APPEAL

TO THE

FRIENDS OF TEMPERANCE

In Washington,

FOR UNION AND CONCERT OF ACTION.

JUNIOR ORDER OF REACHABITES,

GEORGE WASHINGTON TENT,

(ISLAND,)

Having learned that an eminent friend of Temperance had appealed to a member of our Order to unite in an effort to revive the cause of Temperance in the city—which had called forth a letter in reply, giving his view of the said cause, present and past—appointed the undersigned a committee to ask permission to publish the same. This permission was readily granted, and we hereto annex it. It will be found to contain matters of deep interest to this community—matters which ought to be known to all—and especially pondered upon by the friends of Temperance, of good order, and of religion. Let no one be deterred by its length from reading it through.

We are also directed to publish the following resolutions, which have been adopted, to carry out, as far as we can, the views suggested in said letter.

1. *Resolved*, That a memorial to the Mayor be circulated for signatures, praying him to grant no license for the retail of intoxicating liquors, without requiring the applicant of said license to post up, in two conspicuous places, the certificates of the six freeholders, and the recommendation of the majority of the white housekeepers on the square, with all names of the freeholders and housekeepers therein, countersigned by the Commissioner of Improvements, for at least two weeks, to afford the inhabitants of the locality time to investigate the same, and know who it is that recommends said tavern or shop.

2d. *Resolved*, That we will cordially unite in holding public meetings, and in all suitable ways use our best exertions to persuade our fellow-citizens to abandon the use of all intoxicating liquor as a beverage.

H. B. NOBLE,
J. R. THOMPSON,
F. M. BRADLEY,
Committee.

Washington, October 7, 1857.

TO GEORGE SAVAGE, Esq.

SIR: Since the general conversation I had with you a few days ago in regard to the present state of the Temperance question in this city—and the causes which have operated to produce the change in public opinion on that subject within the last five or six years, I have been led to reflect seriously and anxiously on the subject. And the more I have thought, the less I am satisfied with myself in the retrospection. At every step, I see more and more plainly, that humble as I am, I have not done my own duty, and that I must to the extent of all that I could and might have done, and have failed to do to prevent it, take my full share of the blame and the shame, of the change which has, at least, *apparently* come over the people of the city.

But the first question which arises and presses upon the mind, is: Has the change, which appears so manifest, in point of fact, really taken place? Is not the *real opinion and deliberate judgment* of the people of Washington, at this moment, as strongly and decidedly, *against the habit and practice of drinking intoxicating liquors* as it was five years ago? And if so, why the *apparent* difference which has struck you, as it has others, with so much concern?

I do not know that any effort of mine can aid in answering these questions, but it is time that something was done by somebody, to rouse the city from the *criminal* apathy and indifference, which now prevails, and to stay the tide of intemperance which now sweeps over it. There are amongst us hearts and minds able to do it, if they can be *united* and stimulated to action. But *how* can this be done, and *who* will undertake it? To ease, somewhat, my own mind, I have concluded to state to you, briefly, my own experience in connexion with the cause, my recollection of things as they were, and as they exist *now*, hoping thereby to *provoke* other and abler men to renew their labors of love.

My first connection with the Temperance cause was in Kentucky, about the year 1822. I joined an old fashioned association, whose pledge was one of simple abstinence from distilled liquors—as a beverage—reserving the privilege of using wine, cider, porter, &c. Like all societies of the kind, this, after lingering on a sickly existence died out; I joined other half and half Societies, but none of them seemed to do good. When the Washingtonian movement commenced in Baltimore my attention was more closely and seriously drawn to the subject, and when that cause was espoused in this city, and the general subject discussed with an eloquence and power which I had never before heard by Thos. F. Marshal, Geo. N. Briggs and others, I considered it my duty to join with the *Old Freeman's Vigilant*, and there I first became acquainted with you, as a Temperance man. As a citizen, and especially as a father, I felt it a solemn duty to take an open, *public* stand on this question, and as far as I could, give my influence and example in favor of Temperance.

