Rev. Wiliiam A. Wasson

in Pearson's for August

Prohibition the Obstacle to Real Temperance Reform

just the opposite. Mr. Wasson has closely studied the matter for years and he ex-plains here just wherein a prohibitory law object. He does not overlook There could be no stronger evithe evils of the saloon. He submits a plan for the regulation of the liquor traffic Pearson's Magazine.



tion. New York, Indiana and Wisconsin also enacted prohibitory laws, which, howdeclared unconstitutional by the highest courts in those states.

Now, again, after a lapse of fifty years, the country is witnessing another "temsections it is increasing in volume and sobriety, prosperity and good citizenship. strength. There are, at present, eight states in which statutory prohibition obtains-four in the south, three in the west of thirty a day-nearly 11,000 a year.

Promises Beyond Performance.

the land. They were confident that the problem of intemperance, which had perof years, was as good as solved. The great dragon was about to be slain and his dead tial year. Prohibition is generally least carcass hurled into the bottomiess pit. But it is year. Prohibition is gene popular where it is best known.

The if prohibition really prohibited to be all a dream. dragon was not slain; he was not even ought to be reflected in the figures

by It. died out. liquor problem, but it complicated the prob- 1.46 gallons respectively. In 1839, when only stead of one, the old disease of intemperance and the new "remedy" of prohibition. had risen to the high-water mark, 22.6 and and has been regarded as the inherent right railled round the standard of Neal Dow as compared with 1907, while the consumpare making precisely the same promises tion of mait liquors was about the same They assure us that the present movement with the remarkable fact that, in 1908, did to the Egyptians in the Red sea.

Prohibitionists have simplified the liquor problem at the expense of truth, reason and common experience. Instead of suiting the remedy to the disease, they have tried to make the disease conform to their pre-

The liquor problem is one of the most complex of all social problems. It does spoken man, declared, in his inaugural adnot stand out alone, simple, distinct and dress, that the state ought to be ashamed isolated, as prohibitionists would have us of itself to have a prohibitory law on its believe. It is at once a moral, an economic. books and to make that law a laughing abuse. It arbitrarily makes a legal crime representing half or more of the male in-It contains many elements and involves ought to be either enforced or repealed. many perplexing difficulties. When we look below the surface and study this problem in its deeper aspects, we find that its roots are inextricably intertwined with those of other social problems. So that genuine and from which the liquor traffic is supposed thorough temperance reform must be con-

evil of intemperance is not caused, though it may be aggravated, by bad legislation, and it cannot be removed, though it may be lessened, by good legislation. The main lines of temperance reform, the most poside the scope of legislation. Legislation harm. Speaking generally, the work that legislation can do in the moral sphere is of a negative character-preventing and agencies. In undertaking temperance retemperance reform is very largely a matter

of moral and social revolution.

regulation of the traffic. These two policies demon. Conditions kept going from bad

years in Vermont. By its record, by what written the words failure, folly, farce. No- league, utters this wail:

copal church. He thinks it a ciergyman's it prevented the consumption of liquor nor Richards, it means, in the first place, that the desire to drink that it has ignored limitations the desire to drink that it has ignored limitations as much as a source of imposed by actual conditions. Legislation which he believes to be a source of immorally and crime. Some folks say that as a state-wide system nor under local

Atlanta, it does not desired as a state-wide system nor under local

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Atlanta, and in the second place, and your probabilities law about a respectable place. The second place are a second place and your probabilities law about a respectable place. The second place are a second place and your probabilities law about a respectable place. The second place are a second place and your probabilities law about a respectable place. The second place are a second place and your probabilities law about a respectable place. The second place are a second place and your probabilities law about a respectable place. "look right" to be against pro- option has prohibition ever made the slighthibition. Mr Wasson believes that no con-sideration of mere expediency should deter a clergyman from doing his duty. The object of a prohibitory liquor law is to that it has rendered to society is that of tain all over the state.

Lessen liquor drinking. Its effect seems furnishing a warning example of the supreme folly of attempting to legislate virtue into men's lives.

