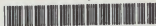


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THE HISTORY
OF THE
TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT
IN SCOTLAND.

ERRATA.

Page 17, in foot note, for page 270, read "107."

Page 85, line 10, for provide, read "promote."

THE HISTORY
OF
THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT
IN SCOTLAND :

WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS LEGISLATIVE ASPECT.

" A great trial is going on in the world, in which all mankind through all coming time are deeply interested.—HON. NEAL DOW.

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THE HISTORY

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THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Temperance Movement—Its Progress and Difficulties—
Design of the Present Work.

THE Temperance Reformation in Great Britain, as well as in America, has now become an important question in social ethics. Those principles which, somewhere about a quarter of a century ago, were pressed upon public attention by a few earnest and philanthropic spirits, now command the attention of all classes in the community; while not a few of those literary and theological teachers, who were formerly its foes, have, by the diffusion of light, become its earnest supporters. So great has been the progress of the Temperance enterprise since its humble inauguration in the United Kingdom, that, had it not been for the singular indiscretion and miserable jealousies of certain of its leaders, it would ere this have found a permanent footing amid the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of our land. Still, when we consider what this movement has become, and how it has prospered amid the adverse influences with which it has been surrounded and associated, we have a powerful evidence of the immutability

of truth, and are struck with the fact, that the Temperance cause has been protected by more than human hand.

The object of the present Treatise is to give a historical sketch of the rise and progress of the Temperance Reformation in Scotland, with special reference to its legislative aspect; and to embody a narrative of that most painful division, which so unhappily prevails, and which has made the cause a subject of scoffing and reproach, by reason of which many of its best friends have been disgusted, and turned aside from public usefulness. The compilation of such a narrative is by no means an inviting task, and never would have been undertaken by the writer had it not been that he believed much permanent injury would result to the cause, if something were not done to correct much of that misapprehension which prevails as to the origin and causes of the present controversy. That such a work is necessary appears evident, in order to satisfy the inquiries of thousands in all parts of the country, who are anxiously desirous to know the *real cause* of that strife which continues to rage among Temperance Reformers, which has rent the peace of families, and arrayed against each other, in deadly hate, the leading representatives of the movement.

Seeing that our object is chiefly to narrate the real facts of the case, our labour will be more that of research and arrangement, than of illustration and argument; and the Work will necessarily partake more of the character of an unvarnished narrative than of a highly figurative or argumentative production. Let it, therefore, be noted and understood: that should any party, who may have occupied a prominent position in

that movement, whose history we presume to write, feel flattered or aggrieved by the position which they may occupy, to themselves belongs the honour or discredit, and not the writer, whose province it is to collect, arrange, and illustrate the public and official acts of those associated with his subject. And here it may be as well to state, that, in order to vindicate himself from the convenient charge of misrepresentation and exaggeration, he will confine himself as much as possible to the original words of the various writers and public speakers, upon whom he must be dependent for information; and shall be particular to give the title, volume, and page of the different works from which that information is derived.

CHAPTER II.

State of the Temperance Enterprise in 1830—the Movement discovered to be Defective—Progress Demanded—Opposition of Parties in Power—the Principles of the Reforming Party Conceded, but their Policy Repudiated—Triumph of the Reforming Party—Formation of the Scottish Temperance Union—Its Speedy Dissolution—Formation of the Eastern and Western Scottish Temperance Unions—Their Career and Dissolution—Formation of the Scottish Temperance League—Unsuccessful attempts to Restore the Old Pledge—Opinion of Mr Kettle upon the Lawfulness of Moderate Drinking—Mr Kettle upon Piecemeal Reform—Unpopularity and Failure of all Partial Measures.

IN entering upon the work before us, it will be necessary to take a retrospective glance at the state of the movement about the year 1830, when Temperance Societies were being established throughout many parts of the country. As these Societies advocated merely abstinence from ardent spirits, it soon became apparent to the more reflective of the members that their prin-

ciples were sadly defective. No sooner were they fully convinced of this than an agitation was entered upon with the view of inducing the various Societies to adopt the more rational ground of "Total abstinence from all that intoxicates;" a step which many of the leaders viewed with alarm, and hesitated not to denounce as a rash and injudicious procedure, most certain to alienate friends, and thereby "damage the movement." Confident of the rectitude of their principles, and fully persuaded of the inefficiency of the old moderation-system, the friends of progress, at the expense of being decried as "the enemies of the movement," persisted in their agitation. With truth and earnestness upon their side, they speedily made the power of their arguments so felt as to attract the attention, and secure the support of thousands among all classes in the community. The hostile leaders, seeing the tide of progress rising and deepening around them, were most reluctantly compelled to recognise the *principle* of entire abstinence, but strongly urged the impropriety of advocating such thorough-going views in the meantime; and while ever careful *now* to state that they were in favour of entire abstinence, insisted upon the agitation being confined to the old moderation-principle, until public opinion was more fully prepared to adopt such a radical cure. While earnestly contending for the supremacy of this temporising policy, they maintained that it was the surest and the safest path to ultimate victory, and that the policy of the total abstainers jeopardised the peace of the movement, and was intimately associated with the impracticable.

Wearied and exasperated with such a time-serving and temporising expediency, the true friends of Temper-

ance struck out a path for themselves, and urged upon the people the unconditional and immediate abandonment of all that intoxicates. So great was the success which attended their self-denying efforts, that in a few years the old Temperance Societies became well-nigh extinct, and in 1838 an Association, embodying the principles of total abstinence, was formed in Glasgow, under the designation of "The Scottish Temperance Union." Unfortunately, at the first annual meeting, held in Edinburgh in the following year, party prejudice and local jealousies were introduced, which resulted in the splitting up of the Union so very recently formed. The divided parties there and then formed themselves into two distinct Associations, the one party designating themselves the Eastern, and the other the Western, Scottish Temperance Union. The former having laboured with praiseworthy energy for three or four years, was dissolved, being unable to bear up against accumulated difficulties, which had been brought upon the organisation chiefly by the reckless extravagance and flagrant abuse of power vested in its officials. The latter continued to prosecute the work of Temperance Reform with remarkable success till the year 1844, when the conservative element began to manifest itself in resisting the spirit of institutional progress, which had taken hold upon the minds of not a few of its leading members. The leaders of the cause in England being considerably in advance of the majority of those in Scotland, had by this time crossed the border. Lamenting the amount of misdirected effort put forth by their brethren in Scotland, and desirous to enlighten them upon the necessity for more practical action, these honoured champions, Messrs Teare, Grubb, Livesey,

and Dearden, had visited Scotland, and infused into those known as the "extreme party" a spirit of dissatisfaction with the defective character of the old temperance agitation. This resulted in an attempt being made to adapt the constitution of the Union to the greatly advanced state of the movement; but this attempt proving unsuccessful, the advancing party, led on by Messrs James Mitchell, Andrew M'Lean, and Robert Reid, then felt called upon to form a new Association, which was immediately inaugurated, under the designation of the Scottish Temperance League. Two years after the formation of the League the Union became extinct, having lost the confidence of the members because of its dogged adherence to a policy which, however well adapted for its early existence, was found to be inimical to its future prosperity and usefulness.

Notwithstanding the great progress of total abstinence, there were still many who were opposed to its being honestly and unreservedly advocated. Not only did these men of timid counsels continue to form short-pledge societies, but in several instances they sought to modify the constitution of the reformed associations, and again permit the family and household use of intoxicants among their members. In the village of Ayton, in Berwickshire, a determined effort of this kind was made by certain influential office-bearers, and but for the faithful opposition and indignant protest of Messrs James Dalgetty, John Yule, and a few others, the result would have proved most disastrous to the best interests of the cause. The greater is the amount of credit due to these gentlemen for the decided stand which they took, as, in reply to an application for advice from the worthy Robert Kettle, then President of the

Scottish Temperance League, they did not receive that cordial support which might have been expected. Mr Kettle, in referring to an address published by the former gentleman, states in his communication, "I cannot agree with the reasoning in Mr Dalgetty's address. He takes too high ground. We have no right to judge our brother in the way he does. Had there been in the Bible a prohibition against the moderate use of intoxicating drink, then his reasoning would have been good; but as the matter stands, a man may buy, use, and give intoxicating drink without committing sin, providing that he does so with a good conscience." Again, in referring to their determination to stand fast by the long-pledge, Mr Kettle says, "I understood that you had lately adopted the long-pledge, with a clause allowing the admission of individuals who approved of it, but who, from domestic or other circumstances, might not be able at all times to comply with it. Something of this kind might do as an experiment; it would show your willingness to accommodate, and by and bye you might be in circumstances to take up the only solid basis, *the long-pledge*." *

These partial and imperfect Societies, notwithstanding their accommodating character, never become popular; and though we believe some of them still linger and exist in the name of short-pledge and personal-abstinence societies, it cannot be denied that their inefficiency was too transparent ever to allow them to obtain anything like a hold upon public sympathy and support.

* Manuscript Letter, of date 7th January, 1851.

CHAPTER III.

Prosperity of the Scottish Temperance League—The Directors suspected of hostility to Legislative interference with the Liquor Traffic—Suspensions strengthened and confirmed—Sheriff Speirs, Drs Chalmers and Guthrie, advocate Legislative interference—Their teaching repudiated and condemned by the League—Legislative interference with the Traffic declared by the League to be a delusion—Dr George Bell advocating Legislative interference, and charged with denying the existence of the League—The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland approving of Legislative interference, and their efforts ridiculed by the "Review"—The Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness in favour of Legislative suppression—The Association charged with ignoring the past efforts of the League—Determination of the members of the League to correct the policy of its Directors.

THE Scottish Temperance League, having been formed as a living protest against the stand-still policy of the Union, soon attracted towards it most of the thorough-going friends of the Cause. Formed by honest and earnest men, and guided by wise and judicious counsels, it continued to prosper amid uninterrupted peace till about the year 1848, when the Directors began to be suspected of entertaining views adverse to legislative interference with the liquor traffic, which was now being regarded by many as a righteous and imperative necessity. These suspicions were chiefly excited by the appearance of several articles in the "Scottish Temperance Review," reflecting upon certain parties, who were directing public attention to the desirability of State interference with the traffic, as a great social wrong. Among those whose efforts were thus being depreciated and held up to ridicule and scorn, were to be found such honoured Christian patriots as Sheriff Speirs, Drs Chalmers and Guthrie. Like the Sabbath Alliance, which was de-

nounced as "inconsistent," because it did not adopt teetotalism,* these great and good men brought down upon themselves the denunciations of the organ of the League, because, while declining to join in an interminable warfare against intemperance by the employment of mere *moral* means, they appealed for the arm of legislative power to be extended against the traffic. To the minds of the Directors of the League, this policy appeared "strange beyond conception," and "utterly incomprehensible:" as having something of the appearance of a compromising with evil, as bearing on its forehead glaring inconsistency,—an unworthy tampering with an evil which we are powerful enough to crush, if we only manfully set ourselves for the task."†

While the Legislative party were thus engaged in labouring to arouse the public mind to the duty and necessity of governmental interference with the traffic, they were called upon to encounter difficulties of no ordinary kind. While confronted by the public-house interest, which sought to retard their every step, they had to contend with a flank-fire from the officials of the Scottish Temperance League, who, to a great extent, succeeded in cutting them off from the support and sympathy of the Temperance Reformers of Scotland. No sooner was it found that the trumpet-blast of a Chalmers and a Guthrie was likely to arouse the country to the hideous enormities of the public-house system, and to summon the hosts of virtue and morality to confront in earnest conflict the appalling machinery of the enslaving traffic, than the guns of League officialism were heard through the columns of the "Review," re-

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. iii. p. 413.

† Scottish Temperance Review, vol. i. p. 229.

minding the Temperance Reformers of Scotland that they were to "depend exclusively on moral suasion;"* that "there is nothing needed but entire abstinence;"† and that their "recipe" for shutting the public-houses was to "let the people shut their mouths, and the shops will shut themselves."‡ Such counteracting influences, brought to bear upon the temperance public through the official organ of the League at this early stage of the aggressive movement, exerted a withering influence upon the political party,—did incalculable damage to the *real* interests of the abstinence movement,—and greatly retarded the progress of practical Temperance Reform.

The suspicions excited against the Directors of the League in 1848, were unfortunately strengthened and confirmed in the following year, when, in the April number of the "Review," there appeared an editorial article, headed "The Legislative Delusion,"§ denouncing the entire political movement as an absurdity, and contending for "the importance of special organisations which proceed on *moral grounds alone*." While the article in question declared that "nothing seems so likely to rationalise the British people from the legislative delusion as those popular associations called Temperance Societies," it gave currency to the monstrous sentiment, that "Government could in no way aid the movement so effectually as by rendering moderate drinking imperative on the people."¶ The publication of such sentiments by the Directors of a great national organisation, professing to advocate the principles of Temperance

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. iii. p. 419.

† Scottish Temperance Review, vol. iii. p. 38.

‡ Scottish Temperance Review, vol. iii. p. 177.

§ Scottish Temperance Review, vol. iv. p. 145.

¶ Scottish Temperance Review, vol. iv. p. 146.

Reform, could not fail to awaken feelings of regret and alarm in the minds of many of its best friends. Still, although the dissatisfaction among many of the members had by this time become strikingly manifest, the feeling of official hostility to the legislative movement not only continued, but along with it a spirit of institutional jealousy began to develop itself towards those who had espoused the cause of legal suppression. Dr George Bell, who had just written his able work upon "Day and Night in the Wynds of Edinburgh," and who therein fearlessly advocated legislative interference with the traffic, was charged with denying the "existence of the League," simply because he had failed to refer to it in his pamphlet; and because he recommended "the reduction of public-houses and spirit-shops by an Act of the Legislature," he was told, that "we of the Total Abstinence Society reverse the plan," and that it was "a pity that men, who put themselves forward as the advocates of moral reform, should waste their energies by chasing a phantom."^a The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who about this time had issued their invaluable Report, to which the Temperance cause has been greatly indebted, were insolently told, that unless they recommended the practice of teetotalism, "the experiment of all other remedies is simply a waste of time and labour."[†] The Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness, at their inauguration meeting, held in Edinburgh on the 22d of May 1850, having also avowed the principle of legislative interference, next excited the jealousy and opposition of the League. Ever ready to charge with "inconsistency," and to

^a Scottish Temperance Review, vol. v. p. 173.

[†] Scottish Temperance Review, vol. v. p. 270.

carp and cavil with all who might seek to ameliorate the moral and social condition of the people, without mixing up teetotalism with their efforts, the League officials were not slow to depreciate this Association. Gross insinuations were preferred against it, merely because the Directors had discovered that at the inauguration meeting, "from the beginning to the end, there was no allusion to the great efforts put forth by themselves." They regarded "the silence maintained by all the speakers on this point to have been the result, not of accident, but *design*;" while they satirically announced that they acquitted them from any wish "to burn the publications of the Scottish Temperance League."^o This persevering opposition to legislative action, and unseemly jealousy upon the part of the League Directors, was not only most successful in keeping aloof from the Abstinence department of the Temperance Reformation that body of influential reformers, whose minds were being directed to the legislative *suppression* of the traffic, but it had become so obnoxious to a large number of the members of the League, that they began seriously to consider how this state of things was to be remedied. After mature deliberation, they resolved upon an attempt being made to obtain from an assembled meeting of the members an official recognition of the principle of legislative interference with the traffic: this they regarded not only as a constitutional right, but as an indispensable requirement, in order that unanimity of action, the prosperity of the League, and the general interests of the Cause might be secured.

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. v. p. 270.

CHAPTER IV.

Growing interest in the Legislative Movement—Opposition of the League Directors still further confirmed—Disappointment of Members—The Legislative question introduced into the Annual Meeting of the League—Discussion and Decision of the Meeting—Official circular of the Scottish Suppression Association—Renewed attack upon the Association by the organ of the League—Opposition of the League Directors to the Suppression of the Sabbath Traffic—Results of the Opposition.

DURING the early part of the year 1850, a spirit of restless activity had taken firm hold upon the minds of many of the members of the League. The principle of legislative action was now being agitated in numerous Societies, and powerfully advocated by many of the more intelligent abstainers in Scotland, as well as in England. The Report of the Church of Scotland's Committee on Drunkenness, the formation of the Scottish Suppression Society, and the triumphant progress of the legislative movement in America, all conspired to infuse new life and vigour into the advancing party, and to render the principle of legislative action decidedly popular among many of the most patriotic and Christian men in Britain. While such were the happy results being produced upon the friends of Temperance Reform, both in connection with the abstinence and legislative movements, it seemed only to confirm in their opposition the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League. When it could no longer be concealed that they were prepared to resist the spirit of progress, disappointment and vexation filled the hearts of many of its members, seeing as they did, that the League, so admirably adapted in many respects to take the lead in an attack upon the

legalised iniquity of our day, was in imminent peril of being perverted into a huge obstruction in the way of those whose progress was onward. With the avowed purpose of saving the Institution from such a reproach, and of hastening on the final triumph of the Temperance enterprise, the aggressive party, on the 8th of July 1850, took their stand in the annual assembly of the members and delegates, and under the leadership of Mr William Robertson, of Barrhead, determined upon a united effort being made to place it in the vanguard of the Temperance Reformation, and to secure for it the homage and respect of all truly philanthropic men.

Mr Robertson introduced the subject of legislative interference to the notice of the meeting, by reading a series of propositions, declaring the liquor traffic to be illegitimate, and at variance with the first principles of political economy, while those engaged in the traffic were characterised as fit objects for magisterial castigation. These propositions he moved as a preamble to, and with the following resolution: "That we will aid, to the extent of our ability, the local magistrates and the Imperial Parliament in suppressing the licensing system, and establishing the criminal character of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. And we do hereby sympathise with all, in every place, who labour by legal enactment to put an end to them."

In support of the position thus nobly taken up, Mr Robertson delivered one of the most able and effective addresses which has ever been heard in connection with any meeting of the League. The enormities of the traffic, the criminality of the trafficker, and the imperative duty of the Temperance Reformer to demand its instant and total suppression, were so clearly set forth that, had not

the minds of the Directors been sealed against all conviction, their opposition to legislative interference would, from that hour, have in all probability ceased. Mr Thomas Knox of Edinburgh seconded the motion, and in a most effective manner exposed the traffic as a foul excrescence upon our social system, while he demonstrated it to be a huge impediment in the way of institutional progress, and urged upon the League an immediate agitation for its entire extinction.

In view of the reasonableness of Mr Robertson's motion, and the able arguments by which it was supported, it does seem strange, that aggressive action should have been further resisted by the League executive; yet, true it is, that they continued to exert their entire influence against it. They had officially pronounced the whole legislative movement to be "a delusion," and they were not the men thus speedily to withdraw a slander, or admit the impolicy of the course which they had adopted. Accordingly, Mr Neil M'Neil, one of their number, moved, as an amendment, "That the meeting deem it inexpedient to enter upon the discussion of the resolution." This amendment was seconded by Mr Gordon Stewart, and, after a lengthened discussion, was carried against the motion, by a majority of 32 to 21.*

The annual meeting thus over, and the decided feeling manifested by 21 of the members in favour of legislative action, it was expected that the hostile feeling of the Directors would now become somewhat modified. Such an expectation was, however, doomed to disappointment; as it was only now that their opposition began to assume an organised form. Perceiving the feeling of sympathy which existed in behalf of the legislative

* *Scottish Temperance Review*, vol. v. p. 368.

movement in Scotland, as well as in America, an effort was made to destroy that feeling by an attack upon the Scottish Suppression Society, wherein the shutting of the public-houses on the Sabbath was scoffed at, and its efforts subjected to ridicule and scorn. Towards the close of the year, the Suppression Society issued a circular advocating the shutting up of the public-houses on Sabbath, and suggesting to every clergyman in Scotland the propriety of "preaching a sermon against drunkenness on the last Sunday of the year, and requesting them, at the same time, to furnish such statistical information as to drunkenness as the Society may occasionally call for, the diffusion and circulation of such views and publications as the Association may enunciate and publish, and the collection of such contributions as their people might be inclined to give for carrying out the objects of the Society."

Immediately on the appearance of the circular in question, an editorial article appeared in the "Scottish Temperance Review," entitled "The Suppression Scheme, or The Two Panaceas:" wherein it is asked, "What next? What are the fitting and approved panaceas provided and proclaimed by this *perfervida gens nova*—young Scotland? *The regulating of the system of licensing, and the shutting of the spirit-shops on the Sabbath-day, are the two great panaceas, as far as the labours of that Association are concerned.*" "How, then, do the suppression advocates propose to encounter this evil? How is Scotland's drunkenness and impious folly to be healed? By regulating the crane, and shutting up the shops upon Sunday." "The youthful but valiant Association has arisen, and loudly proclaimed, that the evil lies in the ungarded crane and its vile diarrhoea on Sundays.

To guide with a sumptuary hand, then, the legal orifice of the cask, and plug it up with pious zeal on the Sabbath, is to form the noble ambition and pancratic onslaught of the enthusiastic youth, who evoked the Suppressing Association.”*

In the scoffing insolence of these depreciatory remarks, we have an illustration of the deep-rooted hatred cherished by the Directors of the League against the agitation then being carried on for the shutting-up of the public-houses on the Sabbath; and the following extracts show how ungenerous and contemptible was the opposition they offered to those gentlemen to whom Scotland is primarily indebted for the “New Public-Houses Act,” and all its numerous advantages. In referring to the course of action suggested by the Committee of the Suppression Society, we find the “Review” further referring to it in the following very inelegant terms:—

“Such statistical information as to the state of drunkenness as the Society *may* occasionally call for; such views as the Association *may* enunciate; such contributions as your people *may* be inclined to give; and, finally, *after much consideration*, a sermon against drunkenness, before the present year expires. The Committee of the latest suppressing scheme are wary strategists, notwithstanding their inexperience and youth. Whether they are ever to demand the statistics of drunkenness, or are ever to enunciate views, or to call earnestly and practically for the sinews of war, must remain amid the obscurities of days that are yet to come. In the most refined spirit of the most ethereal philosophical quietude—superiority to all dogmatism—they assert nothing, bind themselves to nothing, venture to obtrude nothing, but the old, orthodox,

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. v. p. 562.

universally-welcome soporific—a Sermon; and this—*nascitur nus*—after much consideration. Perhaps, however, all this is but the sly and wary dodge of a cunning warrior. But the men of the two panaceas and of the one sermon ‘walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise.’ They call for nothing, they enunciate nothing: they have an exchequer replenished with next to nothing, but the coming proceeds of the one sermon. All else, with skilful diplomatic reserve, they commit to the potentiality of the future. At present, they advance simply and entirely according to the method of May. But let the craneologists and Sabbatarian sinners beware; the day of their licentiousness draws to a close: for the crane will be grasped and regulated, and the liquor shut off on Sunday.”*

These extracts afford conclusive evidence of the growing hostility of the League Executive to the Legislative movement, and painfully illustrate the miserable jealousy which was being cherished against a kindred Association, and which experience has proved to be as discreditable to themselves as it has been injurious to the Association in question and the general cause of Temperance Reform.

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. v. pp. 563, 564.

CHAPTER V.

Successful Efforts of the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness—Their Collection and Publication of the Edinburgh Sabbath Statistics—Introduction of Lord Kinnaird's Bill; or, The New Public-Houses Act—Civil and Ecclesiastical Boards Petitioning in its favour—Opposition of the Scottish Temperance League—Additional Arguments of the League Directors against Governmental Interference with the Traffic—The Press supporting the passing of the Act—Second Attempt to change the Policy of the League—Official Arrangements to Defeat the Attempt—and Speech of the Rev. Alex. Hannay of Dundee, against all Legislative Interference—Defeat of the Aggressive Party—Mr Hannay elected Vice-president of the League—Great National Gathering of Juvenile Abettainers.

THE Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness having entered upon a crusade against the Sabbath traffic, soon aroused public attention to its enormity, and formed a strong public sentiment in favour of its suppression. At no inconsiderable amount of labour, they collected and published an important document, containing an accurate statistical account of every public-house, with the name of the publican, which was open in Edinburgh, on the first Sabbath of March 1850. So thoroughly practical were the efforts put forth by the above Association, that as the result, in the early part of 1851, Lord Kinnaird's Bill, now better known as Forbes M'Kenzie's, or the "New Public-Houses Act," was brought before the British public. The movement in behalf of Legislative interference with the traffic having thus assumed a definite and organised form, it was the opinion of many that the Scottish Temperance League would then, in common with many of our Presbyteries, Municipal Boards

and Temperance Societies, have sympathised with and petitioned in favour of the Bill. Formerly, its Directors had opposed and derided the Suppression Association, because of their "committing themselves to nothing;" but surely, reasoned many, they will now hail it as an invaluable coadjutor, when it is doing so much for the diminution and restriction of an evil which the Scottish Temperance League was originated to destroy. But, no! the opposition of the League executive was not thus easily to be overcome, and experience seems to justify the suspicion, that it was because they were more interested in contending for institutional supremacy, and party domination, than in furthering the great work of Temperance Reform.

While the Bill was being pressed upon the attention of the country, and receiving the support of a large portion of the press, there appeared an editorial article in the "Review," strikingly calculated to frustrate the passing of the bill, and to detract from the influence of its promoters. In the article in question, it is stated:—

"As to the principle on which the proposed legislation is to proceed, as well as to the likelihood of gaining some vast national advantage by license-regulation, there are obvious and grave difficulties. But, after all, *if it accomplish anything*, it will be merely the paring of a single claw of the fierce and untameable monster, or the folding up of a little finger of the hundred-handed Briareus."* "*Acts of Parliament, towards whatever phase of the intemperance degradation directed—be it the quantity or quality of the drink—the number or respectability of the vendors, or the hours within which the public-house carousal may be indulged, will be found*

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. vi, pp. 313-14.

to be only the palliating of symptoms, the modifying of superficial erosions, or the binding of the maniac during the height of the paroxysm. It is not a little water, or a little paint, or a little varnish, that will deterge, or conceal, or cure our country's wallowing in the mire. Let the public-houses be diminished one-half, and the remaining half will only double their capacity."*

Such is a specimen of the argumentation employed by the League against the Suppression Society, while it fearlessly confronted the whole publican fraternity, and nobly laboured to place upon the statute-book that benign law, which has restored to Scotland the blessings of a comparatively quiet Sabbath, after they had been well-nigh lost amid the blasphemous obscenity inseparably associated with the traffic in intoxicating drink!