Soon after this, I found myself associated in my public employments with two noble generous-hearted men—who after a long habit of moderate drinking—had become decidedly intemperate. This was seen in the street, in the tavern and places of drinking, to which they were accustomed to resort, and was talked of there. To avoid observation, these places were deserted, or visited less frequently, and they took to the more obscure and less reputable grog shops. There, they imagined they could more safely and freely indulge their appetite for strong drink, and escape the notice of those whose good opinion it was their interest to maintain. Vain Hope! They hid their drinking from the public eye, but the witness against them appeared in their blotched faces, in their tremulous nerves, and more especially in the wretchedness of their own families; and soon, the heads of the bureau to which they were attached began to talk about it. I saw that ruin was *before them*, and they saw it. This roused me to a realizing sense of the enormity of the vice, of the strength of the habit which had power thus to force intelligent, respectable men to degradation and shame. Moved by this spectacle, I counselled and warned them as plainly and faithfully as I could. With tears of bitterness they confessed the whole and told me I had not heard the half. Oh! how they wept over the agonies of their wives, told me of their entreaties and prayers to them, of the resolutions they had from time to time made; they felt that they could lay down their lives, coin their heart's blood to give peace, comfort and happiness to the dear ones whom God had given them; but that *burning thirst* that raged within them! they could not stand it, but were compelled to run to the grog shop, and appease it! there was neither life or rest without it. Gladly, most eagerly would they fly from it; but there was no refuge, and down—down—to a dishonored grave they must go! they saw it distinctly before them. In this situation, whilst they were yet reeking with the fumes of alcohol, on the verge of delirium tremens, I took them by the hand, and told them if they had courage to follow me I would take them to a place of refuge. Their eyes sparkled, and they said lead on and we will follow. I took them to an eating house and ordered a plain dinner of which they partook sparingly. I repeated to them, *you must follow me blindly*. They assented and talked but little, though they looked dreadfully. I called a hack and we drove to Bladensburg, we got out at the *Spa Spring*, and drank freely of the water. As night approached we returned to the city and stopped at *Temperance Hall*, and without faltering they followed me into the Northern Liberties' Division of the Sons of Temperance, where they and myself were made "Sons of Temperance." I took them home and left them, with the request that they would see me the next morning. They did so, with bright faces, declaring that the *burning thirst was gone*, and they had left behind them cheerful, happy families.

Thus was I myself made a *Son of Temperance*, and thus I became connected with the regularly organized societies for promoting the cause of Temperance, for I had arranged the preliminaries of our initiation before hand, trusting in their confidence in me to go through with it.

There were at that time five Divisions of the Sons in this district. It was afterwards increased to seven; there were also several Tents of Rechabites, with sections of "Cadets" attached to them, having for their object the *training* of the young. Together they numbered a membership of about one thousand men, who met together weekly to take counsel, how they could most effectually draw their neighbors and associates from the fires of intemperance, and elevate them to the dignity and respectability of *men*—industrious, sober, *christian men*. They did more; they consulted how they could succor the sick and comfort the bereaved and the suffering. I have often reflected with pleasure upon these associations. It is true their workings were often faulty and imperfect, but at heart they were sound and healthful; the men were a true type of society, made up of every grade of intellect, business and habits of life; religious sects and political opinions; a Band of Brothers associated on a common platform, for the sole purpose of saving themselves and their fellow men from the sin and curse of intemperance. The fundamental article of their association was the total and absolute exclusion of everything relating to party politics, and religious denominations; every one being left free to love and serve his God and his country, according to the dictates of his conscience, with no man to call him intiquestion. This was our Bond of Union and Brotherhood. The question was not, to what political party does he belong, or what are his religious opinions, but *does he drink intoxicating liquors*, can we save him from that sin? If we can, we shall make him a better, a happier, and a more useful man.

Adhering to this fundamental article of our faith, and animated by confidence in the truth and holiness of our mission, we went forward in our work. Men of talent and eloquence sought our midst. We held our meetings, private and public, in the Division Rooms and in the Tents. In our public squares, and in our churches, on the streets and public highways; we held up boldly and affectionately, before our fellow citizens the blessings of Temperance, and the inducements for them to unite with us; and as faithfully we warned them against the vice of intemperance, its sufferings, wretchedness and degradation. We held our public festivals, and our lengthened processions. Oh, how did my heart bound at the sight of a thousand hardy, study men, all clad in the regalia of Temperance, with emblems floating and banners flying in full march through our streets. Truly it was an "army with banners," which to be *seen* was to be *felt*. Such was the state of things in 1852, the period to which you called my attention. The public saw it, and the proud and the lofty curled the lip and scorned; the city saw that there was honesty, virtue and intellect there, as well as true piety, and they could not look upon it unmoved. The history of the time affords abundant proof of that. Our *public men* felt and were moved by it; and rum palaces, as well as grog shops trembled and tottered, whilst their occupants gnashed their teeth and vented their curses.

The Mayor of the city, Walter Lenox, Esq., felt it his duty to call the attention of the City Councils to the subject in his general message of August 26th, 1852, in the following terms:

"I earnestly invite your attention to the necessity of a revision of the laws in relation to the retail of liquors. I am fully satisfied, not only from the returns of the Police and Asylum, but from my official observation otherwise, that INTEMPERANCE is the cause, *almost exclusively*, of all the disturbances and pauperism which afflict our community. Our laws should seek to restrain, and not foster an evil of such frightful magnitude. The charter does not regard the retail of liquors as a business from which a strict revenue is to be drawn, *but as an evil to be restrained or prohibited* by the exaction of licenses, or such other means as are authorized by it. With this *important principle in view*, many most necessary changes can be made, and wholesome restraints added. Difficult as it is, and I may say, almost impossible, to establish by legal proofs violations of the existing laws, the only true remedy in my opinion, (so far as our powers and legislation can effect it) is, *to reduce the number and classes of licenses*, with additional restrictions upon those which may be granted. In addition to the forfeiture of the license upon a second conviction in conformity with existing laws, extend to the Mayor a discretionary power to suspend the licenses for a limited time, in cases of a flagrant violation of the law upon the first conviction; and for the sale of liquor without licenses, inflict the severest penalty which the charter will allow. In advance of any general action upon this subject, I invite your immediate attention to the defects of the 2d Section of the Act of October 26, 1819, and the 8th Section of the Act of November 5, 1832, in relation to minors and persons of color."