dence of the failure of prohibi- in a number of the towns of the east end tion than the fact that which will make for temperance. This ar-ticle will enable any man to decide whether of the eight states that adopted the sys-ticle will enable any man to decide whether ar not a prohibitory liquor law will be for tem fifty years ago, have since abandoned testify to the fact that in every one of his own neighborhood.-Editor it and gone back to the policy of license these "dry" towns, prohibition has been and regulation. The people of these states a disgusting farce every time it has adopted prohibition in good faith. They been tried. In the writer's own IRING the decade immediately honestly and earnestly desired to wipe town the record of prohibition may be preceding the civil war, a great out intemperance. They realized that in- summed up in the admission of the local 'temperance wave' swept over temperance was directly or indirectly the anti-saloon leader, that "anybody can get the country. Within a period cause of much grime, poverty and disease; all the liquor he wants in this town under of five years, eight states, viz., that it was a financial burden on the state; either license or no-license." That no-lithe six New England states, and that it was a hindrance to material cense has failed to accomplish any good on Michigan and Nebraska, adopted prohibi- prosperity and to moral progress. They Long island, may be inferred from the fact thought it was a better policy to abolish that at the elections, last spring, every than to license and regulate a traffic that town on the island was carried for license ever, never went into effect, having been seemed to them to be the root and sourse by a decisive majority. The Anti-Saloon of this evil. Now, to claim that prohibi- league made the fight of its life, but it tion was even measurably successful in was of no use. The people knew all about these states, that it accomplished even a the "blessings" of prohibition, and they little good, is to insult the intelligence of concluded that they had had enough. The the people of New England. No sensible prohibitionists lost every town they then perance wave," which has already risen person can believe that these seven states held, including conservative old East higher than its predecessor. Nor is the would have deliberately repudiated a sys- Hampton, which gave a majority for liend yet in sight. While in some sections tem that they had adopted in high hopes of the country, the "wave" has spent its and with high moral purpose, if they had force and appears to be receding, in other found that that system was making for

Significance of Prohibition.

In view of the fact that it is always and one in New England. Under the local easier to secure the enactment than the are being prohibitionized on the install- pose, the repudiation of prohibition by ment plan. Not long ago it was estimated these states is all the more significant. that saloons were being closed at the rate The only conclusion consistent with reason and common sense is that the people, after years of bitter experience, found The prohibition leaders boast that, while that conditions were not only no better, ten years ago there were only 6,000,000 but far worse under prohibition than they people living in "dry" territory, there are had been under the license system. It is now 23,000,000. If prohibition and temper- also very significant that the states that ance be the same thing, we are certainly were swept off their feet by the prohibimaking prodigious strides toward the mil- tion wave fifty years ago, are among lennium. But sober minded people have those states that are being least affected no faith in the professions and promises of by the present agitation. And even Maine, prohibitionists. Fifty years ago the lead- which is the only one of these states that ers of the crusade thought thoy saw the has retained prohibition all these years. dawn of the perfect day, when there would is actually showing unmistakable signs of not be a dram shop nor a drunkard in all genuine repentance. It is conceded on all plexed and baffled mankind for thousands last state election in Maine, when resubmission was a prominent issue, if it had not been for the fact that it was a presiden-

If prohibition really prohibited, the fact seriously wounded. If he disappeared at of the United States revenue department. all, it was only to betake himself to the But, according to the government reports, cellar to await the passing of the storm. the use of alcoholic liquors act-In the course of a few years, the "temper- ually increases with the spread of ance wave" passed away, and the frenzy prohibition. In 1893, the year the antiand hysteria that caused it, and was caused Saloon league was organized, the per capita consumption of malt and spirituous The crusade not only did not solve the liquors in the whole country was 18.6 and lem with new difficulties. The states that 6,000,000 people were living under prohibitory adopted the prohibitory system soon found laws, the figures were 15.8 and 1.11. In themselves confronted with two evils inof about 10 per cent in spirituous liquors and predictions that were made of old. for both years. Thus we are confronted means business. They prophesy that this when the prohibition wave had reached over every foot of American soil and has saloons at the rate of 11,000 a year, the cannot by a mere law, eradicate a sentidone to the "rum" traffic what Jehovah American people consumed more liquor ment and destroy an institution that has active and persistent. It knows what it

state is a matter of common knowledge. No one who is not a blind partisas will deny this. Four years ago, Governor Cobb. a sincere prohibitionist and an honest, out-Recorder Whelden of Portland recently made this statement: "There are at least 400 men and women who are brought before this court time and again for intoxication." Think of it, 400 habituals in a city to have been banished sixty years ago. During four years, up to January 1, 1907 The liquor problem is not exclusively nor in Portland, liquors were seized on seventychiefly a legislative problem, and hence it five streets and alleys and at 45 differcannot be solved by legislation alone. The ent places; and 932 different persons were brought into court for violation of the

The report of the committee of fifty. based on a most thorough and extensive investigation of conditions in Maine, tells probibition throughout the whole state. Every one that has traveled through Maine knows that there is not a town in the state where even a stranger, if he takes and moral agencies, it not only fails to ac- drunkenness and deaths from sloohollem as it may, the practical question is, what end. complish any good, but causes the greatest in Maine all tell the same tale. They spell blessing does prohibition furnish as a the word failure.

