SATURDAY PRESS SUPPLEMENT

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WHICH?

American and Foreign Temperance Creeds.

The law of averages, as exhibited in the experience of life assurance companies during the last forty years, has once for all triumphantly justified the temperance principle of total abstinence. Among serious and thoroughly well-informed persons debate is over on this matter. Yes, my luxurious friend; yes, my moderate drinker in the pulpit; you are marked men, because benighted and belated. When I was in London I took much pains to ascertain exactly the facts as to the experience if British life assurance societies in making a distinction between moderate drinkers and total abstainers. Every one knows or ought to know that for nearly half a century now many of the best life assurance societies of England have insured moderate drinkers and total abstainers in separate sections, and that a *bonus has been paid to the sections made up of total abstainers of seven, eleven, seventeen, and, in some cases, of twenty-three per cent., over that paid to the sections of moderate drinkers.*

Here are a few commercial facts of the largest philanthropic significance. I have in my possession an original letter of one of the foremost societies for life assurance in London, and the statement is contained in it that for fifteen years the society has been accustomed to pay every five years bonuses to its two sections—that is, to the total abstainers on the one hand, and to the moderate drinkers on the other—and that the result has been during the past sixteen years that there have been issued 9,345 policies on the lives of moderate drinkers; that is of those, who are not strictly abstinent in the use of alcoholic liquors, and 3,306 on the lives of total abstainers. Of the former 524 have died, but 91 only of the latter, or less than half the proportionate number, which, of course, would be 190. Less than one-half the number of abstainers have died, compared with the number that died among non-abstainers who were strictly temperate, and this in an experience of sixteen years! I hold in my hand the circulars of a very celebrated life assurance society, which I shall not name, for fear you will say I wish to advertise it, although it is not an American society, and I read in this offical document that in 1872, 1875 and 1878 the bonus to the temperance section was fourteen per cent. higher than in the general department, while the bonus for 1881 to the temperance section is twenty-three per cent. higher. I will name a single one of the great life assurance companies in England because its reputation is well established, and I can not be suspected of having any improper motive for giving its career publicity. I refer to the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution. In England its experience is often cited to show the superior value of teetotal lives as compared with those of moderate drinkers. The institution insures members in two sections—one in which all the members are total abstainers, in the other moderate drinkers; all intemperate persons being, of course, excluded. The two sections are exactly alike in every other respect; about 20,000 lives being insured in the general section and 100, in the temperance section. Returns of the expected and actual claims in both sections for fifteen years, from 1864 to 1878, show that in the general section 3,450 deaths were expected and that 3,444 took place; whereas, in the temperance section, the expected deaths were 2,002 and the actual deaths only 1,433. During the year 1879 the expected claims in the temperance section were 195 for £40,844; the actual claims were 164 for £28,690. In the general section 305 were expected for £64,343, the actual having been 326 for £74,950. The quinquennial bonuses in the temperance section have been seventeen and one-half per cent. greater than those in the general section.

To summarize details, which I might easily make voluminous, the experience of nearly forty years and the insurance of more than 100,000 lives in societies making a distinction between temperate non-abstainers and total abstainers, have proved that under the law of averages a bonus of from seventeen to twenty-three per cent. must be paid to the sections of total abstainers

Where is the church, where is wealthy society, where are our circles of culture and advanced thought, where are our serious and intelligent young men that they are not awake to these stern facts of mere business? I have been citing to you not temperance documents, but the repoits of life assurance societies. They are not fantati al organizations; they are not governed by this or that pet theory as to temperance reform. Here is cool, stern business sagacity applied to one of the most complicated commercial matters, and the outcome we have in this great proposition, sustained by the most exact application of the law of averages, that nearly twenty-five per cent. bonus must be paid to total abstainers above what is paid to moderate drinkers. Of course, many of these total abstainers have not been such for all their lives. Their health may have been injured in many cases by early indulgence. By and by, when these societies come to have sections filled by men who have been total abstainers from birth, the averages of bonuses will be higher to the temperance section. You ought also to keep in mind constantly that the section not total by abstaining is not a section of drunkards, but a section of those who are merely moderate drinkers, respectable men, most of them only wine-drinkers.

For one I regard this state concerning the law of averages in life assurance societies as altogether the most incisive argument that can just now be named in suppost of the principle of total abstinence. I have in my possession original letters from secretaries of life assurance in the northern and southern hemispheres. I refrain from citing a single American life assurance company, because I will not weaken this argument by allowing you to suspect that I have been asked to publish these facts. I beg you to investigate this matter carefully for yourselves. The law of averages in life assurance societies is now the pedestal of adamant on which stands triumphant for all future time in the name of science, the absurd and once even humiliated principle of total abstinence.