This was the first official act of decided encouragement given to the cause of Temperance by any of the authorities of the city. There were members of the Council known to sympathize with us, and some of them went so far as to join us in the public discussions of the subject before the people; but, as a body, they had taken no action on the subject. And it was well known, that great laxity prevailed in the granting of licenses to taverns and grog shops. It was generally understood that forms for these licenses were signed by the Mayor, in blank, and left with the Register, to be filled up by him and delivered to persons who should apply for them, with papers filled up in accordance with the forms required by law. There was still greater laxity in the enforcement of the law for the suppression and restraint of intemperance by the police. The complaints against them were many and loud.

In view of the facts, the message of the Mayor was hailed as the harbinger of better times, the dawning of a new era in the history of Washington—and the Temperance Army rallied under it. A new energy was infused throughout the ranks in this city, and in Georgetown. In the Division-rooms of the "Sons," and the "Tents" of the Rachabites—in public meetings on the streets and public squares, and in churches by night and by day, the great doctrines of Temperance were urged upon our fellow citizens, as also warnings against the vices, crimes and sufferings consequent upon intemperance. I need not remind you of the part you took in these discussions. You were absent from none of these meetings at which it was possible for you to be present, and no man said or did more in the cause than you, and few with more effect. If we had among the public speakers more eloquent tongues, there was none whose zeal and fervency exceeded yours—none to whom the public judgment awarded more praise. And I may add, that there was no one upon whom the curses of the *rum seller* were so fiercely hurled.

My own part in these proceedings was less prominent, as I have no pretensions as a public speaker—indeed, up to this time my observation in regard to the vice of intemperance had been restricted, very much, to its effects on official friends and associates, and that class of society in apparently easy circumstances. It is true I had seen many fall from these circles to the gutters, and sink into degradation in their slough and filth—but now, my position in the Temperance associations made it my duty to visit the abodes of the laboring poor—those who had no regular income to look to, or house or farm to shelter them, but hardworking men, who earned their daily bread by their daily labor. And in these abodes, from the wretched mother and the starving children, I learned to know and to feel the horrors of this accursed traffic—and never can I forget to pray to God, in his mercy, to put an end to it, or cease to use the best efforts of which I am capable to persuade my fellow men to abandon, and banish it forever.

In addition to these measures, the Temperance men attacked the rum traffic in the public prints, and opened a direct correspondence with the Mayor and Councils of the city.

The effect of these discussions and operations were soon visible—the public mind was wakened up, it became the subject of general conversation in all circles and quarters of the city. The rum traffic became mad and sullen. They did not venture upon any public defence of their business. They saw that such a step would be fatal, and wisely and prudently kept silent. They sheltered themselves under the plea that their business was "lawful" and therefore right—and especially, they harped, in a private way, upon the words "Liberty" and freedom! The right of every man in our free country to act, drink and wear what they pleased, &c., &c.

It was Madame Roland, I think, who, during the horrors of the French Revolution, on her way to the place of execution, whilst the populace, in the wildness of their phrensy, were shouting the words "LIBERTY AND FREEDOM!!" exclaimed: "O freedom! what crimes are committed in thy name!!" and thus it is and will continue to be.

In this state of public opinion, the Mayor and Councils became seriously concerned to know what to do—the public judgment demanded that something should be done. The Temperance friends demanded "prohibition." This the Councils were afraid to grant, but set themselves to work on a more stringent and efficient "license" system. They labored long and hard, and finally in the spring of 1853 determined to repeal all existing laws authorizing the granting of licenses to taverns and ordinaries, and all shops for the sale of spirituous liquors, and pass laws establishing a more stringent system.

Preparatory to the passage of this new and improved system, and as a sort of introduction of them to the people of the city, the Councils passed on the 14th of May, 1853, the following resolution, authorizing the citizens to vote, at the general election which was to come off on the 6th June, 1853, on the question of "licenses" or "no licenses"—to wit:

Resolved &c., That the Register of the city be, and he is hereby directed to have prepared, a sufficient number of tickets, printed with the word "licenses" upon one set, and the word "no licenses" upon another set, and have them deposited at the several ward polls on the first Monday of June next, when it shall be the duty of the Commissioners of Election to have a box for the purpose of receiving said tickets; which tickets shall be counted after the closing of the polls, and a correct return of them made to the Register, showing the number cast for "licenses," and the number against "licenses;" the persons entitled so to vote shall be the legal voters of the city, and no others.