In response to the loud clamorings of the weekly prayer meeting. These institutions, return to the policy of regulation, and the other kind? One kind or the other we suppressing the evil-while work of a posi- Anti-Saloon league, the legislature of excellent as they are in their place, are just so long as the prohibitory law re- are absolutely sure to have. tive character must be done through other Georgia enacted a prohibitory law a hardly adapted to satisfy the social needs mains on the statute books, just so couple of years ago. The act went into of the masses. Students of social science, long will the day of reformation be 3. Prohibition has a bad effect also on to be patient, and to be modest in our the new law seemed to have a good effect. studying the saloon and the saloon conlooked as if prohibition might at last break the sale of liquor. But, again, it was all a dream, and a very short dream, too. The Liquor legislation must necessarily follow drinkers adjusted themselves to the "dry" one of two general policies. It may aim at system, and were soon hobnobbing as the abolition of the liquor traffic, or at the openly and boldly as ever with the old are extreme opposites at every point and to worse, and before the law had been on every feature. The object of one is to the statute books a year, it was clearly kill, that of the other is to cure. It is on evident to everybody that had even half this broad question of general policy that an eye that prohibition in Georgia had stitute. broken down.

Here is the testimony of two of the prohibition leaders themselves Rev. Dr. and monotonous. The proportion of pleasextensively nor fairly tested than that of Holderby of Atlanta, an ardent prohibi- ure and leisure is meager and insufficient. prohibition. During the last sixty years it tionist, said last winter: "The legislature This is as true of rural as of urban life. has been tried on the state-wide scale in is afraid to stand by the very law which but it is too largely true of the masses country and an enemy to religion. many different sections of the country and it enacted twelve months ago. Atlanta has everywhere. And whatever will lighten and under the most diverse social and political become a laughing stock and a stench in brighten and cheer their lives without too conditions, the periods of trial ranging the nostrils of the Almighty." This confrom three years in Nebraska to fifty-three fession must have been very humiliating to the good parson, as he had been telling it has done and by what it has not done, be a fact that the Almighty was on the his people right along that he knew it to prohibition must be judged. On every page side of prohibition. Assistant Superinof that record, from beginning to end, are tendent Richards of the Anti-Saloon "Beer is sold has prohibition accomplished a single one can get whisky, too; for what does it mean there is a demand for it. A prohibition for the cam-

in Atlanta are a sample of those that ob-

Inder Local Option. familiar with the working of prohibition tomers. seven on Long Island, and from his own observacense for the first time in fifty years. Many and various are the reasons why prohibition in this country has proved a fallure. The following considerations will reveal a few of the more general reasons.

Interference with Individual Rights.

Prohibition is an attempt to deprive me of what they believe to be an inherenoption system, a number of other states repeal of laws of a reputed moral pur- right. The question of individual rights is the underlying issue in this whole controversy. Majority rule is, of course, a sound political principle, but it is obvious that the application of this principle must be confined within reasonable limits. If that they had built on false hopes, and a majority has a right to say to a minority: You shall not drink beer, another mapority has the right to say to another minority: You shall not drink tea. Now, if the people in any state or town should take it into their heads to enact a law prohibiting the use of tea, what a fearful howl would go up from the camp of the Women's Christian Temperance union and what an unenviable job the officers would have in attempting to enforce such a law! "What, deprive us of our right to serve tea at our mothers' meetings and parlor sociables! Why, it's an outrage!" "Oh, but, good ladies we, the majority, made up as you know of the better element, have thoroughly investigated this matter, and we have found that tea is very injurious. In fact, it's a poison. Look at the thousands of women that have gone down to tea-topers' graves! Look at the army of innocent little children that have been left motherless," etc., etc. As a matter of fact, many experienced physicians believe that tea and coffee cause quite as much trouble in the world as alcohol. The "temperance' people will retort: "Yes; but there is a wide difference between beer and tea." Of course there is, and that is just why so many people prefer the beer. But there is no difference between the right to drink the one and right to drink the other. Everywhere and always,

> of the individual. Sanctioned by the Church.

outside of Islam, while drunkenness has

The use of alcoholic liquors is and has always been considered not only legitimate as a beverage, but it is consecrated and per capita than they did in any previous stood for ages, and that is so deeply rooted wishes and, what is more to the point, it year since 1893, the year 1907 alone excepted. in our whole social life. Prohibition con- knows how to get what it wishes. It doesn't demns the conscience, the judgment and the exhaust itself before election nor grows in-Now let us turn for a moment to our old the most highly civilized, progressive and the town goes "dry," this anti-prohibition friend, the state of Maine. That prohibi- moral peoples. Moreover, prohibition passes sentiment begins to arouse itself and warm tion has been a failure and a farce in that condemnation on a great branch of industry that has been recognized throughout all ages as legitimate, an industry in

Social Science View.

