If I know a person, merchant or otherwise, who drinks immoderately, to apply to open an account in the bank of which I have charge if I have any say in the matter, I decline to receive that account.” That is he would

avoid making a loan to him. (030708). As far as the financial status of his Bank in the North-West is concerned, the change in the law there has not had any effect, one way or the other.

W. Weir, Esq., President of the Ville Marie Bank, Montreal, said that a prohibitory law would sweep away both the customs and the excise duties, and decrease the revenue of the Dominion by about \$6,500,000; but if the law were enforced and obeyed by the people, the prosperity of the country would be so much greater, that the revenue, derived from other articles, would be increased between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000. The deficit he thought should be made up by a tax on tea and coffee. In regard to the Province of Quebec, it would be very difficult indeed to replace the revenue, which is, at present, derived from the issue of licenses, about \$600,000 per year. In regard to the agricultural interests of the province, he thought, that, if the farmers could sell their grain, elsewhere at the same price, as they do to the breweries and distilleries, they would not suffer very much. (29772). The absorption of so much capital in the liquor business is not too any extent injurious to other industries; but the money spent on liquor shuts it out from other enterprises, and is a constant waste, and in so far as the people are impoverished by it, and rendered unable to purchase articles, of necessity and of luxury, that would stimulate other branches of business, it is injurious.

George Hague, Esquire, General Manager of the Merchants Bank of Canada, Montreal, said that the effect of absolute prohibition, on business, would be "to destroy the value of a large amount of, what is now valuable property (namely, the buildings and plant of every brewery and distillery in the country), to throw a large number of persons out of employment altogether, and much diminish the employment of many other persons. There can be no doubt that a large amount of distress to families would follow until matters were adjusted to the new opinion. The cutting off of the income of all the persons and companies engaged in the business, and their officers and clerks, with the diminution of business of those amongst whom their incomes are spent, has also to be taken into account.

It would be difficult to see how the Government could make up the large diminution in their revenue, which it would be necessary to do. The passing of a prohibitory law would involve compensation, a question which has a very far reaching application. Not only would the owners of properties claim to be considered, but also, the very large number of persons thrown out of employment in connexion with them. Mr. Hague thought it was probable that \$12,000,000 or \$15,000,000 at the lowest calculation would be required for that purpose, which sum would be a permanent addition to the burdens of the country. On the other hand, if a prohibitory law were carried out, and had the consumption of abolishing drunkenness, there would be an increased consumption of dutiable articles, an increase in the business of Savings Banks, and, in time, of housebuilding, and other forms of desirable expenditure, all tending to increase the revenue of the country and the value of property. (Q. 30303).

J. Herbert Mason, Esq., President of the Canada Permanent Loan and Savings Company, Toronto, said that the immediate effect of the passage of a prohibitory law, would be to cause the capital, now invested in the liquor business, to be, for the time being, idle and useless, and it would also deprive the agricultural interest of the market for those grains, which are raised specially with a view to the manufacture of liquors. It would have little effect on commercial interests beyond those engaged in the wholesale and retail trade in liquors. He doubted, the beneficial effect of the enactment of a prohibitory law upon the general interests of the Dominion, partly, "because I would regard it as almost impossible of enforcement, and because I doubt its advisability, even if it could be enforced." (Q. 14453a).

David R. Wilkie, Esq., President of the Toronto Board of Trade and cashier of the Imperial Bank of Canada, said, a prohibitory law could not be enforced; smuggling could not be prevented. "There is no doubt that neither the financial, the agricultural, the commercial, the industrial nor the business interests, would suffer if such a law could be carried out honestly...If it could be carried out in its entirety, I think these different interests would be benefited." The effects of such a law, if

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brought on suddenly, would be very serious. If such a law were practicable, and were enacted, brewers should not be compensated.

The enactment of a prohibitory law for the whole Dominion would, in the opinion of the undersigned, prejudicially affect the business, industrial and commercial interests of the country.

The effect of the law on the federal, provincial and municipal revenues from the traffic would be to practically wipe them out.

With the exception of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and, to a smaller extent, British Columbia, the revenue derived from the municipalities—though it has not been by any means accurately ascertained, with the exception of what is collected in Ontario—cannot amount to a very large sum.

It is obvious that in Quebec, at least, the wiping out of such a large sum as \$600,000 per annum would prove seriously embarrassing, unless it was replaced by an income of an equal amount from some other source. So far as this province is concerned, the generally expressed opinion was that it could be replaced only by an income or direct tax in some form upon the population. There were others, however, whose views are that if this income is taken away by Dominion legislation, the amount should be replaced from the Dominion exchequer.

If the individual citizen is allowed to import for private use, and there is no manufacture of liquors permitted in the country, two results inevitably follow. First, all the money expended in the first purchase of liquors must be sent out of the country. Second, the intermediate dealer in liquors must be extinguished. Such a system might possibly reduce the consumption of intoxicants, but it is quite conceivable that it might not largely reduce drunkenness. The classes who would be most likely to discontinue the use of such stimulants under that system would be those who are indifferent to their use, and who do not require protection against the vice of intemperance, whilst those determined to secure supplies would import them, illicitly or otherwise, and use them, probably, to excess.

The evidence taken by the commission develops the fact that amongst a considerable number of the advocates of the prohibitive system in Canada it is assumed that if the traffic should be prohibited by legislation, the Government of the Dominion must undertake the entire enforcement of the law, both as regards the stopping of improper importation, manufacture, and the prevention of illegal selling.

They probably anticipate that under such an arrangement the local communities would be freed from the expense of prosecuting offenders, but they are doubtless mainly influenced by the hope of securing more efficient enforcement.

It has been urged in explanation of the failure of the Canada Temperance Act, that it is too circumscribed in its operation, and a district adopting it meets with the difficulty of finding, perhaps, its neighbours unwilling to follow the same course, and as a consequence the vendor of intoxicants continues in close contiguity, rendering the enforcement of the law difficult, if not impracticable. They apparently, however, in many cases, overlook the position in which Canada stands to the United States. With full liberty possessed by the citizens of any of the states of that country to deal in liquors, and the right of transportation to the border line of Canada, even through states which have adopted prohibition, secured, it is not to be expected that the importation into Canada could be stopped by any method, other than the employment of an army of preventive officers stationed along the frontier between the two countries, and past experience does not hold out much encouragement that even a resort to this method would prove efficient.

Many of the advocates of the prohibitory system claim, as one of its greatest advantages, that it forces such traffic in liquor as does take place in communities where it is the law, into out-of-the-way places, into the back lanes and alleys of towns and cities. This result many others look upon as a positive disadvantage, and there is this to be said that the vices of a community, whether they result from intemperance or otherwise, which are open and flagrant, will have brought to bear upon them the influence of the sentiment of the right thinking and law-abiding section of the community—a sentiment which it can hardly be disputed is generally more powerful in eradicating offences, than the action of the officers of the law, armed with search warrants and subpoenas, has ever been.

The fact that many churches have made public utterances in favour of prohibitory legislation, brings that aspect of the question under the scope of the work of the Royal Commission.

Prominent among these public utterances is the deliverance of the Methodist Conference, held at Montreal, and in which every Methodist minister examined before the Commission in Canada, concurred. It is given at length in the appendix to volume 11 of this report. In addition to this, many of the Baptist and Presbyterian churches, as well as the Mennonite church and the church of the Disciples of Christ, of which there are some in Canada, have openly expressed their belief in, and advocated the passage of prohibitory legislation.

The abuse of intoxicating liquors, and the lessening of the evils resulting therefrom are evidently objects demanding the attention of Christian workers, and their most strenuous efforts. In view of this it is most gratifying to note throughout the evidence, the general admission that drunkenness is decreasing, that temperance is becoming more widespread, and that a great change in this respect has come over the social habits of the Canadian people during the past quarter of a century, and it is also gratifying to note that this vast improvement is generally ascribed to the influence of the churches and to moral suasion. In places where prohibitory laws exist and similar improvement is claimed the improvement is very generally ascribed to the same influences; the few ardent prohibitionists, who ascribe the change to the attempted enforcement of prohibitory measures, admitting these causes as having been materially auxiliary.

The attitude of the various denominations towards prohibition may be briefly stated.

The Roman Catholic Church, which represents, according to the last census return, 41.21 per cent of the population of the Dominion, is not in favour of prohibition. It would not, perhaps, be putting the point too strongly to say that, as a Church, it is opposed to the prohibitive system. Its methods are to instruct and persuade, and by the influence of the clergy amongst their flocks to promote temperance and total abstinence. The evidence taken by this Commission will show that these are the methods recommended and followed by the highest dignitaries of the Church.

His Grace Arch. bishop Duhamel, of Ottawa, in giving evidence before the Commission, remarked (Q. 19398a): "I think if all the existing laws were enforced better than they are they would diminish drunkenness a good deal. I think fewer licenses should be granted, and those who are licensed should be protected in some way against those who sell without a license." This advice, coming from such an eminently practical dignitary of a Church, representing a larger number of the community than any other, the Commissioners consider, deserves the most careful attention.

The denomination representing the next largest percentage of the population is that of the Methodists, who by the census returns are put down as numbering 17.28 per cent of the population. The attitude of the Methodist Church towards the liquor traffic and on the question of prohibition is clear and well defined. Not only does the Church commend prohibition and advocate the adoption of it through its clergy and Church organizations of all kinds, but it excludes from its communion all who make use of intoxicants as a beverage, and every trader in or manufacturer of these.

The next largest denomination, the Presbyterians, who are credited in the census returns with representing 15.60 per cent of the population, have, at their general assemblies, passed two resolutions endorsing prohibition and commending its adoption throughout the country. Individual liberty of thought and action is not interfered with, and there is a minority of eminent ministers in the Church who do not endorse the views of the majority. One of these, who gave evidence before this Commission, in a statement which he made, probably represented the views of most of such minority: "What I can say is, that while there are undoubtedly young men who have been brought up in homes where liquor has been used who have turned out dissipated, there are others who have turned out thoroughly sober

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and respectable, as far I have known, all their manhood through. I can think of many of both sorts. I can think also of young men, the sons of total abstainers, who alas! have become dissipated also. What I mean by moderation is the use with very careful restriction, with a consideration of our climate and everything else. I emphatically encourage all young men and young women to be abstainers while they are minors. I say to them: 'Wait till you are twenty-one or twenty-five or thirty, and then you will, perhaps, find that you will be just as well to continue leaving the whole thing alone.' But what I desire to avoid in talking to young men is making a sin of what is no sin—treating as a wrong what in my judgment is not a wrong; and I think one has more influence with people, old or young, in recognizing frankly their right to independent judgment in the matter, though, at the same time warning them of the perils; and my conviction is that we must depend mainly, not on law, which has its function to fulfil, but on the development of self-control in the individual, and that self-control must be secured: first, by the influence of the home, and then the school and churches and societies and all moral and religious influences that are brought to bear on the individual."

The Church of England, which is returned in the census as representing 13·37 per cent. of the population, does not advocate the adoption of a prohibitory law, although there are prominent members of the church who endorse the prohibitory system.

In connection with very many, if not all of the congregations of the Church of England, branch temperance societies exist. These societies have different forms of pledges leading up to that of total abstinence from the use of intoxicants.

The Provincial Synod, the legislative body for that church in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, has more than once delivered utterances on the question of temperance.

At the Provincial Synod held in 1880 the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada recognizing with gratitude the marked success of the Church of England Temperance Society in England, and, while rejoicing at the increase of total abstinence societies in connection with the church in this country, recommends the movement to the cordial support of the clergy and laity throughout the province."

At the session of the same synod held in Montreal in 1886, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That, whereas, of late years, in different quarters and under various pleas, other liquids than wine have been employed in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, and the lawfulness of wine, as usually understood, denied for the same, thereby affecting the reality of the Sacrament and greatly endangering the peace of the church, this provincial synod feels bound to express its strongest disapprobation of such unauthorized acts, and does hereby admonish the clergy of this ecclesiastical province to make no innovation in so sacred a matter as the elements divinely ordained in this Holy Sacrament, and to adhere faithfully to the customs of tradition of the Catholic Church in the same."

The views of the clergy of this church are well set forth by the eminent men who have appeared before this Commission at different times, from the first to the last of its sittings, some of whom may be mentioned, viz:—Bishop Courtney, Halifax; Bishop Kingdon, Fredericton; Archdeacon Brigstocke, St. John; Dean Norman, Quebec; Bishop Bond, Montreal; Dean Carmichael, Montreal; Canon Dumoulin, Toronto; Bishop Baldwin, London, and Deau Innes, London, besides many others.

The opinions gathered by them may be taken from the following extracts from their evidence:—

Rt. Rev. Frederick Courtney, D. D., Bishop of Halifax, said: "I think that there is a general feeling that the total abstainers are more persistent in their endeavours to enforce total abstinence than the others are, I will not say to keep up temperance, because I do not believe that. Perhaps it would be better if I put it in this way: It is always so much easier to cut a Gordian knot than untie it, and pro-

hibition cuts it, while self-control is the slow untying of a very hard and difficult knot. The majority of people if a cause is before them for a long time, at last get impatient and say, 'let us cut it.' If you could educate the conscience of people up to prohibition, doubtless prohibition would be a grand thing. * * * *
 The cutting does not succeed. It simply makes it appear as if total abstinence were the only way of dealing with the liquor traffic, and then the knot that seemed to be cut as regards this question being settled, reappears and the question is as far as ever from being settled, because the community outside will not settle it. It is perfectly true * * * * that when the question of prohibition is up in a community a large number of those who are in favour not of drinking, but yet not in favour of the prohibition of the liquor trade, will not take the trouble to vote upon the question and when the law is enacted in many instances it cannot be enforced." (Vol. 1, pp. 195.) The bishop supported the principle of high license as "it ensures the trade being in the hands of reputable people."

Rt. Rev. Hollingworth Toulley Kingdon, Coadjutor Bishop of Fredericton, speaking of prohibition and temperance said: "I never joined any particular temperance organization, because I thought the church was the chief organization that was required. I never advised anybody to take the pledge unless by way of protection to himself, and, then only for a limited period. In my experience I have always found it better, if a man could not restrain himself, that he should be helped by taking the pledge for a limited time, and that it was much more likely to be kept than if he took it for life." (Page 598.)

Rev. F. H. J. Brigstocke, canon of St. John, was conscientiously opposed to prohibition and had experience that the Scott Act was not obeyed. He had taken no active part in temperance work, "except by what I would call the ordinary machinery of our church, by using the influences of the means of grace and Bible teaching upon the heart and conscience, which I believe have had the greatest possible effect (in promoting temperance in the community)." (Page 492.)

Very Rev. Richard Whitmore Norman, dean of Quebec said: "I am not in favour of prohibition, because I do not think it could possibly be observed, and it would not prove effectual. If people wish to drink they will drink, and the only result is that a certain amount of the spirit of deception is fostered. It is a very demoralizing thing for anybody or any community to get into the habit of breaking a law. * * * I think the true remedy for drunkenness is the education of the people. I am of opinion that indulgence in spirituous liquors is in proportion to the education of the people, and certainly it does not prevail to the same extent it did some years ago, and I hope that education, moral suasion and good example will bear fruit in a larger degree among the community at large. It is useless to pass laws which do not carry with them the weight of public opinion, they become dead letters, and prove injurious to the community, * * * While I do not consider alcoholic liquors to be wrong or injurious if taken in moderation, I consider that if young people grow up without knowing the taste of liquor, they are spared many temptations of mankind, their pockets are not likely to be depleted, and moreover they do not need in a country like this, where the air is so bracing and exhilarating, stimulants to the extent perhaps as people who live in a damp climate may need them. I recommend all young people whom I train in any way, religiously or morally, not to know liquor, never to taste it and never have anything to do with it; but I do not recommend them to take the pledge for I believe that voluntary abstinence is a higher act of self-control than taking a formal pledge."

Speaking of the change in regard to social habits of drinking which has manifested itself of recent years, he says: "While, no doubt, the influences of religion and morals have had a good deal to do with this change, we ought to pay a debt of gratitude to those who have so earnestly performed what was a duty in their minds, the work of pressing the desirability of adopting total abstinence on every one. No doubt their efforts have had an effect on the public," He commends the Church of England Temperance Society: "Because it spreads widely the interest on such an important question and prevents the subject being dealt with in too narrow a spirit." (pages 123 and 124. Vol. 2.)

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Very Rev. G. M. Innes, Dean of Huron, in his evidence given at London, said: That he was decidedly opposed to prohibitory legislation, his chief objection being that it is opposed to the principles on which God governs the world; and my next reason is that as far as I have had an opportunity of observing the operation of a prohibitory law it has not been beneficial. * * * I should be decidedly in favour of a prohibitory law if I thought it would remedy the evil, but I do not believe it would * * * I should be very much in favour of doing away with saloons. I believe they are the great curse of the city. But I should favour most distinctly a high license Act in preference to prohibition. I believe it would be far more effectual." (Vol. 4, pp. 383 and 384.)

Rev. Canon J. Philip Dumoulin, of Toronto, disclaimed all belief in the principle of prohibition, and said:—"I do not think it would be a wise or workable law. I do not think it is founded on those principles of eternal wisdom and of long experience that have dictated the laws of past nations. I do not find the principal underlying such laws as enter into the Divine law, nor into the great human codes that have governed the oldest and the largest nations in the world. The Jews had certainly not a prohibitory law, drunkenness was found amongst them and it was rebuked by their prophets, but the article was not prohibited. The Romans and the Greeks certainly had no prohibition. England, the great country that it is, has not a prohibitory law; and in very few States of the Union—in only one or two, I think—is there prohibition now. For all these reasons I come to the conclusion that it would not be a wise law. I think the great principle of law is not to put it out of the power of a man to do what is wrong, but to strengthen him to resist temptation to do what is wrong. The only circumstance in which it is put out of the power of people to do wrong, so far as that can be done, is when they are confined in prisons or in lunatic asylums. But when the subject is free, I do not think it is put out of his power either by Divine or human law, to commit strong breaches of those laws. I think he must be approached from another side. * * * That is his moral side. All the persuasions and influences that can possibly be brought to bear upon him in that direction should be brought to bear. I do not think that prohibitory measures were designed to restrain him from committing sin. Adultery is not made impossible, murder is not made impossible, nor the commission of any other sin against Divine or human law. The only way to avoid those things is to strengthen the individual against the temptation to commit them. * * * I believe one of the best remedies for the evils complained of, would be high license, and to reduce the number of licenses." (Vol. 4, pp. 945-946.)

Rt. Rev. W. B. Bond, Bishop of Montreal, asked:—"What is the position of your church, as a church, on this question by deliverance in synods or otherwise?" said:—"It is decidedly in favour of total abstinence."

"Are there any resolutions or reports adopted by your body in session?" "Yes."

"I presume your church expresses itself with increased definiteness about this evil from year to year?" "Yes, I think so. Take for example the clergy. Every student is a total abstainer. I do not think there is one who is not. It is possible there may be, but I do not think there is." (030867-030871.)

In answer to further questions His Lordship stated that he was decidedly in favour of a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale, except for medicinal, mechanical and sacramental purposes.

Very Rev. James Carmichael, Dean of Montreal, expressed himself as strongly "in favour of a law to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of liquor for beverage purposes, without compensation to the manufacturer,..... and with exceptions for medicinal, mechanical and sacramental purposes." (030110-030911.) He expressed no view of the church's attitude in the matter.

The only other denomination classified in the census return is that of the Baptists, who are reported as representing 6.26 per cent of the population. The attitude of this church towards prohibition of the liquor traffic is practically that of the Methodist church.

In Appendix No. 172 will be found resolutions of the Free Baptist Conference of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, forwarded to the Commission with a request that they be embodied in their report.

There are other denominations not enumerated, and part of the population not classified, which represent 6.18 per cent of the total, about whom it is not practicable to record the same information as is given in respect of the preceding denominations.

The evidence shows a disposition on the part of some members of the churches which have espoused prohibition, to cavil at those who differ from them on the question, or because they do not insist on the passage of prohibitory enactments. Not only so, but some witnesses, communicants of churches which have pronounced in favour of prohibition, actually express their reluctance to allow these other churches to import, or to have manufactured, the wine that they believe to be necessary for use in the efficacious celebration of the holy communion.

Some of these witnesses say that they do not see that such wine is necessary for sacramental purposes, and therefore they would prohibit its importation or manufacture for such purpose.

The evidence adduced before the commission shows that all the churches have contributed to produce the improvement which has taken place in the drinking habits of the population of Canada, and it is, probably, safe to conclude that the influence of the churches, who do not make total abstinence a necessary pre-requisite of membership, has been as effectual as that of those which adopt the opposite course.

All the churches are steadily working to promote temperance, and if, in a mixed community, such as exists in Canada, all do not pursue the same methods, that is only what might be anticipated, and the undersigned consider it should not be looked upon as disadvantage. For the state to force upon them by legislation a system, which many do not recognize as desirable or efficient, could only result in weakening their energies, and diminishing their efforts, towards an end which all appear equally anxious to reach, viz.—the building up of a temperate and sober people, such, from conviction and experience, which can alone produce results permanently satisfactory.

The legislation of Canada may be briefly stated to have been that of imposing, from time to time, higher charges upon liquors made and imported, higher license fees, more stringent regulations in the matter of hours of selling, and as to whom sales may be made, with the right, under some restrictions—to local communities—not so far extensively exercised, to refuse the granting of licenses within their municipalities or parishes. Of the more extend local option conferred under the "Scott Act," it can only be remarked that it still remains the law of the country; that it is the nearest approach to a general prohibitive system which has been attempted, and that the act has been repealed in 52 per cent of the counties and cities which originally adopted it, and no new district has put the act in force since 1888.

A prohibitory law was enacted in New Brunswick in 1855, put in force in January 1856, and repealed the same year.

The prohibitory system with permit provisions which was in force for several years in the North-west Territories was abandoned for a license system in 1892.

It may be asked if progress in the states of the United States which have adopted prohibitory laws, has been greater than in the various Canadian provinces where the law has been what has just been described.

The Commissioners refer to the information already given in this report, and in the evidence submitted, for an answer to the question. They believe that it must be answered in the negative by every one disposed to weigh the facts dispassionately. This comparison deals with prohibition as a system.

The Commissioners cannot agree with the view so earnestly put forward by some church organizations, and many witnesses, that the recognition of the traffic by licensing it, is an immoral act and a national sin. On the other hand, the undersigned are of opinion that the combined system of license and regulation which for centuries has been the rule of civilized nations, with such amendments as experience has proved, and shall from time to time prove, to be needful in order to make it more efficient, should not be departed from.

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The churches which have adopted the view that the use of liquor as a beverage is morally wrong, have taken steps to give effect to their conclusions as regards their adherents, which is wholly within their legitimate sphere of action. It is almost impossible, after reading the evidence taken by the Commission, not to conclude that much of the agitation, on this question of prohibition of the liquor traffic, is to be attributed to a desire to see these views adopted generally. The undersigned consider that the aim of any system of regulating, or prohibiting, the liquor traffic is to lessen or extinguish the evils which arise from intemperance, or from the improper use of intoxicating beverages; and after the most careful and anxious consideration of the subject, they have come to the conclusion, that this would not be accomplished by the enactment of a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the Dominion, and that if such a law were passed, it could not be efficiently enforced.

A prohibitory law partakes too much of the character of coercive legislation on a matter in regard to which a very large portion of the people consider they are qualified and entitled to judge for themselves, to be accepted as a measure they are called upon to unhesitatingly obey, and hence the impracticability of efficient enforcement.

With the powers possessed by the various provinces to legislate in respect to the traffic, the certainty that in some of the provinces prohibition would meet with determined opposition; with an open frontier such as the Dominion possesses, largely bordering on states in which sale would be carried on; the undersigned consider that it is illusory to anticipate that a general prohibitory law could be enforced with any reasonable degree of efficiency.

The question of making compensation to those engaged in the manufacture, and those engaged in wholesale and retail vending of liquors, one or both classes, should the traffic be put an end to by legislation, has been frequently referred to, and much evidence has been taken on the subject. The undersigned Commissioners, regarding the evidence given, and what has been proposed in other countries, as, for instance, England, France, Germany, and some of the British colonies, consider that the payment of compensation could not, justly, be avoided in the case of those who, by such legislation, would have their business, which they have been carrying on under the sanction of the state, abruptly put an end to, and their capital in many cases almost swept away, and in all considerably diminished.

GENERAL REMARKS.

A complete register of all manufacturers, dealers in, or vendors of liquor of every description, throughout the Dominion, classified in cities, towns and districts, is much to be desired. At present it is almost impossible to obtain even a correct statement of the number of persons licensed.

This Commission, after an expenditure of much time and labor, have not been successful in getting an accurate return of the number of licenses issued in some of the provinces. In the United States, no one is permitted to manufacture, or deal in intoxicants, without first obtaining a special permit, or tax paper, from the Inland Revenue Department of the Federal Government, under pain of heavy penalties ranging from \$1,000 up to \$5,000.

The fees payable for such authorization to make or sell are stated at page 656 of this report.

This special tax or license does not authorize the holder to manufacture or sell, contrary to any state or municipal law, but until he has paid the Federal tax and provided himself with a proper certificate, he cannot trade without rendering himself liable to the penalties imposed by the Federal law.

Everywhere in the United States there is greater care and anxiety shown to comply with the Federal, than with the state or municipal laws and regulations. The special tax papers are issued by the district collectors of revenue, who are charged with the collection of the fees and the enforcement of the law.

The undersigned are satisfied that beneficial results would follow the adoption of a similar system in the Dominion. A complete record could be kept of those licensed in every part of the country. The relation, if any, of the number of licensed places to the number and character of crimes and offences committed in each district could be readily traced. The officers of the Dominion Government, charged with the collection of the special tax, would be able to render efficient aid to the provincial and municipal officers in preventing the illicit sale of intoxicants.

The treatment of habitual drunkards is a subject, the Commissioners consider, requiring the most anxious and careful attention. No merely financial considerations should, in their opinion, prevent the best remedial measures being adopted to reclaim the victims of intemperance. That the methods at present in vogue are not only inefficient, but as a general rule, demoralizing, is the almost unanimous opinion of those who have to administer the law, and of all who have to do with the police courts and jails of the country, in so far as this Commission has been able to elicit their views.

The same offenders are again and again, in the course of a year, brought before the courts to be subjected to the same penalties, and are a body—luckily in Canada not so large as in many other countries—who march in procession from the streets to the police stations, from the police stations to the courts, from the courts to the jails, and from the latter back to the streets, repeating their pilgrimages many times annually. The associations and experiences of the common jails of the country cannot be considered to have either a deterrent or elevating influence upon such persons. The young return from their enforced retirement, on each occasion with blunted moral feelings and a lessened regard for law and order in general, and the hardened offender with those of complete indifference.

It is claimed by many that much can be done by scientific treatment to reform the intemperate, and it would seem to be the wise course to have these claims investigated, but, under any circumstances, the undersigned consider the present plan of committing drunkards to the common jails, for short periods, after a second or third offence has been committed should be abandoned, that provision should be made for the establishment of places to which they could be committed for such time as might be deemed desirable, on probation, to be released at the end of such terms only on the certificate of the judge or magistrate committing them, that, whilst under this restraint, they should be subjected to such treatment as might be deemed fitting and calculated to lead to their reformation, being in the meantime made to work, so as to earn as much towards their own support and the support of those dependent upon them as practicable.

The investigations of the Commissioners have satisfied them that convictions for second or subsequent offences, as such, against the license laws, by the holders of licenses, amount in many places to only a small proportion of the cases which occur, and hence what the law contemplates, viz., heavier penalties for repeated offences, are not inflicted as they should be. This in part arises from the difficulty of proving previous convictions. To remedy this the license certificates should be of a moderately permanent character, and such as could be produced in court in any case of complaint, the annual renewals being represented by a separate certificate or receipt that in every case of complaint the defendant should be called upon to produce his license, and every conviction should be endorsed thereon. No transfer of a license should be permitted, whilst any case is pending against the holder.

The licensing of saloons, the only business of which is the sale by retail of intoxicants, the Commissioners consider should be put an end to. There is no justification for their existence founded upon necessity, and it is certain that most of the evils which arise out of the immoderate use of intoxicants, have their origin in, or encouraged by, the existence of these saloons.

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The Commissioners are of opinion that no one should be granted a license for any saloon or restaurant, in which meals are not regularly supplied to all who may require them, and that the law should not be evaded by such practices as are now resorted to: that the authority to sell should be restricted in these places to selling only to those who partake of and pay for meals. They are also of opinion that no one should be given a license for an inn, or tavern, which has not the necessary accommodation in the shape of rooms and beds, and facilities for supplying meals to a reasonable number of persons, at one and the same time.

The licensing of the compounding, or mixing, of various kinds of liquors so as to produce new brands, the undersigned believe, could with advantage be discontinued. It is hardly possible that there can be any advantage in using the product of these mixtures, rather than the original liquors from which they are made, and the system involves much risk of illicit production.

There is undoubtedly much adulteration of liquor carried on, and the Commissioners would recommend that inspection be made more general and more frequent, especially amongst the retail establishments.

In many places the residents who can intervene to prevent a new license being granted, have practically no opportunity of preventing the granting of renewals except by means which it is hardly possible for them to adopt. Where the right to oppose the granting of licenses exists, the undersigned consider, the residents should have the right—under proper conditions as to notice to the licensee—and be afforded reasonable facilities to oppose for cause, the granting of renewals.

The number of shop licenses granted is much larger in many places than is either desirable or necessary, and they might be reduced without inconvenience to any demand arising out of the reasonable requirements of the public. The Commissioners are of opinion that they should be very materially reduced, and that the sale of intoxicants should in every case be wholly separated from the sale of groceries or other domestic supplies.

The undersigned believe that it would be of great advantage to have such amendments of the license laws enacted as would provide, that in case of a second conviction for a breach of any of the provisions thereof, if the licensee be a tenant, the lease shall become void if the lessor so desires, and that in case of a third or subsequent conviction, the license itself shall be forfeited, and the same premises shall not again be licensed for a term of years.

In all counties and cities where the Scott Act is now in force, or in which it may hereafter be put in force, the undersigned consider it would be an advantage to have a vote taken once in every three years on the simple question:—"Shall the Scott Act be continued in force for the ensuing three years?"—the vote being simply "yes" or "no." The law might be so amended as to admit of this vote being taken in connection with the municipal elections. In like manner, in every parish or municipality where a local option law was in force, a vote should be taken every three years on the simple question:—"Shall licenses issue in.....?" and the answer to this question should settle the matter for the ensuing three years, when a vote should again be taken. Such a system would have the effect of putting an end to uncertainty as to the feelings of the population on the subject, and would avoid the expense of special elections, which consideration undoubtedly prevents, in many cases, an expression of public opinion being obtained.

The undersigned believe that the imposition of high license fees, a more strict supervision of the places licensed, a thorough inspection of liquors, and an efficient enforcement of the law, would materially improve the character of the establishments where liquor is sold, and put an end to many of the evils which now result from the traffic.

A law which punishes the citizen who vends liquors contrary to its provisions, yet permits the citizen, who purchases what is sold illegally, to escape punishment, cannot be considered as other than an unequal and one-sided law. The undersigned are of opinion that both parties to what is an illegal transaction should be made equally guilty in the eye of the law.