British and American temperance methods and circles differ somewhat to mutual advantage. Undoubtedly we have carried the legal remedies for intemperance further than Europe has done. No portion of the foreign part of the world that I have visited has shown me anything like our advance in temperance legislation. I do not know that any portion has gone beyond what we have in some past times attained in the use of the moral methods of repressing intemperance; but at present we are fanning their with the legal wing of the temperance reform, and seem to have forgotten the moral wing in large degree. Great Britain at the present moment is more emphatic in her church efforts for temperance and more emphatic in her efforts to produce, through secular temperance organizations, a right impression on the mass of the population than we are. I wish to lift a note of warning against trying to fly the temperance cause with one wing. Whenever we have used only the legal wing, or only the moral wing, the flight of the temperance cause has been a sorry spiral. It always must be such under similar circumstances. In the temperance reform we have mere agitation pitted against avarice and appetite. Appetite and avarice are both conscious forces; agitation is a spasmodic force at best. It requires great assistance from Almighty Providence to get the attention of a whole nation; and, when you have obtained this, it requires great assistance to keep the drowsy public attentive long enough to carry an election. Agitation in church and state is our chief force against the solid ranks of the whiskey rings and against the impulsive brutal force of appetite. With the fifth of the population in cities, I beg leave to say that there is not a feather in either of these temperance wings that we can dispense with. One of the most mischievous things in the temperance cause appears to me to be the fight of the feathers with each other—not only wire with wing, but feather with feather in a single wing.

I had thought upon putting upon his board (referring to a black-board in the front of the speaker's desk), and perhaps I had better do so, a graphic illustration of what I mean by two wings. [Taking the chalk, Mr. Cook drew a representation of two wings, very well he did so.] If that is the right wing or legal wing, I should call the lower feather of it the prohibitory law; then I should say above that we have legislative option; and above that we have legislative prohibition; and above it we have constitutional prohibition; and above that we have woman's temperence vote. And now, if on the other side I must outline in reverse order the five feathers of the moral wing, I should put first of all at the top the church temperance organizations; I should put next the efforts of secular temperance societies of all kinds; I should put next temperance instruction in the public schools; next the example of what we call the leading classes among the highly educated or the very wealthy; and I should put last business prudence, or your desire to be relieved from taxes caused by the ravages of intemperance. What I assert is, that we can not fly without the use of all the feathers in each of these wings, and that it is suicidal policy to try to fly without a fair and bold balancing both of these vans at once. The temperance cause can not make the circuit of the earth unless both the moral and the legal wings are used together and constantly in the atmosphere of free institutions.

Look for an instant at the smallest lower feather of the moral wing—business prudence. I put in one hand all the money we spend for our civil service. It is an enormous amount—about four millions a year. Will that weigh down what we spend for liquor? I put in this right hand scale the liquor-bill of the United States, and the left-hand scale goes up. I add to what we pay to the civil service all we pay for the army; the left hand goes up yet. All we pay for the navy; it goes up yet. All we pay to congress, including the river and harbor appropriation bills; it goes up yet. All we pay to the county governments and to city governments—this, that and all we pay to our own governments and for common-school education out of the taxes in school districts, and yet this scale goes up. The national census bureau informs us that about seven hundred millions is the amount put into the left-hand scales under the circumstances I have named; but the most careful statisticians say, and the New York Tribune brought these facts before the public not long ago, that at least eight hundred millions is the annual liquor-bill of the United States. That is one feather of this mighty wing. I undertake to maintain unflinchingly what Mr. Gladstone has said, that the intemperance of the Anglo-Saxon race, especially of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Americans, has injured us more than war, pestience, and famine. We are the most drunken nation on earth. It is not too much to say that if we could shake off intemperance as throughly as the Hindoos and Turks have done we should probably double the income of the United States and of the United Kingdom. I am not declaiming. Insist upon it that these are carefully verified statistical results of our bureau of statistics has affirmed solemnly in recent investigations. In Massachusetts an official document says that intemperance enters a leading cause into eighty-four per cent. of the crimes brought to the notice of the law in his state; and yet his excellency, the present Governor of Massachusetts, did not do himself the honor of mentioning intemperance, when lately in a long message he passed a fine-tooth comb through the air of this commonwealth in serch for abuse.