Again, prohibition has failed because it the cause. You cannot abolish the liquor sonal habits of their neighbors. substitute? Absolutely none, unless it union Mothers' meeting and lowing three propositions: 1. That the saloon fills a legitimate social

on that does fill this need. 3. That it is worse than useless to at tempt to abolish the saloon until some sultable institution be established as a sub-

Doesn't Eradicate Appetite. The lives of the great majority are dull great a sacrifice will not be readily surrendered in the interest of a questionable moral reform. If men cannot get this pleasure openly they will get it surreptithem by force they would resort to substitutes which, in all likelihood, would be far

your prohibition law is a humbug. Other life and power of the saloon. It does not leading prohibitionists speak in the same introduce into the community a single elestrain as the two just quoted. Conditions ment that acts as an antidote for the saloon. The whole root of this institution remains in the community intact, undisturbed and vigorous. Under these circumstances Just a word about prohibition under the it is inevitable that the saloen, in one form ocal option system. The writer is very or another, will continue to serve its cus-

Depends on Public Sentiment. Law enforcement is, in the long run, dependent on public sentiment. Moreover, public sentiment, in order to make itself felt, must be active, alert and persistent. A mere vague wish that the law be enforced is not enough. The wish must be followed find a community in which the government is ring-ridden and corrupt, it does not mean that the public sentiment is in favor of such conditions. It means that public sentiment is impotent because it is either inactive or unorganized. Thus it occurs that small minorities can defy, and are today defying, the will of large majorities. Just how much of this active and determined public sentiment is required to insure strict law enforcement depends largely on the character of the law. A stringent harsh, sumptuary law, like prohibition could not be enforced unless it had on its dde an almost unanimous public sentiment, vigilant and well organized. Such a law has all the odds against it. It has an uphill job from the outset. Public officials are, as a rule, far more inclined to heed and yield to the voice of protest against the enforcement of a law of this kind than they are to make an extraordinary effort enforce the law in obedience to the denand of the other side. Under statewide prohibition there are many communities where the majority sentiment is strongly opposed to enforcement, and even prohibitionists admit that, in such communities the law becomes a mere farce.

Rule of Minority, But even under the local option system. tion of the voters do not mark the excise ligion! there is of it is not of the right quality.

The great majority of those that vote for in to the time of the election; but after merely casting their ballots for prohibition perance reform. they have done their full duty and saved the country. The writer has watched the prohibitionists in his town for seven years and he can testify that not 2 per cent of the men that vote for no license ever lift a finger or contribute one cent to have the

been condemned, the moderate use of aico- law enforced under either system. The prohibition public sentiment is of that holic beverages has been a common custom cheap, shallow, emotional variety that exhausts itself in all manner of hysterical per formances during the campaign. Over hysterical about it. But it is determined, social habits of countless generations of different after election. Indeed, as soon as

Why Prohibition Doesn't Prohibit. A man in a "dry" town wishes a drink, which some of the most venerable and and he knows where he can get it. That honored religious orders of the Christian man is far more interested in getting his church have been and are today engaged. drink than his prohibition neighbor is in nor contrary to the rights and interests of idea of the relative strength of the two and encourage intemperance?

the whole story of the miserable failure of just so long will the supply of liquor be us in the way in which they handle the after the "dry" law went into effect.

Regulation the Remedy.

be the Women's Christian Temperance state and local community in which pro- is: Shall we encourage and protect the dethe hibition now obtains will ultimately have to cent liquor dealer, or shall we encourage It is a drain on the moral energy of the community. It creates contention, confucommunity. These people become inthey will listen to nothing else. If you reasonable reform, they fly off into a rage and denounce you as a traitor to the

Rule or Ruin Their Motto.

wary youth to his destruction.

Printed on the banner, in large letters, were ing and thanking the Suddenly an expression of amazement came room at the far end of some alley. over his face, and, breaking through the crowd, he ran up to the ragged banner to their cause.