The spending of money unnecessarily on, and the over-indulgence in liquor amongst the working classes, the undersigned are convinced frequently result, not so much from a love of liquor, as from the love of sociable society; and the comfort which is found in the places where the sale takes place, but in many instances is not to be met with in their own homes. Discomfort, badly cooked food and ill-ventilated dwellings have much to answer for in connection with intemperance. Attention to these matters, and more especially to the training of the female portion of the population in a knowledge of domestic economy and household duties, the undersigned are satisfied would have an elevating and most beneficial effect.

In the past, in not a few counties in which the Scott Act was adopted, there has been a failure to apply the amounts collected for fines to the enforcement of the law. Inspectors have not been appointed, nor returns made to the provincial governments as prescribed by the law, and it may also be added that in many instances they have not been asked for.

The compilation of returns of the inmates committed to and remaining in jails, asylums, almshouses, and reformatories, with the cost of these institutions, as well as complete returns of the number and class of licenses issued in each city and county, and of the amounts collected therefor, would afford the means of estimating more accurately the results of the various systems in force throughout the country for regulating the liquor traffic, and would unquestionably lead to the more efficient enforcement of the law.

In one of the provinces the information referred to is obtained and embodied in returns laid before the legislature annually; in some it is obtained in part but not turned to any practical account; whilst in others the matter is utterly neglected.

The Commissioners believe it would lead to a much better understanding, and appreciation, of the extent and effects of the liquor traffic, and that the results which would flow from the dissemination of such information would amply repay the country for the cost of collecting, classifying and publishing such statistics annually. The matter of expense has undoubtedly in some cases deterred the provincial and municipal governments from doing this in the past, and if the work is to be done in the future efficiently, and so as to embrace the whole country, it will have to be by, and at the cost of, the Dominion Government.

Before closing this report the Commissioners desire to record their high appreciation of, and their thanks for, the uniform kindness with which they were received by the citizens of the various places visited by them in the United States. Valuable information was promptly, and in many instances at a considerable cost in time and effort, supplied. Through the Governors and officers of various states they have received copies of laws, state reports, and papers of much value.

To the Honorable S. G. Brock, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, the Honorable Robert P. Porter, Superintendent, the Rev. Frederick H. Wines, Special Agent, Mr. J. H. Wardle, and Mr. A. F. Childs, acting secretaries, of the census of 1890, the Honorable Jno. W. Mason, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Hon. Carol D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, Washington, and General N. P. Curtis, M. C., of Ogdensburg, N. Y., the Commissioners are indebted for valuable documents supplied in the most liberal manner, and for information promptly and courteously communicated.

From the deputy ministers and heads of the several departments of the Government in Canada, with which they have been brought into communication, the commissioners have received every assistance.

Their thanks are due to Mr. Courtney, Deputy Minister of Finance, and his staff; to Mr. John Lowe, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; Mr. E. Miall, Commissioner of Inland Revenue; Mr. W. G. Parmelee, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. Frederick White, Comptroller of the North-west Mounted Police; the Librarian of Parliament, Mr. Griffin; Mr. Creighton, the Law Clerk of the Senate, and, in an especial degree, to Mr. George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician, from whom they have received most valuable assistance in pursuing their investigations.

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The Revd. Dr. McLeod, dissenting from the conclusions of the other members of the Commission presents a separate report.

The whole respectfully submitted.

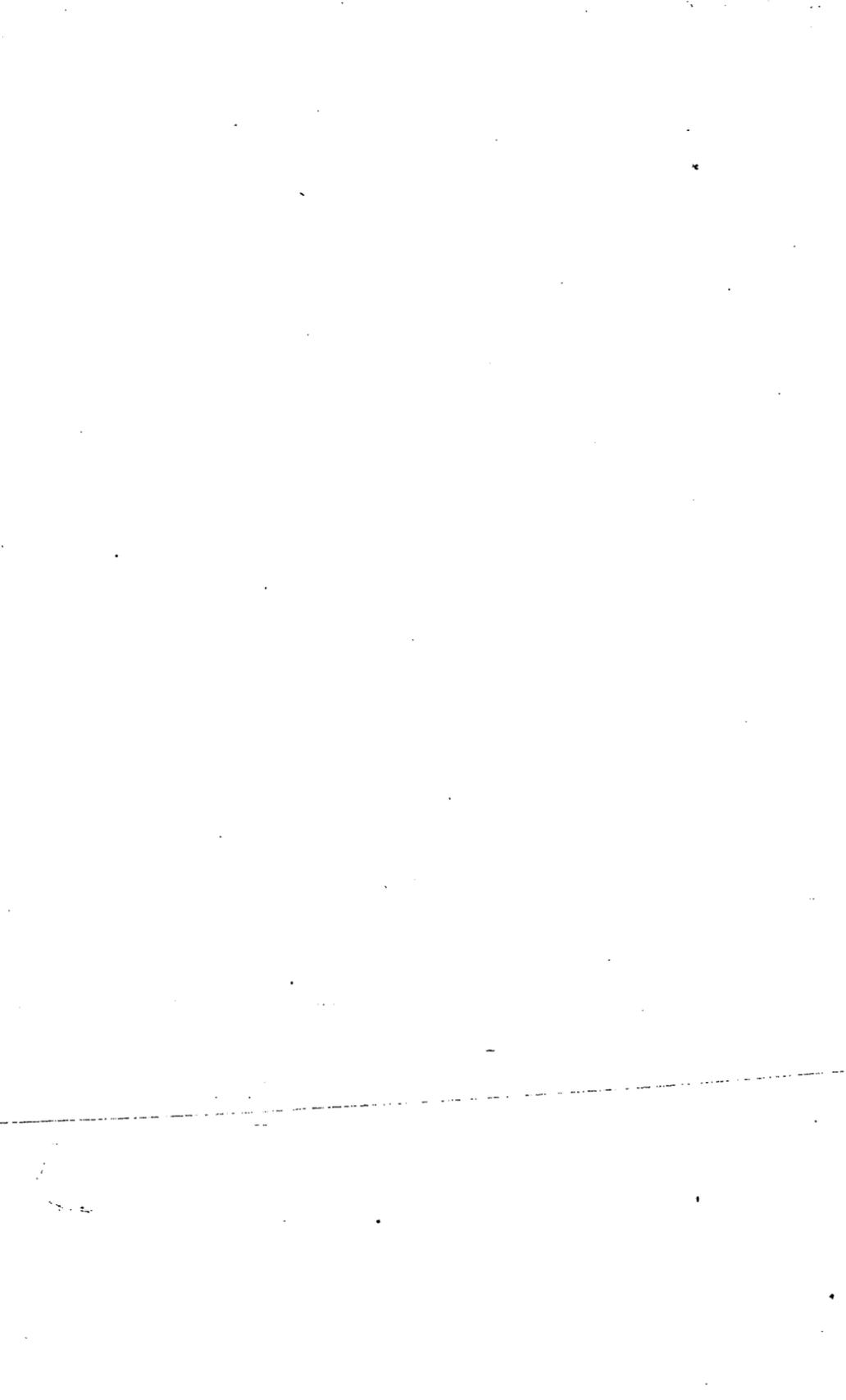
PATRICK MONAGHAN,
Secretary.
Montreal, March 29, 1895.

J. HICKSON,
Chairman.
HERBERT S. McDONALD,
E. F. CLARKE,
G. A. GIGAULT.

I dissent from the suggestion that liquor dealers should be required to obtain certificates from the Federal Government.

I also dissent from the paragraph referring to the work of the Salvation Army, as I am not satisfied that the temperance movement has been benefited by the work of that organization.

G. A. GIGAULT.



REPORT OF THE REV. JOSEPH McLEOD.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Governor General of Canada, etc., etc., etc.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The undersigned, one of the five Commissioners appointed by commission under the great seal of Canada, bearing date the fourteenth day of March, A.D. 1892, to enquire into certain matters relating to the liquor traffic and the question of prohibition, having reached conclusions different from those of the other Commissioners, respectfully presents for your Excellency's consideration the following report.

The Commission was appointed in accordance with a resolution of the Parliament of Canada, declaring it desirable "To obtain, for the information and consideration of Parliament, by means of a Royal Commission, the fullest and most reliable data possible respecting—

- "1. The effect of the liquor traffic upon all interests affected by it in Canada.
 - "2. The measures which have been adopted in this and other countries with a view to lessen, regulate or prohibit the traffic.
 - "3. The result of these measures in each case.
 - "4. The effect that the enactment of the prohibitory law would have in respect of social conditions, agricultural, business, industrial and commercial interests, of the revenue requirements of municipalities, Provinces and the Dominion; and also as to its capacity of efficient enforcement.
 - "5. All other information bearing on the question of prohibition."
- Your Commissioner finds it necessary to traverse in this report the whole range of the instructions given the Commission. In doing so he follows the plan of the Commission, dealing with the several sections in the order named therein. And he begs that this report and that of the majority be read together, this being regarded as partly supplemental to and partly corrective of the other.

I.

THE EFFECT OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC UPON ALL INTERESTS AFFECTED BY IT IN CANADA.

There is no room for differences of opinion in regard to the fact that intemperance and its inevitable train of harmful consequences constitute one of the most formidable evils that afflict society, diminish the wealth of the country and impede the progress of civilization. The fact is universally admitted. Regarding it the Commission did not deem it necessary to prosecute extensive enquiry.

Your Commissioner thinks it proper, however, to offer for consideration a few of the many evidences of the nature and extent of this national menace and peril. In Canada, as in other lands, intemperance is the prolific cause of pauperism, disease, insanity, idiocy, excessive mortality and crime, with all the suffering and sorrow which attends these conditions. A brief reference to each of these evils is presented.

PAUPERISM.

At an early stage of the Commission's work, questions relating to several phases of the subject under investigation were sent to clergymen, physicians, insurance companies, judges and magistrates. None of these questions related especially to pauperism. It was suggested that carefully prepared questions relating to this matter should be sent to persons specially qualified to give information concerning it, but a majority of the Commission decided against this proposal. Many

of the witnesses examined, however, gave information on this point. In addition to their testimony, some other facts tending to show the relation between intemperance and pauperism are herewith submitted.

It is not necessary to argue that in a community in which the cost of living runs very close to the average earnings of the people, any unnecessary outlay will speedily make the expenditure in excess of the income. This is one of the first steps towards poverty and want. Intemperance lessens earnings and increases outlay, thus constituting a two-fold agency for the creation of poverty.

A carefully prepared report issued by the Bureau of Industries of the Province of Ontario, the latest issued, gives the results collected by thirty-three special agents in thirty-nine towns and cities relating to the earning and spending of workers, showing for all classes, including those with and without dependants, an average income of (\$410.36) four hundred and ten dollars and thirty-six cents per year, and an average cost of living of (\$364.61) three hundred and sixty-four dollars and sixty-one cents per year. This makes for such workers a possible saving of (\$45.75) forty-five dollars and seventy-five cents each per annum. A slight depression of the earning power, or elevation of the cost of living, means hardship or debt.

British Evidence.—The Convocation of the ecclesiastical Province of York appointed a special committee to report upon the effect of intemperance. The committee consisted of the Very Rev. The Dean of Carlisle, the Venerable Archdeacon Cooper, the Venerable Archdeacon Hamilton, the Rev. Canon Woodford, the Rev. Canon Crosthwaite, the Rev. Canon Henry Hildred Birch, the Rev. Canon Hey, the Rev. Chancellor Thurlow, the Rev. Joseph Birchall, the Rev. Charles Hosketh, and the Rev. James Bardsley, Convenor. These gentlemen made an extensive and exhaustive inquiry, sending out questions relating to the subject dealt with to clergymen, magistrates, constables, governors and chaplains of prisons and workhouses, superintendents of asylums, employers of labour and other persons. They published, in 1874, the result of their labours, giving extracts from 2,711 replies received. In summing up their report they said:—"Among the prolific causes of crime, pauperism and lunacy, your committee are led to give the drinking customs of the day the most prominent place"; and further, "The burden of poor rates is increased to a most oppressive extent by the same agency (drink). Your committee have been much struck by the returns on this subject, made by guardians of the poor, of whom one states his conviction that the poor rates they are now paying of ten pence in the pound would but for intemperance be at once reduced to four pence." Ministers and chaplains of workhouses, in the evidence quoted by the committee, set out the proportion of paupers made so by drink, as being from two-thirds to nine-tenths.

A report adopted by the House of Convocation, based on these investigations, contained the following statement:

"It can be shown that an enormous proportion of the pauperism which is felt to be such a burden and discouragement by the industrious and sober members of the community, and has such a degrading and demoralising effect upon most recipients of parochial relief, is the direct and common product of intemperance. It appears indeed that at least 75 per cent of the occupants of our work-houses and a large proportion of those receiving outdoor pay have become pensioners on the public directly or indirectly through drunkenness, and the improvidence and absence of self respect which this pestilent vice is known to engender and perpetuate."

General William Booth, of the Salvation Army, in his well known work, "In Darkest England and the Way Out," presents an estimate that the number of homeless and starving people in the United Kingdom is 1,905,500. He says that 870,000 of these were in receipt of outdoor relief. As to the cause, General Booth has this to say: "The drink difficulty lies at the root of everything. Nine-tenths of our poverty, squalor, vice and crime springs from this poisonous tap root."

United States Evidence.—The United States Census for 1890 reports the number of paupers in almshouses on June 30th of that year as being 73,045, besides

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24,220 outdoor paupers. It will, of course, be understood that the number of paupers in almshouses on a particular day of the year is not by any means a statement of the number of paupers in the country, the actual pauperism being greatly more than is indicated by the census figures. The cause of poverty there is the same as in Great Britain. A report of the Secretary of State of New York says:—"The whole number of paupers relieved was 261,252. During the preceding year 257,534. In an examination made into the history of the paupers of the State by a competent committee, it was found that seven-eighths of them were reduced to this low and degraded condition directly or indirectly through intemperance."

A report of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction for the City of New York says: "The cause of pauperism and consequent disease and crime, have received careful and full investigation by those long enjoying favourable advantages of observation. Many reasons for this painful and rapidly increasing pauperism have been assigned, but that which takes precedence above and beyond all others is the curse of intemperance. The statistics of almshouses, workhouses, penitentiaries, asylums and hospitals all attest this dark and gloomy fact."

The late Rev. Howard Crosby, D. D., a gentleman who was not at all inclined to favour prohibition, says: "I have been watching for thirty-five years, and in all my investigations among the poor I never found a family borne down by poverty that did not owe its fall to rum."

Judge Robert C. Pitman sums up the result of inquiries in the State of Massachusetts in the following terms: "The pauper returns, made annually for a long time to the Secretary of State, show an average of about 80 per cent as due to this cause in the County of Suffolk (mainly the City of Boston). Thus, in 1863, the whole number of relieved is stated at 12,248. Of these the number made dependent by their own intemperance is given at 6,048, and the number so made by the intemperance of parents and guardians at 3,837, making an aggregate of 9,885. The third report of the Board of State Charities, page 202 (January, 1867), declares intemperance to be the chief occasion of pauperism; and the fifth report says: "Overseers of the poor variously estimate the proportion of crime and pauperism attributable to the vice of intemperance from one-third in some localities up to nine-tenths in others. This seems large, but is, doubtless, correct in regard to some localities, and particularly among the class of persons receiving temporary relief, the greater proportion of whom are of foreign birth or descent. In the sixth annual report of the Board of Health (January, 1875), page 45, under the head 'Intemperance as the Cause of Pauperism,' the Chairman, Dr. Bowditch, gives the result of answers received from 282 of the towns and cities to the two following questions: '1. What proportion of the inmates of your almshouses are there in consequence of the deleterious use of intoxicating liquors? 2. What proportion of the children in the house are there in consequence of the drunkenness of parents?' While it appears that in the country towns the proportion is quite variable and less than the general current of statistics would lead one to expect, which is fairly attributable in part, at least, to the extent to which both law and public opinion has restricted the use and traffic in liquors, yet we have from the City of Boston, the headquarters of the traffic, this emphatic testimony from the superintendent of the Deer Island almshouse and hospital: 'I would answer the above by saying, to the best of my knowledge and belief, 90 per cent to both questions. Our register shows that fall one-third of the inmates received for the last two years are here through the direct cause of drunkenness. Very few inmates (there are exceptions) in this house but what rum brought them there. Setting aside the sentenced boys (sent here for truancy, petty theft, &c.) nine-tenths of the remainder are here through the influence of the use of intoxicating liquors by the parents. The great and almost the only cause for so much poverty and distress in the city can be traced to the use of intoxicating drink either by the husband or wife, or both.' A startling testimony as to the effect of this cause in producing the allied evil and even nuisance of vagrancy is given in the answer from the City of Springfield: 'In addition to circular I would say that we have lodged and fed 8,052 persons that we call "tramps," and

I can seldom find a man among them who was not reduced to that condition by intemperance. It is safe to say nine-tenths are drunkards, though we have not the exact records."

Whatever evidence relating to pauperism was heard in the course of the Commission's investigations in the United States was in agreement with the foregoing statements—that nearly all of it is traceable, directly or indirectly, to intemperance,

Canada Evidence.—The consumption of liquors in Canada is much less than in the countries referred to; and the proportion of pauperism is, also, less than in older countries. But even here there is much more pauperism than is pleasant to contemplate; and all the facts ascertained go to show that in about the same degree as in other lands it is traceable to intemperance. Your Commissioner desired at the outset of this investigation to have a set of questions addressed to the keepers of almshouses and all other charitable institutions in Canada, with a view of getting the fullest information possible on the point; but the proposal did not commend itself to the majority of the Commission. It has been possible, however, in taking evidence, to get sufficient information to justify the conclusion that a large proportion of pauperism in Canada is due to drink.

Among the witnesses examined on this point was Rev. Dr. Saunders, who for twenty-five years has been a regular visitor to the Poor's Asylum at Halifax. He says: "From all the information I have obtained during these twenty-five years, and I have sought in various ways to get information, I think that, directly or indirectly, far the larger part, the great majority of cases, have gone there from drink."

Rev. W. O. Raymond is Chaplain of the St. John, N.B., Almshouse, and he said: "The majority of the men there have been intemperate, and quite a proportion of the women also."

Mr. E. J. Wetmore, Secretary of the Almshouse Commissioners, at St. John, concurred in the statement of Mr. Raymond, and added: "From my knowledge of the matter I should say there is a large percentage due to the use of intoxicating drink, the use of drink being the real cause of their coming to the institution."

The manager for thirteen years of the Waterloo Co., Ont., Poor House gave evidence to the effect that the average number of inmates in the home during his time was 85 per year, and the principal cause that sent them there was intemperance. Further than that the poverty of at least one-fourth of the remainder was due to the drunkenness of relatives.

Sir William Dawson, C.M.G., F.R.S., LL.D., Principal of McGill College, Montreal, said: "I have had occasion to institute inquiries in regard to the pauperism of Montreal. I can confidently say that nearly all the want and destitution prevailing in this city is, directly or indirectly, attributable to the liquor traffic, and if the liquor traffic could be abolished entirely there would be far less burdens cast on the benevolent societies and benevolent individuals in this city. The present process is simply one of taking money out of the pockets of the people of the benevolent community and passing it, through the hands of these victims, into the pockets of the liquor sellers."

The places referred to are not singular in respect of pauperism. Wherever evidence was heard on this branch of the subject it was substantially the same as to the cause of most of the pauperism—that fully three-fourths of it is due to the drink habit, fostered by the drink traffic.

The clergymen of the several denominations who have exceptional opportunities of becoming acquainted with family and personal histories agree that nothing produces so much poverty as drink, and the majority of them testify that drink causes more pauperism than all other agencies combined.

DISEASE, INSANITY AND MORTALITY.

As far as can be ascertained there is a diversity of opinion among medical experts as to whether or not a moderate consumption of alcoholic liquors is in every case physically injurious. A majority of medical men unhesitatingly endorse total

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abstinence as safe. Many claim that it is essential to the fullest degree of physical health.

PHYSICAL DISEASE.

All the evidence obtainable goes to show that heavy drinking is universally condemned, and, also, that there is a growing tendency among medical men to dis-countenance even what is known as moderate drinking.

As early as 1839 the following declaration was made public in Great Britain, having appended to it the signatures of 78 men who occupied high positions as scientists: "An opinion handed down from rude and ignorant times, and imbibed by Englishmen from their youth, has become very general, that the habitual use of some portion of alcoholic drink, as of wine, beer or spirits, is beneficial to health, and even necessary to those who are subjected to habitual labor. Anatomy, physiology and the experience of all ages and countries, when properly examined, must satisfy every mind well informed in medical science that the above opinion is altogether erroneous. Man, in ordinary health, like other animals, requires not any such stimulants, and cannot be benefited by the habitual employment of any quantity of them, large or small; nor will their use during his life-time increase the aggregate amount of his labor. In whatever quantity they are employed they will rather tend to diminish it. When he is in a state of temporary debility, from illness or other causes, a temporary use of them, as of other stimulant medicines, may be desirable; but as soon as he is raised to his natural standard of health a continuance of their use can do no good to him, even in the most moderate quantities; while larger quantities (yet such as by many persons are thought moderate) do, sooner or later, prove injurious to the human constitution, without any exceptions."

In 1847 the following declaration was signed by 2000 physicians and surgeons of Great Britain: "We, the undersigned, are of the opinion, 1. That a very large proportion of human misery, including poverty, disease and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic or fermented liquors as beverages. 2. That the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all such intoxicating beverages, whether in the form of ardent spirits or as wine, beer, ale, porter, cider, &c., &c. 3. That persons accustomed to such drinks may with perfect safety discontinue them entirely, either at once or gradually, after a short time. 4. That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors and beverages of all sorts would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race."

It is not unusual for associations of medical men in these days to make similar and even stronger declarations.

At the International Medical Congress in Washington, D.C., in 1887, the following statement was subscribed to by the president of the congress and seventy-seven other members, including distinguished physicians from foreign countries: "In view of the alarming prevalence and ill effect of intemperance, with which none is so familiar as members of the medical profession, and which have called forth from eminent physicians the world over the voice of warning concerning the use of alcoholic beverages, we, the undersigned members of the International Medical Congress, unite in the declaration that we believe alcohol should be classed with other powerful drugs; that when prescribed medicinally, it should be with a conscientious caution and a sense of grave responsibility. We are of opinion that the use of alcoholic liquor as a beverage is productive of a large amount of physical disease, that it entails diseased appetites upon offspring, and that it is the cause of a large percentage of the crime and pauperism of our cities and country.

"We would welcome any judicious and effective measures which would tend to confine the traffic to the legitimate purposes of medical and other sciences, art and mechanism."

Canadian Evidence.—At Toronto the Secretary of the Dominion Alliance wished to offer as evidence the result of an enquiry made some time before among the medical men of the city named, in reference to the question now under consideration. The Commission declined to receive the statement. But the importance of it,

together with the fact that the witness, under oath, submitted copies of the questions and of the answers received, make these results worthy of consideration. The questions submitted in the inquiry were the following: 1. Is total abstinence, in your opinion, compatible with the fullest degree of physical health? 2. Do you consider that, generally speaking, the moderate drinking of intoxicating liquors is conducive to health, or that it is harmless or that it is injurious? 3. Do you consider, generally speaking, a total abstainer has any advantage over a moderate drinker, in better chances of recovery in sickness or accident? 4. What do you think would be the effect on public health of universal abstinence from intoxicating liquor as a beverage?

The statement which the witness wished to present along with these questions was the following: "There had been some public discussion as to the merits or demerits of strong drink from a dietetic standpoint. There had also been expressed diverse opinions as to the attitude of the medical profession generally towards moderate drinking. The questions quoted were designed to ascertain the views of the medical men of Toronto, who might fairly be considered as representative of their profession. As will be seen these questions cover the ground of teetotalism versus moderation as desirable in every day life, viewed from the standpoint of sanitary science. The questions were sent to every person classed as a physician in the Toronto Directory for 1887, the latest issue at the time of the inquiry. The number was two hundred and seven. Some of these might have left the city subsequent to the compiling of the directory. Ninety-two replies were received, many of the writers being representative men in the front rank of their profession in Toronto, nearly all of them of extensive practice and high reputation, many of them professors and examiners in our medical colleges. They voiced fairly the sentiment of the medical profession.

"The first question is answered directly in the affirmative in 53 cases, and of the remaining nine answers there are but three in which is expressed a definite opinion that total abstinence is not safe for most people. Several doctors are non-committal, but there are really only three who condemn the practice of the total abstainer, and even they do so in a very hesitating fashion.

"The replies to the second query are, however, not so harmonious. Of the 92 there are 58 who denounce all moderate drinking as bad, and among the remaining 34 there is a startling diversity of opinion, only about 10 really endorsing habitual drinking on what is usually considered moderate lines. One gentleman would object to a one-half ounce dose of alcohol, another would allow of one and one-half ounces in 24 hours. One believes in 'an occasional' drink, another would forbid it altogether except at meals. One would give 'spirits,' another rejects anything but pure wine, while a third is in favour of ale. A careful perusal of all these opinions will be instructive, but will not throw any light on the vexed question, as to what constitutes moderation, nor will it aid the man who rejects the unanimous advice of the 57, in making up his mind what rule he is to take as an alternative.

"More agreement characterizes the replies to question No. 3. Seventy-six doctors are convinced that a total abstainer is a safer patient than is a moderate drinker. Of the others, two have evidently misunderstood the question, taking it to mean total abstinence while under treatment, whereas it meant total abstinence as a habit before the sickness or accident named. There are eight who clearly assert that a moderate-drinking patient has quite as good a chance of recovery as a total abstainer. The others qualify their answer.

"When we come to examine the replies to the fourth question, we find that 82 of the 92 who reply, believe that universal abstinence would be a great public benefit; one speaks indefinitely; two decline to discuss the question; three are afraid abstinence from drink would lead to indulgence in some other narcotic; four are of opinion that no material gain or loss would result; and one believes that teetotalism would be injurious to the general health of the community."

Physicians who gave evidence before the Commission stated that a large proportion of the sickness and injuries with which they have to deal results from the use of intoxicants.

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Dr. F. W. Campbell, Dean of the Faculty of Bishop's College, and who is not in favour of prohibition of the liquor traffic, testified that a large proportion of his hospital practice, probably eighty-five per cent of it, is caused by drink. He is surgeon of the military school at St. John's, Quebec, and he says that 99 per cent of the troubles of the soldiers is due to liquor.

Dr. A. R. Reid, for ten years superintendent of the General Hospital, Halifax, told the Commission that,—“The experience of ten years in our General Hospital shows me very clearly that though our statistics represented a very large percentage of sickness there as the result of intemperance, really if you figure out the wide influence it has, that the percentage would come, I suppose, up to ninety. That is, taking the history of our institution for the ten years I had charge. A woman comes in with typhoid fever or pneumonia. The previous history shows that the woman was living under conditions with which intemperance had a great deal to do, that if the means which should have gone to support her had been used for that purpose instead of having been used in drink, she would not have had typhoid fever or pneumonia. A man comes in with broken leg and very likely he has to have it amputated, and sometimes such cases never rally. Again, we find that a man drinks two or three glasses of whisky and runs in front of a car, which he would not have done if his head had been level. Another man comes in with inflammation of the lungs; and it appears he had been on a spree and caught cold, and this attack followed. The disease is not put down in our report as a result of intemperance, but simply as pneumonia. When I figure up the results of sickness, I come to the conclusion—I may be wrong, but I really think not—that if there were any means by any possibility, of excluding the effects of alcohol on humanity, the hospitals would have to be closed, for no one would have to go there, because those who go there now would be able to pay their way, for accidents and a large proportion of the disease result from the use of liquor.”

Referring to the assertion, sometimes made, that the use of liquor is necessary to men who have to undergo unusual and long continued fatigue, under circumstances which cause exposure to wet and cold, Lieut. Governor Schultz, of Manitoba, himself a medical man of long and varied experience, said:—“It has occurred to me to cite, in refutation of this assertion the three military expeditions to this country. The first of these was in 1846, when four hundred men of the 6th Royal Infantry, with a small detachment of the Royal Artillery and Sappers and Miners were sent to Red River settlement by way of York Factory and had to transport over many slippery, and often over rough and miry portages which intervene between Lake Winnipeg and the sea, a number of six and three pound brass guns, mortars, shot and shell, and immense quantities of military stores, without any but the usual rations being served out. The next—pensioners of the Royal Canadian Rifles—came over the same route in 1868, and more recently the better known expedition of Lord (then Colonel) Wolseley with a Canadian and British expeditionary force, which made themselves and their commander famous for the physical obstacles which they overcame, had simply a double ration of tea and not one drop of spirituous liquor. The official report of the great commander ascribes the health of his men and the speed of the expedition partly to that fact. His enforcing prohibition among troops who were doing the hardest possible work, and wet for days together, as a means of success in the rapid transit of his men and stores to the scene of action, and his landing in Manitoba without the loss of a man, is refutation, from a very high source, of the assertion to which I have referred.”

These are but samples of similar medical testimony heard in every part of the Dominion. Even if no other evidence, were available, the replies to questions sent by the Commission to physicians and life insurance companies in Canada are sufficient proof of the physical evils resulting from strong drink. Your Commissioner had hoped that a summary of the answers from physicians would be printed in connection with the report. The following, however, will indicate the heavy preponderance of medical testimony in favor of abstinence.

Of thirteen hundred and fifty-five Canadian physicians who gave definite answers to the question, ten hundred and sixty-eight said that, independently of the benefits

to the intemperate, the general health of the remainder of the population would be improved by total abstinence.

Of thirteen hundred and forty who gave definite answers to a question about moderate drinking, nine hundred and one said the use of intoxicants, even in moderation, is injurious to health and to an active condition of body and mind.

Of seven hundred and seventy-nine who gave definite answers to a question about the relation of drinking to insanity, said that the use of intoxicants increases the number of the insane.

The question asked, and a table showing the number of answers received and their general character are in Vol. 5, Appendix No. 92.

Evidence is abundant, and so clear that it is scarcely pretended now to be questioned, that drink is a most prolific cause directly, of physical disease; and, also, that the want, exposure, violence, accident, neglect and cruelty which arise out of intemperance are responsible for much disease.

Insanity and Idiocy.—The evidence of experts shows that drink holds an important place in the list of causes of insanity and idiocy. It is, of course, difficult to obtain absolutely accurate statistics in regard to this matter.

British Evidence.—A statement by Dr. Ley, Superintendent of the Prestwich Asylum in Lancaster, England, handed to your Commissioner by Dr. Steeves, St. John, N.B., is the result of careful investigation into the causes of the cases of insanity which came under his treatment. He says: "In about 27 per cent no cause could be assigned, as nothing reliable could be ascertained in regard to the antecedents of those patients. Classifying the assigned exciting causes as mental and physical, the mental causes constitute 23 per cent, and the physical about 55 per cent. Prominent among the former are worry, anxiety, and domestic and pecuniary troubles. Of the physical, intemperance in drink is pre-eminent, reaching about 25 per cent of all causes."