While the legislative movement made no progress among the Directors of the League, it was far otherwise among its members. Through the influence of a large portion of the press—more particularly the *Christian News*, the *Witness*, and the *Scottish Press*, the former of which had advocated not only restriction, but prohibition, since it was established in 1846—the friends of Legislative action were rapidly increasing, while the aggressive party, in connection with the League, were daily gaining strength. With Mr Robertson at their head, they again resolved upon an attempt to carry the Resolution in favour of Legislation, which was rejected at the preceding annual meeting.

In all probability the motion proposed by Mr Robertson would have been carried in 1851, had it not been prevented by a flagrant abuse of power exercised

* *Scottish Temperance Review*, vol. vi. p. 316.

by the Directors. No sooner did it become known that Mr Robertson was to renew his motion at the annual meeting, than arrangements of the most unwarrantable nature were gone into, in order most effectually to secure his defeat. In the number of the "Review" published before the annual meeting, an article of the most discouraging kind, appeared upon "The [then] Present Position of the Movement," evidently designed to check the hopeful spirit of progress which then animated many of the members of the League. In this article, the members were coolly told, that they "were not likely to make the same progress during the next twenty years as they had done in the past,"* and that all "their success had as yet been superficial."† In addition to this most discouraging announcement, the Rev. Alexander Hannay of Dundee, one of the most violent advocates against legislative interference, had been *engaged*, and, according to his own testimony, the task assigned him at the annual meeting was, "to compare the merits of the Abstinence Society and the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness." Mr Hannay took occasion, in the commencement of his address, to intimate, that they "were not *jealous* of the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness;" and proceeded to prefer his charges against its principles and policy in the following language, which, with several additional extracts, we submit for the consideration of the reader:—

"Our *general charge* against the originators of the suppression movement, then, is, that they misunderstand the evil with which they have to deal—our national drunkenness—and so cannot intelligently cope

Scottish Temperance Review, vol. vi, p. 294.

† Ibid., p. 297.

with it. This appears, first, in the views which they take of its *sources* and *prevalence*. Their grand specific, you are aware, is a contraction of law of the public-house system. This proposal goes upon the supposition, that in the tap-room and at the retail counter, the real efficient cause of drunkenness is to be found." "But *we altogether deny that our drunkenness, regarded in a broad view, as a national characteristic, can be said to be the result of the public-house system.*" "The disastrous result is, national drunkenness, *the drinking customs being the cause*, and the public-houses being largely provided and used as the means." "The originators of the suppression movement misunderstand the evil with which they propose to deal, as to its sources. They also misunderstand its character. They say, 'Diminish the number of public-houses, and you will diminish the amount of intemperance; close these houses on the Sabbath, and you will put an end to drunkenness.' Such is the logic of their movement." "The drunkard is to be made sober by having difficulties put in the way of his indulgence. *Now, no reform which is effected in this way is worth working for.*" "Suppose the Suppression Association to succeed in suddenly cutting off the supplies from the drunkards. Well, the drunkards are sober for that day, and the suppressionists rejoice. I cannot rejoice with them. *I pity the men more in this state of enforced sobriety, than in their more familiar state of voluntary drunkenness.* What good change has been effected upon the men? THEY ARE, AT BEST, ONLY SOBER DRUNKARDS—DRUNK IN THE INTENTION, BUT SOBER IN THE FACT!! The Suppression Association, in proposing to reform drunkards by mere material restraints, proposes to break down the intrinsic barriers of the human constitution; and, *in my notion, it were almost as well, for all the high purposes of life, that they were left drunkards.*"

Such are a few remarks from this remarkable address,

delivered, at the special request of the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, against the Legislative suppression of the liquor traffic, and which the reverend gentleman concluded by calling upon the members of the League to give their *candid* consideration, and to "send back the programme and proposals of the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness dishonoured!"^c

The result of the course pursued by the Directors in *engaging* Mr Hannay to deliver such an address on the evening before the day appointed to discuss Mr Robertson's motion, it will not be difficult to understand. Confidence, for the first time, was fairly shaken in the Directorship. The unwarrantable character of the means used to destroy the legislative movement, and to rend asunder the cord of sympathy which existed between many of the members of the League and the Suppression Society, was too transparent to be overlooked. The more upright and intelligent of the members were grieved and disgusted; the timid and time-serving were gained over; while those who were prepared to purchase peace at any price, sunk back into neutrality and indifference. As the necessary consequence of all this, Mr Robertson and his motion were again defeated, and the enemies of progress still dominant and triumphant; while Mr Hannay, in virtue of the services which he had rendered, had his name placed upon the list of the Vice-Presidents of the League, the honour and dignity of which had been so signally tarnished.

In the year 1851 a powerful impetus was given to the Temperance Reformation by the great national

^c Scottish Temperance Review, vol. vi. p. 392.

gathering of juvenile abstainers, which took place in Edinburgh on the 5th of July of that year. On the morning of that day, ever memorable in the history of the Juvenile Abstinence movement, thousands of joyous and buoyant spirits, were being poured into the city by every approach. Each of the railway stations presented a scene of no ordinary interest to all who felt it a duty and a pleasure to contribute to the happiness and instruction of the rising generation. Regulated by a plan most perfect and minute, they, with all the precision of an army, were marched into the Queen's Park, where, beneath a brilliant sun, tempered by a gentle breeze, nearly forty thousand of Scotland's children paid a willing and united tribute to the cause they had espoused. After a blessing being asked by the Rev. Mr Blackeney of Isongreen, Notts, they sat down in select sections upon the green grass, and partook of a plentiful supply of buns, with a refreshing draught of that liquid which flows from the distilleries of heaven,—the everlasting hills. Refreshed by this simple repast, the whole interesting assemblage rose to their feet, and led by that true veteran in the Temperance cause, Mr James Palmer, and surrounded by nearly forty thousand spectators, joined in singing the 100th Psalm, when the beauty and imposing grandeur of the scene can be more easily imagined than described. John Hope, Esq., the honoured founder and promoter of the British League, in a few remarks "acknowledged his gratitude to God for the great mercies and kindness he had shown them on the occasion. The Judges of the land—the Magistrates and public officials of the city—the Governors of institutions, and the Managers of Societies, had all, with the greatest

readiness and unanimity, granted the favour he solicited at their hands, and, to crown all, the Lord had given them that glorious day for their gathering. These things testified, that He who ruleth the elements and nature, and moulds the heart of man to His will, was with them; and might they not look forward to the happy day when, if they were true to themselves and to God, Scotland should be free from this sin of drunkenness which paralyzes every effort for good."

The Rev. J. Logan Aikman concluded the proceedings by pronouncing the benediction, when the youthful disciples of abstinence were marched off the ground, and having visited many places of interest, all generously opened for their reception, left for their respective homes, where they arrived in safety, no accident having occurred.

Such was one of the bright spots in the history of many of the youths of our land, upon which, we doubt not, memory delights to dwell, and which will long stand out as an achievement worthy of the British League and its beneficent promoter. The British League has, from that day to this, held on its way with unfaltering step, sustaining no fewer than ten permanent agents, and widely imparting the invaluable blessings of a religious and secular education, there being no fewer than six thousand individuals, who are weekly brought under its elevating influence, and who are systematically taught that "the Maine Law is the plan proposed" for the overthrow of the giant evil of their day—the Liquor Traffic.

CHAPTER VI.

Publication of Mr Hannay's Speech—Its Effects upon the Temperance Public—Intelligence of the Passing of the Maine Law—Arrival of Mr Kellogg from America—His visit to Scotland—Conversation of Mr George Easton to Maine Law views—Renewed Attack upon the Scottish Suppression Association by the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League—Rapid increase of the friends of Prohibition—Resolutions of Mr Wm. Robertson modified by himself—His Policy repudiated by former Supporters—Discussion of the "Vexed Question" at the Annual Meeting of 1852—Division among the friends of Legislation—Amendment of the Rev. Duncan Ogilvie—Triumph of the Executive.

So thoroughly did the speech of the Rev. Mr Hannay represent the sentiments of the Directors of the League, that it was invidiously selected from among the speeches of the other gentlemen delivered at the annual meeting, and, in bold type, occupied a prominent place in the columns of the "Review" of the following month. In this, however, the Directors, in their zeal to suppress the movement in favour of legislative action, committed a serious mistake. Many of those who had been deluded by its delivery amid the hearty plaudits of the League officials, could not calmly peruse it without discovering the absurdity of the principle enunciated, and the ridiculous arguments and illustrations by which these principles were enforced. To many, what appeared a fine logical refutation of the entire Legislative movement when delivered, was, upon perusal, more like the gratuitous assumptions of a *special pleader*, or the ravings of an unscrupulous partizan, than the earnest teachings of an intelligent and disinterested Temperance reformer. When they calmly perused and

reflected upon the address, and found that Mr Hannay denied *drunkenness to be the result of the public-house system*—and when they found him denouncing all State interference with the traffic as *not worth working for*; and, further, when they found him declaring, that he could not rejoice in drunkards being made sober by the legal suppression of the traffic, but that he pitied them more *in this enforced state of sobriety than when they were in a state of voluntary drunkenness*: a feeling of self-reproach upbraided them when they discovered that they had been befooled, and for the time cajoled out of their convictions in favour of aggressive action, by a piece of platform oratorical clap-trap. And when the temperance public read in Mr Hannay's speech, that drunkards, saved by the removal of temptation, were still SOBER DRUNKARDS!! DRUNKARDS IN THE INTENTION, BUT SOBER IN THE FACT!!! a general feeling of reaction against the League and its policy was the immediate result. The circumstance that tidings of a prohibitory law having been passed in the State of Maine in America, having reached this country, added greatly to the feeling in favour of State interference, which was now being discussed among all classes in the community.

While the public mind was thus being directed to the desirableness and necessity for entering upon a general agitation for a prohibitory law, the arrival of Mr F. W. Kellogg from the United States was announced in the English journals. During Mr Kellogg's short visit to Scotland, he delivered lectures in several of the principal towns, including Glasgow and Edinburgh, where the effects of his faithful exposures of the traffic *in all its branches*, and his thrilling

appeals in behalf of a demand for total and instant abolition, exercised a most salutary influence in favour of genuine prohibition. On the 10th of March 1852, Mr Kellogg lectured in St Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, upon the neutralising influence of the traffic upon the abstinence movement; and having also shown the inefficiency of all mere moral and restrictive measures to cope with it, he fearlessly proclaimed the agitation in behalf of total and immediate abolition to be the instant duty of all true temperance men. The effect produced upon the audience was overpowering, when, towards the close of his address, he appealed to those upon the platform, who, believing in the efficiency of the pledge, were opposed to all legislative measures, and told them, "they might as well think of conquering a powerful army by picking up the wounded, the dying, and the dead, while the artillery of the enemy continued to desolate their ranks, as to overcome intemperance by mere moral suasion, while they had the influence of the traffic to contend against." Such out-spoken advocacy could not be without its appropriate effect; and at the close, while every one appeared to be enraptured with the thrilling truths so fearlessly enunciated, Mr George Easton, Agent of the Scottish Temperance League, rose, and frankly admitting that while he had hitherto had some difficulty in going the whole length with the Maine-law men, he from this time forward would give them his hearty support, and before his noble-minded friend Mr Kellogg, he pledged himself henceforth with his heart and his hand, his tongue and his pen, to agitate the claims of a Maine law. How far Mr Easton has been faithful to the pledge then voluntarily imposed upon himself, we leave

his own conscience and the temperance public to decide. For a considerable time after the publication of Mr Hannay's speech in the "Review," and notwithstanding the visit of Mr Kellogg, the course pursued by the League Directors continued to be that of all but positive silence upon the unwelcome subject of legislative interference. In due time, however, it became known that Mr Robertson was again prepared to raise "the vexed question" at the next annual meeting. No sooner was this discovered than the silence was again broken by the appearance of another editorial in the July number of the "Review," published only a few days before the annual meeting. The article in question was headed, "THE ANTI-LICENSE CRUSADE," and contained another bitter attack upon the Scottish Suppression Association. Their proceedings were characterised as "fitted to do little else than excite feelings of ridicule and contempt at the parties conducting them," who were told, "if they were sincere in desiring the abatement of the evils arising from the drinking habits of the people, they might as well think of removing the Calton-hill, or Arthur's-seat, from their broad foundations, and casting them into the Firth of Forth, with the pick-axes, shovels, and wheel-barrows of the old city-guard, as to arrest the avalanche of drunkenness by such vapouring and floundering."*

After some uncalled-for remarks upon Dr Guthrie, and some equally uncalled-for reflections upon the efforts which were then being made to induce "merchants, manufacturers, and others, to pay their servants' wages in the middle instead of the end of the week," the whole legislative movement was condemned as

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. vii. p. 299.

“mere beating the air, shaking leaves from the branches—child’s play, and labour in vain.”*

The publication of such an article, upon the very eve of the annual meeting, tended rather to promote than allay the feeling in favour of the movement so long and bitterly opposed. So general had the feeling in favour of practical Temperance Reform now become, that many of those Societies affiliated with the League, sent deputations and delegates to the annual meeting, with peremptory instructions to support the Resolutions which on two former occasions had been defeated, and strenuously to resist the stand-still policy of the Directors. So strong had the Reforming party now become, that it was evident to all that nothing but division among themselves could longer save the Directors from being *compelled* to take up the question, or abdicate the position they occupied with so little benefit to the movement or credit to themselves. The Directors, unwilling to resign, and equally unwilling to adopt a policy they appeared thoroughly to abhor, evidently saw that “divide and conquer” was their only hope. In this again they, after much cautious diplomacy, signally succeeded; as, upon the delegates and members reaching Glasgow from all parts of the country, to support Mr Robertson’s motion, they were surprised to find, that, so thoroughly had that gentleman been influenced, that his former resolutions were supplanted by himself with others of a modified and temporising character. Instead of the Resolutions now substituted calling upon the Directors “to aid, to the extent of their ability, the local magistrates and *Imperial Parliament* to suppress the licensing-system, and

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. vii, p. 303.

establish the criminal character of the *manufacture* and sale of intoxicating liquors; and also to sympathise with all, in every place, who laboured, by legal enactment, to put an end to them," they proposed "to assist in obtaining an Act, declaring the traders in intoxicating liquors *responsible* for the evils produced by the articles of their trade, and to ascertain and produce facts tending to establish the infamous nature of the traffic generally." Such being the temporising and indefinite character of the Resolutions now about to be proposed, it at once became evident that they could never secure the hearty support of those who stood true to the principles of the original Resolutions. Mr Robertson having refused to abide by his former propositions, and the true and independent party being resolved not to wink at what appeared to be "a selling of the cause," refused to follow him further as their leader. He, however, submitted his Resolutions; and, after a warm discussion, several amendments were proposed, and a division among the friends of legislative action was the unfortunate result: for assuredly, had they remained united, that meeting would have seen the policy of the opposing party overthrown. The division having thus been effectually secured, the hour had now arrived for the stroke of official policy being delivered in behalf of the trembling and imperilled Executive. As on all former and subsequent occasions, when threatened to be overpowered by the advancing tide of progress, the Directors had retained the services of a clerical friend to lead the "forlorn hope." The gentleman entrusted with the destinies of the Directors upon this occasion was the Rev. Duncan Ogilvie of Broughtyferry, who, in the hour of their extremity,

moved to the effect, "That, without expressing any opinion as to any future application to the Legislature, *"or preventing any member of the League from introducing, in the future, any motion for such legislation,* the meeting agrees to use its influence to obtain a Committee of the House of Commons to make inquiry into the intemperance of the United Kingdom."

Seeing that it would have been an act of unmitigated tyranny to have prevented any member from introducing, in the future, a motion in favour of Legislation, and seeing that "a committee of inquiry" had, *many years before*, been obtained in the House of Commons by James Silk Buckingham, Esq., and that the report of the Committee had been extensively circulated, it does seem strange that such a trifling and worthless resolution should have been listened to, much less carried, upon the occasion. Yet, true it was; and although no such committee of inquiry has ever been heard of till the present day, the Resolution accomplished its purpose, and established for another year the hostile policy of the Directors to the principle of Legislative Prohibition.

CHAPTER VII.

Effects of the Decision of 1852 upon the Affiliated Societies—Funds of the League expended in resisting Legislative Action—Consequent Disaffection and Withdrawal of Members—Reasons of the Directors for resisting Legislative Action—Struggle between the Friends of Legislation and the Representatives of the Traffic—Temperance Reform introduced as a Hustings Question—Power and Influence of the Petition Movement in favour of the New Public-Houses Act—Committee of the Edinburgh Society decline to aid in the Petition Movement—Independent Action of the Friends of the Sabbath and Legislation—Rev. Benjamin Parsons in Edinburgh—Great Meeting in the Music-Hall—Public Petition in favour of the Bill—Great Meeting in Queen Street Hall—Names of the Supporters of the Bill—Advanced Views of the Rev. Alexander Wallace—Presentation of Edinburgh Petitions in Parliament—Spurious Claims of the Officials of the Edinburgh Abstinence Society, and the Scottish Temperance League exposed.

THE result of the discussion of 1852, and the unhappy division among those members favourable to Legislative interference with the traffic, carried disappointment to many of the affiliated societies, upon the return of their deputations and delegates. That the energies of the officials, and the funds of the institution, were, from year to year, being to a great extent expended, in keeping up a systematic resistance to the Legislative movement, in direct opposition to the wishes of a large number of their constituents, was a fact which could no longer be denied nor disregarded. So little likelihood was there of the Directors taking up the question, or of their ceasing to use their whole *official* influence against it, that a spirit of deep-rooted dissatisfaction and distrust became prevalent among the members, leading many to give up all further interest in the management of the League, and compelling others to

withdraw from all further connection with it—being no longer an institution which represented their views as Temperance Reformers.

The Directors, who had hitherto refused to take up the question of Legislative interference, because, as a remedial measure, it was both “impracticable and inapplicable,” had by this time also discovered that such an agitation was “against the constitution of the League.” This absurd idea, while indignantly repudiated by those who knew the constitution, was received, by the more credulous and inexperienced of the members, as a sufficient excuse for their persevering resistance. While it is expressly set forth in the original constitution, that the object of the League is to “aim at the extermination of intemperance, by devising and carrying forward *great national movements* against intemperance, and also by adopting *such other methods of promoting the Temperance Reformation as counsel and experience may suggest*,” it does seem surprisingly strange how such an excuse could have entered into the minds of the Directors, seeing the Legislative movement was such an admirable “method of promoting the Temperance Reformation.”

Such, however, was the principal plea for indifference latterly urged by the Directors; and while acting under this hollow pretence of fidelity to the constitution, they remained passive, or rather directly hostile, while the Scottish Suppression Association were, in common with many of the best temperance men in the country, engaged in earnest conflict with the united influence of the traffic.

While the struggle was thus being carried on by the friends of Temperance and the Sabbath, on the one

side, and the whole publican fraternity of Scotland on the other, an article appeared in the official organ of the League, decrying "Legislation to repress the traffic altogether on Sunday, or during the hours of divine service, as lame and impotent,"* while the Directors looked on with supercilious disdain, expressing their surprise how "Total Abstainers could co-operate with those who had not signed the pledge." "Of what avail such a law" as would secure the shutting-up of the public-houses on the Sabbath "would be, unless there was previously formed a *Teetotal sentiment* among the great majority of the people," was quite incomprehensible to the minds of these fastidious Directors.

Such was the petty cavilling and contemptible objections indulged in by the enemies of all Legislative effort, when the friends of temperance, virtue, morality, and social order struggled to rescue Scotland's Sabbath from the power of the myrmidons of the traffic, by whom it had too long been profaned, and perverted into a field-day for the subversion of human happiness.

About this period the entire country was on the eve of being moved by a general election, and it was thought by many that the time had arrived when Temperance Reformers should organize as a political party to make themselves felt in the contest for political power. The propriety of the friends in Edinburgh taking the initiative in this movement, was raised in the Committee of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, and the following document submitted, with the view of inducing the Committee to take it up, and secure a list of Total Abstainers who were voters in the city:—

"We, the undersigned, electors of the city of Edinburgh,

* *Scottish Temperance Review*, vol. vii. p. 471.

hold it to be *essential*, to a proper representation of our sentiments in Parliament, that our representatives be prepared to support a measure for the shutting-up of all public-houses on the Sabbath, and for a complete revision of the Licensing Act for Scotland.

(Signed) "DAVID LEWIS, 217 High Street.
ALEXANDER ELDER, 243 High Street.
JAMES CAMERON, JUN., 265 High Street.
WILLIAM F. CUTHBERTSON, 15 N.-W.
Circus Place.
JAMES CAMERON, SEN., 265 High Street.
THOMAS MASON, 9 Hercules Street.
JOHN AITKEN, 104 High Street.
WM. MENZIES, M.D., 3 Lothian Road."

The Committee having declined to enter upon the work suggested, the general election found the Temperance forces divided, and unprepared for united action. So soon, however, as the candidates presented themselves before the constituency, Messrs David Lewis and William Bell Turnbull confronted them; and before the electors, for the first time, introduced Temperance Reform as a hustings question, by subjecting the candidates to a searching investigation upon their sentiments as to the Legislative suppression of the Sabbath traffic, and whether or not they were prepared to support the New Public-Houses Act, about to be introduced before the Legislature.* The Hon. Thomas C. Bruce, when told, "that, according to local and parliamentary returns, three-fourths of our criminal taxation, and four-fifths of our poor's-rates, were the result of the public-house system," expressed himself "not aware of the fact stated, and unable to give an opinion without such knowledge." This answer led to a correspondence with the honourable gentleman, which was ac-

* Scottish Press, vol. v. No. 494.

accompanied with Inspector Hill's Report upon Prisons, and several other official documents bearing upon the subject; when he admitted the fact formerly questioned, but declined to pledge himself to support the Bill. Alexander Campbell, Esq., Monzie, who was also a candidate, admitted himself hostile to the Sabbath traffic in spirituous liquors, but "preferred it being suppressed by mere moral suasion, instead of invoking Legislative interference." Mr Campbell, after being reminded that the Legislature had already interfered, and suppressed the Sabbath traffic in almost every article of household use, and being asked upon what principle he would plead for the exemption of that in intoxicating drink, then admitted himself prepared to support the Bill, and, in his future meetings with the electors, hesitated not publicly to avow its claims. The frank and open avowal of Mr Campbell to support the measure in question, divorced him from the sympathy of the greater portion of the "Licensed Victuallers," but was the means of rallying around him, in large numbers, the friends of temperance, morality, and religion, who, by an earlier acquaintance with his opinions, and deep interest in the social well-being of the people, would possibly have secured for him a seat in the Legislature as one of their representatives.

Meanwhile, a strong combination had been effected by the publicans, who contested every inch of ground; and, by "public meetings of the trade," and deputations to London, and various Members of Parliament, made a united and strenuous resistance. While the traffickers were thus engaged in earnest efforts for the ascendancy of social wrong, the friends of humanity and religion were neither passive nor indifferent to the momentous

issues which were involved in the struggle. While a position of haughty isolation was occupied by the League Executive, and of indifference by the Committee of the Edinburgh Abstinence Society, it was far otherwise with our Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, who, in common with municipal, temperance, and kindred institutions, poured in petitions in support of the Bill, which, clause by clause, was being subjected to the most fierce and trying ordeal which the supporters of an unscrupulous and unrighteous traffic could suggest. During the period of conflict, the friends of Temperance and social order in the metropolis fully realised their responsibility, and rose to the importance of the occasion, although, through the obstructive attitude assumed to the agitation by various leaders in the Abstinence movement, the opposition they were called upon to encounter was of a twofold character. Not only did the Society's Committee refuse to join, or recognise the petition movement in favour of the "New Public-Houses Act," but the course pursued by certain of its most prominent members was of the most unworthy character. The friends of Legislative action, grieved and disappointed at the course adopted by the Society, had no alternative left, but either to remain neutral in the struggle, or adopt a course of independent action for themselves; and knowing, as they well did, that the surrounding country would, in a great measure, be influenced by the efforts put forth in the metropolis, instant action was decided upon. A correspondence with Lord Kinnaird and Forbes M'Kenzie, to whom belongs the honour of introducing and carrying through the Bill, was then opened by Mr Peter Sinclair, Secretary for the Acting Committee, and the agitation com-

menced forthwith. The first step taken, was to invite the Rev. Benjamin Parsons, so well known in the Temperance and religious world, to lecture upon the demoralizing character of the traffic, and the claims which the suppression movement had upon all classes of the community. Mr Parsons accepted the invitation, and delivered his first lecture, in Queen Street Hall, to a large and influential audience. Public attention thus being called to the subject, a large public meeting was held, in the Music Hall, on the 3d of November 1852, where the infamous character of the traffic was further exposed, and the duty of the people and the Government clearly pointed out. The chair was occupied by Professor Miller; Bishop Terrot, Rev. Benjamin Parsons, Dr Joseph Brown, and several other clergymen and influential citizens addressed the meeting; and a resolution to get up a public petition in support of the measure about to be brought before Parliament was unanimously agreed upon. A large Committee was next formed of the friends of Temperance and the Sabbath; and, the city being divided into districts, the canvass in favour of the petition was commenced with great spirit, and the signatures of upwards of TWENTY THOUSAND of the inhabitants were obtained. The labours of the Committee having thus been completed, another large and influential meeting was held, in Queen Street Hall, on the 7th March following, to receive the Report of the Committee, and to arrange for the presentation of the two monster petitions. Professor Miller—whose labours in behalf of the “New Public-Houses Act,” *before it became law*, can never be over-estimated—again occupied the chair, and was surrounded, on the platform, by the Earl of Buchan, Rev.

Dr Henry Grey, Rev. D. Croom, Rev. A. Wallace, Rev. W. Reid, Rev. W. Tasker, Rev. J. L. Aikman, Rev. J. R. Campbell, Rev. Wm. Macpherson of Larbert, Dean of Guild Blackadder, Bailies Boyd and Fyfe, Councilors Gray, Dickson, and Pow; Burn Murdoch, Esq.; Robt. Paul, Esq.; and Messrs Tait, Campbell, Sinclair, Shepherd, Lewis, Grierson, and others.* The gentlemen who took part in the proceedings were, the Revs. Dr Henry Grey, Croom, Tasker, Wallace, and Campbell, Dean of Guild Blackadder, Bailie Fyfe, Councilor Gray, and James Balfour, Esq.