Brutal and Vulgar Deception.

which is supposed to insure local majority drunkards, the whole thing was a cheap, the supper bell, he happened to open a confers upon the local community that rule, prohibition, in a great many instances, theatrical performance deliberately in- door, and found, in the next room, a well- supreme power of life or death over the does not actually represent a majority of tended to create a false impression on the appointed bar. The proprietor was in this liquor traffic which ought to be reserved the electorate. And the reason is that at a public mind. And all this fraud and vul- room, and the clergyman, pointing to the in the hands of the state. Under this syslocal option election, a considerable propor- garity in the name of temperance and re- bar, said, "Why. Mr. -

ballot at all. In the writer's own town the Here is another example of the intemover, the public sentiment in favor of pro- reached the conclusion that when Christ complaining about the service. of law enforcement. They think that in the way will be cleared for genuine tem-

Fails of Its Purpose,

Finally, pronibition must be condemned. not only because it has falled to accomplish any good, not only because it blocks the way to real reform, but because it is itself the source of many social and political evils. Those evils are briefly summarized as follows:

1. Prohibitory legislation has never succeeded in abolishing the liquor traffic, but hypocrisy. About four years ago, shortly Now prohibition forces the liquor traffic to We shall be glad to extend to you the purely local nature. the law. The only practical question that liquor traffic to be carried on openly under whether we shall drive it into places where thought it would be a fine joke on the

society. Because two or three men use kinds of public sentiment, and, if you have 2. If there is any one business more than liquor to excess, prohibition would compet any power of imagination, you know why another that, in the interest of the public, a hundred temperate men to follow the prohibition does not prohibit. There is ought to be in the hands of men with conrule of total abstinence. One man is lame said to be a good deal of the mule about science and moral principle, it is the liquor and therefore all his neighbors must use human nature, and a prohibitory law is business. A proper kind of license law can beautifully adapted to bring out the mule do considerable toward improving the perquality. People resent the idea of being sonnel of the trade. Prohibition, on held up by a lot of hysterical women and other hand, discourages decent, honorable is wholly negative and destructive. You meddlesome men who conceive it to be men from engaging in the business, and cannot remove an effect until you remove their right and duty to regulate the per- thus throws it into the hands of the most the whole case against prohibition in its of regulation. The trouble now is that alunscrupulous and irresponsible men in the traffic until you abolish the source of the Prohibition has not only falled to ac- community. The only qualification required traffic. It is not the liquor traffic that complish its avowed object, but it has been is the ability to beat the law without getcreates the demand for liquor; it is the the greatest obstacle to true temperance ting caught. A couple of years ago, in a demand for liquor that creates the traffic, reform in this country during the last certain town on Long Island, one of the And just so long as the demand centinues, fifty years. Other nations are far ahead of best hotels had to close its doors shortly forthcoming in one way or another. The drink question, and one reason is that they proprietor of this hotel was one of the most attempt to abolish the liquor traffic by have not been so much disturbed by "tem- honored men in the community. Prohibiprohibitory law is as futile as would be perance waves." Prohibition attempts to do tion did succeed in closing this man's bar the attempt to dry up a river by building that which is impossible and prevents the and driving him out of the hotel business has, of course, its part to play-and a not the trouble to make inquiry, cannot get all a dam. Prohibitionists seem to imagine that doing of that which is possible. If the as well, and it closed other decent places. unimportant part-in-any comprehensive the liquor he wishes, such as it is. And in they are dealing only with the comparprogram of temperance reform; but when many places the stranger is waited on by atively few liquor dealers; whereas they is ever going to be solved, the solution must years between fifty and sixty "kitchen salegislation encroaches on the domain of some considerate person who asks him are dealing with the vast multitude of men be found along the line of regulation, and loons" were established in this same fown. the church and the home, when it ventures whether he would not like "something." that are determined to use liquor. They tell the sconer we set our feet on the right It is a well known fact that most of the to act as a substitute for purely social The statistics relating to arrests for us that the saloon is a curse. Well, be that path the sooner we shall reach the desired men that run these "speak easies" in a "dry" town are thoroughly satisfied with prohibition. A license law would put them Nothing is more certain than that every out of business. Again, the only question

Bad Effect on Drinker.

