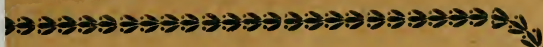


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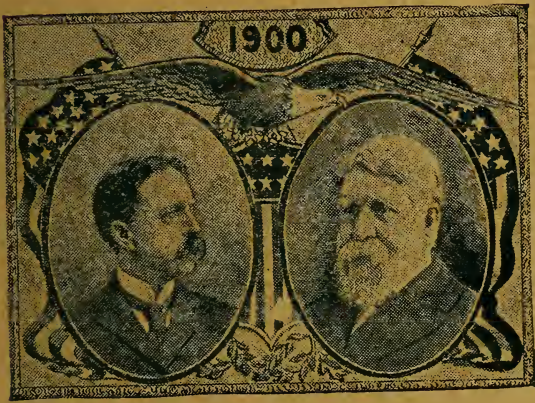


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# Prohibition Text Book

FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF



For President

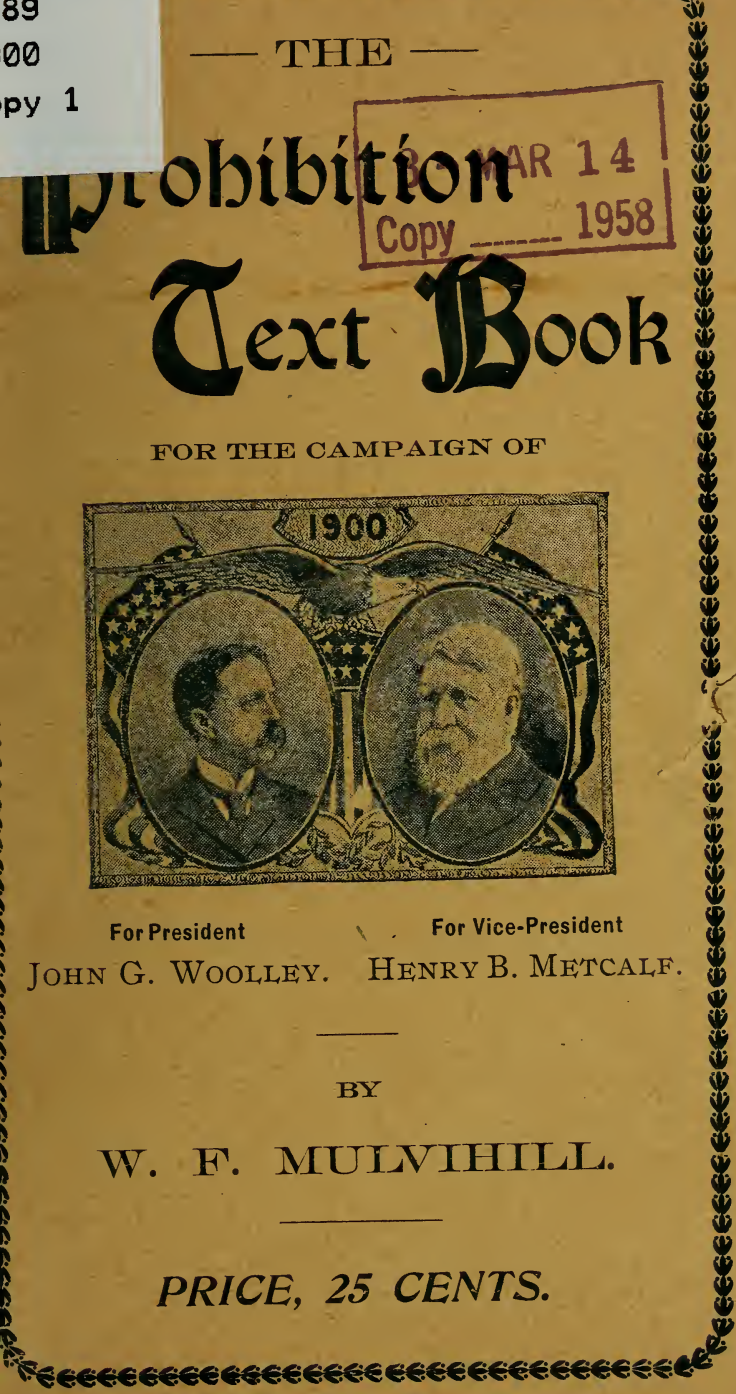
For Vice-President

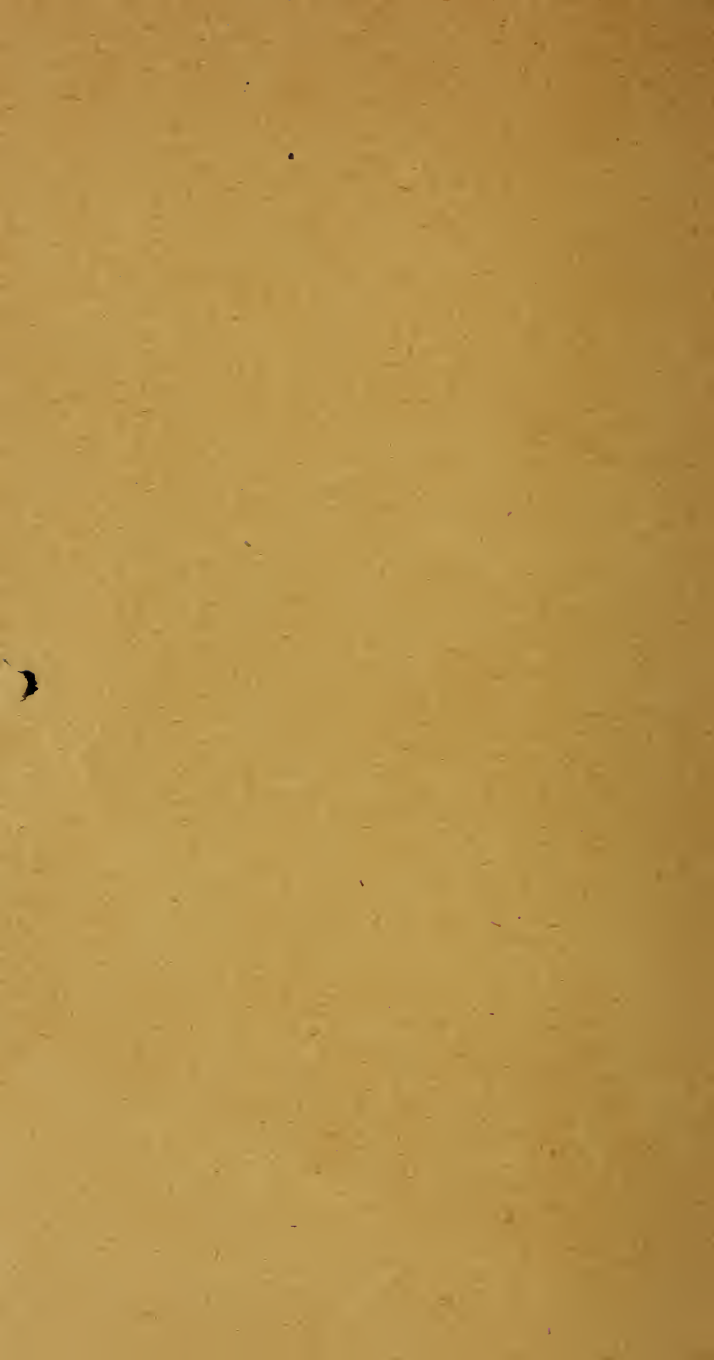
JOHN G. WOOLLEY. HENRY B. METCALF.

BY

W. F. MULVIHILL.

PRICE, 25 CENTS.





# THE PROHIBITION TEXT BOOK

FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1900.

CONTAINING UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION REGARDING THE SO  
CALLED "LIQUOR PROBLEM."



BY

W. FRANK MULVIHILL,

NEWS EDITOR OF THE NEW VOICE.

E. C. DINWIDDIE,



CHICAGO:

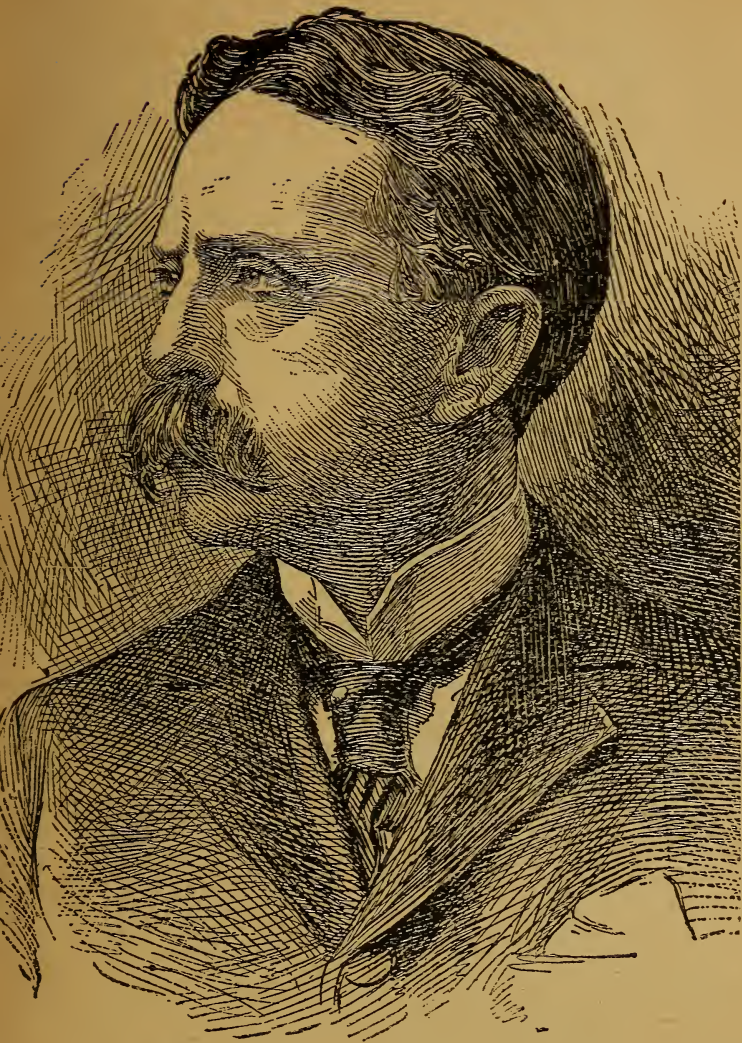
DICKIE & WOOLLEY

1900.

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Wm. Woolley

## **PREFACE.**

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In preparing this little book the prevailing idea has been to touch only upon such matters as are almost certain to come up for consideration during the current presidential campaign. Most of the matter herein contained has appeared, in some form, in *The New Voice*. It is hoped that the bringing together in compact form of these various articles and arguments will be appreciated by the Prohibitionists of the country and will in some measure serve the cause of "The Great Reform."

**THE AUTHOR.**



Henry D. Keck

## Comparative Drink Bill, 1879-1899.

1879 . . . \$ 482,064,339.

1880 . . . \$ 568,441,257.

1881 . . . \$ 608,070,693.

1882 . . . \$ 666,765,428.

1883 . . . \$ 708,089,263.

1884 . . . \$ 717,818,945.

1885 . . . \$ 678,374,931.

1886 . . . \$ 717,069,816.

1887 . . . \$ 762,599,015.

1888 . . . \$ 818,087,725.

1889 . . . \$ 840,880,849.

1890 . . . \$ 902,645,867.

1891 . . . \$ 979,582,803.

1892 . . . \$1,014,894,364.

1893 . . . \$1,079,483,172.

1894 . . . \$1,024,621,491.

1895 . . . \$ 962,192,854.

1896 . . . \$ 947,413,155.

1897 . . . \$ 995,155,298.

1898 . . . \$1,041,143,083.

1899 . . . \$1,069,249,832.



# *THE PROHIBITION TEXT BOOK*

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## **I.—NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM, 1900.**

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### **Preamble. . .**

The National Prohibition Party, in convention represented, at Chicago, June 27 and 28, 1900, acknowledging Almighty God as the supreme source of all just government; realizing that this republic was founded upon Christian principles and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims:

### **Definition of Party and Arraignment of Parties. . .**

1. We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke, that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting, by their joint endeavor, the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed." We declare that there is no principle now advocated, by any other party, which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principle of Prohibition, applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and widely as by its adoption and assertion through a national policy, and the co-operation therein of every state, forbidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle, proposed by any party any-

where, for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future, and financial welfare; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country, agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot-box, from this time forward, until Prohibition is the established policy of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and to those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, could successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government, in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership, and as to which, because of such differences, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.

We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizen and breeds the purchasable voter, money will continue to buy its way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood, and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

We propose as a first step in the financial problems of the nation to save more than a billion of dollars every year, now annually expended to support the liquor traffic and to demoralize our people. When

that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that with a clearer atmosphere the country can address itself to the questions as to the kind and quantity of currency needed.

### The Issue Presented. . .

2. We reaffirm as true indisputably the declaration of William Windom when Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Arthur, that "Considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and that "the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress." We hold that the existence of our party presents this issue squarely to the American people, and lays upon them the responsibility of choice between liquor parties, dominated by distillers and brewers, with their policy of saloon perpetuation, breeding waste, wickedness, woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption and crime, and our one party of patriotic and moral principle, with a policy which defends it from domination by corrupt bosses and which insures it forever against the blighting control of saloon politics.

We face with sorrow, shame and fear the awful fact that this liquor traffic has a grip on our government, municipal, state and national, through the revenue system and saloon sovereignty, which no other party dares to dispute; a grip which dominates the party now in power, from caucus to Congress, from policeman to President, from the rumshop to the White House; a grip which compels the chief executive to consent that law shall be nullified in behalf of the brewer, that the canteen shall curse our army and spread intemperance across the seas, and that our flag shall wave as the symbol of partnership at home and abroad, between this government and the men who defy and defile it for their unholy gain,

### **The President Arraigned. . .**

3. We charge upon President McKinley, who was elected to his high office by appeals to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that, by his conspicuous example as a wine-drinker at public banquets and as a wine-serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of young men, and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute, than any other President this republic has ever had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico and the Philippines; and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen, and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant and effective rebuke.

We challenge denial of the fact that our chief executive, as commander in chief of the military forces of the United States, at any time prior to or since March 2, 1899, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes in effect did before him, and should have closed them, for the same reason that actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress, passed March second, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquor, "in any post exchange or canteen," by any "officer or private soldier" or by "any other person on any premises used for military purposes in the United States," was and is as explicit an act of Prohibition as the English language can frame; we declare our solemn belief that the Attorney General of the United States in his interpretation of that

law, and the Secretary of War in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and indorsement of such interpretation and refusal on the part of officials appointed by and responsible to him, shares responsibly in their guilt; and we record our conviction that a new and serious peril confronts our country, in the fact that its President, at the behest of the beer power, dare and does abrogate a law of Congress, through subordinates removable at will by him and whose acts become his, and thus virtually confesses that laws are to be administered or to be nullified in the interest of a law-defying business, by an administration under mortgage to such business for support.

### **Foreign Liquor Policy Comdemned. . .**

4. We deplore the fact that an administration of this republic claiming the right and power to carry our flag across seas and to conquer and to annex new territory, should admit its lack of power to prohibit the American saloon on subjugated soil, or should openly confess itself subject to liquor sovereignty under that flag. We are humiliated, exasperated and grieved, by the evidence painfully abundant that this administration's policy of expansion is bearing so rapidly its first fruits of drunkenness, insanity and crime under the hothouse sun of the tropics; and when the president of the first Philippine commission says "It was unfortunate that we introduced and established the saloon there, to corrupt the natives and to exhibit the vices of our race," we charge the inhumanity and unchristianity of this act upon the administration of William McKinley and upon the party which elected and would perpetuate the same.

5. We declare that the only policy which the government of the United States can of right uphold as

to the liquor traffic, under the national constitution, upon any territory under the military or civil control of that government, is the policy of Prohibition; that "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," as the constitution provides, the liquor traffic must neither be sanctioned nor tolerated, and that the revenue policy which makes our government a partner with distillers and brewers and barkeepers is a disgrace to our civilization, an outrage upon humanity, and a crime against God.

We condemn the present administration at Washington because it has repealed the prohibitory law in Alaska, and has given over the partly civilized tribes there to be the prey of the American grog-shop; and because it has entered upon a license policy in our new possessions by incorporating the same in the recent act of Congress in the code of laws for the government of the Hawaiian Islands.

We call general attention to the fearful fact that exportation of liquors from the United States to the Philippine Islands increased in value from \$337 in 1898 to \$467,198 in the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900; and that while our exportation of liquors to Cuba never reached \$30,000 a year, previous to American occupation of that island, our exports of such liquors to Cuba, during the fiscal year of 1899, reached the sum of \$629,855.

### **Call to Moral and Christian Citizenship. . .**

6. One great religious body (the Baptist) having truly declared of the liquor traffic "that it has no defensible right to exist, that it can never be reformed, and that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing un-Christian, un-American, and perilous utterly to every interest in life"; another great religious body (the Methodist) having as truly

asserted and reiterated that "no political party has a right to expect, nor should it receive, the votes of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license system, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon"; other great religious bodies having made similar deliverances, in language plain and unequivocal, as to the liquor traffic and the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon, and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and the revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the Prohibition policy, and which for nearly thirty years has been the faithful defender of the church, the state, the home and the school, against the saloon, its expanders and perpetuators, their actual and persistent foes.

We insist that no difference in belief, as to any other question or concern of government, should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial, and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over allied hosts of evil, sin and crime, in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We declare that there are but two real parties, today, concerning the liquor traffic—perpetuationists and Prohibitionists; and that patriotism, Christianity,

and every interest of genuine and of pure democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot-box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this republic.

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### **Additional Resolutions.**

The committee on platform also reported the following supplemental resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the ballot should not be denied to any citizen of the United States on account of sex.

Resolved, That in the organization of the Young People's Prohibition Leagues, as presented by the representatives of the League from the current platform, we recognize an efficient agency for bringing about the suppression of the liquor traffic, legalized or otherwise, and aiding in the up-building of the Prohibition party.

Resolved, That we recommend to the national executive committee and its chairman the advisability of giving such substantial aid to the organization of Young People's Prohibition Leagues as may be reasonably practicable.



## II.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN G. WOOLLEY.

John Granville Woolley, of Illinois, Prohibition candidate for President of the United States, was born February 15, 1850, in the town of Collinsville, Butler County, Ohio. His paternal ancestors were among the early settlers of this country, Emanuel Woolley coming from England in 1653 and settling at Newport, R. I. His grandson, John, settled in Monmouth County, New Jersey. William Woolley, a descendant of John, was one of the first settlers of Cincinnati, Ohio, where his son, Edwin C., father of the subject of this sketch, was born.

Edwin C. Woolley was a graduate of the Miami and Ohio Medical Colleges. He was a man of splendid judgment and of an exceedingly judicial turn of mind. From him Mr. Woolley is supposed to have inherited his characteristic tenacity of purpose and unflinching adherence to a chosen position. He married Elizabeth K. Hunter, whose parents were among Ohio's earliest settlers. She was of Scotch-Irish descent, a woman of most extraordinary gifts, and it is said that whatever of poetry, grace, and pathos of speech John G. Woolley has, was inherited from his mother.

John G. Woolley was the only son born of the marriage of Edwin and Elizabeth Woolley. He had one sister, Agnes, who died in 1869. While young Woolley was still in his early boyhood, his family moved to Illinois, where, at the age of seventeen, we find him holding the position of head master in the public schools. He graduated in 1871 from the Ohio Wesleyan University, receiving its degree of A. M. two years later. Immediately after his graduation

he went abroad, entering the Law Department of the University of Michigan upon his return.

Mr. Woolley was admitted to the bar in the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1873, the chief justice pronouncing his examination the most brilliant he had ever known. After practicing five years in Illinois, during two of which, 1876-77, he was city attorney of Paris, Illinois, he removed to Minnesota, beginning his practice in the Supreme Court of that state in 1878. He entered practice in the United States Supreme Court in 1885. He was state's attorney at Minneapolis from 1884 to 1886. At the expiration of his term of office as state's attorney, Mr. Woolley was drawn into criminal practice exclusively. Up to that time he had been engaged in civil practice and had conducted to a successful issue the most important commercial litigation in the Northwest, in which, as the representative of a syndicate of New York merchants, he attacked a transfer of property on the ground of fraud and by one argument recovered \$2,000,000 for his clients. He is said to have received higher fees than any other lawyer in Minnesota, having once been paid \$500 in gold for a speech of five minutes in a successful plea for mercy for a convicted criminal.

In 1888 Mr. Woolley was offered by Gen. Fisk and others associated with him, a large salary to take up the practice of his profession in New York City and have charge of certain corporate interests, but declined in order to become an agitator, without any assured salary, and has since that time declined bona fide offers of \$25,000 a year to re-enter legal practice. While he has abandoned his profession forever, he has kept up his social relations with the distinguished members of the bar, among whom he numbers his warmest friends.