There are many authorities which bear out the foregoing statements. The fact that alcohol so promptly affects the functions of the brain, producing the temporary derangement which most inebriates manifest, prepares us for expecting such very strong statements as the following.

Dr. Edgar Sheppard, medical superintendent of Colney Hatch asylum, in a letter to the *London Times*, October 14th, 1883, said:—"For twelve years I have watched and chronicled the developments of the greatest curse which afflicts this country. From 35 to 40 per cent is a fairly approximate estimate of the ratio of insanity directly or indirectly due to alcoholic drinks."

The *British Medical Journal* published a statement from the medical superintendent of the asylum at Carmarthen, England, in which he places the proportion of cases of insanity among the labouring classes, traceable to intemperance, as 35 per cent, and goes on to say: "Yet even this is not the whole truth. We must add to this thirty-four per cent, the cases of those who owe their insanity to the intemperate habits of their parents."

Lord Shaftesbury, a few years ago, said: "I speak of my own knowledge and experience, having acted as commissioner of lunacy for the last twenty years and as chairman of the Commission during sixteen years, and have had, therefore, the whole of the business under my own observation and care, having made inquiries into the matter and having fortified them by inquiries in America which have confirmed the inquiries made in this country, the result is that fully six-tenths of all the cases of insanity in these realms and in America, arise from no other cause than from the habits of intemperance in which the people have indulged."

The *British Medical Journal* says that the part which alcohol has played in the genesis of insanity in Ireland has been brought out in bold relief in a special report recently issued by the inspectors of lunatics in that country. Of the medical superintendents of twenty-two district asylums, twenty agree that in their experiences the most prevalent cause of insanity, after heredity, is alcoholism. The proportion of cases of lunacy due to alcohol varies from 10 to 35 per cent of the whole admissions.

United States Evidence.—Dr. Edward C. Mann, President of the New York Society of Anthropology, &c., recently made the following statement:—"Intemper-

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ance in drink heads the list of physical causes of insanity, and domestic trouble and grief the moral causes; but out of over 2,000 cases of insanity we find intemperance in drink the cause of 577 cases or 27.4 per cent, and domestic trouble and grief in only 72 cases or 3.4 per cent. There can be no doubt that intemperance in drink induces insanity in fully 25 per cent of all the insane cases in the United States either directly or indirectly. It is also responsible for very much of the imbecility and idiocy of the offspring of intemperate parents. Fifty per cent of all our idiots and imbeciles are without doubt the offspring of drunkards. Where strong liquors are increasingly consumed we find a proportionate amount of alcoholic insanity. Where the consumption of alcohol doubles there we find the cases of insanity from intemperance will rise over fifty per cent. Increase in the number of suicides always follows increased consumption of alcohol, and suicide is a product of insanity."

Canadian Evidence.—Some gentlemen who have given special attention to mental disease and its causes were examined by the Commission, and their testimony agrees with that already quoted.

Dr. Reid is superintendent of the Provincial Hospital of the insane at Halifax, Nova Scotia. He said it is very difficult to correctly tabulate the causes of insanity, especially the predisposing causes. In the classification at the Halifax institution "unknown" is the largest class, being about 50 per cent of the whole. Intemperance, he said, comes in with a half a dozen others; but of those classified "unknown" a percentage, he believed, may fairly be traceable to drink.

Of intemperance as a predisposing cause, either in the patient or his progenitor, Dr. Reid said: "This is a subject I should have mentioned when I spoke of hereditary transmission. You have first of all a tendency to epilepsy and to nervous diseases as a result of lack of vigour. You take a family with nervous systems easily upset, and their children are predisposed to that condition, although they may pass their lives without difficulty. Take one them and he has children; these children are insane, being thrown off by very trifling causes. Then again, take the children of drunkards, I will not say drunkards exactly, but take the children of "those who have destroyed themselves through the influence of liquor, and it interferes with the nervous condition of the children. I think we have quite an amount of predisposition to nervous affection as the result of such defects." And he added,—"As a depressing agent, I think alcohol in its various forms is surrounded with greater danger in insanity than in other diseases, as a means of lowering the general constitutional health of all who use it."

Dr. J. T. Steeves has for several years been medical superintendent of the New Brunswick insane asylum at St. John, N.B. In his evidence before the Commission he said: "The insanity of about one-eighth, of our patients is due directly to intemperance, and one-eighth, indirectly. Compared with other causes intemperance stands as the leading cause of insanity. It stands preeminently above any other cause. This is admitted on all hands. The other causes," he said, "are dissipations of all sorts, troubles, anxiety, sorrow and so on."

In a letter to the undersigned, at a later date, and referring to insanity reports, Dr. Steeves says: "You will bear in mind that those tabulated under dissipations must be added to those under intemperance. Those under unrestrained vicious habits and felonious, nearly all have a history of intemperance and dissipation, but they are not so enumerated, they are left out to counterbalance a few duplications in readmissions of drunkards and dissipated subjects."

Dr. D. Clark has been medical superintendent of the insane asylum at Toronto, Ontario, for eighteen years. He testified that of 6,000 cases of insanity which he had carefully examined he found that nine and one-half per cent were, without any uncertainty, produced directly by drink.

Of predisposition to insanity he said that fully 60 per cent of those who came to the asylum are those who have inherited from their parents a tendency to insanity; and he had no doubt the intemperance of parents is in a considerable degree responsible for the tendency. He said: I have no doubt in my own mind that intemperance in parents produces almost absolute degeneracy in children, to a greater

or less extent, mental degeneracy and physical degeneracy. I have watched closely those who are dipsomaniac, those who have intermittent bouts of drunkenness, but who, for months together, may hate the sight of liquor, then when this maniacal condition comes on, nothing will stop them from having their drunken bout, if they can get liquor. A large number of those dipsomaniacs who have intermittent sprees, so to speak, are so from hereditary causes. The moment you get degeneracy in a child, you can scarcely tell in what direction it may make itself manifest. It might be hysteria, in a number of nervous diseases; it might be an inordinate taste for liquors, or it might be insanity pure and simple. The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."

Asked if he thought that abstinence from intoxicants would improve the physical and mental health of the people at large, he answered, "There is no doubt about it."

It will be noticed that the foregoing evidence shows that not only many drinkers become insane, but that the mental weakness which, under any one of various forms of excitement, is liable to become insanity, is, in a large degree, traceable to the intemperate habits of the parents.

MORTALITY.

Related to the subject of disease is that of excessive mortality. The proportion of deaths directly and indirectly due to intemperance it is, of course, impossible accurately to estimate. Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, the eminent English physician, gives his views on this point in the following terms:—

"It is difficult to calculate the precise mortality from alcohol, because we have never yet fully diagnosed all the evils leading to disease and death which spring from it. For example, up to this time we have not added the mortality due to alcoholic paralysis in the large computations from which our results have been drawn. Some years ago, from the best data I could obtain, I estimated that in England and Wales the mortality from alcohol was 50,000 per annum, an estimate fairly confirmed by other observers who have made inquiries of an important and independent character. Admitting its correctness, this estimate makes the mortality from alcohol to be about one-tenth of the whole mortality—a view which had previously been expressed by the late Dr. Edwin Lankester, the coroner for Central Middlesex—and places alcohol, as one of the causes of mortality, at the head of those causes. This estimate, however, must have been under the mark, since it excluded altogether that fatality which we now know to arise from alcoholic paralysis, and excluded also, too rigidly, instances of direct poisoning from alcohol and all accidents of a fatal kind indirectly due to alcohol. I would not, however, run any risk of being charged with over-statement, and would be content still to place the mortality from alcohol at one-tenth of the whole mortality, in places where the article is consumed in the same proportion as in England and Wales at the present time, a proportion fairly representative of alcoholic populations generally."

Dr. Norman Kerr, a distinguished English physician, has made an exhaustive study of this question and published the same in a work entitled "Mortality of Intemperance." He tells that he commenced the investigation "with the avowed object of demonstrating and exposing the utter falsity of the teetotal assertion that 60,000 drunkards die every year in the United Kingdom." From his statement the following is taken:—"It has been my painful duty to compute the mortality from inebriety within our borders, and the estimate which, after careful inquiry, I was enabled to lay before several scientific and learned societies was pronounced 'moderate' and 'within the truth' and has never been seriously disputed. There is, first, the number of deaths occurring annually in the United Kingdom from personal alcoholic inebriety, which I reckon at 40,000. It is true that only between 1,400 and 1,500 deaths have been certified as arising from alcohol in one year. But it is well known that the figures of the registration returns are no criterion of the actual number of deaths from alcoholic excess. I arrived at my estimate of 40,000 by taking the proportion of alcoholic deaths to all the deaths certified by me in the course of one year, and applying that proportion, with certain necessary corrections,

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to the total number of practitioners throughout the Kingdom. This calculation I checked in a variety of ways. First, by taking the average of seventeen years' practice, comprising 278 fatal cases. Next, by the summary of the causes of 232 deaths in the practice of twelve medical men, some located in cities and some in the country. Next, by taking out from the general mortality returns a certain proportion for alcoholic deaths in hospitals, workhouses, from violence and accident arising through drink, and for the alcoholic mortality among publicans, beer sellers and licensed grocers.

"Dr. Wakely, M.P., late editor of the *Lancet*, and coroner for Middlesex, afforded ample corroboration of the moderation of my figures. Of 1,500 inquests held by him yearly, he attributed 900 at least to hard drinking, and he believed that from 10,000 to 15,000 persons died annually from drink in the metropolis, on whom no inquest was held. Taking London as one-tenth of the population of the United Kingdom, this would give 100,000 deaths from alcoholic indulgence over the country. It is often impossible to elicit a verdict of alcoholic poisoning, or alcohol-acceleration of death, even when the evidence is strong. As the jury have often been neighbours of the deceased, they are naturally unwilling to return a verdict reflecting on his character. Yet, owing to the gradual enlightening of the public mind, juries are steadily becoming more alive to the truth and less reluctant to refer to alcohol. Even when both coroner and jury are ready to acknowledge the facts as to the habits of the deceased, it is difficult to elicit the whole truth from the witnesses. I have seen inquests at which the medical testimony showed the presence of alcohol-poisoning, when the friends declared that their dead relative was a perfectly sober individual, but after the proceedings were closed admitted that he 'took far too much.' Dr. Hardwicke pronounced my estimate of the direct and indirect mortality from alcohol to be 'far within the truth.' Dr. Noble, of Manchester, believes that one-third of our disease is due to intemperance, and Dr. B. W. Richardson that one-third of the vitality of the nation might be saved but for strong drink."

The National Temperance League's Annual for 1889 (London) contains the following statement by Dr. W. Wynn Wescott, deputy coroner for Central Middlesex:—"I have made an analysis of 1,220 consecutive inquests held by me in London, and I cannot refrain from making the results public. I am not and have never been a total abstainer or an advocate of that cause, so there need be no fear that the figures are exaggerated. Of 1,220 cases of deaths, including deaths from violence, sudden deaths, persons found dead and deaths with regard to which no medical certificate is forthcoming, 470 were infants, children and persons below the age of sixteen years. These may be presumably removed from the list of deaths from alcoholic excess. Of the remaining 750 deaths, no less than 143 are recorded as being the result of chronic alcoholic disease, acute alcoholism, delirium tremens, suicide caused by drink, or of accidental death while drunk, or of accidents arising because of incapability when intoxicated—that is, one death in every 5.24. Only nine of the cases were of persons under thirty years of age, and but twenty-one cases were of persons over sixty years old."

The late Sir Andrew Clark, physician to the Queen, said:—"I do not desire to make out a strong case. I am speaking solemnly and carefully in the presence of truth, and I tell you I am considerably within the mark when I say to you that in going the rounds of my hospital wards to-day, seven out of every ten there owed their illness to alcohol."

Speaking out of the experience of twenty-five years, during which he had to inquire into the habits in relation to the health of 10,000 people a year, he said that he had found alcohol to be "not only not a helper of work, but a certain hinderer of work;" that out of every hundred patients under his charge in the London hospital "70 per cent of them owed their ill-health to alcohol;" and that "more than three-fourths of the disorders in what we call fashionable life arises from the use of this very drug."

In 1888 a report was made by the "Collective Investigation Committee" of the British Medical Association on the influence of alcoholic habits on the age at death of males over twenty-one years. The report was prepared by Isambard Owen,

M.D., M.A., F.R.C.P., secretary of the committee. Over 4000 cases, investigated by 178 physicians, were dealt with. The tables contained in the report have been misconstrued to show that moderate drinkers are the longest lived, and that total abstainers are the shortest lived, falling below those, even, who are excessive drinkers. The attention of Dr. Owen having been drawn to the use which was being made of his report, he wrote to the press, over his own signature, the following:—

"As the author of the report 'The Connection of Disease with habits of Intemperance,' issued last year by the Collective Investigation Committee of the British Medical Association, I shall be glad if you will allow me to correct certain erroneous ideas of its purport which, I am informed by numerous correspondents, have become current among the public, and are being disseminated by interested persons in a manner calculated to do serious mischief.

"It is constantly being asserted, I am told, on the authority of the report in question, that abstinence from alcoholic liquors has been proved to be a habit eminently prejudicial to health, and that total abstainers have been shown to be a shorter lived body of men than habitual drunkards.

"Permit me to say, sir, that my report is not answerable for any such absurdities. The assertions I referred to are founded on certain statistical figures contained in the report, which are systematically quoted apart from their context, and in defiance of the explanation therein given. The actual conclusions of the report, as regards relative longevity, are as follows:—

"1. That habitual indulgence in alcoholic liquors beyond the most moderate amounts has a distinct tendency to shorten life, the average shortening being roughly proportioned to the degree of indulgence.

"2. That of men who have passed the age of 25, the strictly temperate, on the average, live at least ten years longer than those who become decidedly intemperate. (We have not, in these returns, the means of coming to any conclusion as to the relative duration of life of total abstainers and habitually temperate drinkers of alcoholic liquors.)"

The *British Medical Journal*, organ of the British Medical Association, also added its condemnation of the unwarranted use which had been made of the report, saying:—

"Rarely has any document been the subject of such extraordinary misconception and misrepresentation as has fallen to the lot of Dr. Isambard Owen's report of the Collective Investigation on the connection between drink and diseases. All over the kingdom Dr. Owen has been represented as laying down, from the returns sent in to this committee, that total abstainers do not live as long as moderate drinkers, or even as those who are actually intemperate. We need hardly say to our readers that Dr. Owen has never said anything of the kind. On the contrary, he distinctly stated that no conclusion could be drawn from the returns as to the relative longevity of teetotalers. It is true that the figures warrant the construction of a table from which the casual observer, ignorant of the subject, might suppose that the average life of the abstainer was some nine months less than that of the decidedly intemperate. But Dr. Owen devotes considerable space to the exposure of such a fallacy. His explanation of the apparent anomaly is simply that, as the greater number of converts to abstinence have been from the young during the three years embraced in the returns, the average of adult abstainers must have been less than the average age of drinkers. He supports this explanation by constructing two tables of the average at death of persons between thirty and forty, and of those above that age, with the result that the relative proportions are greatly altered.

"The conclusion, erroneously attributed to Dr. Owen is utterly unwarrantable, though it has been paraded in high class journals of which better things might have been expected. Taking into consideration how valueless vital statistics are without the explanations which usually accompany them, it is curious how so many writers have seized upon a few isolated figures, have put an interpretation on them which they do not warrant, and have credited conclusions to the editor of the returns which he not only never drew, but actually showed good reasons for not drawing.

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A careful perusal of the Committee's report would have saved not a few literary critics from a ludicrous blunder."

The *Medical Pioneer* (London) pointing out that of the 4,234 deaths investigated only 122 were of total abstainers, and that the average of present day male abstainers in England is much below that of all other male adults, because the majority of abstainers are young men, says:—

"A very little consideration will convince anyone open to conviction that these very figures (Dr. Owen's) really indicate the advantage of total abstinence. For the small number of 122 dead teetotalers against 4,112 drinkers of all sorts shows clearly that the mortality among abstainers is lower than that among non-abstainers, a fact amply corroborated by life insurance societies. The dead abstainers are not quite three per cent of the whole number; but it is notorious that there are far more than three abstainers in every hundred adult males. We might safely say that there are at least fifteen, probably more. It is clear, then, that if the mortality among the abstainers had been as great as among the drinkers there would have been 635 deaths instead of 122. Hence we must conclude that the other 413 are living on, not having had time to reach the end of their natural lives. We may be quite sure that a similar investigation held every ten years would reveal a gradually increasing longevity among abstainers."

In 1890 a very interesting investigation was made in the United States. The editors of two medical journals, having wide acquaintance among leading men of the profession, were requested to select a number of prominent medical authorities in various parts of the country, to whom was submitted a series of questions framed so as to obtain their opinions as to the extent to which alcohol was a cause of the cases of disease which they were called upon to deal with, and also the percentage of deaths from such diseases which might fairly be attributed to alcohol. Taking the answers received and making from them a careful estimate, applied to all the mortality of the country, it is seen that the case is not overestimated when the deaths each year attributed to drink in the United States are placed at 80,000 or 100,000. This would be, say, from 10 to 12 per cent of the whole mortality.

Insurance Testimony.—The greater expectation of life enjoyed by persons who abstain from alcoholic liquor, and the inferior character of life risks of men engaged in the liquor business, are now admitted facts in the business calculations of Insurance Companies. In England there are several Life Insurance Associations which, by the experience of a number of years—a period long enough to base a judgment upon—have demonstrated the decided advantage, in the matter of longevity, of total abstainers. The Sceptre Life Association of London was established in 1864. The results are thus set forth: "This Insurance Company was established in 1864 to effect assurance chiefly upon the lives of members of religious bodies, as the founders of the Association believed that a lower rate of mortality prevailed among that class than among the general public, in consequence of their more careful habits and quieter mode of life; and, as it was believed that total abstinence from intoxicating drinks was conducive to longevity, a section was formed for total abstainers, with the result that up to the present time it has been found that a much lower death rate has prevailed in that section than in that for non-abstainers. From the latest statistics it appears that in the General Section of that Association between the years 1884 and 1892 the expected deaths were 943, and the actual deaths 716; whilst in the Temperance Section the expected deaths were 433 and the actual deaths 241. In 1892, in the General Section the actual claims amounted to 89·67 per cent of the expected; whilst in the Temperance Section the actual claims were but 56·06 per cent of the expected. In this Association all the members are stated to be of very abstemious habits; so that here we have a fair comparison between the death-rate of total abstainers and strictly moderate drinkers. About 60 per cent of those insured during the last seven years have been total abstainers."

The results in the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution have been the same, as the following summary statement shows: "Since the year 1866, an experiment has been made, in that Insurance Company, by insuring

total abstainers, and non-abstainers from alcohol, in distinct sections, with the following results: "In the 24 years included between 1866 and 1889, the Temperance Sections, which had expected claims amounting to 4,543 for £983,307, had only 3,198 actual claims for £664,832; whilst the General Section had 6,894 expected claims for £1,428,671 and 6,645 actual claims for £1,371,525. It will thus be seen that the actual claims in the Temperance Section, if calculated on policies, are about 70 per cent of the "expected," while in the General Section, they are 96 per cent of the "expected."

The Temperance and General Life Association of Canada and the Royal Templars Life Insurance Society of Canada and Newfoundland, as has been stated in evidence by their representatives, show like results. Mr. A. M. Featherston, Montreal, the chief officer of the latter society, said (questions 30130-30132, Volume 2): "Our record is something extraordinary in our death rate. Our average table is better than the mortuary table. Our members live longer than they have any business to, and that is because of their total abstinence. Within three years we have got over \$40,000 to our balance at the bank." And that balance is for the benefit of the insured.

Mr. Henry Sutherland, Toronto, Manager of the Temperance and General Life Insurance Society, stated that of those insured by his company,—

"We have about twice as many total abstainers as the number in the general class; and our charter compels us to keep them separate for all purposes." A very important statement, based on a careful examination into the practice of life insurance companies generally with regard to the acceptance of risks and the experience of the particular companies that have kept the two classes of risks entirely separate, was presented by Mr. Sutherland (Appendix No. 12, Vol. 4, part 2). Of the experience of his own company he said,—"The general mortality experience of his company has been of the most favorable character, being low in its General Section and exceptionally low in its Temperance Section. I am not prepared to state precisely the percentage of the tabular expectation of mortality that has been the experience of the two sections, but the difference has been such as to be obvious when expressed in a general way. This company has had an average of about twice as much business in its Temperance as in its General Section, taking its history throughout, and its losses have been practically the same amount in the two sections. This, in the face of the fact, that we are extremely rigid in our requirements with regard to the use of intoxicants by those accepted in our general section, prove, to my satisfaction at least, that total abstainers are much better risks, and likely to live much longer than those persons who are regarded as very moderate in their use of intoxicants."

The last annual report of the company, issued in January 1895, states that in a division of the surplus amongst the policy holders entitled thereto, those in the Temperance Section were entitled, according to the experience of the company, to one third more on similar policies than those in the General Section.

Life insurance companies, generally recognize the injurious effects of alcohol; they make careful inquiry about the drinking habits of applicants; none of them will insure a man who is known to be a heavy drinker, and some of them give abstainers the advantage of larger profits. That the liquor traffic is considered dangerous by insurance companies, is shown by the fact that many of them refuse to take risks on bartenders and some others connected with the trade, even though they be abstainers.

All the evidence obtained—including that of men and associations not at all interested in the moral phases of the question, but who have reached conclusions entirely by an examination from the standpoint of business—goes to show that the liquor habit is responsible for a very large degree of physical deterioration, and for the destruction of thousands of valuable lives annually.

Canada's Death Rate.—The total number of deaths recorded in Canada in 1891 was 67,688. Ten per cent of that number would be 6,768. It is probable, however, that the death rate through intemperance in Canada is less than that in the other

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countries named, inasmuch as the consumption of alcohol here is comparatively small. In an address made to the House of Commons in 1874, Hon. G. W. Ross, who had made a special study of the statistics of intemperance, estimated the annual loss of life in Canada through the liquor traffic at 4,000. In 1885 the Hon. George E. Foster, in a speech in Parliament, took 3,000 deaths per year as the number which might safely be set down as due to this cause. This, in view of the facts already set forth, must be regarded as a very moderate estimate. And yet it is an alarming contribution to the price paid for the continuance of the liquor traffic.

VICE AND CRIME.

The sad fact of the universal prevalence of drunkenness is very manifest. No part of the civilized world has escaped this great evil. It holds sway in the northern countries where spirits are the principal intoxicant consumed, in the lands where beer is the popular drink, and in those countries where wine is the generally used intoxicant. But a vast deal of vice and crime, other than drunkenness, is also chargeable to drink. Evidence of this is so abundant and so unanswerable that there is scarcely an attempt now to deny it.

The report of the Committee of the Convocation of York, England, already mentioned, sets out a startling array of testimony from officials of all kinds who have to deal with crime, showing that drink is both a predisposing and an exciting cause of very much wretchedness and crime. Summing up this evidence, the report says:—

"Many magistrates, governors of gaols, chaplains of gaols, and superintendents of police, concur in stating that of those crimes which obtain public notice, from 85 to 90 per cent are the direct result of drunkenness. Others declare that the chief use of the police in their districts appears to be to look after the public houses and their frequenters; whereas, in those cases where clergymen are able to rejoice in the fact that 'there is no known thief, rogue or vagabond in our parish,' they add, as a reason, that 'there is also no public house or beer shop.'"

Felix L. Oswald, a well informed and thoughtful writer on this question, sums up the facts that lead to such alarming results in the following terms:—

"1. Drunkenness excites the instinct of destructiveness and thus becomes a direct cause of violence and often of wholly unprovoked assaults.

"2. Inebriety clouds the perceptive faculties and thus disqualifies its victims for judging the consequences of their acts or realizing the force of dissuasive arguments.

"3. Habitual intemperance weakens the influence of self-respect and eventually almost deadens the sense of shame.

"4. Intemperance tends to idleness, the parent of vice.

"5. Intemperance is the chief cause of poverty, and thus indirectly of the crimes prompted by hunger and distress.

"6. Alcohol tends to beget a disinclination to intellectual employment, and thus neutralizes a chief agency of reform.

"7. Intemperance begets a hereditary disposition to idleness and vice."

The same writer quotes the celebrated Professor Otto, of Upsala, as saying:—

"The greater part of the exciting influence of alcohol is directed towards the posterior and inferior portions of the brain; in other words, it excites chiefly the organs of the animal propensities, and according to the law that whatever stimulates strongly one class of cerebral organs weakens another class, alcohol, while it adds vigour to the animal propensities, enfeebles the intellectual faculties and the moral sentiments."

Hereditary Vice.—One of the most serious charges made against intemperance, and fully sustained, is that it creates such conditions of heredity and environment as to make it almost impossible for a large proportion of children to become anything else than paupers and criminals. From birth they are handicapped by evil surroundings and tendencies that are the direct result of intemperance. Perhaps one of the strongest statements with reference to this, made by one who has given it very close and careful attention, and whose statements are generally accepted, even by those who do not agree with his proposed remedies for the conditions he

sets out, is the following made by General Booth in the work already mentioned:—“Thousands upon thousands of these poor wretches are, as Bishop South truly said, ‘not so much born into this world as damned into it.’ The bastard of the harlot, born in a brothel, suckled on gin, and familiar from earliest infancy with all the beastialities of debauch, violated before she is twelve, and driven out into the streets by her mother a year or two later, what chance is there for such a girl in this world—I say nothing about the next? Yet such a case is not exceptional. There are many such, differing in detail, but in essentials the same. And with boys it is almost as bad. There are thousands who are begotten when both parents were besotted with drink, whose mothers saturated themselves with alcohol every day of their pregnancy, who may be said to have sucked in the taste for strong drink with their mother’s milk, and who were surrounded from childhood with opportunities and incitements to drink. How can we marvel that the constitution thus disposed to intemperance finds the stimulus of drink indispensable? Even if they make a stand against it, the increasing pressure of exhaustion and scanty food drives them back to the cup. Of these poor wretches, born slaves of the bottle, predestined to drunkenness from their mother’s womb, there are—who can say how many?”

There is to be found in the thirtieth annual report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, an estimate that the notorious Jukes Family had cost the community in seventy-five years, nearly one million dollars. The history of this remarkable family is thus summed up:—“The ancestry of this family is traced to Max, a man who was a very hard drinker, and who became blind. Many of his descendants for two generations were also blind, and a multitude of them inherited his intemperance. One of the most notorious of his offspring was a woman named Margaret, of whose progeny Richard L. Dugdale writes:—‘In tracing the genealogies of five hundred and forty persons who descended in seven generations from this degraded woman, and one hundred and sixty-nine who were related by marriage or cohabitation, two hundred and eighty were adult paupers and one hundred and forty were criminals and offenders of the worst sort, guilty of seven murders, theft, highway robbery and nearly every other offence known in the calendar of crime.’ He estimates that the cost to the public of supporting this family of drunkards, criminals and paupers was \$1,308,000.

Testimony of Eminent Men.—The history of vice and crime is full of corroborations of the fact of the responsibility of the liquor habit for the lamentable things described. Sir Matthew Hale, Chief Justice of England, many years ago, said:—“The places of judicature I have long held in this kingdom have given me an opportunity to observe the original cause of most of the enormities that have been committed for the space of nearly twenty years; and by due observation I have found that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes and other outrages that have happened in that time were divided into five parts, four of them have been the issues and products of excessive drinking.”

Since then many other eminent men who have carefully studied the question have expressed the results of their observation in like terms, and even more emphatically.

The following may be added from distinguished authorities, gentlemen not in any way actively identified with the movement to prohibit the liquor traffic:

“Among all causes of crime, intemperance stands out the unapproachable chief.”—Judge Noah Davis.

“Two-thirds of the crimes that come before the courts of law in this country (England) are occasioned chiefly by intemperance.”—Lord Chief Baron Kelly.

“If the cases appearing in all the calendars throughout England were taken, it would be found that seventy-five per cent of the crime was traceable, directly or indirectly, to the inordinate love of liquor.”—Justice Hawkins.

“I can keep no terms with a vice that fills our gaols, that destroys the comforts of homes and the peace of families, and debases and brutalizes the people of these islands.”—Chief Justice Coleridge.

“Drunkenness is not only the cause of crime, it is crime; and the encouragement of drunkenness for the sake of profit on the sale of drink, is certainly one of the most

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criminal methods of assassination for money ever adopted by the bravos of any age or country."—Ruskin.

"The great cause of social crime is drink. The great cause of poverty is drink. When I hear of a family broken up and ask the cause—drink. If I go to the gallows and ask the victim the cause, the answer is drink. Then I ask myself in perfect wonderment, why do not men put a stop to this thing?"—Archbishop Ireland.

"The more I examine and travel over the surface of England, the more I see the absolute and indispensable necessity of our temperance associations. I am satisfied that unless they existed we should be immersed in such an ocean of immorality, violence and sin as would make this country uninhabitable."—Lord Shaftesbury.

"Drunkenness causes every year in England 60,000 deaths. According to the testimony of the magistrates, it is the source, directly or indirectly, of 75 per cent of the crimes committed, causing the disastrous ruination of families and destroying domestic life, together with the practice of religion and the christian education of the children."—Cardinal Manning.

"The diminution of the revenue from drink goes side by side with an increase and extension of the saving habits of the people. It has been said that greater calamities—greater because more continual—have been inflicted on mankind by intemperance than by the three historic scourges of war, famine and pestilence combined. That is true, and it is the measure of our discredit and disgrace."—Gladstone.

"After all, if we hunt vice and crime back to their lairs, we will be pretty sure to find them in a gin mill. Drunkenness is the prolific mother of most of the evil doing. Drunkenness is the prime cause of all the trouble."—Police Superintendent, New York City.

"The liquor traffic is responsible for nine-tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing that could come to them."—T. V. Powderly, ex-Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labour.

"I do not overstate it when I say that the two hundred thousand saloons in this country have been instrumental in destroying more human lives in the last five years than the two million armed men did during the four years of the civil war. Whisky is a more deadly weapon than shot or shell or any of the implements of our modern warfare."—Hon. William Wyndom, Secretary of the Treasury, United States.

An Expert's Testimony.—Probably the most systematic and thorough investigation into the relations of drink to crime ever made was that by Hon. Carrol D. Wright, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour for the State of Massachusetts, who made, between 1st September, 1879, and 1st September, 1880, a thorough investigation of the personal history of all offenders sentenced in the county of Suffolk, including the city of Boston, for the years named, as well as the offences for which the sentences were imposed. From his report of this work and its results, the following paragraphs are taken:—

"The total number of sentences for the year of our investigation, the distinctive rum offences included, was 16,877; 12,829 were directly due to rum causes, 12,221 being for sentences for the various grades of drunkenness, and 68 for liquor keeping and liquor selling without licenses, &c.

"Thus, for the year, the sentences for rum causes alone constitute 72 per cent of the whole, leaving a small balance of 27 per cent. Now, to discover what was the influence of intemperance in the commission of this balance formed the object of this investigation.