form work along any line, we must learn effect January 1, 1908. For a short time, men who have spent years in observing and deferred. Probiblion is like the quack the drinker. It tends to discourage doctor who cannot cure the patient the use of the lighter alcoholic bevexpectations. We must hear in mind that Judging from surface indications, it stituency, whatever views they may hold himself and will not allow anybody else to erages and to encourage the excesas to the character of this institution as it take the case. The present hysterical cru- sive use of the stronger liquors. This its long record of failure and actually stop now exists, agree unanimously on the followiness. But In places where the license law obtains, the attempt is made to enforce the law the number of such dealers is comparasion and bitter strife. It attracts and leads introduced by prohibition. The men who Liquor laws should be so framed that it be unduly influenced to grant a license to astray many well-intentioned, but unthinking people, whose interest in moral reform own "whisky," and you can imagine the and whose zeal and enthusiasm would, if nature of the "blend." A few years ago, wisely directed, be of great value to the when the town in which the writer lives lived in adjoining "wet" town got in the out those that have gotten in. of prohibition to regenerate society, and habit of visiting this "dry" town about once a fortnight. He was always sober lengthy discussion of the question of a suggest to them some proposition of when he arrived and drunk when he left. Icgislative remedy for the evils connected He was once asked why he came from a with the liquor traffic. But it will not be and his answer was: "Because I can get in the judgment of the writer, would be quicker and cheaper jag on in Riverhead Prohibitionists not only refuse to support, than I can in -... This is the way but actively and bitterly fight against, prohibition reforms the drunkard. It is every plan of excise reform that does not often claimed that while prohibtion does go to their extreme. It must be abolition not altogether prohibit, it does succeed in should be guided by two fundamental prinnothing; their motto is rule or ruln, reducing the consumption of liquor. This tiously, and even if it could be taken from In their blind zeal they actually rejoice in claim is not based on fact. But even if it iniquity. The disreputable saloon is far be true that less liquor is drunk in a given more to their liking than the decent community under prohibition than under where and at no time, in all its history, here right and left, and I know it. You more injurious. The saloon exists because saloon, for the more disreputable the license system, the all-important ques-

Mr. Wassen is a ctergyman of the Epis- abolished the liquor traffic; nowhere has whisky are shipped here?" Well, Brother does not eradicate the social instinct and and orderly, the bottom would soon drop affected? Who are the men that either results. The trouble with much of our logarouse his fiercest anger. He would rather land of dreams, knows perfectly well that yearnings. The law should represent the hear that a murder has been committed in the very men in every community who nearest approach to the ideal that present one of the "hell holes." In his estimation most need reforming are the ones that are conditions will admit of. Another equally kind, as it deceives and beguiles the un- law. The are the first ones to learn the important consideration, following on this The real character of the prohibition place. But, if prohibition cannot reform for all communities. Hence, liquor legismovement is thus seen in the way it reacts on the prohibitionists themselves. They tion out of the way of the young? Now, measure of home rule. But there is a right throw truth and reason and experience to the truth is that all this talk about "pro- and wrong kind of home rule. The sothe winds, and often resort to the most teeting our boys" is sheer twaddle. The called local option system that now obcontemptible and disgusting methods to protection is a myth. Prohibition really tains in many of the states, is the wrong gain their end. Some time ago, a traveling creates the most dangerous kind of tempta-kind. It is unsound in principle and desalesman who lives in a town in the mid-die west, was returning home from a trip. Every young man that is at all liable to be On arriving at his station, he noticed that the streets were filled with people. Mak- far more liable to go astray under a sys- is part of the policy and program of proup by well organized effort. When you ing his way through the crowd, he dis- tem that encourages secret drinking. Who hibition. It is an instrument placed in the covered that a no-license parade was in wouldn't rather have his son go into an hands of prohibitionists to enable them to progress. It was a long procession, made open saloon and get a glass of beer than gain their end little by little. Now, all the up of women and children. They carried to have him join his companions in some features and provisions of a state liquor banners and flags, and sang "temperance" back-room resort? If there is any class law should be mutually consistent and songs. Every child wore a badge on of young men in the community that need harmonious. All parts of the law should which were the words, "Vote for us; the protection of the law, they are cer-we cannot." At the end of the tainly not the ones that frequent the procession were several files of child- Woman's Christian Temperance union with the same general policy. But, under on dressed in rags and tatters. One prayer meeting when the town is "dry," the present local option system, the state of these, a boy, carried a huge banner. While the good women are pray- is following two opposits policies at the these words. "My father is a drunkard." the great blessing of prohibition, the local community too much power and Our friend the salesman looked at the ban- these young fellows are probably too little power. The people have no power

Fosters Law Breaking.

this sentence, there was a look of genuine regulation. pride in the ex-sheriff's face. He seemed to be blissfully unconscious that there was anything wrong about violating the law. this conversation with the hotel man.

Hypocrisy the Guild. Here is another story which shows the local option system. effect of prohibition as a breeder of rank hypocrisy. About four years ago, shortly (the township is probably the best unit)

liquor increases. Summed Up by Eliot.

tion) during forty years past have had some unlooked-for effects on public respect for courts, judicial procedure, oaths and law, legislatures and public servants. The public have seen law defied, a whole genfective through fluctuations of policy, delays, perjuries, negligences and other misdouble faced and mercenary, legislators timid and insincere." Such is the character and the record of prohibition.

wish to minimize the evils and abuses that have been allowed to grow up and intrench themselves in the liquor traffic. There is no doubt that some liquor dealers have decency and good order. They have en- no appeal from their decision. couraged other vices, such as gambling and the social evil. They have catered and pandered to the worst passions and impulses in human nature. And they have done all this in a cold-blooded desire to rigorously. Deterioration in the quality of tively small. At the same time, one such liquor is another one of the "blessings" man in the business is one too many. sible, for men of this stamp to get into the liquor business, and the law should also business. There would certainly be far less "dry," a confirmed insbriate who provide a simple and easy way to drive likelihood of abuse of power under such

The limits of this article preclude a step in the right direction.