Mr. Woolley was married in 1873, to Mary Veronica Gerhardt, a daughter of Dr. M. Gerhardt, of Delaware, Ohio, formerly of Philadelphia. They have three sons, Paul Gerhardt, who is in John Hopkins

University; Edwin Campbell, at Columbia University, and John Rea, in the University of Chicago.

Mr. Woolley, to use his own words, "became a Christian and a party Prohibitionist at the same instant," January 31, 1888, in New York City, referring to which he says: "With the first dawn of the new light that came into my soul on that January morning I saw that the Republican party was one of the sins to which I must never return." He immediately joined the Church of the Strangers, of which the late Dr. Deems was pastor, and launched out into active Christian and Prohibition party work. Dr. Deems was a Methodist, as were the parents of Mr. Woolley, and he has always called himself a Methodist, though in fact upon his removal to Chicago he and his family joined in a mission work which has since grown into the University Congregational Church. It may be of interest to add that from the time of George Fox, the Woolley family belonged to the Society of Friends, until the grandfather of the subject of this sketch removed to Ohio, where there was no Friends Church, and became a Methodist.

Having early acquired a reputation as a speaker of wonderful power and flexibility of language, Mr. Woolley was sought upon all occasions in Prohibition and temperance work. Since 1888 he has, on an average, made a speech a day. In 1893 he spoke for 300 nights in succession on "Inalienable Rights," under the auspices of the Illinois Y. P. S. C. E. In Minneapolis he spoke for 100 and in New Haven for thirty consecutive nights, and has spoken over a hundred times in Boston.

In 1892 he went to England as the guest of Lady Henry Somerset, and spoke nearly every day for seven months in the cities of England, Scotland and Wales.

In 1898, when The New York Voice, the recognized national organ of the Prohibition party, became The New Voice and was changed in form and character-

istics, many Prohibitionists still felt the need of an aggressive party paper that should make Prohibition the sole burden of its message. Mr. Woolley was one of these, and he at once suggested to Samuel Dickie, then national chairman of the Prohibition party, that a co-partnership between the two be formed and such a paper published, through their joint endeavor, as would rekindle the fire in the breasts of the Prohibition war horses, who had become somewhat discouraged on account of the changes inaugurated by *The New Voice* since that paper had become a high-class literary paper in which Prohibition was not given its old-time prominence.

The idea meeting Mr. Dickie's approval, the firm of Dickie & Woolley soon purchased *The Lever*, published at Rockford, Illinois, moved it to Chicago, and changed its name to *The Chicago Lever*, with Mr. Woolley as editor-in-chief.

The Prohibitionists of the country, appreciating the spirit of the undertaking, sent in their subscriptions by the thousand, and in August, 1899, *The Chicago Lever* and *The New Voice* were consolidated, under the name of *The New Voice and Chicago Lever*, with Chicago as the place of publication.

Although he is now editor-in-chief of the most influential Prohibition paper in the world, Mr. Woolley has not given up his platform work and he continues to reach larger audiences, on his chosen theme, than any other platform speaker in the country. Last fall he addressed a series of forty meetings, on consecutive dates, in the state of Illinois, the interest in these great gatherings being such that men drove for dozens of miles over bad roads to hear him, and in the cities and towns where he was billed to speak business men closed their stores and offices and the public schools were adjourned to permit the scholars to attend the afternoon meetings.

Although in his public addresses there is an absolute absence of oratorical effort or art, yet it is doubt-

ful if the words of any public speaker fasten themselves as do his upon the memory. It is impossible to forget what he says. When he and Dr. Frank Gunsaulus met after twenty-five years, the doctor repeated the peroration of Woolley's graduation speech. He is of a distinctly retiring disposition, of an almost diffident turn—not averse to conversation but not at all ready in that way. When he speaks on his chosen theme he does so with all the intensity of his being, his whole soul is in every word. When once asked his power, he answered: "If I have any power it is because I go before an audience just as I would go before a jury, caring not a fig what the judge might think, but knowing there was one man on the jury I had to win, and exerting all the energy I possessed to win that one man."

During their lives John G. Whittier and Phillips Brooks were warm friends of Mr. Woolley, and among the interesting things of his house are the autograph letters of great men and women who were his personal friends.

A few years ago one of the leading magazines paid him the following tribute:-

"The life of John G. Woolley reads like a modern exposition of the Apostle's creed. There was the first birth in natural innocence, the suffering under the Pontius Pilate of sinful appetite, and the descent into the hell of a burned out life; then came the glad rising into a newness of thought and power, the glorious ascension to fellowship with God and man, the communion with the saints and martyrs of all ages, a forgiveness of sins which carried with it the blotting out of the old, and a resurrection of the body into a life in which it became henceforth a 'temple of the Holy Ghost.' The days of miracles are not yet passed, and this man with tongue of fire, called of God as truly as was ever prophet of old, is a living proof of the fact. His work is just begun, but its

outcome is destined to affect the future as has the work of but few men."

Though Mr. Woolley was formerly a Republican in politics, for more than ten years he has been an acknowledged leader of Prohibition thought, and a firm believer in the ultimate triumph of political righteousness, through the agency of an aroused Christian citizenship. The motto on his helmet is, "The Honor of the Church is the Issue of 1900."

### III.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HENRY B. METCALF.

Henry Brewer Metcalf, of Rhode Island, nominee of the Prohibition party for Vice-President of the United States, was born in Boston, April 2, 1829. His early education was obtained in the public schools of his native city. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to a dry goods importing and jobbing firm in Boston, through which connection he became informed about, and interested in, manufacturing, and to this branch of commercial and business activity he has, since 1872, given his entire attention.

In the year 1856 he changed his home from Boston to Roxbury, Mass., where he remained for eight years, becoming a leader in political and other work incident to the war period, although he declined to be a candidate for public office. In 1864 he removed to Winchester, and became active in politics as a working Republican, except during the Greeley campaign, when, his sympathies being wholly with Mr. Greeley, he labored zealously for the success of the ticket headed by his name. In 1872, being one of the victims of the great Boston fire, he took up his residence in Pawtucket, R. I., of which place he is still a citizen.

Mr. Metcalf is to-day one of Rhode Island's best known business men, being connected with many manufacturing, commercial and financial enterprises. In 1867 he helped to organize the Boston Button Company, in which he is still the senior partner, the concern not being a corporation. The manufacturing headquarters of this company are in Boston, with branches in New York and Chicago. Some thirty years since he was called to the commercial management of the Pawtucket Hair Cloth Company, whose

business was then very much depressed. Under his management it attained phenomenal prosperity. He still retains the presidency of this corporation. He helped to organize the Campbell Machine Company, a highly successful shoe machinery manufacturing concern, and is now its treasurer. He is a director in the Royal Weaving Company, of Pawtucket, and is more or less intimately identified with other business organizations. Since 1878 he has been a trustee of the Providence County Savings Bank, of Pawtucket, and for ten years has been its president.

He is also president of the corporation of Tufts' College, of which he has for many years been a trustee and from which he holds the honorary degree of A. M.

Two years after locating in Pawtucket, Mr. Metcalf rendered valuable assistance in the reorganization of the city government, and was elected a member of the city council. He was the earliest, and one of the most insistent, friends of the introduction of water into the town for domestic and manufacturing purposes, and to his clear arguments, cogent reasoning and steadfast support of that measure Pawtucket is indebted, more than to the efforts of any other one man, for this, perhaps the greatest blessing that has come to her during her corporate existence. In 1885 he was elected to the state senate as a Republican. He was nominated for re-election the following year, but was defeated by the liquor men and their allies whom he had always vigorously opposed.

Mr. Metcalf is almost as widely known in religious as in business circles, having occupied many important official posts in his church—the Universalist—serving for five years as president of the national convention of the denomination, of which his parents were pioneer members. For twenty-seven consecutive years he has served as Sunday school superintendent of his own church.

He was married May 4, 1854, to Elizabeth Freeman



of Boston, and has one son, a mechanical engineering expert.

Mr. Metcalf in early manhood graduated from the Whig party into the Republican, and was for many years an earnest supporter of that party, usually refusing to hold office.

All his life Mr. Metcalf has been an active and conscientious temperance advocate, speaker and worker. For twenty-five years he has been a member of the board of managers of the National Temperance Society. In 1886 he was one of the leaders in the non-partisan movement that carried Prohibition in his state, and in the same year he joined Albert Griffin of Kansas in organizing the anti-saloon Republican movement, there then being abundant evidence that many influential Republicans felt the need of advanced temperance legislation. To this work he contributed freely of his time, strength and influence. The New York Weekly Mail and Express being the organ of this movement, its leading political editorials were, for a year or more, written by Mr. Metcalf. This anti-saloon movement failed, in part from the bad faith of certain Republican leaders, and in part from the cowardice of United States Senators and others who had favored its organization. Mr. Metcalf is not proud of his participation in this political movement, but has always defended the good faith of its conception. In 1888, finding that the old parties were trifling with the Prohibition law, he helped to organize the "Law Enforcement" party of Rhode Island, which cast a large vote. In 1889, the people having been tricked into repeal of Prohibition, in the effort to hold together those friends of the cause who were not yet ready to join the Prohibition party, Mr. Metcalf helped organize the "Union" party, which, in its numerical strength, proved a disappointment. It was through these devious paths that Mr. Metcalf became a full-fledged party Prohibitionist in the autumn of 1889. In 1893 the Prohibitionists made him

their candidate for governor, and at the ensuing election he received more than seven per cent of the entire vote cast. This, under the circumstances, was a most remarkable achievement. In the present year, 1900, he was again the standard bearer of the party, and polled a large and satisfactory vote.

In the earlier years of his manhood Mr. Metcalf came to be an ardent supporter of the cause of protection to American industry, as interpreted by the great leaders of that time. He became a member of the American Protective Tariff League of New York, at its original formation, and for several years was a member of the executive committee of that body. This, however, was before the league became a partisan organization. He has always advocated the principle, that the true condition of national prosperity is peaceful industry, and at all times has been opposed to the aggressive war spirit. He is at present one of the vice-presidents of the American Anti-Imperialist League.

For many years he has been an earnest advocate of woman suffrage.

Mr. Metcalf is hale and vigorous, with iron gray hair and a fresh and ruddy complexion, presenting the appearance of a man of perhaps fifty-eight or sixty years.

#### IV.—MR. WOOLLEY'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—  
I accept this nomination, not as the leader of a forlorn hope, but as a color-bearer in the next and greatest forward movement of humanity. For it seems well within lines of the most studious moderation to believe that organized conscience, as represented by the church, and organized greed as represented by the liquor traffic, are forming rapidly in American politics for the greatest pitched battle of the ages, and in that fight he is the chief of dullards who cannot pick the winner.

First, then, and least important of the things entitled to be mentioned here, the personal honor you confer upon me, resolved by the prism of cold fact, appears to show my labors multiplied, my income stopped, my faults magnified, my motives clouded, my liberty abridged, my usefulness diminished, my career cut short, but in the whole white light of faith—which is nothing more than reason clarified—I seem to see that although no vote be cast for us in the electoral college, yet many a party, elected and re-elected, may have to walk behind ours, when the lines of fame are formed according to true precedence.

As history fills her reams and tomes and tons of the wisdom of the “smooth” statesmanship to whose myopic vision the lesser of the two likely evils seems the highest good, and of the piety of the prophets who will stoop to prosper, she will reserve a page or two for the “foolishness” of Christian citizenship, and underneath the list of names that you from time to time have marked for honorable mention—Black and Smith and Dow and Fisk and Bidwell and Levering and the rest—will write: “These all died in the faith, not having received the promises, but having

seen them and greeted them from afar, and confessed that they were pilgrims and strangers on the earth". At the foot of this list, and least worthy of all, so far, you offer to add my name, and I thank you. You are the picked men of the churches; the bravest of the brave in politics, and I would rather be the humblest private in the ranks, with such as you, than to be President of the United States and feel obliged to touch my hat to the saloon.

But our success depends upon the advancement of no candidate. If it were so, we might well feel discouraged at the prospect. It takes some millions of votes to elect a President, but in the enthronement of a righteous principle one "first-rate fighting man" shall chase a thousand camp followers, and two "put ten thousand to flight". Our issue is our real nominee, and if but a half million Christian men be true we will elect it on the sixth of next November. And I for one expect that we shall get the half million, and long before the fourth of March inaugurate the doctrine of Prohibition with a party behind it in the political consciousness of the United States.

This confidence in the rightness and the progress and the outcome of our movement arises not alone from sentimental faith that right will triumph, but also from plain, present symptoms in the body politic. The Prohibition party has not descended from the clouds to agitate this nation and convict it. We have not come back out of the future to trouble the present time. We are blood and bone and brain of the same past from which our neighbors spring. The same high thought that controls us is growing in our fellow citizens. We are not the creator of a new time, but a sign of the time that is here. We have seen the high vision sooner than the others, but the mountains of political possibility in America—the homes, the churches and the common schools—are "full of horses and chariots". The hand of the American people is groping for "the sword of the Lord and

of Gideon" and some of us now living will see them sheathe it in the belly of the saloon.

Why, then, having this confidence, do we cry back at our friends who cling to the old ways, saying hard things and sometimes cruel things? That is too deep a matter to go into here, but it is physically certain that the reason why we human beings think and act and speak at all, is because our own nerve-ends fret each other. And so, in social life, man frets man and state frets state, and, somehow, by that travail, the great world-thoughts are born and under way before any individual can claim the credit of their bringing forth. And if we do agitate the good ill-naturedly sometimes, it is, perhaps, because our appetite for the "strong meat" of truth is more developed than our powers of digestion. For myself, at any rate, whatever vices of presentation may be charged to me, I am not and cannot be a pessimist, for in every quiet wholesome moment of my thinking, I perceive that my own highest thought is but a fragment of the output of the social organism of which I am a member.

When the unreasoning heartache grips me which makes me hurl fierce upbraidings at my fellow men, my church, my country, I forgive myself and apologize to nobody, for I know that my abrupt half sentences are but the unspoken and unspeakable agonies of horror-stricken homes filling the unseen channels of human sympathy, and pouring themselves into an open mind from day to day. When in my mind I make my nightly round of military camps and see the white-faced lads, in their rough boxes, dead at the hands of the liquor traffic, denied even the grace of a bullet or a poisoned arrow in their taking off; when I know that they were emasculated in their manhood by the "canteen" and then robbed, diseased, flayed by the "outside dive", when I know that the lieutenant-general of the army tried to save them from the insidious, respectable allurements at their

tent doors, and that Congress, without one voice dissenting, forbade that damnable infamy to thrust itself up to their lips, quivering with homesickness; when, I say, I remember these things, and call the annulment of that statute, treason, I know I speak the inner thought of my country, and no time-serving pot-hunter shall frighten me by whimpering that I "speak evil of dignitaries". But stop! Is not the canteen better than the "outside dive"? No! It is not better than anything. It is wrong. It is worse than the dive in evil initiative, and infinitely, infamously worse in the teaching. The dive is kept by a brute biped, unfeathered. The canteen is the creature of a "godly man", a "Christian gentleman", and the President of the United States, in violation of the law of his church and of his oath of office.

To this high faith in the essential unity and integrity of the people, our platform is a signal testimony. It lays its corner on the religious idea, which is common to all men and the bedrock of all society, and forbids "the sound of any ax or hammer" of a politician trying to force a joint or rush the superstructure. In form and subject-matter, also, it seems exactly suited to the end in view, which is not, primarily, to carry an election, but to make it possible for a Christian man to carry himself, man fashion, at an election. In superficial area it suffers in comparison with the others, but in intellectual and moral breadth and length and depth and height it has no rival in the field to-day. The peril of nations is the sag of moral character. They run to art, science, literature, philosophy, and drive out home-spun virtue in the undertow. Greece did that, and how she died is ancient history. They run to law, statecraft, armies, colonies and forget "truth in the inward parts". Rome rotted down of that, a fortnight of centuries ago. They run to "prosperity at home and prestige abroad" and sell the truth, for offices and money. This country is trying that; but

love says, if not judgment, that she will cleanse herself and live forever. To that end, some trust in free silver and some in cornered gold, but we say, back to the conscience of the people! The highest statesmanship, in such a government as this, is that which, as often as possible, lines up the people at a simple, single, conscience proposition. This is the noblest use a general election can be put to. The multiplex issues of economics are for experts and committees and legislatures. They mix the people, miss their best thought and dull their moral sense. But, when they speak upon a moral question, fairly and honorably submitted, "the voice of the people is the voice of God". The stain and peril of our politics to-day is that the great leaders are blind or false to this divinely ordered function of the electorate. The agony of the bosses is, lest we remember the heights of our nature and refuse to wallow one another in the dirt, like ragged piccaninnies, for pennies that the ruling scoundrels fling amongst us, while the "powers" of commercialism prostitute our own franchises to slice us up—in the language of current diplomacy—into "spheres of influence" for purposes of spoil.

Most pertinent illustrations are close at hand and very tempting. But in the shadow of the news from China and the enormous responsibilities thrown by it upon the parties in control in Congress and the executive department of the government, it seems to me that good citizens of all parties should refrain from general criticism until civilization gets its foot upon the yellow spider at Peking. But none the less, the right, and duty, of our party holds; to bring, clean-handed, into this and every crisis, the voice of the church: "There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee". O America. "Thou canst not stand before thine enemies until ye take away the accursed thing from among you"! If conscience it to be ordered to the rear as you expand your borders and your powers, never mind your murdered missionaries and min-

isters; murder is nothing but murder after all! If conscience is to die, at home, never mind the color of the coins you lay upon her eyes! If bravery belongs to Christian government, no man or party that is afraid of the liquor traffic is fit to lead this people into the twentieth century!

If "the safety of the people is the supreme law", the Prohibition party brings to the ballot box the greatest issue ever framed in politics; no faraway, impractical fanaticism, either, but a real thing, close, importunate, reasonable, universal. Would you strike for "life, liberty and happiness"? Then train your guns of civil rights upon the license system, that sells short leases to bad men and weak men and ignorant men, to spread death, slavery and misery in every land. Would you uphold the constitution? Then tear down the organized disunion of the liquor traffic that establishes injustice and breeds domestic turmoil; that undermines the common defense, promotes anarchy, disease, idiocy, vagrancy and crime and makes "the blessings of liberty" a sham and a lie to millions of us and our posterity! Would you be true to our island dependencies? Spare their people the brain-rot of the American saloon! Would you make sure of honest money? Refuse the bloody millions of the liquor traffic; shut down the distilleries and breweries; shut up the saloons; shut out of the ports foreign alcohol in every form, and open up the windows of the conscience of the country to the voices of the dawning century!

Two errors beset us all the way, that which says "public sentiment is not ready, this thing cannot be done"! and that which says, "It is right, we shall win quickly"!

If public sentiment is not ready, we must get it ready, and that cannot be done by surrendering to the enemy. But the supposition wrongs the people. They are ready, if they can have their attention drawn and held to the religious argument, as opposed to



party expediency. They have been dragged about in the "bad lands" of politics until they are discouraged and perverted in judgment, so that they do not reason of righteousness at all. We do not need to create sentiment, but to collect it, and that cannot be done quickly. Our fight is not against the people, nor even against the saloon, primarily, but we fight to set up an ideal, and victory in such a matter neither halts nor hurries. Few of us can lay claim to what is called "political sagacity". Problems of human government are very big and very complicated. The very simplest of them, even if one's own opinion be adopted, may involve time far beyond his span of life, and interests far beyond his powers of calculation. His own capacity may be very small, his sense of proportion crude, his judgment variable, his will none too strong. In the argument, therefore, of questions, many of whose elements are unknown, and even unknowable, to him, and which are so vast that when he looks at them he cannot tell cause from effect, nor premise from conclusion, he cannot hope to hold his own against debaters who know far more than he does. He cannot even trust himself, unopposed, in very complicated matters where friendship and ambition and property and self-interests are part and parcel. But he will find that he can always tell the right from the wrong side of a simple, moral question. And, judging others by myself, I say, on the ground of both good morals and good politics, that the next great business of this country is to get itself upon a straight-out conscience basis, trusting any "civil service" that comes out of that to be reliable in minor things. To tell the points of the compass, to this day, I have to rub the Aladdin's lamp of my imagination and be transported to my childhood home, which stood on a hill facing east; once there, the whole plan of the earth becomes plain to me. So, in my politics, it seems to me the part of wisdom to find the direction and relation of things,

by going back in spirit to take my bearings "in my Father's house".

By the revolution of 1776 we set up the ideal of liberty; by the revolution of 1789 we set up the ideal of social confederacy; by the revolution of 1861 we set up the ideal of national unity. Not one of these ideals is yet realized in perfect fact, but they are coming on. By the revolution of 1900 we shall set up national righteousness, which, providentially, is ready to loyal hands in the issue of the Prohibition party. And so, thanking you once more for this distinguished mark of your confidence, I bid you, for the honor of the church, in the great words of the father of our country, to come on, "Let us lift up a standard to which the wise and honest may repair—the event is in the hand of God".

JOHN G. WOOLLEY.

Chicago, Ill., July 20, 1900.

## V.—MR. METCALF'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Gentlemen of the Committee:—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter advising me that the National Prohibition Convention, in session at Chicago, June 27 and 28, selected me as its candidate for Vice-President of the United States in the national election of the present year.