"We sought to compass the object of our investigation by ascertaining the connection between rum and the criminal in five directions: 1. Whether the criminal was under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed. 2. Whether the criminal was in liquor at the time he formed the intent to commit the crime. 3. Whether the intemperate habits of the criminal were such as to lead to a condition which induced the crime. 4. Whether the intemperate habits of others led the criminal to a condition which induced the crime. 5. What were the drinking

habits of the criminal, whether total abstainer, moderate drinker or excessive drinker? And for the purpose of enabling us to make this investigation as thorough and accurate as possible, we endeavoured, through our agents, to acquaint ourselves with each criminal, his history, his friends, his neighbourhood, his real name and the exact name and nature of his offence; his residence, his occupation, his age and birth place.

"In each of the nine courts of criminal jurisdiction in the county of Suffolk, we had an agent, paid to investigate each case that appeared in the same. It was the duty of these agents to interview each criminal separately, to hear his statements relative to the points of our inquiry; to follow the evidence offered in each case in open court; and to acquaint themselves, as far as practicable, with the circumstances connected with the past life of each criminal. The results of their several researches were transmitted at the end of each month to this office where the returns were carefully canvassed. All those which were satisfactory were filed away for future use; those which were not complete were returned with instruction that they be reinvestigated and corrected."

Mr. Wright gives the result of this thorough investigation in a series of tables that are very instructive. They are too extensive to be quoted in full, but their showing is epitomized by Mr. Wright in the following statements:—"It appears that 2,097 of the 4,608—which constitutes the 27 per cent balance of crime—were in liquor at the time of the commission of the various offences of which they were found guilty. This number is equal to 45 per cent of the 27 per cent balance, or to 12 per cent of the sum of all offences for the year, the distinctively rum offences included; that 1,918 were in liquor at the time of the formation of the criminal intent; that the intemperate habits of 1,804 were such as to induce a moral condition favourable to crime; that 821 were led to a criminal condition through the contagion of intemperance; that, of the 4,608 convictions, the total abstainers numbered 1,158, the moderate drinkers, 1,918, and the excessive drinkers, 1,317.

"The above figures indicate the enormity of rum's share in the 27 per cent balance of criminal cases in Suffolk county for the year of the investigation. They show that to the 72 per cent for distinctively rum crimes must be added 12 per cent representing the criminals who were in liquor at the time of committing other crimes, making a total of 84 per cent of all criminal cases due directly or indirectly to the influence of liquor.

The other details given are equally interesting and important. For example, it is shown that of the 4,608 offences not directly related to the liquor traffic, the criminal in 2,097 cases was under the influence of strong drink. In 1,918 cases the intent to commit the crime was formed while the offender was under the influence of liquor, 1,804 of the offenders had been led to the condition which induced the crime through intemperate habits, and 821 had been led to the condition which induced the crime through the intemperate habits of others.

Mr. Wright, who is now chief Commissioner of the Department of Labour of the United States, and whose statements are not the extravagances of an enthusiast, but the deductions of an expert statistician who had no object but to discover and set forth the bald and unquestionable facts, sums up the result of his examination thus:—"These figures paint a picture, at once the most faithful and hideous, of the guilt and power of rum. Men and women, the young, the middle aged and the old, father and son, husband and wife, native and foreign born, the night-walker and man slayer, the thief and adulterer—all testify to its ramified and revolting tyranny. Therefore the result of this investigation, in view of the disproportionate magnitude of the exclusively rum offences, and considered in connection with the notorious tendency of liquor to inflame and enlarge the passions and appetites, to import chaos into the moral and physical life, to level the barriers of decency and self respect, and to transport its victims into an abnormal and irresponsible state, destructive and degrading, calls for earnest and immediate attention at the bar of public opinion and the public conscience."

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Canada's Experience.—The effects produced elsewhere by the use of intoxicating liquors are produced in Canada also.

Drunkenness is the most prevalent offence against law, with which our courts are called upon to deal. The extent of it is appalling. Mr. George Johnston, the dominion statistician, has furnished your Commissioners with a statement showing that in the years from 1882 to 1892, inclusive, the total number of convictions for all offences in the Dominion of Canada was 383,459. Of these 133,371 were for drunkenness. The annual average of convictions was 34,860. The annual average of convictions for drunkenness was 12,125. And probably not one third of those who drink to drunkenness ever appear in these records.

The report of the Ontario Prison Reform Commission, in 1891, says: "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 strong drink was the chief cause of trouble in the case of 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 disorderly conduct caused by drunkenness. The proportion in the other cities, as will be seen by reference to the return 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."

And what is true of Ontario is true of the other provinces of the Dominion—of some in a greater degree, of some in a smaller degree, but of all in a painfully large degree. A great deal of the time, energy and expense of the police system of this country is expended in dealing with drunkenness alone.

As in other countries, so in this, the great majority of the offences and crimes with which the courts have to deal is traceable to drink. Anyone who will visit the police court of any city or large town cannot fail to observe that the liquor traffic and the conditions it creates are responsible for nearly all the disorders, assaults, larcenies and other cases which occupy the attention of the police judges, and which furnish the population of the gaols.

Official Testimony.—Much evidence bearing on this was heard wherever the Commissioners sat. A few samples of the evidence are appended.

Montreal.—Judge De Montigny, Recorder of the city of Montreal, one of the presiding judges of the city court, gave evidence to the effect that of the several thousands of cases which come before him each year, including "disorderly conduct, refusing to work for a living, indecent exposure, living on the profit of prostitution, begging without permission, and other charges, amount to 5,436 for the year 1890, the most of them may be traced to drink." Of houses of prostitution, he said: "It is generally liquor that has brought those girls there." And of lunacy cases which come before him, half of them are due to drink. Of the effect the drink trade has on business interests he said: "It has the effect that when a man begins to drink and gets into the habit of drinking, he does not care if he loses his honour, his reputation and his fortune. It has the effect of ruining a man in his soul and in his body, and of putting him in an asylum."

Of the effect the liquor traffic has upon the people engaged in it, he said: "It is awful, because they generally become drunkards themselves, and their children grow up with bad habits. And the spending of so much money in liquor injuriously affects the working classes. If you see a family in a poor condition and asking for charity, or to be helped through the winter, you are sure to discover it is due to the drinking habit of the head of the family."

He said, also, that the drunkards "are from all classes of society. * * * * If we had not the abuse of liquor in this country we would have the best people in the world, and I think it would not be necessary to have a recorder in the city of Montreal; at all events, he would have a good time if there were no liquor."

Judge Dugas, of Montreal, gave similar testimony. Of the cases which come before his court, he said: "To intemperance, leaving aside the professional criminals, I attribute 80 per cent or 90 per cent." Of the professionals he said: "I think they all drink, but they take great care not to drink before committing their depredations."

Mr. Andrew Cullen, Chief of the Detective Police Service of Montreal, told of the deplorable condition to which the drink habit reduces its victims, and cited a number of instances. (Vol. 2, page 489).

Mr. Samuel Carsley, merchant, Montreal, president of the Association for the Protection of Women and Children, told the Commission that, having made careful examination of the large number of cases with which the association has had to deal, he was convinced that over 90 per cent were caused by intemperance. "We put that as the minimum," he said: "you may say nearly all the cases."

That drunkenness and related offences are not becoming less under the license system of Montreal is made plain by the report of the Recorder's Court for 1894, compiled and issued by Mr. Forget, clerk of the court. Such offences as the following have greatly increased:—Drunkenness, keeping disorderly houses, inmates and frequenters of disorderly houses, assaults on police, assault and battery, malicious damage to property, threatening language, vagrancy, violation of liquor license law by licensees, selling liquor without license, &c. The cases of drunkenness alone in 1894 were 1,098 in excess of the cases in 1893.

Alarming as is the official summary of the cases dealt with by the court, it appears, according to the evidence given before the Commission by Mr. Forget, clerk of the court, to be much below the actual facts. He said:—

"A large number of persons who are arrested for being drunk, especially on Saturday night, are, however, discharged by the police, and never appear before the Recorder's Court." The number of these cases, he said, "is about two-thirds of the number that go before the court. This applies to Saturday rather than to any other day of the week." Intoxicated persons who are quiet and can manage to get home are not arrested. But, Mr. Forget said:—"When a man is so drunk that he cannot walk the officers will bring him to the station, and if he is not known as a loafer and has created no disturbance, he is often discharged by the sergeant of the station when he gets sober. When the person is not convicted the offence is not reported."

Mr. Forget explained, also, that in the returns he makes to Ottawa, and which enter into the official criminal statistics of the Dominion, he does not include all the cases which come before the Recorder's Court. Not only does he not include offences against municipal by-laws, but, he adds:—"I do not include offences against the license laws of the Province of Quebec. Of course, such are criminal offences, but at Ottawa they say they do not want such cases reported."

These facts, showing the incompleteness of the criminal records, and which doubtless apply also to returns from many other Canadian cities, should be kept in mind when comparison is being made of the criminal statistics of Canadian licensed cities with those of cities in states under prohibition, in which the system of arrest and the court record keeping are quite different.

Halifax.—Police Magistrate Motton, of Halifax, said: Drunkenness is increasing in that city; that juvenile offences in many instances are attributable to the intemperance of parents; that boys are now committing the offences which were committed "by grown-up persons in former years"; that fifty per cent of the fines imposed by the court are for drunkenness alone; and that a considerable proportion of other cases before the court are due to drink.

Mr. John Naylor, secretary of the Halifax Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Women and Children, said that eighty per cent of the cases with which the society has to deal are caused by intemperance.

St. John, N.B.—The records of the St. John, N.B., police court show that of all the cases dealt with drunkenness alone furnishes over 60 per cent, the percentage in some years being even higher. Mr. G. A. Henderson, for seventeen years clerk of the court, said that fully one-half of the other cases is due to liquor. Of cases of theft, he said, the offenders are, as a rule, people of intemperate habits; and of

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juvenile offenders there are very few cases in which the parents are not addicted to drink. Hon. R. J. Ritchie, police magistrate, confirmed the statements of the clerk of his court.

Quebec.—Mr. E. A. Déry, recorder of the city of Quebec, said the great majority of the arrests made by the police are for drunkenness; that the larger proportion of the criminal cases tried by him are attributable to drink; and that the greater proportion of crimes would not be committed if there were no liquor. The chief of police confirmed the recorder's statement, saying that three-fourths of the arrests are for drunkenness.

Toronto.—Toronto claims to be, and probably is, as well regulated as any large city in Canada, which licenses the liquor traffic. The convictions for drunkenness are not far below 50 per cent of all the cases which are brought before the police court. The police rule is not to arrest a drunken person unless he is disorderly or so incapable that he is liable to be injured or suffer loss. And, besides, many are arrested who are not taken before the court. In 1892, 800 such persons were discharged when they had become sober. The clerk of the police court said that of the cases other than drunkenness which come before the court about 50 per cent of the more serious offences result from drink; most of the assaults and petty larcenies are due to drink; there is a good deal of crime among juveniles, and considerable drunkenness among women.

Chief of Police Grasett said the liquor traffic undoubtedly adds largely to the offences and crimes, other than drunkenness, which are committed in the city. He said: "Assaults and crimes that are the outcome of drunken associations and surroundings; young girls, through the neglect of their drunken parents, fall into bad habits—prostitution and larceny; in fact, a great many of the cases on the criminal calendar of that character are in my opinion either directly or indirectly connected with drunkenness and its consequences."

Mr. J. J. Keleo, Toronto, guardian of dependent and neglected children, who has the superintendence of such work not only in Toronto but throughout Ontario, said the work in which he is engaged is made necessary by the intemperance of parents. "I am satisfied," he said, "that fully three-fourths of the children who need the attention of the public, are reduced to this state through the drunken habits of their parents." He also told the Commission that during eight years of newspaper work, when he came to have much knowledge of police courts, he became convinced "that nearly all the crimes were committed when the criminals were more or less under the influence of liquor. I found that a good many of the lower thieves would prime themselves up with whisky before they would commit these thefts. There is, also, drunkenness among the women, which in itself is ten times worse than in men, because it causes them to lose their maternal instinct and feeling, and they become thoroughly degraded."

Warden Massie, of the Central Prison, Toronto, who has had an experience of thirteen years with prisoners, said that of 12,405 received into the prison since its establishment 9,892 were classed intemperate and 2,513 temperate. In the latter class all the moderate drinkers are included, the abstainers being the small proportion. His acquaintance with the personal history of those who had been in his keeping warranted him in saying that "there is not the least doubt that the liquor traffic is in a considerable degree a producer of crime." He said also that much of the neglect which results in criminal habits in children is traceable to the drinking habits of parents, and that the idleness which becomes the mother of crime is induced by intemperance. "A great proportion of the young lads I receive at the Central Prison," he said, "are boys who have been neglected by their parents, not taught any work or trade, but brought up in idleness, and as a consequence fall into crime." Many, on leaving the prison, make promises, evidently sincere, that they will not drink again, but, the Warden said, the drink shops offer stronger temptations than they can resist, and they soon fall into crime again and are sent back to prison. He gave cases in illustration of this. (Vol. 4, part 2, page 1055.)

In December last, just prior to the vote on prohibition in Ontario, the inmates of the Central Prison were polled on the question of prohibiting the liquor traffic,

with the following significant result: Out of 397 prisoners, 329 favoured prohibition. Their voting is, at least, an expression of their desire to be freed from the temptations of the open saloons, which they find themselves unable to resist, and which keep them bound to habits of drunkenness, idleness and crime.

Other Canadian cities furnish records similar to those quoted. Jailers and sheriffs, wherever examined, testify that the majority of the prisoners in their keeping, from time to time, are prisoners because of offences and crimes of which they would not have been guilty but for drink.

The returns received from magistrates in every part of the Dominion agree that the liquor habit is responsible for a large percentage of the criminal cases which come before them. [Appendix No. 94.] Answers were received from 167. Of 140 who gave definite replies to a question on this point, 101 expressed the belief, based on their experience with criminal cases, that a prohibitory law would materially reduce crime.

The proportion of crime attributed by them to drink ranged from 10 per cent to over 75 per cent, the majority agreeing that not less than 75 per cent was unmistakably traceable to this one chief cause of crime.

The records of the penitentiaries of the country are confirmatory of all that is said of the relationship of crime and the liquor traffic. So far as the habits of Canada's convicts have been tabulated by the officials, it is shown that a very large proportion—fully 95 per cent—of them are addicted to drink.

Other testimony.—The case is as strong as any case can be made that the drink habit is chiefly responsible for the greater proportion of the vice and crime which afflicts humanity. And the Commission could not fail to be impressed that Canada's experience does not differ from the experience of other countries.

In every province the testimony given and the facts collected tell the same story of physical and moral deterioration, domestic distresses, neglected children, misdirected and ruined lives, disorders and crimes—all attributable to the liquor habit, and being more marked as the liquor traffic is tolerated and patronized. Testimony, other than that given by officials, corroborative of these statements might be quoted at great length from the evidence heard by the Commission.

The clergymen of the country have exceptional opportunities of learning the truth about the effects of the liquor traffic on home life, and their testimony, as given before the Commission, is, with a few exceptions, that great evils result from it. A series of questions was addressed to all the ministers of all denominations in the country. (App. No. 98.)

Answers were received from 2,465, of whom 314 were Roman Catholic clergymen. Of 2,395 who definitely answered the question as to the moral and social effects of the drink habit, 2,123 said the use of intoxicants is hurtful morally and socially.

Of 2,351, 2,147 said the use of intoxicants on family life and on the care of children is hurtful.

Of 2,387, 2,050 expressed the belief from their observation, that the use of intoxicants in families, even in moderation, is detrimental to social and moral habits, to the domestic relations, and to the education and prospects of children.

Of 1,875 who had lived in places where local prohibition was in force, 1,606 said it had lessened drunkenness. (See Vol. 7, App. No. 88.)

This section may properly be concluded by a few quotations from the evidence of men of close observation and wide experience, who are well known in every part of the country.

Sir Leonard Tilley, for forty years in public life, a member of the Government of Canada for many years, and for twelve years Governor of the Province of New Brunswick, says: "I have been fifty-five years a teetotaler and pretty actively identified with the whole movement, and everybody who has watched it must see the deleterious effects the traffic has morally, socially, physically and in every other way upon the people. * * * When we consider the expenditure that takes place for intoxicating beverages, and what should also be considered, the loss of time and other losses indirectly connected with it, the effect upon the human system in weak-

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ening and destroying it, and also in the production of crime and poverty, the consideration of the business results is one of secondary importance. * * * For myself I have never changed my opinion as to the beneficial results that would follow from the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, except to have it strengthened."

The late Rev. Dr. Douglas, than whom no clergyman in Canada was more widely known nor more highly honored, said: "I would emphasize the point that in my experience, in this city, the effect of the liquor traffic on our young men of the best families has been pathetic and appalling. I can think of some of the best families in which one son after another has gone down to a drunkard's grave and to an appalling end. * * * The worst case of delerium tremens I ever witnessed in my pastorate proceeded from beer drinking; and as to light wines, they educate the taste, benumb the conscience and I might say inevitably strongly tend to the habit of habitual intoxication."

Sir William Dawson, for more than thirty years Principal of McGill College, a distinguished scientist, held in honour the mother country as on this continent, says: "My own interest is the most important one to me in Canada. In regard to other interests, I think there are only two that have come under my cognizance which it will be worth while saying anything about. One is that to which I have just referred, namely the interests of the students. I have always felt it my duty, as have other officers of the University, to set an example of total abstinence to students and to do everything possible to prevent them from falling into bad habits in that respect. But we have been greatly hampered by the existence of drinking places within easy reach of the University. That is one point. The other is in regard to pauperism. I have had occasion to institute inquiries in regard to the pauperism of Montreal. I can confidently say that nearly all the want and destitution prevailing in this city is directly or indirectly attributable to the liquor traffic."

Bishop Bond, of the Church of England, Diocese of Montreal, a man greatly honoured not only in the communion of which he is chief pastor, but in other branches of the church, says:—"In my experience the suffering and distress of families is very largely caused by intemperance. There is nothing which in so large a degree produces so many miseries and so much neglect of religion as the drinking habit. Take away the facilities for getting drunk, and you save a great number of men."

Hon. H. C. Joly de Lotbinière, a gentleman long in public life and highly honoured, says:—"I need not say that I am very much puzzled to suggest a remedy while at the same time I sympathize completely with those who seek to put down that dreadful calamity, drunkenness. I was brought up in a country where the use of wine is general, in France, where wine is looked upon as part of the daily food in every house in every family, even the servants receiving a certain quantity of wine every day. So that I can scarcely bring myself to look upon drinking wine as a sin. On the other hand, I have seen such dreadful abuse of liquor that I feel much sympathy with all those who try to find a remedy for their trouble."

A leading minister of the Methodist Church, Rev. Dr. Potts, Toronto, says:—"My favouring prohibition grows out of my observations as a minister in the cities in this country—in London, in Hamilton, in Montreal and in Toronto. I believe that the liquor traffic is the prolific source of an overwhelming majority of the instances of poverty and trouble of various kinds."

Rev. Alfred Leon Sentenne, priest of Notre Dame, Montreal, one of the leading clergymen of his church, says:—"Drunkenness is one of the greatest scourges of the community. A good deal of domestic trouble and wreck of lives is traceable to drink."

Bishop Baldwin, of the Church of England diocese of Huron, Ontario, who is abundant in labours for the amelioration of the evils of society, says:—"He would favour a prohibitory law as an act of humanity. I consider that the great majority of moral wrecks amongst men, that is, the decline and fall of those men, began through drink when they were young, either as minors or shortly after that period, and that therefore if a prohibitory law were actually established, it would save thousands of young men."

To the foregoing may be added the statements of two gentlemen now prominent in the administration of the affairs of the country. The Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, for the last twenty-two years prime minister of Ontario, said, very recently: "An enormous proportion, probably three-fourths, of the vice that prevails at the present day, of the crime which they had to contend with, of the lunacy, the idiocy, the poverty and the misery of every kind, is owing to the foul evil of intemperance."

The Hon. Geo. E. Foster, Minister of Finance of Canada, says: "As the eye of citizen, philanthropist or Christian, sweeps the present or gazes out into the future, what curse looms up so darkly? What enemy of man works so incessantly or with such fatal results? To measure all the waste of wealth, the destruction of labour, power, and the burdens caused by that poverty, crime and disease which are its constant outgrowths, would tax the strongest powers of the most gifted political economist. To estimate the pain, the shame, the suffering and death of soul and body, which ever follow in its wake, would simply call for more than human capacity. For a vice which mocks the hopes of humanity and withstands the beneficence of Deity, this has no equal. What fatal inactivity is it which allows any good man to be for one moment idle or unconcerned in the face of so monstrous an evil, and one which stands full across the pathway of our country's progress."

Quotations from the Canadian evidence might be made almost indefinitely to the same effect—all going to show that in this country, as elsewhere, the liquor traffic is the most inveterate foe of all social interests; that nothing else makes such relentless war upon home and all the sacred interests that centre there. It is established, also, that the visible evil effects are but a small part of the sad record. Back of them, and deeper, there is a devastation which has never been fully shown, and which it is impossible to more than imperfectly record. The violations of family affections and the destruction of domestic peace—who can tabulate them? What is seen is merely the overflow of miseries, the full measure of which is known only to Him who sees all things.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE TRAFFIC.

The evils that have been referred to are directly traceable to strong drink. The consumption of intoxicating liquors has been promoted, no doubt, by wrong ideas in reference to their nature and effects. This ignorance is being dealt with and corrected by the dissemination of knowledge, notably by the teaching of what is known as scientific temperance in public schools. Another factor in encouraging and extending drink consumption is, undoubtedly, the customs of society and the habits they create. Idleness frequently contributes its share as a cause of indulgence in drink. Trouble and poverty impel some to seek in the excitement of liquor a relief from these trials. It is, however, manifest that without facilities for the supply of drink the causes named would be to a great extent inoperative. The common traffic in intoxicating beverages supplies these facilities.—That traffic, carried on by persons who are naturally desirous of doing as extensive and profitable a business as possible, is in itself a temptation and an incentive to drinking practices. Much of the drink habit in a community is thus directly brought about by the operation of the drink habit.

The drink habit is specially characterized by its tendency to rapid growth when it is fostered. The liquor traffic differs from other business which simply furnishes a supply of that of which there exists a demand. The sale of liquor is generally recognized by those who have studied the subject as a cause of drinking, and as being chargeable with the drunkenness that exists and the evils that follow drunkenness.

An English report, already quoted, declares that,—“The multiplied facilities for obtaining drink may be regarded as the greatest conducting cause of intemperance. The returns invariably show that when these facilities are increased, drunkenness increases also; that when they are lessened, there is a corresponding diminution in intemperance; and this rule seems to operate with all the force of a natural law.”

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Another English report says:—"One of the causes of our national intemperance, one of the foremost and most prolific, as it appears to your committee, is the operation of the Legislative Act which called beer houses into existence and placed the power of licensing them in the hands of the excise." * * * It appears an unquestionable fact that in proportion as facilities in any shape for procuring intoxicating liquors are countenanced and afforded, the voice of intemperance and its dismal effects are everywhere increased. That this would be the case has been continually maintained by members of the community desirous of repressing intemperance, and extensively acquainted with its phases and its workings. This conclusion the evidence before your committee amply confirms. In the language of one who has investigated the evil in all its terrible details, the secret of the extensive failure of the means hitherto employed lies almost entirely in this—we have permitted the multiplication of agencies in our midst which have a direct tendency to demoralize the people; we have allowed interested parties to place greater and greater temptations to intemperance in the way of the working classes."

These statements are fully borne out by the great array of evidence submitted to the Commission.

The experience of effective workers in temperance reform has led them to the conclusion that as the liquor traffic is the cause of intemperance and the vast array of attendant evils, it must be dealt with if the evils are to be remedied. The late Cardinal Manning, who had given much attention to this subject, said:—"It is mere mockery to ask us to put down drunkenness by moral and religious means when the Legislature facilitates the multiplication of incitements to intemperance on every side. You might as well call upon me as the captain of a sinking ship and say, 'why don't you pump the water out?' when you are scuttling the ship in every direction. If you will cut off the supply of temptation I will be bound by the help of God to convert drunkards; but until you have taken off this perpetual supply of intoxicating drink we never can cultivate the fields."

And concerning Canada's experience, Hon. Geo. E. Foster has said:—"No intelligent observer will, for a moment, attempt to deny that a large part of the intemperance of our people arises from the multiplied facilities for drinking which are set up and maintained by authority of our laws. These facilities act as a school in which the A B C of drunkenness is taught to each generation of youth, and as powerful and invincible temptations to those whose appetite has been already set.

"It cannot but be apparent, that in proportion as these drinking places are shut up, or made disreputable, their influence is lessened, and consequently, sobriety becomes more general."

The great body of thoughtful people have been led to like conclusions. The wrong, the danger, the destructive character of the liquor traffic are now universally recognized. The strongest proof of this is the fact that for many years legislatures everywhere have sought by various restrictive measures to limit and lessen the evil influences of the traffic. There is no civilized state which treats the liquor traffic as a business to be carried on by any citizen as a matter of right, as is the case with other branches of business.

The men engaged in the traffic, and also those who support them, admit its responsibility, in part at least, for the deplorable things charged to it, and are willing that some measure of restriction should be applied to it.

The question to be determined is what degree of restriction will accomplish the desired object.

EFFECT OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC ON MATERIAL PROSPERITY.

Closely associated with the havoc with which the liquor traffic has been shown to work, from moral and physical standpoints, is the great waste that it entails of the wealth of the community. This result is attained by (1) actual destruction of wealth that already exists, and (2) the prevention of the production of wealth.

Cost of Liquors Consumed.—Volumes have been written on the waste brought about by the liquor traffic. The first item that presents itself in attempting to make

an estimate of this loss, is the great outlay of the community for intoxicating liquors. The Inland Revenue returns and the Tables of Trade and Commerce show the quantities of liquor annually consumed. These documents give the quantities of imported spirits, wines and other liquors entered for consumption, the quantity of Canadian spirits entered for consumption, and the quantity of Canadian malt liquors produced, which is usually above the amount consumed. No statistics are available of the native Canadian wine and cider manufactured. Taking the quantities given of the liquors named, and deducting the malt liquors exported, the consumption for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893, is found to have been: Spirits, 3,641,936 gallons; malt liquors, 17,293,864 gallons; wine, 478,666 gallons. Various estimates have been made of the amounts paid by consumers for this drink. Probably one of the most conservative estimates and which is certainly safe, considering the way in which most liquor in Canada is sold, is that made by Mr. Foster in a work published in 1884, in which he says that the consumers of this liquor pay therefor about as follows: For Canadian spirits, \$5 per gallon; for imported spirits, \$6 per gallon; for Canadian malt liquor, 60 cents per gallon; for imported malt liquor, \$3 per gallon; for imported wines, \$5 per gallon. Reckoning all spirits and malt liquors at the price estimated for the Canadian product, the following is found to be the outlay for liquors in the year named.—

Spirits.....	\$ 18,209,680
Malt liquors.....	10,376,318
Wines.....	2,393,330
Total.....	<u>\$ 30,979,328</u>

The Commission has made an estimate based on the average annual consumption for the five years ended 1893. Excluding cider and native wines, and taking an average of the retail prices, the calculation shows that the sum of \$39,879,854 is paid annually by the consumers of liquors in Canada. The Commission adds that "as more than one-half of this amount is paid for spirits, to which, it is well understood, a large addition of water is made before they are vended to the public, the total amount is probably considerably in excess of the sum mentioned." In the calculations which follow, the estimate \$39,879,854, is used.

The money thus paid may be fairly said to represent so much diminution of wealth, as the liquor when consumed, leaves the community in no way advantaged. When money is paid for clothing, food, or other commodities, the purchaser is supposed to have value for his outlay. Both buyer and seller, respectively, possess wealth formerly held by the other, usually slightly increased by the exchange. The liquor seller possesses the wealth formerly held by his customer, but the customer-consumer has nothing. The community is poorer at least to the extent of the money spent for the liquor. The annual expenditure of liquor, therefore, may be regarded as so much direct loss to the country.

The amount of grain used in the manufacture of this liquor also represents material destroyed. Part of it was Canadian grain which, had it not been used in liquor-making, would have been available for export or other use. Part of it was imported grain for which the money had to go out of the country. All the grain destroyed in the liquor manufacture has a right to a place in the calculation of loss. The Commission's estimate of the value of the materials used is \$1,189,765, of which \$293,423 is paid for imported articles.

The foregoing figures show only the direct loss in the purchasing transaction—the money paid by the purchasers of liquors for which they have no equivalent; and the value of the grains, &c., diverted from useful purposes.

There are, besides, other and greater losses caused by the liquor traffic, which are not so easy to put into figures. Few question the existence of these losses, but their extent is not generally realized. The facts are ascertained by estimates. The estimates vary; but all who have made a study of the subject agree that the burdens borne by the people on account of the liquor traffic are very great.

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Other Losses.—The facts set out in this report make clear that much disease, insanity, idiocy and other things which go to increase the dependent classes is due to the liquor habit, and that a very large proportion of the pauperism and crime of the country is attributable directly or indirectly to the liquor traffic. The cost, therefore, of the support of hospitals, insane asylums, police, jails, penitentiaries and the courts, to say nothing of the large sums spent in voluntary charities, is rightly chargeable, in considerable part, to the liquor traffic.

Of course, nothing more than conjecture is possible about the large sums disbursed in voluntary charities for the help and support of the victims, direct and remote, of the drink habit.

Cost of Prisons, &c.—Great difficulty has been experienced by the Commission in getting information about the expenditure by the municipalities, the provinces and the Dominion on account of the institutions named above. So far, however, as facts about such expenditure has been ascertained they show appropriations, in 1891, from the public funds for penitentiaries, jails, insane asylums, reformatories, almshouses and charitable institutions amounting to \$2,258,612.

The figures, however, are very incomplete. Only three provinces (Ontario, Quebec and Prince Edward Island) make anything like full or accurate returns. The other provinces seem to be without any reliable records of many things about which information was desired, many of the counties making no returns whatever.

Then, the above figures do not include, for any of the provinces, the cost of the administration of justice, the police expenditure and, possibly, other important items.

It is, therefore, not well to use them as the basis of an estimate of the liquor traffic's share of the responsibility for these expenditures.

The Province of Ontario furnishes the fullest returns. A result as nearly accurate as it is possible to get, and sufficiently so for the purpose of this report, may be reached by assuming that the whole country's expenditure for the purposes indicated is proportionate to that of Ontario.

Proceeding on this plan the following facts are ascertained. The public accounts of Ontario for 1894, and the latest accounts of counties, townships, cities, towns and villages, show that the annual expenditure in the province for the administration of justice was \$1,412,294.

The net cost to the province of the Central Prison and two reformatories was \$116,025.

The Asylum for the Insane cost the province, above receipts, \$490,326.

The amount paid by the Provincial Government, in 1894, for hospitals and charities, and the expenditure of the counties, cities, towns and villages for the support of the poor and other charities, aggregated \$471,219.

The outlay during the year for repairs and improvements to the prisons and asylums of the province amounted to \$335,000, which might properly be considered with the foregoing expenditure.

There might also be added the annual interest on the cost (over \$5,000,000) of the prisons, jails, court-houses, asylums, &c.

But the last two items are omitted.