The meeting was of the most harmonious description, and the enthusiasm intense, more particularly when the Rev. Alex. Wallace said, "I would have appeared on this platform as willingly to move the entire abolition of the liquor traffic of this country, as to support its abolition on Sabbath."† This sentiment, as far back as 1853, found a hearty response from that large assembly, and clearly showed that it was leaders, and not followers, that were awaiting to consummate the triumph of the cause of Liquor-traffic-suppression. The petitions which, during the evening, were displayed on each end of the platform, were despatched the following morning—the one to be presented in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyle, and the other, in the Commons, by Chas. Cowan, Esq., member for the city. Mr Cowan, in acknowledging the arrival of the petition, intimated that its receipt was most opportune, as it was just in time to be presented previous to the discussion on the Bill, when it passed the second reading on the 9th inst.

The effect produced, not only in Parliament but throughout the entire country, by the well-conducted

* Scottish Press, No 571.

† Scottish Press, No 571.

and popular agitation in the metropolis, and the formidable character of the petitions, was most satisfactory, and did more to promote the passing of the Bill than any other step which could possibly have been devised. Not only were the efforts put forth of the *right kind*, but they were put forth in the *right place*, and in the *right time*—three distinct features essential to the success of all similar undertakings.

We cannot here omit to notice the TOTAL ABSENCE from all part in this movement, of those connected with the Committee of the Edinburgh Abstinence Society; and to chronicle the fact that, with the exception of a few Abstainers, long and well known to have dissented from the hostile policy of *officialism* to Legislative action, the conflict in favour of the "New Public-Houses Act" was chiefly, if not altogether, sustained by those unconnected with the Teetotal movement. This much we feel called upon to say, in justice to those gentlemen who sacrificed and struggled in behalf of the Sabbath law, and to show that the pretentious claims, which certain Total Abstinence officials arrogate to themselves, as having "secured the Forbes M'Kenzie Act,"* are totally unwarrantable, and without the slightest shadow of truth to support them: neither the Edinburgh Abstinence Society, nor the Scottish Temperance League, as such, having signed, much less aided in getting up, the petition in support of the Bill. True, when the heat of the battle was past, and victory had fairly turned in favour of the advocates of the Bill, a spasmodic effort was made by the Committee of the former

* See official letter of Mr J. S. Marr, of date 1st Sept. 1856, published by the United Kingdom Alliance, in an address to the Temperance Reformers of Scotland.

institution, uniting in a movement, with a large number of the Abstaining and Non-abstaining citizens, to ascertain the extent of the Sabbath traffic, which was, however, too late to be of much practical value—the Bill having safely passed the second reading several weeks before the result was published. Not only did the Committee of the Edinburgh Abstinence Society withhold their influence from the petition movement, but they declined to read the bills announcing the meetings in the Music Hall and Queen Street Hall, at their usual weekly meetings; while most disreputable attempts were made, by parties connected with the Society, to hinder the success of the meetings. These even went so far in their opposition, as officiously to obtrude themselves into the offices of the Public Press, and audaciously sought to suppress a full report of the proceedings. While such was the course pursued by those connected with the Edinburgh Society, the feeling of the Directors of the League may be learned from the fact, that no notice of the petition movement in Edinburgh, from its commencement to its close, was inserted in their *Journal*, although, on several occasions, reports of the proceedings were to be found, occupying whole columns, in our leading general newspapers.

Justice to the prime movers and supporters of the “New Public-Houses Act,” demands that these facts be made known; although, if to worship in the ascendancy that which they bitterly opposed in its adversity, is to be regarded as an atonement for the past, the Committee of the Edinburgh Abstinence Society, and the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, *now* appear fully prepared to make the sacrifice.

CHAPTER VIII.

Result of the passing of the "New Public-Houses Act" upon the Legislative Movement—Crisis in the History of the League Directors—Violation of the Constitution of the League—Loss sustained by the Death of Mr Kettle—Disastrous results of the Violation of the Constitution—Special efforts an imperative necessity—Influential Deputations sent out to conciliate disaffected Members—Professor Stowe and Charles Beecher at the Annual Meeting of the League—The Maine Law advocated in presence of the League Directors—The Champions of Moral Suasion paralyzed—Beneficial results of the Addresses of Stowe and Beecher upon the Country—Business Meeting of the League—Formal character of the Proceedings—Reflections upon the past Policy of the League Directorate.

So great was the interest which had been produced in favour of State interference with the liquor traffic, by the controversy raised by the "New Public-Houses Act," that, towards the commencement of 1853, it became apparent to those interested in the Scottish Temperance League, that no amount of ingenuity could much longer prolong the official existence of the Directors, if their obstructive policy was persisted in. And, most assuredly, no one saw more clearly than themselves, that the storm so much dreaded would speedily be upon them, and that their doom, as the Executive of an enlightened constituency, was sealed, if the hated course of Legislative action was not entered upon at the next Annual Meeting. To be compelled to enter upon such a course, appeared to the Directors more dreadful even than exile from official power; and, to such an ignominious humiliation, they were not prepared coolly to submit. Too long had these gentlemen ruled over a forbearing and over-indulgent constituency,

thus easily to yield to the popular clamour of those whose pecuniary contributions had become an object of greater solicitude than the advantage of their "counsel and experience." Accordingly, the desperate expedient by which political despots have deluged their subjects in blood, was adopted, and the constitution of the League audaciously violated! The original constitution of the League provided, that "the Directors should all retire annually, but be eligible for re-election"—an arrangement which testified to the wisdom and honesty of purpose which characterised the founders of the institution. Such a most reasonable and truly liberal provision, no body of honourable men, who really wished to carry out the aims and policy most agreeable to the majority of their constituents, would for a moment have sought either to evade or destroy; and, most certainly, had that most upright and christian gentleman, Mr Robert Kettle, been up till this time spared to occupy the office of President of the League, no such unworthy and unwarrantable tampering with the constitution would have been resorted to. But, most unfortunately, just when that devoted patriot and philanthropist had given evidence that his mind was being brought round to approve of the Prohibition movement, the world was deprived of his services,* and his successor wanted either the will or the power to prevent such an unwarrantable outrage upon the rights

* In the last article which Mr Kettle wrote upon the Temperance question, he gave forth his dying testimony in favour of the Maine Law in the following unsophisticated and explicit terms:—"We have read this wise and well made law, and have listened to its practical details with unmingled pleasure. . . . When our Legislators gather more sense and courage, we trust that they will follow the example of Maine, and, with her, break the eggs of the cockatrice, in place of hatching them, and then hunting down the venomous brood."—*Scottish Temperance Review*, vol. vii. p. 131

and liberties of the members. On the 17th of February 1853, in compliance with a requisition, to which they had got fifty-one members to adhibit their names, the Directors convened a meeting at Falkirk (*not by special notice to each individual member, and affiliated Society, but simply by a notice in the Journal, and one or two other papers*); and there, without the knowledge of probably not more than one-tenth of the members, on the motion of Mr Knox, Edinburgh, one of the Honorary Directors, and seconded by Mr Lockhart, Kirkcaldy, another Honorary Director, the constitution of the League was altered,* rendering it impossible for the members friendly to Legislative action, however numerous at the Annual Meeting, to change more than one-third of the Directors. By this transaction, in the event of the dismissal of the remaining two-thirds being deemed desirable by the Annual Meeting, these gentlemen could, for the time being, maintain their dominant position, and hurl defiance at every attempt that might be made to supplant them by others more in accordance with the spirit of the age. Such a gross outrage upon the principles of individual liberty and constitutional right, as that to which we have referred, we believe scarcely ever to have been attempted by the Directors of any similar institution in this free and enlightened country.

When the fact that such a meeting had been held at Falkirk, and that the Directors and a few of the members had altered the constitution of the League, became known, one general feeling of indignation pervaded a great portion of the members, not excepting many of those who had previously sympathised with them and

* See Abstiners' Journal, vol. I., page 69.

the course which they had pursued. Numbers of those who were formerly wearied out with the dogged opposition of the Directors, now became thoroughly disgusted, and, having lost all hope of official improvement, ceased from taking farther interest in the matter. From this hour the interests of the Scottish Temperance League began to suffer, through the withdrawal of many of its most useful and enlightened members, by reason of the suicidal policy of those whose duty it was to throw around it a shield of protection and defence; and so general was the apathy manifested among the members, and so heavy the languor that had settled down upon their spirits, that not only did all appearance of further discussion at the Annual Meeting appear crushed out, but the prospect of an attendance of members and delegates was of the most discouraging description. The Directors, evidently alarmed at the turn which matters had now taken, realised the necessity of stepping out of their way to regain lost confidence, and despatched special deputations of influential parties to Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley, Greenock, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy; and the fact that Professor Stowe and the Rev. Charles Beecher (who were in Scotland on a visit from America) were invited to attend and address the Annual public Meeting, testifies to the necessity they felt for adopting a course of a somewhat conciliatory aspect. These honoured champions of Prohibition were therefore invited, and agreed to address the annual public meeting. The gratifying intelligence was speedily announced; and while there were many who doubted not that the move thus made was more to add to the popularity of the Annual Meeting than to promote the Legislative move-

ment, there were also many others who believed the Directors were now prepared to agitate for a Maine Law, and upon this ground partially renewed their interest in the approaching anniversary.

"But," inquires an eloquent writer, "would these honoured guests speak out on the great question—the Maine Liquor Law, which was then an established FACT, and a glorious success in the *Dirigo* State? This was fondly hoped by some, and, it may be, as greatly feared by others. To the vast delight of thousands, whatever the chagrin of the 'upper ten,' Professor Stowe and his worthy brother Beecher did speak out, and did nobly and most eloquently illustrate the workings, and vindicate the righteousness and the efficiency of 'the glorious law of Maine.' A sensation was produced, the pulsations of which were felt throughout Scotland and England, and even beyond the circle of ordinary Temperance operations and influence. The Directors were taken aback, and not even the bold-tongued Mr Hannay had a word to say against the principle and policy of a law which had 'operated like a charm,' and the *results* of which were so unmistakeably beneficial, that the mouths of scoffers and gainsayers were stopped. We reasonably might have hoped that Mr Hannay would become a convert, though we are not aware that he gave in his adhesion to the principle and policy of Prohibition. If his views and convictions were unchanged, he ought, as an honest and courageous champion of the Board, to have stood up in the City Hall, and entered his 'solemn protest' against the great blunder or sham which was being palmed upon the simple-minded members of the League. And where was *Auld Reekie* bottled up on this great occasion? The foundations were being removed, and there was no one with sense and courage enough to stand up for THE BOARD. A few words from the Dundee oracle and its Edinburgh echo would have dispelled the illusion,

and brought us back from 'a wild-geese chase after a Yankee Utopia.' But these oracles and orators were dumb. And yet, how 'short and easy' the method by which the thing might have been done! Mr Hannay had but to reiterate one or two of his memorable assertions, to the effect that the Maine Law, even if enforced, could only make a community of 'SOBER DRUNKARDS'—'drunk in *intention*, sober in *fact*;' and that 'it were almost as well for all the high principles of life, that they were left drunkards!' Then AULD REEKIE could have got up and denounced Professor Stowe's facts as 'shaky Maine Law statistics,' and appealed to us, as Scotchmen, not to place reliance upon any facts that were not *home grown*! This would have settled the question at once; and the distinguished Americans would have been cold-shouldered out of the City Hall, and sent across the Border to Coventry, or a less enjoyable place. But the League 'war-dogs' were muzzled—a spell was upon them—they uttered not even a growl. To all appearance, they and the entire audience were carried away by the resistless force of truth, eloquence, and disinterested testimony. PROHIBITION shone out that day as the bright particular star of the Temperance hosts! The shepherds and the sheep, the Directors and the people, all seemed to rejoice in its light, and to glory in the great salvation being wrought out by God and good men, through the *Maine Liquor Law*."

While the thrilling and soul-inspiring sentiments of the advocates of the Maine Law gave hopeful indication that the redemption of drink-cursed Britain was drawing nigh, they imparted to the Public Meeting an amount of enthusiasm which few other men, and no other subject, could, under the circumstances, have produced. Not that silly childish excitement, produced by mere manifestations of comic or dramatic power,

frequently regarded by the ignorant, and characterised by the interested, as enthusiasm. The enthusiasm produced by Professor Stowe and Charles Beecher, was of the right kind ! It reached the conscience : and called forth into active development the energies of the philanthropic and the good !

With the noble spectacle of an awakened audience thirsting for action against their country's curse, the Business Meeting of the following day strangely and sadly contrasted ! An atmosphere of conscious guilt appeared to enshroud several of those Directors who had taken a more active part in the disfranchising of the members ; and the sullen and dejected look of several of those faithful adherents to the cause, who continued to hope against hope, presented a sad spectacle, while their most active and valiant leaders were no longer to be found taking part in the business of the day. To use the language of the writer already referred to, "the farce of annual meetings for delegates to discuss and affirm just what was tasteful to certain officials, had become too much of a sham to suit the temper of men of sober thought, and earnest soul."

Notwithstanding the leading spirits in the Legislative movement having disappeared, the "vexed question" was again raised by Mr James Morton, but with no better success than a trifling discussion, which resulted in several amendments being made. These, however, along with the original motion, being withdrawn, Mr James Cunningham intimated his determination again to revive the subject at the next Annual Meeting, which was fixed to take place at Edinburgh in the following year.

No one can look back from this point upon the

operations of the League, without perceiving how different might have been the present position of the Temperance Reformation, had those intrusted with the responsibility of leadership acted in a manner becoming the dignity and importance of their position. Had these gentlemen been capable of reading the signs of the times, and adopted an intelligent and upright policy, how very different might have been the state of British society ! Instead of the stream of drunkenness continuing to roll along, as deep and broad as it did when the Temperance movement was first inaugurated ; instead of the "SIXTY THOUSAND DRUNKARDS" who die annually, having become a stereotyped phrase, as suitable for the address of the Temperance Lecturer now, as it was a quarter of a century ago ; how marvellous and glorious might have been the change effected ! Twelve years since, when Dr Chalmers and Sheriff Speirs first proclaimed a war of Legislative aggression against the Strong-Drink-traffic, how invaluable might their services have been rendered had the leaders in the cause of Temperance reform, hailed them as co-workers in the cause, instead of holding them up to public ridicule and contempt ! Eight years ago, when under the patronage of the Duke of Argyle, and a host of Christian patriots, the Scottish Suppression Association was heralded into being, how powerful might have been its influence for good, had our Abstinence leaders welcomed it as an auxiliary in the cause of moral and social elevation, instead of prosecuting against it a course of misrepresentation and detraction ! Had the Executive of the Scottish Temperance League been influenced by forbearance and forethought, as it has been by rival jealousies and indiscretion, well would it have been for

the cause of Temperance and social order in Scotland ! Instead of the English and continental press being engaged in descanting upon the deplorable condition of "Sabbath-loving and Whisky-drinking Scotland," she, like the State of Maine, in America, might have been leading the van in the great conflict, towards which all eyes are being turned, and for which her children are now being rapidly prepared. Had the policy of the League Directors been that of progress and aggression, as it has been that of conservatism and obstruction, those tens of thousands of emaciated and famine-stricken youths, who baffle our Government and afflict our country, might ere now have been rescued from that living, sweltering mass of social corruption in which they are engulfed, and, healthy and playful, been rejoicing amid the smiles of paternal solicitude and love ! Had the leaders of the Abstinence Cause been only half as anxious to advance the cause of practical Temperance reform, as they have been to retard and obstruct it, it is not too much to suppose that there are vast numbers now realizing the awful consequences of the drunkard's eternity, who, through the influence of the truth, might have been rejoicing in the world of bliss !

CHAPTER IX.

Formation of the Maine Liquor Law League—Official Communication to the Scottish Temperance League—Reply of the Directors—Movement of the Advanced Party in Glasgow—Presentation of a Memorial to the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League—Requisition rejected by the Directors, who officially pronounce against Legislative Action—Formation of the United Kingdom Alliance—National and Institutional Jealousy a source of Opposition—Sympathy and Support from the leading Towns in Scotland—The Secretary of the Licensed Victuallers' Association writes against the Alliance—The Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League votes against the Alliance and the Maine Law—Effects of Mr Rae's Vote upon Temperance Reformers—Memorial of the Glasgow United Abstinence Association to the Directors of the League—Memorial rejected—Formation of the Abstainers' Union, and Dissolution of the United Abstinence Association—Union of the Maine Liquor Law League and the Friends of the Alliance in Edinburgh—Speech of the late Mr John Aitken—Mr Gough's Arrival in England—His Views on the Prohibition Question.

IMMEDIATELY after the Annual Meeting of the Scottish Temperance League in 1853, the feeling in favour of Legislative action, and of dissatisfaction with the League, began to assume an organized form. In Edinburgh, where the Legislative party had long been honest in the avowal of their belief in "the inefficiency of the Abstinence movement, exclusive of Legislative interference, as a remedy for national intemperance," and which had consequently become obnoxious to various members of the League Executive and their officials, organized action was first entered upon. In the spring of 1853, a Committee was formed, in the house of Mr James Grant, one of the founders of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, consisting of the Rev. Thomas Adam, Messrs George Plowman, James Grant, John

Robertson, Henry Morris, and John Gardner. Subsequently, an Association was formed—designated the Maine Liquor Law League—to agitate for the total Legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic. This Association employed a missionary agent, and was otherwise useful in bringing the principles of Prohibition before the public. The Provisional Committee forwarded a communication to the Directors of the League, desiring to ascertain their real intention as to the Prohibitory movement. Such an official step appeared not only desirable, but necessary, as, from occasional articles then appearing in the *Abstainers' Journal*, hopeful indications of a change of sentiment, in favour of Legislative action, were being produced upon the minds of the Committee of the Maine Liquor Law League. That such anticipations of a change of policy were, however, vain, will appear from the answer received, which, along with the communication, we here subjoin :

“ 13 Home Street, Edinburgh,
6th May 1853.

“ Mr R. RAE, Secretary, Scottish Temperance
League, Glasgow,

“ SIR,—I am directed by the Provisional Committee of the ‘Maine Liquor Law League,’ to convey to you the following Resolution, come to at a meeting of said Committee, held last night, the 5th instant :—‘ Moved by Mr John Robertson, seconded by Mr H. Morris, and unanimously agreed to, That the Secretary be instructed to correspond with the Board of Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, and to inquire if it be their intention to move in favour of a law for Britain similar to the Liquor Law of Maine in America; as, in the event of their non-interference, the Provisional Committee of the Maine Liquor Law League intends immediately to use every possible means for having such

a law introduced; in which case, the Board need not expect from its members further countenance or aid of any kind.'

"I am further directed to request the favour of an immediate reply to the inquiry contained in the foregoing; and am, SIR, &c.

(Signed) "JNO. GARDNER, *Secretary*."

"Scottish Temperance League Office,
30 St Enoch Square, Glasgow,
12th May 1853.

"DEAR SIR,—Your favour of 6th instant has been submitted to the Directors of the League.

"They desire me to state, that they are not at present prepared to agitate for such a law as that referred to in your letter. They are of opinion that the present modes of operation are better fitted to promote the objects of the Institution than the course of action suggested by the Provisional Committee of the Maine Liquor Law League.—Yours, &c.

(Signed) "ROBERT RAE"

"JNO. GARDNER."

While the friends in Edinburgh were thus corresponding with the League Directors, a requisition, urging the Directors to call a special meeting to discuss the principles of Legislative action in reference to the Temperance movement, was being signed among members of the League in Glasgow, favourable to Legislative action. Notwithstanding those who by this time had ceased to take any interest in the institution, the names of no fewer than sixty-six members were adhibited to the requisition. It met with a very different reception, however, from the former one, signed by only fifty-one members, requesting a special meeting to alter the constitution of the League! While the one was readily complied with, the other was repudiated, and

the requisitionists coolly informed, that no such meeting would be granted. At the same time, they were told that the Executive "strictly adhered to the principles of moral suasion, under which they had obtained such remarkable success." Similar requisitions from Dumbarton, and elsewhere, were forwarded to the Directors, but were disposed of in the same unsatisfactory manner.

Such was the state of matters in Scotland, in June 1853, when that great and powerful national organization, the United Kingdom Alliance, was being formed, as an embodiment of the sentiments of the advanced Temperance reformers throughout the United Kingdom. No sooner was this association formed, by the leading representative men from Scotland, England, and Ireland, and a declaration of its principles made known, than it began to attract towards it almost all the leading and enlightened practical Temperance reformers, who were not tainted with individual prejudices and institutional jealousies. True, there were a few narrow-minded Scotchmen who rejected all consideration of the claims of the Alliance of the United Kingdom, because its Head office was established in Manchester; and because, like the British Parliament, it necessarily partook more of the appearance of an ENGLISH than a SCOTTISH Association. Few in number as this party were, and contemptible as was their objection, yet from the official influence which some of them possessed, they were successful, by a course of duplicity and misrepresentation, in doing serious damage to the Alliance movement in Scotland. Stimulated as if by a desire to crush what they evidently regarded as a rival institution, they kindled the fires of dissension and strife; and, with a terrible fidelity to a wrong cause, they have

continued to fan them with unflagging zeal. While numbers of the good and true, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, Galashiels, Dunfermline, Dumfries, &c., were hastening to enrol themselves under the banner of the United Kingdom Alliance; and, while Temperance Societies, in all parts of the country, were expressing their sympathy with this rising popular power, a spirit of dread and hostility appeared alone to influence the Executive of the Licensed Victuallers' Association, and that of the Scottish Temperance League. While the Secretary of the former was issuing circulars, calling attention to the necessity of watching this formidable development of political power, the Secretary of the latter was on his way to York, armed with powers to take his seat among the delegates attending the British Temperance Association, there to tender his vote and influence against it.

On the 20th July 1853, Dr Lees brought a motion before the Conference, convened by the above Association, "expressing satisfaction with the adoption of the Maine Law in America, and the formation of the United Kingdom Alliance in this country, and commending the principles of that institution to the friends of Temperance and Religion." The fact that Mr Rae recorded his vote and influence against this most reasonable motion, showed to the assembled delegates the hostility of the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League to the Maine Law movement in America, as well as to the United Kingdom Alliance; and the additional fact, that he did so with only *four* other dissentients, demonstrated that hostility to be of no trifling character. Although no notice was taken of the adverse vote of Mr Rae, in the report of the Conference given in the

Abstainers' Journal, it nevertheless became known among the more interested members of the League. The circumstance of the Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League, travelling all the way to York, to vote against the Maine Law and Alliance movement, was fraught with too much significance not to attract the attention of the English friends, and to lead to its causes being inquired into and discussed. While the vote of Mr Rae was received with surprise by most of the delegates in Conference assembled, it was indignantly resented by many of the members of the League. Immediately on his return, a memorial was forwarded, from the United Abstinence Association of Glasgow to the Executive of the League, urging them to call a special meeting, "to consider whether the principle of Legislative action for the removal of the liquor traffic, shall be admitted into and carried out by the various agencies of the League." This requisition was officially signed by Mr Archibald Livingston, President, now one of the Directors of the League; but, like all others presented after the Directors had been fortified in their position by the violation of the constitution at the Falkirk meeting, it was summarily rejected.

The Glasgow United Association having, by means of public meetings, lectures, tracts, and a staff of missionary agents, been prominently advocating the principles of total prohibition, and having also expressed their cordial approval of the principles and policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, it would seem that, at least, some of the Directors of the League had resolved either to obtain control over its management or secure its overthrow, as an instrument too dangerous to be allowed longer to exist as an independent institution. Accord-

ingly, at next Annual Meeting, a most ungenerous attempt was made to throw out of the management of the Association all those who were thoroughly Legislative men. Foiled in this attempt by the meeting, which saw through the plan, their next resort was to withdraw from the Association all the influences they could command, and set up a rival institution. Immediately thereafter, the Abstainers' Union was instituted; and that this was intended to be a League instrument to obtain the management of the Glasgow societies, is evident from the fact, that the President, Vice-president, and Treasurer of the Union, were all Directors of the League, and that several others of the League Directors held office in its management. Besides, the 4th Article of the constitution of the Union provides, that, while local societies, who shall join the Union, can send one representative to sit in the Committee of Management, the Scottish Temperance League will send *three*. The consequence of this new organisation in Glasgow, has been the dividing again of the societies into fragments, and the dissolution of the City of Glasgow United Association, one of the greatest and most effective local Temperance Associations for good, which ever existed in Great Britain; while the Union which took its place may be regarded as subservient to the League, and its principal end seems to be fulfilled in directing the efforts of Temperance friends and the public from practical measures for the abolition of the liquor traffic, by providing concerts and other secondary efforts, which can only serve to prolong the cause and consequences of intemperance in our midst.

While the front-rank men in Glasgow continued to struggle to overcome the dogged hostility of the League

Directors, those in Edinburgh had abandoned them in despair, and were prosecuting the work of public enlightenment upon the great question of Prohibition. On the 22d July, a special meeting of the members of the Maine Liquor Law League was convened, to meet with the members and several of the General Council of the United Kingdom Alliance resident in Edinburgh. The meeting was held in the Strangers' Friend Society's Hall, and Mr George Plowman, president of the Maine Liquor Law League, occupied the chair. The Secretary read the Report of Committee, along with a correspondence with the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance; when, upon the motion of Mr Andrew Hamilton, it was agreed, that "the Report of the Committee be approved of; and that the League, as a body, and its members as individuals, do now give in their adhesion to, and become a branch or auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance." Mr Plowman then vacated the chair, and moved that the Rev. Berkeley Addison, one of the members of the General Council of the Alliance, should preside over the meeting. Mr Addison having taken the chair, called upon Mr John Aitken, one of the first and most enlightened Temperance and social reformers in his day, to address the meeting. Mr Aitken entered with great spirit into his subject, and showed, in the clearest manner, and by the most powerful arguments, that the prohibition of the liquor traffic was indispensable to the permanent stability of the cause of Temperance; and such was the effect of his address, that no fewer than thirty individuals present came forward at the close of the meeting and adhibited their names to the enrolment schedule.