Under a sense of profound gratitude for the honor thus conferred, and not unmindful of my own consequent responsibilities, it has seemed to me a duty to accept the nomination, which I hereby do, and pledge the very best service of which I am capable, in contribution to the party's success.

Most heartily do I approve and endorse the declaration of principle and purpose embodied in the party platform so enthusiastically adopted at Chicago.

Its proposition to concentrate the entire strength of the party in attack upon the one common enemy commends itself to me as a policy in harmony with all wise leadership in the past. It does not represent an intent to abandon other vital reforms, but seeks rather to open the way for their successful advance. Because the liquor power, more efficiently organized than any political party, stands solidly arrayed against every worthy reform, declaredly seeking its own perpetuity, every true reformer should demand its overthrow.

It would be impossible for me to define my attitude toward the principles of the Prohibition party more comprehensively or more tersely than in my declaration of hearty acceptance of the Chicago platform, and I will make no attempt thereto. Our issue is not one of mere sentiment, but it enters into most of

the important problems of political economy and social reform that to-day confront civilization. All efforts for municipal reform, purification of the franchise, improved prison systems, efficient public charities, honest legislation, public safety and good order, must and will stagnate until advocates thereof become willing to abate the chief cause of hindrance to their effort.

The conflict between Christian principle and the tolerance of drunkard making is as absolutely irrepressible as was that between human slavery and freedom.

We stand for a cause that cannot die, whatever the strength and endurance of its present defenders, and faithful labor in its behalf cannot be in vain.

Our warfare is against drunkard making and all of its agencies. The "low dives" that defy law are abominable enough, but their power for devastation is not comparable to that of the gilded saloons that have the protection of law. The latter not only wreck the lives and souls of their patrons, but by their money payment they wreck the consciences of thousands who never cross their thresholds, many of whom suppose themselves to be Christians.

Believing as I do that the beverage liquor traffic cannot be legalized by money payment without heinous sin, my most earnest warfare must be against the legalizer rather than the product, against the principal rather than the agent, against the seed-sower rather than the crop. Nor am I able to make any sharp distinctions, as to principles involved, between citizens who deliberately vote for legalization and those who consent thereto by their silence.

A sale of indulgences is, always was, and always ought to be, intolerable, no matter what fashionable society, political tricksters, or amiable cowards may say or do, or omit to say or do.

I have long been convinced that, in view of the im-

portance of the beverage liquor traffic, every intelligent citizen stands either for its suppression or for its perpetuation, and this whether with or without any clear deliberation. Neutrality in such a cause is a fiction that I cannot accept.

I am aware that common usage justifies a candidate in an expression of his views on general public policy, but the specific character of our party platform seems to make such action on my part superfluous.

Under any circumstances, I would, as a candidate, shrink from the making of campaign pledges, seeking to be judged by my record rather than by my promises. In short, I would like to be known, for better or for worse, precisely as my neighbors know me. I suppose that those neighbors have never suspected me of being a "one-idea man" or that I have ever tried to evade responsibility in the face of any important public duty. I suppose that they have never doubted that in performing the duties of my citizenship I have been loyal to my convictions, however unpopular. I hope they have never suspected me of the sin of neutrality on any issue of righteousness.

Such as I am, and with all the power that I possess, I dedicate myself to the Prohibition party in its devotion to God and humanity.

HENRY B. METCALF.

Pawtucket, R. I., July 26, 1900.

## VI.—PROHIBITION PARTY HISTORY.

The Prohibition party is said to have had its origin in an action of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars, which at its session held in Oswego, N. Y., May 27, 1869, adopted a resolution recommending that a national convention for the purpose of forming a political party favorable to Prohibition be held at an early day. Subsequently a committee consisting of the Rev. John Russell, Detroit; Prof. Daniel Wilkins, Bloomington, Ill.; J. A. Spencer, Cleveland; J. N. Stearns, New York, and James Black, of Lancaster, Pa., was appointed to call such a convention.

The convention, at which the party was organized, was held in Farwell Hall, Chicago, Sept. 1, 1869, Nearly 500 delegates from twenty states were present. The first national nominating convention was held at Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1872, at which James Black, of Pennsylvania, was nominated for President, and John Russell, of Michigan, for Vice-President. The following table tells where the national conventions have been held and gives names and states of Presidential nominees:

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND NOMINEES.

Year	Place	For President	State	For Vice-Pres.	State
1872	Columbus	James Black	Pa.	John Russell	Mich.
1876	Cleveland	Green C. Smith	Ky.	G. T. Stewart	Ohio.
1880	Cleveland	Neal Dow	Me.	H. A. Thompson	Ohio.
1884	Pittsburg	J. P. St. John	Kan.	William Daniel	Md.
1888	India'polis	C. B. Fisk	N. J.	John A. Brooks	Mo.
1892	Cincinnati	John Bidwell	Cal.	J. B. Cranfill	Tex.
1896	Pittsburg	J. Levering	Md.	Hale Johnson	Ill.
1900	Chicago	J. G. Woolley	Ill.	H. B. Metcalf	R. I.

The Rev. John Russell of Michigan was the first national chairman of the Prohibition party. He was succeeded in 1876 by James Black of Pennsylvania. Gideon T. Stewart of Ohio held the office from August 24, 1882, to July 23, 1884, when John B. Finch

was elected. Mr. Finch died in October, 1887, and Samuel Dickie of Michigan was chosen to fill his place. Mr. Dickie served for twelve years. He resigned in December, 1899, and was succeeded Jan. 1, 1900, by Oliver W. Stewart of Illinois, who still occupies the position. William T. Wardwell of New York has been secretary of the national committee for a number of years, and Samuel D. Hastings of Wisconsin, treasurer since 1882.

### Platform Declarations.

The national platforms, in addition to their declarations against the liquor traffic and against other parties for complicity in that traffic, have contained many radical utterances on other issues, among which have been the following:

1872.—“That we favor the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.”

1872.—“We are opposed to any discrimination of capital against labor, as well as to all monopoly, and class legislation.”

1872.—“That the rates of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel should be reduced to the lowest practicable point, by force of laws wisely and justly framed.”

1872.—“That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of color, race, former social condition, sex, or nationality.”

1876.—“The abolition of class legislation, and of special privileges in the Government.”

1876.—“The appropriation of the public lands, in limited quantities, to actual settlers only.”

1876.—“The suppression, by law, of lotteries, and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.”

1876.—“The separation of the money of Government from all banking institutions. The National Government only should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money.”

1882.—“The abolition of all monopolies, class legislation, and special privileges from Government, injurious to the equal rights of citizens.”

1882.—“The control of railroad and other corporations to prevent abuses of power, and to protect the interests of labor and commerce.”

1884.—“That the public lands should be held for homes for the people, and not bestowed as gifts to corporations, or sold in large tracts for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers.”

1888.—“For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products of popular consumption.”

1888.—“For the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.”

1888.—“That men and women should receive equal pay for equal work.”

1888.—“That no person should have the ballot in any state who is not a citizen of the United States.”

1888.—“That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party that supports regulation, license, or taxation enters into alliance with such traffic, and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare.”

1892.—“The money of the country should consist of gold, silver, and paper, and be issued by the general Government only, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded. No individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita, and made to increase with our increase in population.”

1892.—“Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent; therefore, our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended, and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he has become a citizen.”

1892.—“Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals,”



1892.—“All men should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven.”

1892.—“Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.”

1892.—“Speculations in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products, and the formation of pools, trusts, and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.”

1892.—“We pledge that the Prohibition Party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.”

1892.—“We stand unequivocally for the American public school and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people.”

The national convention of 1896 developed a sharp conflict between the “broad-gaugers” and the “narrow-gaugers,” so-called, which came to a test on the currency plank, the “narrow-gaugers” winning by a vote of 427 to 387. The convention thereupon adopted a single issue platform, the concluding paragraph being as follows:

“Resolved, That we favor the legal Prohibition by state and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages. That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of Prohibition into one party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by Prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.”

The convention afterwards adopted the following as a separate resolution, the vote being almost unanimous:

“Resolved, The right of suffrage ought not to be abridged on account of sex.”

For the complete platform of 1900 see pages 7 to 14,

## Prohibition Party Votes for President.

The following table gives the Prohibition party vote for President from 1872, when the party had its first national ticket in the field, to 1896.

### PROHIBITION VOTE FOR PRESIDENT 1872-1896.

STATES.	1872 Black.	1876 Smith.	1880 Dow.	1884 St. John.	1888 Fisk.	1892 Bidwell	1896 Levering.
Alabama.....				613	583	239	2,147
Arkansas.....					614	113	839
California.....			61*	2,960	5,761	8,096	2,573
Colorado.....				761	2,191	1,652	1,717
Connecticut...	205	378	409	2,305	4,234	4,026	1,808
Delaware.....				64	400	564	355
Florida.....				72	417	561	1,778
Georgia.....				168	1,808	988	5,613
Idaho.....						288	179
Illinois.....		141	443	12,074	21,695	25,870	9,796
Indiana.....		38		3,028	9,881	13,050	3,056
Iowa.....		36	592	1,472	3,550	6,340	3,192
Kansas.....		110	25	4,495	6,779	4,553	1,921
Kentucky.....		818	258	3,139	5,225	6,442	4,781
Louisiana.....				328	160		
Maine.....			93	2,160	2,691	3,062	1,570
Maryland.....		10		2,827	4,767	5,877	5,918
Massachusetts.....		84	682	9,923	8,701	7,539	2,998
Michigan.....	1,271	767	942	18,403	20,942	20,857	5,025
Minnesota.....		144	286	4,684	15,316	14,017	4,348
Mississippi.....					218	910	485
Missouri.....		64		2,153	4,539	4,298	2,169
Montana.....						549	186
Nebraska.....		1,599		2,899	9,429	4,902	1,193
Nevada.....					41	89	
N. Hampshire.....	200		18)	1,570	1,594	1,296	779
New Jersey.....		43	191	6,153	7,939	8,131	5,614
New York.....	201	2,329	1,517	24,999	30,231	38,193	16,052
North Carolina.....				454	2,787	2,636	675
North Dakota.....						899	358
Ohio.....	2,100	1,636	2,616	11,069	24,356	26,012	5,068
Oregon.....				492	1,677	2,281	919
Pennsylvania.....	1,630	1,319	1,939	15,283	20,947	25,123	19,274
Rhode Island.....		68	20	928	1,251	1,654	1,160
South Carolina.....							
South Dakota.....							685
Tennessee.....			43	1,131	5,969	4,856	3,098
Texas.....				3,534	4,749	2,165	1,786
Utah.....							
Vermont.....				1,752	1,460	1,424	733
Virginia.....				138	1,682	2,798	2,350
Washington.....						2,553	968
West Virginia.....				939	1,084	2,145	1,203
Wisconsin.....		153	69	7,656	14,277	13,132	7,509
Wyoming.....						530	136
Total.....	5,607	9,737	10,366	150,626	249,945	270,710	132,007

\*These 61 votes cast in California in 1880 were returned as "scattering"; but they were mostly, if not all, for Neal Dow.

### Latest Prohibition Vote by States.

The following table gives the latest Prohibition votes by states, with names of candidates and office, and the year in which the election was held:

#### LEVERING AND LATEST VOTE COMPARED.

State.	Levering. 1896.	Lat- est Vote.	Candidate. Office. Year.
California.....	2,573	3,341	McComas, Governor....1898
Colorado.....	1,717	2,677	Rhodes, Governor..... '98
Connecticut.....	1,808	1,460	Steele, Governor..... '98
Delaware.....	355	454	Hutton, Treasurer..... '98
Idaho.....	179	1,175	Johnson, Governor..... '98
Illinois.....	9,796	11,792	Boles, Treasurer..... '98
Indiana.....	3,056	9,961	Worth, Sec. of State.... '98
Iowa.....	3,192	7,650	Atwood, Governor..... '99
Kansas.....	1,921	4,092	Peffer, Governor..... '98
Kentucky.....	4,781	2,346	Wallace, Governor..... '99
Maine.....	1,570	2,335	Ladd, Governor..... '98
Maryland.....	5,918	5,275	Swann, Governor..... '99
Massachusetts.....	2,998	7,402	Coates, Governor..... '99
Michigan.....	5,025	8,789	Clark, Judge Su. Court. '99
Minnesota.....	4,348	5,299	Higgins, Governor..... '98
Missouri.....	2,169	2,933	Robinson, Jdg. S. Ct.... '98
Nebraska.....	1,193	3,970	Regents State Univ.... '99
New Hampshire.....	779	1,333	Stevens, Governor..... '98
New Jersey.....	5,614	6,893	Landon, Governor..... '98
New York.....	16,052	18,383	Kline, Governor..... '98
Ohio.....	5,068	5,825	Hammell, Governor..... '99
Oregon.....	919	4,537	Bright, Sup. Judge..... '00
Pennsylvania.....	19,274	18,072	Caldwell, Treasurer.... '99
Rhode Island.....	1,160	1,937	Metcalf, Governor..... '00
South Dakota.....	685	891	Lewis, Governor..... '98
Tennessee.....	3,098	2,846	Turnley, Governor..... '98
Texas.....	1,786	2,437	Bailey, Governor..... '98
Vermont.....	733	1,075	Wyman, Governor..... '98
Virginia.....	2,350	2,743	Cutler, Governor..... '97
Wisconsin.....	7,509	8,078	Chafin, Governor..... '99

This table does not include Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Washington, West Virginia and Wyoming. These states polled an aggregate vote of 13,152 for Levering in 1896, but as in them no state elections, with Prohibition tickets in the field, have since been held they are not included in the comparison.

## VII.—WHY A PROHIBITION PARTY?

There are so many good men who say they are opposed to the traffic in intoxicating liquors and who claim to believe in the principle of Prohibition who excuse themselves from voting the Prohibition ticket, on the ground that they do not believe that a separate political party is necessary or feasible for accomplishing the object desired, that a brief discussion of other methods of settlement seems desirable.

It is self evident that the traffic in intoxicating liquors cannot be prohibited until a sufficient number of voters, set upon establishing that principle as a policy in government, will agree upon some basis of united action for the accomplishment of that end. That it must be a union, in some way, at the ballot box is also self evident, as the government can, under existing laws, take cognizance of opinions regarding matters of governmental policy only as they are expressed by the ballot of the citizen.

Aside from the separate political party method, three other possible plans are suggested. They are (1) the massing of the advocates of Prohibition in one of the dominant political parties and molding its policy; (2) the omni-partisan or balance of power plan, and (3) the strictly non-partisan or constitutional amendment method.

### **Within which Party can they Unite? . . .**

The first plan suggests itself at once to the conscientious voter who loves his party, but realizes that its position upon the question at issue is unsatisfactory. He thinks that by uniting the good men of the country in his particular party to secure the desired results and at the same time to save his party from that defeat or dissolution which he fears would result should he and other "good men" withdraw from it. In asking another, of opposite political faith, to

unite with him in purging his beloved party of its uncleanness regarding the liquor traffic he entirely overlooks the fact that the good man in the other dominant party is equally anxious to save his party from the dreaded defeat which might follow his leaving it.

Neither of the numerically great parties of the day has ever really put itself on record as favoring the principle of Prohibition in any state until after the people of the state had adopted it and it had become the law. In the South the temperance element is largely to be found within the ranks of the Democratic party, while in the North the temperance men are largely affiliated with the Republican party.

These things being true, in which party can the "temperance men" unite?

Another insurmountable obstacle to this basis of union is found in human nature itself. No believer in the principle of Prohibition has a right, while giving up nothing himself, to demand that another shall give up all his political associations and beliefs regarding other public questions, but each has a right to demand that the other meet him half way, in a new organization founded upon the one dominant issue upon which both are agreed.

### **The Omni-partisan, or Balance of Power Plan. . .**

This is the plan advocated by the Anti-Saloon League and those who urge an independent organization "counter to the liquor dealers in politics," which shall not make nominations of its own, but whose members shall refuse to vote for objectionable candidates on either old party ticket, but shall vote for the candidate who is best disposed toward this reform.

It is claimed that by this method the liquor dealers have been able to terrorize both old parties and largely to dictate nominations, and it is urged that

the temperance voters by a similar plan could accomplish the same results.

One trouble with this plan is that to succeed there must be an organized body of voters who will be willing to unite in casting their vote solidly for or against certain candidates in accord with the directions of their leaders or as determined by a vote among themselves. And here again human nature crops out to upset the plan. Liquor dealers may unite in secret compact, having a great financial interest involved, and may and do consent to being "bossed" by their organization leaders, but the average "good man" will not be bound by any such agreement and will not consent to "dictation." Another objection is that such an organization, being made up of men from different parties, each man anxious that his party shall make acceptable nominations, they have attended the primaries and perhaps the nominating conventions of their respective parties and are already morally bound by their participation in such party gatherings to support their party nominees. Indeed, in a number of states it is necessary for a voter to declare his intention of supporting the nominees of the convention before he is allowed to vote at the primary. If the temperance voters shall refuse to accept their participation in their party primaries as binding and shall openly "bolt" important nominations by their party, they, by that act, close against themselves the doors of future primaries, while by the terms of their basis of union they are unable to make independent nominations.

If it is urged that the liquor dealers attend party primaries and conventions and do not support their party nominees if the same are opposed to the liquor interests, it should be remembered that the liquor men never openly "bolt" their ticket, but that they "knife" their man secretly, the word to do so being passed around quietly by the "bosses" in the liquor dealers' organization, who have their followers so

thoroughly in hand that they are implicitly obeyed and no questions asked. No outsider knows positively who does it.

It will hardly be suggested that the temperance men too should work in secret or that after taking part in a party primary or convention they should "knife" the nominees of that convention "secretly," in order to take part in future conventions. While such are the "successful methods" by which the liquor dealers, who are not troubled by any compunctions against such methods, win political victories, they are not such as can be adopted by reformers, the very suggestion of such a course being repulsive to the honest, conscientious and Christian voter, who naturally feels that he would sooner sacrifice his party than his honor.

To work "counter to the liquor dealer in politics" is beautiful in theory, but unless one is willing to adopt gin mill tactics it offers an absolutely impossible basis of union, except, perhaps, in some limited territory, and even then it should be borne in mind that in a real contest of this kind the advantages are all with the liquor dealer. He has his "gang" thoroughly in line and does his work secretly, he is unscrupulous, mercenary and deceitful and has no compunctions against "knifing" at the polls a candidate whom he helped to nominate, and in addition to all these things he is merely trying to keep his party from making any change; whereas, the temperance man is trying to "reform" his party, which confessedly requires a great deal more power and many more votes than to keep it in the same old state of liquor domination.

## **The Non-partisan, or Constitutional**

### **Amendment Method. . .**

The non-partisan basis of union suggests the formation of an organization which shall have nothing to

do with political parties or the candidates for whom the members of the organization shall vote. It is pointed out that under this plan no political antagonisms are created, and there is no doubt that this method of union is the easiest and quickest possible, as the number of voters who would join an organization which does not require them to sever any party ties, is much greater than the number willing to join a separate political party.

The trouble with such a union, however, is that it has not sufficient power to accomplish its object.

There are but two ways to secure Prohibition, i. e., by direct act of Legislature, with which this method, being non-partisan, can have nothing to do, and by constitutional amendment, followed by enforcing legislation enacted by the Legislature, with which latter again this method can have nothing to do.

It is only in the adoption of Prohibition amendments that the non-partisan method really comes into play and even here it is at the mercy of partisan Legislatures for the submission of the question to popular vote and for the enforcing legislation upon which the success of the enactment depends. A constitutional provision is very rarely, if ever, self-enforcing, and it is due to the fact that corrupt officials, in Prohibition states, cannot be punished by the non-partisan method that they are so faithless in looking after the execution of the law. The very argument that the Prohibition law in Maine and other states is not properly enforced is itself sufficient to show the insufficiency of this method. The order of procedure in securing a constitutional amendment is as follows:

1. The Legislature (which is partisan) votes to submit the proposed amendment to a vote of the people.
2. The voters cast their ballots for or against the proposition (under the non-partisan plan).
3. If the amendment is carried the (partisan) Legislature is supposed to enact the necessary laws for its enforcement.



Even after the Legislature has voted to submit an amendment it often happens that the influence of the party managers are thrown solidly against its being carried, as was the case in Pennsylvania when the Republican and Democratic party workers openly joined hands for the defeat of constitutional Prohibition. In New York a few years ago the Legislature (largely Republican) voted to submit a constitutional amendment to popular vote and then considerably failed to make the necessary appropriation to provide for the expense of the election and thus the matter went by default, the friends of the non-partisan method being entirely at the mercy of the Legislature. In Nebraska the Democrats led by William J. Bryan, made a most bitter fight against the proposed amendment.

If the Legislature does not wish to submit the amendment, the advocates of the non-partisan plan are powerless, as under their basis of union they have no right to go into politics and contest the election of legislators. If the amendment passes, the matter of enacting laws for its enforcement is at the mercy of a partisan Legislature, and even if the people are not betrayed and the law is duly passed, its execution still remains in the hands of partisan officials who have before them no fear of the non-partisan agitators, who are pledged not to go into politics.