The other items set out above amount to \$2,489,864. Large as it is, it does not include all, for it appears that in many cases no returns are made of the police expenses, nor of the cost of pauperism. The amount, therefore, may be regarded as being well within the actual outlay in Ontario, in one year, for the purposes named.

According to the census of 1891 the population of Ontario is 2,114,321, and the population of the Dominion 4,833,233.

If the other provinces of the Dominion expend, for like purposes, in the same ratio, according to their population, then the amount so expended annually in all the provinces, Ontario included, is \$5,691,712.

In addition to the above there is to be considered the cost of the maintenance of the penitentiaries of the Dominion. According to the Statistical Year Book of 1892 their net cost for the year was \$336,483.

Adding these sums it is seen that the annual cost to the country of the institutions named, is \$6,298,195.

This enormous annual expenditure, is not, of course, entirely on account of crime.

The courts deal with many cases not at all related to crime, and of the crime with which they deal, some of it is, probably, not closely related to the liquor traffic, and some of it not at all.

The hospitals, asylums and almshouses have inmates whose unfortunate condition is not due to the drink habit, either of themselves or others.

It will, however, not be an extravagant estimate to say that, at least one-half this expenditure is fairly chargeable to the liquor habit and the liquor traffic. On this basis, then, the liquor traffic entails upon the country for penitentiaries, gaols, asylums, reformatories, almshouses and like institutions, and for the administration of justice, an annual expenditure of \$3,149,097.

Loss of Labour.—In considering the loss of labour and the general interference with industries caused by the liquor traffic the difficulty of even approximate accuracy is, admittedly, very great. Sufficient attention, however, has been given the subject to enable your Commissioner to present an estimate. The conclusions reached are well within the limit warranted by the facts.

It was suggested to the Commission at the outset of the inquiry that a series of questions relating especially to this phase of the subject be sent to employers of labour, with a view to eliciting valuable information. The majority of the Commission declined to endorse this proposal, and the questions were not sent.

As opportunity offered, however; employers who came before the Commission were questioned as to the loss of time by employees and the loss to their business by the drinking habits of their men.

The general testimony was to the effect that much time is lost by drinking employees, and that work is frequently interfered with, sometimes seriously, by the absence or incapacity of drinking men. The majority of employers expressed a decided preference for abstainers; they would not keep excessive drinkers in their employ, and the majority regard even moderate drinkers with suspicion. Many were asked about the effect of saloons in the vicinity of their factories, and nearly all were pronounced in their objection to them as furnishing a temptation detrimental both to their employees and their business.

Fuller reference to this, with quotations from the evidence heard, is made further on in this report.

The loss to the country is, of course, not at all represented by the mere loss of time by men who are regularly employed. The country loses because of the prevention of the production of wealth on account of the persons in jails, in hospitals, in asylums, out of employment or in any way idle, when intemperance has caused such idleness. It is also worthy of note, having been stated to the Commission by a number of witnesses, that the working of a gang of men in a factory, or any set of persons who work to a certain extent dependent upon each other, is much interfered with by the absence of one or more. This is more and more the case as industrial development progresses, and machinery being used and work being more subdivided. In a highly organized manufacturing industry, any interference by absence or incapacity, with one part of the work affects the operation of the whole. So, not only those who drink lose time and possible earnings, but their fellow employees who do not drink are also losers, and the industry which employs them suffers interference and loss.

There is also the depreciation of wage-earning capacity, of which it is perhaps, not possible to make an estimate.

The report of an English Parliamentary Committee says:—"The loss of productive labour in every department of occupation, is to the extent of at least one day in six throughout the kingdom (as testified by witnesses engaged in various manufacturing operations), by which the wealth of the country, created, as it is, chiefly by labour, is retarded or suppressed to the extent of one million of every six that is produced, to say nothing of the constant derangement, imperfection, and destruction in every agricultural and manufacturing process, occasioned by the intemperance and consequent unskilfulness, inattention, and neglect of those affected by intoxication, and producing great injury in our domestic and foreign trade."

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Canada, probably, suffers less. The people are more sober. Hon. G. W. Ross and Hon. George E. Foster have estimated that one-tenth the producing power of this country is destroyed by intemperance. These gentlemen had given much and careful attention to the subject, and were not disposed to make unwarranted statements. The facts gathered in this inquiry seem, in the judgment of your Commissioner, to fully justify their estimate.

Lest, however, one-tenth might be regarded as an excessive estimate, your Commissioner bases the calculations which follow on a still lower estimate—say eight per cent or less than one-twelfth. When all the ways with which drink interferes with the regular work, not only of those who drink, but of others also, are considered, it must be conceded that the estimate is quite within the mark.

The following figures are taken from the census returns. Bulletin No. 10 sets out that in 1891 there were 75,768 manufacturing industries in the country, that they employed 367,665 persons, and that the value of their output was \$475,445,705.

Deducting from the value of the output the cost of the raw material, the power used, &c.—\$255,983,219, and the wages paid—\$99,762,441 (an average of \$271.00 per employee), there remains the sum of \$119,700,045 as the net value of the product of the industries—an average of \$325.00 worth produced by each employee. This amount (\$119,700,045) is capital's share of the product of the industries, as the wages paid (\$99,762,441) is the employees' share of the product.

The proportion of the population engaged, in various employments is slightly over one-third (see Census Bulletin No. 18), or more than 1,600,000. If eight per cent of the working and earning power of the country is made ineffective by drink, the loss to the country is equal to what 128,000 earners would produce, (1) wages, at \$271.00 each, \$34,688,000; and (2) increment at \$325.00 each, \$41,600,000; a total loss of \$76,288,000.

Shortened Lives.—That there is much drink-caused mortality has already been shown. The estimate that annually in Canada 3,000 lives are cut short by intemperance is moderate. By the death of each of these 3,000 several years of productive power are lost to the country. Ten years has been estimated as the average loss in each case; but, supposing it to be not more than eight years, the total is equal to the annual loss of 24,000 workers whose work, on the basis of the calculation already made, would have produced \$14,304,000.

Misdirected Efforts.—There are engaged in the various branches of the liquor traffic about 13,000 men.

These men are not only not producing anything which adds to the wealth of the country, but are creating conditions which increase the public burdens, while they, themselves, draw upon the deputed resources of the country for maintenance.

One item, not the largest, of the loss to the country by the misdirected effort of these 13,000 men is the loss of their productive labour, which, according to the estimates herein used, would be \$7,748,000 annually.

A Summing Up.—In this connection the fact must be noted that a proportion of the National, Provincial and Municipal Revenues is derived from the liquor traffic. The total amount thus contributed is calculated by the Commission at \$8,473,316.22, the details of which are given in the table below.

This is the amount which the liquor traffic pays for the privileges granted it. It is right, that this amount should be set over against the items of loss, and the various expenditures caused by the traffic, hereinbefore considered.

This may be done as follows:—

COST OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Amount paid for liquor by consumers.....	\$39,879,854
Value of grain, &c., destroyed	1,889,765
Cost of proportion of pauperism, disease, insanity and crime chargeable to the liquor traffic	3,149,097
Loss of productive labour.....	76,288,000
Loss through mortality caused by drink.....	14,304,000
Misdirected labour.....	7,748,000
Total.....	\$143,258,716

RECEIPTS FROM THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Revenues.

Dominion Government.....	\$7,101,557
Provincial Governments.....	942,652
Municipalities.....	429,107
Total.....	\$8,473,316
Net loss	\$134,785,000

From the amount received as revenues from the liquor traffic there ought to be deducted the cost of collection, which is a large item of outlay.

On the other hand, the amount of money counted as loss, because paid for drink, should be diminished by a small percentage—the cost of liquors used in medicine and the arts.

No data are at hand from which these items can be estimated. They may be omitted, or reckoned as probably nearly equal, any difference being, most likely, against the traffic, as a small balance of additional loss.

In the foregoing table the items charged to the liquor traffic are moderate estimates, and many things, which might properly be included, are omitted because of the difficulty of putting them into dollars and cents. Your Commissioner has no doubt that were fifty per cent added to the above balance against the liquor traffic, it would not then be excessive. At the lowest, it is so large that it may well engage the attention of even those who take no other view of this question than the business one.

It must also be kept in mind that the enormous balance chargeable to the liquor traffic represents only one year's waste. For many years like burdens, in proportion to the population, have been imposed upon the country. These facts make it easy to appreciate the truth and force of the statement made, in 1884, by Hon. Mr. Foster. Following a table, prepared by him, showing the cost of liquor consumed in Canada from 1868 to 1882, inclusive, to have been \$473,200,900, he said:

"One can scarcely grasp the awful significance of the above figures. The immense quantities of grain that have been worse than wasted would have fed millions of people. The cost of liquors for one year exceeds the whole revenue of the Dominion of Canada. The cost per head has been fully twice as much as the total cost per head of all our customs dues since Confederation. The total amount spent in the fifteen years above tabulated aggregates, without counting interest, nearly \$500,000,000. This would have defrayed all our cost of government, built our railways and left us without a shadow of a national debt. To all this we must add the incalculable cost of citizens slain, labour destroyed, pauperism borne and crime watched, restrained and punished. The wonder is, that, with such terrible waste, our country enjoys any prosperity. If this waste could be made to cease, Canada, in ten years, would not know herself, so prosperous and wealthy would she have grown. Surely it is the part of all good citizens to see to it that such a frightful source of waste and destruction is dried up. Prohibition is the only effectual cure."

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II.

LAWS RELATING TO THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The second subject of inquiry is,—“The measures which have been adopted in this and other countries with a view to lessen, regulate or prohibit the traffic.”

The reference is, of course, to legislative measures. It is significant that it is unnecessary conceded that law of some kind is necessary to prevent, or, at least, check “the evils of intemperance;” and that the liquor traffic is everywhere treated as exceptional. No other business is subject to like regulations and restrictions. The reason for this exceptional legislation is obvious, the traffic is recognized as inimical to the public welfare, it interferes with other business, neutralizes moral and religious influences, is a constant menace to the young, and is more fruitful of pauperism, crime, physical and mental diseases and miseries generally than all other agencies.

The Different Methods.—It is unnecessary to more than mention what may be called the free trade method of dealing with the liquor traffic. Your Commissioners came in contact with only one instance of such experiment. That was in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. The experiment was short-lived and unsatisfactory. A traffic in liquors as free as is the traffic in other commodities seems so generally repugnant to the moral sense of civilization that its toleration is not thought of.

The different measures which have been adopted in dealing with the traffic may be classified as License law, State control, and Prohibition. The first named includes all symptoms by which efforts are made to control the traffic and raise from it a revenue for public purposes, on the plan of giving for a stipulated fee, permission to individuals to carry on the traffic. The second system is that by which the liquor is carried on through special agents appointed by the Government, the profits of the business being appropriated for public uses. The so-called Gothenburg system is essentially a license plan by which companies are given the monopoly of the traffic in ardent spirits on condition of the profits over a certain percentage, being appropriated to public uses. The third or prohibitory plan, consists of law, more or less stringent, aimed at the suppression or prevention of the common traffic in intoxicants.

While a distinction is made between the license laws and prohibitory laws, it must be borne in mind that nearly all license laws are intended to be in a measure prohibitory of certain forms of the liquor traffic, and it is because of these prohibitory features that license laws are called restrictive. It must also be remembered that nearly all the experiments of prohibitory law investigated, have had in them certain permissions of liquor trafficking, so that, to a certain extent, they license the traffic. The amount of restriction and prohibition in different legislative methods of dealing with the liquor traffic, varies very much and is not at all made manifest by the respective names of license and prohibition. This difference and similarity will be better understood after a consideration of the results of the different license and prohibitory systems, which systems may also be more appropriately described in detail in that connection.

Results of Different Methods.—The consideration of the results of the different legislative measures brings your Commissioner to the practical inquiry which has occupied much of the time and attention of the Commission.

There is a controversy as to the respective merits of License laws and Prohibitory laws. The views of the parties to this controversy naturally give colour to the opinions expressed by different witnesses. These views may have affected even what these witnesses intended to be statements of fact.

Opinions of thoughtful persons are valuable when they are the result of careful study. It is respectfully submitted, however, that the views of persons financially interested in the liquor traffic are unlikely to have the value just referred to. Such witnesses no doubt could, and in some instances did, give needed information in

regard to the extent and methods of the traffic. But theirs are not the opinions that sound and unbiassed judgment would select as likely to be the most worthy of consideration in reference to the continuance or suppression of the liquor traffic. It is, therefore, your Commissioner feels, to be regretted that it was thought necessary to call as witnesses so many persons connected with the liquor traffic, and that these witnesses should have been put in the position of being asked to express views upon a question which involves their personal and financial interests. Such opinions should not be considered helpful to the Commissioners in enabling them to arrive at proper conclusions.

LICENSE LAWS.

To license, and thereby seek to limit, the liquor traffic is not, as many may think, a modern idea. Long ago the results of the traffic, as already set out, were observed and led to the imposition of legal restrictions with a view to prevent or lessen the evils. Restriction of the traffic, by the constituted authorities, began as early as the fifteenth century. The *Catholic Family Annual*, for 1892, reprints the following from an official document of 1495 (11 Henry VII., C. 2): "Forasmuch as the Kynges grace most entirely desyreth among all erthly thynges the prosperity and restfuinesse of this his lande and his subjects of the same to live quietly and surely to the pleasure of God and accordinge to his lawes; it was enacted, *inter alia*, that, yt be lawful to ij of the justices of the peace within theyr authority to reject and put away common ale selying in townes and places where they shall thynk convenient, and to take suerty of the keepers of ale-houses, of theyr good behaving by the discretion of the sayd justices, and in the same to be advised and agreed at any time of theyr sessions."

From that time to the present there have been regulations, of various degrees of stringency, for the control of the liquor traffic. The tendency of legislation concerning the traffic has for a long time, particularly during the last half century, been steadily towards increased restrictions, with severer penalties for violations of the liquor laws. What has been the effect of these attempts at regulation will be seen further on.

The Commission made a quite careful examination of the license system in operation in Canada, and also visited several states. In Canada the following places, which are under license, were visited: Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, Woodstock, London, Peterborough, Brockville, Guelph, Walkerville, Owen Sound, Berlin, Winnipeg, Brandon, Prince Albert, Regina, Calgary, Fort McLeod, Banff, Vancouver, New Westminster, Victoria, Nanaimo; in the United States: Omaha, Lincoln, Stillwater, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Riverside, Pasadena, Kansas City, Mo., and Boston.

The license systems in operation in these places, while differing in minor features, are essentially similar, both in character and effects.

The different licensing systems that have been investigated have in view two objects: (1.) The raising of revenue. (2.) The limitation of the evils of intemperance.

From the standpoint of mere immediate revenue production license laws appear, at first glance, to be successful, that is, they have been an effective method of imposing taxation upon the drink traffic. The drink habit is so prevalent, and the business of selling drink so profitable, that even fairly heavy taxation does not seem to interfere with them. It is true that the traffic entails upon the community heavy expense far in excess of the license revenue. This expense would, no doubt, continue, if the traffic were authorized, even though taxation were not imposed.

It has been supposed that the imposition of very heavy taxation would have, to a certain extent, a prohibitory effect. In very few instances has this expectation been realized. Heavy taxation has proved successful in increasing license revenue. This could not be if it interfered with the conditions and customs which produce that revenue. Within certain limits such taxation is a stimulus to the traffic, impelling those engaged in it to push their business more energetically, and to add to it other attractions. There has also been in many such cases a toleration of per-

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mitted law-breaking, it being assumed, that men who pay heavily for a privilege should not be too closely circumscribed in the exercise of that privilege.

The other object aimed at has not been attained by license laws. Drunkenness prevails to an alarming extent in every community in which such laws are operative. Prohibition of the sale of liquor on Sundays, on election days, of sale to minors, to Indians, to insane persons and other prohibitions that have been incorporated in license laws, have doubtless been salutary in their operation, wherever enforced.

The fundamental idea of license is, however, permission to sell liquor. Such permission cannot affect the evil results of liquor selling. The authorization of certain individuals to engage in the traffic is a policy that must be considered as altogether distinct from the policy of imposing restrictions upon the persons so authorized.

Many witnesses testified that the effect of legal authorization made the liquor traffic stronger, more respectable, and, therefore, more productive of evil results. It was also clearly shown that, in many cases, restrictions imposed by license laws were so far ignored by the liquor traffic as to make them ineffective. Such laws have, no doubt, strengthened the hold of the liquor traffic upon the community.

It must be admitted, that, as a method of removing the evils of intemperance, all the license systems that have been examined by your Commission are failures.

About the restrictive features of license laws much evidence was heard. The burden of the testimony, as those who read it will see, is to the effect that the volume of the traffic is not lessened, nor its evil results perceptibly dismissed.

It is also shown that licensees, except in very rare instances, persistently disregard the restrictive features of license laws, and that illicit sales by both licensed and unlicensed vendors are general, and do not cause surprise. The evidence in all Canadian license cities visited is strong on these points. Montreal, Canada's largest city, may be quoted in illustration of the general and systematic defiance of the liquor law, both by licensed and unlicensed vendors.

Major E. L. Bond, President of the Citizens' Law and Order League, which was organized in 1888 for the purpose of assisting in the better "enforcement of the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors, enforcing the observance of the law regulating the liquor traffic and public morals, and to do that work in concert with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Women and Children and Animals, so far as that cruelty arises out of the liquor traffic," said:—"In all these years they had found the liquor traffic most difficult and lawless. There is only one other evil so lawless and that is the social evil, which is so closely bound up with the liquor traffic that it is almost impossible to separate them."

Mr. W. B. Lambe, Collector of Provincial Revenue for the district of Montreal, said:—"As far as I can judge, there are probably two thousand shebeens, and there may be four thousand altogether, where they sell liquor without license * * They are called candy shops and fruit shops, while they are really decoy shops for assignation, purposes of prostitution and illegal selling."

Information against the unlicensed sellers he said is not often made by licensees, "as there is a sort of freemasonry or *esprit de corps* existing." Besides, the licensees themselves, of whom there are more than a thousand in the city, are regular violators of the prohibitive provisions of the law. He said,—"It (the license law) is a very difficult law to enforce."

Chief Detective Cullen, Montreal, said there is much slackness in the enforcement of the license law. Notwithstanding frequent representations showing the unworthy character of certain licensees, and violations of the law, the authorities contrive to grant licenses to them. In one case over forty complaints against the place and the licensee have been made, and yet the license continues.

Hon. B. A. De Montigny, Recorder of Montreal, said:—"The license law and regulations in regard to the liquor traffic are not well observed." He had at one time believed that an increase of the license fee and a decrease in the number of licensed places would have a beneficial effect, but observation and experience in the court had led him to change his opinion. He said: "High license had been tried. The fee was increased last year, but I do not think that drunkenness has decreased

at all. We have been decreasing their number (the licensed places) for the last couple of years. I was of opinion that the smallest number we could have the better, but now I really do not know."

In Halifax a similar condition of things was found. Mr. John A. MacKasey, license inspector for that city, said:—"They (the licensees) are all law-breakers." And they do not assist in preventing sale in unlicensed places, because, as he said, "they are in nearly the same position as the illicit sellers. They can hardly turn around and accuse them of breaking the law. They are in the power of the illicit sellers; that is to say, they have to go to the illicit sellers to get names to qualify them to get a license. If they do not break the law, the illicit seller will not allow them to get a license, because, without a certain number of names, they cannot get a license. The man who will keep the law has a poorer chance of getting the names than the one who will break the law. I may say that they even threaten the inspector. They terrorize the liquor dealers, who do not care to come to court, because they feel they are in the power of these men."

The records of St. John, Quebec, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Victoria and, generally, of the Canadian license cities and towns visited by the Commission, are substantially the same. Examination of the evidence will discover that in them all is much known illicit sale, and that many, if not all, of the licensees disregard the prohibition of the license laws.

HIGH LICENSE.

The high-license method of dealing with the liquor traffic has had trial quite extensively.

The distinctive features of the several high license laws are set forth in Vol. VII of the Commission's report. Briefly stated, the idea is to reduce and limit the number of saloons and taverns, to secure a more reputable class of men to carry on the business, and, by rigid regulations as to hours and other conditions of sale, to minimize the evils of the traffic, at the same time making the traffic, by the large license fees imposed, contribute liberally to the public revenues, and so to the care of those who are put into the criminal and dependent classes by the traffic. The licensees are expected, because of the heavy fees they pay for the monopoly of the traffic, to be active in preventing the illicit traffic in liquors.

Advocates of this system claim that it has done all these things, and that it is the only practicable method of dealing with the liquor traffic. Others as strongly contend that the system has failed to effect any change, even declaring that in many respects evil rather than good has been done by it. Which of these contentions is correct will be shown in what follows.

The states in which high license has had the best chance to demonstrate its usefulness, or the opposite, are Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Pennsylvania and Nebraska. To these states attention is generally directed by the friends of the system, it being claimed that their experience proves high license a success. Those opposed to the system also point to the same states, claiming that they prove its failure to perceptibly check the traffic and the resulting evils. In each of these states, except Pennsylvania, the Commission made some inquiry, with what result, in a general way, the evidence and statistical statements accompanying this report will show.

Your Commissioner thinks it necessary at this point to summarize, as concisely as accuracy and clearness will allow, the facts ascertained as to high license and its effects, and the conclusions reached therefrom.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts furnishes an illustration of license and local prohibition. None of the cities or towns under prohibition were visited. The Commission's inquiry was confined to Boston, the chief city. It is under the operations of a license law, and has the full number of licenses allowed by the law—896, being one for each 500

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of the population. Two witnesses were examined, Mr. F. S. Pettigrove, Secretary of the Prison Commission, and Mr. A. T. Whiting, Chairman of the Police Commission. Mr. Pettigrove, speaking of the prohibitory law repealed in 1875, said: "My own opinion is that compared with the population there was less drunkenness under the prohibitory law than there has been under the system that has been in vogue since. While it is true that the sale was driven into secret places, it is also true that young men did not have the same opportunity for learning to drink that they have in these more attractive places that we see now and which are the rum shops. We have now what is called the screen law, which provides that everyone going into a saloon and everything done in a saloon shall be seen from the street. Under this law a young man goes along and sees a man whom he respects, a man with whom his father associates, a man who stands high in the community, drinking at a bar, and he steps in to do the same thing, not feeling the same shame as he would if he were obliged to go into a cellar or a back alley to get a drink. In the first place the chances are that the young man would not do that. I think there is less likelihood of his forming the habit if selling was repressed more than it is at present."

Mr. Whiting remembered the prohibitory law and thought it a great failure, causing more drunkenness than he had ever seen, either before or since. He expressed the belief that the present license system works well. Questioned about illicit liquor selling, he said: "There is more or less in a city always. It is the worst evil we have to contend with. As far as the licensed dealers are concerned we have very little trouble with them. Our trouble comes from these illicit places, that is where they sell in dwelling rooms, houses and in kitchens. It is mostly on Sundays that this illicit sale takes place; they will sell one Sunday in one place, and the next Sunday in another place."

The licensed dealers, he said, do not help the police to detect the illicit places. "Once in a while they give information, but as a rule they will not." And some licensed dealers do quite a little business selling to that class of people."

The statement of Chairman Whiting about illicit sales was confirmed by the fact that in less than a week from the time he made the statement that twenty-one illicit liquor saloons, all on one street, were raided by the police in a single day.

So far as official statistics state the facts, the extent of drunkenness in Boston, under high license is shown by the police court records.

In 1893 the total arrests were 46,109, of which 31,642—more than two-thirds—were for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. For every fifteen of the population, one person was arrested for drunkenness, or disorderly conduct resulting from drunkenness.

The fourth of July, three days before the Commission's visit to the city, the papers said, was a day of unprecedented drunkenness. One journal stated that,— "Boston celebrated Independence day by getting drunk. The exhibition was the worst ever seen. Men, women and boys were intoxicated. The exhibition at night was pitiable. The saddest feature was to see so great a number of boys under the influence of liquor."

Your Commissioner could not avoid contrasting the condition thus described with that seen and learned about in Lewiston on the anniversary of the nation's natal day reference to which is made in the section of this report dealing with the State of Maine.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The high license system of Pennsylvania, known as "The Brooks Law," has been in operation since June, 1888.

The Commission did not visit Pennsylvania, but your Commissioner endeavored to get as full and accurate information as possible of the working and effects of the law.

The first year under the high license system the number of licenses issued in Philadelphia was reduced from 5,773 to 1746. And the arrests for drunkenness that year were 13,087 below the number of the previous year. There was evidently a somewhat rigid enforcement of the restrictive feature of the law. The number of

licenses was kept at the lowest possible, thus limiting the facilities for procuring drink; observance of the prohibitions as to the sale was compelled, and arrests for drunkenness, therefore, were diminished. The large decrease in the number of licenses in the first year of the system, was due, chiefly, to the unusual strictness of the license commissioners. But later, others more pliant were selected to dispense licenses. There has been a steady increase in the number of licensed saloons, with a corresponding increase in the arrests for drunkenness, till the decrease which marked the first year of the system has been practically wiped out.

In 1890 the arrests were 49,143, an increase of 6,000 over 1889, which increases the report of the Police Department says,—“is wholly accounted for by the increase of arrests for intoxication and crimes directly attributable thereto. A great deal of this increase has been incurred through licensing a large number of wholesale liquor dealers and bottlers, who are, in fact, retail dealers.”

In 1891 the total arrests were 53,184, an increase of 4,036 over 1890. The arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in 1891 were 24,785, an increase of 124 over the previous year.

In 1892 the total arrests were 52,944, a decrease of 240 below 1891. But while the total arrests show this slight decrease, the arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct were 26,194, being 1,409 in excess of arrests for the same cause in 1891.

There were, evidently, during the years quoted many unlicensed places selling liquors, “speak easies” they are called.

The *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia's chief paper, and a staunch supporter of the Brooks law, says that the illicit places “are not interfered with by the licensed dealers, as was expected.”

The police have apparently endeavoured to deal with them, but with small success, as the chief of police, in his report for 1891, suggests that “a more stringent law” is needed to “stamp out” the clubs and other illicit places.

Of drunkenness in the city the *Public Ledger*, at Christmas 1893, said: “There never was so much drinking done in Philadelphia, nor so many young men drunk as this year.”

The Rev. Charles Roads, Philadelphia, who has for several years been a member of the Executive of the Law and Order Society, writes, April 4th, '94: “The Law and Order Society publish statistics showing a slight decrease in the number of arrests for drunkenness corresponding with the decrease in the number of saloons licensed, but these statistics do not represent a uniform administration. Sometimes the police are very strict, and at other times lax. I have seen far more drunken men lately than five years ago.”

In Pittsburg, the second city in size in the state, which is also under the operations of a high license law, there has been a marked increase in the arrests for drunkenness. In 1887 they were 1914; in 1888, 2,113; in 1890, 6,676.

In the state at large there is no evidence of improvement over former conditions. “The laws in the counties always gave large discretion to the licensing judges which is now, as before, used or not used according to personal whim.”

Tables based on the United States Internal Revenue Returns, given in another part of this report, show that the amount of liquor consumed in the state, has steadily and rapidly increased without any interruption by high license. And there is evidence to show that the wagon trade and the bottler's business, which minister to drinking in the home, have grown enormously in the past few years.

Mr. H. P. Crowell, who was the manager of the license campaign in the state in 1889, and who still believes that “high license is the only way of practically dealing with the traffic,” being asked if the system had reduced the consumption of liquor, said: “No; on the contrary the consumption of liquor has increased. The sale of beer in the city (Philadelphia) has increased 20 per cent the last year, and gradually increased every year since the adoption of the Brooks law. While the number of licensed places has been reduced under high license, unlawful drinking places have increased. At first the officers made an effort to enforce the law, but now it is a farce, and no effort on the part of the authorities to suppress illegal sales is being made.”

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MISSOURI.

Evidence heard in Kansas City, the only place in Missouri visited by the Commission, was to the effect that all the prohibitive features of the high license law are continually violated. The observations of the Commissioners confirmed the statements made by witnesses. Sunday selling is without any attempt at concealment; and the number of drunken men and women on the streets was most painful to see.

MINNESOTA.

In St. Paul and Minneapolis, and probably in Minnesota generally, the high license system has reduced the number of licensed saloons. But there is nothing to show that it has reduced either the consumption of liquors, the drunkenness or the other results of the traffic.

The Commissioners had an interesting interview with Archbishop Ireland in St. Paul. He talked freely of the evil influence of the saloon, expressing himself strongly in favour of its abolition. Of the saloon as creating disorders, and as a temptation to men who desire to refrain from drink, he said, "I know a great many poor men who do not wish to drink, and who would be glad themselves if the temptation were removed from them, but who admit that in the presence of temptation they are too weak to resist. I know I could obtain 75 per cent of the labourers in their residences to petition to do away with the saloons as a measure of protection."

The evidence as to Sunday liquor selling and other violations of the law was uniform. Chief of Police Garvin, of St. Paul, a most intelligent officer, who is, perhaps, the best witness as to his own city, says the saloons are not closed on Sundays; there is, he said, what is called "wide-open" sale, and everybody knows it. Some of the saloons provide additional attractions on Sundays.

Archbishop Ireland questioned as to whether the Sunday and other violations of the law are because the public sentiment of the city favours them, said the feeling of the city is certainly in favour of the enforcement of Sunday closing and all the other provisions of the law. "If," he added, "the question were left to the honest vote of the people, a great majority of the people of St. Paul would vote for Sunday closing, but the political manoeuvres and wire pullers are not in favour of it, and this political public opinion overrules the legitimate public opinion of the city."

It was found that in St. Paul, as in other places, a large number of the licenses are paid by the brewers, they being the real owners, the keepers of the saloons being simply agents. And it was not discovered that the high license fee or the "regulations" of the law had in any perceptible degree interfered with the illicit traffic. The Rev. Martin Mahoney, whose life and work have been amongst the people, declared that high license has not put the traffic into the hands of more reputable and trustworthy men. He said: "I believe it has not been so. There have been men running the business as reckless and indifferent to any moral considerations as ever there were. It was said, too, that the payment of a high license by a certain number of saloon keepers would set them on the watch for others who attempted to sell without license or otherwise broke the laws. I have watched that, and in the last eight or ten years I cannot remember a single case in which a law suit was brought against an unlicensed seller by the licensed parties. It was said also that it would prevent the sale to minors. I have said that it has not prevented the sale on Sundays nor in late hours of the night. But I remember distinctly how, about two or three years after high license was enacted here, one or two saloon keepers were prosecuted, not only for selling to boys, but making them drunk. But after some postponements and legal technical delays, the suit fell through and nothing came of it."

The Chief of Police confirmed this view, saying:—"High license has no effect whatever on illicit sales."

In Minneapolis, which has 285 licensed saloons there are, according to the Mayor's private secretary, "perhaps fifty or sixty which closed on Sunday." There are also, he said, from twenty-five to forty unlicensed places, all of which are as unmindful of days and hours as are the majority of the licensed places.