Immediately after the union effected among the friends of Prohibition in Edinburgh, Mr J. B. Gough, from America, arrived in England. The Committee of the Association, which first introduced him into this country, forwarded a communication to the Edinburgh Abstinence Society's Committee, offering his services for a series of lectures in Edinburgh. This offer having been declined, and as several newspapers from America had reached this country, intimating that Mr Gough was an earnest advocate of the Maine Law, steps were being taken by the Edinburgh Auxiliary to the United Kingdom Alliance, by which he might have an opportunity of lecturing in the city. Meanwhile, one of the leading members of the Abstinence Committee having circulated the report that Mr Gough was a mere "Yankee adventurer," hired out by the London Committee as a pecuniary speculation, several of the members feared that such a report might operate against the undertaking, and involve the Auxiliary in expense. In order to obviate this difficulty, unexpectedly raised, one of the members at once commenced a subscription among a number of influential Temperance friends, and in a few days received subscriptions to the amount of £38. Having, at the same time, obtained the generous offer of Mr Peter Sinclair to place at the disposal of Mr and Mrs Gough the best apartments in his magnificent hotel, the preliminary arrangements for Mr Gough's reception were at once entered upon. At the next meeting of the Auxiliary's Committee, "a letter was read from Mr Tweedie of London, in which he stated the terms of Mr Gough's engagement were ten guineas a lecture, and travelling expenses; but questioning the propriety

of his going anywhere as the avowed apostle of the Maine Law movement: whereupon the secretary was instructed to write, declining to engage Mr Gough."* Latterly, after it had been found that the Committee in London were disposed to introduce him to Edinburgh under their own auspices, he was engaged by the Committee by whom he was formerly rejected.

CHAPTER X.

Formation of Alliance Auxiliaries in Scotland—Causes of their general failure—The Controversy of 1853—Positions occupied by the *Abstainers' Journal* and the *Christian News*—Charges against the Editor of the *Christian News*—Specimen of the Articles complained of by the officials of the League—Editor's manifesto—The *Christian News* and its Policy maintained—Temperance Meetings voting in favour of the Maine Law Agitation—Effects of Popular Sympathy with the Alliance upon the League Directors—A Temperance Audience insulted by a League Agent—The Agent reproved—League Agents and the *Commonwealth* newspaper—Persecution of Abolitionists in Ireland—Means by which the Membership and Revenue of the League is increased—The League and its Literature—Remarks upon the Publishing and Bookselling Department.

ABOUT the time when the Maine Liquor Law League resolved itself into the Edinburgh auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance, local auxiliaries were also formed in Glasgow, and several other towns throughout Scotland. That such auxiliaries did not generally succeed in Scotland, is no matter of surprise, when we consider the overwhelming amount of opposition and misrepresentation with which they had to contend. Had that opposition been of an open and honourable character, it might have been effectually met; but,

* Extract from minute-book of the Edinburgh Auxiliary to the United Kingdom Alliance.

when it assumed an underground current, and covertly sought to detract from the influence and character of those who took a prominent part in their formation, it was of too subtle and insidious a nature to be easily dealt with. And here we must refer to one of the first steps taken by the Alliance Executive, which, as far as Scotland is concerned, we cannot but regard as a fatal mistake, and productive of disastrous consequences. While the Executive were engaged in preparing a list of general council, they were unfortunately led to correspond with a number of those who were officially connected with the Scottish Temperance League, requesting them to allow their names to be enrolled in the list of general council. Whatever might be the motives which induced several of these gentlemen to allow their names to be added to the list, it is not for us to determine ; but surely, from what has since transpired, we are justified in saying, that they would have acted in a way more honourable to the Alliance, and more becoming the character of gentlemen, had they respectfully declined the honour. Evidently discovering that they could not be instrumental in bringing the claims of the Alliance before the public, without giving offence to the Executive of the Scottish Temperance League, and perceiving that such thorough-going principles could not be honestly enunciated, without evoking a large amount of public sympathy and support, which would have favourably contrasted with the stand-still and obstructive policy of the League, these members of general council remained passive when local aid was required. The Scottish Temperance League was an institution surrounded with many early and valued associations, and they could not afford to see it appa-

rently slighted, nor divested of its high-sounding claims to adaptation and efficiency. It was all very well for such reformers to be ALLIANCE MEN IN MANCHESTER : but to take their stand in behalf of Alliance principles in Scotland, and to fight under the banner of Prohibition, in full view of the League Directorate, required more moral independence and heroism than they seem to have possessed. An excuse must then needs be devised, and a plea for inactivity advanced. Hence, we find they "approved of the Alliance as an institution, but could not co-operate with those identified with its auxiliaries in Scotland." "They were men who held extreme views, and quite impracticable in their suggestions." "Men of no social influence, and whose names were utterly unknown." They were "men who had publicly impeached the policy of the Scottish Temperance League as imperfect, and spoken disparagingly of its honourable and upright Directors;" and, therefore, as members of general council, they could not *take an active part* in the movement in Scotland. To all this shuffling, intrigue, and detraction, the Executive of the Alliance, in their honest simplicity, gave a willing ear; and, however unwelcome the information, they felt, in view of the antecedents and position of the accusers, called upon to receive it as something like a valid excuse for indifference and inaction. In addition to the opposition referred to, the true friends of the Alliance cause in Scotland, more particularly those in Edinburgh, had to contend with letters of a similar character, which were forwarded to Manchester by those who *affected* to be the sworn friends of the Alliance, but whose subsequent proceedings have proved them to be its most dangerous foes. So thoroughly

were the officials of the Alliance imposed upon, that, upon the representations of those parties, they consented to allow the names of a few of the most devoted and self-sacrificing friends of temperance and prohibition to be struck from the roll of the local Committee in Edinburgh, and to be supplanted by others who were supposed to be of "greater influence," to whose conduct is, in a great measure, traceable the failure of the Metropolitan Auxiliary. No sooner was this transaction consummated, than the local Abstinence Society, and the Scottish Temperance League were represented in the Committee of the Edinburgh Auxiliary; and, no matter what was the nature of the motion submitted for discussion: whether to convene public meetings, or take steps for the purpose of raising funds: the proposal was objected to, upon the grounds that it would interfere with the operations of the Abstinence Society, give offence to those connected with the Scottish Temperance League, and otherwise engender a feeling of animosity and strife. The result of such a course of obstructive action, pertinaciously persisted in, week after week, and month after month, by those who had pre-eminently the confidence of the Executive in Manchester, will not be difficult to foresee. Men who had left their families, after a long and hard day's-work, were not to be expected to spend night after night of precious time in fruitless debate about the alleged claims of existing institutions to precedence and scrupulous consideration; and, notwithstanding their zeal in the Temperance cause, and interest in the Alliance movement, one after another resigned in discouragement and disgust, until the Treasurer was left isolated and alone, and who, now, while a member of the Edinburgh Ab-

stinence Society's Committee, and an Honorary Director of the Scottish Temperance League, remains the only representative of the Edinburgh Auxiliary to the United Kingdom Alliance.

Immediately preceding the formation of the United Kingdom Alliance, great interest was excited towards the question of Liquor Traffic Prohibition. Shortly after the Declaration of the Alliance was published, and its literature began to be diffused throughout the land, a spirit of controversy began to pervade the entire Temperance community :—not that controversy which is engendered in self-conceit, and terminates in personal recrimination and abuse, but a spirit of wholesome inquiry and discussion, which aimed at the elucidation of truth and the progress of social elevation. To this moral and essential warfare of conflicting opinions, the columns of the *Abstainers' Journal* remained inexorably closed, while those of the *Christian News* were freely opened to all respectfully written articles upon either side of the question, whether from the advocates of moral suasion or legislative suppression. And to this controversy is, to a great extent, traceable the present promising state of the Prohibitory movement in this country. The *Christian News*, in acting the part which it did upon that occasion, conferred not only a benefit upon the present, but on future generations. In the discussion to which we refer, the great weight of intellect and talent engaged in the Temperance movement might be said to be concentrated—every writer, from whatever point he viewed the subject, receiving equal justice, and as ample scope as the columns of the paper would allow. From the clear ideas and searching logic which emanated from

the pens of such men as Professor Morison, down to the hazy but earnest paragraphs of the over-wrought and half-educated mechanic, all classes were fairly represented by this widely-prized and popular newspaper. And never had editor task more difficult than the editor of the *Christian News* in conducting the discussion to which we have referred. In such a question as this, where the distinctive peculiarities of two great national organizations, aiming at a kindred object, had become the subject of discussion,—where the respective writers laboured to establish the superiority of the institution which he more particularly represented,—depreciatory reflections were not unfrequently cast upon the other. While the editor sought to correct all such delinquencies, he became subject to the charge of “giving the cold shoulder to the Alliance movement,” by some; while by others he was charged with “admitting communications prejudicial to the interests and dignity of the Scottish Temperance League, and its officials.” That the conduct of the Directors was freely canvassed, and condemned, in the columns of the *News*, was admitted on all hands; but as these communications were from gentlemen deeply interested in the Temperance reformation, and in many cases members of the League, the editor would have failed in his duty as an impartial journalist had he excluded such paragraphs as the following, bearing the signature of a well-known and influential member, and which we believe was regarded as among the most objectionable:—

“I, sir, am a member of this same League, which succeeds so well in defecating its own purposes. I really cannot endure the thought of the unthinking

and irreligious Southrons laughing at us thinking and religious Scotchmen. Bronzed as I am, I have not acquired the art of avoiding to blush for my countrymen when they talk nonsense; and, if castigation is to be applied, I would say, Let us do it for ourselves. The Board of Directors of the Scottish Temperance League are but a *faction*, and a small *fraction*, of the League, or their conduct would not be that of domination. They have disgusted a large portion of the general body; and if that body shall at length see it to be but a waste of time to argue with them in their ye-nay mode of doing things, rest assured, *action* is not far distant, which, while shaking to pieces a self-complacent and *contemptuous* organism, shall do not the least injury to the life and morals of the country.—Yours," &c.

To the different charges preferred against the editor, he replied in a leading article in the *News* of October 1, 1853, wherein he clearly stated his views, and fearlessly intimated the course he intended in future to pursue. As we regard this editorial manifesto, if we may so speak, to be one of the most perfect vindications of the *Christian News* from the charges which have of late been so wickedly preferred against it, we shall here introduce the article, and let it speak for itself; leaving the readers of that journal to decide whether or not the editor has swerved from the line of action which he then expressed his determination to pursue:—

"The Scottish Temperance League—Opponents and Defenders."

"From time to time we have given publicity to letters and articles bearing upon the 'United Kingdom Alliance,' and the 'Scottish Temperance League.' In some of these, opposition, or at least indifference, has

been slightly exhibited to the former, but, generally, they have been in its favour. To the latter institution, some of them have manifested hostility to an extent with which we can by no means sympathize; for on points on which our readers as well as our contributors hold conflicting views, we often find it difficult to exclude communications, though opposed to our own convictions. But we are utterly averse to permit war to be waged and perpetuated in our columns against the Scottish Temperance League. It is an institution which we love; it has done much good, and we hope it will continue in its hallowed career on a much more extended scale. Its Directors have not answered our expectations, in refusing to call a meeting of the members to decide on the position which they should occupy in relation to the movement for Maine Law legislation; nor are we satisfied with the reasons which they have put forth in defence of their conduct. But what of that? Though the Directors should continue to guide the counsels of the League, and all the members cheerfully acquiesce in them, we will still say, 'God speed the Scottish Temperance League!' It has done great and good work; and if it continue to pervade the public mind with Total Abstinence principles, and to gain thousands to our cause, we say, 'Let these men alone, that they may execute their mission;' nay, we will co-operate with them, at least until they so far stultify themselves as to *oppose* the Maine Law. Should they perpetrate an error so gross, we shall cease to be of their confederation; but, in the meantime, we expect, as they wish to retain the favour of the Temperance community, that they will labour with increased zeal to employ 'moral suasion' for the furtherance of their cause; and we trust their efforts, by means of lectures, magazines, and tracts, will be unprecedentedly successful. Notwithstanding the position the Directors have taken up, we expect, not merely no opposition to Maine Law agitation, we

calculate on their sympathy and good-will to the ultimate and speedy triumph of that enterprise. We are, of course, the more disposed to anticipate this, from the fact, that their most popular and widely circulated organ, the *Abstainers' Journal*, has repeatedly advocated the introduction of a Maine Law. We shall continue to labour with others in hope, for the creation of a powerful sentiment in favour of this movement; and success, we doubt not, will ultimately crown the efforts of the United Kingdom Alliance. But we expect that the Scottish Temperance League, and similar associations, will labour, and labour successfully, to imbue the public mind with total abstinence principles, without which we should regard the triumphs of the United Kingdom Alliance as imperfect, and be oppressed with the dread that our Maine Law legislation might be speedily reversed. Hence we proclaim PEACE on the field which we now occupy; in the language of a great and good man, 'Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren.'"

The above is the unsophisticated and clearly expressed convictions of an honest mind, deeply imbued with an intense interest in the Temperance cause, and a deep desire for unanimity and peace, although the principle of "Peace at any price" is openly repudiated. It conveys a message of forbearance to the more advanced and enlightened of the Temperance host, while it carries a note of warning to the Directors of the League. Its language to them is: Prosecute your work of moral suasion in peace, without opposing the rising Prohibitory power, and we will co-operate with you; but, stultify yourselves by opposing the Maine Law, and then, however painful, we must cease to shield and protect you from the assaults of an insulted

and indignant constituency. The note of faithful warning was disregarded: the Directors did stultify themselves, by opposing the Maine Law; and the *Christian News*, from that hour, could no longer co-operate with and approve of the League Executive in their work of opposition, unless it was to belie its own published declaration, and prove recreant to those principles of temperance and prohibition which it has advocated from the earliest period of its existence.

So thoroughly had the discussion in the *Christian News*, and the literature of the Alliance, done their work in several quarters, that, towards the close of the year 1853, Temperance meetings had, by a show of hands, pronounced in favour of the Maine Law. This significant demonstration of attachment to the Alliance principles and policy, appeared to strike terror to the hearts of the League officials, who became more than ever determined in their opposition. The agents who, by this time, were beginning to realise a difficulty in obtaining the subscriptions of old and intelligent members, were compelled to extend the circle of their peregrinations into more remote districts, in order that the roll of membership and financial revenue of the League might keep pace with the increased machinery which it was found necessary to employ. It was while one of the agents, Mr George Easton, was thus engaged in itinerating in the rural districts of the south, that an attempt was made to secure an adverse "show of hands" upon the subject of the Maine Law. The place fixed upon for the experiment was the village of Smailholm, where, at the conclusion of his lecture, Mr Easton requested all those in favour of the Maine Law to hold up their hands; when, lo! to the astonishment

of the lecturer, it appeared that the *Christian News* and the Alliance Tracts had been here also, as almost the entire meeting held up their hands in favour of the *obnoxious* law! Dumfounded that such a terrible testimony should have been borne to the advancing progress of public opinion in the remote village of Smailholm, Mr Easton next resolved upon testing, by the same process, their opinion on the efficiency of the pledge, when comparatively few held up their hands. Fired, as if with indignation, at the humiliating position in which he had placed himself, and probably mortified in finding himself among the camp followers in a movement where, for nearly twenty years, he had occupied the most advanced ground, as one of its most honoured leaders, Mr Easton turned upon his audience, and, violating all laws of propriety and decorum, told them, "if they could tell him the value of a snap of their fingers, they would know pretty accurately the estimation in which he held the man who would hold up his hand for a Maine Law, and would not forego a glass of whisky to gain it." Having, by this remark, ingeniously tried to get his audience diverted away from the idea, that it was a great social duty they had to perform as *citizens*, and not as *teetotallers*, in suppressing by law the liquor traffic, and still persisting in seeking to mix up the Maine Law agitation with Teetotalism, he concluded by stating, "that he had neither sympathy nor patience with the man who was neither an Abstainer, nor a victim to drink, who would hold up his hand, in a public meeting, for a Maine Law, and then retire and sip his toddy." This singular act of indiscretion, in which, by a piece of gross sophistry, Mr Easton implied that all who were not prepared, at his

call, to hold up their hand as a token of their readiness to sign the *Teetotal pledge*, were "lovers of a glass of whisky," and in the habit of retiring from such meetings to "sip toddy," did very much to destroy his influence as a Temperance reformer. Up till about this period, Mr Easton had been generally regarded as one of the most faithful and fearless leaders in the cause of Temperance reform; and the noble and uncompromising stand which he took both in the world and in the Church, while labouring *gratuitously* in Langholm, justly entitled him to the honoured distinction, while the strong declaration enunciated in the presence of Mr Kellog, in St Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, had given additional lustre to his fame. But, alas! for human stability, in view of which many have been led to exclaim, "How have the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!" A report of this affair having found its way into the public journals, it called forth severe animadversions from various contributors and correspondents. Among those who took Mr Easton to task, and who, in a proper spirit, administered both correction and instruction, was the Rev. Thomas Adam, who at this time was rendering effective service to the Prohibition movement. We quote the following paragraph from one of the letters of this gentleman upon the subject, which was successful in tearing aside the web of sophistry by which the League officials were then exciting the prejudices of the people against the Alliance, by representing it as opposed to the Abstinence movement:—

Mr Adam asks, "Was it not, therefore, rather hazardous, not to say imprudent, in him, *firstly*, to ask a show of hands for the Maine Law—a Legislative enactment; and

then, *secondly*, to test, in the same way, their attachment to the moral suasion, or Teetotal pledge principle? Was not this fairly to set the one over against the other, at least, for the time being, as if they were antagonistic? Mr Easton says, 'I have neither sympathy nor patience with the man who is neither an Abstainer, nor a victim to drink,' (that is, as I take it to mean, a *moderate* drinker, in the common use of the term,) 'who would hold up his hand in a public meeting for a Maine Law, and then retire and sip his toddy.' Why, then, should he be 'a Maine Law man' at all? Even with this law itself, in all its entirety, there should neither be sympathy nor patience; for it contemplates no such thing as the legal prohibition of any man to 'sip his toddy.' It is *TRAFFIC in intoxicating drink* that it forbids; and surely, this, if obtained, would, on the part of thousands, be worth more than 'a snap of their fingers.' Aye, sir, it would make the moral desert in this land of ours to blossom as the rose—make comfortable many a wretched family—and diminish, to a great extent, crime and disease. I do not wonder that 'almost every man in the meeting' at Smailholm held up his hand for a Maine Law; for I have met with thorough drunkards, who have cried out in my presence, 'Would to God that we had a Maine Law, or some such law as would come between us and strong drink!' This seems to be the kind of thing that the exigency of the present system of inducement to drink requires; and if it could but be obtained, it would, most assuredly, be a mighty advantage." *

It was about this time that the attention of the agents of the League first began to be diverted from their legitimate work, and when the depreciation of the *Christian News*, the misrepresentation of the United Kingdom Alliance, and the traducing of the reputation of its supporters, appeared to be regarded by some as of greater importance than the advocacy of Total Abstinence.

* *Christian News*, No. 363, p. 255.

While the position taken up by the *Christian News*, in regard to the Maine Law movement, proved of itself enough to call forth the hostility of several of the agents of the League, an additional motive was imparted to its more active development in the encouragements held out to canvass for subscribers to the *Commonwealth* newspaper. While the circulation of this journal at its commencement was greatly promoted by the interest taken in it by the League agents, who at that time had considerable influence throughout the country, we are disposed to think that latterly it has been otherwise. The strong party feeling and tone of depreciation in which some of them indulged towards the *Christian News*, having created a strong feeling in favour of that journal, and while this feeling resulted in adding largely to its circulation, it being generally believed that it was opposed by reason of its attachment to the principles of Prohibition, we much fear it operated otherwise with the *Commonwealth*. Unfortunately several other circumstances conspired to militate against its popularity. The removal of Mr Grubb from the editorial chair, the manner in which the Maine Law Agitation was treated, and the appearance of several articles against the advocates of Prohibition and the United Kingdom Alliance (to which we shall yet have occasion to refer), alienated from it many friends. We cannot here refrain from expressing our regret that the articles in question, along with others of a similar nature, should ever have been admitted into the columns of that otherwise admirably conducted journal. Had the same dignity and ability which characterise the social, political, and literary articles in the *Commonwealth*, distinguished its Temperance columns, we

should have regarded it as one of the best family newspapers in the West, but in admitting into its columns personal attacks upon the advocates of Prohibition, it has become identified with proceedings utterly indefensible.

While the fires of misrepresentation and persecution were being lighted up against the advocates of the Maine Law movement in Scotland, the same spirit was at work against the Prohibitionists in the Sister Isle; only there was this difference, that while, in Scotland, it was the friends of a professed kindred institution who conducted the persecution by *practising* the destruction of character, in Ireland, it was publicans who persecuted the Prohibitionists, by *threatening* the destruction of person. The following we take from the *Belfast News-Letter*, which was printed in that journal, *verbatim et literatim*, after its receipt by Mr George Pepper, one of the most active members of the Belfast Auxiliary to the United Kingdom Alliance:—

“Belfast, March, 1854.

“DEAR SIR,—Some time ago I sent a letter to your ignoble employer, informing him that I would not purchase anything in his place, if he would not dismiss you about your business; and adding, that if you would not desist from your Cursed and unholy advocacy of the Main Law, that you would not escape our condemnation. But as he has made it Known, and you seem to exult in your hopeless task of persecution against the magority of the Communte, this note is to inform you and give you timely a notice that if you continue you will, as sure as God is in Heaven, meet your fate sooner or later. Only for you—you wretched imp, there would be none of this agitation going on; but you will rue it when you get your head in your hand. Don't think that this is mere puffing, but it will happen, if you do not desist.

“ ‘ You soon gave up the over seer movemEnt when you vere frightened the life out of you, but that was no thing tot what is in await for you. You have, it seems got a hold of some Toun Councillor in your war of extermination, but when the time comes there boys will be put out. Farewell, take notice, take a friend’s advice. Yours, truly, ‘ a PUBLICAN.’ ”

“ The only reason,” adds the Editor, “ which can be assigned for the perpetration of this gross outrage is, that Mr Pepper has made himself conspicuous as a social reformer, and an unwearied opponent of the drinking customs of the country. We can, however, assure all who might be disposed to take this criminal method of stopping the Maine Liquor Law movement, that they will fail in their purpose. Be the cause deserving of what support it may, the more opposition it meets the more it will progress : for its advocates will be joined not only by those who agree with them in the particular reform they contend for, but by very many who think justly that those who cannot protect their interests, except by threats of assassination, have no claim upon public sympathy or support.”

Notwithstanding the opposition with which the principles and policy of the United Kingdom Alliance were assailed, it continued successful in leavening the public mind with a genuine prohibitory sentiment, while the unprincipled attempts of those who sought to obstruct it, recoiled with damaging effect upon themselves and their tottering cause. So untenable had the course hitherto adopted by the Directors of the League now become, that it was evident to all that the day of trial was indeed at hand ; and that, if they did not now cease their hostility to Legislative action, they must, at the next Annual Meeting, make up their minds to pay the penalty. True, in virtue of the “ Falkirk Deed of Violation,”

they could not be expelled from office ; but it was equally true, that no power of the Directors could prevent a general rising and secession of members. Although a large withdrawal of members had already taken place since the Falkirk meeting, there were, again, a number of more recent converts to Prohibition among the members, who had become alive to the necessity of immediate action, and who were consequently dissatisfied with the policy of the Directors. While a healthy stream of advanced and enlightened sentiment has, through the influence of external agencies, been annually leaving the inactive and obstructive atmosphere of the League, in the person of many of its most useful members, their places continue to be filled up from the ranks of those hitherto unacquainted with its antecedents. Like the directors of an Insurance Society based upon principles at variance with the wants of the age, the League Directors, by a liberal use of the press, continued to cope with the receding tide. Flooding the community with their documents, they have pertinaciously pressed upon the public the amount of business done, by recapitulating "the millions of pages of letterpress," and the number of "tons of literature," which annually issue from their office, while never failing to assert the "peculiar advantages" of their institution, and its "superior claims over every other to support." And, of late years, having ceased to confine their membership to those only who, as set forth in the constitution, should "have already signed the pledge," and by the enrolment of infants in its membership, they have hitherto succeeded, by a considerable increase of expenditure, to keep up their *numerical* strength.

One peculiar advantage which the Directors of the

League possess over those of the institutions we have just referred to, arises from the manner in which their literature is obtained and disposed of. While no *direct* advantage arises to the Insurance Societies from the circulation of their literature, it is vastly otherwise with the League. Having drawn from their members a sum of two thousand pounds, to enable them to make all their purchases on cash terms, they still continue, by means of annual subscriptions, &c., to secure from their members the funds necessary to provide the literature, while they again succeed in *selling it to the same parties at full value.*

When we look at this matter, and consider that, in the shape of contributions to the "gratuitous distribution fund," large sums are being drawn from them, by which the Directors may be enabled to dispose of their surplus stock, it does not appear unreasonable to suppose, that, amid the abounding liberality of its members, the Scottish Temperance League might have been possessed of a considerable amount of capital. One thing, however, appears plain, that many firms, doing a more limited business, have, in a shorter period, amassed considerable fortunes, while they have paid their own clerks, agents, canvassers, and deliverers, at the same time.

We are of opinion that the Scottish Temperance League has departed from its legitimate work in thus monopolising the trade of publishing and bookselling; and that its extensive publication of literature hostile to the Prohibition movement, has had very much to do with the obstructive and discreditable policy which it has so long and doggedly pursued.

CHAPTER XI.

Resignation of Mr Rae as Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League—Appointment and withdrawal of Mr J. B. Robertson—Appointment of Mr J. S. Marr—Annual Meeting of the League in Edinburgh, in 1854—Discussion upon Legislative Action and the Maine Law—Triumph of the Legislative Question, and Overthrow of the Dominant Party—Opinion of the *Journal* on the result—Opinion of Members—Influence of the Edinburgh Maine Law Tracts upon the Prohibition Movement—Commissioner sent out by the *Edinburgh News* to investigate and report upon the Maine Law—The League Directors pronounce in favour of the New Public-Houses' Act—The Licensed Victuallers occupy the position vacated by the Directors—Conference in Edinburgh, to consider evidence, and report upon the New Public-Houses Act—Positions occupied by the *Abstainer's Journal* and the *Christian News* after the passing of the New Public-Houses' Act—Maine Law Demonstration at Dirleton—Speech of Mr William Brodie—Evangelical Conference and the Prohibition Movement—Teachings of the Conference upon the Licence Law still needed among Temperance Reformers.

IN the summer of 1854, the Scottish Temperance League had the misfortune to lose the able and efficient services of Mr Robert Rae, through whose fostering care and gentlemanly manners the League had been brought to assume all the importance of a great national institution. For seven years Mr Rae discharged the duties of Secretary; and, whatever might be the views he entertained upon the "vexed question" of Liquor Traffic Suppression, it must be admitted by all, that the uniform respect with which he treated the members and their various communications, secured for him their general esteem. Mr Rae was succeeded by Mr J. B. Robertson, then resident in Edinburgh, who had discharged the duties of Secretary only for a short time, when it was deemed desir-

able to have a change. A proposal was then suggested to appoint as his successor Mr J. S. Marr, of the same city, which gave rise to considerable discussion among the members, there being a diversity of opinion upon the wisdom of the proposal. Some contended, that, from the great experience Mr Marr had obtained as a leader in the Anti-Slavery, Chartist, and Temperance movements, and from the active part he had taken in connection with several different religious denominations with which he had been associated, there were few or none to be found more adapted for the work in hand. Others, again, contended, that, whatever might be his experience, he was not the person to adopt and carry out such a judicious and conciliatory policy as was evidently required—to secure harmonious and united action among the members, in their then divided state; while others went so far as to predict, that, in the event of his appointment, there was a great danger of the controversy being prolonged, and latterly becoming involved in party and personal animosities—to the serious damage, if not utter subversion, of the League. Without venturing any remarks upon the realization of these predictions, we find that the Directors agreed to request Mr Marr to accept the office of Secretary. Mr Marr at once complied with their request, and shortly thereafter entered upon his duties.