Not to go into detail through all the five different departments of each wing, but asking this intelligent assembly to develop for itself, face to face with our possible American future, every one of the minor portions of my theme, I pause for an instant on a comparatively new temperance measure. I believe most thoroughly in constitutional prohibition. I have spoken for it on the platforms of Pennsylvania and Iowa when it was a belittered cause. It was my fortune once in the public park of Topeka, with Governor St. John as chairman, to defend this cause when it was exceedingly unpopular, and yet I felt that the future was in it. I do not know how it is on this seaboard we sometimes do not know seems to feel the throb of the republic as our fathers, did and as people do yet on the Mississippi. Does the breadth of the West inspire great ideas? We, too, have broad outlooks. We have a great river running past our wharves. We call it the Atlantic Ocean. We ought to be able to look across it and see that our temperance example is doing good or evil to the ends of the earth. But the upper half of the Mississippi Valley appears to have a more intense care for the future of its population than we have for that of ours. It listens to the tramp of the coming generation. The sound of centuries yet to be is the ears of Iowa and Kansas. There is a mighty pride on the prairies in favor of antidotes for one of the huge evils of our nation. The two young states which possess the fairest portions of our continent are making up their minds that they will not allow the octopus of the whiskey-rings to eat into their souls. No temporary defeat will tame the reformatory spirit of these commonwealths. They are leading our nation and the world in temperance legislation. For one, I believe that if a score of American States succeed in putting constitutional prohibition on a firm basis, it will ultimately become a national policy. There are at least ten states in the union whose legislatures who are now being petitioned vigorously for constitutional prohibition—Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts. We have, thank Heaven! about twenty states that are not yet under the heel of great and corrupt cities. As agitation for reform goes on, they may possibly pass constitutional prohibitory laws and make them effective in practice. Let ten states succeed with constitutional prohibition, and ultimately a majority of the states will succeed. Let the day come (and may God speed it!) when constitutional prohibition shall be the law in a majority of states of this union, and we will make it a national measure. You say this is a wild hope. Constitutional prohibition is too great a blessing to expect from commerce, philanthrophy, or politics. It is not too great a blessing to expect from the Christian Church.

What is the matter with the church in this country? We are all under the voluntary system, and sometimes men who are tipplers carry large livers. I am in no pulpit. I am a friend in the pulpits of the country and am proud of the courage of our ministry; but if I must tell the whole truth, as I always try to do, I shall be obliged to say that in certain luxurious circles, especially in the great cities, there is a large amount of wine-drinking in what are called the upper portions of society, and it is hard to preach total abstinence. It is hard to illustrate it by personal practice. It might not in this country to be hard; but I fear it is getting to be harder than it was a few years ago for a minister to defend unflinchingly total abstinence in the presence of the more luxurious members of his congregation. There are some men who love to be called evangelical and thoroughly genuine in their Christianity, who will have their wines in large variety, and sometimes stronger liquors than wines on their tables. This is not true merely of the Pacific slope; it is true of the Mississippi Valley, the Middle States, and even of New England. These great obstacles to the progress of the temperance cause we must uproot decisively by a tornado of popular sentiment rising on side the luxurious churches. You can not expect such churches to reform themselves. The people at large must breathe out their indignation against men who stand in the high places of the church and rent their property for the infamous purposes of the whiskey-ring. They must breathe out their indignation against social examples set in defiance of the dictates of science and even of the commercial experience of our time.

Why the Church of England Temperance Society, not a fanatic body at all, has two sections—one for total abstainers and one for moderate drinkers. But when it organizes a rescue section and sends agents down into the slums to recover drunkards, it insists always that these men shall take a pledge of absolutely total abstinence. I say that not only every preacher, but every church member, rich or poor; and most especially if his position as an employer of labor makes him a trelliswork over which many lives run, should be a member of the rescue section of society. This English church temperance organization with a double basis is now being imitated on our shores. That most honored veteran in the temperance cause, William E. Dodge, I believe, gave the initiation his blessing in New York the other day, after hearing Bishop Clark's public defence of it. I can not quite give it mine. I do not believe in its pledge as to moderate use of alcohol. I never should organize a temperance society on that basis myself. Nevertheless, I Temperance Society to show you that, although it is not fanatical and has a double basis, it always puts total abstinence into its rescue work. It insists on the pledge of total abstinence for the young. Let us stand on this lofty example. Our soft society connected with fashionable and wealthy ecclesiastical establishments dearly likes to know what is the sense of the upper ten thousand in the ecclesiastical world. The sense is total abstinence for all who go into the rescue work of society; the sense is that the preacher who invites the young convert to his table has no right to put before him the intoxicating cup. A great preacher in London was defending his wine-drinking to me, and I said: "Suppose John B. Gough were a poor inebriate in London and were to be converted, which church it be better for him to join—yours, where you set him the example of moderate drinking, and where you put before him at your own table intoxicating liquor, or would it be better for him to join Mr. Spurgeon's church, where the pastor sets the example of total abstinence?" That argument touched him, although he was invulnerable to every other. That is the argument we are to apply under our free-church system to the conscience of every man and woman who would belong to the rescue section of religious society. Let us make every feather of the moral wing and of the legal wing of the temperence reform broad and strong. Let the two smite the air side by side and so support each other, and carry this majestic cause proudly through the vexed atmosphere of history. By and by woman's temperance vote will be to the whisky rings what lightning is to the oak.—*Rev. Joseph Cook.*

In Belgium.