Being thus forced to conclude that the other methods suggested for the overthrow of the liquor traffic are inadequate for the accomplishment of that end, it must follow that the separate political party plan offers not only the most acceptable basis of union, but the only practical plan for the enforcement of the law after it has been secured. Thus is answered the question, Why a Prohibition party?

## VIII.—ATTITUDE OF OTHER PARTIES TOWARDS PROHIBITION.

The National Republican party at its convention in Philadelphia June 6, 1872, inserted in its platform the following Raster resolution:

“The Republican party propose to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the state and federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interfering with the rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.”

Mr. Herman Raster, the author of the resolution, explains its meaning thus:

“The sixteenth resolution of the Philadelphia platform was adopted by the platform committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws.”

As a national organization the party has not materially changed the position that it took in 1872. Its platforms in 1876, 1880 and 1884 contain no words that could be construed as repudiating the Raster resolution. At the national convention of 1884 a formal plea was made before the committee on platforms by Miss Frances E. Willard, who asked, not for a radical declaration, but for a sympathetic one. The only response that the platform gave was a declaration that:

“The Republicans of the United States in national convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six presidential elections.”

The platform of 1888 embraced these words:

“We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to . . . the autonomy reserved to the states under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of the citizens in all the states and territories in the Union.”

Just before the adjournment of the convention the

following resolution presented by C. A. Boutelle was passed:

"The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality."

This was not a part of the party platform, but was a resolution adopted June 25, four days after the adoption of the platform. Commenting on this resolution Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Circular, July 10, 1888, said:

"And pray, who withholds indorsement from such propositions as these? In behalf of the wine and spirit trade, we hereby accord this declaration our unreserved approval. The man who would do otherwise would be very apt to contend that two and two do not make four."

The Cincinnati Commercial Gazette [Republican] of July 17, 1888, said:

"The Boutelle resolution was a simple piece of sentimentalism, equally harmless and unnecessary. If it had meant anything it would not have passed."

In its national convention at Minneapolis June 9, 1892, the Republican party put itself on record by adopting the following, as a part of the platform:

"We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality."

At its convention held at St. Louis June 18, 1896, the same resolution was adopted. The following comment on this attitude appeared in the Wine & Spirit Gazette of New York, June 28, 1892:

"The temperance plank in the Republican platform adopted at Minneapolis reads as follows: 'We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.' So do we, and so do all decent, honest liquor-dealers who have a proper appreciation of the true meaning of their business. The traffic in intoxicating liquors can be justified only in so far as it is carried on, not with a view of making drunkards, but of supplying a craving in the human appetite which if gratified with moderation contributes to the well being of many without in any way interfering with the personal rights and comforts of others. The temperance plank in the Repub-

lican platform might have been adopted with perfect propriety by any liquor dealers' association. It meets the approval of the trade. If our temperance reformers doubt the accuracy of our statement, let them canvass the liquor dealers. They will learn that 99 out of every 100 of them are heartily in favor of every wise and legitimate effort to lessen the evils of intemperance and promote morality."

In its platform of 1900 no reference to the questions of temperance or Prohibition was made.

### **The Democratic Position Defined. . .**

The Democratic Party in National Convention at Chicago, June 23, 1892, declared as follows:

"We are opposed to all sumptuary laws, as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen."

On this Mida's Criterion, of Chicago, a liquor paper, says:

"The great political parties have tackled the liquor problem in their platforms in so terse a manner that the voter can see at once where they stand. The Republicans take a negative position, the Democrats a positive. The Republicans sympathize with the efforts to put down intemperance, the Democrats boldly denounce sumptuary legislation. Each party is instinctively true to its basic principles."

### **Prohibition Considered Secondary by Populists. .**

The People's Party adopted the following at its National Convention held in Omaha, July 4, 1892:

"While our sympathies, as a party of reform, are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for a solution, and upon which, not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend."

In 1896, at Chicago, the Democrats reaffirmed their former declarations and in 1900 they reaffirmed the "Chicago platform." Neither the Populists or Democrats have made any specific reference to the questions of temperance and Prohibition since 1892.

## IX.—THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The following is in substance the report of a special representative of *The New Voice*, who was sent to Philadelphia to study the morals of the Republican national convention, which nominated McKinley and Roosevelt.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 21, 1900.—The national convention of the Republican party, which closes its sessions to-day, is a fitting sequel to that other convention of the party, held in this city in 1872. It will be remembered that in the convention of 1872, the famous Raster resolution was adopted, opposing all temperance, Prohibition and Sabbath legislation. The convention which has been in session this week is evidence that the opinions of the leaders of the party have not changed on this subject since twenty-eight years ago. The party has never by platform utterance receded from the position on this question that it assumed on that occasion, however much it may have twisted and turned on the tariff, or the currency question. Their platform this year was adopted without any enthusiasm, and is absolutely silent as to any specific reference to any phase of the Prohibition reform; while the personal deportment of a large part of the delegates and visitors present would indicate that the representatives of the party have no longer even "cordial sympathy" with "efforts to promote temperance and morality."

To enter into the close details attendant upon the convention would be to describe the lapse into sin and shame of thousands of human beings.

Practically the delegations from all the states were on the scene Saturday or before, and the preparations for spending Sunday in a city where the saloons are said to be tightly closed on the first day of the week would form an interesting chapter all by itself. The Philadelphia North American describes crowds at the Hotel Walton, which has been the headquarters of the Republican national committee and of the New York and Ohio delegations, as "lined up at the bar six deep" purchasing supplies of wet goods to make these statesmen "spirituously" inclined on Sunday. It had two barrooms in constant operation and I frequently saw the crowd lined up at the bar three and four deep.

At Patterson's cafe, separated from the Walton only by

Locust street, there was always an immense patronage. Shortly after 10 o'clock Tuesday morning I counted twenty-five women at the tables in the rear room, with escorts, drinking. There was also much drinking going on in the rooms upstairs, where the Penrose Republican club has its headquarters. At 1:40 a. m. I counted more than ninety men in the barroom clamoring for drinks or cheering for some politician. Ten empty beer kegs—half-barrel size—adorned one side of the room. One man, a member of a visiting club, with his campaign hat crownless, stood upon the beer kegs and poured a glass of beer with unsteady hand into the face and open mouth of another inebriated visitor who stood on the floor to receive it. It was regarded as a great joke by the crowd of onlookers. An hour later—at 2:40 in the morning—I returned to the place and found sixty men at the bar or the tables. An officer was stationed in a rear hallway to protect the place against violent outbreaks. Many of the saloons kept open all night during the convention.

#### **A Baker's Dozen of Bar Tenders. . .**

Hotel Lafayette is another prominent hostelry and the headquarters of a large number of state delegations. Its barroom is unusually large, yet there was scarcely a time during the convention, but that it was packed with thirsty statesmen. There were at times thirteen bartenders desperately busy serving the impatient multitude. At 1:50 Tuesday morning I counted more than one hundred men lined up at the bar four and five deep. Many of them, as at other places that I visited, wore delegates' and alternates' badges.

At this hotel, on Saturday, placards were posted giving warning that the barroom would be closed on Sunday. Here are a few sample signs:

"TO-MORROW WILL BE SUNDAY.

A timely hint, lest you forget,  
Though it rain to-morrow, it will not be wet;  
So whatever your choice, wine, beer or rye,  
Arrange to-night for your Sunday supply."

"The line of communication with this base of supply will be cut at twelve o'clock to-night. To-morrow will be Sunday."

"Thou art so near and yet so far,  
Will be the sigh of the thirst-racked man to-morrow;  
Yet an order to-day across the bar  
Will provide against all that Sunday sorrow."

"The Period of Sighs and Sorrows Begins at 12 (midnight)."

"We don't sell wines or liquors on Sunday. But we have no selfish desire to keep them in stock until Monday."

The California delegation brought a carload of wine from the Pacific slope, and on Sunday the Colonade was thronged with delegates and visitors from other states, who came to partake of the gold hunters' boundless hospitality. Liquors were freely served to all comers in open violation of the law. One of the daily papers, commenting upon the drinking and "patriotism" at the headquarters of the California crowd, says that, "the products of her vineyards in baskets, with RED, WHITE AND BLUE covers, were simply inexhaustible in the Colonade, where the Californians live."

State delegations were also entertained at the Continental and Bingham hotels. At each of them men wearing the badges of delegates mingled freely with the crowds that thronged the barrooms. Indeed, investigation showed that such was the case at nearly all of the more prominent resorts on Broad street, as well as at the hotels where headquarters were located.

I have described thus far only scenes such as any man might have witnessed if he had his eyes open and which have been variously described in the Philadelphia papers in a general way. I have not mentioned the numerous club houses which were always thronged, day and night, with club members and their friends, who stored away a large amount of wet goods. Neither have I referred to the drinking in the private rooms, and at the hotel tables, which was a common affair. I have said little about the drinking and carousing in the upper rooms over saloons, although it existed, participated in by throngs of men and women. I could fill *The New Voice* with descriptions of what was done in these places.

### **Scarlet Women Much in Evidence. . .**

The saloons and hotels were not the only means of debauchery afforded at the big convention. On every side the "scarlet woman" was in evidence. She haunted the streets in every direction. Her criminal traffic was openly flaunted, and she found a ready, even eager, patronage. She stood on the street corners; she mingled with the crowds around the hotels; she rode bicycles in a suspiciously scanty attire. She was multitudinous—her name was legion. She plied her arts principally at night, though a number of times I saw illicit alliances contracted in the open day. After nightfall it was almost impossible for a man to walk the streets without being approached by some "painted charmer."

The houses of ill-fame were as liberally patronized as were the women of the street. It was a common scene to

see two, three, four or more carriages standing in front of these resorts.

### Scenes in the "Tenderloin". . .

Last night I visited Philadelphia's "Tenderloin District," and found that the delegates had early learned of its location. I saw one man wearing the big sunflower badge of the Kansas delegation, escorting a woman on either arm along the street to one of the resorts in this district. There are streets where every house is a house of infamy, and there was no lack of patronage for them last night. "McKinley prosperity" and political pulls having provided the delegates with plenty of money and the Philadelphia saloons having sold them liquor to steal away their brains they were easy "marks" for her whose guests are in the depths of hell.

### Why the Chairman Had Trouble. . .

The big exposition hall in which the convention was held was nearly a half mile from the nearest saloon. This insured good order the first day, at least. On the second day, however, many took bottles in their pockets, which may have accounted for the fact that the chairman was almost entirely unable to control the convention and maintain order and probably accounted for two serious altercations which occurred Wednesday, between delegates, in one of which a knife was drawn, though the men were separated before they came to anything more serious than fist blows.

Perhaps President McKinley is not personally responsible for the scenes of debauchery that were enacted at the Republican national convention; but the party which chooses such men for its representatives, and which is led—not to say "bossed"—by men of such character, is not worthy of the confidence or support of intelligent men, who must continue to regard their suffrage rights with some degree of conscientiousness.



## X.—THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The following report of the Kansas City convention is by a staff correspondent of *The New Voice*:

Kansas City, Mo., July 6, 1900.—Two weeks ago the representatives of the Republican party, once yclept the grand old party, met at Philadelphia and nominated William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt; last week the Prohibitionists at Chicago named John G. Woolley and Henry B. Metcalf, and the "unterrified and unwashed Democracy" has here just chosen, or been forced to accept, as its standard bearers, William J. Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson.

Readers of *The New Voice* are familiar with the disgraceful orgies attendant upon Mr. McKinley's nomination; they have been told how the meaningless, but sometime effective, "cordial sympathy" resolution of former Republican gatherings was eliminated from the declarations of the Philadelphia convention; they have been made acquainted with the way in which the Sunday law of the Quaker City was violated in order that the thirst of the assembled Republicans might be quenched; they know that the Hotel Walton, the headquarters of the Republican national committee and of the delegations from both McKinley's and Roosevelt's home states, maintained two barrooms, in constant operation, the crowd being frequently lined up three and four deep at the bar; they know that until the "we sma' hours," the dozens of bartenders at the leading hotels and in the saloons in the center of the city were kept desperately busy serving the impatient crowds; they know that the scarlet woman was very much in evidence and that the scenes in the tenderloin district, where Republican delegates, alternates, and visitors thronged the houses of prostitution, were so disgraceful as to prove the party unworthy of the support of any moral citizen.

### **Democats and Republicans Alike. . .**

And was there any material difference between the convention of the Republicans at Philadelphia and the Democrats at Kansas City? Alas, no.

Had the cries of "Hill" been changed to calls for "Teddy," and could Kansas City's hills and hollows have been exchanged for Philadelphia's broad and well-paved thorough-

fares, it would have been almost impossible to have determined which was the Democratic and which the Republican gathering.

Both were dominated by the party bosses and the platforms of both were alike remarkable for the things they failed to say.

I came here two days ago for the express purpose of learning the facts about the debauchery and drunkenness attending the Democratic convention.

After a careful investigation I am prepared to assert and maintain that so far as drunkenness at their conventions is concerned, the two parties are as near alike as twin peas.

I have visited the headquarters of the various state delegations, the headquarters of the national Democratic committee, the principal saloons and resorts of the city and on every hand I found drinking and drunken men and occasionally drunken women also. The three big hotels, the Midland, Coates and Baltimore, were the principal rendezvous of the alleged disciples of Jefferson, and in each of them an extra force of bartenders was employed, in order that the characteristic Democratic thirst might not go unslaked.

### **Sixteen Bar Tenders at the Baltimore. . .**

The Baltimore was headquarters for the Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Utah and New England delegations, and at no time when I visited its barroom, which is in the basement, and I was there at nearly all hours of the day and night, did I find less than sixteen bartenders on duty, while the crowd, even when the convention was in session, was usually lined up four and five deep clamoring for drinks.

In this hotel barroom at 1:15 o'clock Thursday morning, I saw members of the "Bryan Guards" so drunk they could not spit their filthy tobacco juice over their stubbly chins, the ooze and slime running out of the corners of their mouths as they talked about "16 to 1" and nominating "Tammany" for second place on the presidential ticket.

The Midland was headquarters for the Arkansas, Arizona, Montana, Wisconsin, Maryland, New York and Wyoming delegations, and for the "Cook County Democracy." Here nineteen bartenders were constantly on duty, nearly fifty extra barkeepers having been imported from Chicago, St. Louis and other cities so that no thirsty visitor should lack accommodation.

### **Tammany's Travelling Grog Shop. . .**

Tammany headquarters were on the second floor and when

I showed to the "brave" in charge of the generous supply of liquid refreshments in the "private room," the story printed by some of the Republican papers, to the effect that the route of Tammany's special convention trains was strewn with empty bottles, that worthy admitted the "soft impeachment" and said that the following list of liquid supplies for the trip of the Tammany crowd was substantially correct:

- 2 dozen cases of Scotch whisky.
- 2 dozen cases assorted brandies.
- 2 dozen cases American rye.
- 3 dozen cases assorted cocktails.
- 2 dozen cases Moselle and Rhine wines.
- 10,000 bottles of beer.
- 500 bottles of ale.
- 1,000 quart bottles of champagne.
- 1,000 pint bottles of champagne.

But let no one imagine that the Tammany crowd was worse than the rest, for, as a matter of fact, I saw fewer drunk men, wearing "Tammany" badges, than of almost any other aggregation.

At half past three o'clock yesterday morning nearly a hundred men were drinking in the barroom of the Midland, while a few of the more "oratorically" inclined were shouting the respective merits and demerits of Hill or Towne from the tops of tables in the center of the room. Not infrequently the speakers were entirely deserted by the crowd turning to the bar for drinks, leaving the spellbinders, sometimes two on one table, to indulge in "heart-to-heart" talks, while waiting for further attention. The assistant cashier was casting up the bar receipts for the day and told me that, while he would not like to have it published, I could mark it down that they were taking in not less than \$2,000 a day aside from the amount sold in quantities and served in the headquarters and rooms of the various delegations. He complained that the hotel was losing bar trade on account of the large supplies of liquor that some of the delegations had brought with them and my personal observation confirms his statement that nearly every headquarters was practically a barroom.

### **Big Bar Trade at Coates House. . .**

The Coates house was headquarters for nearly all of the remaining state delegations and in its large billiard and pool room the tables had been put aside and extra bars erected, while more than a dozen bartenders were constantly engaged in an endeavor to satisfy the desires of the thirsty crowd that thronged the place. The clerks behind

each bar kept the automatic cash registers clicking like the keys of a typewriter.

In the rooms occupied by the different state delegations liquors were freely served and at half past two yesterday morning there were more than a dozen drunken men asleep on benches or seats and on the tables that occupied one side of the main barroom.

The cashier at the main bar informed me that their receipts for cigars and drinks would average between \$1,800 and \$2,000 a day during the convention.

### **Two Bars at National Headquarters. . .**

The headquarters of the Democratic national committee were at the Kansas City Club rooms, corner of Wyandotte and Twelfth streets, only one block from the convention hall, and here two bars were in constant operation. The larger barroom was on the ground floor and here not less than five men were employed while the "Summer Garden Bar" on the floor above required three bartenders and five waiters who delivered drinks to customers at the tables, aside from a cashier who occupied a raised platform and did nothing but handle the coin. He would not give me any figures as to the receipts for drinks but from one of the waiters I learned that nearly, if not quite, a thousand dollars a day would be the average receipts.

"You see," said this waiter, "we are getting fancy prices for the drinks we sell here, because it is the national headquarters."

At all of the saloons and hotels coin-in-the-slot gambling machines were in operation, not only in the barrooms and low dives, but in the very offices of the leading hotels, and the scarlet woman made bold to solicit patrons in front of the principal headquarters.

I was in the convention hall when the anti-imperialistic-free-silver-16-to-1 platform was adopted and noted that no word was spoken in condemnation of government by nullification or the imperial expansion of the liquor traffic. I noticed, too, that before the cheering after the nomination for Bryan was completed, literally hundreds of delegates and visitors, including the Omaha marching club, unable longer to control their enthusiasm, left the hall, and, with one accord, sought the nearest drinking place.

### **The Responsibility Placed. . .**

Now the attention of the conscientious, moral-loving voter is respectfully called to the fact that the drinking and debauchery which are the concomitants of Democratic and Republican national conventions are not confined to Tam-

many tigers or representatives of the Cook County Democracy, but are indulged by delegates and leaders outside these organizations, whose influence is, and has been, potential in determining party policies; to the fact that parties which disgrace themselves by such scenes as were witnessed in Philadelphia and Kansas City are not entitled to the vote of any conscientious, not to say Christian, man; to the fact that though Mr. McKinley and Mr. Bryan may not be personally responsible for these disgraceful orgies, yet the Christian voters of the country, and the other voters who consider themselves as good or better than any Christian, are responsible for their quadrennial repetition, if, by their ballots, they shall support the nominees selected by these conventions.

Attention is also called to the fact that the Prohibition party conventions are never accompanied by drunkenness or exhibitions of moral filth, and that while Mr. Bryan may pose as the candidate of the poor man, and Mr. McKinley be accepted as the nominee of the trusts, Mr. Woolley stands as the sole representative of the honest, conscientious voter, who wants his ballot to count for the elevation of mankind and the betterment of the race.

## XI.—PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S ATTITUDE.

In early life William McKinley, now President of the United States was a total abstainer and an advocate of Prohibition. In 1874, in an address to the voters of Stark county, Ohio, he said:

“By legalizing this traffic we agree to share with the liquor-seller the responsibilities and evils of his business. Every man who votes for license becomes of necessity a partner to the liquor traffic and all its consequences.”

During the campaign of 1896 it was shown that Mr. McKinley had not only ceased to be a Prohibition advocate, but that he was receiving rentals from property belonging to his wife, at 908-912 S. Market street, Canton, Ohio, upon which a retail liquor saloon had been located since 1887, Mr. McKinley having renewed the lease, with the Reymann Brewing Co. in 1893. The law of Ohio is such that the alleged lease of the property could have been terminated at any time by the McKinleys. [For resume of the entire story see *The New Voice* of Jan. 25, 1900.] Early in February, 1898, the saloon was vacated. Mrs. McKinley and her family also owned a controlling interest in the opera house property on East Eighth street, in which a saloon is located.

October, 28, 1898, the *New York Journal*, under the caption “President McKinley drinks the health of the Clover Club,” said:

The chief magistrate of the nation was a guest of the club at a banquet, after the peace jubilee parade at Philadelphia last night. He proposed a toast, and, reaching for his glass of wine, found that it was unfilled. “I don't see anything to drink,” he said. “This is the first time I ever knew in the history of the Clover Club that there was nothing intoxicating set before the guests.” A dozen men sprang up, his glass was filled, and, much to their surprise, he unhesitatingly drank the health of the club.

The article was illustrated with a sectional view of the banquet hall, showing Mr. McKinley and oth-

ers with glasses raised. The Philadelphia Press referred to the President's drinking at the banquet attending the festivities of the G. A. R. reunion in that city. No denials of these statements have ever been made.