Immediately after the appointment of Mr Marr, the Annual Meeting of the League was held in Edinburgh, on the 15th May 1854. Previous to the meeting, the Rev. Thomas Adam had given notice of his intention to introduce a motion, “approving of the existence of the United Kingdom Alliance;” which created consid-

erable consternation among the Directors. The reverend gentleman, in due course, proposed his motion, and supported it by an able address, wherein he expatiated at great length on the folly of further resistance to the Legislative movement. The motion was ably seconded by Mr James Grant, and supported by Mr Peter Ross; but, after a good deal of altercation and entreaty, Messrs Adam and Grant were "talked down," and the motion withdrawn. No sooner was this done, and the Directors began to breathe a little more freely, than Mr Robert Thomson, student of divinity, rose, and, in the absence of Mr James Cunningham of Glasgow, proposed a resolution, reviving the whole question, so long and successfully resisted, and pledging the meeting "to sympathise with the various efforts now making to obtain Legislative enactments for the restriction and prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors." So strong had the feeling in favour of Legislative action now become among the members of the League, and "Forbes M'Kenzie's Act" being no longer "a delusion," "a phantom," and "a chimera," but a realized fact, all hope of further successful diplomacy appeared gone, and the Executive, despoiled of that wherein their strength lay, became weak and powerless in the hands of a once indulgent but now unyielding constituency. While the motion of Mr Thomson was equally explicit in shutting the mouths of the League officials against all future attacks upon the Legislative movement, and pledged them to an expression of sympathy with those engaged in its promotion, still it was divested of the *obnoxious* clause referring to the United Kingdom Alliance; and upon this ground the Directors were disposed more easily to succumb

before its demands. Still, there was a faltering and a reluctance to yield manifested by the Directors. Yet advance they must. The call was the call of the people, and it could no longer be disregarded. For years they had succeeded, by intrigue and the most questionable diplomacy, in warding off the coming storm; but now the long-anticipated crisis had arrived. Without an advocate, or a plea why the sentence should not go forth, the Rev. Alexander Wallace, sympathising with them in their trying position, but being too well acquainted with the state of matters not to be able to read the "handwriting upon the wall," endeavoured, as far as possible, to lighten the burden of their humiliation. After referring to the great good which the League, as an institution, had achieved, and to the great sacrifices which had been made by the Directors, Mr Wallace said he felt, nevertheless, called upon to move, "That the members of the Scottish Temperance League, now present, rejoice in the success and efficiency of the Maine Law in several of the States of the American Republic, and earnestly sympathise with the efforts which are being made to create a public opinion in favour of a similar measure in this country." The motion being seconded by Mr D. M'Laren, and the Rev. James Ballantyne (author of the Edinburgh Maine Law Tracts) and other gentlemen having supported it, the Directors, thus hedged in as by an inexorable fiat, felt constrained to yield the arduous struggle, and meekly to submit themselves to the yoke they had so long and perseveringly resisted.

"The fact," says the Editor of the *Abstainers' Journal*, "that such a resolution was passed unanimously, plainly

indicates the direction which the movement is taking, and affords ground to believe that a short period longer of mutual forbearance will enable those entrusted with the direction of the League's affairs to take measures that will be satisfactory to all who compose its membership. Even as it is, we confess we begin to breathe somewhat freer, and feel that we may express our opinions upon the Legislative movement with a freedom becoming its importance.*

While the fact that the League Directors had been dragged forward, and forced to take a step in advance, was satisfactory to the members, there was an uncomfortable feeling experienced by many, when they considered the step taken was not the result of choice, but necessity. While many, like the Editor of the *Journal*, expressed a lively hope for a more hearty feeling being manifested by the Directors, there were also very many now satisfied that they were utterly incapacitated to occupy the position and discharge the duties of *leaders* in a great onward and aggressive warfare. While it was admitted they might be of service in following up, and, like a partially disciplined and inexperienced militia corps, might aid in maintaining the ground already won by their more noble and daring fellows, it had then become a general opinion, now confirmed by experience, that, whatever might be their qualifications as Directors, they were utterly wanting in those qualities so necessary to be possessed by the pioneers of an aggressive movement.

At this time the Prohibition movement received a considerable impulse by the circulation of the Edinburgh Maine Law Tracts, and the publication of a small work, entitled "Britain's Great Work," by the

* Abstinence' Journal, vol. ii. p. 131.

same author. In this work, not only was the necessity and mercy of the Maine Law demonstrated, and the duty of the people enforced in regard to it, but the current objections of the day were taken up and successfully exploded.

During the autumn of 1854, a great benefit was conferred upon the Temperance movement, and we have no hesitation in saying, upon the general community, by the proprietors of the *Edinburgh News*, who at this time dispatched an observing and highly talented literary gentleman, fully conversant with social and political economics, as a Commissioner to visit those States of the American Republic where the Maine Law was in operation, with instructions to investigate and report upon its beneficial or prejudicial results. The official reports of the Commissioner appeared in a series of articles in the *Edinburgh News*, during the latter end of the year 1854 and the beginning of the year 1855; and although, when the Commissioner left Edinburgh, his predilections were adverse to the principles embodied in the Maine Law, he was led, as the results of his official inquiries, to change his mind, and regard it as a just and beneficent law. These articles, which at the time attracted very general attention, both here and in England, contained detailed interviews which the Commissioner had with the Hon. Neal Dow, and other leading men in the American States; and were highly useful and interesting, while they proved most conducive to the interests of prohibition and general temperance.

The "New Public-Houses' Act," which by this time was fully in operation, had become decidedly popular among all classes of the virtuous and religious com-

munity. The great majority of our newspapers—metropolitan and provincial—had recognised its many advantages, particularly those arising from its partially *prohibitory clause* regarding the sale in certain houses during the Sabbath; and from week to week they continued to chronicle its triumphs. The *Journal* of the League then caught up the echo of its contemporaries. While proclaiming throughout the land its beneficial results, and becoming enamoured with the “just and beneficent” character of the Act, it sturdily defended it from the charges which, unfortunately, had *been originated in the literature of the League*. The objection, that “by prohibiting the vending of intoxicating drinks upon the sacred day,” an illicit traffic would be created by “persons without license”* taking up the traffic, had now been abandoned by the League; but, unfortunately, it had been taken up by the publicans, who now wielded it with considerable effect, in common with many others, which the promoters of the Act had long since exploded and exposed, when originally submitted by the League in the columns of their organ, the *Scottish Temperance Review*.

While the Licensed Victuallers had now taken up the hostile position vacated by the League, when the Legislative question had become embodied in a statutory enactment, the Directors had now run to the opposite extreme in their laudations of the Act; and, in their zeal to “preserve it in all its integrity,” appeared to forget almost everything else. Not only did the entire machinery of the League appear for a time to be devoted to the “maintaining of the Act,” but a recommendation was issued, urging “that, in every

* *Scottish Temperance Review*, vol. vi. p. 339.

town where an abstinence society existed, a *moral force police*, consisting of Abstainers, be established, that it shall be their object to see that the publicans literally comply with the conditions of their licence."° To this recommendation, in common with many others issued by the League, little or no attention was paid by the Societies, there being no relation existing between them and the League which can secure and call forth a simultaneous effort upon any subject, however desirable such action may be regarded by the League. From this it will be seen, that the boasted affiliation of those societies, which subscribe to the funds of the League, as far as securing united simultaneous action is concerned, is more imaginary than real; and, when viewed apart from the magnifying medium of League officialism, little else than a mere sham.

According to the original constitution of the League, the "independent action" of each society is provided for, while it is expressly set forth, that every society "shall have the entire and untrammelled management of its own affairs." In short, notwithstanding the affiliation which exists by virtue of the subscription paid, and the boasted pretensions of the Directors, through these societies, to be able to stir into local or political action, every town and village in the country, as fast as *post or telegraphic wires* can carry the command from the central Executive;† the League has no more control over the societies subscribing, than has the British Temperance Association, or the United Kingdom Alliance, to whose appeal in behalf of the Permissive Bill, the great majority so cordially and independently responded.

° Abstainers' Journal, vol. ii. p. 134.

† *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 102.

In addition to the recommendation issued to societies, deputations also were sent throughout the country to lecture the community "upon the nature and operations of the Act," to which they now stood in the relation of "foster-parents." While thus jealously watching over the object of their earnest solicitude, an imaginary army was descried in the distance, buckling on the armour to do battle against the Act, and to stifle the voice of the community, by whom it had been carried. Apparently impressed with the idea that those who not only carried the Act, without their assistance, but in spite of their most violent opposition, were not able to maintain the great conquest they had achieved, a special effort was deemed necessary to prepare for the "coming struggle." We, therefore, find that, at the next Annual Meeting (particular for nothing but the deep attachment expressed in favour of the Bill), a motion was carried, resolving upon a Conference to be held, for the purpose of reporting upon the working of the New Public-Houses' Act, and for considering what might be necessary for promoting its faithful administration.

On the 9th of October 1855, the Conference referred to was held in the Calton Convening Rooms, Edinburgh, and was attended by about two hundred individuals. After a Business Committee was appointed, the Secretary read a somewhat lengthened document, containing almost all the statistical and general evidence which had been collected and published by municipal boards and public authorities, illustrative of the beneficial operations of the "New Public-Houses' Act," which, after the passing of several unimportant resolutions, it was agreed to print, for such use as might be

“considered likely to forward the views of the Conference by securing the efficiency of the Act.”

While the *Abstainers' Journal* was devoting its editorial columns to the extolling of the Forbes M'Kenzie's Act, and foolishly over-rating the influence of the publicans, and creating unnecessary alarm about the “compactness of the organisation,” which was being marshalled for the “coming struggle,” the *Christian News*, while giving all due attention to the Act, was, along with the *Alliance Weekly News*, steadily pointing its readers to the goal, towards which all true temperance men were aspiring—the realisation of a Maine Law. From long before the period to which we refer, up till the present time, from one to two pages of this unrivalled Temperance newspaper, the *Christian News*, has been generously devoted to the discussion of the Maine Law, and other phases of the Temperance agitation. As far back as the period in question, letters and contributions from the leading Temperance Reformers in this country and America, continued, through its columns, to unmask the sophistries of the enemy ; and, by a course of popular enlightenment, to create a strong public sentiment in favour of the prohibition of the entire traffic. Among those whose able and earnest pleadings were to be heard through the columns of the *Christian News*, was Mr William Brodie, of Belhaven, who has occupied the foreground of the Temperance movement for nearly a quarter of a century, and who, we believe, was among the first advocates of total prohibition in Britain. Clear in his apprehension of duty, and scrupulously faithful in its discharge, having a natural aversion to all self-seeking expediency, and being liberal and generous whenever *real work* is to be

done, Mr Brodie has ever been ready to denounce that spurious theoretical sentimentalism, which, by prolonging and perpetuating the warfare, is more successful in securing the unprincipled adherence of self-seeking partizans, and of filling the pockets of dependants upon the movement, than in realizing the object for which it was established.

On the 3d of July 1855, an open air demonstration against the Liquor traffic and its consequences, was held on Dirleton Links, having been convened by the Belhaven and Westbarns Total Abstinence and Maine Law Association, formed on the 30th of November 1854. The demonstration was attended by delegates and large numbers of members from various district Societies, who walked in procession to the place of meeting, preceded by various bands of music. The chair was filled by that truly patriotic veteran, Colonel Veitch, who, before the immense concourse of people present, declared that he would rather allow his right hand to be cut off before he would degrade himself, and disgrace his country by signing a publican's certificate of licence. The speakers on the occasion were, Messrs Brodie and Hutton, Belhaven; Newbigging, Dunse; Lewis, Edinburgh; and Smith, Glasgow. As an illustration of the sentiments of the speakers, we extract the following from the speech of Mr Brodie, who, on rising to address the vast assemblage, said—

“His experience as a labourer in the Temperance movement, had convinced him of the absolute necessity for adopting strong measures against the infamous traffic. The Teetotalism of the past had done much good, but the time had arrived for a new policy to be acted upon. The publicans looked upon the mere

moral suasion Teetotallers as a set of benevolent, good minded philanthropists—working their work by hurrying out of sight the dirt and rubbish which their traffic had produced, and was daily producing. But, whenever they spoke of a Maine Law, they were branded as fanatics and enthusiasts. They were sensitive to nothing but the Maine Law, and the Maine Law we must have. The political organisation that had called them together, was the first independent society in Scotland to raise a banner asking a Prohibitory liquor law; and this demonstration had been got up for the very purpose of appealing to the Abstainers of East Lothian, to extend the organisation. To work merely as a moral suasion society, without advocating, at the same time, the Maine Law, was but a waste of talent, wealth, and time. They had been priming with powder merely. He suggested they should adopt the wiser policy of shotting their guns with Maine Law bullets, and he had little doubt of the effect. Haddington boasted of a Knox who saved Scotland from Popery. Knox was a regular Maine Law man. What were his sentiments? Down with the rookeries, and the rooks would fly away. If Knox had not adopted that policy, Popery might still have existed in all its frightful forms. Were there not men to be found in East Lothian, who had the courage to adopt an aggressive policy—who would fearlessly raise their banners, with the inscription, Down with the traffickers, and the evil will cease? or had they made up their minds to remain a set of children in men's clothes, afraid of the sneer of the ministers—the elders—the magistrates—trembling under the shadow of the Marquis of Fiddlestick or the Earl of Humbug? Why remain inactive in such a warfare as this? Our country, our God demands action! Are we to continue talking of what the rising generation are to accomplish, and do nothing practical ourselves? A young man is seated on this platform, who, sixteen years ago, was taught the same lesson that the present constituted

Total Abstinence societies are continuing to teach the rising generation ! Away with such cowardice ; work like men if you be earnest for your country's redemption."*

It was about this time that the Evangelical Union Conference issued their first circular upon the question of total Prohibition, which created a profound impression, and was productive of an incalculable amount of good. The Committee having set forth their reasons why they approved of "appealing to the Legislature for the total Suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks," and shown that such a demand was in harmony with "British and civil liberty," concluded with some forcible remarks on the wickedness and injustice of our license-law. From the confused ideas which float in the minds of certain Temperance leaders, in the present day, who not only recognise a license-law, but teach that satisfactory progress and ultimate triumph is compatible with its existence, we feel induced to call attention to some of the more important principles to which it referred. The liquor traffic the Conference Committee regarded as the sustaining source of the drinking system of society, and the license imparted to it as the great criminality of British legislation. The license-law, it affirmed, was essentially wrong in principle, and antagonistic to the fundamental laws of social well-being—Bible morality, and sound political economy. A license to sell alcoholic liquors, it regarded as a *right* conferred by the Government upon a certain party, to prosecute a course of action which was at war with the individual and domestic comfort of the people, whose interest it was the duty of the Govern-

* Christian News, No. 467, p. 94.

ment to protect. It was for a certain equivalent, in the shape of revenue, to empower a party, for their own aggrandisement, to carry on a traffic which was inimical to national prosperity, and subversive of the best interests of the State ; and therefore condemned by every righteous principle in a moral, political, or religious point of view. The license-system was pronounced by the Conference Committee to be an unmitigated wrong, and, as such, it became the people to regard it, and demand deliverance from its oppressive and innumerable evils. All attempts to modify and restrict, it regarded as sadly defective, and strongly urged an unconditional and immediate agitation for the total abolition of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, as the duty of all true friends of Temperance reform. Such a demand was in harmony with the social well-being of the nation, and the high behests of our common Christianity, and ought not to be deferred.

CHAPTER XII.

Extreme attention of the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League to the Forbes M'Kenzie Act—Dissatisfaction of Members and Affiliated Societies—Testimony of the Agents as to the depressed State of the Movement—Privations and Discouragements of the Agents—Dilemma of the Directors—Inauguration of the Dram-shop Movement—The Dram-shop Movement based upon a misapprehension of the License-Law, and the Duties of the Licensing Magistrate—Appointment of an Alliance Agent in Scotland—Formation of Prohibition Societies in Glasgow—Attack upon the public Character of Mrs Theobald in the columns of the *Commonwealth*—Mrs Theobald defended in the columns of the *Commonwealth* and *Christian News*—Prejudicial Effects of the Controversy on the Scottish Temperance League—Origin and Formation of the Edinburgh Board for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic—The Rev. William Reid censured by the *Commonwealth*—Resolution of the Edinburgh Board upon the Subject—Introduction of the "Auld Reekie" Letters.

TOWARDS the close of 1855, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction was being expressed with the disposition of the League Directors to fritter away their time and energies in pronouncing fulsome and stereotyped encomiums upon the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and upon themselves in particular, for the "tact" they were displaying, in order that the forthcoming formidable opposition might be successfully met. While the entire members of the League appreciated the full value, and had expressed themselves as grateful for the good the Act had achieved, there were few who could exercise patience and forbearance with those who appeared to be in danger of converting it into a sort of demi-god, and of becoming its blinded and jealous worshippers. With the view of administering a gentle reproof, and drawing away to a wholesome extent the attention of the Directors from that which was monopolising their al-

most exclusive concern, a letter, containing the following extract, addressed "To the Committee of the Scottish Temperance League," appeared in the *Christian News*, from the pen of one evidently a warm and zealous member of that institution :—

"Whilst preparing to encounter the combined attacks of those interested parties, we must not confine ourselves to acting on the defensive, when, at a moment like the present, an aggressive movement on our part may decide the day in our favour. Why should we not, then, commence by sending circulars from our head-quarters to the Temperance Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, enjoining them to hold meetings on the first evening of the new year (1856), for the special purpose of taking measures to petition Government, that every distillery in the land be immediately closed? I have no doubt that a prompt reply from these Societies would be given to the call of your Committee; and who can tell what may be the results of such an appeal, supported by the united forces of the Scottish Temperance League and the United Kingdom Alliance. And is not the end we have in view worthy of a struggle; and shall we shrink from the attempt when the country's weal or woe depends so much, under God, on the active use of means! The wisest and best of our nobles, as well as the mass of the people, favour our sentiments; and, trusting in God for his blessing and success, let us do our duty resolutely, and fear not."^{*}

No notice having been taken by the Directors of the admirable suggestion so respectfully suggested by a member, their silence called forth another letter, which was equally disregarded; and to show the feeling which was being entertained upon the position then occupied by the Directors, we quote the letter entire :—

^{*} See *Christian News*, No. 487, p. 254.



“ TO THE EDITOR.

“ Sir,—In common with many of your readers, I was much pleased with an appeal addressed by C. S. W. to the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, in your paper of Dec. 1, and cheered by the practical common-sense view taken by your correspondent. I was sorry and surprised to find, instead of a hearty response to the appeal by those gentlemen, there was not a recognition of this highly important document in your paper of Saturday last. Now, Mr Editor, as one who has striven in the temperance warfare for upwards of sixteen years, and who has done no mean service to the Temperance League, allow me to ask those gentlemen—Why this ominous silence? I do not write, sir, to take up the space of your columns, but I must be permitted to ask those gentlemen what reason they can assign for not responding to an appeal so practical, and withal so likely to succeed at the present crisis, when the starving millions of our population cry aloud for the aid of all Temperance Reformers to ‘arrest the iniquitous destruction of our country’s grain by the operations of this accursed traffic, *the restriction* of which the League Directors evidently approve, but for reasons best known to themselves, ‘the abolition of which they as evidently dread.’ I do trust, sir, that as men entrusted with the management of a *public institution*, they will fairly meet this question, and let it be known what really are their views upon this subject. If they are still prepared to endorse all that they have said and written against Legislative interference, let it in justice to their members be distinctly understood; but if they are in earnest, and prepared to contend for the ‘total and immediate abolition of the liquor traffic,’ let it in justice to them be publicly made known.—Yours most truly,

H. M. E.”*

“ Dec. 12, 1856.”

* Christian News, No. 485, p. 318.

While all such attempts to induce the Directors to become more practical in their operations, and to ascertain what course they really intended to pursue, were treated with silent indifference, the element of dissatisfaction spread from individual members to affiliated societies, and developed itself in open revolt in different parts of the country. So destructive was the influence exerted by the Directors, and so uninteresting and trifling had the lectures of the Agents become, that they may be said to have lulled the movement into a state of inactivity and sleep, and to have fostered and given permanence to that feeling of apathy towards the *Pledging* or *Teetotal* movement, which is at the present moment so lamentably prevalent, and which, had it not been succeeded by that general rising in favour of *practical Temperance reform*, would have been still more to be deplored. So indifferent had Societies become to the mission of the League, at the time to which we refer, that not only did the members refuse to countenance the Agents and their meetings, but committees declined to bestir themselves in announcing their meetings, or in making any preparations for them whatever; while there were others who frankly informed the Agents that they declined their visits altogether. As statements of a similar character to the above have been denied by the Secretary of the League, and as our object is to advance nothing but what is in accordance with historical fact, we shall adduce the evidence of several of the Agents themselves, in support of the statements advanced.*

Mr Reid reports:—"In Fife, reception not very encouraging;" and pertinently asks the Secretary, "How

* A betainer's Journal for 1856.

is this? There are many zealous friends in that county, and a county agency besides." "Carlaverock.—Meeting here very small." "Lochmaben.—I should have visited this place according to appointment, but my visit was declined."

Mr Duncan says of Broughtyferry:—"Here the friends have gone to sleep for a season." "Dunfermline.—Here the movement is shamefully weakened with internal warrings." "Kirkmuirhill.—Here our meeting was but a cold skeleton of an affair, although we have a few active allies in the locality."

Mr Easton, who speaks in a similar manner, says:—"It is rather a curious place Kirkwall. Although there are a number of most intelligent temperance men here, there are various influences, which we don't think it prudent to name, that stand much in their way in carrying on the movement." A local newspaper,* in reporting Mr Easton's meetings, said, "they were mostly made up of a number of loose boys, to whom he expounded his views."

In referring to Arbroath, Mr Easton reports:—"We are not capable of stating the position the cause occupies in this place, as none of the committee belonging to the society to which we were sent, thought proper to call upon us, and we don't feel authorised to speak on non-official information. . . . My meetings were splendid failures, there not being one hundred present at either; and I was informed that there were only three of the committee present. However, the meetings were well advertised, so that the committee and the public could not but know about them. It is the last time I shall ever speak in Arbroath to such meet-

* The Orcadian.

ings. . . Broughtyferry.—As in Arbroath, the meeting was a failure."

Mr M'Donald reports:—"Morebattle is very dead," "Melrose by no means energetic," "Greenlaw a failure," "Kirknewton also a failure."

Mr Arthur corroborates as follows:—"Burntisland.—The cause in a very low ebb." "East Wemyss.—The secretary warned me that it would be a poor meeting." "Leven having declined a visit, I attempted to get up a meeting at the Kirkland Works; but the notice being so short, it proved almost a failure." "Kettle.—The town of Anstruther having declined to receive a visit, I wrote to one of the friends in this village to get a meeting; but found, on my arrival, that the notice was too short." "Auchtermuchty found it inconvenient to receive a visit."

Such is the united evidence of the League agents as to the state of the Abstinence movement, previous to the breaking out of that unhappy controversy, which continues to rage with almost unabated fury. Whatever opinions may be held as to the merits of the controversy, we believe that all who have read the foregoing statements must experience a feeling of deep sympathy for those agents, who, leaving their families and their homes, have gone forth to advocate the claims of Abstinence, amid such overwhelming influences of discouragement and distraction. At the same time, we feel disposed to condemn the cruelty of that policy which could doom those agents to labour amid the indifference and frowns of the representatives of the Temperance enterprise, when the adoption of a more enlightened and rational policy would have secured for them the hearty welcome and generous hos-

pitality of every true and enlightened friend of the Temperance cause.

To such a state of things as was now prevailing, the Directors could no longer remain silent, and therefore, in an editorial in the *Journal*, they felt called upon "seriously to remonstrate against official remissness towards our agents," and strongly to denounce those Committees who had been so remiss as "to have neither a hall to speak in, nor a bed to sleep on, prepared for the agents;" while they intimated, that "Societies should feel insulted by glaring official remissness, and summon it to a stern bar of associative indignation."*

Notwithstanding the severity of the remonstrance to the Committees, and the eloquence of the appeal to the Societies, it was by each ridiculed and disregarded; both parties being at one in their opinion, that, unless the Directors were prepared to instruct their agents to adopt a course of advocacy becoming the importance of the movement and the exigencies of the age, they were in no degree responsible for the consequences.

It having now become painfully evident that such an unsatisfactory state of matters was fast impairing the influence of the League, a step of one kind or another became imperative upon the part of the Directors. To refuse to take part in the war already proclaimed against the liquor traffic, would no longer be tolerated by the members; and to pronounce in favour of the Maine Law agitation, was an idea not to be entertained by the Directors. What, then, was to be done? Was there no middle course, the adoption of which could for a little longer justify delay? The "extreme" idea of entering upon an *immediate* agitation for the

* Abstiners' Journal, vol. iv. pp. 168, 169.

total suppression of the traffic, was most distasteful to those *wealthy contributors* of the League, more particularly such as were interested in the exportation of intoxicating liquors to foreign countries, or who, as owners of property, were drawing large rents from keepers of public-houses. It was while in this dilemma that the "grand conception of the Dram-shop movement" was discovered, which, it was fondly hoped, would meet the wishes of all classes of Temperance reformers. First broached and resolved upon at the Annual Meeting of 1856, a conference of Delegates was next held at Falkirk, "for the purpose of hearing the Directors of the League lay before the Delegates a plan of operations, by which the efforts of two or three agents would be directed to each district, to incline the locality to make renewed efforts for the suppression of dram-shops, and for receiving the opinion of the Delegates on the proposed action." In entering upon such a movement, we apprehend the League committed a serious error: first, in drawing a line of demarcation in reference to a traffic which is *altogether* and *irremediably* bad, and in seeking to suppress the lower extremities of a system, which become the legitimate receptacles, and are, in a great measure, dependent upon those who have been debauched and ruined by the influence of those more exalted developments of the system—"Licensed Hotels," which do not come within the scope of their hostile agitation.