To judge from the report of the Belgian Association against the abuse of alcoholic drinks, Belgium must be a terribly drunken country. According to the statistics which the society has obtained each inhabitant of King Leopold's dominions drinks thirteen liters of brandy and 507 pints of beer every year. Hitherto the German has been considered the typical beer-drinker, but he is a mere babe, with 307 pints of beer per annum, compared to the Belgian, with his 507. In Belgium, there is one public-house to every forty-one inhabitants and the money annually expended in these drinking-shops amount to 475,000,000 francs. During the last forty years there has been an enormous increase in crime throughout the country—an increase altogether out of proportion to the augmentation of the population. Forty years ago crimes of violence averaged about 11,000 a year; now they have reached 36,000. In 1840 there were 204 suicides, and in 1880 they were 533. The English have been a hard-drinking people in their time, and even now they probably drink more than is good for them; but it may be doubted whether England at her tipplest could have beaten the Belgian record. It is a little odd, in the face of these startling figures, that one sees so few drunken people in the streets of Belgian towns. But foreigners when they are drunk are for the most part wise enough to stay indoors.—*St. James Gazette.*

The Bar Room as a Bank

You deposit your money.....and lose it.
Your time.....and lose it.
Your character.....and lose it.
Your health.....and lose it.
Your strength.....and lose it.
Your manly independence.....and lose it.
Your self control.....and lose it.
Your home comfort.....and lose it.
Your wife's happiness.....and lose it.
Your own soul.....and lose it.

—*Golden Rule.*

You have to pay for intemperance.

Eighteen Reasons why I wear the Badge of Blue.

BECAUSE,

1.—It reminds me that I belong to a mighty army that is waging continuous war against intoxicating drinks, and the drink traffic.

2.—By wearing it I bear testimony to the advantages of total abstinence; and therefore confess myself an abstainer.

3.—It gives me frequent opportunity of explaining and advocating total abstinence principles.

4.—It is an emblem of peace, purity and good-will.

5.—It gives courage, confidence, strength and hope.

6.—It helps to strengthen and encourage my weaker brother in his effort to withstand temptation to drink.

7.—It shows the poor drunkard that I am his friend and helper.

8.—It is a blessing to mankind, as by its adoption homes are made happy, bright and prosperous.

9.—The movement it represents is of God, and contributes to his glory.

10.—It speaks words of warning to those who are in danger of falling, through strong drink.

11.—I believe intoxicating drinks are not only unnecessary either in health or sickness, but injurious.

12.—The habit of drinking is the chief cause of all the poverty, wretchedness, and crime in our land.

13.—The traffic in strong drinks fills our work houses' lunatic asylums and prisons.

14.—Thousands of my fellow country-men fall into a drunkard's grave, who might have been good and useful members of society.

15.—By wearing it I am setting an example to others.

16.—Because the Church of Christ is robbed of thousands who, but for the drink, might be her brightest lights and most useful members.

17.—It promotes universal brotherhood and a feeling of kindly help.

18.—Being a Christian I do it for Jesus' sake.

Governor Long's Speech.

Ex-Governor Long of Massachusett spoke in congress, recently on the whiskey bill, and his speech (according to an Eastern paper) was by all odds the best that has been delivered on the subject. It was his maiden effort, and by it he has won for himself high rank among the orators on the Republican side of the house. From carefully prepared statistics he showed that in the past, wherever extensions of the bonded period have been granted, the manufacture of spirits had increased beyond consumption by thousands of gallons annually, while, when the extension had been refused, the production had decreased. "If," he said, "he be a friend of temperance, the inference of proper kind will follow, that would be a strong argument in favor of the bill; but in 1882, when the same disasters were threatened, extension was refused and the predicted evils did not occur." He thought the parties in interest should look to private enterprise for the money they require. If the loan, on which distillers offer in the bill to pay four per cent interest, is a good one, plenty of capitalists would be anxious to take it. If it is a bad one, then the goverment should protect itself as soon as possible by calling for the $50,000,000 of taxes almost due. Alluding to the statement made by the friends of the bill that whisky had paid into the treasury and maintained the armies of the United States in time of war, the speaker said such talk was sham. Whisky had never paid a dollar into the treasury, but the people had paid it, and had paid it in blood, in crime, in broken hearts and in indescribable sufferings. It $100,000,000 had gone into the treasury on this account, it had gone in over the whisky bridge, the product of an article which he could only term "the dynamite of civilization."