Resolved, That, in case a majority of the votes cast at the next ensuing election shall be against license, then it shall be the duty of the committee, who have charge of the interests of the city before Congress, to urge upon that body an amendment to the city charter which will give these Councils the power to pass such laws as will prohibit the sale of all intoxicating liquors within the city limits.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in two or more newspapers of the city until the 1st of June next.

APPROVED, May 14, 1853.

The resolutions were accordingly published in all the newspapers of the city. And immediately a general discussion of the question commenced. The friends of Temperance determined that it should not go by default—they met it boldly everywhere, and pressed it with all the vigor in their power. Having discussed it in this way in detail for about ten days, it was determined that a public meeting should be called, with a view to a more public and general consideration of so important a matter in every part of the city. A notice was accordingly inserted in all the papers, calling a general meeting at Temperance Hall on Monday, May 30, 1853.

In pursuance of this call a large and enthusiastic meeting assembled—and after discussion, passed *unanimously*, the following resolution—viz:

1st. *Resolved*, That we rejoice in the opportunity which will be given to the voters of this city on Monday next, under the sanction of the corporation authorities, to express their opinions and wishes on a subject involving the best interests of this community.

2d. *Resolved*, That while we cherish the kindest feelings personally, to those engaged in the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and whilst we are not disposed to indulge in the language of reproach towards them, we are thoroughly convinced, that, as members of a common community with them, and interested in everything which affects the welfare of individuals, of families, and the public at large, we have a right to be heard upon this subject, and to express our unqualified disapprobation of a practice which entails upon a community, to a greater extent than anything else, pauperism, crime, and wretchedness, and their corresponding burdens.

3d. *Resolved*, That we will attend the polls on Monday next, and will not only cast our individual votes in favor of "no license," but will use all our influence with our fellow citizens to induce them to vote in the same manner.

4th. *Resolved*, that mass meetings be held as follows, viz:

1st. On this Monday evening, at the south front of the Patent Office.

2d. On Tuesday evening, at the West Market House.

3d. On Wednesday evening, at Centre Market.

4th. On Thursday evening, at Engine House, Navy Yard, and at West Market House.

5th. On Friday evening, at Island Hall.

6th. On Saturday evening, at East Capitol street.

5th. *Resolved*, That the reverend clergy of the city be, and they are, *hereby*, requested to bring the subject to the notice of the several congregations on Sabbath next, if not inconsistent with their other engagements.

6th. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare, and cause to be published, an address to the voters of the city, upon the question of "license" or "no license."

In pursuance of these resolutions the following committees were appointed, viz:

Committee to prepare and publish an address to the voters: Rev. Dr. Peck, Rev. Dr. Junkin, Rev. D. E. Reese, A. F. Cunningham, A. Rothwell, and D. Radcliffe, Esq.

General Committee: Peter Force, N. Callan, Rev. U. Ward, Rev. C. A. Davis, S. D. Finnell, W. H. Fitzhugh, Robert Rickets, M. H. Miller, George Savage, Edward Myers, A. Rothwell, Charles H. Lane, A. F. Cunningham, J. F. Ingle, J. A. Tait, W. Magill, Dr. McKeon, Dr. Cole, Charles H. Gordon, Rev. J. Henry, P. M. Pearson, and P. B. Davis.

The foregoing proceedings were published in all the newspapers, and an able address was prepared, presenting the question clearly, ably, and forcibly; it was signed by the above Committee, and published in hand-bill form, and also in the newspapers, and circulated abundantly all over the city.

The public meetings were all also held as resolved upon—all of which were numerously attended; and our ablest, purest, and most eloquent men discussed the matter as a great moral question should be discussed. They called upon the friends of the license system to come forward and defend their cause; but they everywhere shrank from it. No man could be found bold enough to risk his reputation and standing in the community by publicly standing up in defence of such a cause. Many of them attended the meetings, but were silent, sullen, dogged. They ground their teeth, and vented their spleen by curses on "Savage," as the stirer up of the fuss, &c., &c.

On the "no license" side the discussion was enthusiastically, gallantly maintained. The writer of this attended nearly all the meetings and never can forget the spirit and bearing which were displayed throughout. There was nothing of political raiting or sectarian rant. It was discussed purely as a matter in which every individual had a vital interest. The sole purpose was to break down a great moral evil, which was fixed upon us by law, and was filling the city with pauperism, crime and wretchedness. This was the burden and aim of every speech spoken, and every essay written during the canvass. And with these purposes in their hearts, the voters of the city went to the polls on the memorable 6th of June, 1853, and the following is the official announcement of the result:

"REGISTER'S OFFICE, JUNE 7, 1853.

"The Commissioners of Election in the several wards of this city make the following returns of the voter, taken at the election held on the 6th instant, on the license and no license question:"

	License.	No License.
1st Ward	62	810
2d do	164	296
3d do	92	806
4th do	169	364
5th do	178	190
6th do	119	292
7th do	207	205
	991	1963
		991
Majority in favor of no license		972

(Signed) WM. MCCORMICK Register.