The mayor, Hon. Mr. Heustis, told the Commissioners that they "do not attempt to enforce the law to the letter." He said:—"If I had issued an order that every saloon must be hermetically sealed on Sunday, I would not have a friend among the saloon-keepers of the city; to-day every saloon-keeper is a friend of the administration, and is attempting to make and keep the business respectable in the city. If a man drinks six days in the week, he is going to drink the seventh day, and you cannot stop it; even if he has to buy it on Saturday night and take it home; if he does not do that, he will get into a saloon Sunday in some way. You have that to fight and then you have the cupidity of the saloon man who desires to see for gain, those two things working together against the closing of the saloon on Sunday. Now, in order to stop that, you would have to put a policeman at every saloon door, and after you have done that, you must prosecute. They will go in through windows, down into cellars, up into garrets, or any where else to evade the law, and every saloon-keeper will be working against it. You will catch some of them, and when you catch them you will have to bring them into court. You may have thirty or forty to bring up to the police court. That means excitement, wailing and gnashing of teeth; you get the business men against you, and you would not accomplish any wholesome results if you did that. Instead of attempting to close the saloons on Sunday in that drastic way, and bringing up violators, we succeed on Sunday in having everything closed in front. You do not see anything."

Of the arrests for drunkenness and other offences, as of the criminal records generally of the state, it is not possible to make much use.

Gov. Merriam, in a letter to the Commission, says, he "is sure that high license has reduced the number of saloons and the evils resulting from saloons"; but, he adds, the law "has not been in operation long enough to show so marked effect as to enter into our public statistics." Nor does he attach value to any mere comparison of statistics as throwing light on the question. He says:—"A comparison of statistics between different states which have different laws respecting the liquor traffic, as to crime, pauperism, illiteracy and insanity, would have no value, in my opinion, as a guide to the legislation of any country, for the reason that climate, occupation, large centres of population and quality of population enter, perhaps, more largely as factors into the social conditions than the drinking habits of the people. For example, the Scandinavian population, which is very large in this state, furnish a much larger share than their proportion to the insane. They are by no means the most intemperate class."

It was impossible also, to get accurate statistics of the commitments for drunkenness. The secretary of the Board of Corrections and Charities of the state, being applied to for official records of crimes, including commitments for drunkenness, wrote, "There are no statistics of commitments for drunkenness in the common jails." He inclosed "an abstract of the attorney general's summary of reports from county attorneys of cases tried in district and municipal courts," but added, "I think these statistics will be entirely valueless for the reason that they cover only such cases as come under the supervision of the county attorneys, whereas the greater majority of these cases are tried by municipal attorneys, and do not come under the cognizance of county attorneys. These include, also, the most of the cases of drunkenness and violations of liquor licenses."

From the foregoing it is clear that any presentation of Minnesota's criminal record is incomplete, and that to compare it with the fuller record of any other state would be manifestly unfair. Nor does it seem possible to compare any two periods of the state's record, the arrests depending so much on the character of the police administration which varies from year to year.

NEBRASKA.

Of the Nebraska high license law the boast has been made by its friends that it is the most perfect system of the kind in the world. It came into operation in 1881. In 1890 two constitutional amendments were submitted to the people—one

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for prohibition, the other for high license. There were 82,292 votes for the prohibition proposition, and 75,426 votes for the license proposition. Both propositions failed of adoption, the votes against them being, respectively, 111,728 and 91,084. One-fifth of the whole vote against prohibition, being more than two thirds of the majority against it, was polled in the city of Omaha. The Governor of that year was elected by 11,000 votes less than the number polled for the prohibition amendment, and 4,000 less than were polled for the license amendment. But two places in the state were visited by the Commissioners—the two largest cities, Omaha and Lincoln, the latter being the capital. Of the witnesses heard very few denied that the law is violated; some thought the violations are few and trivial; others said they are numerous and flagrant, and that the saloons generally run night and day, regardless of the law. Mr. A. H. Wier, Mayor of Lincoln, said, "They are a lawless set, the saloon men. I do not mean to say entirely so. We have three or four, or possibly five, saloon-keepers here who run their business as well as any man can; but outside of that small number they take advantage of every opportunity to violate the law. In fact, their whole idea seems to be to disobey the law when they think they can with advantage."

Mr. George T. Bemis, Mayor of Omaha, said, "We think it (high license) is the thing. * * * I feel that the open saloon and the open gambling-house is rather ahead of prohibition ideas. * * * My point is to keep vice and crime at its lowest possible ebb, and to do that in a business way, and the best way is to take the middle of the road."

Violations of the law are, evidently, quite general, so much so that an anti-vice association has been organized, one of its purposes being to promote sentiment in favour of the better observance of the prohibitions which the law imposes on licensees. Of this association the mayor told the Commissioners that quite recently it had sent 2,700 petitions to the Police Board, of which he (the mayor) is chairman, in regard to the gambling houses, the social evil and the liquor business. "Of course," he said, "they did not ask us to knock out the saloon business; it was simply in regard to closing the back doors on Sunday, and closing on other days after twelve o'clock."

Mr. Edward Rosewater, editor of the *Omaha Bee*, who is the chief advocate of the high license system, and who conducted the campaign against the prohibition amendment proposed in 1890, said, the prohibition of sale on Sunday is "fairly well" observed, but "where there are 140,000 people you cannot keep these places "hermetically sealed." In his paper, *The Bee*, he characterizes the political influence of saloons under the high license system in the following terms: "No one can deny that the license system as now existing in our city, has been a source of corruption and irregularity. It has had a demoralizing effect upon members of the city council and the city clerk. It has exacted political support from low dives and bummers; it has compelled orderly liquor dealers to support with money and influence the very worst element in the city, and it has used the liquor men to do the dirty work at the primaries and elections."

Another Omaha paper—the *Christian Hour*—makes a similar statement, saying: "It (high license) has sent the saloons more than ever into politics * * * The whole system of license has corrupted our police force and lower courts of justice; they are dens of thieves. Gambling halls are open at twenty-five dollars a month, generally in connection with the tony saloons."

Other witnesses testified that, except in the payment of the large license fees, the liquor traffic does not regard the law, that there is scarcely a saloon that does not violate the law; they put up screens, they sell to minors, during forbidden hours, and on the Sabbath day. The statement as to Sunday selling was confirmed by the fact that on the Sunday the Commissioners were in Omaha a man was nearly murdered in one of the saloons.

There was also much evidence that gambling and prostitution are very general in the cities, and, practically, receive like recognition and authority as the liquor

traffic. The money received from these three sources is appropriated to the support of the public schools.

Gentlemen who were originally amongst the foremost advocates of the Nebraska high-license system, believing at the time that it would restrict the liquor traffic and minimize the evils resulting from it, having become convinced, by experience of the law's operations, that they were mistaken, have publicly declared their mistake, deplored it, and are seeking to remedy the wrong they unwittingly did in endorsing the scheme.

Mr. Hardy, an ex-Mayor of Lincoln, Nebraska, who is known as "the father of high license," discovered in a few years that it did not accomplish what he had hoped and expected, and that it did aggravate the evils of the traffic. After nine years observation of the system he said, in 1890: "There is no longer any excuse for being deceived as we were. The fraud has been tested and found wanting. * * I thought I had done a good thing to reduce the licenses (in Lincoln) from twenty-two to five, but when I found it did not lessen the curse I saw my mistake. There are just as many stabbings, shootings and pounded noses as ever there were; just as many broken homes, crying wives and ragged children. It is no great consolation to a homeless, hungry, crying wife to tell her that her husband got drunk on high license whisky. High license is one of the devil's best devices to deceive good temperance people."

The late Hon. C. B. Slocum presented the law in Nebraska legislature, and was so earnestly its champion that it is known throughout the State as "The Slocum Law." He believed it would produce good results. But he lived long enough to see it tested and to know that it is a failure. In his last illness, speaking of the law, he said,—“I was honest in this matter, but it was the mistake of my life. The law as a temperance measure, is an utter failure. The effect has been a disappointment, increasing the worst evils of the traffic.”

The late Hon. J. B. Finch, of Nebraska, whose reputation was more than nation-wide, consented to the system in the hope that it might, at least, lessen the evils of the liquor traffic. After several years of observation he said,—“I know I was terribly mistaken in my theories. Many of the delusions urged in favour of high license have been exploded by the trial of the law.”

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION UNDER HIGH LICENSE.

Having dealt with several high-license states separately, it is necessary, at this point, to group them for the purpose of showing the volume of the liquor traffic, contrasting them with the states in which lower license fees are imposed, and also with the states under prohibition.

For the reasons already stated a comparison of one state with another is likely to be misleading. The same danger is not present in so large degree when groups of states are compared, the differences of police administration and record-keeping ceasing to affect the comparison to the same extent. The result of the comparison of groups while not absolutely accurate is approximately so, and shows the conditions produced by the different systems.

The following table compiled by Mr. C. DeF. Hoxie, from the returns of the United States Internal Revenue Commissioner, for the year ended June 30th, 1887, shows the volume of the liquor traffic in the representative high-license, low-license, and prohibition states. A compilation of the returns of a more recent year would have been made but that a change in the methods of reporting to the Inland Revenue Department, introduced in 1888, makes such compilation practically impossible. The table, given, however, serves as a basis of comparison. It shows that for the year designated, the revenue collected as excise duties on liquors consumed in the high license states was \$2.11 per capita, in low license states \$1.72 per capita and in prohibition states, \$0.34 per capita; indicating a liquor traffic in the high license states considerably in excess of the traffic in the low license states, and

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about seven times as great as prohibition states. Following are the details of the comparison together with a summary and, also, an explanatory statement.

VOLUME OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN THE HIGH LICENSE, LOW LICENSE AND PROHIBITION STATES.

HIGH-LICENSE STATES (\$300 TO \$1,000).

	Population 1888.	No. United States Special Tax permits to sell liquors.	Total United States revenue from liquors.
Illinois.....	3,437,810	12,966	\$ 23,213,673 00
Massachusetts.....	2,005,763	8,216	2,010,647 24
Michigan.....	2,078,658	7,068	634,905 53
Missouri.....	3,125,000	7,408	4,543,415 01
Nebraska.....	1,600,000	3,027	2,305,492 80
Texas.....	2,705,967	3,889	146,228 84
West Virginia.....	786,500	841	306,577 09
Total.....	15,739,698	44,015	\$ 33,160,939 51

LOW LICENSE STATES (LESS THAN \$200).

Colorado.....	410,000	2,361	\$ 196,863 69
Delaware.....	150,000	709	59,310 12
Indiana.....	2,400,000	6,039	4,004,036 05
Kentucky.....	1,940,585	4,028	10,805,551 13
Louisiana.....	1,000,000	4,987	242,110 83
Maryland.....	1,336,931	6,627	1,873,596 90
Nevada.....	263,500	1,024	61,671 81
New Jersey.....	1,330,000	8,441	1,927,042 53
New York.....	5,709,969	35,870	9,668,753 58
Pennsylvania.....	5,074,527	21,779	4,840,992 32
Total.....	19,617,512	91,856	\$ 33,769,928 96

PROHIBITION STATES.

Iowa.....	1,824,840	3,978	\$ 1,740,267 63
Kansas.....	1,600,000	2,247	75,637 55
Maine.....	860,139	1,030	20,000 06
New Hampshire.....	378,000	1,435	357,303 08
Rhode Island.....	310,000	1,246	102,175 98
Vermont.....	336,000	597	12,956 16
Arkansas (a).....	1,206,000	505	60,971 76
Florida (a).....	375,000	326	10,735 42
Georgia (a).....	2,041,669	1,725	268,764 98
Tennessee (a).....	1,700,000	1,640	886,742 33
Total.....	10,425,668	14,779	\$ 3,510,573 65

(a) Largely under prohibition by local option.

SUMMARY OF THE TABLE.

	No. of population to one special tax permit.	Liquor revenue per capita.
High license states.....	358	\$ 2 11
Low license states.....	214	1 72
Prohibition states.....	708	34

The figures in the foregoing do not take into account the large areas of prohibition in several of the high-license states, and the comparatively small areas of license in the partially prohibition states.

It must be remembered, too, that a permit issued to sell liquor in a prohibition state may be a permit to sell for the excepted lawful mechanical and medicinal purposes, and does not necessarily represent an illegal liquor dealer. It may represent merely an attempt to sell liquor, the holder of the permit being in jail for his attempted violation of the prohibitory law.

This table shows that while there were 40 per cent fewer liquor dealers on the basis of population in the high-license than in the low-license states, yet the strength of the liquor traffic in the high license states, as shown by its contribution to the Federal revenue, was 23 per cent greater than in the low license states.

Though the changed system of Inland Revenue reports, by which returns from high license, low license and prohibition states are often grouped, being from a single "collection district," makes it impossible to make a like comparison for the years since 1887, the returns from each state of the annual sales of beer are available. And these returns up to and including 1893, show that the volume of this traffic has steadily increased. The seven States which best represent the high license system are Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania; the license fees in them ranging from \$500 to \$2,000. The aggregate quantities of malt liquors sold in them each year from 1887 to 1893 are as follows:—

Year.	Barrels.
1887.....	\$ 7,182,459
1888.....	7,903,427
1889.....	8,083,748
1890.....	8,592,194
1891.....	9,871,328
1892.....	10,376,673
1893.....	11,534,915

The foregoing figures show that high license does not lessen the consumption of liquors, but, instead, increases it. This is, doubtless, one reason why those engaged in the liquor traffic have come to regard the system with such marked favour.

HIGH LICENSE AND CRIME.

One of the advantages claimed for high license is that it places the saloon and the hotel bar in the hands of a better class of men—men who can be trusted to observe the prohibitions of the system; and that, consequent upon this improved conduct of the traffic, the drunkenness, disorder and other things which are produced by it are greatly reduced. In this respect it is alleged that the system is much superior to that which permits the issue of a larger number of licenses at a lower rate.

There are records which show the result of both systems. A comparison of the police records for 1888 of two groups of cities in the United States—one group under high license, and the other group under low license—has been made. The high license group numbered 41 cities with an aggregate population of 4,775,000; the low license group numbered 38 cities with an aggregate population of 4,857,000. The average license fee in the high license group was \$665; the average fee in the low license group was \$122. The high license cities had one licensed saloon to every 387 of the population; the low license cities had one to every 144 of the population. The arrests, for all causes, in the high license group averaged one to every thirty-nine of the population; in the other cities the arrests averaged one to every 39.7 of the population—practically the same. But of the total arrests in each group the proportion of arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct was larger in the high license cities, in which they were 56 per cent of the whole; while in the low license cities they were 52 per cent of the whole.

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To be able to make an exhibit of results at the latest date possible, your Commissioner presents a carefully prepared compilation based on returns of 1893. The table following contains the facts about two groups of cities—a group of thirty-eight high license cities, and one of thirty-nine low license cities. These two groups are contrasted as to the number of saloons, and the arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The figures of the population, the number of saloons and the amount of license fee, in each case, were furnished by the officials of the cities named. The figures of arrests, and the classification of arrests were obtained either from the printed police reports or were furnished by police officials on application. The table includes all high and low license cities of 25,000 population or over from which it was possible to get returns on all points.

Cities.	Present estimated population.	Annual license fee for ordinary saloon.	Number of saloons in 1894.	Population to one saloon.	Total number of arrests.	Arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.	Number of population to one arrest for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.
<i>High-License.</i>							
Haverhill, Mass.	30,000	2,000	27	1,111	2,035	1,642	18
Taunton, do	27,000	1,700	25	1,080	988	765	35
Lowell, do	85,000	1,500	77	1,104	5,635	4,192	20
New Bedford, Mass.	60,000	1,500	43	1,395	1,969	1,347	45
Springfield, do	50,000	1,500	44	1,135	2,451	1,730	28
Worcester, do	100,000	1,300	84	1,190	5,041	3,507	28
Fall River, do	87,000	1,300	74	1,176	3,912	2,297	38
Holyoke, do	40,000	1,300	35	1,143	1,453	1,523	26
Little Rock, Ark.	35,000	1,021	50	700	4,002	1,822	26
Philadelphia, Pa.	a 1,142,653	1,000	b 2,181	524	57,297	28,095	46
Boston, Mass.	400,000	1,000	672	714	46,109	31,642	15
Pittsburg, Pa.	230,000	1,000	310	807	15,189	10,141	24
Minneapolis, Minn.	210,000	1,000	274	766	c 5,490	c 2,798	77c
St. Paul, Minn.	175,000	1,000	340	515	5,920	2,603	67
Omaha, Neb.	150,000	1,000	219	685	6,246	2,049	63
Allegany, Pa.	115,000	1,000	140	821	d 3,782	d 2,624	44d
Atlanta, Ga.	100,000	1,000	86	1,163	12,903	8,293	12
Duluth, Minn.	70,000	1,000	108	648	2,800	1,309	53
St. Joseph, Mo.	55,000	1,000	108	509	2,787	1,234	45
Kansas City, Mo.	150,000	800	335	448	7,817	2,218	68
St. Louis, do	500,000	600	2,000	250	25,280	10,971	46
Denver, Col.	150,000	600	361	416	7,064	2,410	52
Los Angeles, Cal.	70,000	600	163	429	3,077	1,396	69
Seattle, Wash.	63,000	600	170	371	4,590	1,180	53
Chicago, Ill.	1,500,000	500	6,500	231	89,833	51,578	29
Detroit, Mich.	250,000	500	1,194	210	7,769	4,102	69
Grand Rapids, Mich.	95,000	500	191	497	1,843	986	96
Scranton, Pa.	90,000	500	400	225	1,880	1,268	71
Reading, Pa.	80,000	500	150	533	1,395	1,349	59
Hartford, Conn.	60,000	500	175	343	5,119	3,825	15
Saginaw, Mich.	55,000	500	220	225	2,163	1,036	53
Tacoma, Wash.	55,000	500	110	550	2,893	789	69
Peoria, Ill.	50,000	500	170	294	1,964	1,250	40
Altoona, Pa.	40,000	500	27	1,481	c 1,680	c 870	46c
Quincy, Ill.	35,000	500	145	252	1,201	752	48
Bay City, Mich.	35,000	500	160	219	1,140	669	52
Pawtucket, R. I.	30,000	500	150	200	1,737	1,175	26
Allentown, Pa.	30,000	500	63	476	360	212	141
<i>Low-License Cities.</i>							
Washington, D.C.	265,000	400	619	428	27,245	11,348	23
Providence, R.I.	150,000	400	403	372	7,106	4,990	30
New Haven, Conn.	92,500	400	309	232	6,541	3,770	25
Portland, Or.	90,000	400	290	310	4,619	1,862	45
Oakland, Cal.	55,000	400	200	275	3,210	1,614	34

Cities.	Present estimated population.	Annual license fee for ordinary saloon.	Number of saloons in 1894.	Population to one saloon.	Total number of arrests.	Arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.	Number of population to one arrest for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.
<i>Low-License Cities—Con.</i>		8					
Chattanooga, Tenn.	40,000	400	75	533	3,071	1,194	33
Waterbury, Conn.	36,000	400	162	222	1,619	932	38
Wilmington, Del.	70,000	300	200	350	4,019	2,437	29
Sacramento, Cal.	35,000	300	200	175	2,670	929	37
Baltimore, Md.	500,000	250	2,100	238	31,363	17,091	29
Cincinnati, O.	340,000	250	2,250	151	18,633	5,532	61
Cleveland, O.	330,000	250	1,800	183	9,368	5,405	61
Newark, N.J.	215,000	250	1,250	166	6,605	3,222	67
Jersey City, N.J.	190,000	250	1,100	173	5,081	555	342
Toledo, O.	110,000	250	658	167	3,352	1,747	63
Columbus, O.	110,000	250	400	275	5,367	1,879	59
Paterson, N.J.	90,000	250	540	167	2,402	1,906	47
Trenton, N.J.	63,000	250	363	173	2,343	1,324	47
Hoboken, N.J.	50,000	250	335	149	3,077	722	69
Springfield, O.	40,000	250	143	280	1,500	440	91
Canton, O.	30,000	250	124	242	1,023	587	51
New York, N.Y.	1,800,000	200	7,320	258	86,488	46,007	41
Milwaukee, Wis.	265,000	200	1,600	166	6,219	4,539	59
Savannah, Ga.	55,000	200	280	196	3,485	1,511	36
Richmond, Va.	90,000	175	310	290	6,070	2,564	34
Louisville, Ky.	180,000	150	950	189	7,079	3,696	49
Syracuse, N.Y.	100,000	150	555	180	4,917	1,469	68
Norfolk, Va.	45,000	150	175	257	4,581	1,755	26
Buffalo, N.Y.	320,000	125	2,512	127	19,062	9,368	34
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,000,000	100	3,805	263	40,349	24,119	41
New Orleans, La.	250,000	100	1,200	208	23,223	12,236	20
Covington, Ky.	45,500	100	200	228	1,400	921	49
Fort Wayne, Ind.	40,000	100	180	222	1,356	991	40
Auburn, N.Y.	28,000	100	116	241	1,158	617	45
Binghamton, N.Y.	40,000	85	109	367	1,179	750	53
San Francisco, Cal.	320,000	84	3,800	84	26,982	16,038	20
Albany, N.Y.	100,000	60	850	118	2,506	1,390	72
Elmira, N.Y.	35,000	55	260	135	1,908	919	38
Long Island City, N.Y.	45,000	50	321	140	1,661	391	115

SUMMARY.

38 high license cities	6,600,653	{ 2,000 } to 500 }	17,581	375	354,834	197,068	33.5
39 low do	7,750,000	{ 400 } to 50 }	39,199	203	380,741	196,805	39.4

a Municipal census, 1892. *b* Including 541 wholesale liquor houses. *c* The number convicted only. *d* Includes 14 months. *e* Nine months only.

The foregoing table shows that notwithstanding the larger population and the greater number of saloons in the low license-cities, the arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in the high-license cities are considerably in excess of those in the low-license group. Of the total arrests in the low license cities 50 per cent were for drunkenness; while of the total arrests in the high-license cities drunkenness is charged with 55 per cent. In the low license group on person in every 39 of the population was arrested for drunkenness; and in the high license group one in every 33. It would seem from these records that high licenses has not been more effective in lessening drunkenness than in reducing the consumption of liquors.

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THE SOCIAL EVIL AND GAMBLING.

Reference has been made, incidentally, to the fact that the social evil finds ready toleration and encouragement in high-license cities. It is, perhaps, not seriously questioned that the unfortunate inmates of houses of ill-fame are addicted to drink.

In his "History of Prostitution," Dr. Sanger, as the result of extended and careful inquiry, says: "Our decided impression is that not one per cent of the prostitutes of New York practice their calling without partaking of intoxicating liquors." Replies to inquiries addressed by Dr. Sanger to a large number of these unfortunate women and girls revealed the fact that nearly all, by their own confession, drink "moderately," "intemperately" or were "habitual drunkards." One is quoted as saying, "No girls could lead the life we do without gin." Another said, "If we did not drink we could not stand the memory of what we have been, or the thought of what we are, for a day."

That houses of prostitution are more or less closely related to the liquor traffic is also apparent. The *Wine and Spirit Gazette* of New York, in its issue of June 18, 1891, referring to a new law of Ohio forbidding the sale of liquors in houses of ill-fame, which had gone into effect only a month before, said: "The importers of champagne in this city (New York) are beginning to feel the loss of business in Ohio. Piper Heidsieck representatives in Cincinnati claim that the enforcement of the law in the cities of Ohio will cost them \$40,000 annually. Mumm Co's representatives estimate their loss at \$30,000; importers of Pomeroy Sec claim that they will lose \$60,000, and other importers will suffer proportionate losses. The local brewers also feel the effect of the new law."

This statement by the representative journal of the traffic establishes two things—(1) the part the liquor traffic plays in the social evil, and (2) that prohibition of the sale of liquor is quickly and seriously felt by the traffic.

Gambling also, is, admittedly, closely connected with the liquor traffic. Much gambling is done in saloons. When gambling resorts are distinct from saloons, bars are always adjuncts of such places.

Evidence heard, facts collected, and observation made have convinced your Commissioner that the social evil and gambling are especially flagrant in high license communities. The logical outcome of deriving large revenues in license fees from the liquor traffic is the demand made, and practically conceded, that prostitution and gambling be, also, licensed. In Omaha and other places in which the high license system is in operation, gambling is practically recognized as a legitimate business by the payment of a monthly fee (nominally a fine) into the city treasury. Gambling resorts, the Mayor said, "run openly." And there are gambling facilities in connection with the licensed saloons.

The social evil is recognized and authorized in the same way. Once a month the wretched women who live by sin pay a fee, and are not interfered with so long as they make payments promptly. Many thousands of dollars are received by the city, annually, for the authorization of these two evils. The effect of all this is to obliterate moral distinctions and to debauch the public conscience. Rev. B. Fay Mills, an eminent religious teacher and leader, after spending several weeks in Omaha, said in a public meeting: "I have been in nearly every city in the United States, but nowhere have I found vice so open and without shame upon its countenance as in this promising city of yours. Nowhere have I seen the gambling hells run so openly and defiantly as here. Licensed by the city to carry on their damnable work, they run openly and without fear of molestation. Nowhere have I seen the social evil so prominent. Acres of your fair city are set apart for the propagation of this evil, and beautiful and costly buildings are erected for no other purpose than to be used as houses of ill-fame. There is no other city in the United States that will compare with yours in open temples of depravity."

And what is true of Omaha is true, in more or less, of all cities under high license. Whenever large sums are received from the liquor traffic there is a tendency to deal with other evils on the same plan—making them resources of revenue.

Attitude of the Traffic.—The attitude of the liquor traffic toward high license is, at least, suggestive. When the scheme was projected many of the men engaged in the traffic regarded it with suspicion, denounced it, and in some instances resisted its enforcement to the extent of going into the courts to test its validity. But they have come to regard it with marked favor as the best friend of the traffic. *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular*, which voices the feeling of the traffic, referring to the Brooks law, says:—"Increase of the license fee in Pennsylvania from \$500 to \$1,000 will be the best investment the liquor interest has ever made."

On the same subject the *Wine and Spirit Gazette* says,—“It must be admitted that the Philadelphia liquors, whose stores are at present bonanzas, favour the increase of the annual license fee to \$2,000. The higher the fee the better their chance of crowding the little fellows out of the business, and creating a monopoly by which a few will make large fortunes.”

The President of the Liquor Dealers' Protective League, says,—“The true policy for the trade to pursue is to advocate as high a license as they can in justice afford to pay, because the money thus raised tends to relieve all owners of property from taxation, and keeps the treasuries of the towns and cities pretty well filled. This catches the ordinary tax payer.” Asked whether high license is a step towards prohibition he said, “theoretically it is, but practically it is not.”

Mr. Peter Her is the leading distiller in Nebraska. He is extensively interested in the retail trade. After several years experience of the high license system he gives it his warmest approval because of the great advantages it confers upon the traffic. The following extracts from a letter, written by him for the information and guidance of liquor dealers in another State, tell why he and the men of the traffic generally favour high license: “High license has not hurt our business, but, on the contrary, has been a great benefit to it * * * I believe somewhat that high license acts as a bar against prohibition. It is especially so in this state, as the tax from the license goes towards supporting the schools, thereby relieving the citizens of just so much tax that they would otherwise have to pay * * * It also gives the business more of a tone and legal standing, and places it in the hands of a better class of people.

“I do not think high license lessens the quantity of liquor used. I believe, if it were put to a vote of the liquor dealers and saloon men whether it should be high license, low license or no license, they would almost unanimously be for high license. I cannot see how any one who has anything at stake can help but favour high license and enforcing the law strictly.

“I would be in favour of high license rather than trust to the non-enforcement of the law under prohibition. We have had a great deal of business in Iowa, both before it was prohibition and since, and we can positively say that there is very little satisfaction in doing business in that state now. Ever so often the goods are seized, and it causes a great deal of delay and trouble to get them released; and then there is a fear of not getting money for the goods, and all the forms we have to go through, make it a very annoying business. It is like running a railroad under ground. You don't know where you are going or what is ahead. In all my experience of ten years in Ohio before the temperance movement, and twenty years experience here (Nebraska), previous to high license and since, I believe that high license is one of the grandest laws for the liquor traffic.”

Evidence given before the Commission agrees with the foregoing statements. All the men connected with the liquor traffic who were heard, expressed themselves in favour of license, the majority favouring high license, and as strongly opposed to any other system. It is significant that those whose business interests are exclusively in the liquor traffic, and whose hopes of gain are based wholly on the prosperity of the traffic, are the strongest supporters of a high license system.

Lawlessness of the Traffic.—Your Commissioner does not wish to be understood as saying that all licensees are especially hostile to law. There are, doubtless, some men—perhaps many—engaged in the traffic who would much prefer to observe the legal restrictions relating to their business, and some of them seek to do so.

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The temptations to disregard these restrictions are, however, so many and so strong that personal interest and a desire to gratify customers are nearly always arrayed against the law, and in the great majority of cases override it.

This investigation has made it sufficiently clear that the enforcement of license laws is attended with as great, and even greater, difficulties than those which attend the enforcement of prohibitory laws. Given authority to sell on certain days, within certain hours, to certain persons, licensees, with few exceptions, sell on all days, at all hours, to all persons, only observing the restrictive features of the law as they are watched and compelled. The Commission could not fail to be impressed by the testimony of many well-informed witnesses, including not a few connected with the traffic, as to the lawless character of the liquor traffic generally. It was made clear that the restrictive provisions of license systems are not generally well enforced, and that in some instances no attempt is made to enforce them.

Violations are systematic and persistent, often they are flagrant, and though well known to the authorities are not interfered with. Evidence given by the Chief of Police of St. Paul, by the Mayor of Minneapolis, by Archbishop Ireland, already quoted; together with the evidence of officials and others in nearly every licensed city visited, shows that licensees pay but small attention to the requirements of the license laws.

In many high license cities, as in Montreal, it has been necessary to organize Law and Order Leagues, and other associations of citizens to aid in compelling obedience to the laws. And these leagues, while succeeding in a degree, have always found the traffic "most difficult and lawless." Resistance to the proper enforcement of liquor laws, either prohibitory or restrictive, has not infrequently gone to the extent of outrage and violence against those who desired their enforcement.

It has been stated by some witnesses that prohibitory laws are productive of perjury. The evidence of thoughtful persons, and all the facts ascertained go to show that this crime, instead of being the product of any law, pertains particularly to the liquor traffic, whether licensed or illicit, and is so often committed, both by violators of license laws and by others in their behalf, that it causes but little surprise or comment. Chief Justice Armour, of Ontario, in evidence given before the Commission in Toronto, said: "It has been my experience, both at the bar and on the bench * * * * that it is impossible to get people to tell the truth about what they have been drinking. * * * I think in license cases where a man is selling in prohibited hours this difficulty is especially great."

Conclusions.—The examination of the workings of the several license systems in operation in this country and in the United States, a careful analysis of the evidence heard, and a due weighing of all the facts ascertained, have led your Commissioners to the following conclusions:—

1. That nowhere has there been found a license system which really regulates the liquor traffic.

2. That the restrictive features of license laws have not produced the results claimed for them; that when, in isolated cases, there may have been signs of improvement for a time, resulting from a temporary rigid enforcement of the prohibitions of the laws, the improvement has been of short duration; and that continuous rigid enforcement of restrictions has been prevented by the obstructive influence of the licensed traffic.