In its issue of October 12, 1899, The New Voice, on the personal observation of two of its editors who were present, asserted that Mr. McKinley, at the Auditorium banquet, in Chicago, October 9, "allowed his glass to be filled time after time, from the bottle of the waiters, who, according to the menu card, were distributing 'sauterne,' 'sherry,' 'claret,' 'champaigne,' and 'liquors,' he, meantime, emptying it as often." Commenting upon this the Chicago Tribune (Republican) in its issue of Nov. 2, 1899, said:

"There is no reason to doubt that on that occasion the President did drink some wine with the distinguished gentlemen mentioned. They would have thought it strange had he not done so."

March 1, 1900, The New Voice printed the report of an investigation made by a staff correspondent with regard to the President's drinking at Milwaukee on October 16, 1899. Briefly stated, it showed that, after careful investigation, a number of leading Methodist clergymen, including the Rev. David C. John, D. D., presiding elder of the Milwaukee district, the Rev. George H. Trevor, D. D., of the Washington Avenue church, and the Rev. C. P. Masden, D. D., of the Grand Avenue church, had united in a letter to the President, protesting against his use of wine at public banquets. The letter, in addition, protested against Mr. McKinley's attitude regarding the army canteen and said:

"We have a hard enough fight against the liquor traffic all the time, without having to face the additional influence of a Methodist President, who comes to our city and at a public banquet drinks every kind of wine on the menu."

The information upon which this action was taken was secured from Governor Schofield, who sat next to President McKinley at the banquet, and has never been denied. Indeed the Rev. Chas. S. Lester (an

Episcopalian rector), who sat next to Gov. Schofield, when asked by a New Voice representative if he cared to deny the statement that the President drank every kind of wine that was served, declared that "It's nothing to be ashamed of and it's nobody's business."

The Milwaukee Daily News (Independent) of March 2, 1900, reprinted The New Voice report in full, under the heading "Milwaukee Methodist Ministers Pour Hot Shot Into McKinley," and says:

#### NO DENIAL BY MINISTERS.

Milwaukee Methodist ministers are reticent regarding the "round robin" sent to President McKinley in regard to the use of wines at banquets. Several of the more prominent pastors were seen to-day, but nearly all refused to speak on the subject, though none denied the correctness of the story substantially as printed in The New Voice. The Rev. G. H. Trevor, secretary of the local association, said: "I have nothing to say." He would not, however, deny the story.

In its next issue the same paper said:

The action was not taken by the ministers as an association, but individually, and only the pastors of English congregations would consent to sign the letter which contained the names of a large majority of the Methodist ministers of the city.

The meeting, at which the first action was taken with reference to the President's conduct at the Milwaukee banquet, was held in January. It was then that the committee, with Dr. George H. Trevor, of the Washington Avenue M. E. church, as chairman, was appointed to make an investigation. At the next meeting the committee reported that it had the authority of Gov. Schofield for the statement that President McKinley had partaken of many kinds of wine at the banquet at the Pfister, and they had a type-written letter which they asked the ministers to sign that it might be forwarded to Washington.

Editorially, in the same issue, the News said:

Mr. McKinley's high station brings prominently before the public his private life. His failure to live up to the demands of his church naturally brings it in discredit in the public mind. At political banquets Mr. McKinley, Methodist, drinks wine, thereby violating his obligations to his church and bringing it in public contempt.

At Peoria, Ill., Mr. McKinley was the guest of Jo-



seph B. Greenhut, formerly president of the "Cattle-Feeders' Association," generally and commonly known as the "whisky trust," who spent \$20,000 in the entertainment of the President and his friends. His attitude on the army saloon question is given on page 67 under "The Army Canteen."

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### A Vice-Presidential Attitude.

"Now that I am governor, I would like to see things different. I would like to make it possible for the Germans of New York City to get their beer at stated hours on Sunday. . . . I believe it is only just. I do not like to see liquor drank to excess, but I am not a teetotaler. In fact, I feel very contented after taking a drink, and I feel that it is no more than right that beer drinkers should be given an opportunity to get it on Sundays."—Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York, now Republican candidate for Vice-President, in an interview in the Brooklyn Times, (Republican).

## XII.—BRYAN'S ATTITUDE.

It having been proven so conclusively that had any liquor dealer been elected President of the United States four years ago, he could not have done more for the liquor business than has President McKinley, it is very important that Mr. Bryan's record on the temperance and Prohibition questions should also be kept in view, lest some shall be tempted to choose what they may deem the lesser of two likely evils and because of disgust at McKinley's subserviency to the liquor interests shall vote for Bryan, from whom, if elected, they have absolutely nothing to hope.

Since his nomination for President in 1896 Mr. Bryan has been very guarded in his utterances on the liquor question, but in 1890, when the Prohibition amendment in his own state, Nebraska, was pending, he told a representative of *The Voice*, in so many words, that he was "opposed to all that sort of legislation." *The Omaha World-Herald*, the paper of which Mr. Bryan was at a later time editor, reported a campaign speech of Mr. Bryan's, made at Lincoln, Neb., October 13, 1890, as follows:

There is one question, however, which is now before the people of the state upon which our party has seen fit to take position. In our platform we have declared that we do not believe that the social habits of the people are proper subjects for constitutional provision and have expressed our preference for the present high-license law rather than the Prohibition amendment which has been proposed.

October 15, 1890, speaking in the Grand Opera House at Omaha, he referred to the proposed Prohibition amendment as "the dark cloud of Prohibition" and as reported in the *World-Herald* the next day said:

I endorse the position of the Democratic party when it says that the constitution is not the place to bring in the

personal and domestic arrangements of the people.

Editorially the same paper said, October 27, 1890:

MR. BRYAN . . . HAS MADE AN ANTI-PROHIBITION ARGUMENT IN ALL HIS SPEECHES ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION WHEREVER DELIVERED. BRYAN HAS PROBABLY MADE NO LESS THAN 45 ANTI-PROHIBITION ARGUMENTS. HE HAS MADE AT LEAST THREE IN EVERY COUNTY IN HIS DISTRICT. He does not confine these speeches to Omaha as Connell does. The people of Omaha who oppose Prohibition will probably be able to see through Mr. Connell's methods. They will probably be able to appreciate Mr. Bryan's services, who makes anti-Prohibition speeches where they do some good.

Although Mr. Bryan has been popularly supposed to be a total abstainer, though opposed to the principle of Prohibition, the following from a staff correspondent of the Chicago Record, at Omaha, Neb., published July 14, 1900, would seem to indicate that even this supposition is incorrect. The Record says:

That Mr. Bryan leads an abstemious life and eats frugal fare is easily evident from his clear eyes and complexion. He is a man of small appetite and simple tastes, neither a glutton nor a wine bibber, although not a teetotaler either in theory or practice. He never uses wine or beer on his table, although he sometimes drinks both when offered him at the tables of others; but he keeps a bottle of whisky—or rather Mrs. Bryan does—on the top shelf of the pantry, not for convivial, but medicinal purposes. This bottle has been called for at times to revive the drooping strength and spirits of the statesmen from Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky and other states, but is never produced until called for.

As late as July 17, 1900, he wrote Mr. Louis Schade, editor of the Washington Sentinel, a liquor paper published at the national capital, who editorially boasts that he suggested to the War Department a construction of the anti-canteen law, which to quote his own words "opened a way for the Attorney-General to invalidate a thoughtless act of Congress," congratulating him "upon the excellent work the Sentinel is doing."

On June 10, 1900, Mr. Bryan also wrote to the Liquor Trades Review of New York assuring that

paper that he looks upon the proposition to abolish the war tax on liquors as "only meeting a just demand." Both these liquor papers print Mr. Bryan's letters as an endorsement of their anti-Prohibition agitation and attitude.

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### When the Saloon Will Go Out of Politics.

The following is from the closing speech of Senator Chas. Schweickardt, in a debate in April, 1893, upon a bill introduced by him in the Missouri senate, which provided that where a license had been granted to any person to sell intoxicating liquors, the license should be perpetual until the person died or had been convicted of some crime. He said:

"Senators have said upon the floor to-day in this debate that they would like to see the saloon out of politics. So would I; and I will tell the senators when it will go out of politics: When every law restricting the liquor traffic is repealed; when you cease by legislation to discriminate against my business and to cripple it; when we can open our saloon on Sunday and run it as we could any other day of the week; when our business is placed upon the same footing and upon the same plane with every other legitimate business—then, and not until then, will the saloon go out of politics. We shall fight you until this is accomplished. And in the end you will surrender."

Mr. Schweickardt is the proprietor of several saloons in St. Louis; was a delegate to the last Republican national convention. His bill was defeated in the house by a majority of 30. It passed the senate 23 to 10.

### XIII.—THE ARMY CANTEEN.\*

The army canteen is the name by which the saloon part of the post exchange system of the United States army is known. It originated during the latter part of President Cleveland's first term, and has existed ever since by virtue of a general order of the War Department. No law authorizing its existence was ever passed. The post exchange is the general name applied to the co-operative store, restaurant, reading and recreation rooms, saloon, etc. The "canteen" is merely the name of the SALOON department of the exchange. The canteen differs in no essential particular from a saloon; it sells intoxicating liquors; sells them over a bar. Besides intoxicating drinks it sells nothing, except sometimes cigars and tobacco. "The sale or use of ardent spirits in any branch of the exchange is strictly prohibited," so say the regulations, but it is a well-known fact that this provision is not enforced.

The following is an extract from an act of Congress, approved June 13, 1890:

"No alcoholic liquors, beer or wine shall be sold or supplied to the enlisted men in any canteen [exchange] or post trader's store, or in any room or building at any garrison or military post, in any state or territory in which the sale of alcoholic liquors, beer, or wine is prohibited by law."

This law of Congress is openly violated, and that fact is well known to the War Department officials, as testimony showing such violations is included in the current report of the Secretary of War. A couple of quotations will suffice:

"In 1895 I was at Fort Yates, N. D. [Prohibition territory], at a time when the sale of beer in the exchange was not

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\*A complete history of the canteen is being published by Dickie & Woolley, Chicago, at 75 cents in cloth and 40 cents in paper covers.

tolerated. A little later the post commander authorized the sale of 'hop tea'—beer under that label."—Lieut. F. C. Marshall.

"The citizens of the village of Winooski [Vermont, in Prohibition territory] will speak of effects upon the morals and conduct of the men since its [the canteen's] establishment at Fort Ethan Allen."—Captain Hardie.

The report also contains abundant evidence showing that the attempted "regulation" of the army saloon is a failure. Capt. Chas. Gerhardt, of the Eighth Infantry, says:

"There has been and will be treating in the canteens. There has been and will be beer taken away. There has been and will be whisky sold in the post."

Capt. Macomb on page 119 also says:

"The only fear is that non-drinking men may acquire a taste for liquors from the custom of treating or being forced to treat others."

Lieut. N. F. McClure says:

"The present rule allowing each man credit to the extent of one-fifth of his pay is constantly violated."

Capt. G. K. Hunter says:

"On a recent visit to Washington a congressman informed me that he had seen whisky sold at one of the post exchanges in a post in New York harbor. . . . I think great care should be taken to not further antagonize persons who may use examples of violations of exchange regulations as arguments for discontinuing the canteen feature, which is the whole soul and life of the post exchange system."

In March, 1899, Congress passed what is known as the "anti-canteen law," (section 17, of the army re-organization bill). It reads as follows:

"That no officer or private soldier shall be detailed to sell intoxicating drinks as a bartender or otherwise, in any post exchange or canteen, nor shall any other person be required or allowed to sell such liquor in any encampment or fort, or on any premises used for military purposes by the United States; and the Secretary of War is hereby directed to issue such general order as may be necessary to carry the provisions of this section into full force and effect."

That this law prohibited the sale of beer in the army saloon or "canteen" was understood by both the friends and foes of the measure. Instead of carrying out the plain intent of the law, the War Department,

having failed in an attempt to get the judge advocate general to rule that beer was not intoxicating and could therefore be sold, adopted the suggestion of a Washington liquor paper and intimated to Attorney General Griggs that he might decide that the law only provides that soldiers may not be bar-tenders, and that therefore the sale of beer might continue if civilian bar-tenders were employed. The Attorney General acted on this suggestion and so ruled. His opinion was denounced by newspapers, members of Congress, lawyers and judges as an outrage. President McKinley was appealed to and literally thousands of petitions from temperance and church organizations were sent him urging that he use his unquestioned authority as commander in chief of the army to abolish the canteen and thus carry out the plain intent of Congress. The President, however, has turned a deaf ear to all entreaties, declaring that the Griggs opinion "will have to stand." He asserts that "the attitude of our temperance friends is simply absurd." The law of March, 1899, still stands unrepealed, and the canteen exists in violation of the law and is now, as it always has been, at the mercy of the President of the United States.

Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, the commanding general of the army, with his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1899, transmits also the report of Major-General William Ludlow, who said:

"It is a matter of general recognition that the use of intoxicating drinks of any kind in the tropics conduces effectively to attack from disease. **IT IS BELIEVED BY THIS DEPARTMENT THAT ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION IS IMPERATIVE.** In almost every case of yellow fever developed thus far among American troops in Cuba it has been found that the patient was in the habit of drinking. **IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, WHERE A LARGE NUMBER OF THE TROOPS ARE RECRUITS, THAT NOTHING BE OFFICIALLY DONE TO CREATE IN THEM THE HABIT OF USING INTOXICANTS.** To establish canteens at the posts in the tropics is to render the tempta-

tions of sociability and companionship practically irresistible, and the habit of drinking is readily acquired."

At present over 85 per cent of the United States army is in the tropics.

Major-General Shafter, from Santiago, wrote to *The Voice*:

"I have always been strongly opposed to the canteen system or the sale of intoxicating drinks of any kind on military reservations, and have opposed it until absolutely overruled and required to establish a canteen at my post. I regard it demoralizing to the men, besides impairing seriously their efficiency. The plea that it furnishes a large sum, which it does, to improve the table fare of the men, is, in my opinion, a very poor one, as the Government of the United States is perfectly able to feed its men without any assistance from the profits of rum selling."

The late Brigadier General Guy V. Henry also wrote to *The Voice* from Porto Rico:

"I am opposed to sales of liquors of any kind to enlisted men and the use of same in hot climates is injurious. A canteen puts liquor (beer and light wines) in front of a man, and induces him to drink, which, with this temptation removed, he would never do."



#### XIV.--THE FAILURE OF REGULATION.

There are no arguments against Prohibition, more in favor with the editors of liquor papers, the old party politicians and other defenders of the liquor business than the well worn statements that "Prohibition is a failure," and "Prohibition don't prohibit." In support of these statements some city or town, located in territory which through some state or local law is under Prohibition, is pointed out and because some of the public officials in such city or town have been corrupted and have allowed the law to be violated, these gentlemen conclude that "you can't make men moral by law" and that "Prohibition is a failure."

Those who oppose Prohibition on the ground that the law is violated in territory where the sale of liquor is prohibited are almost invariably in favor of some scheme for the "regulation" of the traffic. That being the case it should be borne in mind that:

**"FOR EVERY OUNCE OF REAL FAILURE TO BE CHARGED AGAINST PROHIBITION, ADMINISTERED BY MEN WHO ARE ITS AVOWED ENEMIES, A TON STANDS AGAINST 'REGULATION,' AS ADMINISTERED BY OFFICERS AND POLITICAL PARTIES FAVORABLE TOWARD IT AND COMMITTED TO ITS SUPPORT."**

The statement quoted above appeared in The New Voice Sept. 1, 1899, since which time that paper has published from the reports of personal investigations by members of its staff, literally pages of matter proving that the laws enacted for the "regulation" of the liquor business are commonly and flagrantly violated. In fact, the open violation of the laws of the various states, prohibiting the sale of liquor on Sunday and to minors, is so well known and so al-

most universal, except in Prohibition territory, that it is unnecessary to cite particular instances.

Washington, New York, Albany, Syracuse, Buffalo, Toledo, Columbus, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and St. Louis have recently been investigated. Each of them is under a license law; in each of them the sale of liquor on Sunday and to minors is contrary to law. These provisions are constantly violated. The conclusion is inevitable, "Regulation does not control," and "Restriction is a failure." Minneapolis claims to have "settled" the saloon question by confining the liquor shops to certain prescribed territory; but the law is constantly violated. In South Carolina the dispensary law or state control system is in force, yet in the city of Charleston the provisions of the law are no more regarded than the Justinian code. Any interested investigator will find abundant evidence in his own or his nearest large city, to justify the statement that the only practical method of dealing with the saloon is to prohibit it.

**Horace Greeley said . . .**

"Now, it is mad, it is driveling, to talk of regulating the traffic in intoxicating beverages. Raise the charge for license to \$10,000 and enact that nobody but a doctor of divinity shall be allowed to sell, and you will have no material improvement on the state of things now presented, because so long as one man is licensed to sell thousands will sell without license. The law is robbed of all moral sanction and force by the fact that it grants dispensations to some to do with impunity and for their own profit that which is forbidden to others."—The New York Tribune, April 4, 1854.

## XV.—CAN SOCIALISM CURE THE DRINK EVIL?

In view of the claims made during recent years by American Socialistic leaders and periodicals regarding Socialism as a remedy for the drink evil, The New Voice instructed its special commissioner to Europe, Mr. W. E. Johnson, to study that particular phase of the question in certain British cities where such socialistic doctrines have been applied as might reasonably lead to the expectation that there should be found there at least some indications of the good results hoped for.

Mr. Johnson selected Glasgow, the second city of the British empire, and Huddersfield, with a population of 100,000, as probably the fairest fields for investigation. Both of these cities have made much progress in "practical socialism." He says:

"Glasgow has done almost everything for the workingmen except to abolish the liquor shops, of which 1,746 exist under license. Homes for families are provided at a small rental; widows and widowers are boarded by the city at cost; city nurses care for babies during working hours; penny baths exist in all parts of the city where workingmen live; municipal tramways and ferries take them to their work for one or two cents; municipal concerts, lectures, night schools and employment agencies are free; public playgrounds and even playthings are provided for the children; free gas is furnished for the alleys and hallways of the poor, and twenty-two co-operative societies of the city provide the workingman's supplies at the lowest possible rate. The license laws are as well enforced as in other large cities, with every condition favorable to the successful operation of the law; yet 45,000 people are arrested for drunken rows every year and an annual average of 1,200 women are assaulted by drunken husbands—107 poor women thrashed by their husbands every month. On the streets old men and boys, young girls and gray-haired women were seen in a tipsy condition."

If Socialism has any virtue as a remedy for the drink evil, all the elements for its success seem to be found in Huddersfield. Almost every imaginable

thing has long since been done for the laboring man—except to close the gin mill. For half a century the city has provided lodging houses and mechanics' homes at a nominal rental for her poor; long ago she began building artisans' dwellings, which she rented to the working families as low as \$5 a month for a good home; the dwellings are modern with every facility for neatness and comfort. It was the first city in Britain to operate its own street car lines, and for twenty years they have been run, having the especial accommodation of the working classes in view. The fares vary with the distance, but nearly all amount to two cents in American money. The city owns and operates its own gas works, electric light plant, water works, and is now adding a telephone. The markets, stock exchange, baths, laundries, cemeteries, parks, sewers, reduction works, slaughter houses, all belong to and are operated by the city; yet in spite of all these things the Hon. Joseph Woodhead, who has always lived in Huddersfield, has been twice mayor of the city, is an ex-member of Parliament and is now the editor of the leading daily paper of the city, says:

“I cannot honestly say that these enterprises have had a particle of effect one way or the other upon the liquor question. They have been of unquestionable benefit to the workman who does not drink, but so far as in any way tending to solve the drink problem they have made no difference whatever. The drink question is still with us, and we have organized all sorts of plans to cope with it. We have various lodges of Good Templars, the Huddersfield Temperance League, the Huddersfield Temperance Society, and nearly every church organization has its Band of Hope. I only wish that these municipal enterprises had resulted in the direction of promoting temperance, but they have done nothing in that way whatever.”

## XVI.—THE "GOTHENBURG SYSTEM".

In the spring of 1900, Mr. William E. Johnson, special commissioner of The New Voice to Europe, in a series of articles published in that paper, entered into a very exhaustive study of the so-called Gothenburg system which has been in operation in some parts of Norway and Sweden since 1865, although in the two countries the system differs very materially. Briefly stated, the "Gothenburg" system places the licenses in the hands of private corporations which may either conduct the traffic or relet the licenses to others. This applies only to the traffic in spirituous liquors. The traffic in beer and wine is not generally monopolized. In Sweden the corporations are called "bolags;" in Norway, "samlags." In concluding his articles Mr. Johnson makes the following observations:

"Out of a quarter of a century of experimenting with this Gothenburg theory, there are some developments which prominently force their way to the surface.

"Except in rare cases, the best elements of a community will not run a saloon. Frequently, they will organize a company, in the same way that they would rent their property for a bawdy house, but the man who actually runs the place generally comes from the ranks of the disreputable. The man with self respect won't do it.

"Another vital weakness lies in the distribution of the profits. In Sweden these profits go to the relief of the taxpayer. In the larger cities, they pay about one-third of the taxes. This reconciles the better elements to the system, the success of which has come to be reckoned from the amount of profits, which means the amount of the stuff sold.