While the above proceedings were in progress the City Councils were busily engaged in perfecting a new and more stringent license system. This was consummated by the passage of two acts, on the 3d of June, 1853. One entitled "An Act to License, Tax and Regulate Taverns and Ordinaries." And the other, entitled "An Act Regulating the Sale of Spirituous or Intoxicating Liquors."

The first act provides:

1*st*. That the person applying for such license shall present to the Mayor a certificate, signed by the Commissioner of Improvements, and six respectable free-holders, residing in the same or next adjacent square, or the square opposite, certifying that they have examined the premises of the applicant, and it has the required accommodations for travellers and guests—at least three good bed-chambers, with suitable beds and bedding, stables, &c.

2*d*. That the Mayor shall be *fully satisfied* of the legal responsibility and good character of the applicant, and have before him the recommendation of an aggregate majority of the white housekeepers residing on the same side of the square, and the side of the square fronting immediately opposite the principal front of said premises—which recommendation shall certify that the persons signing the same "are well acquainted with the applicant, that the public convenience requires the establishment of such tavern or ordinary, and that they recommend the issuing of a license to said person or persons."

3*d*. That the Commissioner of Improvements shall carefully inspect the premises before signing the certificate, first above mentioned, and shall also ascertain whether the white housekeepers recommending said license are a majority as required by law, and if he shall refuse or fail thus to examine, or shall certify falsely, he shall be fined $20 on conviction.

4*th*. That said taverns or ordinaries be closed on Sundays, and between 12 o'clock P. M. and 4 A. M. of other days, and if they become disorderly, the license may be annulled, fines imposed, &c., &c.

2d. The "Act regulating the sale of spirituous or intoxicating liquors,"

Provides, 1*st*, That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to sell or barter any brandy, rum, gin, whiskey, or other spirituous liquors, mixed or unmixed; wine, cordial, strong beer, or cider, without obtaining a license, and inflicts a fine of $20 for doing so.

2*d*. Authorises the Mayor to grant licenses to shops to sell or barter as above stated, on the payment of a tax for each license at the rate of $30 per annum; but before issuing such license, the Mayor shall be fully satisfied of the legal responsibility and good character of the person applying for said license; and have also before him the recommendation of white housekeepers on the square, &c., as in the case of taverns and ordinaries—that they are well acquainted with the applicant—that such shop is required for public convenience, and they recommend the license, &c.

3*d*. That said shops shall be closed on Sundays, and from 10 P. M. to 4 A. M. on other days; and the

4*th*. That no person, licensed as aforesaid, or any other person or persons, shall suffer or permit any person or persons to play at any game of cards, dice, or other hazard for money, or anything in lieu thereof; nor to sell or barter any spirituous liquors, wines, cordials, strong beer, or cider, to any slave or apprentice, or suffer the same to be drank by any slave or apprentice, within said shop, porter-cellar or house, confectionery, or other establishment; and any person who shall offend against any of the provisions of this section of the act, shall pay for each offence a fine of $20.

5*th*. All licenses to expire on 1st of November, and may be annulled at any time should they become disorderly, &c.; and if fines, &c., are not paid or secured, the party to go to the work-house for 90 days.

Such was the new license system established by these laws, on the 3d of June, 1853, and such is the system now in force; and to enforce it the law places at the disposal of the Mayor the entire police of the city, consisting of seven police magistrates, chief of police, and fifteen officers, captain of the auxiliary guard, and his force of fifteen men, with power to call to their assistance whatever additional force they might require—all of whom are specially required to prosecute every violation thereof; and that they may have time and opportunity to do this effectually, they are specially prohibited from doing any but corporation business, and are paid a fixed annual salary for doing it. Three days after the enactment of this system came the vote of the city, which declared to the Mayor, by a majority of 972 votes, that for the future it was *their will* that no licenses should be granted!! Within less than five months from that day, every license for the sale of intoxicating liquors would, by positive law, RUN OUT AND EXPIRE! *And there would not remain within the limits of the city of Washington, a single establishment authorised to sell, to any person, a single drink of anything that could intoxicate!!* The temperance cause was triumphant, and the devoted band, that had labored so long and so faithfully in it, were jubilant and joyful.

But would the Mayor and Councils have the firmness and courage to stand up to what had been done, and carry out the declared will of the city? This was the question which arose and caused the friends of temperance to look anxiously to the 1st of November, 1853.