3. That everywhere the regulative and prohibitive features of license laws are habitually and, generally, flagrantly violated by licensees; that licensees do not, as a rule, interfere with illicit liquor sellers, but often supply them with liquor; and that interference with illicit selling, by officers or others, is infrequent and ineffective.

4. That license laws, whether the fees be high, medium or low, do not reduce the volume of the liquor traffic, lessen the number of its victims, nor diminish the miseries and desolations which it produces.

5. That high license has not demonstrated its superiority to low license in respect of reducing the volume of the liquor traffic, nor in lessening the drunkenness and the disorders traceable to drink; instead, under high license, there has been an increase in the consumption of liquors, and a corresponding increase in drunkenness and related evils.

6. That high license sees have not made easier the enforcement of restrictive regulations of license laws; that the restrictive and prohibitive features of the laws could be better enforced if no license fees were imposed.

7. That high license has made the saloon appear important, without changing its character, except to make it more attractive and therefore more dangerous.

8. That high license has created and nurtured a sentiment in favour of the saloon as a source of large revenue, making officers and the public chary of interfering with its violations of law.

9. That high license has had a bad effect on the moral sense of communities, corrupting the public conscience; that the large fees paid have the effect of a bribe to the people to tolerate the saloon in the false belief that the burden of taxation is thereby lightened; and that gambling and prostitution are fostered and made sources of public revenue.

10. That the revenues from license, however large, do not offset the financial burdens imposed on communities by the fruits of the liquor traffic; and that even if it could be shown that the license revenues are greatly in excess of the loss and expenditure entailed by the liquor traffic, the viciousness of the principle would not, in any degree, be mitigated.

11. That high license, instead of lessening the influence of the liquor traffic, has increased it in all its branches, giving it the maximum of power; and that the system is favoured by the traffic because of this increase of power, which it uses in its own interests regardless of the public welfare, in the endeavour to dominate the administration of municipal and national affairs.

12. That in view of the fact that, after centuries of license legislation in Great Britain, and in the United States and Canada from the earliest period in the history of these countries, the liquor traffic, with all its attendant evils is still strong and defiant, steadily producing and perpetuating the deplorable things and conditions set forth in this report, and this in spite of the numerous regulations and limitations embodied in license laws, it is impossible for your Commissioner to reach any other conclusion than that as a remedy for, or even a check to the evils of the liquor traffic license laws of every kind have been a stupendous failure.

THE GOTHENBURG AND BERGEN SYSTEMS.

What is known as the Gothenburg system of dealing with the liquor traffic has engaged some public attention lately.

The Bishop of Chester is the leader in a movement to introduce it into England, and a commission appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts in 1893, reported a bill for that state embodying the principal features of the system, consideration of which, however, has been deferred.

The system gets its name from the city of Gothenburg, the Swedish city in which it was inaugurated. The Bergen system which is an adaptation of the Gothenburg, with some changes, which are claimed to be improvements, is in operation in Norway. It takes its name from the Norwegian city which first adopted the system.

The principal difference between these two systems is in the appropriation of the surplus profits of the liquor traffic carried on under them. By the Gothenburg (Swedish) system the profits go to the municipal treasury to be used in public improvements. By the Bergen (Norwegian) system the profits are applied to charitable institutions, benevolent societies and other organizations, including even temperance societies, which are for the public benefit, and which depend entirely upon voluntary contributions for support.

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Particular merits are claimed for each system. But, as a matter of fact, the surplus ultimately reaches practically the same destinations in both countries.

The general principle and the plan of operation of the systems being the same they may be considered as one. The description which follows and the facts stated may be applied to both, except where otherwise stated.

The system is briefly described thus: The municipal council is the licensing authority, and fixes the number of licenses required to meet what are regarded as the reasonable requirements of the public. Instead of issuing the licenses to private licensees, to traffic for their own profit, the council grants a monopoly of the licenses to a society of shareholders formed for the purpose of acquiring them, and who undertake to conduct the traffic in the public interest. The shareholders are excluded from making any profit beyond a preferential interest of five per cent per annum on the paid up capital of the society, and the annual surplus is paid into the municipal treasury.

The monopoly of the licenses is granted for a few years at a time, at the will and pleasure of the municipal council, and the council retains full control over the operation of the society. The society's articles of incorporation, bye-laws and regulations, are all subject to the approval of the municipal council; and after being approved by that body must also be submitted for the royal sanction and seal.

What Led To It.—Before dealing with the working and effects of the system, it seems necessary, in order to a clear understanding of it and the reasons for it, to set out, as briefly as possible, the history of liquor traffic legislation in Norway and Sweden.

Sweden had prohibition of the manufacture, and even of the use of spirits as early as the sixteenth century, and with intermissions, most of the time till 1774, and with good results. Gustavus III., following the example of Russia, decided to procure a revenue from spirits. In 1774 he established "Crown" stills; and in 1787 "Leasehold" stills, which were followed in 1809 by "Domestic" stills. Distilleries multiplied rapidly, till in 1834 when there were 170,000 of them, and 45,000,000 gallons of spirits were consumed annually.

Drunkenness, crime, pauperism, every species of misery, every form of degradation and demoralization abounded. "The effect," said a gentleman who made a tour of Sweden, "was fearful national drunkenness, beyond the excess of other nations, and the whole country may be said to have been deluged with spirits. The physical aspect of the people was wretchedly deteriorated, and the criminal calendar is said to have been without a parallel in modern history." The economic condition into which the peasantry had been brought has been thus described: "The rickety, decayed condition of the grey, watersoaked wooden houses, unpainted and unrepaired, and the disorder of every kind in the house-yards, give the impression of thriftless and reckless poverty."

This appalling condition caused so much alarm that efforts were made to check the traffic which was responsible for it. The king became anxious, and encouraged the formation of temperance societies. For twenty years temperance work was carried on with much zeal, some of the leading men of the country being indefatigable in their efforts to deliver the people from the bondage into which they had fallen. Though they contended against great odds, the numerous distilleries antagonizing them at every step, considerable progress was made in creating a public sentiment against the manufacture of and traffic in liquors. But notwithstanding the progress made, the country was still in a deplorable condition, as may be judged from the report of a special committee of the Diet, in 1854, which said:—"The researches of the philosopher and the honest feelings of the ordinary man have led us to the conclusion: that the comfort of the Swedish people—even their existence as an enlightened, industrious and loyal people—is at stake, unless means can be found to check the evil. Seldom, if ever, has a conviction so generally, so unequivocally been pronounced with regard to the necessity of vigorous measures against the physical, economical and moral ruin with which the immoderate use of spirits threatens the nation. A cry burst forth from the hearts of the people appeal-

ing to all who have influence, a prayer for deliverance from a scourge which previous legislation has planted and nourished."

In 1855 an Act was passed abolishing domestic stills, and giving the parochial authorities the right to fix, each year, the number of spirit shops and public houses. The immediate effect of the law was to greatly reduce the number of distilleries, and the annual product of spirits fell at once to about one fourth the quantity before produced.

Norway had an experience very similar. Norway was separated from Denmark, and united with Sweden in 1814. Under Danish dominion distillation had been prohibited in Norway. In 1814, therefore, there was scarcely a distillery in the country. The Government had, also, prohibited the importation into Norway of all distilled spirits, except those shipped from Denmark. The consumption of spirits in Norway was at that time (1814) about one-half gallon per capita of the population. Immediately on the union with Sweden all the restrictions on distilling were revoked, and two years later a policy of free trade was inaugurated. This was done, in accordance with the then prevailing ideas of political economy, to help the agricultural population. Stills sprang up everywhere; in 1833 they numbered 9,727, and the annual consumption of liquors had reached 4 gallons per capita-eight times as much as it had been 19 years before. The appalling effects of drink becoming apparent, the National Parliament, in 1842, passed an Act prohibiting the making, importing and selling of spirits; but the King vetoed the Act. A heavy tax, however, was put upon distilleries, reducing the number of the smaller ones.

In 1845 a Temperance Crusade was started (it did not at first make any opposition to beer and wine), which has gone on with increasing power ever since.

The laws referred to (that of 1855 in Sweden, and that of 1845 in Norway) were the foundation of all the subsequent legislation relating to the liquor traffic. Amending Acts, more restrictive of licenses and finally granting local option, followed, such being more or less effective in limiting the traffic. Legislation kept pace with the temperance agitation, the results demonstrating that law promotes sobriety and the accompanying physical, economic and moral improvements, in exact ratio to its prohibitive power.

Notwithstanding the restrictions attached to license, the condition of things in the towns continued so bad, compared with the improvements which had been effected in the country (in a considerable portion of which no licenses were issued), that the conviction became strong that something must be done to remedy existing evils.

The municipal council of Gothenburg, in 1865, appointed a committee to examine into the cause of pauperism. That committee reported that the greatest evil from which the people suffered was excessive drinking. The report said:—"The worst enemy of the morals and well being of the working classes in this community is brandy. Yet it is not the intoxicating liquor only and its moderate consumption which causes demoralization and poverty; it is the disorder, evil example, temptations, and opportunities for every kind of iniquity with which public house life abounds, that contribute mainly to this unhappy state of things. Neither local enactments nor police surveillance can do much so long as public houses are in the hands of private individuals who find their profit in encouraging intemperance without regard for age or youth, rich or poor."

The System Adopted.—The committee recommended, as a remedy for the existing evils, that the right to sell brandy and other alcoholic liquors be transferred to a company, organized under the license law of 1855, all the surplus profits to be expended for the benefit of the working classes. The recommendation was adopted, a company was organized, and in October of that year (1865) commenced operations.

It should be said at this point a system similar to the Gothenburg system had been adopted as early as 1850 at Falun, and a little later at Jönköping, but they were comparatively small experiments and did not attract general attention.

The system was not introduced into Norway till 1871, the first place to adopt it being Christiansand.

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The main features of the system have already been stated. It needs only to be added that the regulations governing the conduct of the liquor business by the bolag (company) require that the men in charge of the drink shops shall receive salaries and have no interest in the profits of the traffic; that the premises shall be kept clean, well lighted and comfortable; that all the sales shall be for cash; that no sale be made to an intoxicated person or minor under 18 years of age; that the shops be kept open from 7.30 a.m., to 8 p.m. in winter, and from 7.30 a.m., till 9 p.m., in summer, and on Sundays and holidays from 1.30 to 3 and 6.30 to 8 p.m. In Norway the shops are closed on Sundays.

For thirty years this system has been in operation in Gothenburg, and in other places for shorter periods,

The claim of its friends and advocates is that it has (1) reduced the consumption of liquors, (2) lessened drunkenness and other evils which result from drink, (3) that it is financially advantageous to the community, and (4) has promoted the public welfare generally.

For evidence, either in support or refutation of these claims, your Commissioners not having visited Sweden or Norway, have to depend entirely upon official documents and reports and the statements of gentlemen who have made special examination into the workings of the system. Among the reports which have come into the hands of your Commission are:—"The Gothenburg system of the liquor traffic," 1893, prepared by Dr. E. R. L. Gould, under the direction of Hon. Carrol D. Wright, Commissioner of Labour in the United States; the Report of a commission appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts in 1893: "Local Option in Norway, with an account of the establishment and working of the society for retailing ardent spirits in Bergen," 1891, by Thomas M. Wilson, C.E.; "The Gothenburg and Bergen Public House system," 1893, by James White, Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance; and "Report on the Gothenburg system regulating the sale of liquors in Norway," 1893, by Consul General Michell, to the Earl of Rosebery, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

These reports contain much valuable information; and in what follows they are freely quoted.

CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS.

The average annual consumption of spirituous liquors in Sweden, according to a table arranged in five-year periods by Dr. Gould, is as follows:—

Periods.	Quarts per Inhabitant.
1866 to 1870	9·40
1871 to 1875	12·47
1876 to 1880	10·67
1881 to 1885	8·66
1886 to 1890	7·42

The above computation is made on the uniform basis of 50 per cent alcohol.

There appears according to the foregoing statement to have been a decrease in the consumption of spirits in the country as a whole, in 24 years, of about two quarts per head, though the average for all the periods is slightly above that of the first period. There is no explanation of the increase in the second and third periods.

Before crediting the decrease wholly to the Gothenburg system, it may be well to see whether the decrease in the city of Gothenburg corresponds with the decrease in the country at large. Dr. Gould not having made such a comparison, nor given tables from which it can easily and accurately be made, figures used by Mr. Whyte may be taken. He is dealing with statements made by Sir F. R. Plunkett. The latter gentleman wrote, in October, 1890, of Gothenburg: "In the year 1876, however, a change set in, and the last fourteen years have been marked by a steady diminution in the consumption of spirits per head of the population, in the convic-

tions for drunkenness in proportion to the population, and in the number of cases of delirium tremens." He gives figures in support of his statement that the consumption of spirits had fallen off more than one-third from 1876 to 1890.

Mr. Whyte says:—"These figures are held to settle the matter; but, as it happens, they do not. To begin with, they do not represent the actual consumption of spirits in Gothenburg, but only the quantity disposed of by the bolag (company) itself. They do not include any portion of the very great quantity of spirits disposed of by the twenty-three wine merchants, who in 1890 paid the bolag (company), solely for the privilege of selling spirits by retail, the large sum of 60,900 kronor (about \$17,000), or at the rate of about £147 each. Neither do they register the sales of spirits by the five important concerns holding permanent licenses. Hence, obviously, a large proportion of the spirits consumed in Gothenburg is not brought into Sir F. R. Plunkett's reckoning at all, and a grave misconception as to the effect of the Gothenburg system in Gothenburg has been the result." * * *

"But we can come closer to the point. It is a very noteworthy fact that the decrease in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg and in Stockholm since 1876, has been considerably less in proportion than the decrease in Sweden as a whole. For the entire country for 1877, the quantity of spirits consumed was 54,512,962 litres; while in 1890, in spite of the growth of the population in the interim, it was only 23,303,342. How stands the system in the light of this remarkable fact? Are we to conclude that in Gothenburg and Stockholm it has retarded the progress which these cities ought to have enjoyed in common with the country as a whole? But, to go a step further, Sir F. R. Plunkett's figures, as has already been shown, do not register the quantity of spirits consumed in Gothenburg, but only the quantity disposed of by the bolag, and it can, I think, be pretty clearly made out that a much larger proportion of the spirit sold in Gothenburg now reaches the public through the hands of the wine and spirit merchants, than was formerly the case; and if this is so, a much smaller reduction in the consumption of spirits per head of the population than is generally believed, has taken place. What are the facts? In 1876 there were 45 places in which liquor supplied by the bolag was sold, and there were then in existence only thirteen establishments of wine and spirit merchants who sold spirits not obtained from the bolag, and of which no account was kept by it. But in 1890 there were 23 places kept by wine and spirit merchants who obtained their liquors from other source than the bolag, who in that year had forty-six establishments for the sale of liquor. Twenty-three is a much larger number in relation to forty-six, than thirteen is to forty-five. Further, it is chiefly through the agency of the wine and spirit merchants that what are called "superior spirits" (really mainly imported spirits) find their way to the public in Gothenburg; and the importation of these has enormously increased since 1876. In that year the quantity of spirits imported was exceedingly small as compared with the importation of to-day, while more foreign spirits were disposed of by the bolag at that time than are disposed of by it to-day. These facts mean that there is a much larger quantity of foreign spirits sold now than formerly, and that of what is sold a very much larger proportion passes through the hands of the wine merchants than used to be the case. Hence the conclusion seems inevitable that today a very much larger proportion of spirits consumed in Gothenburg is unregistered by the bolag, than was the case in 1876; and that at present a far larger quantity is consumed than the bolag's and Sir F. R. Plunkett's figures show.

It is made to appear in the foregoing that there is a large and evidently increasing sale in places other than those established by the company, part of them being supplied by the company, and part of them having permanent licenses independent of the company—and that of these large sales no account is taken in some, if not all, of the estimates which show a reduced consumption of liquors.

In Norway, as in Sweden, there has been a decrease in the consumption of spirits in the country, as a whole, in the last twenty-five years. It is noticeable, however, that all the decreases which has occurred under the company's system

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was between 1871 and 1878. There has been practically no diminution since 1879, as the following table, from Dr. Gould's report, shows:—

1879	3·4
1880	4·1
1881	3·2
1882	4·0
1883	3·5
1884	3·7
1885	3·7
1886	3·2
1887	3·0
1888	3·2
1889	3·4
1890	3·3

Consul General Michell, in his report to Lord Roseberry, says:—"The drink bill of Norway has, in fact, oscillated, as in Great Britain, with the earnings of the lower classes, irrespective of any perceptible philanthropic influence on the part of the association for the sale of spirits." * * * "Both the estimate of the total consumption and the returns of the sales of the association show that the consumption of spirits in Norway reached a minimum in 1887, but that subsequently it has exhibited a remarkable increase."

While in the country, as a whole, the consumption did not change in the twelve years from 1879 to 1890, the consumption in Bergen, which is under the company system, increased from 3·84 quarts per capita in 1879, to 4·66 quarts per capita in 1890. In Christiania, which has been under the system since 1885, there has also been an increased consumption of spirits, from 2·22 quarts per capita in 1886 to 2·69 quarts per capita in 1892. It would appear from the foregoing figures that there has been a decreased consumption in the country districts and small towns, in many of which no sale of liquor is legalized, and an increased consumption in the cities and other places which have the company system.

Mr. Whyte compares the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg with the consumption in Sweden as a whole, and also with the consumption in England. Making liberal allowance for the quantity purchased in Gothenburg to be taken out of the city, the comparison shows that the quantity sold by the company alone in Gothenburg is twice as much per head as is consumed by the people of Sweden as a whole, and two and one-half times as much as is used per head by the population of England. If the spirits sold in Gothenburg, outside the company shops, are considered, "the total consumption of spirits per head of the population of Gothenburg is 3·73 gallons, and that is just about equivalent to the alcoholic total of all the intoxicating liquors used per head of the population of the United Kingdom."

BEER CONSUMPTION.

The foregoing figures and comparisons do not take any account of the malt liquors and wine used in Gothenburg and in other places which have adopted the system.

All the authorities agree that there has been a great increase in the consumption of beer. According to a table in the report of the Massachusetts' Commission the quantity of beer used in Sweden has more than doubled since the introduction of the Gothenburg system; in 1865 the quantity was 12·3 quarts per capita, in 1890 it was 28·2 quarts per capita. And this estimate the report says, is "a trifle too low."

In Norway, also, the increased use of malt liquor has been very marked. In 1871, when the company system was first adopted in Norway, the beer consumption was 16·9 quarts per capita; in 1891, it was 31·2 quarts per capita—nearly double.

The same report says that "unquestionably the free traffic in beer undoes much of the good accomplished by the company." This, however, is not quite clear, as applied to Norway where the companies have control in part at least of the bar trade in beer as well as of the brandy trade.

DRUNKENNESS.

The arrests for drunkenness in Sweden have increased the last twenty years. In 1874 the arrests were 3·7 per thousand of the population; in 1891 they were 5·3 per thousand. This increase is attributed by some to the better policing of the towns.

For the same period the arrests in Gothenburg increased. In 1874 there were 38 per thousand of the population; in 1891 they were 44 per thousand. In 1865, in the autumn of which year the company system went into effect, the arrests were 45 per thousand of the population; in 1891, after twenty-six years of its operation, the arrests were 44 per thousand, practically no reduction.

A reduction in the number of arrests for drunkenness began several years before the inauguration of the Gotheuberg system, due doubtless, in part at least, to the earnest temperance agitation carried on at that time. Between 1856 and 1865 in Gothenburg city, they had fallen from 80 per thousand to 45 per thousand. Under the company system the change has been so slight and fluctuating that the arrests are the same as when the company system began.

Stockholm's record of public drunkenness, put in five year periods, shows the following:—

Years.	Per 1,000 Population.
1856-60	21·6
1861-65.....	17·3
1866-70.....	12·6
1871-75.....	20·3
1876-80.....	37·5
1881-85.....	32·2
1885-90.....	33·1

The company system was introduced in 1887, which makes it difficult to account for the large percentage of arrests in the five years 1876-80, four of which were under the operation of the system. The four preceding periods show a much lower ratio of arrests. The last two show a slight diminution, though both are considerably higher than the periods preceding the adoption of the company system.

The public drunkenness record of Bergen, comparing 1877 with 1889, shows a decrease. The company began operations in 1877, the next year the arrests were 130 less. With some fluctuations they remained nearly the same, with a slight downward tendency, till 1889. But in 1890 and 1891 there was a startling increase, the number of arrests in each year being greater than in any previous year of the company system's existence.

It has been stated, in the explanation of the increase, that tourist travel and Bergen's greater importance as a seaport account for it. It is also stated that at the beginning of 1890 a new chief of police took office who conceived it his duty to more rigorously enforce the law against drunkenness. Previously only those who were disorderly were arrested; the new chief directed the arrest of all who were found drunk on the streets. The increase of arrests in the first year, under this rule, was 400. It would seem from this that in previous years there was a great deal of public drunkenness which did not get into the police record. The records, therefore, of 1890 and 1891 are probably more nearly the records of the actual drunkenness of the city than are the records of the years when there was lax enforcement of the law against drunkenness.

It may be noted here that the police in 1892 were required by the authorities to be less particular about arresting drunken people, and to arrest only the disorderly. The result was that in that year the arrests were over 300 less than in 1891.

Mr. Reginald Mortimer, Sec. of the County Brewers Society of England, who visited Gothenburg in 1893, is authority for the statement that the police of that city have no power to arrest for drunkenness, unless it be accompanied by violent or disorderly conduct.

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In Christiania, Norway, in 1876, the arrests for drunkenness were 66·4 per thousand of the population; and they had fallen to 33·5 per thousand in 1884. In 1885 the Gothenburg system was introduced. The arrests that year were 37·7 per thousand. In 1886 they fell to 25·6. In 1887 they began to increase. The following table shows the steady increase since:

Year.	Per thousand population.
1886.....	25·6
1887.....	28·3
1888.....	40·6
1889.....	41·2
1890.....	51·9
1891.....	72·5
1892.....	72·0

Mr. Whyte records an interview with the chief of police of Gothenburg, in which he got the chief's explanation of the increased drunkenness. "He (the chief of police) did not hesitate one moment, but at once said: 'Oh, it's the beer. It's the malt liquor. Far more beer is now being used, and much stronger than was the case formerly. The people drink spirits, and then drink beer and stout, and become drunk. He further stated that the "off" beer shops—and every shop-keeper can sell beer for consumption off the premises—were doing a vast amount of harm, more particularly amongst women and boys—and that drunkenness, all of it from beer, was now showing itself amongst women. It had not gone so far, he added, as to bring any considerable number of women into the hands of the police; indeed, out of the total number of convictions for drunkenness, of 4,624 for 1892, only about 100 were convictions of women. But he expressed a fear that there was a good deal of setting among women at their homes—not much when compared with the intemperance among men—but a great deal more than there used to be; and he felt that the most painful thing about it was that it was fast getting worse. He added that the beer shops which did the most mischief amongst women and boys, were the small provision shops where beer was sold. Another cause of the recent marked increase of drunkenness on which he laid a great deal of stress—and this has a very direct bearing on the question of the use of the *bolag's* figures in the foreign office report—was the great extension of the trade of the wine and spirit merchants in cheap foreign spirits which he said were now being used more than formerly by the working classes and were causing much drunkenness."

The report of the Massachusetts Commission also mentions the increase of drinking amongst women, which is attributed to the use of malt liquors in their homes.

Comparisons—Mr. Whyte compares Gothenburg and Cardiff, England, as to the arrests for drunkenness. They are both seaports. Cardiff, in 1890, had a population of 128,000, and 620 convictions for drunkenness; Gothenburg, with a population of 104,000, and 4,010 convictions.

Comparison might be made with almost any Canadian city. St. John, N.B., has a population of 40,385, and in 1891 its arrests for drunkenness were 1,030; in the same year Gothenburg with 104,000 population has 4,624 arrests.

Sweden, as a whole, has 5·3 arrests for drunkenness per thousand of the population; Canada has 2·6 per thousand.

Pauperism in Sweden—Dr. Gould, in his report, remarks that "in considering the question of pauperism and its relation to any system for regulating the traffic in strong drink, it is very difficult to formulate precise judgment." Your Commissioners have found this difficulty in prosecuting their enquiries in Canada and elsewhere.

"A great many disturbing factors may come in, two of the most important of which, in dealing with the question locally at least, are, first, the rapid growth of cities and the consequent flocking of unskilled labour to them, and secondly, the progress in public conscience of conceptions of duty in relation to public assistance."

Having in mind these considerations, Dr. Gould presents the following table of pauperism in Sweden. It is in five year periods, beginning with 1810 :

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Per cent of Population.
1810.....	26,669	54,192	80,861	3.40
1815.....	28,730	57,279	86,009	3.49
1820.....	29,106	58,406	87,512	3.39
1825.....	33,338	74,546	107,884	3.89
1830.....	37,869	79,983	117,852	4.08
1835.....	41,322	79,996	121,318	4.01
1840.....	31,861	62,393	94,254	3.00
1845.....	33,332	64,826	98,158	2.96
1850.....	44,221	79,592	123,813	3.56
1855.....	53,730	89,321	143,051	4.93
1860.....			132,982	3.45
1865.....	55,989	91,899	147,888	3.59
1870.....	80,666	123,712	204,378	4.90
1875.....			193,793	4.42
1880.....			219,532	4.81
1885.....			221,911	4.74
1890.....			241,113	5.04

It will be noticed that the increase from 1810 to 1865 (55 years) was very trifling, being only 0.19 per cent; while the increase from 1865 to 1890 (25 years), the period covered by the Gothenburg system, was 1.45 per cent.

The statistics of Norway's pauperism, Dr. Gould says, do not give a satisfactory basis of judgment. But so far as they are available they show an increase, ranging from 67 per thousand of the population in 1877, to 86 per thousand in 1886.

ILLICIT TRAFFIC.

It is evident that there is more or less illicit traffic in liquors. Consul General Michell says of Norway: "There certainly seems to be much need of more efficient control on the part of the excise, in regard, more especially, to the wide spread illicit traffic in spirits. It is now a very general habit among the yeoman farmers to club together in the purchase of a keg or cask of spirits and of cases of beer, to be promptly distributed in the neighbourhood for consumption at home.

"This practice is held to be a violation of the law, but it is one that is not easily detected, since the partners in such a transaction are not likely to turn informers. Moreover, it is an open secret that the restrictions as to the supply of spirits are very generally evaded."

Mr. H. E. Berner, of Christiania, who has made a very thorough study of the causes of the decline in sobriety during recent years, says: "The country highways, even at a considerable distance from towns, fairly swarm with so called beer wagons, these rolling saloons, from which bottles also are sold, the contents of which do not correspond exactly with the labels."

And it would seem that the companies controlling the spirits traffic are not always careful to observe the provisions of the law nor their own regulations. At least, the managers of the companies' drink shops are not so particular as they are supposed to be. Mr. Whyte says: "They have not been able to get their servants to so conduct the drink business as to prevent the amount of drunkenness, in connection with their public houses, from being about as great as that which occurs in ordinary liquor shops in this country. I question if as great an amount of intoxication can be seen amongst the ordinary visitors to an average English public house, as is to be witnessed amongst the customers of the bolag in their establishments. I visited a number of these places alone, and saw in them a number of persons who were intoxicated. I subsequently visited them in the company of the British Consul. In one place we found about fifteen men of the labouring class. One of them

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was having a cup of tea at a side seat. The rest were drinking Swedish brandy. After looking round, the Consul said to me: 'Several of these men, you see, are not sober.' 'Drunk,' I replied. He nodded and said: 'Yes, drunk.' 'It seems to be a question of degree,' I remarked, 'and evidently the people in charge here don't draw the line where we think it ought to be drawn. But there is a fellow drunk enough for anything,' indicating one of the company, 'will he get more?' While I was speaking, the man shuffled up to the counter, laid down his money, and off his 'two cubic inches' at one gulp."

This statement gets some confirmation in the fact that of those arrested in 1891 for drunkenness, 1197 said they got their last drinks at the bars of the company.

ABUSES OF THE SYSTEM.

That the motive of the promoters of the Gothenburg system was good is generally acknowledged. The members of the company which secured the monopoly set about carrying out their purpose in good faith. They were not believers in prohibition of the liquor traffic. They thought the people ought to be able to get liquor such as they desired, and they undertook to provide the facilities free from what they regarded the objectionable and dangerous features of the traffic. They reduced the number of drink shops, and placed those remaining in charge of men whose salaries did not depend on the amount of business done. And they hoped and expected that great improvement would be effected. Whether there has been real improvement—and, if any, the degree of it—are questions on which there are widely different opinions.

They were, of course, not averse to making a fair profit out of their investment. And this was provided for in the guarantee of five per cent. That this was a good investment, as investments go in Norway, and was an inducement to establish other companies, is stated by Consul-General Michell thus: "In the first place, a preferential payment of five per cent on the shares of the association is an exceedingly strong inducement for promoting the prosperity and extension of the associations."

The shares have never fallen below par, and they have sometimes sold at a good premium. They would be always at a premium, but that the right is reserved to the municipalities to buy up at par, within a certain number of years, all the shares of an association.

The Consul-General further says: "The best government securities (loans) and the bonds of the Land Mortgage Bank of Norway do not yield a higher rate of interest than three per cent to four per cent. Their value is at the same time liable to be swayed by a variety of circumstances. The financial credit of governments, as well as of land mortgage banks, comes and goes, but as drink is likely to go on forever,—to an extent, at least, that cannot fail to give its vendors a benefit of five per cent on invested capital, it is not surprising to find that all the towns in Norway have been eager, if only from that point of view, to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by the Gothenburg system."

Besides getting the assured five per cent, the shareholders have the chief voice in determining the disposal of the surplus profits; in this they are guided by their own discretion or interests.

Municipalities become deeply interested, not always from philanthropic motives, but with an eye to the amount the treasury may get from the liquor-selling companies. And they are gradually insisting on more control of the companies for revenue purposes. Dr. Gould cites, in illustration, a case which occurred not long ago in Bergen: "The city fathers insisted that the local brandy company should grant a large subsidy to a theatre; the proposition was declined. Accordingly, the council threatened to refuse a monopoly of the licenses at the expiration of the period, and declared its intention of pursuing the business on its own account. The home department was appealed to, and it promptly refused its sanction. A compromise was reached, by which a larger share in the committee of management, which controls the distribution of profits, was conceded to the council, on condition that it did not attempt in the future to interfere with the company's monopoly. This instance illustrates a tendency which seems to be growing in Norway, for the

municipalities to get a firmer hold on the disposition of the surplus. An analysis of the objects of public utility favoured will show that those which should most properly be a municipal charge have received the principal aid."

Instances like the following, in which the company disregarded the law and its own regulations, may have been frequent, but it illustrates the tendency of the system: "A company on the Sognefjord in Norway was always accustomed to close its bar-rooms and retail shops when the fishermen came home after successful catches. It so happened that a physician desired an appropriation for a hospital in which he was particularly interested. He laid the matter before the committee of management, but learned from them that their resources were not sufficient to carry out the object he had at heart. Accordingly the proposition was made to the committee that the custom of closing the saloons and shops at the time just mentioned should be abrogated for a year or two. The suggestion was carried into practice, and the result was that the extra revenue derived from the sale of liquor during these periods brought sufficient to enable the committee to award a liberal sum to the object of public utility in which the philanthropic doctor was interested."