There are 14,000 convicts in prison in England. The term "convict" implies those serving sentences of five years and upwards, while those imprisoned for less periods are termed prisoners. In a recent lecture by Charles Cooke, before the Young Men's Christian Association in London, the lecturer narrated what he had seen in the different prisons throughout Europe. They were all defective in this one material point—that no provision is made to seperate the hardened criminal from those serving their first sentence, and in England especially no distinction is shown in the classification of murderers, burglars, homicides and forgers. In France he had seen one poor wretch who had been ten yeras in solitary confinement. In England not more than nine months is given. He had sought to find out the causes which had brought so many people into penal servitude, and he had come to the conclusion that the one great and principle cause was drunkeness.

The sum actually spent for intoxicating drinks in the United States is $650,000,000 per annum. The sum paid last year for life insurance premiums was less then one twelfth of this amount. As a return for the $650,000,000 spent for liquor, nothing can be counted, (waiving the trifle consumed for proper use) except misery, remorse, unhappiness, degradation and death—pall on the wrong side of the balance sheet. The life insurance companies return last year to their premium-payers and beneficiaries over $50,000,000. More than all other causes combined, liquor is responsible for jails poor-houses' inebriate asylums and insane retreats. Life insurance is building up society in all that is good while the liquor traffic is driving it remorselessly to the bad. The money absorbed by drink would give twenty-five millions of people over $1,000 of industrial insurance apiece! Which is the better way of spending the money?—*Golden Rule.*

In Johnstown, New York, a manufacturing town of 1,600 inhabitants, the excise board have refused to grant license since May, 1882, and the Law and Order Society report as follows: From May 1, 1882, to January 1, 1883 (eight months), 39,520 gallons less of beer were sold than during the same period of the year before, under license. The sales of distilled liquor in the same period were: Under license, 10,200 gallons; no license, 1,160 gallons. During the same time the arrests for drunkenness were: Under license, 17 per cent.; no license, 3½ per cent. The town criminal expenses were: Under license, $2,475; no license, $407. Number of places where liquor was openly sold: Under license, 34; no license, none.

A True Picture.

The repetition in our midst of a crime which is only too common upon our Pacific coast and throughout the entire country—the probable fatal stabbing affray of Monday night teaches a lesson which to him who will seriously reflect, may be easily understood and profited by. The motives of crime are as numerous as the crimes themselves, and though in some instances the law defines the causes of injury to life or limb as justifiable, yet is the effect unchanged, the crime remains, though the criminal escapes. But when upon examination it is found that life is taken, or wounds are given without the faintest shadow of motive thereof, then indeed must the cause which produced the terrible effect be such as ought to merit the everlasting condemnation of moral thought, and in trumpet tones ring out its awful warning. To-day there writhes upon a hospital cot, a man wounded to the death; another, manacled behind prison bars, awaits the results of his knife's blow, aimed with deadly purpose; his trial, which must result in years of confinement or unnatural death. These men met casually; they were scarcely acquaintances even; there had been no previous quarrel or grudge between them and yet one assulted the other, stabbed him with a knife, and without any possible reason or motive left him upon the verge's dark river, while he, himself, by the act stands shuddering under the dangling rope. "Did you have anything against the man you stabbed?" the prisoner was asked, in his cell this morning. "No, and if he had anything against me I do not know it," he replied. Here is an utter absence of reason or motive for the deadly blow, but the cause—for there must have been a cause—remains. "Drunk?" "Yes," and the wretched, chained prisoner clasped his hands, red with the blood of his victim, together, and with a look in his bloodshot eyes which seemed a silent question of why he had brought himself to so much wretchedness, he buried his face in his gory hands. Insane, mad! drunk! he had done that which can never be undone; that which must carry him to a dungeon or to death, without the satisfaction, even, that the sacrifice is well made. Drink! you are responsible for many crimes, and in your terrible dethronement of reason, make victims alike of him who strikes the deadly blow as well as of him who receives it!—*Seattle Hearld.*

Arrests for Drunkenness.