At the Conference in question, the chairman, Mr M'Gavin, told the Delegates, that "we have in the law of Scotland a thorough Maine Law, and the power resided in the hands of the magistratcy."* Now, had

* Abstiners' Journal, vol. iv. p. 171.

Mr M'Gavin investigated the subject, he would have found that there were many places licensed by the Government, for the sale of intoxicating drinks, *altogether independent of the Licensing Magistrates*, and that the Licensing Magistrates are required to meet annually for the purpose of *regulating* (not prohibiting) the traffic, and of *granting licences*. From this he would have learned, that the idea of the Magistrates having power to refuse all licences, and thereby prohibit the traffic by "a thorough Maine Law," was a gross misapprehension, and betrays a total ignorance of the nature of the License-Law, and the duties of the Licensing Magistrate, as defined by statutory enactment.

In the summer of 1856, the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance appointed Mr James Mitchell to represent the Alliance, and to advocate its claims in Scotland. Glasgow being the centre of Mr Mitchell's operations, where about this time several Prohibition Societies were also formed, the claims of the Prohibition movement were fully submitted for the consideration of the inhabitants of the Western metropolis. While Mr Mitchell was engaged in visiting and bringing before the Temperance Reformers throughout Scotland the claims of the United Kingdom Alliance, and the friends of Prohibition in Glasgow were leaving the inhabitants with their sentiments, the *Christian News* was publishing weekly a series of able articles upon the demoralising character of the traffic, the social and religious influence of the publican, and the desirability and necessity of Legislative prohibition. It was while the claims of practical Temperance reform were being thus fully enforced, that Mrs Theobald,

the distinguished Total Abstinence and Maine Law orator, visited Scotland; and who, by her thrilling exposures of the traffic, and touching appeals in behalf of its crushed and ruined victims, gave a great additional impetus to the growing popular feeling in behalf of liquor traffic suppression. From the day that this gifted stranger set her foot on Scottish soil, her career was one of uninterrupted triumph, till she entered the metropolis, when, to the disgrace of Edinburgh, she was subjected to one of the most infamous, not to say villainous, attacks, that was ever perpetrated upon defenceless woman. No sooner had this lady, under the auspices of the Brighton Street Church Total Abstinence Society, lifted up her eloquent voice in behalf of the Temperance enterprise, than there appeared in the columns of the *Glasgow Commonwealth*, furnished by "An Edinburgh Correspondent," one of the most unprovoked and shameful articles which it has ever been our lot to peruse. Had Mrs Theobald been engaged in delivering lectures upon the alleged evils of the Christian religion, and pleading in behalf of the abominations of Mormonism, or the blasphemous profanities of an impious and heaven-daring infidelity, the spirit of vindictive cruelty which pervaded the article in question might have invoked a feeling of sympathy in her behalf! No wonder, then, that, within a few hours of the publication of the *Commonwealth*, communications should be finding their way from all parts of the country to the office of that newspaper, condemning the writer of the article in terms of richly-merited severity, and remonstrating with the editor for having given publicity to a production, as destructive to the reputation and usefulness of his own journal as it was

hurtful to the feelings and prospects of the deeply-injured female. In reply to these various communications, to the *Commonwealth* newspaper, the editor intimated that he "could not afford space for more than one letter," which he, to his credit, inserted in full, and from which we give the following extract. The writer, on referring to the article of the "Edinburgh Correspondent," says—

"Had his scurrilous strictures appeared in the columns of the *Edinburgh Scotsman*, or *London Dispatch*, they might have been overlooked; but, when such an insolent and uncalled-for attack upon the character of a Temperance advocate is found in the columns of the *Commonwealth*, justice to Mrs Theobald—to the Society under whose auspices she appeared—as well as to her numerous and enthusiastic auditors, demands that such a heartless attack be met, and demonstrated to be as untrue as it is ungenerous."

"‘Mrs Theobald,’ says your correspondent, ‘is by no means a clever lecturer: neither her manner nor her matter are by any means attractive; her pictures of the evils of intemperance are all of them done in that style of tawdry juvenile rhetoric which never fails to disgust a correct taste, and her voice has in it not a few of the notes of the screech-owl.’ That there is nothing peculiarly attractive in her matter to the drink-sellers or their apologists, who object to the total and immediate abolition of the liquor traffic, I believe to be strictly true; but to those who long for the complete and speedy triumph of the Temperance enterprise, there was something *peculiarly attractive* when, amid the plaudits of enraptured hundreds, she pronounced the liquor traffic to be the great primary cause of drunkenness, and a stern prohibitory law its only effective remedy. These are sentiments, let your correspondent depreciate them as he may, which contain more true philosophy and

common sense than is to be found in any or all of those lectures where the political aspect of the question is ignored, and the grand remedy for intemperance necessarily overlooked. Your correspondent, after reflecting upon the motives by which Mrs Theobald is actuated, speaks of her as being inspired 'to mount the rostrum, and assume the onerous duties of a stump-orator,' and intimating that her story 'seems believed by a small portion of the credulous,' proceeds to remind her 'that flippancy is not wit, and that brass is not brains.' These remarks require no comment: they form their own best exposition, and bring home with unmistakable distinctness to the mind of the reader the object he must have had in view in setting them before the public, through the medium of a *Temperance newspaper*."

Letters of a similar character were also forwarded to the *Christian News*; and to give some idea with what feeling the public resented the base and cowardly attack upon an unoffending female, whose only crime was having dared to agitate for the total proscription of the liquor traffic, we extract the following from the columns of that journal. One of the correspondents of the *News* says—

"It was with feelings of regret and disgust that I read a *critique*, in last Saturday's *Commonwealth*, on Mrs Theobald's lectures, delivered in Brighton Street Church, furnished by its Edinburgh correspondent. It was certainly uncalled for, and below the dignity of a gentleman—a downright disgrace to one who represents himself to be a friend of Abstinence; and fitted to sicken persons of well-regulated minds, engaged in the Temperance reformation, that they should be in any way identified with one who could render himself so thoroughly contemptible. I am the more convinced that all who are earnest in the Temperance movement,

who hate the traffic and would save the drunkard, will never object to the able and eloquent advocacy of Mrs Theobald. The victims of intemperance must be saved, no matter by whom. Are we ourselves convinced that strong drink is a *curse*?—that's the question. The more I call to mind the sentiments of the *Commonwealth's* correspondent, in his ungallant attack on this laborious and unoffending lady, through the columns of a *Temperance* newspaper, the more convinced I am, that no woman would be safe in his hands, but for the dread of his country's laws."

Another correspondent says, "In perusing the *Commonwealth* newspaper of Saturday last, I was perfectly astonished to see, by their Edinburgh correspondent, such an ungallant and uncalled-for attack on the efforts of Mrs Theobald, Temperance lecturer. I feel, in justice to the friends who invited her to this city, in justice to Mrs Theobald as a lady, and in justice to the cause of Temperance throughout the country, to counteract, as far as I can, the baneful effects of such a base attack. Mrs Theobald, fortunately, is now no stranger in the Temperance world, and I should not dread any injury from the pen or the tongue of any praise-seeking sycophant that is capable of heaping slander on the heads of the noble and the good. But when such productions are allowed a place in the columns of an influential paper, professing to be the advocate of freedom, peace, and temperance, I do dread evil results. Surely its correspondent must be profoundly ignorant, or fearfully prejudiced against either Mrs Theobald or the Temperance cause, to do this in the face of all the flattering eulogiums the press has been pleased to pour forth in praise of her talents and usefulness; and when a testimony comes from many of those societies she has visited, that she has been better received, more highly appreciated, and gained more converts to the pledge than any other advocate of the Temperance cause in this country. Whether to attribute it to prejudice,

ignorance, or lunacy, I know not; but one thing I would say, Rather would I be the poor houseless, homeless beggar, rather would I occupy the place of the merest dwarf in the literary world, rather would I stand behind the bar of a gilded drunkery, than dare to be the assassin of the usefulness of a truth-proclaiming unprotected lady! I do trust, for the sake of truth and sobriety, that the *Commonwealth* will shake itself clear of such a dishonourable affair; and, as for the writer of the criticism, though he blush himself out of society, there will be no sacrifice."

In addition to the letters which flooded the editorial desks of the *Commonwealth* and *Christian News*, the pen of the Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League was called into active requisition, to counteract the damaging effects produced upon the League by the disreputable effusion of the *Commonwealth* correspondent. Upon Mr Marr being informed by the agents, that it was affecting the subscriptions to the League funds, he wrote and forwarded a number of letters, denying all knowledge of the objectionable letter, and disclaiming all connection, upon the part of the League, with the *Commonwealth* newspaper.

The following is a copy of one of the letters referred to, which we select from several now before us:—

" Scottish Temperance League Office,
108 Hope Street, Glasgow,
14th October 1856.

" Dear Sir,—Mr Beattie informs me that you have declined to subscribe to the League this year, because of a letter that appeared in the *Commonwealth*, as to Mrs Theobald. Let me just inform you, that the League has no connection with that paper, and that the League Directors know nothing of that letter. But for some of the League Directors she would not have been in

Glasgow; and during her stay in Glasgow she received considerable kindness from several of them.

"The *Commonwealth* is Mr Rae's private property—the League has no more connection with it than it has with the *Times*.

"I hope, therefore, to hear from you that you will renew your subscription.—Yours faithfully,

"JOHN S. MARR, Secy."

Had Mr Marr expressed his regret that such a letter had appeared, and intimated that none of the *Directors* of the League had any connection with the *Commonwealth*, it would have proved more satisfactory, and been more likely to have secured the "renewal of those subscriptions," which evidently gave him more concern than the vindication of Mrs Theobald from the shafts of her heartless maligner.

In view of the attack made upon the character and usefulness of Mrs Theobald, a meeting of practical Temperance reformers was convened in Johnston's Temperance Hotel, Edinburgh, for the purpose of considering what steps should be taken to protect her from the assaults of those enemies of Prohibition, who sought to drive her from Scotland. After mature deliberation, a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, was appointed, for the purpose of defending her from any similar attack which might be made through the *Commonwealth* or any other medium:—Messrs Alexander Shepherd, John Millar, Eneas Mackay, Duncan Clarke, Gilbert M'Dougall, William B. Turnbull, David Lewis, Lawrence Cossar, Henry Morris, William Henry, John Dickson, and Wm. Forsyth. The Committee having been formed, Mr Forsyth was appointed to take the minutes, conduct all correspondence, and discharge the duties of secretary. No sooner

had it become known that this Committee had been formed, than the envenomed tongue of calumny and slander was silenced. But so deep-rooted was the hostility of certain parties to the principles of Prohibition, that it was feared the next Temperance lecturer who came forward to advocate total prohibition would be subjected to the same treatment as Mrs Theobald. With the view of putting a check to the discreditable mode of seeking to arrest the progress of a great public agitation, by traducing the character of its advocates, and with the view of being otherwise useful in the cause of practical Temperance reform, Mr W. B. Turnbull brought a motion before the Committee, proposing to extend the basis of their operations, and to form themselves into a general organisation, to be designated "The Edinburgh Board for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic." The motion being discussed, and unanimously approved of, office-bearers were elected; and the Committee thereafter entered upon the discharge of their more general and important duties. Within a few weeks of the formation of the Board, a circumstance transpired, which demonstrated the wisdom and sagacity of Mr Turnbull in bringing forward his motion. The Rev. William Reid, who then expressed a warm attachment to the United Kingdom Alliance, attended a soiree of the Scottish Temperance League in Glasgow, and in his address took occasion to enforce the claims of the Maine Law, and to call upon the Directors at once to enter upon the agitation for such a law in this country. The fact of Mr Reid having presumed to advocate a Maine Law in the presence of this august body, and his having dared to urge them to enter upon an agitation

to which they had become so notoriously opposed, brought down upon him the fierce denunciations of the *Commonwealth*.

In urging the Directors of the League to join at once in the agitation for a Maine Law, Mr Reid touched a chord of sympathy which vibrated throughout the entire host of advanced Temperance reformers, and called forth the gratitude of thousands, who longed and sighed for the redemption of their kindred and their country from the evils of the second curse. While the *Christian News* paid him a merited tribute for the services he had rendered in the faithful advice given to the Directors, the *Commonwealth* poured out upon him the vials of its wrath, and denounced his conduct at the soiree as neither generous nor just. At the next General Meeting of the Edinburgh Board, the unseemly procedure of the *Commonwealth* was again discussed, and the following resolution, drawn up and submitted by Mr W. B. Turnbull, was unanimously approved of, and the secretary instructed to have it published in the newspapers of the same week:—

“ The Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.

“ At a Meeting of the Edinburgh Board for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, held on the evening of Thursday, 20th instant, it was resolved—

“ That the members of this Board feel bound to express their admiration of the great and efficient labours of the Rev. William Reid, Edinburgh, in the Temperance cause, and to hail with pleasure his late effort to enlighten the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League as to their duty in reference to the liquor traffic; and they feel bound, however reluctantly, to condemn the strictures made on that effort by the *Commonwealth* newspaper; and trust that the

reverend gentleman will continue to aid, by his powerful appeals, a movement which has for its end, not 'merely to regulate, but to annihilate an evil.'"*

Notwithstanding the decided expression of public feeling which, on two different occasions, had been evoked against the *Commonwealth*, by its recklessness and indiscretion, it appeared unwilling to profit by the lessons of correction and instruction so popularly administered. Not only did it allow the "Edinburgh Correspondent" to attack the character of Mrs Theobald, and, in its editorial capacity, subject the Rev. William Reid to a gross and scandalous insult, but it next admitted into its columns a series of letters, which stamps the history of the Temperance movement in Scotland with indelible disgrace. So thoroughly obnoxious to the public press were these epistles—familiarily known as the "Reekie Letters"—that, while application was made to have them inserted in almost all the Temperance newspapers in the country, they were indignantly rejected by all, save the Glasgow *Commonwealth*, which, somehow or other, is as completely the exponent of the views of the writer of these letters, and as uniformly careful to chronicle and magnify his philanthropic efforts, as if he occupied no inconsiderable position in its proprietorship. As these letters have proved the cause of untold and irreparable mischief: having kindled and kept alive those fires of rancorous animosity and hate, which consume and distract the Temperance reformation: we shall, in our next chapter, refer to their origin, and the more immediate results which flowed from them.

* Christian News, No. 538, p. 1.

CHAPTER XIII.

United Kingdom Alliance Effort in Scotland opposed by the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League—Conditions for Peaceful and Harmonious Action repeatedly proposed by the Alliance Executive, but rejected by the League Directors—Persecution renewed against the Alliance—"Auld Reekie's" Epistles, addressed to the Alliance Executive, and their immediate Results—Remonstrances and Protests from Societies, and leaders in the Abstinence Movement—The J. P. Controversy—Publication of the *Abolitionist*—"Caustic's" Castigation of "Auld Reekie"—"Reekie Junior's" Analysis—The Marr and Morris Controversy.

FROM the time of Mr Mitchell's appointment as Alliance agent in Scotland, considerable uneasiness and dislike was displayed by the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League to the United Kingdom Alliance. Acting upon the foolish assumption that the Alliance Executive had no right to agitate their principles in Scotland, the League Directors, through their secretary, intimated to the Alliance Executive, that they thought "the objects of both organizations would be best secured by their confining their agents and special labours to England, and allow the League to work Scotland."* In reply to such an audacious proposal, the Alliance Executive, through their honorary secretary, intimated to the League Directors, that, their object being to agitate for the total and immediate Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, they could never "desert the post of duty, and relinquish the agitation in Scotland in favour of the League, unless the League would take up the position which they occupied in reference to the question of Prohibition." The League

* See published Correspondence.

Directors having refused to enter upon an agitation for the total prohibition of the entire traffic, the Alliance Executive next expressed themselves willing to append their official signatures to a circular, mutually approved of, expressive of a kindly feeling, and cultivating friendly relations with each other, as the representatives of two kindred institutions—the one aiming at the suppression of the liquor traffic by means of the abstinence pledge and gradual restriction, and the other aiming at the same object by an *immediate* and *direct* agitation for its total prohibition. Each of these most reasonable proposals having been rejected by the League Directors, the Alliance Executive had no alternative but to continue to prosecute their agitation in Scotland, which, as we shall yet show, has been done amid the most abounding misrepresentation which an envious and unprincipled opposition could devise. And here we would take the opportunity of vindicating the great body of Scottish Temperance reformers from being in any degree responsible for the stigma cast upon the movement by the conduct of the League Directors, and to assure those honourable gentlemen who comprise the Alliance Executive, that they are not the first who have had measured out to them abundant misrepresentation and unprovoked abuse. The reader of the foregoing pages will have already discovered that some of Scotland's greatest Christian heroes have been called upon to pass through the fires of persecution and reproach, lighted up by the same parties, merely because in their day they had incurred their displeasure by publicly advocating the principles of State interference with the liquor traffic. When our frank and honest allies of the South are informed that

the envenomed scourge of jealousy and persecution spared not its own countrymen, but held up to public obloquy and scorn those whose names are embalmed in the memory of thousands as Scotland's greatest benefactors, they will, we feel assured, acquit from all blame the great body of the Temperance reformers of Scotland, amongst whom there exists towards the Alliance, and the work in which it is engaged, a lively and wide-spread feeling of gratitude and esteem.

All attempts upon the part of the Alliance to come to a satisfactory understanding with the League having failed, and as all efforts of the League Directors to embroil the Alliance in an institutional "squabble" had also failed, then came the series of "Auld Reekie" Letters, addressed to the Executive of the Alliance, by Mr Thomas Knox, President of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Scottish Temperance League. As already indicated, those letters appeared in the *Commonwealth*. One well able to form an opinion respecting them, remarks, that their object "appeared to be to provoke by insult, when misrepresentation had failed to arouse." This object, however, was signally defeated; as, from the tissue of statements, notoriously at variance with fact, which they contained, and the coarse raving vulgarity in which these statements were made, they were treated by the Alliance with silent contempt. While no notice was taken of these effusions by the friends in England, they called forth the most powerful remonstrances—withering and indignant protests—from all parts of Scotland.

We believe we will best consult the feelings of the Temperance community, by refraining from lengthened

extracts from the letters of "Auld Reekie;" suffice it to say, that they characterised "England as in a state of Teetotal or United Kingdom Alliance destitution,—their movement as being literally in rags, and their Agent as an eccentric, touchy, and impracticable lecturer, who took English money to defame and misrepresent his native land." Such is but a slight specimen of the scurrilous abuse and unmitigated insolence that characterised those letters, which disfigured and disgraced somewhere about four columns of the broadsheet of the *Commonwealth*,* and lighted up, as with a spark from beneath, the fires of internal strife and personal recrimination throughout the entire Temperance camp. That the Alliance, so liberal in its policy, should be thus insulted; and that its Agent—a gentleman so universally appreciated and honoured for his self-sacrificing and devoted services in the cause, extending over nearly a quarter of a century—should be thus maligned, was too much for the Temperance men of Scotland quietly to submit to. When they found one of their most honoured and successful champions of the olden time assailed in his personal and private character by one, who, when compared with many of themselves, was but a man of yesterday in the movement, they were neither slow to resent the injury nor reluctant to chastise the detractor.

The friends of the movement in Barrhead, who were the first in connection with the League to urge the necessity of agitating for the prohibition of the traffic, and who have hitherto continued to occupy the vanguard in the aggressive warfare of Temperance reform, were the first to enter their protest against the attack

* *Commonwealth*, Nos. 168-70-73.

made upon the Alliance and its Agent. That they acted with that promptitude and energy which became the pioneers of a great moral and social revolution, is evidenced by the following official document, drawn up within three days of the appearance of the first of the offensive articles in the *Commonwealth*:—

“ *To the Editor of the Commonwealth.*

“ We regret to observe in the Temperance department of the *Commonwealth* of last Saturday, a letter, signed ‘Auld Reekie,’ and addressed to the Executive of the United Kingdom Alliance.

“ We regard the statements therein made as indicative of the grossest ignorance on the part of the writer respecting the principles, the aims, and the present position of the United Kingdom Alliance, and fraught with mischievous consequences, in so far as they attempt to set forth that organization as a rival to the Scottish Temperance League.

“ Thousands of Temperance men in Scotland have been and are desirous that sound views of the prohibitory aspect of the Temperance question should be disseminated all over the country. We consider that the United Kingdom Alliance, in fulfilment of their duties in respect to the political view of the Temperance reformation, deserve the sympathy and support of every friend of the Temperance movement; and we speak with unfeigned truthfulness when we say, that the Alliance could not have appointed for Scotland one better qualified, both as respects character and attainments, for the mission, than Mr Jas. Mitchell, and one who is more universally beloved over the length and breadth of Scotland. He has been allied to the Temperance movement for a long series of years; and the experience derived therefrom, combined with his energy and superior natural powers, highly qualify him for the work. Therefore, we have no sympathy with the

party feeling and acrimonious spirit which dictated the letter of 'Auld Reekie,' reflecting on the incompetency of the United Kingdom Alliance and Mr J. Mitchell.

"In name and behalf of Barrhead Total Abstinence Society. (Signed) "JOHN PATON, President.

ANDREW WHITELAW, Treasurer.

JOHN CONCHAR, Regist. Secy.

JOHN M'INNES, Corresp. Secy.

"Barrhead, Dec. 16, 1856."*

Dunfermline, so long renowned for its early attachment to the principles of genuine abstinence, was the next Society to stamp with disapprobation the insolence and indiscretion of "Auld Reekie," by the publication of the following:—

"At a meeting of the Directors of the Dunfermline Adult Total Abstinence Society, held on the 15th December 1856—John Davie, Esq., President, in the chair—the attention of the meeting was called to an anonymous letter in the *Commonwealth* of Saturday last, addressed to the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance, in which Mr James Mitchell, one of the agents of the Alliance, was described as 'once a useful, but now an eccentric, touchy, and impracticable lecturer,' it was unanimously agreed that the meeting express their high opinion of Mr Mitchell's qualification as a lecturer on the Total Abstinence question, and of the clear and able manner in which, during his recent visit to Dunfermline, he advocated the objects of the Alliance; and further, that they should express their great regret that a newspaper so identified with the Temperance movement should have allowed such an attack on Mr Mitchell to enter its columns.

(Signed) "JOHN DAVIE, Chairman.

AND. BEVERIDGE, Secy."†

* *Commonwealth*, No. 169, p. 6.

† *Ibid*.

Dumbarton next spoke out in the following terms:—

“Dumbarton ‘Abstainers’ Hall, Dec. 25, 1856.

“The Committee having met, reference was made to a letter in the *Commonwealth* of Saturday the 13th current, by one who signs himself ‘Auld Reekie,’ which, while it attempts to place the United Kingdom Alliance in a ludicrous position, though entitled to the sympathy of all Temperance reformers, reflects also, in very unbecoming language, upon the character of James Mitchell, Esq., now engaged in the service of said Alliance. Resolved,—That this Committee, in these circumstances, would be unjust to themselves, and to Mr Mitchell, if they did not, as hereby they do, declare that, in their estimation, a more energetic and worthy man could not be employed in the service of any association, whether pleading for the Teetotalism of moral suasion, or that of Legislative enactment. Resolved further—That a copy of this resolution shall be forwarded to the *Commonwealth* for insertion, with every expression of sincere confidence in Mr Mitchell as a most consistent Temperance advocate.

(Signed) “ALEX. BROWN, Secy.”*

In Glasgow, Aberdeen, &c., resolutions were also passed condemning the articles in question, as remarkable for the ignorance and arrogance with which they were so fully charged, and as calculated to engender a spirit of dissension and alienation among Temperance reformers.

In addition to the various remonstrances and protests from Societies, the columns of the *Commonwealth* and *Christian News* were, week after week, crowded with communications of a similar character, from many of the leading friends of the cause. Among those who

* *Commonwealth*, No. 171, p. 6.

occupied the columns of the *Commonwealth* was Mr James Johnston, of Paisley, and Mr Norman S. Kerr, of Glasgow. The former gentleman, in calling attention to the subject, said he could not "see the propriety of the letter which appeared in last Saturday's *Commonwealth*. Evidently, "Auld Reekie's" zeal had, on the occasion referred to, outrun his prudence. I think the letter referred to was uncalled for, was likely to do harm rather than good, by *causing division among the Temperance forces, and thus injuring the cause.*"* We have italicised the last clause extracted from Mr. Johnston's letter, to show that he was then fully conversant with the state of the Temperance feeling in Scotland, as is demonstrated by the opinion, or prophecy, which he then indicated having been painfully and strikingly fulfilled. As Mr. Kerr entered into the merits of the Scottish Temperance League and the United Kingdom Alliance, and in the most clear and distinct manner defined their respective policies; and as this is a subject still greatly misunderstood, and upon which some manifest a disposition not to be easily taught; we feel induced to call particular attention to the following pointed and practical remarks from the letter of Mr. Kerr: and we do this the more earnestly, as we believe it is by reason of parties not fully apprehending the marked distinction which exists between the United Kingdom Alliance and the Scottish Temperance League,—the one a *moral*, and the other a *political* organization,—that much of that vacillating indecision, by which the influence of many good and earnest men is neutralized and destroyed, is to be accounted for. Mr Kerr, evidently aiming at the

* *Commonwealth*, No. 169, p. 6.

removal of the prevailing misconception referred to, says:—

“‘Auld Reekie’ goes on to say, that the Executive should have sent down to the Scottish Temperance League to ‘get a draft of instructions as to how to proceed to get England up to sister Scotland in organization and advancement.’ This is positively amusing. He speaks as if the Alliance were instituted to promote the Abstinence movement. It was established for a different purpose, and the operations of the Executive speak for themselves. Their success has been unprecedented. ‘Auld Reekie’ then supposes the Scottish Temperance League was transferred to the United Kingdom Alliance, &c. Why, where, in the name of wonder, did he get such an idea from? It must have been a myth of his own imagining; or he may have beheld it emerge, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, from the smoke of Auld Reekie itself. The Alliance have no such wish. They respect the Scottish Temperance League, and would not lift so much as their little finger to do it an injury. They are a separate and distinct association, with the same object in view, but advocating an entirely different mode of attaining it. They form the two branches of a great movement, the one taking the moral, the other the political department: and there is not the slightest ground of rivalry between them. ‘Auld Reekie’ suggests, that the Executive send some of their most judicious men to meet an equal number of the Scottish Temperance League Board in Glasgow. Is he not aware that they have more than once offered to submit their plans to the Scottish Temperance League Directors, to receive suggestions from that ‘honourable’ Board, and co-operate with them; and that the latter appear to have all along had a wholesome (?) dread of all such friendly overtures? What more could the Executive do? They have vigorously done their own

work, and endeavoured to remove misapprehension wherever it existed. . . . The Alliance has for its object the entire suppression of the liquor traffic; that of the League is the abolition of the drinking customs—the former aims at shutting up the shops, the latter at getting the people to shut their mouths; the one is endeavouring to secure, and *will* achieve, a Maine Law for Britain; the other would have every one be a Maine Law unto himself. With the united efforts of both of these associations, who can doubt that we will triumph in the end? Having had done with anonymous letters long ago, I have the honour to subscribe myself, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) “N. S. KERR.”*

“Auld Reekie” in his letters also attacked the “Edinburgh Board,” and insulted Mr Alexander Shepherd, Joint-President, for not instructing the secretary to withhold from his official signature of Joint-President the initials J. P., lest the public should be led to infer that Mr Shepherd, in common with himself, was a Justice of the Peace. So foolishly sensitive did “Auld Reekie” feel upon this point, that he admits, in one of his letters, of having asked no fewer than “half-a-dozen” individuals, whether or not the initials in question conveyed to them the idea that Mr Shepherd was a Justice of the Peace. Who the half-dozen were, “Auld Reekie” does not condescend to say; but probably, appreciating the *spirit* in which the question was put, they answered him in the affirmative. Then waxing eloquent, he, in all the warmth of insulted dignity, denounced the initials appended as a “shameful perversion of words,” by the introduction of which “we have civilisation overturned, and society a vast heaving chaos;” and intimated that the “highest merchant who to-day would

* Commonwealth, No. 169, p. 6.

dare to use it, would to-morrow find himself the lowest, and by universal indignation be hurled from the ranks of honest men.”*

Mr Shepherd replied in two long and admirable letters; and so successfully did he expose the gross misrepresentations contained in the letters of “Auld Reekie,” and hold up to deserved ridicule the egotistical vanity of the writer, that some of his Edinburgh friends of the old school came forward, through the *Commonwealth*, in his defence; but having thus thoughtlessly placed themselves within the scope of Mr Shepherd’s literary lash, they, in like manner, paid the penalty of their inconsiderate interference and folly.