"Norwegian legislators saw this weakness and provided that the profits of their samlags should 'go to charitable' concerns for charitable purposes. The result was that 'charitable institutions' sprang up in Norway like frogs in Moses' Egypt. The nuisance became such that the Storting has enacted that the bulk of these profits, after the year 1900, shall be paid into the national treasury. What to finally do

with them, nobody seems to know. If they go to the general fund, that means to the relief of taxation, the very Swedish evil which the Storthing originally guarded against. If they are to be devoted to charity, institutions, or public enterprises of any sort, they rush into the very evil from which they have just fled. The very fact that there are enormous profits to be disposed of makes inevitable a wild scramble for a share, and it is not the best people who are apt to indulge in this scramble. If they reduce the price of drinks in order to reduce the profits, they add great encouragement to more drinking among the working people, the very thing that the system was designed to prevent. About the only way out of the difficulty seems to be to make a huge bonfire once a year and burn up the profits.

"The Norwegian and Swedish systems differ in another important respect:

"In Sweden, the bolags are required to furnish food. The plan is to make the drinking places attractive, and gradually turn them into restaurants. Gothenburg, where this policy has been intelligently followed for thirty-four years, is now, statistically, and in common repute, the most drunken city in the whole Scandinavian peninsula. There are probably few cities on the civilized earth that can show such an enormously high per capita drunkenness as can Gothenburg.

"The Norwegian plan, on the other hand, is to make the drinking shops disagreeable. No accommodations, no food, no chairs, no papers and no amusements are provided. Apparently the most disagreeable man in town is selected for bartender. The customer must swallow the dram and get out. The theory is to make drinking places disagreeable and incidentally make money for charity. The results, gloomy as they appear as any solution of the problem, do not seem to be so hopelessly bad as in Sweden.

"But one fact stands out clearer than any other: NOT A SINGLE GOOD RESULT CAN BE POINTED OUT THAT HAS NOT BEEN THE DIRECT OUTCOME OF PROHIBITION. The Norwegian law has much more Prohibition in it and its general results have been correspondingly better."

## XVII.—THE SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY LAW

This law was passed in 1892 by the manipulation of the "Tillmanites" after the people had voted by 10,000 majority for Prohibition. It places the liquor traffic in the hands of county dispensers who receive a salary; the profits of sales, which are not to exceed 50 per cent, are divided equally between the county and the municipality. Liquors are purchased from the State Board of Control in sealed packages holding from one-half pint to five gallons and are sold direct to customers, unopened and not to be opened on the premises. No person is permitted to manufacture or sell liquor except through the Dispensary. Prohibition is easier of enforcement than the South Carolina system. For the year ending June 30, 1899, the U. S. revenue officials seized 289 illicit distilleries in the state. Not a single illicit distillery was reported or seized in the Prohibition states of Maine, Kansas or Iowa.

## XVIII.—THE "MULCT TAX" LAW.

The so-called "mulct law" is in force in the states of Ohio and Iowa, which are nominally under constitutional Prohibition.

In Ohio the state constitution, adopted in 1859, provides:

"No license to traffic in intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this state, but the General Assembly may, by law, provide against evils resulting therefrom."

Several statutory laws for the "regulation" of a traffic which was prohibited were declared unconstitutional by the courts, but in 1886 the "Dow Law", as it is called, was passed. Instead of licensing traffic, it simply charges the traffic, wherever found, with the burden of a tax. Originally the tax was \$250 a year, but a few years ago it was increased to \$350.

Iowa was under Prohibition from 1884 to 1894, when the present so-called "Mulct Law" was passed.

This act declared that it in no way legalized the sale of liquor nor protected any wrongdoer from the penalties he had incurred. But it assessed a tax of \$600 per annum against all holders of permits who were not pharmacists, for which the owner of the premises was also made liable. Another section, applicable to cities of only 5,000 inhabitants, made the payment of the tax a bar to proceedings under the prohibitory law, on compliance with a number of specified conditions and the written consent, signed by a majority of the voters residing in the city, who voted at the last general election.

Another section extends the protection of the provisions of the Mulct Law to towns of less than 5,000 population, where 65 per cent of the voters at the last election have signed their consent thereto. In fact, the act amounts to a practical waiver of the prohibitory provisions with the consent of a majority of the voters in the large towns and cities and of 65 per cent of such voters elsewhere.



## XIX.—THE RAINES LIQUOR TAX LAW.

This much lauded model of high license legislation was passed by the New York state legislature (largely Republican) in response to a demand for a better excise law. A previous legislature had voted to submit to popular vote a Prohibition constitutional amendment, but had considerably failed to make the necessary appropriation to provide for the cost of the election and the matter had gone by default, and this law which provides for an annual tax of \$800 in cities having at least 1,500,000 population; \$650, in cities of 500,000 to 1,500,000; \$500 in cities of 50,000 to 500,000; \$350 in cities of 10,000 to 50,000; \$300 in places of 5,000 to 10,000; \$200 in places of 1,200 to 5,000 and \$100 for places having less than 1,200 population, was given to the world as the ne plus ultra of temperance legislation.

As a revenue measure the law has been an unqualified success, the state's share of the liquor tax for the past year being \$4,231,231.06 and the cities and towns receiving \$8,351,017.65, a total of \$12,582,248.71.

A local option vote, once in two years, by towns is provided for upon the acknowledged petition of ten per cent of the voters of the township, but cities have absolutely no voice in excise matters, the state fixing the license fee and granting no opportunity for a local option vote.

Since the law became operative, May 1, 1896, the annual reports of the state commissioner of excise have been studied arguments in favor of the law, many of the comparisons between it and the old excise law being absolutely false and misleading. In his report for the year ending September 30, 1897, the commissioner gave what purported to be a table showing the number of arrests for drunkenness in the various cities and incorporated villages of the state before and after the Raines' law went into effect, and gave 81,893 as the number of such arrests

in 1895 and 59,204 for 1897, when as a matter of fact the number given for 1897 represented ONLY THE ARRESTS FOR NINE MONTHS instead of for a full year as the tables presented would lead one to believe. The current report does not give the number of arrests for the past year. In his yearly reports the Commissioner also compares the number of licenses ISSUED under the old law with the number IN FORCE at a certain date under the present law.

Last year according to the official report there were issued 31,709 liquor tax certificates against 33,437 licenses in 1895 under the old law. The small reduction in the total number issued is shown upon analysis to be entirely in the cities and larger towns, and to be largely due to a provision of the law which prohibits grocers from keeping a barroom in connection with their stores.

As a measure for lessening the evils arising from the liquor traffic it is an acknowledged failure, even its friends, if well informed, admitting that as much liquor is consumed as before its enactment, and that the restrictive features are openly and commonly violated. In its issues of November 3 and 17, 1898, The Voice printed columns of paragraphs from the records of crime due to drink, as published in the various newspapers of the state during the preceding six months. A perusal of the story is sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person that high license as exemplified by the Raines' law is a failure in every moral aspect.

## XX.—THE RELATION OF POVERTY TO DRINK.

In response to an inquiry directed to the "Keeper of the Almshouse" in each of the 2,841 counties in the United States in 1899, replies were received from 816 officials in 46 states. The leading question asked was:

"In your opinion what proportion of the inmates of your almshouse came there directly or indirectly through the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors, either on the part of themselves or someone else?"

The officials were also asked to state their experience with paupers and the number of paupers under their charge. The 816 replies received were from officials with an average experience of nearly five and a half years, and who had under their charge 33,245 paupers, of whom 17,091, or 51 per cent, were paupers through intoxicating liquor.

Such authorities as Charles D. Kellogg, Secretary of the New York Charities Organization, Prof. Richard T. Ely and the "Encyclopedia of Social Reforms," place the total number of persons in the United States, partially or wholly supported by charity, at 3,000,000. If that be the case, assuming, as it is fair to do, that the average of the estimates of these 816 keepers of almshouses will hold good for the 3,000,000. THERE ARE IN THIS COUNTRY TO-DAY 1,530,000 PERSONS WHO ARE SO IMPOVERISHED THROUGH DRINK THAT THEY ARE COMPELLED TO DEPEND WHOLLY OR IN PART UPON PUBLIC CHARITY FOR THEIR FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER.

## XXI.—THE STORY OF A THOUSAND JAILS.

In its issues of May 13 and May 20, 1899, The New Voice printed in tabulated form the replies of 1,017 keepers of county jails from 43 states to the question:

“In your opinion, what proportion of the prisoners in your jail were brought there directly or indirectly through drink?”

The jailers were also asked to state the number of years' experience they had had in dealing with prisoners. There are nearly 3,000 county jailers in this country. They are in constant association with criminals. They know the habits, history and frequently the ancestry of the inmates of the jails. The aggregate experience of the 1,017 who replied to The New Voice inquiry was almost 6,000 years, or an average of more than five and one-half years each.

Summarizing the “returns” of this inquiry, we find:

1. The general average of 909 replies from license states gives the proportion of crimes due to drink at 72 per cent.

2. The average of replies from 108 officials in Prohibition states is 37 per cent, the replies indicating that a considerable part of these were bootleggers in jail for selling whisky.

3. The above does not include 55 empty jails in Prohibition counties.

4. Out of the 1,017 replies, 257 placed the proportion at 90 per cent; 525 at 75 per cent and above; 73 at 50 per cent and above; while out of the entire 1,017 jailers only 181 could be found to place their estimate below 25 per cent, and 55 of these were in Prohibition territory and reported empty jails.

## XXII.—PROHIBITION IN MAINE.

Maine was the pioneer Prohibition state. Her first prohibitory law was passed by the legislature in 1846, but did not provide adequate penalties for violation, and was not very effective. In 1851 (four years before the Republican party was organized in Maine.—See Maine Register), “the Maine law,” framed by Gen. Neal Dow, as an amendment to the previous law, was passed. It contained the important “search and seizure clause.” Five years later its enemies, by a political coalition, repealed the law, substituting a stringent high license law. The legislature of 1855 voted to submit the question to popular vote, and Prohibition was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The vote stood 28,864 for; 5,912 against. In 1858, therefore, the law was re-enacted and, with some additions, has stood as the law of the state ever since, being embodied in the constitution in 1884, after 30 years’ trial, by a vote of 70,783 to 23,811. In 1855-56, under Prohibition, the commitments to jail for crime were 65; in 1857-58, under license, 121; in 1859-60, under Prohibition again, 89.

Every governor of Maine from 1867 down to the present time has publicly borne testimony to the good results of the law, and for 40 years not a man has been sent to Congress from the Pine Tree State who did not espouse the cause of Prohibition.

In July, 1899, The New Voice gave an exhaustive study of the results and workings of the law. The conclusion is:

That while in some of the larger cities the law is flagrantly violated, through the corruption of public officials [as the Republicans usually poll almost two-thirds of the total vote the responsibility for non-enforcement is easily placed], yet there is not a legal groggery in Maine; 621 out of 790 organized cities, towns and villages are without a liquor

outlaw; of the 661,086 inhabitants of the entire state, 280,333 live in cities and villages where not even a "bootlegger" exists—not to mention the other thousands that live, outside the centers of population, where the liquor outlaw is entirely unknown.

Prior to 1846, Maine had tried to "regulate" the liquor traffic and had become one of the most drunken commonwealths in the world; a large proportion of the farms had been sold for debt; the state was overrun with distilleries and breweries; Portland alone containing seven distilleries and two breweries; every twenty years the entire assessed valuation of the state was consumed in drink. Now there are 192,625 depositors and shareholders in savings banks, trust, and building and loan associations (onê to every three of population, an average of nearly two in every family), or 79,000 more than the number of voters at the last national election.

The compendium of the eleventh census, 1890 (pages 954 and 955, Part III), shows that in 1850 the total value of real and personal property in the state of Maine was \$122,777,571, or \$210 per capita. In 1890, the valuation was \$489,134,128, or \$740 per capita. The population in 1850 was 583,169, against 661,086 in 1890.

### XXIII.—A COMPARISON OF FAILURES.

Opponents of Prohibition are much given to pointing out, from the reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the number of persons in Maine and other Prohibition states who have paid the Federal tax required of retail liquor dealers, as conclusive evidence of the failure of Prohibition, and as an argument in favor of license laws.

The report of the Commissioner for the year ending June 30, 1899, shows that 1,314 persons in Maine paid this special tax. Forty of these were persons authorized as state agents, leaving 1,274 "bootleggers" in the state.

The report of the same Commissioner also shows that 8,502 persons in the city of Chicago paid this special tax and an examination of the books of the city collector, made by the Chicago Tribune, shows that only 6,431 of these persons paid the city license fee. It will thus be seen that Chicago has nearly 800 more "blind pigs" or "bootleggers" than the entire state of Maine. The city of Washington, under the absolute control, through his power of appointment and removal, of the President, has 436 "blind pigs," according to official reports (see *The New Voice*, May 17, 1900). Massachusetts, in 1898, had 1,015 "bootleggers," besides 3,553 licensed liquor shops. Of these "blind pigs," 663 were in the city of Boston. In 1897, *The Voice* found more than 4,000 "blind pigs" in the city of New York—three times as many as in the entire state of Maine.

That the law is not well enforced in certain parts of Maine is true. It is also true that for the non-enforcement of the law the Republican party is responsible, there having been since 1884 a systematic effort on the part of certain officials to break down the law. (See *The New Voice* of December 7, 1899,

February 1, April 12 and June 28, 1900.) A single illustration will suffice to show the subservience of the party to the liquor interests. In 1893, the legislature, overwhelmingly Republican, amended the general law as follows:

“When it is provided that he shall be punished by imprisonment or fine, or by fine and in addition thereto imprisonment, he may be sentenced to either or both.”—Revised Statutes of Maine, Chapter 148, amending Chapter 135.

The deliberate intention of the leaders to deceive the people is fully illustrated here when it is known that there is nothing in the title of this amendment that would indicate that it was aimed at the prohibitory law, as the chapter amended is not the chapter containing said law, that being chapter 27; but it gives the judges, municipal and others, the power to defeat the ends of the law, regardless of how hard the citizens may try to enforce it.



## XXIV.—CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

The consumption of liquor in the United States has never steadily increased or diminished, but has fluctuated, with a general upward tendency in the totals. The following table gives the gross and per capita consumption since 1877. The figures are from the Statistical Abstract, and the per capita consumption is based upon the estimate of population, for each year, as given by the actuary of the United States Treasury Department:

**DISTILLED SPIRITS, WINES AND MALT LIQUORS, QUANTITIES CONSUMED, AND AVERAGE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1877 TO 1899.**

Year ending June 30.	Distilled spirits.	Wines.	Malt Liquors.	Total con- sumption of wines and liquors.	Total consumption per capita.			
					P-gals	Gals	Gals	Gals.
1877	59,420,118	21,876,330	304,927,667	386,223,115	1.28	.47	6.58	8.33
1878	51,931,941	22,263,919	317,969,352	392,165,242	1.09	.47	6.68	8.24
1879	54,278,475	24,377,130	384,605,485	423,261,090	1.11	.50	7.05	8.66
1880	63,526,694	28,329,541	414,220,165	506,076,400	1.27	.56	8.26	10.09
1881	70,607,081	24,162,925	444,112,169	538,882,175	1.38	.47	8.65	10.50
1882	73,556,976	25,502,927	526,379,980	625,499,883	1.40	.49	10.03	11.92
1883	78,452,687	25,778,180	551,497,340	655,728,207	1.46	.48	10.27	12.21
1884	81,128,581	20,508,345	590,016,517	691,653,443	1.48	.37	10.74	12.60
1885	70,600,092	21,900,457	596,131,866	688,632,415	1.26	.39	10.62	12.26
1886	72,261,614	25,567,220	642,967,720	740,796,654	1.26	.45	11.20	12.90
1887	71,064,733	32,325,061	717,748,854	821,138,648	1.21	.55	12.23	13.99
1888	75,845,352	36,335,068	767,587,056	879,767,476	1.26	.61	12.80	14.67
1889	80,613,158	34,144,477	779,897,426	894,655,061	1.32	.56	12.72	14.60
1890	87,829,562	28,956,981	855,792,335	972,578,878	1.40	.46	13.67	15.53
1891	91,157,565	29,033,972	977,479,761	1,097,671,118	1.42	.45	15.28	17.16
1892	98,328,118	28,467,860	987,496,223	1,114,292,201	1.50	.44	15.10	17.04
1893	101,197,753	31,987,819	1,074,546,336	1,207,731,908	1.51	.48	16.08	18.07
1894	90,541,209	21,293,124	1,036,319,222	1,148,153,555	1.33	.31	15.18	16.82
1895	77,828,561	19,644,049	1,043,292,106	1,140,764,716	1.12	.28	14.95	16.35
1896	71,051,877	18,701,406	1,069,620,262	1,170,379,448	1.00	.26	15.16	16.42
1897	73,166,833	38,588,307	1,080,316,161	1,181,065,402	1.01	.53	14.69	16.22
1898	81,487,587	20,567,317	1,164,749,834	1,266,804,738	1.10	.28	15.64	17.03
1899	87,310,228	26,360,696	1,135,520,696	1,249,191,553	1.15	.35	14.94	16.43

## XXV.—THE IMPERIAL EXPANSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The following tables show the increased exportation of intoxicating liquors during the past two years, from the United States to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. These figures are from the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Treasury Department, and are strictly official:

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MALT LIQUORS, SPIRITS AND  
WINES FROM JUNE 30, 1894, TO JANUARY 31, 1900

ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES.	QUANTITIES					
	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	†1900
<b>CUBA—</b>						
MALT LIQUORS, in bottles (dozs)	16239	13311	10791	3050	334,992	313,253
MALT LIQUORS, not in bottles, (gallons).....	36413	33630	57637	29275	179,012	220,267
DISTILLED SPIRITS, alcohol, pure, neutral or cologne (proof gallons).....			95			*10,654
BRANDY (proof gallons).....					171	
RUM (proof gallons).....			95			
WHISKEY, Bourbon, (proof gals)	300	10			7,822	
WHISKEY, Rye (proof gallons)	252	312	187	57	44,308	
All other (proof gallons).....	2	1300		3300	1,376	
WINES, in bottles (dozens).....	5		32	6	468	91
Wines, not in bottles (gallous)..	1232	420	295	100	43,104	11,789
<b>PORTO RICO—</b>						
MALT LIQUORS, in bottles (dozs)	857	1350	1425	2601	126,519	38,369
MALT LIQUORS, not in bottles, (galions).....			300		6,760	
DISTILLED SPIRITS, alcohol, pure, neutral or cologne (proof gallons).....					20	*4,333
BRANDY (proof gallons).....	5				27	
RUM (proof gallons).....						
WHISKEY, Bourbon (proof gals)					2,437	
WHISKEY, Rye (proof gallons)			3		7,694	
All other (proof gallons).....					31	
WINES, in bottles (dozens).....					202	20
WINES, not in bottles (gallons).	200	1270	464	504	9,005	1,756
<b>PHILIPPINE ISLANDS—</b>						
MALT LIQUORS, in bottles † (dozs)	150	835	400	200	65,344	73,560
MALT LIQUORS, not in bottles, (gallons).....						13,600
SPIRITS DISTILLED, alcohol, pure, neutral or cologne (proof gallons).....						714
BRANDY (proof gallons).....					1,228	
RUM (proof gallons).....						
WHISKEY, Bourbon (proof gals)					18,199	
WHISKEY, Rye (proof gallons)					1,076	
All others (proof gallons).....					831	47,616
WINES, in bottles (dozens).....					1,030	505
WINES, not in bottles (gallons)					22,255	5,001

\*Includes all Spirits, Whiskey, Brandy, etc.

†Seven months, ending Jan. 31, 1900.

**EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MALT LIQUORS, SPIRITS AND  
WINES FROM JUNE 30, 1894, TO JANUARY 31, 1900.**

ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES.	VALUE.					
	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	†1900
<b>CUBA—</b>						
MALT LIQUORS, in bottles.....	\$ 23191	\$ 22066	\$ 18082	\$ 5027	\$ 491,879	\$ 425,400
MALT LIQUORS, not in bottles.....		5689	9467	4884	49,712	57,983
DISTILLED SPIRITS, alcohol, pure, neutral or cologne.....			29			15,920
BRANDY.....					363	
RUM.....			71			
WHISKEY, Bourbon.....	280	11			4,947	
WHISKEY, Rye.....	769	721	395	158	61,603	
All other.....	5	350		727	3,049	
WINES, in bottles.....	20		174	38	1,599	377
Wines, not in bottles.....	487	221	115	46	16,073	4,276
<b>PORTO RICO—</b>						
MALT LIQUORS, in bottles.....	1479	2173	2264	3668	192,332	55,934
MALT LIQUORS, not in bottles..			90		1,670	
DISTILLED SPIRITS, alcohol, pure, neutral or cologne.....					15	*6,140
BRANDY.....	10				72	
RUM.....						
WHISKEY, Bourbon.....					2,581	
WHISKEY, Rye.....			15		14,005	
All other.....					54	
WINES, in bottles.....					618	48
WINES, not in bottles.....	91	343	163	140	3,076	731
<b>PHILIPPINE ISLANDS—</b>						
MALT LIQUORS, in bottles†.....	245	1395	663	337	91,817	96,306
MALT LIQUORS, not in bottles..		20				5,475
SPIRITS DISTILLED, alcohol, pure, neutral or cologne.....						* 106
BRANDY.....					1,232	
RUM.....						
WHISKEY, Bourbon.....					36,472	
WHISKEY, Rye.....					2,447	
All others.....					779	86,852
WINES, in bottles.....					3,741	2,077
WINES, not in bottles.....					7,209	1,837

\*Includes all Spirits, Whiskey, Brandy, etc.