The figures reported under this head give no correct result as to the comparative amount of drunkenness, for many are arrested in Maine who elsewhere would not be, or would be "helped home" by the police. Reports of arrests in sixty license cities of other states average twenty-seven to every thousand. In the fourteen cities of Maine there were but seventeen to a thousand. In Portland they were in the aggregate 1,351, or 40 to 1,000 of its own population. But Portland is the centre of a population in Cumberland and the adjacent counties aggregating not less than 120,000, of whom those addicted to drinking are accustomed to go to that city for the indulgence, as appears from the police records, so that the real proportion in Portland is probably not over ten to a thousand people. In Portland, Governor Dingley concludes this interesting statistical exhibit of this state by citing the language of him in his message in a letter written less than a year ago. "Intemperance has steadily decreased in this state since the first enactment of the prohibitory law, until now it can be said with truth that there is no equal number of people in the Anglo-Saxon world among whom so small an amount of intoxicating liquor is consumed, as among the 650,000 inhabitants of Maine."—*Bangor Statesman.*

Doctor Holland's Belief

Shortly before he died J. G. Holland and wrote in St. Nicholas as follows; "What do you think, young friends, of the hundreds of thousands who are trying to cheat themselves and others into the belief that alcoholic drinks are good for them? Are they not to be pitied and blamed? Do you want to be one of those wretched men? If we are to have drunkards in the future, some of them are to come from the boys to whom I am writing; and I ask you again if you want to be one of them? No? Of course you don't? Well, I have a plan for you that is just as sure to save you from such a fate as to rise to-morrow morning. It never failed it never will fail; it cannot fail; it is yours knowing. *Never touch liquor in any form.* That's the plan, and it is not only worth knowing, but it is worth putting into practice. I know you don't drink now, and it seems to you as if you never would. But your temptation will come, and probably will be in this way: You will find yourself, some time, with a number of your companions, and they will have a bottle of wine on the table. They will drink, and offer it to you. They will regard it as a manly practice, and, very likely, they will look upon you as a milksop if you don't indulge with them. Then what will you do? Eh? What will you do? What will you say, 'Boys, none of that stuff for me? I know a trick worth half-a-dozen of that?' Or will you take the glass, with your own common sense protesting against, and your conscience making the whole draught bitter, and a feeling that you have damaged yourself, and then go off with a hot head and skulking soul that at once begins to make apologies for itself."

The liquor-dealers of New York City have organized for the purpose of influencing legislation and defeating the efforts to compel their obedience to existing laws. At a meeting held recently it was stated that there are 11,000 liquor-dealers, besides 18,000 persons employed in the brewing business, in that city, and the threat was made that these would all be consolidated for the purpose of electing a mayor and district attorney of their way of thinking, and "showing the excise and other commissioners that we amount to just as much as they do." Said one of the speakers: "There isn't money enough in New York to defeat any big brewer, if we should nominate him for mayor." This is one of the most impudent threats against law and order that has ever been made in the metropolis, and it should serve to rouse public opinion to the necessity of efficiently backing the authorities in their struggle with this monstrous traffic. The men who have organized this revolt are by their own confession law-breakers. "There is probably no hour of the days" said one of them at the meeting referred to, "that we don't violate the law." Occupying this position, they are entitled only to the consideration which is given to criminals. If they desire to obtain licenses, and to hold them when obtained, let them obey the laws. If they violate it, they must be punished and as disreputable citizens, at war with the best interests of the community.

Temperance pays.

THE OTHER SIDE.

The Present Condition of a New and Rapidly Augmenting Movement.

There are persons who do not read in the events of the day a new lesson upon the temperance question. It would appear to have entered upon a new era, in which neither prohibition nor total abstinence have prominent part. It has become a question of regulation and restriction of the liquor traffic under the much abused license system. It is a misnomer to call that a just license system, however, which has generally prevailed. A license tax should have some relation, where imposed at all, to the proper burden the business consented to should bear as compared with the cost imposed on the government by reason of such consent. But most license systems have been simply arbitrary assessments. What may be called the new temperance movement takes the form of taxation through a license system having for its basis, first the assumption that the liquor traffic contributes in undue proportion to the cost of government; and to be classed among the luxuries; secondly that the business is engaged in by one class which degrades it to the lowest level, and makes it the excuse for systematized dragging and robbery, to the injury of those who desire to keep decent and orderly places; thirdly, that more licenses are demanded than it is wise for the community to grant. "Therefore," say the advocates of high license, "we will fix a rate so high as to exclude the disreputable, protect the reputable, increase the revenues, lower taxation, and limit the issue of licenses to a reasonable number. On the other hand, it is contended by the advocates of low license that it is undemocratic to discriminate; that the poor man's has equal right with the rich to engage in the traffic; that high license creates a monopoly of the business of liquor-selling at retail; that so far as the number of saloon is concerned there never is be more than there is demand for.