The editor of the *Commonwealth* having expressed his regret at the manner in which “Auld Reekie” had canvassed the policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, and excluded him and his opponent from all further occupation of his columns upon the subject, the controversy in that journal then ceased.

The *Christian News*, in referring to the controversy, says :—

“The letter of ‘Auld Reekie’ to the Executive Council of the U. K. Alliance, has already called forth a considerable amount of unmistakeable sentiment, bearing upon the S. T. League, and Legislative Prohibition, such as could hardly have been calculated on by the writer. Our own columns, and those of the *Commonwealth* of the 20th instant, afford evidence of this; and in this we see no cause for regret on the part of the earnest disciples and advocates of Temperance. Nay, we think the S. T. League will stand much in the way of the great movement, if, in view of the sentiment evolved, it do not forthwith boldly and trustingly welcome the labours and labourers of the U. K. A., and

* *Commonwealth*, No. 170, p. 6.

thus restore confidence in the aims of its Directors, so necessary to the success of a great movement.”*

One of the correspondents of the *Christian News*, in writing upon the subject, says :—

“ We have long been accustomed, in the hazy atmosphere of Auld Reekie, to hear progressive Reformers characterised as enemies of the Scottish Temperance League ; but I am sadly mistaken if the *Commonwealth*, and those detractors who figure in its columns, are not the worst enemies of that institution. As one who believes that notwithstanding the rising greatness of the United Kingdom Alliance, the Scottish Temperance League might long continue to be useful as a modifying agency, I must be allowed to protest against its prospects being damaged, and its future existence imperilled by the rash and injudicious proceedings of its misguided friends, who appear to have forgot that our duty is to contend for the dissemination of sound Temperance principles, instead of sowing discord and division among our allies, and fighting for the supremacy of any organization. Strange, that no word of remonstrance or reproof should ever be dealt out to those moral-suasion advocates, who perambulate the country with the vain idea of securing national sobriety, while the liquor traffic is suffered by law to exist ; but no sooner do any of our lecturers speak out in earnest, and promulgate those principles which demand the utter extermination of the traffic, than this *Temperance newspaper* opens its columns, and directs against them a torrent of recrimination and abuse.”†

Mr Brodie of Belhaven, in raising his voice against the persistent attacks of “ Auld Reekie” against the Alliance, says :—

“ I expected that by this time the smoke of ‘ Auld Reekie’s’ controversy would have blown away clean out of sight ; but the appearance of his third letter in the

* *Christian News*, No. 543, p. 130.

† *Ibid.*

Commonwealth of Saturday last, would indicate that the man is scribbling mad. Even allowing that all his dreams of the strength and perfection of the Scottish Temperance League were a reality, what right has he or any other man to refuse the services of others, whether individually or collectively, to assist in removing from amongst us the damning curse of strong drink? If the man was as much in earnest for the welfare of his country and species as he seems to be for the glorification of his own hobby-horse, he would hail the assistance of every philanthropist who would man a life-boat to try and save those who are perishing amidst the wreck caused by our drinking customs, heeding not what name might be painted on her stern, whether S. T. L. or U. K. A. Yea, even if the Grand Turk was to send a deputation from Constantinople to teach us the abstinence principles of the religion of the Prophet, we should be proud to hail them as friends of the human race. Does 'Auld Reekie' for one moment dream that this question will be carried by the S. T. L. as *now* constituted, or by pledged abstainers *alone*? He will require the united assistance of every class of politicians, and of societies of every kind already formed, or yet to be formed.*

Another correspondent says :—

“ Had I looked upon ‘ Auld Reekie’s’ wonderful effusion in the *Commonwealth* as simply an expression of the writer’s own personal views and feelings, I would have left the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance, to whom the letter is addressed, to deal with it themselves, and to measure out to the writer the correction which the vanity, presumption, and insolence running through the whole epistle richly deserve; but, sir, presuming that ‘ the writer is a devoted friend of the S. T. League,’ and one who is deep in its councils, as well as taking an active interest in its promotion, I

* *Christian News*, No. 547, p. 222.

look upon the letter as full of significance to the members of the League, and to those among them, especially, who look for the ultimate triumph of the Temperance cause in the complete overthrow and utter extinction of the legalised manufacture and traffic in intoxicating liquors for drinking purposes.

“The position of the Scottish Temperance League, with respect to the legislative suppression or Maine Law movement, has never been satisfactorily clear; and many of its adherents have been in doubt whether they were really in favour of, or opposed to, this measure. It seems they have had ways of managing both parties,—that is, simply League men and Maine Law men. If a legislative-suppression man desired to see the League come out for the Maine Law, he was pointed to some sentence in the *Scottish Review* or the *Abstainer's Journal*, or some speech of the Rev. Mr Arnot at a League meeting, and shown that the League *was* coming out for the Maine Law! If a moral-suasionist wished to know what the League thought about the Alliance movement, he was told that it was friendly enough towards it, but they considered it best to confine their operations to the Total Abstinence movement; for if they could get the people to shut their mouths and their pockets, it would not be long before the publicans shut their shops. But, as in all such cases where no fixed principles are held, professions and explanations have been immediately nullified by opposite sentiments and expressions. I believe that this truckling system must shortly come to an end, and that the League must make known, unmistakeably, what they intend to do in this question. For my own part, circumstances have of late convinced me, and the letter of ‘Auld Reekie’ as much as anything, that the true interests of the Temperance cause are becoming, in a great measure, lost sight of, for the glorification of the League as a model organization. What are the speeches of the deputations to various parts of the country, but a reiteration of the

untiring zeal of the Directors, the extent of their publishing operations, their millions of pages of letter-press, and their twelve or fifteen tons of Temperance literature? It has appeared to me that the League wishes to have the exclusive right, as well as the exclusive honour, of conducting the Temperance enterprise in Scotland; and that any one who cannot produce his authority from the Scottish Temperance League, will be considered as trespassing on forbidden ground, and set down as an intruder and an intermeddler in other men's matters."*

Colonel Shaw, so well known as a true, practical, and scrupulously consistent Temperance reformer, was also to be found in the fray, giving utterance to the following telling truths, which can scarcely fail to awaken feelings of remorse in the minds of the League Directors, in view of the suicidal course pursued at the period referred to by the colonel:—

"In compliance with a feeling very generally entertained by men of all religious sentiment—both state-connected and voluntary—a petition was handed to the Executive of the S. T. L., earnestly calling for a meeting for the consideration of the legislative bearings of the Temperance question. How were the requisitionists treated? They were treated, as I never allow any men to treat me a second time. Britons possess the birth-right of discussion; but those parties were, *pro tanto*, denied any such right in their position of Temperance leaguers; and they submitted to a dictation which (they *having* submitted to it), was not likely to grow wiser by time.

"Had the requisitionists referred to been treated as (in a free country) men come to the years of discretion usually *are* treated, there might, at this moment, have been a *branch* or a *committee*, in the Executive of the

* Christian News, No. 543, p. 190.

S. T. L. for the administration of the legislative interests concerned in the great Temperance question; and, as a mere matter of ordinary decency, there would in that case have been no association adorned with the words '*United Kingdom*.' But it is now too late to complain of what men's own crude, despotic, and intemperate notions have brought upon *themselves*.

"The *abolition* movement is unquestionably the great catholic movement in the matter of Temperance. There is the most inseparable relation between the volitional decision, which makes a man temperate, and a reflection of that volition in human law, for the temperance of a tribe or nation. This mighty sunbeam of social and legislative science, was obfuscated by the conventional reek which fumed around the Executive of the S. T. L., and they could not see it."*

The following, from West Calder, is the only other extract we shall give from the *Christian News*:—

"'Auld Reekie' appears to be ignorant of the cure of drunkenness, and destitute of a knowledge of the principles promulgated by Mr Mitchell. All true Temperance reformers are labouring and praying for the total suppression of the liquor traffic. Now, it can only be obtained by legislative enactment. There is a part of the community that mere moral suasion will never convince. So long as people are permitted to manufacture strong drink, others will be found so debased and degraded as to drink it; and, as a necessary consequence, drunkenness will follow. Until we are in possession of a prohibitory law, we shall never be able to wipe out the stain from our otherwise bright escutcheon, and drive the tyrant alcohol from that citadel in which he has from ancient times held undisputed possession; the voluntary abstinence of a few will never suppress the national vice. Mr Mitchell, although a Maine-Law man, by no means despises voluntary

* *Christian News*, No. 543, p. 190.

abstinence; on the contrary, it is one of the leading points of his advocacy; he is one who understands the Temperance reformation in all its phases; but he is well aware, that if we wait till the entire community is prepared to move for a prohibitory law, drunkenness will only be suppressed by the silence of the tomb." *

While the controversy was raging in the columns of the *Commonwealth* and *Christian News*, Mr W. B. Turnbull suggested to the members of the Edinburgh Board the desirability of establishing a journal for advocating the claims of Liquor Traffic Prohibition. The suggestion having been taken up and discussed, it was agreed to publish a monthly newspaper, to be called *The Abolitionist*, or *Maine Law Advocate*; and on the 27th of December 1856 the first number appeared, and contained a leader, from which we give the introductory paragraph:—

"In proceeding to notice 'Auld Reekie's' enlightenment manifesto to the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance, we require almost to bespeak the forbearance of our readers. That manifesto—or call it by what name you please—is such an undignified production, so utterly at variance with truth, that we must confess our astonishment that any journal, making any pretensions to respectability at all, should so far imperil its character as to give it currency. It is, without exception, one of the most extraordinary effusions we have ever read in connection with the Temperance enterprise; and really we are perfectly at a loss whether most to pity the extreme ignorance of its writer, or to reprobate and condemn the bad spirit which he manifests. In both respects it is strikingly peculiar; and in this opinion we are by no means singular. In addition to the published protests upon the subject, we have had access to some of the most valued friends of

* *Christian News*, No. 543, p. 190.

the writer, and the article is by them unreservedly condemned."*

"Auld Reekie" having, unfortunately, persevered in his attack upon the Alliance, through subsequent numbers of the *Commonwealth*, after the appearance of the leader in the *Abolitionist*, another article appeared in the next number, signed "Caustic," subjecting the accuser of the Alliance to one of the most merciless castigations which could possibly be inflicted. Notwithstanding the unprovoked attack which "Auld Reekie" had made upon the Alliance, and the manner in which he had assailed the character and wounded the feelings of its agent, there were few who read the letter of "Caustic" without feeling strongly disposed to censure and condemn the spirit in which it was written. This the writer himself appears afterwards to have felt, judging from the profession of penitence and contrition which he latterly evinced.

Meantime, Mr Shepherd was engaged in subjecting the letters of "Auld Reekie" to an analytical examination in the *Christian News*, under the signature of "Reekie, Junior." Having brought to bear upon his task all the powers of a superior and highly-educated mind, he speedily demolished the feeble claim which they had to public consideration. Not only did he upturn the premises which "Auld Reekie" had unwarrantably assumed as the basis of his lucubrations, but he demonstrated his logic to be lame and impotent,—his statements to be grossly exaggerated, and utterly at variance with fact,—his plagiarisms to be flagrant and profuse,—and his "absolute knowledge of things" to be a pure delusion, the result of uncon-

* *Abolitionist*, No. 1. p. 4.

scious but lamentable ignorance, which alone could account for the publication of those letters, so profusely interspersed with personalities, and abounding in vain and egotistical reminiscences, with which they were fulsomely replete.

"Auld Reekie" having, in his letters, grossly misrepresented and violently attacked the Edinburgh Board, and at the same time having denied the existence, to any considerable extent, of Maine Law men in Scotland, the following appeared in the *Christian News*:—

"One who signs himself 'A Member of the Edinburgh Board,' amongst other things, says, 'Auld Reekie' is not so deep in the councils of the S. T. League as we anticipate, if he is not cognisant of the fact, that the number of *practical* Maine Law men in Scotland are so numerous as to threaten the existence of that institution, if it continues to hold out in opposition to these progressive sentiments. Is 'Auld Reekie' not aware of the fact, that letters from all parts of the country continue to wing their way into the office of the League, giving practical evidence of the truth he denies? Is he not aware that, in virtue of this very fact, the agents of the League, who in other circumstances might be useful, are, with crushed spirits, called upon, night after night, to address audiences scarcely numbering 'a small score;' and that in many places the Temperance friends are so convinced of the inefficiency of these lectures, as to write, requesting that they be not sent into the districts, even after their appointments have been published?" *

These remarks called forth from Mr Marr, the Secretary of the League, a letter, wheréin he stated:—

"It has all along been my uniform practice never

* *Christian News*, No. 545, p. 206.

to reply to anonymous statements against the League; but I am always ready to afford all needful information to parties who may call at the office, inquire by letter, or who append their names to a newspaper communication. And here permit me to say, that I regard the system of correspondence under a mask as a most unfair method of criticism, since thereby assertions, which otherwise would be seen to be possessed of little value, assume a temporary though false importance. On the present occasion, I would not have departed from my ordinary rule, were it not that this continued silence has apparently encouraged some individuals to hazard still stronger misrepresentations of the League, and has induced others to give a too easy credit to their statements.

“In your issue of Saturday last, I have observed a letter from a correspondent, styling himself ‘A Member of the Edinburgh Board,’—in reply to certain assertions made by ‘Auld Reekie.’ Now, at the outset, I beg it to be distinctly understood, that the League Directors neither originated, sanctioned, nor had any connection with ‘Auld Reekie’s’ communications. Between the two parties, in short, there was no collusion. In the letter referred to, I regret to observe certain statements regarding the League,—false in themselves, and extremely apt to mislead,—my firm, unequivocal, and official denial of which I will take it kind if you will insert in your first publication.

“The writer says :—‘Is ‘Auld Reekie’ not aware of the fact, that letters from all parts of the country continue to wing their way into the office of the League, giving practical evidence of the truth of the statement he denies?’ viz. :—‘That the number of *practical* Maine Law men in Scotland are so numerous as to threaten the existence of that institution, if it continues to hold out in opposition to these progressive sentiments.’ In reply to this, I have to state that, during the two years

and a-half in which I have held the position of Secretary to the League, and during which period I have been in the habit of receiving some sixty or seventy letters a-day, at an average, I never have received even *one* such letter as your correspondent indicates.”*

In the *Christian News* of the following week, a letter appeared, signed “H. Morris,” acknowledging himself the writer of the paragraph complained of by Mr Marr, and reiterating the statements which it contained; at the same time advancing no proof in its support, but asking Mr Marr if he could not remember of receiving such letters, as he “did not like to give the lie direct.”†

In the next number of the *Christian News*, Mr Marr again replied, characterising Mr Morris’s last letter as being “as abundant in falsehoods and wilful misrepresentations as his former one.” In referring to Mr Morris’s question, he said :—

“I sufficiently answered this query in my last; but allow me again to repeat most emphatically, that, during the two years and a-half in which I have acted as Secretary to the League, I have never received one such letter as H. Morris refers to. Such is the fact, whether your correspondent credits it or not. In conclusion, permit me to say that I must decline further controversy with such an individual as your correspondent, who thinks nothing, apparently, of recklessly uttering *what* he must know to be false statements, and who has *not* the candour to withdraw his assertions, when convicted of untruthfulness.”‡

Mr Morris again replied, stating that there was left for him “only one of two alternatives, either to submit to be branded as the worst of all characters, or to give the lie direct to Mr Marr,” which he felt most unwill-

* *Christian News*, No. 546, p. 214.

† *Ib.* No. 547, p. 222.

‡ *Ib.* No. 548, p. 230.

ing to do ; at the same time intimating, that if he would call at his house in Edinburgh, he would “ show him the letters, dated from the League office, and signed by his own hand.”*

Mr Marr again replied in a lengthened letter, occupying an entire column of the *Christian News*, again reiterating his statements; and, in a postscript, intimated that he had “ authorised a friend to call, and get copies of the letters from Mr Morris, but which he *absolutely refused to give*.”† Here the editor interfered, and stated that he felt his columns had been “ unworthily occupied by Mr Morris, and that now the matter must end.” Mr Morris being then placed under editorial censure, must either stand convicted before the public, or produce the authority upon which he had dared to occupy the position which he had done for several weeks. Hence we find that he forthwith forwarded the following letter, in the original manuscript, to the Editor of the *Christian News*, from which extracts were published in the advertising columns of the following week, and to which Mr Marr made no reply :—

“ Scottish Temperance League

“ Office, 108 Hope Street, Glasgow, 16th Jan. 1857.

“ Dear Sir,—I have just seen the letters that you have sent to this office, as to Mr Beattie’s offered visit to your Society; and taking these in connexion with your letters as to Mr Reid’s proposed visit, I understand that your committee are dissatisfied with the League’s agents, and that you do not intend to accept their services should we offer them. In such circumstances we have no desire to offer the agent’s services to be rejected, thus wasting the League’s funds. I will, therefore, feel obliged by your consulting the

* *Christian News*, No. 549, p. 236.

† *Ib.* No. 550, p. 246.

Committee of your Society, and inform me if they wish the agents' services when in your district. The agents' services are in such demand by the other Societies, that each evening is valuable. Yours faithfully,

"JOHN S. MARR, Secretary.

"Mr W. Bruce, Inverury."

Thus ended the Marr and Morris controversy, which created considerable interest at the time, and which we dismiss without further remark.

CHAPTER XIV.

Alliance Deputation in Scotland—Reception of the Deputation—The League Directors pronounce against the Dram-shop, and in favour of Licensed Hotels—Reflections upon the Circular of the League Directors—Opposition to the Alliance Deputation in Edinburgh—Alliance Deputation in the Music Hall—Defence of the Alliance, and Welcome to the Deputation, by the Rev. William Reid—Professors Dick and Laycock among the Abstainers—Professor Laycock upon Total Abstinence and the Maine Law—Refutation of Professor Laycock's fallacies by Dr Lees.

WHILE the controversy which had been raised by the singular indiscretion of "Auld Reekie" was still raging, the Executive of the United Kingdom Alliance, in accordance with previous announcement, dispatched a deputation to visit several of the large centres of population in Scotland, to advocate the claims of the Prohibition movement. The deputation, which consisted of the Honorary Secretary, Mr Pope, Judge Marshall, and Dr Lees, met with a most cordial reception; and resolutions approving of the Alliance, its principles and policy, were passed in each of the towns visited. There were two circumstances which conspired to make the visit of the deputation at this time most gratifying and encouraging to the true friends of Temperance reform in Scotland. In addition to the pleasure which was felt at these noble champions of progress coming to challenge the accusers of their principles, and the institution which they represented, to come before a public audience, and state the ground upon which they had dared to characterise their mission as a hostile in-

vasion, they came also at a time when, in the opinion of many of the members of the Scottish Temperance League, its Directors had compromised their principles, by issuing a manifesto, which threw a shield of protection around a certain, and by far the most dangerous, branch of the Liquor Traffic. About the period to which we refer, the League Directors issued that unfortunate circular, in which they pronounced the "*Dram-shop* system so utterly and irremediably bad, as to call for measures for its entire suppression;" but at the same time openly affirming, that those public-houses generally characterised by moderate-drinkers as respectable, and dignified with the name of licensed hotels, had "*claims for continuance.*"* While all rejoiced in the statement anent the dram-shop branch of the traffic, as being "utterly and irremediably bad," the great proportion of intelligent abstainers were grieved and indignant that the Directorate of the League should officially pronounce in favour of the traffic as having "claims for continuance," providing, only, that it was carried on under the roof of a gorgeous and magnificent establishment, styled a "hotel." In our opinion, the facilities and temptations to drink and drunkenness, held out by such places, are immeasurably more powerful than in the "dram-shop." Apart from the drink itself, there is little in the "dram-shop" that is not calculated to repel and disgust; while in the "hotel" there is all that wealth, influence, and "respectability" can command, to attract; and through the combined powers of which, thousands of the youth and educated of Britain's population are being annually debauched and ruined—stript of their character, their position,

* Weekly Journal, No. 1. p. 2.

and their all, and vomited forth upon society to fill up the places of the frequenters of the "dram-shop," who, with frames emaciated by disease, and spirits blighted as with the flames of Tophet, are with tottering step ever stumbling into that grave over which the anathema of Heaven has been irrevocably pronounced.

So soon as it was publicly announced that the Deputation would visit Edinburgh, and meet the *inhabitants* in the Music Hall, opposition quite unexpected presented itself. "Auld Reekie's" letters not only having proved "a failure," but his influence as a Temperance reformer having seriously suffered, and being almost the only teetotaler in the city opposed to the Alliance, it was expected that he would not bestir himself to harass and obstruct those interested in getting up the meeting for the Deputation. In this, however, the friends of the Alliance were disappointed. Holding, with a power almost absolute, the reins of government of the Abstinence Society, what he could not do as an individual there was some chance of him accomplishing in his official capacity, providing he could command the resources of that public institution. At this period the Edinburgh Society was a powerful and popular organisation; and he who could command its resources of men and means, was in a position to make his influence felt. But how was this support to be obtained; more particularly in prosecuting a war of persecution against an organisation nobly fighting for the suppression of that traffic which formed the greatest obstruction with which the Society had to contend, not only in creating drunkards, but in obstructing its progress at every step? However desirable it might be to array in hostility the Committee of the Society against

the Alliance Deputation, it could not be done without a grievance, real or alleged. An excuse must, therefore, be trumped up; and the circumstance that the placards of the Alliance announced that their meeting would be held on the night of Tuesday the 20th of January, which chanced to be the same evening on which the Society held its weekly meeting, furnished the desired pretext. And a most admirable one it was for exciting sympathy in behalf of the Society, which, it was basely asserted, "the Alliance sought to crush;" while it afforded a most plausible reason for opposing the Alliance Deputation. The Committee were operated upon, the more far-seeing were talked over, and the public informed that "those who had the getting up of the meeting wished to *prohibit* the Abstainers from holding their usual weekly meeting : in short, wished to shut it up, and so they held their meeting on the same evening."* Such a plausible excuse being urged, the majority of the Committee fell in with an arrangement, whereby the funds of the Society were shamefully squandered in putting forth a stupendous effort to destroy the prospects of the Deputation, and, by a counter-attraction of mirth and song, to keep back from the Alliance meeting all over whom they could possibly exert a sufficient amount of influence. The affair was styled a "Musical Evening;" and numerous professional singers were engaged, who, in conjunction with several other attractions, were to devote the evening to the amusement and *instruction* of the public, who, by newspaper advertisements, bills distributed in their dwellings, and public placards, were earnestly invited to attend. So intensely anxious did the Com-

* Commonwealth, No. 174, p. 6.

mittee appear that their house should be filled, or rather that the Music Hall should be empty, that they adopted the novel expedient of procuring a huge lantern, which, having fixed upon a pole, they paraded through the streets after sunset, reminding the public of the "Musical Evening," to which all were invited,—“ADMISSION FREE.”

To such an extent was the “opposition dodge” practised, that letters were sent to Manchester, charging the agent of the Alliance with having engaged the Hall upon the Tuesday evening, with the express design of injuring the weekly meeting of the Edinburgh Society. The Alliance Executive, notwithstanding all the experimental teaching they had received, had not then fully appreciated the real merits of that *shifting* policy which has so unfortunately been the characteristic of certain Temperance men in Scotland. Anxious to arrive at the truth of the allegations, they instructed their representative, Dr Lees, while in Edinburgh, to institute an official inquiry into the matter. This resulted in the publication of the following letter, which fell, with damaging effect, among the propagators of an unfounded calumny :—

“I waited upon the conservator of the Music Hall, Edinburgh, who told me distinctly, that when Mr Mitchell applied for the Hall for the Alliance Meeting on the Monday night, it was engaged; and he, therefore, had no alternative but to take it for the Tuesday; so that the alleged wilful opposition to any other meeting is pure assumption, and shows how personal feeling will sometimes get the better of one’s judgment.

“F. R. LEES.”*

* Alliance Weekly News, Feb. 14, 1857.