†Seven months, ending Jan. 31, 1900.

‡In 1894, 542 dozen bottles of malt liquors, valued at \$885 were exported the Philippines.

Exports to the Philippines for fiscal year 1899 more than 426 times exports for fiscal year 1898.

Exports to the Philippines for first seven months of fiscal year 1900 more than 571 times greater than exports for fiscal year 1898.

Exports for fiscal year 1899, nearly 500 times the average annual exports of ten preceding years.

## XXVI.—THE NEW VOICE PHILIPPINE INVESTIGATION.

[By William E. Johnson, Special Commissioner of The New Voice  
to the Philippines.]

When the American troops took possession of Manila, there were but three saloons. One of these was on Plaza Goiti, the other two were hotel bars.

There were also a large number of native tiendas which sold fruits and small merchandise. Most of these establishments had from one to half a dozen bottles of native vino. Few tiendas had more than two quart bottles of the liquor. There is no accurate information as to the number of these tiendas or "shacks" before the occupation. With the exception of a few which have been burned by the natives in repeated attempts to destroy the city, these tiendas still remain and now pay a license of three dollars per year.

In addition to these tiendas which the natives had, the Americans have established nearly 400 saloons, including beer halls and licensed bawdy houses in the city of Manila alone.

Throughout the islands about 200 army beer cauteens have been established. Of these, about 150 are controlled by a trust known as the American Commercial Company, managed by an American Jew who calls himself W. W. Brown, though his real name is said to be Bronisky. Bronisky has a system of "loaning" money to army officers. They are not expected to repay this "loan" as long as the officers' regiment or post buys its liquors from the American Commercial Company.

### **Court Martials . . .**

The first annual report of Judge Advocate Hull covers the period of ten and a half months up to June 30, 1899. During this period, there was an average of 21,078 enlisted men in the command and

12,481 cases of court martial of various sorts. These were classified as follows:

General court martials .....	565
Garrison court martials .....	3
Summary court martials .....	11,902
Trials by military commission .....	11
Total .....	12,481

These 11,902 summary court martials represent 7,090 different men, over one-third of the entire force in the Philippines at this time.

Outbreaks of intoxicated soldiers upon pay day have become so serious that the government is following the plan of paying but one or two companies of troops, in one place, at a time. After a couple of companies had been paid off in Manila, I counted 48 drunken soldiers while walking from the bridge of Spain to the postoffice, a distance of three short blocks.

From statistics given in the appendix of General Otis' report and from a bulletin on Philippine commerce published at Washington, I compile the following table, giving the imports of different kinds of liquors into the Philippines from all countries for the years 1893 and 1894, and the first ten months of American occupation.

PHILIPPINE LIQUOR IMPORTS FROM ALL COUNTRIES  
BEFORE AND AFTER AMERICAN OCCUPATION.

KIND.	1893	1894	Aug. 27, 1898 to
	Liters.	Liters.	July 31, 1899 Liters.
Wines.....	758,589	835,681	1,424,490
Malt Liquors.....	104,712	75,066	1,877,623
Distilled Liquors.....	53,200	67,335	185,423
Various.....	.....	.....	66,725
Total.....	916,501	978,082	3,554,261

From the same authorities, I compile the following table, giving the quantities of the different liquors imported into the Philippines from each country

during the first ten months of the American occupation.

PHILIPPINE IMPORTS OF LIQUORS FROM ALL COUNTRIES, AUG. 27, 1898, TO JULY 31, 1899.

FROM	BEER. Liters.	WINES Liters	SPIRITS. Liters.	OTHER. Liters.
United States.....	1,522,681	117,995	75,986	6,678
Great Britain.....	22,926	24,193	32,597	6,572
Germany.....	72,703	9,514	19,493	1,687
Spain.....	67,194	1,139,157	34,818	53,932
France.....	32	32,098	1,640	3,380
China.....	218,287	23,459	20,883	4,647
English Colonies...	3,840	.....	.....	.....
Holland.....	.....	.....	25	.....
Total.....	1,877,623	1,424,490	185,423	77,076

Ten years ago Don Enrique Barretto opened at Manila the first and only brewery ever known in the Philippines. The venture was a financial failure. Just before the American occupation, Pedro F. Roxas, the principal creditor, took the property for his claim. The plant is now running night and day. Don Enrique Brias, superintendent of the brewery, states that the business has increased 500 per cent since the Americans landed.

### The "Worst Thing We Have Ever Done."

[President Schurman of the Philippine Commission, speaking before the Liberal Club at Buffalo, Dec. 14, 1899.]

The Filipinos have some excellent virtues. They are exceedingly cleanly and also exceedingly temperate. Even the members of this Liberal club would shock them by the amount of wine which most of you have consumed this evening. . . . "You have brought us the blessings of civilization," said one of them, "and you have lined our most beautiful street in Manila, the Escolta, with saloons." That is truly the worst thing we have ever done. Had we allowed them to go on with their cockfighting and stopped our own saloons it would have been better.

## XXVII.—HOW THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AFFECTS INDUSTRY.

During the year 1899, the American people spent for intoxicating liquors more than a billion dollars. The manufacture of the liquors for which this money was spent and the production of the materials from which the liquor was manufactured gave employment to 300,901 men. The same amount of money expended for twenty of the leading necessities, in proportion to their production, would have given

employment to more than five times that number. The following tables give the details:

**How Drink Affects Labor . . .**

THE LIQUOR BILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR 1899 AND ITS RESULTS IN EMPLOYMENT.

Kind of Liquor	Amount of Consumption in Gallons.	Estimated Retail Price.	Total Cost at Retail to Consumers.	Raw Material Used in Manufacture.	Number of Men Employed in Manufacture.	Number of Men Employed in Production of Raw Material.	Total Number of Men Employed in the Production of the Supply of Each Kind of Liquor for the Year.
+Domestic Spirits . . . . .	85,920,870	\$5.00	\$429,104,350	\$26,763,051	5,149	68,448	73,597
Imported Spirits . . . . .	1,389,358	8.00	11,214,844				
Domestic Wines . . . . .	22,835,587	2.00	45,671,174	5,539,813	2,786	14,165	16,951
Imported Wines . . . . .	3,525,109	4.00	14,100,436				
Domestic Malt Liquors . . . . .	1,132,723,202	.50	566,361,601	68,739,662	34,548	175,805	210,353
Imported Malt Liquors . . . . .	2,797,427	1.00	2,797,427				
			\$1,069,249,832	\$101,042,526	42,483	258,418	300,901

+It is estimated that 12% per cent of this is used in the arts, manufactures and sciences, but this is fully compensated for in the water added when sold at retail.

Total Cost of Drink to Consumers in the Year 1899 . . . . \$1,069,249,832  
 Total Number of Men Furnished with the Chance  
 to Earn a Living in the Production of Drink . . . . . 300,901



# WHAT THE DRINK MONEY WOULD DO IN INDUSTRY.

<b>TWENTY LEADING NECESSARIES.</b>	<b>Retail Value of Product. *</b>	<b>Men Employed in Manufacturing.</b>	<b>Raw Materials Required.</b>	<b>Men Required to Produce Raw Material. †</b>
<b>Total of 20 Leading Necessaries.....</b>	<b>\$1,000,000,000</b>	<b>372,836</b>	<b>\$499,209,264</b>	<b>1,276,750</b>
Boots and Shoes.....	\$55,162,339	27,867	\$23,757,166	60,760
Bread and Other Bakery Products.....	30,821,168	10,130	13,921,455	35,605
Carpets and Rugs.....	11,942,548	5,824	5,728,981	14,652
Carriages and Wagons.....	27,492,457	14,103	9,578,721	24,498
Cheese, Butter and Condensed Milk.....	15,044,650	2,865	9,861,998	25,223
Clothing, Men's.....	94,503,704	48,771	35,885,132	91,778
Cotton Goods.....	66,995,431	44,317	30,982,506	79,240
Flouring and Grist-Mill Products.....	123,353,154	12,188	83,357,240	213,190
Furniture and Upholstering.....	28,502,634	15,104	9,322,278	23,842
Hats and Caps.....	9,327,900	8,439	3,232,160	8,266
Hosiery and Knit Goods.....	16,810,253	12,242	7,172,317	18,343
Iron and Steel.....	103,429,043	29,287	56,729,346	145,241
Leather—Tanned and Curried.....	33,187,681	6,595	19,222,043	49,161
Lumber.....	95,706,554	54,377	43,995,567	112,521
Publishing.....	68,770,978	32,987	13,748,790	35,163
Shirts.....	8,409,643	6,550	3,140,871	8,033
Silk and Silk Goods.....	21,824,613	10,183	10,200,885	26,089
Slaughtering and Meat-Packing.....	135,520,088	9,418	92,716,297	237,126
Woolen Goods.....	33,394,494	15,870	16,454,067	42,082
Worsted Goods.....	19,798,663	8,719	10,141,354	25,937
<b>Total of 20 Leading Necessaries.....</b>	<b>\$1,000,000,000</b>	<b>372,836</b>	<b>\$499,209,264</b>	<b>1,276,750</b>
				<b>1,649,586</b>
				<b>88,627</b>
				<b>45,735</b>
				<b>20,476</b>
				<b>38,601</b>
				<b>23,088</b>
				<b>140,549</b>
				<b>123,557</b>
				<b>225,378</b>
				<b>38,946</b>
				<b>13,705</b>
				<b>30,585</b>
				<b>174,528</b>
				<b>55,756</b>
				<b>166,898</b>
				<b>68,150</b>
				<b>14,583</b>
				<b>36,272</b>
				<b>246,544</b>
				<b>57,952</b>
				<b>34,656</b>

\*Selected in Proportion to the Total Value of Each Product in the Census Year.

†At the Average Rate of \$391 per Worker.

Number of Men Furnished Work in Manufacturing and Producing Raw Material for the Drink Supply of 1899	300,901
Number of Men to Whom the Drink Bill, if spent for the Necessities of Life, Would give Work in Shop, Factory and Field .....	1,649,586
Number of Men Now Unemployed for Whom Closed Gin-mills would Mean a Chance to Earn a Living.....	1,348,685

## XXVIII.—“WHAT WOULD THE FARMER DO WITH HIS GRAIN?”

The argument is often made that the liquor business affords an indispensable market for the farmers' grain.

During the last fiscal year the total grain production of the United States was 3,530,063,298 bushels. of this amount 83,036,740 bushels, or less than one-fortieth of the crop, was used in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. The farmers could easily dispose of this to the manufacturers of cereal breakfast foods, if the thousands who now go hungry on account of



### A "BABY WAGON" MARKET.

The dotted line at the top of the bin shows how little the amount used in manufacturing liquors reduces the nation's supply of grain.

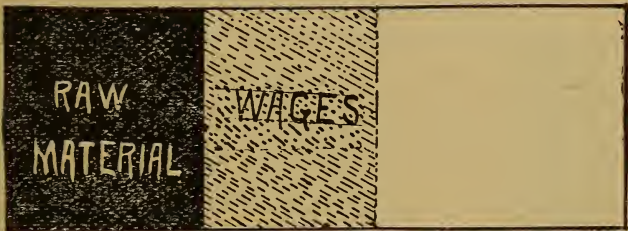
the liquor traffic were given an opportunity to fill their stomachs with wholesome food.

The above illustration shows how small a part of the cereal crop of the country is used in the manufacture of liquor. The dotted line at the top of the granary shows how for the demand for grains to be used in the production of intoxicants lowers the supply in the national grain bin.

### How Drink Causes Loss to Farmer and Wage Earner.

The following diagrams based upon the returns for manufacturers in the census of 1890, show the proportionate share of a \$10 bill that would go to the farmer for raw material and to the laborer for wages, if spent for intoxicating liquors or for certain necessities of life.

TEN DOLLARS SPENT FOR BOOTS AND SHOES.



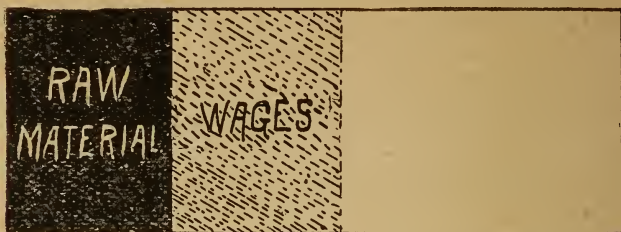
[For raw material, \$2.91; for wages, \$2.89.]

TEN DOLLARS SPENT FOR FURNITURE.



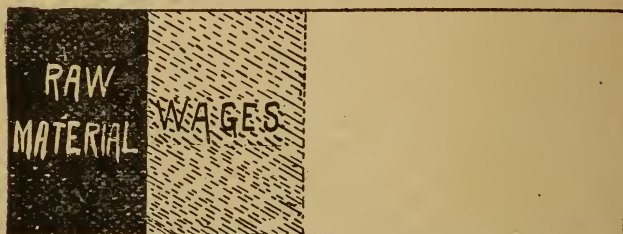
[For raw material, \$1.68; for wages, \$3.68.]

TEN DOLLARS SPENT FOR CARPETS.



[For raw material, \$2.49; for wages, \$2.69.]

TEN DOLLARS SPENT FOR CLOTHING.



[For raw material, \$2.28; for wages, \$2.77.]

TEN DOLLARS SPENT FOR LIQUOR.



[For raw material, 96 cents; for wages, 38 cents.]

The farmer and wage earner receive \$5.80 from the man who spends his \$10 for boots or shoes; \$5.36 from the man who spends his \$10 for furniture; \$5.18 from the man who spends his \$10 for carpets; \$5.05 from the man who spends his \$10 for clothing; but only \$1.34 from the man who "blows in" his \$10 at the saloon. In each diagram the white space represents the amount of the ten dollars that goes to pay

transportation, taxes, rent, interest, cost of retailing and PROFITS.

According to a compilation by Geo. B. Waldron, from the return of manufacturers in the census of 1890, which appeared in *The Voice*, May 17, 1894, one hundred dollars spent for an average of 27 ordinary products will give employment to 12.07 days' labor in manufacturing; will pay in wages \$17.78 and will demand from other industries materials to the value of \$44.05.

One hundred dollars spent for liquors will afford only 1.47 days' employment in manufacturing; will pay but \$3.80 in wages and require from other industries materials to the values of only \$9.63.

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### Number of Liquors Dealers and Distilleries.

During the year ending June 30, 1899, the number of distilleries registered and operated was: Grain, registered 1,675, operated 1,286; molasses, registered 11, operated 10; fruit, registered 2,718, operated 2,621. Total registered 4,404, total operated 4,017.

The actual number of persons or firms, who, during the fiscal year 1899, paid the government tax for engaging in some form of the liquor business for different periods of time, as reported by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, was: Rectifiers, 1,907; retail liquor dealers, 199,729; wholesale liquor dealers, 4,496; manufacturers of stills, 32; brewers, 1,959; retail dealers in malt liquors, 12,327; wholesale dealers in malt liquors, 7,275.

## XXIX.—PROHIBITION THE GREATEST FINANCIAL ISSUE.

As can readily be demonstrated by the following figures, the question of Prohibition is the greatest financial, as well as moral, issue before the American voters to-day.

The American drink bill, for 1899, was: .....	\$1,069,249,832
The American drink bill, for 1898, was: .....	\$1,041,143,083
Production of gold, 1898, in the United States (3,118,398 ounces) .....	\$64,463,000
Production of silver, 1898, in the United States (54,438,000 ounces) .....	\$70,384,485
Production of gold and silver, in the entire world, (1898) .....	\$501,144,000
Production of gold and silver, in the entire world, for 400 years (from 1493 to 1898 inclusive).....	\$20,480,748,600
Production of gold in California since 1858 .....	\$1,354,182,097
Public debt of the United States, July 1, 1899, less cash in Treasury.....	\$1,155,320,235
Government receipts for the past year, (1899-1900).....	\$568,988,948
Government expenditures for the past year.....	\$487,759,171
U. S. Customs revenues, 1899, (Dingley Bill, Republican) .....	\$206,128,482
U. S. Customs revenues, 1896, (Wilson Bill, Democratic) .....	\$160,021,752
Yearly difference between Republican and Democratic Tariff .....	\$46,106,730
Value of American cereal crop, 1899, (corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley and buckwheat.....	\$1,194,915,391
Total cereal crop amounted to .....	3,530,063,269 bushels,
Grain used in manufacturing liquor .....	83,036,740 bushels.
Railroad earnings, 1899, (see Poor's manual) in U. S.	\$1,249,588,724
[The railroad companies carried 514,982,288 passengers an average of 25 miles each; moved 912,973,853 tons of freight and employed 874,588 persons.]	
Capital and Surplus of National Banks, Sept. 1, 1899,	\$849,646,832
Savings Bank Deposits.....	\$2,230,366,954

From the foregoing it is seen that the gold production of the United States would about pay the drink bill of America for three weeks; that both the gold and silver production would pay it for about a month and a half; that the production of both metals in the entire world would not pay our national liquor bill for six months; that, at the present rate of consump-

tion, we would spend a sum for drink in twenty years equal to the value of the world's production of both gold and silver since America was discovered; that since the discovery of gold in California her mines have produced only enough to pay the national drink bill for sixteen months; that we spend for intoxicants in thirteen months enough to liquidate the public debt, less the cash now in the treasury; that we spend more for liquors in seven months than either the entire receipts or expenses of government for the past year; that the customs revenue (tariff receipts) for 1899 under the Dingley Bill were not equal to our expenditures for drink in a single three months; that the tariff receipts under the Democratic Wilson Bill, in 1896, would not pay our drink bill for sixty days; that the financial difference between the tariff policies of the Republican and Democrat parties about equals the direct cost of the liquor business for sixteen days; that the value of the entire American cereal crop of 1899, exceeds the country's drink bill for the same year by only a small amount; that we pay almost as much to the liquor dealers for drink as to the railroad companies of the country for both freight and passenger transportation; that we drink up a sum equal to the capital and surplus of all national banks in less than ten months and enough to pay to all the savings bank depositors of the country the full amounts of their deposits in less than two years and three months.

### XXX.—THE MONEY QUESTION NOT AN ISSUE.

March 22, the New York Independent, considered one of the ablest papers in the country, said editorially, regarding the passage of the Congressional act of March 14, 1900, by which the single gold standard was established:

There is no longer any room for doubt as to the standard established by the laws. . . . No President or Secretary of the Treasury hereafter can, if so inclined, dishonor or degrade the United States by placing the currency on a silver basis. Mr. Bryan and his secretary could not do it during his term of office, if he should be elected next fall, for the Secretary of the Treasury is now required to maintain all our forms of money at a parity with the standard, which is the gold dollar, and for at least six years to come there will be in the Senate a majority opposed to a repeal of the new statute. We are confident that no successful political party will ever propose a repeal of it, and that unsuccessful parties will soon cease to hold financial doctrines inconsistent with the maintenance of the standard reaffirmed and clearly defined by the act of March 14, 1900.

All of which means that even though Mr. Bryan should be elected the free and unlimited coinage of silver could not be effected during his term of office. At the beginning of the campaign the Republican politicians were unanimous in declaring free silver to be a dead issue, so far as this campaign is concerned, and they were right. Not only is it dead, but Mr. Bryan, by his failure to discuss it at length in his speech of acceptance, admits that it is dead. The Republicans may now try to force it to the front again, but with a United States Senate, which for the next six years is bound to be overwhelmingly Republican, the free coinage of silver is not a political issue in this campaign and there is no need for any man to "save the country" this year by trying to vote either for or against it. The American Issue, national organ of the Anti Saloon League, well says:

Mr. Bryan and his secretary could not bring in free silver if elected. Both the law and the Senate would be in his way for at least six years to come. We can give attention



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to the attitude of state and national administrations toward such questions as the Clark bill in Ohio, the canteen in the army, and the conduct of state and national legislators with regard to the same. No financial interest of the nation will be jeopardized by independent political action upon our part. The ground is cleared for social and moral questions, and those who have these high interests at stake may be expected to avail themselves of the present situation.