There is in this debate a third party, the radical temperance element, opposing any and all license systems, on the ground that they recognize a business not tolerable in any aspect. There is also a fourth party to the agitation—the conservative temperance element. It looks upon any restriction of an evil as so much progress made toward final extinction, and believes that if good results flow from lessening the number of drinking places the people will, as a natural sequence, seek greater good in further diminution, and finally in prohibition. It is to be noted that the high license element is by far the larger and more powerful. It appeals to those who desire the lowest possible rate of taxation, and hope to attain that end by shifting the burden upon liquor retailing; it embraces very largely the drinking classes, who recognize the fact that, as they contribute liberally to the saloon, it is but fair it should contribute largely toward governmental expences; it embraces almost all of the business community, who advocate it as a measure of fairness and economy, and who desire to be relieved of merchandise license taxation, and in favour of which release there is very much to be advanced; lastly, it includes the major portion of the saloon proprietors, who, like all other beepers who cling to the skirts of the intemperate, in all the debate now open in twenty-one states of the American Union, all parties have agreed upon one point—that the retail liquor traffic shall not be placed upon the same plane, as to cost of license, as the liquor saloon.

The purpose now is not to discuss the question in any of the phrases it presents, but to consider the present statues of the movement and present the issues as now defined. That there are living issues, that the question is not an ephemeral one, that the movement is deep and earnest, is perfectly evident to every man who keeps pace with the news of the day. As some evidence of the sentiment prevailing, we have been at pains to compile some statistics. High license is a reality in at least six large cities and over two hundred leading towns of the country. In five of the great cities of the Union liquor licenses are not issued as of course, but only on petition of bondholders, the filing of a bond and the action of license commissioners. In seven states high license prevails in a majority of their counties. In two states it or a similar system has been incorporated into the statutes. In three hundred and forty villages high license is enforced; in several states it has been proposed as a constitutional measure; in fourteen legislatures bills favoring it have been discussed. The records do not show that any town, city, village or county that has once adopted it has receded from it. In California it prevails in several small places, and is discussed in every county. As further indicating the state of the public sentiment on the question, it is to be noted that a similar system is vigorously supported by the New York Herald, Tribune, Times and Post, which advocate radical restriction; as also the leading Buffalo, Rochester and Albany journals. The Chicago Tribune, Inter-Ocean, Herald and Times favor more or less extreme high license. The leading Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus and Toledo papers favor the direct heavy taxation system.

The leading journals of Indiana favor a very restrictive license system. In Maryland a phase of local option prevails in over half the state, and leading papers advocate it. The Portland Oregonian carried high license to a successful issue in that city. Most of the leading journals of Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and several in Missouri advocate high license. In California seven out of ten papers of the interior are outspoken in its support and but one or two have opposed it. It has had less attention in Pennsylvania, the Virginias, and the Carolinas. It was a warm issue in Georgia, and is being discussed in Alabama and Tennessee. The legislature of Arkansas has passed severe restrictive measures, and in several of the territories movements in the direction of high license have begun. This, then, is the situation, and in view of the facts the man is less than blind-sighted who attempts to belittle the new movement or entertains the idea that it is not a question worthy of his consideration. It may be noted in conclusion that in several places where citizens have had the "temerity," and the pluck, the courage to consider the topic, some of the law-license advocates have been so foolish as to publish by a system of intimidation and boycotting those who remark favorably upon the subject. In one city where the attempt of this kind was made recently (Danville, Illinois), the result was that the city struck back and doubled the license rate immediately, and the men who endeavored to compel the public to dance were forced to pay the piper. This subject should be discussed as dispassionately as any other public question, and any attempts to coerce public opinion or choke off free expression will recoil with damaging effect upon the promoters of such intolerant methods.—*Sacramento Record Union.*

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Have just received, ex Mariposa, a fine assortment

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Among which may be found

LETTER PAPER,
NOTE PAPER,
FOOLSCAP,
LEGAL CAP,
BILL CAP,

Ruled and narrow, by the ream; blocked, or by quire.

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Ruled to please.

INKSTANDS:
Bankers' large, Bankers' small,
In fact we have Inkstands for all.

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in quarts, pints, half-pints, and cones.
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In quarts, pints, half-pints, and cones.
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Manilla Detail Paper.

ENVELOPES: 100,000 assorted.
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MEMORANDUM BOOKS, a large variety,
Time Books, assorted,
Gummed Labels,
Shipping Tags, Tooting Tags.