Some two months before that period arrived, I met the Mayor on the street—I mean the lamented and honored John W. Maury, and broached the subject to him. He said he had thought much and anxiously on the subject, but had not made up his mind, and would be glad to talk the matter over at some early day when he had more leisure. The conversation was renewed soon after, when Mr. M. remarked that he thought it would not do to withhold the licenses. The resolutions which had been voted on, only promised, in the event of a vote against all licenses, that Congress should be appealed to, to amend the charter so as to authorise the Councils to pass laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, &c. He thought that to refuse, absolutely, all licenses, would create too great a shock, and produce a revulsion that would render things worse. He was not a total abstinence man, but decidedly temperate, anxious to repress drinking, suppress crime, and preserve order and tranquility. He assured me that he would do everything in his power to have the new system of licensing honestly and faithfully carried out, and would exert his whole power with the police to enforce its provisions, by the rigid prosecution of all violations of the laws. To these efforts of mine, said he to me, do you (meaning the Temperance organization) add, with like persevering faithfulness, THE POWER OF MORAL SUASION, and I think the practice of using intoxicating liquors as a beverage may be restricted and suppressed, as much as it is possible by human efforts to do it—more than it would be by an absolute refusal of the licenses. Such, I have no doubt, were his sincere and honest convictions.

I told him I was satisfied, he would find himself mistaken, and that he could not execute the law as he supposed he could. In the first place, the law required that he should be satisfied that every applicant for a license possessed "legal responsibility and a GOOD CHARACTER." Now, if that meant anything, I thought it was that he should have such a character as would assure to travellers and sojourners that their effects would be safe in his house, that his accommodations were good, that there should be no drinking to intoxication, and no disorder on his premises; that his bar should be honestly closed during the entire Sunday, and every other day from 12 P. M. to 4 A. M., and that he would, under no circumstances, sell liquor to negroes or minors. These were the qualities necessary to make up, in the eye of the law, a *good character*, in a tavern-keeper or shop-keeper. A man might have what is called in common parlance, a good character (i. e.) be reasonably punctual in the payment of debts, free from the grosser vices of lying, stealing, fighting, &c., and yet be destitute of the main qualities of a good and safe tavern-keeper. Now, had he the firmness and courage to investigate *this matter of good character*, as I thought it ought to be investigated, or had the six "reputable freeholders," who were required to certify to him, or even the majority of the white housekeepers on both sides of the square, who were to recommend it, or the Commissioner of Improvements, who was specially required to examine and certify to the same facts? *I* thought, (with due deference,) *he would not*. I believed that all these parties would find, when they came to try it, that it was a *delicate matter* to pass on the CHARACTER of a fellow-citizen, and that they would *all do* as their predecessors had done. If the required papers were presented in the forms prescribed by law, the license would be signed as a matter of course, with little or no investigation as to how these papers were obtained, or the effect of the license upon the general interest, convenience and good order of the city. However this may be, I am satisfied that many licenses have been so granted, and I am not sure that some such may not now exist that ought never to have been granted, and which would not have been granted, if the proper investigation had been made. Let any citizen make the experiment. Let him start at ten o'clock, the hour for closing the shops, and go over the city any night in the week and see if he don't find shops and drinking places still open, and persons drinking; aye, and drunk, too, and many times wrangling and disorderly; and I doubt if there is a single one who could say, honestly and truly, that a single Sunday had passed without the drinking of liquor at his bar. Put the existing licenses to the test of the law, and if the Mayor did his duty, according to letter and spirit, he would be compelled to annul them. And these opinions I expressed to Mayor Maury in the conversations I had with him in the summer and fall of 1853. I have the same opinions now.

I believe we never had a better or more conscientious Mayor than Mr. Maury was, or one more anxious to perform his duty. I know not what course he pursued, or what investigations he made, in granting the licenses, but I do know that they were all renewed; that is, I know the number in the city was not diminished, and I never heard of the refusal to grant one that was applied for. I know, too, that in every ward in the city, persons were selling liquor *without license*, and in positive violation of the law; and this fact was known to the police magistrates of the wards, and to the police officers of the wards, as well as the auxiliary guard. These officers, in a general way, may be relied on to suppress a positive riot or outbreak, but they cannot be relied on to suppress illegal tippling, or to enforce the penalties of the law against it; and it is idle to expect it of them. The law prohibits them from drinking *when on duty*, yet many of them do drink; I won't say they are *drunkards*, but they do drink and sometimes get drunk. The keepers of these shops are kind and civil to them, and I rather think they do not always pay for what they drink; they drink most commonly *on invitation*; to *them* the shopkeepers are liberal, and they can afford to be so. For these *favors*, or some other reason, the police seldom disturb a shop or tavern-keeper, unless some riot or disorder takes place that they are obliged to notice. This thing of playing the *spy* on shops and taverns, they consider odious and mean. They are ashamed to do it, and they throw off the business of informing against these places, upon the citizen. Yet it is for this especial business that they are appointed. The citizen thinks (whether truly or falsely, I say not,) that it *is* a little business for *him* to be engaged in, and for that reason is unwilling to do it; and because this is so, the city appoints police magistrates and constables and pays them fixed salaries for that especial business. They are the hired *spies* and *informers* of the city, and as such they are to be *wide awake*, night and day. It is their sole business and duty to *spy out* every violation of the law, and to prosecute the violator to the utmost extremity of the law. They are faithful and honorable, just in proportion to the faithfulness with which they perform this duty; and if they fail or come short of it, they are useless and worthless. They are the sentinels, the safe-guards of the city, and under their watchful guardianship the city ought to repose in safety.