Guide for Action

In formulating liquor legislation we ciples. The first is practicability. The question to be determined at the outset is, what kind of excise law, under given conof its avowed objects. Nowhere has it when twenty-seven carinads of beer and certainly does not remove this demand. It paign. If all saloons were made decent reform is, what class of people are thus standards as they are, will effect the best agitator-

location of every "speak easy" in the is that the same legislation is not adapted for same time. This kind of local option gives ner and then happened to glance at the boy. "protecting" themselves in the "club" to say who shall receive licenses and what moral and other qualifications shall be required. They have no power to determine 4. Prohibition creates widespread and the question of prohibited days and hours; bearer and grasping him by the arm ex- habitual law-breaking. Consider the num- no power to determine the amount of the claimed: "My God, what are you doing ber of crimes that are committed every license fee, nor to set a limit on the numhere, my boy?" It was this gentleman's hour of the day in a "dry" state. And con-own son that had been dressed up in these sider the bad moral effect of this habit rags by the good "temperance" women and of law-breaking on the civic life. It no option on any of these matters of sent out to carry this banner of shame and creates the spirit of lawlessness. It tends practical administration that properly humiliation through the streets. This ex- to weaken and break down that respect come within the scope of local self-govbibition is a sample of the methods em- for the principle of law and order which ernment. The community has option on ployed by prohibitionists to gain converts is so essential to good citizenship. The only one question-whether the liquor following story shows how even good men traffic shall be legalized or prohibited. are unconsciously affected by this bane. This local option scheme reverses the true ful influence: Some years ago a clergy- order of political administration. It with-If these children really had drunken man went to a certain summer resort in holds from the local community those fathers, it was unspeakably brutal and New Hampshire to spend his vacation. On minor but important powers that the peocruel to make such a spectacle of them be- arriving in the town, he went to the load- ple in the local community are in the fore the public. If their fathers were not ing hotel. While waiting in the office for best position to exercise wisely, while it -, how is this?" tem the liquor dealers and the public are "How's what?" answered the proprietor. In a constant state of uncertainty as to the "Why, you have a bar here, and you are fundamental question of regulation or vote on the license question during the last perate "temperance" of prohibitionists: A evidently open for business." The hotel abolition. At every local option election fifteen years has always fallen from 12 to professor in one of our universities ac- man looked puzzled and said: "Of course, there is the possibility of a complete revo-20 per cent short of the total vote cast on cepted an invitation to speak at a "tem- I have a bar. Couldn't you get what you lution of policy. Today the liquor business questions and for candidates for peranco" rally in a church. In the course wanted?" "Oh, I didn't wish anything," is just as legitimate as any other business; offices. During the period in question the of his remarks he referred to the miracle answer the minister, "but I wondered how tomorrow it may be under the ban of the town has been carried for no license a num- at Cana, and expressed himself thus: "I you could run an open bar in a prohibi- law. The question is never settled. Neither ber of times, and in every instance by a have given this matter profound thought, tion town." The genial host felt relieved side ever wins a permanent victory. The minority of the total vote polled. More- and I wish to say to you that I have when he found that his guest was not state alone should settle this all-important "Well, question of the legality of the liquor trafhibition is not only not strong enough in turned that water into wine he did what well," he said, "I didn't understand what fic. A question like this, involving the quantity to enforce the law, but even what was wrong." Blind passion, wild fanati- you meant. Why, that's easy. I'll tell fundamental rights of property and of cism and bitter intolerance are the chief you how we work it up here. You see, I personal liberty, should not be left to the characteristics of the whole prohibition was high sheriff of this county last term, decision of a majority vote at a local elecprohibition are full of zeal and enthusiasm movement. It must be apparent to every and, while I dislike to blow my own horn, tion. On the other hand, the state, after sane and reasonable mind that the sooner I want to tell you that I did what very few establishing the legality of the liquor election their enthusiasm dies out and they this miscalled "temperance" crusade is men in this county would have should grant to the local community the and had myself fined." As he finished fullest freedom and power in the matter of

Outline of Regulation.