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LETTER PRESSES, large and small,
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Guides and Score Books.

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☞ SUBSCRIPTIONS received for any foreign paper or Magazine published at any time. Also for all the Local Papers and Magazines, Serials, Books, Sales, Family Library, etc., always on hand, and special numbers sent to order.

☞ SPECIAL ORDERS received for BOOKS, etc., etc.

RED RUBBER STAMP AGENCY,
and Agents for the Encyclopedia Britannica.
☞ All Island orders filled promptly. ☜

J. M. OAT, Jr., and CO.,
Gazette Block, 25 Merchant Street

160-tf

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Dillingham Rice Plows,

Dillingham Furrow Plows (to arrive

These Plows are all made from our own patterns by the original John Deere Moline Plow Works, the pioneer Western plow manufactory and the largest steel plow works the world. For the Plows of this manufacture we are agents.

Approved styles of
CULTIVATORS, HARROWS, and HORSE HOE
OLD PATTERN MOLINE PLOWS
PLANTATION TOOLS OF ALL KINDS

Buckeye Mowers
Differential Pulley Blocks
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Fodder-Cutters, Garden and Canal Barrows

LUBRICATING OILS
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FIRE PROOF SAFES AND BOXES, FIRE EXTINGUISHERS
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HOUSE FURNISHING GOODS
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etc., etc., etc.

☞ New Goods constantly arriving.
We aim to keep everything required in our line, and to sell at lowest prices.

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BENSON, SMITH, & CO.,

Practical Druggists,

143 AND 145, FORT STREET,

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HOSTETTER & SCHEER'S CELEBRATED HOMEOPATHIC MEDICINES
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THE COMMON SENSE NURSING BOTTLE

THE HAWAIIAN ALMANAC
and
ANNUAL FOR 1884.

IS NOW READY FOR DELIVERY
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The Celebrated Celluloid Trusses
DIRECT FROM THE FACTORY

WE HAVE SPECIAL FACILITIES
For Adjusting Trusses.
HOLLISTER & CO.
Cor. Fort and Merchant streets and 72 Hotel street

General Advertisements.

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Offer for Sale the cargo of the bark

"MARTHA DAVIS,"

Just arrived, the following list of Merchandise:

On Carts,

Light Express Wagons,

Extension Top Carriages,

Steam Coal,

Cumberland Coal,

KEROSENE OIL,

Common Wood Chairs

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RESIN,

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Ice Chests, Nos. 0, 2, and 3,

Hoe Handles,

Lobsters, 1 lb. Tins,

Brass, 1 lb. Tins,

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Hay Cutters, Nos. 1, 2 and 3,

Axle Grease,

Fairbanks' Scales, Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 111-8,

Leather Belting,

Centrifugal Linings, 14 inches,

Composition Nails, 1½ inch and 1¾ inch,

Mammoth Rockers,

Bales Excelsior,

Manila Cordage, Assorted,

Excelsior Mattresses,

Galv. Fence Staples,

Farmer's Boilers, 80 and 95 Galls

Steel Rope, Assorted

Ash Planks,

Dump Barrows,

Asses' Shovels,

Yellow Metal Sheathing,

Hair Mattresses,

Grindstones,

Rubber Hose,

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Galv. Screws and Washers,

&c., &c., &c. 160

NEW GOODS

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Lubricating Oils of all kinds,

Cut Nails, all sizes,

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Cotton Waste in bales,

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Cheap Rim Clocks,

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Lane's Plantation Hoes,

¾ inch Goose-neck Socket Hoes,

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Lawn Mowers, best kind,

Case's Genuine Smoking Denims,

Case's Genuine Smoking Mariners Strips,

Besides a thousand articles in the Hardware line always on hand.

Soon expected, not by the "Spartan," a most complete assortment of

Hall's Steel Plows and Rockers,

With extra Handles, Beams and Points.

All these will be found at the corner brick store of
160 E. O. HALL & SONS, Limited.

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Upholstery Furniture

D. M. CROWLEY (formerly at Beaver) having entered into partnership with MR. HUGH HASTIE, the new firm will be known as

CROWLEY & CO.,

—at—

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Every description of Furniture at lowest required on Time Payment.

PARLOR SETS
in Silk, Horsehair, and other coverings,
FROM $60 UPWARDS.
Elegant coverings and trimmings.

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FOR SETTING IN BRICK.

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No. 5 NUUANU STREET.....HONOLULU

Sole agents for these Islands. The best cooking apparatus for the Plantation, Hotel or Family.

RANGES & FIXTURES such as
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*Water Coils,