By law, taverns are to close their bars on Sundays, and from 12 P. M. to 4 A. M. every other day, and shops on Sundays, and from 10 P. M. to 4 A. M. every other day, and a fine of $20 is imposed for every violation of this law. Now, what is meant by closing "the bars or other places where liquors are usually sold?" for these are the words of the law. Is it the absolute prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors during those hours, or is it simply that the *doors* of the rooms in which the bars are kept be shut, while the room is filled with people drinking who pass in and out by side entrances, and thus keep up the drinking, often during the entire night? Is such a closing of the door a compliance with the law? Is this law honestly kept at any tavern or drink-shop in the city? I tell you, nay. The "*responsible man of good character*" may keep out of sight, but the drinking goes *on in all*—in some more, some less, but the law is violated by all. If the penalties were enforced they would fill the city treasury, and forfeit every license. And from these midnight revellings, come the arsons, murders, house-burnings, and riots, which disgrace the city. The police afford no protection against this frightful evil.

In the spring of 1854 it was found that the new license system was a failure. The good which had been hoped for from it, had not been realised. On the contrary, the habit of intemperance as well as the traffic in intoxicating liquors was steadily increasing. This was the decided opinion of a large number of the most active and prominent advocates of the Temperance cause in the city. Among that number I recollect no one more decided than yourself. And after consultation they came to the conclusion that it was a high duty from which they could not shrink to form a Temperance Ticket for Mayor and the Councils, at the then approaching election, and again bring the voters of the city to the polls on that vitally important question. With the feeling then existing, they believed they could carry the city, if harmony and concert could be secured. To secure this, they determined that a Temperance league should be formed, in which all the organizations in the city should be invited to take part, and a public meeting was called for that purpose. It was accordingly held, the league formed, and a full set of officers elected. I was not present at the meeting, but it did me the honor to elect me President. As soon as possible I called the officers together, and gave it as my opinion that it was too late to make the question on the Mayor or any officer, who was to be voted for generally by the city. Two candidates for these offices were already in the field, on nominations from the two great parties of the city, and the voters were already committed to them, but in regard to the *ward* elections, which embraced the Councils, I was willing to go into it with them. This view was concurred in, and by request of the league I prepared an address to the city on that subject, which was printed and circulated generally, as you may well remember. But, as I apprehended, it was too late. Other questions had arisen, which took possession of the public mind, and upon which the excitement became so intense, as completely to overshadow the Temperance cause. In a few of the wards Temperance men were elected to the Councils—it was so in the ward in which I lived. But as a general thing, the whirlwind of politics which swept over the city completely overshadowed it. So great and exciting were these questions that for the time, they completely silenced Temperance. The Division-rooms and Tents were deserted. The members went after other gods. One by one the Divisions went down, and their camp-fires went out. Not so with the fires of *intemperance*; as the others went out, these raged with the greater fury, and the city literally revelled in drunkenness; in the intensity of the feeling thus excited, many Temperance men forgot their vows, took again to their cups, and in their peaceful dwellings, which had been made happy by the victories of Temperance, was once again heard the voice of wailing and woe. The voice of the Temperance lecturer was no more heard in the public meetings of the people, and silence prevailed in the halls where they were wont to meet to cheer, and comfort each other in their good works and labours of love. From that day to this the cause has been dead. The two parties in the city have been alternately successful, each electing a Mayor. The first served out his term, and voluntarily retired, and since then he sickened and died, and has gone to his account. His administration was signalized by no action on the Temperance question. The new *license system* worked on, with the police he selected to enforce it, as it had done during the term of his predecessor. It was a failure, and produced no fruits of Temperance, but an increase of intemperance. His successor, the present Mayor, *was* one of us—a Temperance man—and wholesome and good were the lectures I have heard from him on that subject. But the Temperance question did not enter into the election when he was chosen. And though there was a change of the men who constitute the police, the course of things is about the same; the licenses have been renewed, and increased in number, and the traffic in liquor has increased, and drunkenness has increased, and vice and crime have increased. The Mayor *may*, and his police *may* desire to repress all this—and they may do all that they can to accomplish it; but it will all be in vain. The fault is in the system—it is radically wrong; all the efforts that human assiduity can make, will avail nothing. Nor is it possible for human wisdom to devise a license system or for human vigilance and energy to execute it, so as to repress the vice or the disorder and crime which necessarily flow from it.

And now, in view of this state of things, what shall be done? Shall the liquor traffic be left to run its course, to fill the city with vice and crime, and the habitations of its citizens with want, degradation and misery? Or shall it be resisted?

My own views and opinions remain unchanged, and the obligations and duties resulting from them, which rest upon me as a citizen, I cannot shake off. I must perform them, or incur the guilt of failing in duty to God and my fellow man. And these responsibilities rest upon all alike, who see the subject as we see it.