Starting with this general principle of This story was told to the writer by the state rule in matters of general policy Rev. Dr. E. A. Wasson of Newark, N. J., and home rule in matters of local adminwho was himself the clergyman that had istration, the following is a rough outline of the plan of regulation that the writer has in mind as a substitute for the present

against the inheritant weakness of this Izing the traffic by driving it into secret "dry," a hotel keeper in this town re- Excise commissioners, twelve in number ment opposed to the enactment and to the enforcement of the prohibitory law. This states prohibit the use of shades in saloon concern in Kentucky, reading somemeans business. They prophesy that this when the prohibition wave had reached hallowed in the most solemn and weighty wave will not subside until it has swept enormous proportions and was wiping out rite of the Christian church. Now you the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other that the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other that the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other. There is nothing frenzied nor the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the other than the liquid hallowed in the most solemn and weighty sentiment is of a very different kind from the common experience that the liquor business is town who, you think, might be likely to state); to determine how many licenses of such a nature that it is far more likely purchase wet goods. We have a very fine should be issued (within maximum and to do harm when it is carried on under brand of whisky (naming the brand) that determine the question of prohibited days cover than when it is open and aboveboard. we should like to introduce in your town, and hours, and all other questions of a secrete itself, not merely behind a screen, usual courtesy of 10 per cent commission have sole power to grant and revoke but behind a barricaded door. The door is on all sales that we may make through the licenses, subject to certain rules of proquickly opened for those that know the list you send us." Well, the hotel man cedure. The applicant should be required password, but shut against the officers of thought he would have a little fun, and to present to the board a certificate of good confronts us is whether we shall permit the so he made a list of about thirty-five of moral character, signed by twelve reputable the most rabid prohibitionists in the place, persons, who should be property owners the supervision and control of the law, or and sent the list to the whisky firm. He and residents of the community a public hearing on all applications for Prohibition necessarily fails because it preventing him from getting it. And when the arm of the law cannot reach it. Li- prohibitionists to have them deluged with license, and an opportunity be given to makes no discrimination between use and you multiply this one drinker by a number cense means the open barroom, prohibition whisky circulars. And it turned out to be remonstrants, should there be any, to premeans the "speak easy." Which of the a better joke than he thought. For, at sent their objections. After this hearing, a physiological, a psychological and, in its stock of the nation. And he insisted that, of an act which is neither wrong in itself habitants of the community, you have an and appropriate the board should have full discretionary as a matter of common honesty, the law ter from the whisky people thanking him power by a majority vote to grant or refor what he had done, and inclosing a fuse any application. And there should be check for \$27 commission. This story no appeal from their decision. This power throws light on the curious circumstance to grant licenses is the most important of already referred to, that, as the prohibi- all. It is the key to the whole situation. tion movement spreads, the consumption of And this key should be placed in the hands of the people most nearly affected. If we can prevent unfit persons from getting into the liquor business, we have, at the very Ex-President Ellot of Harvard sums up outset, solved nine-tenths of the problem effects on the social and political life. He most anybody that has the price, whether says: "The efforts to enforce it (prohibi. he is morally fit or not, can get a license and start up a saloon. The law may re quire that the licensee be a person of good moral character, but that requirement amounts to simply nothing at all unless some person or persons be empowered to eration of habitual law breakers, schooled moral fitness. And who is better qualified in evasion and shamelessness, courts inef- to exercise this power than twelve men elected by and responsible to the people of the community? The board should also possess the sole power to revoke licenses On the complaint of any citizen that s certain liquor dealer was violating the law or that he was maintaining a nuisance of any kind, it would be the duty of the board The writer of the present article does not to hold a public trial of the matter, summon and swear witnesses, and give the accused person an opportunity to defend himself. After hearing all the evidence, the board should have power by a twocondoned and encouraged conditions re- thirds vote to dismiss the case or suspend pugnant to moral sense and destructive of or revoke the license. And there should be

Of course it will be objected that this plan places too much power in the hands of the excise board. Well, if you give men in this position so little power that they could not possibly do any harm, you make it impossible for them to do any good. There is not the remotest likelihood that a man of known unfitness or to drive a decent, law-abiding liquor dealer out of a system than there is now under the local-option system. For, under the latter at one stroke, revoke every license in the town without trial or hearing or reason "wet" town to a "dry" town to get liquor, amiss to suggest a plan of regulation which, safer than the dive keeper. The proposed plan is home rule of the right kind. It gives the people all the power they need to regulate, but no power to destroy and conflacate. Under this system, the liquor business would be placed on a permanent footthat his license was secure as long as he obeyed the law and conducted his business decently. The only persons that, would be put out of business would be the