The incident does more than illustrate the ease with which a liquor-selling company could adapt itself to a demand. It illustrates, also, the effectiveness of prohibition as practised prior to the demand for aid to the hospital; it illustrates the fact that the expenditure of a community for liquors is according to the facilities for liquor selling; and it is a lucid illustration of the iniquity of the system which deliberately presents temptations to an admittedly weak people for the sole purpose of extracting their money, with regard to the effect it was sure to have, and did have, upon them and their families. And that this can be done in the name of philanthropy but accentuates the baseness of it all.

The Massachusetts Commissioners point out that abuses of various kinds arise. Companies often have a larger capital stock than needed, for the sake of dividends; directors allow themselves large salaries, and rent premises for drink shops at exorbitant prices; they submit licenses for large prices, permitting the licensees to purchase their liquors wherever they choose; in one instance all licenses were transferred, for a consideration, to firms or private dealers; in another, one man secured the sole control of the traffic; employees instead of simply receiving salaries, have in some instances, paid for the privilege of having sole control of their shops and selling liquors at such prices as they chose to fix; in other cases they have been permitted to sell at an advance on the company's prices, the increase being a bonus to them; and in still other cases they have, besides their salaries, been given a percentage on sales, as an inducement to push business. These are but samples. There is, evidently, much looseness of management, which is increasing year by year, caused entirely by the growing desire for larger profits.

However unselfish the intention of the originators of the Gothenburg system, there is much reason to believe that, as at present managed, it is simply a profitable monopoly of the liquor traffic in which the shareholders in the companies, the municipalities and the central government participate.

Consul General Michell says:—"It may boldly be asserted that the original purely philanthropic object of the associations (considered collectively) has been gradually departed from, and that the old licensed victualler, often under circumstances of great hardship, has been replaced throughout the greater part of the country by hundreds of holders of 5 per cent shares, by administrators politically and otherwise interested in the distribution of larger and larger surpluses from the sale of spirits, and by municipalities well content to improve and embellish their towns without recourse to direct communal taxation for those purposes."

Local Prohibition.—That the effect of the Gothenburg system is not promotive of temperance is quite apparent. Mr. H. E. Berner, already quoted, says:—"More attacks on its (the temperance cause) supposed exaggerations are seen in the press than defences of its sound and beneficial principles. The gospel of pleasure is preached in the most modern literature, and is paid homage to in leading circles, into which, as a consequence, temperance, economy and frugality in habits have long since been regarded as things of the past."

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There is, however, a growing sentiment in favour of prohibition, and this sentiment has expressed itself in the adoption of local prohibition in many places.

In Norway one-fifth, and in Sweden less than one-fifth of the population have adopted the Gothenburg system. In many of the country districts, including small towns, local prohibition is in operation and with good effect. The decrease in consumption of liquors in Norway and Sweden, and the smaller number of arrests for drunkenness may be attributed to the measure of prohibition which prevails in both countries rather than to the Gothenburg system. This is made sufficiently clear by the statistics of consumption and of arrests, and also by an examination of the statements of the profits of the liquor selling companies. In the towns of Sweden the profits of the companies have steadily increased from \$1,476,094 in 1881 to \$1,813,446 in 1890. The same is true of Norway. Showing that where prohibition more prevails the traffic has fallen off.

The movement for national prohibition is, it is claimed, gaining strength. Prohibition societies have been organized all over the country, and many men prominent in church and state are identified with the movement.

Other Witnesses.—Captain Frederick Waldemar Hooslep and Mr. Alex. Gustafson were among the witnesses who gave evidence before your Commission. Captain Hooslep is a Norwegian. He said the Samlag (the name by which the liquor-selling company is known in Norway) has been a great benefit to his country. There has, he said, been a great improvement in the drinking habits of the people since he was a boy, and this he attributed in a great measure to the company system. He said: "If you ever should go to Norway and see what the surplus has done to the benefit of the towns, you will say it is wonderful. In Bergen there are roads and parks and everything constructed out of what we call brandy money. It has been all done from liquor money." There is prohibition, he said, in the country districts and some small towns. How it works is illustrated in an incident of his personal experience. He said: "I was in Hardanger Fjord; there are large hotels, and I noticed that I could not get a glass of grog if I bought the whole hotel; and there were three or four large hotels—large tourist hotels—in every place, and it was impossible to get a glass of grog. That is in the country."

Mr. Gustafson is a Swede. He said the Gothenburg system was undoubtedly adopted with the purest motives. At first, the business resulted in a remarkable reduction in drunkenness and the crimes which come from drink. But all that has changed, and now there is a marked increase in all the bad effects of the liquor traffic. He said: "As the idea has prevailed for years that purity of liquor must be secured, it was natural that these companies should try to get as pure liquor as possible, and as they were corporately responsible for the purity of their liquor, they became refining companies themselves; so that at present they buy up raw liquors, and treat them in their own refineries, thereby practically establishing themselves permanently as refiners in order to justify themselves before the public. The returns of the criminal calendar are comparatively small. Now, we have this provision. In the first place these companies are either private companies, which have got from the municipality the right of controlling the liquor business, or else it is a municipality itself, and in most cases the power is in the hands of municipal 'rings,' resulting in the most outrageous corruption. These municipal 'rings,' brandy 'rings' and refining 'rings' take on an average from 25 to 35 per cent for refining the people's liquor, and that is a considerable profit on all the liquors sold in a large community. In order to retain themselves in power the municipal government must be able to show the people that they have reduced drunkenness and drink crimes to a great extent; hence, as they are themselves the municipal power, the policeman does not dare to arrest anyone who gets drunk, and the judge does not dare to convict anyone brought before him. I have walked in the streets of Gothenburg at 10 o'clock in the morning and met five men drunk, so drunk that they could hardly walk straight, holding one another by the arm, insulting decent women, and the policeman had turned his back, because he would not retain his position if he did not. The statistics show that drunkenness is on the increase in both Sweden and Norway. And the statistics do not show as badly as they are. I

remember when I was at the Temperance Congress at Christiania, the minister of instruction made a very favourable showing to the congress of the result of the Bergen system at Christiania; but the night previous I had been to the police commissioners and obtained the official statistics as to drunkenness for the last six years, and they showed that if every man, woman and child in Christiania had been arrested once, that would cover, and only cover, the number of arrests for drunkenness."

Rev. Dr. Buckley, editor of the New York *Christian Advocate*, made a careful personal investigation into the system. He says: "It does not stop the abuse of liquor. We saw drunkenness in Gothenburg; saw ten men not far from mid-day on Sunday staggering about. In other places in Sweden its fundamental plan of 'no profit so any one' has been departed from. The towns have urged the company to press the business in view of the revenue." The conclusion to be reached is that "the Gothenburg system sheds little light on the problem of suppressing intemperance in other parts of the world."

The *St. James Gazette*, London, says: "No scheme for the perfecting of the human race in the matter of drink looks more beautiful upon paper than the Gothenburg system; but when it comes to be examined by the light of facts and experience, the results, as we have frequently had occasion to point out, are not quite so satisfactory. * * * * The profits on the regulated traffic pay partly for road making, education, museums, hospitals, asylums and many other of the equipments of the state. But the shareholders get a certain five per cent on their investments, and the shares are frequently above par. The companies push their business as though they were enterprising brewers. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that there is a steady upward rise in drunkenness. The most tangible result of the system seems to be that the state is largely 'run' upon the profits of drink."

An article in a Swedish newspaper, the *Forposten*, Gothenburg, March 17, 1894, contains this paragraph: "It is a sorrowful fact that not only men but women and half grown boys indulge in strong drinks, and in Gothenburg one may meet more intoxicated persons than in most other civilized communities." Thereafter were cited figures, showing that Gothenburg has the unenviable honour of being called the "city of saloons."

In Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, the death rate from the use of alcohol is said to be 90 in a thousand—being the highest death rate from that cause of any city in the world.

The latest investigation of the system was made by the *London Times*, which sent a representative to make a study of it. He reported that drunkenness is increasing. He had never seen so much drunkenness in an English town on a Saturday night, as he saw in Gothenburg. Last year, he says, in Gothenburg out of 1,273 admissions to the general hospital, 104 were cases of disease directly caused by excessive drinking, and 2,871 separate individuals were fined for drunkenness. He reluctantly confesses his belief that making the public houses more comfortable does not seem to conduce to sobriety. A marked increase has recently shown itself in female drunkenness, chiefly from porter, and school teachers complain of a growing tendency to drink among young lads.

It is due to the Gothenburg System to say that many opinions favourable to it have been expressed, and that many persons, sincerely desirous of promoting temperance and sobriety, think it capable of reducing the evils of the drink traffic to a minimum. To all such opinions, and the arguments put forward in support of them, full and candid consideration has been given. But, while acknowledging the benefits which resulted in the early years of the system from lessening the number of places for the sale of liquors, your commissioner is compelled to conclude that, as with every system which gives any legal authority to the drink traffic and makes it a source of revenue to the community, the tendency has been, on the part of the traffic, to disregard restrictions, and, on the part of the community, to tolerate its evils for the sake of its contributions to the public treasury.

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CONCLUSIONS.

From such examination of the Gothenburg System as your Commissioner has been able to make, without actual personal observation, the following conclusions are arrived at:—

1. The system originated in a desire to reform the character of the liquor traffic, and reduce the evils resulting from it.
2. The motive of the originators of the system was doubtless good.
3. In the earlier years of the system there was a reduction in the number of persons arrested for drunkenness.
4. Such benefits as resulted from the system were such as result from lessening facilities for getting intoxicating liquor.
5. Such benefits are not now apparent. Drunkenness and the other evils of the liquor traffic have increased in late years.
6. Whatever permanent improvement has taken place in the last quarter of a century has been in spite of, rather than because of, the Gothenburg System, and is mainly attributable to the strong temperance agitation, and to the prohibition of the liquor traffic which is in operation over areas of the country containing about four-fifths of the population.
7. The original purpose of the system has, largely, been lost sight of. Intended to save the liquor traffic from the dangerous features supposed to arise out of the greed of individual licenses, it has degenerated into a system to encourage and satisfy the greed of shareholders scattered all over the country. It also appeals to the cupidity of municipal authorities and to that large class, found in every community, who think they see in the revenues derived from the traffic a relief from taxation.
8. The respectability and the fiscal importance given the liquor traffic by the system make the traffic greatly more dangerous to the moral sense of the community, and seriously interfere with moral reform.
9. Canada, in which the consumption of liquors and the record of public drunkenness and crimes resulting from drink, are much lower than in Norway and Sweden has nothing to gain by the adoption of the Gothenburg system; and has nothing to learn from it, except that no system of license, by whatever name called, or conducted under whatever auspices, interferes permanently with the liquor traffic, or diminishes its inevitable evils.

BEER AND LIGHT WINES.

Some attention has been given to the question of the freer use of beer and light wines. Many who deplore the prevalent intemperance, and are concerned for the promotion of temperance, believe that the encouragement of the use of the milder intoxicants would accomplish the desired end. Several witnesses who gave evidence before the Commission put forward the idea that the freer use of wines and malt liquors would have a good effect, diminishing the use of stronger liquors, and so promoting temperance amongst the people. They suggested that it would be well to make the sale of wine and beer practically free, placing duties practically prohibitive on the stronger drinks. France and Germany have been cited as wine and beer drinking countries, notable for sobriety. Some witnesses, who had visited these countries, testified that they saw little or no drunkenness in either country.

So far as it has been possible your Commissioner has investigated this phase of the liquor traffic question, with the results following:—

Dr. Albert Day, for many years Superintendent of the Washington Home for Inebriates, Boston, Mass., says:—"I have treated nearly 7,000 cases of inebriety, and eight-tenths of that number originated from wine and malt liquors."

The *Scientific American* is authority for the following:—"The use of beer produces a species of degeneration of all the organism, profound and deceptive. Fatty deposits, diminished circulation, conditions of congestion, perversion of functional activities, local inflammation of both the liver and the kidneys are constantly present.

Intellectually a stupor amounting almost to paralysis arrests the reason, changing all the higher faculties into mere animalism, sensual, selfish, sluggish, varied only with paroxysms of anger that are senseless and brutal. In appearance the beer drinker may be the picture of health, but in reality he is most incapable of resisting disease. A slight injury, a severe cold, or shock to the body or mind, will commonly provoke acute disease, ending fatally. Compared with inebriates who use the different kinds of alcohol, he is more incurable, more generally diseased. The constant use of beer every day gives the system no recuperation, but steadily lowers the vital forces. It is our observation that beer drinking in this country produces the very lowest forms of inebriety, closely allied to criminal insanity. The most dangerous class of tramps and ruffians in our large cities are beer drinkers."

The *Pacific Medical Journal* makes the statement that the hereditary evils of beer drinking exceed those which result from the use of distilled spirits. Reasons are given for this opinion, thus:—"First, because the habit is constant and without paroxysmal interruptions which admit of some recuperation; second, because beer drinking is practised by both sexes more generally than spirit drinking; and third, because the animalizing tendency of the habit is more uniformly developed, thus authorizing the presumption that the vicious results are more generally transmitted."

This judgment of an influential medical journal is weighty, and may well cause such beer drinkers as have regard for themselves and their posterity to hesitate about further indulgence of so dangerous a habit.

Evidence given before the Commission by Dr. Arnott, of London, Ontario, is in agreement with the medical opinions quoted. He said:—"I lived in a little village where I knew everybody, and the beer drinkers of that place are all dead long ago, every one with Bright's disease, with the exception of one man, and he has had Bright's disease for ten years and has had three strokes of paralysis. He is a mere wreck, a helpless cripple."

In investigating the Gothenburg system it was discovered that much of the evils which result from drink in Norway and Sweden is being attributed to the excessive and increasing use of malt liquors. Dr. Gould's report says:—"Formerly the drinking of beer was considered a distinct temperance reform. Everything was done to encourage its consumption. Its sale at retail was left free from tax or special requirements." But, he adds, from all sides testimony comes of the evil influences arising from the growing consumption of beer.

The Massachusetts Commissioners say:—"That the inordinate consumption of beer in Norway and Sweden, which has almost doubled per inhabitant in 20 years, is not only a serious evil, but all authorities agree on its being the principal cause of drunkenness yet prevalent in the towns."

And Consul General Michell adds his testimony in these terms:—"It is doubtful * * * * whether the consumption of potent ale is not more injurious to the workingman than the use of spirits in moderation. The alcoholism produced by the consumption of beer in large quantities is more stupefying and durable in its effects than that which proceeds from the drinking of drams, especially in a cold climate."

Wine and beer are not, as many have believed, and as some still believe, temperance drinks. Mr. Axel Gustafson, author of "The World's Drink Problem," says:—"The two continental countries drinking the lightest wines and beers, France and Belgium, are the most drunken."

Judge White, Pittsburgh, Pa., makes this statement: "From thirteen years' experience in the criminal court I am thoroughly convinced there are far more evils resulting from the use of beer in this country than from whisky. The liquor traffic in this country has become a most gigantic evil. From my experience at the bar and on the bench I believe it is the cause, directly or indirectly, of four-fifths of all the crime, poverty and misery in our midst. The license fees received by the county do not equal the expense incurred in the prosecution of criminals and the support of the poor."

Rev. Dr. Lathern, editor of the *Westeyan*, Halifax, N.S., told the Commission that in the north of England, where he spent his early life, it was believed that beer

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drinking was more brutalizing in its effects than the drinking of spirits. "The worst effects of drinking, the most brutalizing effects I have ever seen, have arisen from the drinking of beer in the north of England."

GERMANY.

The advocates of beer drinking have been in the habit of pointing to Germany as a particularly sober country, which has been in no way injured by the general and very large use of its favourite beverage.

And yet the drink question has become an important one in the political economy of that country. Prof. Schmoller, of Berlin, an able political economist, thus writes: "Among our working people the conditions of domestic life, of education, of prosperity, of progress or degradation are all dependent on the proportion of income which flows down the father's throat. The whole condition of our lower and middle classes—one may, even without exaggeration, say the future of our nation—depends on this question. If it is true that half our paupers become so through drink it gives us some estimate of the costly burden which we tolerate. No other of our vices bears comparison to this."

A German military critic, commenting upon the unsatisfactory condition of a detachment of reserves suddenly called out for the autumn manoeuvres (1892), and attributing their poor condition and absolute incapacity for vigorous drill to their inactive, beer-drinking habit of life, said: "Unless Germany redeems herself from the saloon, she will look in vain for competent defenders when the test of war is to be met. A man cannot rise from his *kneipe* and fight well for his fatherland." It has been estimated that the military efficiency of the German army has been depreciated 15 per cent on account of the beer-drinking habits of the German soldiers.

One of the latest utterances is that of Mr. Brendell, in March, 1894, before the Anthropological Society of Munich. Among other things he said: "Germany spends at present 2,550,000,000 marks annually for alcoholic beverages (about \$825,000,000). Although large quantities of beverages were drunk formerly, still only in the last century, and more especially only in the last decades, in which the brewer's art was perfected, drinking has become universal. It has spread everywhere and increased to a frightful, most alarming extent. It has been introduced even into country communities, and the only inevitable consequence will be the thorough degeneration of the human race, if the evil is not checked before it is not too late. Although it is contended that beer contains less alcohol than either wine or whisky, it is nevertheless as injurious as either of them, while its vaunted nutritive value stands in no proportion to its price. When a man is required to perform the greatest feats of corporeal exertions, in battle, sport, explorations, &c., the baneful effects of alcohol is most strikingly shown. English life insurance companies divide their risks into two classes, the non-drinkers and the drinkers, and the average of expected mortality has for several years been only 71 per cent of the former, therefore 29 per cent less than that of the latter. Taking the rate of mortality at one thousand, of this unit die: farmers, 630; brewers, 1,361; saloon-keepers, 1,521; waiters (of both sexes) in bar-rooms and saloons, 2,205. In spite of the marvelous advantages of our present age, a great retrogression, in an ethical sense, is undeniable, the chief cause of which is principally due to the increase of drunkenness, because the beer saloon has become the centre and focus of social life."

It is not surprising, in view of the foregoing statements, that much anxiety is felt amongst the thinking people of Germany and that remedies are being sought for the evils. Temperance organizations—the Blue Cross Society and the Good Templars—have been at work for several years, endeavouring to promote total abstinence. But the most important association is that known as the "Verein Gegen Den Missbrauch Geistiger Getränke," (A Union to prevent the Misuse of Liquors). It was organized in 1883. It numbered at the last report about 10,000 members grouped in local associations in various parts of the country. Total abstinence is not a condition of membership. It is designed, rather, to awaken the people to see the social danger which threatens the country from the prevalent excessive drinking

habits, and to unite them so for the correction of the evil. The society has much social importance. Its membership is almost wholly recruited from the educated and influential class. Among its first supporters were the Emperor Frederick, Gen. Von Moltke, Field Marshal Herwarth Von Bittenfeld, and the Oberbürgermeister Miquel, late Prussian Minister of Finance, and one of the most important persons in Germany. It has also among its members many physicians, prison officials, directors of asylums, pastors concerned with missionary work, charity experts like Dr. Emminghaus of Gotha, economists like Professor Böhmert of Dresden, and many other persons brought professionally or by their philanthropic activity into close relations with the question of drink. The present Emperor, following the example of his father, has formally expressed his approval of the society, and his hope that it may succeed.

Moved by the gravity of the situation, the Emperor has proposed a new measure for the regulation of the drink traffic, the object being to reduce the evils now so manifest. The measure has not yet become law, but the fact that it has been proposed is very significant. The *Reichsanzeiger*, one of the leading papers of Berlin, which published in full the proposed law against the "abuse of spirituous liquors," presenting reasons for its passage, stated that in the year 1889-90 there were 2,279,828 hectolitres (22 English gallons is one hectolitre) of pure alcohol consumed in Germany, or 4.64 litres for each man, woman and child in Germany; of wines about 6.44 litres, and of beer an average of 90 litres per head for each human in Germany, were consumed annually. There had been a large increase in the number of cases of chronic alcoholism and of delirium tremens treated in public institutions, from 4,272 in 1877 to 10,360 in 1885. The alcoholic cases furnish about 20 per cent of nearly all the cases treated in public hospitals. Of the prisoners in Germany penitentiaries convicted of murder, 46 per cent used liquor, and 41 per cent were habitual drunkards; of those who committed manslaughter, 63 per cent were drinkers; violent assault 74 per cent; rape 60 per cent; and other crimes varied from 40 to 68 per cent by habitual drinkers.

These facts and figures do not seem to bear out the statement so often made that there is no intemperance in Germany.

FRANCE.

France is pre-eminently a wine-producing and a wine-consuming country. Hon. H. G. Joly, in his evidence before the Commission, told of the wine drinking customs in France in his boyhood. Wine was used everywhere, he said, by all classes of the people, about as freely as milk or tea are used in this country, and without any apparent ill effects.

But since that time a change has evidently taken place: the universal use of wine has produced its results. The following article from the *Revue Chrétienne*, Paris, shows the present condition, and voices the anxious feeling of those who take note of the widespread and increasing evils of alcoholism:—"The great black spot on the horizon is alcoholism. No doubt its influence is felt among all classes of society, but it is especially a popular plague, a recent plague that has made itself sensible within the past thirty or forty years. Alcoholism is a parvenue of the last hour, and a parvenue cosmopolite. It speedily acclimates itself everywhere. Since by heredity it has entered into the blood and marrow of the people, and has spread itself into the country as it has in the city, not only physicians have been alarmed, but also men of the law, and by degrees all intelligent and reflecting persons. At the present moment it increases and assumes the proportions of a universal danger. The race is struck in its vitals. The hospitals, almshouses and prisons bear testimony to its progress. In certain districts one no longer counts the drunkards, but those who are not. That which is now drunk is infinitely different from that which was formerly consumed.-- It is a cheap kind of liquor, adulterated with brandy made from the beet root and potato, with which the unprincipled manufacturers are flooding the wor'ld, and this poison is alike destructive of intellectual, moral and physical life. It may be truthfully said of him who drinks it that he

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drinks his own death and that of his children. It poisons the future, and predestinates coming generations to physical weakness, imbecility and crime. It is impossible for any one to fully estimate the moral, political, social, and hygienic effects of alcoholism. In nine-tenths of the maladies, the accidents, the crimes, and the ruin, in much of the uncontrolled passions and popular disorders, one can well say *cherchez l'alcool*. The ravages of the alcohol among the youth of the common classes are frightful. There is scarcely any longer an amusement or a recreation with which it does not mix itself. It interferes with or destroys every rational enjoyment; it prevents proper physical development; it neutralizes the good effects of reunions for social pleasure and relaxation. Every assembly, every excursion for whatever object, is in danger of terminating in a drunken debauch. Manners become coarse, and the language as well as the songs, brutal. Formerly the large cities depended upon the country for the purification of the life blood. The source itself is now tainted. In the lovely valleys that roll back among the Vosges, springs of chrysal water abound, the air is pure, and within the memory of man epidemic has never reigned. But alcohol now reigns as master. The number of feeble children constantly increases. Disorder is in the manners, in the purse and in the household. The fruits of a life of toil disappear. Alcohol is more terrible than war, than pestilence, or no matter what natural calamity."

Another leading Paris paper, the *Petit Journal*, declares that "of all the dangers menacing the agricultural population of France the gravest and most difficult to fight is the alcohol power."

Alcoholic insanity has greatly increased. The eminent Dr. Paul Garnier, Chief Medical Officer of the Préfecture of Police in Paris, is authority for the statement that in sixteen years, from 1872 to 1888, lunacy has increased 30 per cent. "The development of this class of diseases is divided between two categories of alcoholic dementia and general paralysis. The former type is found twice as frequent as it was fifteen years ago, and the sequestrations resulting therefrom have augmented 25 per cent between 1886 and 1888. The malady assumes a more violent character every day; attacks against persons become more frequent."

In one of the great Paris hospitals, out of 83 patients suffering from epilepsy, 60 were found to be of drunken parents.

The population of France has gradually diminished, and those who have given attention to the matter declare that the drink evil is responsible for this diminution, as, also, for the marked deterioration of the national physique.

In May, 1894, *Le Temps*, one of the most influential Paris dailies, sounded a note of warning. Referring to the 300,000,000 francs received by the treasury of France from the duty on alcohol, it says:—"They (statesmen) find here facing them one of those numerous contradictions which arise in political and social economy. On the one hand, the treasury can but congratulate itself on seeing the consumption of alcohol increase. The more there is drunk the more there is paid, and the more the state receipts rise.

"But this wealth of duty should not lead to an illusion. This apparent richness of the state is due to the misery of the citizens; and it is not a question only of a want of money to which every confirmed drinker in the class of workmen fatally condemns himself and his, it is a question specially of physiological and moral misery, of the ruin of soul and body, of the exhaustion within a short period, by the effects of alcoholism, of the vital forces of the nation and of its power of reproduction and progress.

"There are workmen who, under the pretext of giving themselves strength, drink half a litre or a litre of more or less harmful *eau de vie* daily. Can one represent to himself without sadness what becomes of the homes and children of these workmen? The father, as has been said, does not make old bones; the wife becomes corrupted in her turn; the children are rickety, sometimes idiots, incapable of living, without speaking of the terrible law of heredity, which in the race multiplies the consequences of heredity with the progressive spread of the falling stone * * Which of us could not cite families, or even groups of individuals, whom this abuse of strong liquors has caused to disappear or reduce to almost nothing?

"Statistics tell us that the French population has ceased to increase. Last year (1893) the number of deaths exceeded the births by 20,000. How can we help saying that this physiological decadence of the French race, at least in certain districts, coincides with the progress which the same statistics show in the consumption of alcohol? We do not make it solely responsible for the phenomenon, but it must none the more be held innocent."

The larger revenues are, of course, because of increased consumption of alcohol. The increasing and alarming evils described have also kept pace with the increasing use of liquors.

A French Report.—Your Commissioners have had before them the report of a French Commission, appointed to investigate the use of alcohol in that country. The very fact of the appointment of such a commission is proof of the alarm felt by the representatives of the people and those charged with the administration of the country's affairs. A summary of the report, translated by Mr. Gigault, is printed as an appendix. (Vol. 7, Appendix No. 74.)

From that report your Commissioner has gathered several statements which bear out the facts already stated, and emphasise the real gravity of the situation in France produced by the drinking habits of the people.

The report says: "The consumption of alcohol has increased one-half in twelve years—in 1874 it was 970,599 hectolitres, and in 1885 it was 1,444,342 hectolitres." (A hectolitre is 22 English gallons.)

The steady increase in the number of liquor-selling places has contributed to the development of alcoholism. In 1875 there was one liquor shop for each 109 of the population, in 1885 there was one for each 94 of the population, and they have increased since. "The increasing numbers," the report says, "have become a universal ground of anxiety, and are one of the recognized causes of drunkenness. We know how readily, even when his inclination does not point in that direction, the workman who is addicted to drink suffers himself to be drawn into the saloon."

Suicides have increased at an alarming rate. In 1826-30 they were only five to every 10,000 of the population; in 1856-60 they had increased to 11, and in 1885 they were 21.

Deaths of infants and accidental deaths are most numerous in the sections of the country where the people are most given to drink. These sections furnish also the larger proportion of the criminals. "And the sections where the population tends to decrease are precisely those where the greatest quantity of alcohol is consumed."

The foregoing facts, and many similar, set forth in the report, moves the French commissioners to say: "There reigns the prejudice that it is necessary to give wine and liquors to young children to strengthen them. The bad habit of giving another food than milk, coupled with the alcoholic excesses of the adults, is, doubtless, one of the chief sources of depopulation of that wealthy province (Normandy). Nations, like individuals, can live long only if they are sober and virtuous; as soon as they become intemperate and vicious they are destined to perish. * * * To-day the situation is graver than ever. A number of our departments (provinces) are threatened with a rapid degeneration of the race. Alcoholism is a generator of poverty. It has already disturbed the whole social economy. On the other part, why should we not acknowledge it? Our finances are not what we would desire them to be, and the equilibrium of our budgets can be maintained only by new taxes. What then must be done in order to protect at the same time the rules of hygiene, the laws of public morals, and the interests of the treasury?"

The explanation of the increased use of the stronger alcoholic liquors, given by those who advocate the free use of wine, is that the injury to the vines by phyloxera so greatly diminished the wine production of France that the people were compelled to resort to other and stronger drinks.

It is apparent, however, that the use of stronger liquors began before there was any shortage in the wine production; and though a diminished wine production in some years may have accelerated the increased use of spirits, it does not appear that

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in any subsequent year, when the wine production was normal, the consumption of the stronger liquors correspondingly decreased:

It may also be suggested that since the free use of wine, as in France, causes a condition which impels the people when wine is scarce, to resort to stronger drinks, producing such a lamentable state of things as now exists there, the use of wine is not a habit to be encouraged with a view to overcome alcoholism and its train of vices.

All the facts show that it is too late to cite the experiences of Germany and France as justifying the encouragement of the use of beer and wine.

III.

PROHIBITORY LAWS.

Before dealing with the results of the various experiments in prohibitory legislation, it is necessary to direct attention to some general considerations relating to the subject.

At this point your Commissioner must express his regret at the conclusions expressed by the majority of the Commission. He believes that a careful examination of all the evidence heard, and of the mass of other facts collected, makes sufficiently clear the rightness of prohibition as applied to the liquor traffic, and that thoroughly enforced prohibition would be the effective solution of the serious problem.

There is much to be said in favour of the soundness of the position taken by a number of witnesses heard by the Commission, that the liquor traffic being the cause of serious harm in the community, laws permitting this traffic are inherently wrong; that as governments exist for the purpose of benefiting the community, conserving and promoting the general interest, they should not, and cannot consistently, assume any duty towards such an evil, except that of interdiction. The liquor traffic, it is urged, is wrong, therefore law permitting it is wrong, and law prohibiting it is right.

In addition to this, it has also been strongly urged that the fact of prohibition being the law of a community, has in itself an educating effect upon the community, developing a right feeling toward the traffic and securing more thorough respect for law.

It is also worthy of notice that any prohibitory law must be effective in proportion of its thoroughness. The Commission has not come in contact with any experiment in which there was in operation the kind of law which prohibitionists in Canada favour, that is, law prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating beverages.

Some states of the Union have prohibitory laws, but because of the relationship of states under the Federal system, it has not been found practicable to prevent the free importation of liquors into those states for private use, from states where prohibition does not prevail. This statement holds good also in reference to all the prohibition experiments which have been made over limited areas in Great Britain and Canada. All the experiments yet made have been under circumstances that must preclude the obtaining from them the maximum of benefit that it is believed would result from the thorough-going prohibitory legislation.

Keeping in mind these facts, attention is respectfully directed to the experience of places that have attempted to work out the prohibition principle.

THE UNITED STATES.

The total prohibition of the liquor traffic as a measure for preventing the evils of intemperance has for a long time been advocated, and has been in operation over limited areas. So far as your Commission have learned it was first advocated as a state measure in Maine about the year 1837. The proposal was definitely crystallized into law in 1851, when the Maine law was enacted prohibiting the manufac-