I am firmly convinced that Alcohol, in its purest form, whether produced by distillation or fermentation, is a subtle poison, which cannot be taken into the stomach of a person in good health, without injury. That, naturally, we have a distaste for it; but that its habitual use will generate an unnatural appetite for it, which will increase and grow stronger by every drink that is taken, until the thirst for it becomes so strong that it cannot be controlled or restrained, and its victim is maddened and urged on and on, until the health of the body is destroyed, the moral sense corrupted, and reason dethroned, and in this state he sinks into a dishonored grave! Nor is this all. It is followed by loss of character and property, and by want and suffering to helpless women and children, which tongue cannot tell, or pen describe. And this every one may see, who will take the trouble to walk through the outskirts of the city, and visit the habitations of the poor.

Mayor Lenox described the matter truly when he said that "he was fully satisfied, not only from the returns of the police and the asylum, but from official observation and otherwise, that intemperance is the CAUSE *almost exclusively*, of all the disturbances and pauperism which afflict our community. Our laws should seek to restrain and not foster an evil of such frightful magnitude. The charter does not regard the retail of liquors as a business from which a direct revenue is to be drawn, but as an evil to be restrained or prohibited by the exaction of licenses or such other means as are authorized by it." Yes it is true that the "Charter" does not look to "license to retail liquors" as a business from which revenue is to be derived; but it looks at that business as an "evil to be restrained or prohibited" by all the means within the legal power of the councils. The Mayor might have added that the provisions of the "charter" were not *mandatory*, but simply *permissive*. If the public good demanded these licenses, then the charter gave authority to grant them, if not, then there was equal authority to refuse them. And after full consideration the voters of the city declared by a vote of two to one, that the public good required that no licenses be granted.

But instead of following the wishes of the people as declared in their solemn vote, the councils, as we have seen, adopted a new and improved system of licensing. The declared object of which was to *reduce* the number and classes of these licenses, and absolutely to prohibit the granting of any licenses any where, unless demanded by the recommendation and approval of a majority of the white house-keepers of the square in which it was applied for.

This looks reasonable and right *on paper*—it is in accordance with the great principle on which our institutions rest; that the will of the majority, lawfully expressed, shall govern. But in this case it is a delusion. Licenses are not *publicly* canvassed for; they are obtained secretly and quietly, by stratagy and cunning; men are appealed to privately and besought to sign the papers requesting the Mayor to grant the licenses; and every sort of entreaty is used to induce them to sign it. It is wonderful to see the appliances, persuasions and arts that are resorted to. Many sign it reluctantly, and I doubt not if the papers on which many licenses now existing could be brought to light and publicly canvassed, that many of the signers would be ashamed, and the fewest number of them could stand the test of public scrutiny. I remember one instance where the canvass was made, and, leaving out one poor woman, the vote on the square was equally divided. And that poor woman was a widow, whose husband liquor had taken from her, and reduced her to poverty and want; and to induce her to sign the petition, every sort of effort was made. She was first besought with honied words, then threatened, and then her poverty and want was appealed to, and efforts were made to bribe her; money was actually offered to her and pressed upon her. Yet she stood firm—she had courage to face poverty, and defy persecution; she would not aid in what she too well knew was a great crime. I speak what I know, for one of the Temperance associations heard of these proceedings and went to her with a vote of thanks, and tendered her the aid and succor which her virtuous and heroic conduct so well merited. I learned all the facts from her own mouth.

It is no part of my purpose to stir up strife by making war upon the Mayor or his police. I believe both have a sincere desire to discharge their duty to the city, and are making commendable exertions to do so. Yet, in my opinion, important errors have been committed. The Mayor has blundered in granting licenses, by following the example set by his predecessors. He has forgotten or overlooked, as they did, the important fact that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is not a business looked to by the charter as a source of revenue, but as a business to be restrained and prohibited by the exaction of heavy license fees, and all other means within the lawful power of the Corporation. Its existence is looked upon as the cause of *pauperism, disorder*, and *crime*, and, therefore, not to be encouraged. The charter does authorise the Mayor to grant licenses to taverns, ordinaries and shops, so far as they may be necessary for the public convenience, under such restrictions and limitations as the Councils may impose. But before he can act, a majority of the white housekeepers of the vicinage must certify to him that the license or shop is required for the public convenience. For a tavern or ordinary the additional certificate of six respectable free holders to the same effect, countersigned by the Commissioner of Improvements, is required as before stated. Now, these precautions are not designed to entitle the applicant to a license, *as a right*, but they are intended to inform the Mayor of the wishes of the locality, and to aid him in deciding upon the necessity and expediency of granting the license. They are not intended to force his judgment or to relieve him from the responsibility of deciding the question. He is the representative of the whole city, and must act with an eye to the interest of the whole city. They represent the mere locality which applies for the license, and both these interests must concur before it is lawful and right to grant it. It is the high prerogative of the Mayor alone to decide that question, and great are the responsibilities involved in that act. It is the very highest and most responsible duty devolved upon him by law.

Our city is the capital of a great nation: it has 60,000