## XXXI.—THE REPEAL OF PROHIBITION IN ALASKA.

The repeal of Prohibition in Alaska is one of the facts charged against the administration of President McKinley, and a fact of such serious character that it deserves more than passing consideration. The unsettled condition of that region, and the fact that it had been proven that its native population was peculiarly susceptible to the dangerous influences of intoxicating drinks, led President Cleveland, in 1887 to issue an order providing that no intoxicating liquors of any sort should be landed at any of the ports or places without a permit of the chief customs officer at the port, to be issued upon satisfactory evidence that the liquors so imported were to be used solely for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical or scientific purposes. Special precautions were taken so that any vessel leaving any port in the United States with intoxicating liquors on board and being destined for any Alaskan port or over a course that would require it to pass Alaskan waters was required to make out a special manifest, so as to guard against the unlawful landing of liquors. The chief obstacle in carrying out this law was the character of the officials sent from Washington to occupy positions in the territory. This fact is testified to by such men as ex-Governor Lyman E. Knapp, who occupied the gubernatorial office in the territory from 1889 to 1893, and Collector Ivey, who faithfully endeavored to enforce the prohibitory law up to the very time of its repeal, and who in letters to which the writer of this has had access, tells of the criminal character of the men who by political pulls obtained official position in the territory; of district attorneys who were never sober; of judges who were notorious drunkards, and other cases of parallel atrocities. The result of this failure to enforce the law, was that

within a short time after the discovery of the Alaskan gold fields, the country was literally flooded with intoxicants, and well meaning men, among them Governor Brady, clamored for license laws to regulate the business, while the liquor dealers, the steamship companies interested in the transportation of liquors, and the brewers and distillers of the United States urged the repeal of Prohibition and the enactment of a license law for the sake of avoiding the occasional vexations of the few honest officials who attempted to enforce the law. Secretaries Gage and Bliss of President McKinley's cabinet, joined in this clamor. If either of them, through the departments of which they were the heads, ever in any way attempted to enforce the provisions of the prohibitory law, that fact has remained undiscovered, but both of them were loud in their protests that the law could not be enforced, and that for the sake of regulating the business license must be enacted. That is to say, both placed themselves on record as pretending to believe that criminals who would not obey the prohibitory law, could, by some means, be persuaded or forced to obey a restrictive law.

An attempt was made to obtain the passage of such a law by the recommendation of a bill by the house committee on territories, in the session of Congress of the winter of '98-'99. This was defeated by means of a hearing before that committee in which numerous and prominent representatives of the temperance interests of the country appeared. Later a bill was introduced hastily by the house committee of laws in which an obscure clause repealed the prohibitory provision and established license. An attempt was made to railroad this through Congress, but though this failed and there was opportunity for brief debate, no Congressman or Senator could be found who dared to energetically oppose what was known to be an administration measure. It is well known that certain members of Congress were financially interested in various of the transportation com-

panies that expected to profit by the change. Other members of Congress were prevented from opposing the measure by threats that their opposition of this measure would mean defeat of bills in which they were interested. Thus the bill passed both houses and was promptly approved by President McKinley. Alaskan papers have openly charged that since the repeal of Prohibition, drunkenness and its resultant crime have greatly increased in that territory.

## XXXII.—ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS PROHIBITION.

The following quotations from recent utterances of the national bodies of the larger church organizations show the stand which has been taken by the religious denominations regarding the questions of temperance and Prohibition.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session at Chicago, May, 1900, said:

"We are more firmly convinced than ever of the truth and the force of that vigorous declaration of the Episcopal Address of 1888, 'It can never be legalized without sin.' Planting ourselves upon the bedrock of that solid proposition, we declare that no citizen and no Christian has a right by example, by voice, by influence or by his ballot to contribute to the establishment or to the maintenance of the ungodly license policy as applied to the liquor traffic."

"Quoting and reaffirming the action of the General Conference of 1892, we 'record our deliberate judgment that no political party has a right to expect, nor ought it to receive, the support of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license policy or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon.'"

"We deeply regret that after the enactment of a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages at army posts and in forts, camps and reservations used for military purposes, a law plainly intended to effectuate this result and so understood by its friends and foes in and out of Congress and by the chief magistrate, who signed it, by a construction which seems to us forced and unnatural, placed upon the law by the Attorney-General, its plain intent was defeated, and the government of the United States, amid the exultation of all sympathizers with the liquor traffic, resumed the practice of selling intoxicating beverages to its soldiers. Aroused and indignant at the aggressiveness of the liquor power, at the inexcusable miscarriage of the anti-canteen law and at the new perils in which the nation is involved in its new possessions, the church will summon and pledge all her ministers and people to a more determined struggle against this enormous evil and urge each to con-

tribute thereto according to his judgment, his testimony, his example and his ballot."

The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1896 said:

"The stupendous need of the hour to meet this enemy of everything American and Christian is an aroused church consecrated to the extermination of the traffic."

In 1900, at St. Louis, it said:

"We deplore the existence by official establishment of the sale of liquor in the canteen in the army of the United States, and we urge its abolition."

The United Presbyterians, in session at Chicago, May, 1900, said:

"The Assembly declares that the legalizing of the liquor traffic is a sin against God, and a crime against man, and that any party favoring the licensing thereof has no right to expect, and should not receive, the votes of Christian citizens."

The American Baptist Home Missionary Society, the representative body of the Baptist denomination, while making no declaration regarding the liquor traffic in general, adopted the following resolution at the meeting in Detroit, May, 1900:

Resolved, That we deplore the introduction into our new possessions, where we have military authority, of vastly increased quantities of intoxicating liquors, and that we demand of our government that it take every practicable means of preventing the indiscriminate and devastating sale of ardent spirits in the camps of our soldiers and among the new people who are to be taught civilization by our example.

These utterances may be taken as fairly representing the general attitude of all the religious bodies of the country.

### **XXXIII.—HOW AND WHERE TO GET VOTES.**

As votes are of necessity prime factors in determining matters of governmental policy, this brief chapter is devoted to the question of how and where to get votes.

First it must be remembered that the number of votes cast for the Prohibition party is the thermometer by which is indicated the public sentiment of the country against the saloon, and therefore the chief object of this campaign should be the securing of votes.

As to the creation of public sentiment against the liquor traffic it may be done in many ways, but whatever the method employed it is accomplished only as thought upon the subject is provoked, whether by the platform orator, the printed page or the personal interview. But public sentiment, in the abstract, is not a factor in determining governmental policies, but public sentiment which culminates in political action cannot be ignored and the wise Prohibitionist is therefore seeking "votes" for his party, feeling assured that one vote in the ballot box makes a greater impression upon government than any possible amount of "sentiment" which stops short of such expression. The question now arises, How can the average Prohibitionist win votes for his party?

#### **How Can the Prohibitionist Win Votes? . . .**

In the first place a man will not vote for Prohibition unless convinced of its desirability, and in the second place he will not vote the Prohibition party ticket unless assured that the party offers the surest and best way to the accomplishment of his desire.

We have then two particular things for which to strive:

(a) To convince the individual voter, who may be

our neighbor, our friend, our pastor or even a member of our own household, of the desirability of establishing Prohibition as a governmental policy.

(b) To convince him that the Prohibition party offers the proper and surest means for the accomplishment of that end.

Under existing political conditions men will be induced to vote for Prohibition only on the single ground of its moral rightness. A man who will use his ballot for the settlement of "financial issues" is not yet ready to vote for Prohibition from economic reasons, not that it is not the greatest economic question before the American people, but simply because he is morally certain his ballot, cast for the Prohibition nominees, this year, would count for nothing in the immediate settlement of vexed financial issues. The hope of the Prohibition party in the present campaign is to convince men of the righteousness of its position and of the need, as Mr. Woolley says, of establishing conscience as a working factor in American politics.

The voter may need to be convinced of the magnitude of the Prohibition issue economically considered, but in the actual determining of his course of political conduct this fall, he will vote for Prohibition on the conscience basis, if at all.

Any person really wishing to win votes for the Prohibition cause by personal influence should undertake it in the same careful, yet persistent, manner as would characterize the effort to sell a bill of goods or the securing of an endorsement of a promissory note.

It is unwise to get a man angry unnecessarily. It lessens his ability to think intelligently and intelligent support is most desirable, as it will be more surely permanent. Getting excited and using strong language will not make or win votes. Arguments over the relative merits of Presidential candidates or their personal habits may engender hard feelings,



but will not induce a man of opposite political faith to vote for Prohibition this fall.

If asked the plain question, "Do you believe that Prohibition is right?", 90 per cent of the Christian voters of the country will answer, "Yes." Having admitted that the Prohibition party is the only one which represents that principle and that the principle itself is right, he will usually admit to having an earnest desire to do the right thing himself and will consent, without argument, to having his name enrolled on the list of Prohibitionists.

This brings us to the matter of party organization, which is very important, as upon its thoroughness and efficiency the crystallization of public sentiment depends.

A complete party organization effected in every town and ward would do much to convince the doubting voter that the party method offers the surest and quickest means for establishing Prohibition as the law of the land.

### **Where Can Votes Be Secured? . . .**

There is considerable editorial talk in the old party press, and in Prohibition papers as well, about a great increase in the national vote of the Prohibition party this fall.

To fulfill this prophecy and to get votes, they must be secured in particular places. The national vote is made up of the votes of states, counties, towns or wards and election districts. Every vote cast in the coming national election will be cast in a particular polling precinct. Club organizations and public meetings and literature are excellent mediums for the creation of thought, but for the actual work of the campaign they cannot take the place of a political organization reaching down to the voting precinct.

Every polling place in the nation should this fall be manned by workers, men who will solicit support for the party nominees and who, after the polls of

the election have closed, will see that every Prohibition vote cast is counted and reported in the official returns.

The place for men to win votes primarily is in their own locality, appreciating that the doubling or quadrupling of the vote in the nation depends upon the increase made in particular polling precincts.

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### **Prohibitionists Ought to Know.**

Every Prohibitionist ought to know in what polling precinct, town or ward, assembly, senatorial and congressional district he resides, that his name appears upon the proper poll list as a duly qualified elector and that he is recorded as a Prohibitionist upon the rolls of the regular party organization.

Every precinct committeeman should know the boundaries of his district and the name and address of every Prohibitionist within its confines. He should also know the names and party affiliations of the old party voters in his district in order that he may distribute to them wisely such Prohibition literature as is available.

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West Virginia—J. H. Holt.....	Moundsville
Wisconsin—J. E. Clayton, 215 Eighteenth St.....	Milwaukee
Wyoming—George B. Blaine .....	Douglas



## **XXXV.—HOW TO ORGANIZE A PROHIBITION CLUB.**

Call a meeting in some hall or at the home of someone who is willing to help.

Do much personal work before the time set for the meeting, giving invitations to persons to attend. Use the mails freely. Do not be disappointed if but few persons attend the first meeting. Many may join later.

When the meeting is called to order state the purpose, after a temporary chairman and secretary have been appointed, and move that a Prohibition club be organized.

Adopt a constitution and elect officers at once. (A model constitution is herewith submitted; change it to suit your needs.)

Report your meeting and list of officers to your local daily or weekly newspapers at once; also, to the party papers and to National Prohibition Headquarters, 1414 Manhattan Building, Chicago, Ill.

### **Preamble.**

Believing that the burdens which oppress labor, paralyze industry and stagnate business are directly and indirectly caused by the colossal waste occasioned by the legalized liquor traffic, which produces under-consumption, misery and discontent, disregards law and threatens the stability and life of the nation, we, the undersigned, agree to concentrate our united efforts against this common enemy of the home, the church and the state, and for this pur-

pose organize ourselves into a political club, and adopt for our guidance the following:

### Constitution.

#### ARTICLE I. NAME.

The name of this organization shall be "The ..... Prohibition Club."

#### ARTICLE II. OBJECT.

The object of this club shall be to secure a better acquaintance among the Prohibitionists of.... to strengthen one another in our worthy cause; to conduct a continuous educational campaign against the legalized liquor traffic; to enroll in our membership all who desire to assist in its abolition, and to protest at the ballot box (the only expression of opinion that counts) in township, municipal, county, state and national elections against this monster evil which has entrenched itself in the politics of the nation, and which can only be dislodged by votes.

#### ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of the club shall be composed of all those who indorse these principles and sign this constitution, and shall consist of three classes, viz.: Active, Auxiliary and Junior. Men of legal age constitute active members, women, auxiliary members, and boys and girls, junior members. The membership fee shall be ..... annually for club expenses, and all members shall be entitled to equal privileges in the club.

#### ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS.

The officers of this club shall consist of a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, who shall perform the duties pertaining to their respective offices.

#### ARTICLE V. ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The annual election shall be held on the first day

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of January each year, when every member shall be entitled to vote by ballot for officers.

#### ARTICLE VI. FINANCE.

The officers have power to raise such funds by subscription or otherwise as may be required for the effective work of the club and campaign purposes.

#### ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this constitution shall be submitted in writing, and voted upon at a succeeding meeting, of which at least ten days' notice has been given.

## XXXVI.—PROHIBITION PAPERS.

The following list contains the names of the principal Prohibition periodicals, though many local and religious papers that usually support the party are not included.

**CALIFORNIA.**—California Voice, Los Angeles; Pacific Prohibitionist, Oakland.

**COLORADO.**—The Headlight, Denver.

**ILLINOIS.**—The New Voice, Chicago; Union Signal (W. C. T. U.), Chicago; The Banner, Danville; Prohibition Pulse, Bloomington; Patrol, Geneva; Prohibitionist, Normal; Searchlight (monthly), Litchfield; Our Best Words (monthly), Shelbyville.

**INDIANA.**—The Patriot Phalanx, Indianapolis; Times, Logansport; Enterprise, Richmond; Standard, Leesburg; Advertiser, Hobart; Twentieth Century, Thorntown.

**IOWA.**—The Commonwealth, Des Moines.

**KANSAS.**—The Fulcrum, Topeka.

**KENTUCKY.**—The Vindicator, Owensboro; Gleaner, Beaver Dam; White Ribbon, Stanford.

**MICHIGAN.**—Ein Stem Des Volks (Hollandish), Grand Rapids; The Leader, Detroit.

**MISSOURI.**—The State Leader, Mexico.

**MAINE.**—The Maine Idea, Portland.

**MARYLAND.**—The Gleaner, Frostburg.

**NEBRASKA.**—The New Republic, Nation's Pulse and Nebraska Patriot, Lincoln.

**NEW JERSEY.**—The New Jersey Gazette, Camden; Signal, Sparta; Home Visitor, Flemington; Church and Home, Rockaway; The Editor (monthly), Ocean Grove.

**NEW YORK.**—The Defender, Elmira and New York; Advocate, Watertown; New Standard, Binghamton; Enlightener (monthly), Oswego Falls.

**NORTH CAROLINA.**—Temperance Blast (semi-monthly), Dunn.

**OHIO.**—The Cornerstone, Columbus; Wayne County Herald, Wooster.

**OREGON.**—The Searchlight, Salem.

**PENNSYLVANIA.**—The People, Milton; Monitor, Clearfield; Index, Williamsport; People's Tribune, Uniontown; New American, Kennett Square; Kane Leader, Kane.

**SOUTH DAKOTA.**—The Christian Prohibitionist, the Gatling Gun, Sioux Falls; Forest City Press, Forest City.

**TENNESSEE.**—Prohibitionist, Clarksville.

**TEXAS.**—Agitator, Clarendon; The Sling, Farmersville.

**VIRGINIA.**—No-License Advocate, Danville.

**WISCONSIN.**—The Northwestern Mail, Madison; Blade, Elkhorn; Agitator, Menominee Falls; Reform, Eau Claire.

## XXXVII—QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING.

In all states except Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming, the right to vote at a general election is restricted to males, not less than 21 years old. Women have full suffrage in the states named above.

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship	Previous Residence Required.			
		In St't.	In Co.	In Town	Pre-cinct
Alabama*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention	1 yr	3 mo.	30dys	30dys
ArizonaT*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention (a)	6 mo	10dys	10dys	10dys
Arkansas*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention	1 yr.	6 mo	30dys	30dys
Calif'rnia*	Citizen by nativity, naturalization (90 days prior to election), or treaty of Queretaro.	1 yr.	90dys	.....	30dys
Colorado*.	Citizen or alien male or female, who has declared intention four months prior to election.	6 mo	90dys	.....	10dys
Conn.* ....	Citizen of United States who can read English language.	1 yr.	.....	6 mo.	.....
Delaware*	Citizen who shall have paid a registration fee of \$1, and who is duly registered as a qualified voter.	1 yr.	3 mo	.....	0dys
Dis. of Col.	See foot note on Page 123.				
Florida*..	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo	30 dys
Georgia*..	Citizen of the U. S. who has paid all his taxes since 1877	1 yr	6 mo.	.....	.....
Idaho* ....	Citizen of the United States... male or female.	6 mo	30dys	3 mo.	10dys
Illinois*...	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	90dys	30dys	30dys
Indiana*..	Citizen or alien who has declared intention and resided one year in United States.	6 mo	60dys	60dys	30dys
Iowa*....	Citizen of the United States...	6 mo	60dys	(d)	(d)
Kansas* ..	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention (b)	6 mo	30dys	30dys	30dys
Kentucky*	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	6 mo.	60dys	60dys
Louisia'a*	Citizen of United States (e)....	2 yrs	1 yr.	.....	6 mo.
Maine*....	Citizen of the United States...	3 mo	3 mo.	3 mo.	3 mo.
Maryland*	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	.....
Mass.. ....	Citizen who can read and write (b)	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.	6 mo.
Michigan*	Citizen or alien who declared intention to become a citizen prior to May 8, 1892 (b)	6 mo	20dys	20dys	20dys
Minn.* ....	Citizen of United States who has been such for 3 months preceding election.	6 mo	30dys	30dys	30dys

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship	Previous Residence Required			
		In St't	In Co.	In Town	Pre-cinct
Miss.*.....	Citizen of the United States who can read or understand Constitution	2 yrs	1 yr.	1 yr.	1yr(c)
Missouri*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention not less than 1 year or more than 5 before election.	1 yr.	60dys	60dys	60dys
Montana*.	Citizen of the United States (b)	1 yr.	30dys	30dys	30dys
Nebraska*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention thirty days before election.	6 mo	40dys	10dys	10dys
Nevada*..	Citizen of the United States...	6 mo	30dys	.....	30dys
N. Hamp.*	Citizen of the United States (b)	6 mo	6 mo.	6 mo.	6 mo.
N. Jersey*	Citizen of the United States....	1 yr.	5 mo.	.....	.....
N. M. Ter.	Citizen of the United States..	6 mo	3 mo.	.....	30dys
N. York*..	Citizen who shall have been a citizen for ninety days prior to election.	1 yr.	4 mo.	30dys	30dys
N. Car.....	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	90dys	.....	.....
N. Dak.*..	Citizen of the United States and civilized Indian.† (b)	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	90dys
Ohio*.....	Citizen of the United States (b)	1 yr.	30dys	20dys	20dys
Okla. Ter.	Citizen of the United States (b)	6 mo	60dys	60dys	30dys
Oregon*..	White male citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention (b)	6 mo	None	None	None
Penn.*....	Citizen of the United States at least one month, and if 22 years old or more must have paid tax within two years.	1 yr.	.....	.....	2 mo.
Rhode I.*.	Citizen of the United States..	2 y(f)	.....	6 mo.	.....
S. Car.....	Citizen of the United States (h)	2 y(g)	1 yr.	4 mo.	4 mo.
S. Dak.*..	Citizen of the United States or alien who has declared intention, Indian who has severed tribal relations (b).	6mo§	30dys	10dys	10d
Tenn.*....	Citizen of the U. S. who has paid poll-tax of preceding year.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	.....
Texas*....	Citizen of the U. S. or alien who has declared intention six months prior to election.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	(d)
Utah*.....	Citizen of the United States, male or female, who has been a citizen ninety days.	1 yr.	4 mo.	.....	60dys
Vermont*.	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	..	3 mo.	30dys
Virginia*.	Citizen of the United States...	1 yr.	3 mo	3 mo.	.....

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship	Previous Residence Required.			
		In St't.	In Co.	In Town	Pre cinct.
Wash'n*..	Citizen of the United States and all residents of territory prior to statehood (b)	1 yr.	90dys	30dys	30dys
West Va.*	Citizen of the State.....	1 yr	60dys	.....	(d)
Wis.*.....	Citizen of the U. S. or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr.	.....	10dys	10dys
Wyom.*	Citizen of the United States, male or female.	1 yr	60dys	.....	10dys

\*Australian ballot law or some modification of it in force.

†Indian must have several tribal relations.

§One year's residence in United States required.

(a) Or citizens of Mexico who have, under the treaties of 1848 and 1854, elected to become citizens; poll-tax for current year must be paid. (b) Women can vote in school elections. (c) Clergymen are qualified after six months' in precinct. (d) Only actual residence required. (e) If unable to read and write, registration and voting is conditioned upon bona-fide ownership of property in the State assessed at \$300 or more; if personal property only, all due taxes shall be paid in full. (f) Owner of real estate, one year. (g) Ministers in charge of organized churches and teachers of public schools six months. (h) Who has paid, six months before election any poll-tax then due, can read and write any section of the State Constitution, or can show that he owns and has paid all taxes due the previous year on property in the State assessed at not less than \$300.

In nearly all the states persons convicted of treason or felony, embezzlement of public funds, or bribery in public office, together with Chinese, Indians and persons insane, are excluded from suffrage.

Residents of the District of Columbia have no vote.

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