Notwithstanding the expensive opposition of the Society's Committee, the Music Hall was respectably filled by a large and enthusiastic audience; and the speeches and visit of the Deputation were fully appreciated and gratefully acknowledged. John Hope, Esq., so well known for his ceaseless devotion and gigantic efforts in the cause of religion and philanthropy, occupied the chair, supported on each side by the Rev. William Robertson and the Rev. William Reid. It was upon this occasion that the Rev. William Reid delivered his memorable address upon the inefficiency of "Teetotalism," nobly defending the Alliance from the charge of being destitute of influence and "in rags;" and giving a hearty welcome to the Deputation, denounced as "invaders" of Scotland. During his address, Mr Reid said—

"This night week I was present at a meeting in Manchester. I went this distance at the request of our friends on the platform; and such a meeting I never beheld, and may never witness again: and I think I have seen the greatest meetings held in this country in connection with the Temperance movement. I never witnessed anything to compare to it, as regards numbers, or enthusiasm, or respectability. The Manchester Free-trade Hall—which I think is the most magnificent public hall in the world, and I am sure within Great Britain—a hall capable of containing five or six thousand persons—was crowded to the door, and thousands beyond the door; so that, as the Irishman said, if they had all come in, the place would not have held them. The working men of Manchester, who have a right to complain if anybody's interests are being invaded, were there not in the spirit of jealous hostility, but they were there in the spirit of calm inquiry—nay, in the spirit of sympathy and hearty approbation. I would,

sir, that we could transfer to Scotland the enthusiasm of Manchester on this question. I trust the presence of our distinguished friends with us will have the effect of putting us on the right track. It is a mistake to look on the Maine Law movement as an opposition to the Abstinence movement—they are but different parts of one whole. You may labour till the millenium comes, merely preaching Teetotalism, and you will not have accomplished your object. Now, I do not look on the one as standing over against the other; and, were I to make a speech, I shall state what I would have spoken upon. I would prove the propriety of the object of the Maine Law, in seeking to effect the complete suppression of intemperance; but I hope the Temperance organisations of Scotland will take up this question heart and soul, and give it all their support, which I am certain one day it will receive at the heart of every right-thinking man in this country. I am delighted to see Judge Marshall—a gentleman who has spent more time and expended more money than any other man living in the advancement of this movement—that man who has crossed the sea once and again in order that he might give us his encouragement. He is here in his green old age, throwing that freshness which is peculiarly his own into this great and good movement; and I rejoice to see our friend Dr Lees, and our noble and hearty leader Mr Pope, and I hope he will be spared long enough to see the great object that we are aiming to secure obtained.”^a

A powerful effect was produced by the speeches of the Deputation, and the cordial welcome they had received from Mr Reid. A strong feeling in behalf of the Alliance and its principles was the result; and many good Abstainers, who had cherished feelings of hostility towards the Alliance, because of the misre-

^a Abolitionist, No. 2, p. 3.

presentations of certain members of the Society's Committee, hesitated not honestly to state, that they had hitherto been misled. Altogether, the impression produced by the meeting, and the publication of the letter of Dr Lees, was such, that a strong tide of reaction set in against the Society's Committee, as is invariably the case, whenever an upright policy is abandoned and recourse is had to misrepresentation and detraction.

In order to avert the unpleasant consequences, and, if possible, to obstruct the impetus given to the Maine Law agitation, it appeared necessary that some giant intellect be employed to grapple with the facts, arguments, and illustrations of the Alliance advocates. But where was one with the ability and experience competent to the task to be found, seeing that "Auld Reekie," with all his "absolute knowledge of things," had failed in a similar and less difficult attempt? While in this difficulty, it was discovered that a certain Medical Professor, of great literary ability, had lately come to the city, who felt and expressed himself strongly against all legal interference with the liquor traffic. So strongly, indeed, did he feel upon this question, that it was rumoured by some that he was in course of preparing a series of lectures upon the subject, to be delivered under the auspices of the Licensed Victuallers', or some similar Association. Incredible as it may appear, it was seriously proposed in the Committee of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, that he be requested to deliver his lectures under the auspices of that institution,—a proposal which, had it been made in the days when William M'Lean and John Aitken sat as members of that Committee, we hesitate not to say, the individual who

would have dared to suggest it would have been summarily ejected, and branded as a traitor to that cause and to those principles, to the diffusion and defence of which they had so nobly consecrated their lives. Monstrous as was the proposal, flagrant as was the compromise of principle involved, and notorious as was the inconsistency of those by whom it was sustained, a deputation was appointed to wait upon the learned gentleman, and request him to deliver his lectures, under the auspices, and *at the expense*, of that Society, whose object, in its Third Annual Report, is declared to be, "to *exterminate* and put a stop to the *causes* of drunkenness." Immediately thereafter, a syllabus of the lectures was published, when it became unmistakeably evident that the whole influence and talent of Professor Laycock, of the Edinburgh University, was to be directed against the Maine Law, and the speeches of the Alliance Deputation in its behalf.

On the evening of Monday the 26th of January 1857, the first of the lectures was delivered in Queen Street Hall. Adam Black, Esq., M.P., occupied the chair, supported on the right by Professor Dick and Mr Knox (President of the Society), and on the left by several members of the Society's Committee. Mr Black, in his opening address, intimated that he was no teetotaler, and, in a few remarks, eulogized the benefits of moderate-drinking. He referred to his advanced age, and the excellent health he generally enjoyed, as an illustration of its beneficial influence. The lecturer graphically described the evils of drunkenness, which he condemned and denounced as a debasing vice; while he assailed the entire Temper-

ance movement as a fundamental error; and based upon a total misconception of the moral and physical constitution of man.

On the evening of the Thursday following, the learned Professor delivered his second lecture in the same place. Duncan M'Laren, Esq., Newington House, occupied the chair, and briefly introduced the lecturer. The lecture, which was pretty fully reported in most of the papers, consisted chiefly of an attack on the principles of Temperance reformers, more particularly of those who are advocates of Prohibitory or Maine Law principles, declaring that he who joined their movement bowed his neck to the yoke of the tyrant; and that while the pledge was moral coercion, and productive of fear and fraud, this was physical coercion of the worst kind, and, as the result of a fixed law, would flood this country with perjury and every species of crime, converting the police and detectives into living personations of fraud and deception. Forbes Mackenzie's Act had proved this, in our own city, to a great extent; and if it were extended to the whole week, its results would be appalling. The advocates of the Maine Law ridiculed the idea of moral means checking intemperance. I quote their own words, said the lecturer, and quoting from *The Abolitionist*, the organ of the Edinburgh Board, he read, "Nothing but the powerful arm of law could tear up by the roots the upas-tree of drunkenness, and lay it prostrate in the dust." A Maine Law has been tried in the United States, but its promoters were right glad to get rid of it. He was glad there was no hope for a Maine Law in Britain, (hisses and confusion, which only could be suppressed by the interference of the chairman.) Here again the lecturer reiterated

his statement, amid renewed hisses and increased confusion. The enactment of such a law in Britain would be an ominous warning to every lover of liberty, and would give striking evidence of his country declining. America was, on all sides, giving evidence that it was on the verge of a fearful catastrophe. Drunkenness could only be suppressed by the punishment of drunkards, sanitary reform, ministerial instruction, physiological education, daily railway excursions, and dramatic representations, &c. It would be observed, that he confined himself exclusively to moral means : all else was coercion and tyranny. After the lecturer had concluded, the Chairman rose and vindicated the Edinburgh police ; and, in a few well-timed hints, advocated legislative measures, and deemed it an act of justice to the Edinburgh Board, or, as he has called it, the Maine Law Committee, to say that they were in no way responsible for bringing the Professor forward on the present occasion. The Professor rose, amid great interruption, to reply, and, in an indignant tone, said he had been misrepresented ; that he was not here on his own account, but at the *special request* of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society's Committee. The Rev. Mr Wallace here came forward, with the view of allaying the commotion ; when Mr James Grant, one of the founders of the Edinburgh Abstinence Society, rose and protested against the sentiments of the lecturer. At this stage of the proceedings, the Professor, apparently much mortified, retired from the platform, and left the hall ; after which a gentleman upon the platform also rose, and strongly expressed his disapprobation of the sentiments delivered by the lecturer. Thus terminated the uproarious proceedings of a meeting by no means creditable to the

lecturer, and which tended greatly to aggravate the difficulties and disasters which the Society's Committee had brought upon themselves.

A correspondent of the *Christian News*, on reviewing the lecture which he heard, and after enumerating the sacrifices which eminent men have made for the support and extension of the Abstinence cause, says, "When I heard their past efforts ignored and depreciated as a great mistake, and saw Professor Dick chuckling at his temporary triumph, I felt that the living were insulted, and the memory of the dead dishonoured. Surely the Committee of this Society will now discover the consequences to which a sacrifice of principle and a catering for popularity necessarily leads; and I trust that they will henceforth abandon the outrageous policy of inviting the representatives of moderate-drinkers to advocate the claims of Abstinence."

No sooner had the tidings of this unexpected assault reached head-quarters in Manchester, than the Executive of the Alliance proceeded at once to make arrangements to have the Professor's sentiments cast into the crucible, and tested by the searching logic of Dr Lees. No sooner were their intentions announced, than the slumbering enemy again sprung into life, and, by preventing the announcement of Dr Lees' lecture at the Total Abstinence Society's meeting, and by other means equally discreditable, exerted an influence against the public refutation of Professor Laycock's fallacies: a course of conduct altogether unaccountable when practised by those who occupied the position of leaders in the Temperance movement.

To show in how many various ways this spiteful feeling was manifested, we may here observe that, Bailie

Blackadder called at the office of the Board, and expressed his unwillingness to preside at the meeting, on the ground that he had been told that Dr Lees was the lecturer of an English Society, which had invaded Scotland on a mission hostile to the Edinburgh Society and the Scottish League; and that the Edinburgh Board was a mere illusion, and not an organisation, as the public were taught to believe. Having frankly given the name of his informant, the Secretary then handed him the minute-book of the Board, which he perused with attention and seeming interest. When he there found a regular record of the entire proceedings of the Board, from the time of its formation up till the period in question, with the names of the office-bearers, directors, and officials, he appeared much surprised; and having expressed his sympathy with the Board in the treatment to which they were subjected, he assured them of his hearty co-operation and support. To such an extent was the feeling of persecution against the Board persisted in, that through a *professed friend*, Dr Lees was so far influenced as, in the most uncalled-for manner, to disclaim all connection with the Board, before entering upon his lecture. Still, notwithstanding the extreme assiduity of the enemy, opposition failed and truth triumphed. Long before the hour of meeting, Queen Street Hall was crowded by a most influential audience, and presided over by that warm friend of every good movement, Bailie Blackadder, who was surrounded by a platform crowded by the leading practical Temperance reformers in the city: among whom were George Johnston, Esq., Ex-President of the Edinburgh T. A. Society; Arthur Trevelyan, Esq., of Tyneholm; Dr Matthews, York; T. Edgar, Esq., North-

ampton; John Dunlop, Esq.; E. Huie, Esq.; John Hope, Esq., W.S.; Dr Keats; Ex-Bailie Gray; Revs. T. T. Wilson, & J. Boyle; Messrs Turnbull, Lewis, Forsyth, Macdougall, Miller, Mackay, Shepherd, Cossar, Hendrie, and Morris, Directors of the Edinburgh Board; Messrs Scott, Butler, Grierson, Gulland, M'Intyre, Clazy, Martin, Ramsay, Mackay, Robertson, Brown, Hamilton, Shiels, Fairgrieve, Moir, Cuthbertson, C. Hill, W.S., Hamilton, Wormald, Begrie, Mitchell, and many others, all anxious to testify against the gross outrage which had been perpetrated upon the principles of Abstinence, under the shadow and sanction of official authority.

After the delivery of the lecture, which was one of the most brilliant and logical disquisitions upon the Temperance question, and its relation to political economy, that has perhaps ever been delivered, Mr John Hope proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be given to Dr Lees, for his able and talented refutation, wherein he had so thoroughly upset the arguments of the opponents of the great national movement which they had met to defend. The resolution having been put to the meeting, and unanimously agreed to, the chairman conveyed the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, which he duly acknowledged, expressing his willingness to spend and be spent in the cause, because he believed it to be the cause of God, and would prevail.

Mr Andrew Hamilton then proposed a vote of thanks to Bailie Blackadder, for his kindness in presiding on the occasion. He said it was the more deserved from the fact, that a vast amount of influence, from a quarter least expected, had been brought to bear upon him, with the view of preventing him from doing so. The

motion having been most enthusiastically responded to, Bailie Blackadder thanked them for their kindness, and stated that he had felt great pleasure in presiding on the occasion. The influence to which reference had been made had no effect upon his mind, and he rejoiced to aid in any way an object so good. The meeting then ended, giving three cheers for the Maine Law.*

CHAPTER XV.

Effects of Professor Laycock's Lectures upon the Temperance Movement—

Dr M'Culloch in Edinburgh—Right of Public Meeting violated in Queen Street Hall—Public Riots in the City—Interposition of the Authorities—Professor Laycock's Address to the Rioters—Speech of Bailie Clark upon the Conviction of one of the Ringleaders—Public Intimation from the Secretary of the Abstinence Society—Resolution of the Edinburgh Board—Resignation of the Secretary of the Abstinence Society—Correspondence of the Board with the Lord Provost—Deputation to the Magistrates—Conference with the Magistrates and Superintendent of Police—Results of the Conference—Re-appearance of Dr M'Culloch—Triumphant Vindication of the Temperance Movement, and Defeat of the Opposition.

WHILE the masterly refutation of Dr Lees had successfully overthrown the groundless allegations, and torn to shreds the flimsy drapery which disguised the specious sophistry of Professor Laycock, in so far as the legislative or political aspect of the question was concerned, there was a general feeling expressed that his erroneous sentiments upon the physiological aspect should be disposed of in a similar manner. The Edinburgh Board having had brought under their notice the serious damage which the Temperance cause had sustained in consequence of the antagonistic lectures of the

* Christian News, No. 550, p. 246.

Professor, resolved upon an attempt to secure the services of Dr James Murray M'Culloch, of Dumfries, to supply the desideratum. Having put themselves in communication with that gentleman, he, at considerable personal sacrifice and inconvenience, complied with their urgent request. So soon as it became public, that a gentleman so extensively known, and recognised as among the most able, uncompromising, and indomitable champions of which the Temperance reformation could boast, would still further reply to Professor Laycock, a feeling of grateful interest was evinced among the true friends of Temperance reform. There were, however, those identified with the movement in whom this announcement awakened feelings of terror and alarm, which prompted to schemes of resistance and tumult. On the morning of the day on which the meeting was announced to be held, a circular, issued by some party unknown, was disseminated through the class-rooms of the University, instigating a rising among the students, and urging, as a plea, that Professor Laycock had been insulted in the placard announcing Dr M'Culloch's lecture, which was headed "Laycock Dissected." The medical students, recognising in Dr M'Culloch a most formidable opponent to their Professor, and many of them sympathising with the views he had enunciated in his lectures, were thus instigated to put forth means with a view to suppress the anticipated lecture. But this could only be done by the perpetration of a gross outrage upon society; and upon what conceivable ground could such an outrage be excused? The "insult dodge" had been suggested; and the publicans and a small knot of *moral suasionists* having joined in popularising the suggestion,

trumped it up into the importance of a valid excuse for a breach of the peace. The excuse no longer awaiting, the students resolved upon an attempt to prevent the right of public meeting. Inflammatory placards were accordingly issued, calling upon the students to muster in Queen Street Hall, and vindicate their liberal-minded Professor from the indignity to which he had been subjected.

"Long before the hour of meeting," says the *Abolitionist*, "the hall was literally crammed with a most uproarious assemblage, three-fourths of whom appeared to be students, who had taken forcible possession of the Hall. No sooner had they taken possession, than they commenced a storm of fearful uproar, which, on the appearance of Dr M'Culloch and his friends, became a perfect hurricane, baffling all description; and, according to the *Caledonian Mercury*, the scene was such as had no parallel in the memory of the 'oldest inhabitant.' The chairman, Mr Hope, not being able to obtain a hearing, Mr Edwards, demonstrator of anatomy, came to the platform, to endeavour to restore order. He was received with cheers and shouts of applause; and, after various unsuccessful attempts to be heard, said—'Gentlemen, I am ashamed to be obliged to come here. (Cheers and hisses.) I have as great a regard for the dignity of the University as any one of you, and a great deal more. (Hisses and uproar.) I am sure that all gentlemen here will not only give our chairman—(cries, 'He is not our chairman; put Mr Knox in the chair.') Gentlemen, give Dr M'Culloch that fair hearing which is his due.' (Cries of 'No, no; never.') Mr Edwards made several further attempts to speak, and then gave it up in despair. The riotous proceedings were kept up by shouting and groaning, singing and hissing, varied occasionally with the ringing of a bell, while showers of pease and shot

fell like hail from the galleries, with repeated cries of 'Laycock for ever,' and calls for "Knox to the chair," while whisky bottles were being drained of their life-giving contents. The exultation of these 'highly-educated gentlemen,' at their triumphant and *dignified* vindication of their Professor, was extreme."*

The *Alliance Weekly News*, in referring to the riot in the Hall, says:—

"Their fruitless endeavour to instal Mr Knox, of the Total Abstinence Society, in the chair, appears to have been the only point in which their exertions failed of the dubious sort of success they aimed at,—a circumstance rather to be regretted, because depriving us of the pleasure of learning what the man after their own heart, and chairman of their choice, would have said under these particular circumstances.

"Before leaving the Hall, it is but justice to them to state, that they succeeded in seriously damaging the seats and walls, which, we presume, was indispensable to a proper vindication of their distinguished Professor. They then proceeded to the house of Dr Laycock, who, shortly before midnight, addressed them from one of his windows, and thanked them cordially for their sympathy and *support*."

"Next morning," says the *Edinburgh News*, "the public-house organ came out strongly in favour of the students, and seemed as much delighted as Professor Dick and Dr Renton, who stood in the Queen Street Hall lobby, rubbing their hands in ecstasy at the 'glorious fun' within—a fun which has resulted in extensive damage to the hall. The students, thanked by Dr Laycock, and encouraged by the public-house interest, resolved on a demonstration against the newspapers who had reported the proceedings, and a meeting was to be held in the College-square on Thursday evening at nine o'clock, to go through the dignified and intelli-

* Abolitionist, No. 3, p. 2.

gent ceremony of burning the obnoxious prints. The College gates were, however, shut ; but the students, not to be baffled, marched to the Calton Hill, lighted the pile of newspapers, and all awaiting to complete the scene was for them to have danced and shouted around it, instead of standing and giving forth less dignified sounds. They then tested the power of an orator leader, left the hill, and marched to the High Street, where they groaned against the *Witness* and *Express*, and cheered lustily for the *Scotsman*. The whole High Street was in commotion, and some of the more riotously inclined among the students were apprehended ; but their names were taken, and they were not detained. They, however, determined on calling another meeting in the College-square yesterday at three o'clock, where they were again harangued by Dr Laycock on the necessity of a more peaceable demeanour. But the lesson was either too late or little heeded, for volleys of stones were sent from inside the College gates in the middle of the day—one woman passing getting her face severely cut ; and last night the police and High Constables had to be called out to keep the peace.* From the Register House till south of the College gate, the streets had become unsafe and impassable, while the police and High Constables continued, among broken lamps and showers of stones, to charge the students, who had assumed and continued to maintain all the characteristics of a lawless and infuriated mob, till shortly before midnight, when they were overcome and dispersed.

“ On the following day at twelve o'clock, six of the rioters waited upon Mr Hope, at his residence in Moray Place. With the dignity of a gentleman they were received by Mr Hope, who evinced towards them that interest and sympathy which he has ever cherished towards the rising generation. Keeping in view the fact that the serious task of their education had yet to be completed, he honestly discharged his duty by letting

* Edinburgh News, No. 406, p. 4.

them know the true and humiliating position which they occupied. The students having previously sent Mr Hope a letter, in which the term 'obnoxious' was improperly applied, in referring to the placard announcing Dr M'Culloch's lecture, they asked him if he had drawn up that placard, Mr Hope stated that he could not enter upon a conference with them unless the insulting language in their letter was withdrawn. This the deputation declined to do, when Mr Hope stated, that while he could not recognise the letter, neither could he recognise the students as having any right to catechise him—they had no *locus standi* in the matter. He asked if the students were deputed by Dr Laycock, or if he were responsible for their doings? Some of the deputation at first stated that they had an indirect sanction from Professor Laycock; but the opinion of others, and finally of the whole deputation, seemed to be that they had no sanction from him. Mr Hope then stated, that if Dr Laycock felt himself aggrieved by the conduct of any person, the proper course to pursue was to appoint some one on his behalf to ask an explanation; and if the *Senatus Academicus* thought they were insulted, let them pursue a similar course; but the students had no *locus standi*, and he could not recognise them.

"At four o'clock the same deputation had an interview with the Lord Provost, in the Council Chambers. They explained to his Lordship their strong feeling respecting the insult which had been offered to the University and to Dr Laycock by the placard issued by the Maine Law Board; and that, while they regretted the disturbances which had taken place at Queen Street Hall, as well as subsequently, they thought they had a right to complain that the police had been employed to prevent students gaining admission to a public meeting in which an attack was to be made upon one of the professors of the University. They concluded by asking his Lordship's advice as to their future conduct.

"The Lord Provost expressed his deep regret and

vexation at the unseemly occurrences which had taken place. If the students felt themselves aggrieved by any publication or lecture, the press and the platform were equally open to them; and it was unworthy of their position to resort to uproarious proceedings, and the display of physical force."

Dr Laycock having arranged to address the rioters in the chemistry class-room, after the return of the deputation, found it crowded on making his appearance. He delivered the following address:—

"Gentlemen, I am not going to say much on the origin of this matter. I did not think it incompatible with my dignity to accept *an invitation thrust upon me by a body of men engaged in the suppression of drunkenness*. (Oh, oh.) I should not have done my duty if I had not boldly stated my convictions on so important a public question. (Cheers.) And I think there is a general opinion throughout Scotland that I did do my duty in the circumstances. (Deafening cheers.) I reviewed the means proposed for the suppression of drunkenness by philanthropists real and philanthropists sham; and when I came to such means as were in my opinion calculated to infringe the sacred liberties of the subject—means based on the principles of the Propaganda and the Holy Alliance—I did not shrink—(cheers)—I did not shrink from stating, in as simple and unprovoking terms as I could use, my strong opinions on the subject. (Applause repeatedly renewed.) Those opinions have turned out unpalatable—(cries of, 'Of course')—but for my own part, I have such a firm conviction as to the progress of truth, that I don't care though the whole Maine Liquor-law Alliance should rise up against me. ('Bravo,' and more cheers.) They brought Dr M'Culloch, who did not obtain a hearing; but would we have cared a button for anything that Dr M'Culloch had got to say on the subject? ('No,' and tumultuous cheering.) Dr M'Culloch would just have

brought up the same old bosh which has often before been spoken on this subject. (Immense applause.) Now, gentlemen, although it may not be altogether consistent with prudence for me to say it, I think you were wrong in making such a row as you did; you might have drawn it a little more mildly. (Cries of 'Hear, hear,' and 'No, no,' drowned in cheers.) If you had not drawn it quite so strong, and if you had just allowed the gentleman to say something—(renewed demonstrations)—I think it would have been better for us all, and it would have saved us a great deal of trouble—('Don't mention it,' and cheers.) *But, after all, I am glad it has happened*—('hurrah,')—for it's a most delightful thing to find that the sentiments of right and liberty live in the feelings and affections of students—(great applause)—and because it shows that you respect the honour and privileges of the University. (Clamorous cheers.) But that is the bright side of the shield. It really cannot be said that the proceedings of last night were altogether of a right character. (Cries of 'Oh, oh,' and cheers.) You must allow me to use my own judgment, and state my own opinions, on that point. (Hear, hear.) Allow me to say, that you must temper valour with discretion. It is too much to suppose that the students of the University of Edinburgh, if they were three times their present force, could hope to overcome the police. (Noises, objecting to this sentiment.) Gentlemen, what is it to come into contact with the police?—what would you get by it? (Cries of, 'We would give them a thrashing, that's all,' and roars of laughter.) You might get that in return; but I don't care much for that; for I am not one of those butter-fingered gentlemen who think there's nothing worse than a riot. (Enthusiastic cheering.) But I object to indulging in the proceedings of last night, because in doing so you would draw down discredit upon the University. ('No, no,' responded to by cries of 'Yes, yes,') At the very best, you would give a handle to

slanderers. (Hear, hear.) No; let us all use moral force, and by the blessing of God, as some of our friends would say—(a laugh)—we will accomplish our purpose. (The learned Professor then retired, amid the wild and prolonged cheering of the students, who stood up waving their hats, and vociferating until he disappeared.)

“Upon the peace of the city being restored, one of the rioters, a student, was placed at the bar, before Bailies Clark and Blackadder, charged with riotous and disorderly conduct, and inciting a large crowd to a breach of the peace. The prisoner having pled not guilty, evidence was accordingly led, when the agent for the prisoner urged, in defence, that the gentleman at the bar was a person of position; and, as a member of the University, was subject to academic censure for any fault which he might commit. In point of law, he submitted, that there were various circumstances in which a member of a crowd was not responsible for all his doings; and he contended that his client was not there willingly, nor engaged in carrying out the purposes of the mob. As to the charge of flourishing his stick, he was merely acting under the influence of that exuberance of spirits which every intoxicated person felt!

“Bailie Clark said—This case is one of importance: both as it relates to the accused, and in reference to the public. I cannot admit that this is a trifling case, by any means; nor do I admit that the position which this young gentleman holds in society is anything else than an aggravation of the crime. I lay it down as an admitted maxim, that the more a man knows, and the better he is educated, the greater is his crime when he commits it against society. In the cases which come before us here, the parties have not, in many instances, the advantage of the knowledge and instruction which you have had; and, therefore, if this Court were to

administer severe justice to the ignorant, while they allowed themselves to treat parties, having your advantages, with greater leniency, the interests of the public and of justice would suffer. You have been convicted here of conduct which you must feel was unworthy of a gentleman, and was calculated to stir up great evils in the city in which you live for the time. You went up and down at the head of a mob, flourishing a stick; and, if I know anything about inciting a mob, your case seems decidedly to have been of that character. Your position at the head of that mob showed you to be its head and inciter. You were art and part in the whole proceedings of the mob, and liable for all the consequences of their conduct. I have been distressed that, in the vicinity of that University in which you have been getting your education, and whose honour ought to be dear to every student, the marks of the disgraceful disturbance—broken windows and broken lamps—are to be seen. The Court, after considering your case, and after giving full weight to the suggestions urged in your defence, have come to the conclusion to impose a fine of £5, with the alternative of twenty days' imprisonment; and if the fine is not paid, and you go to jail, you must find security in other £5 for your good behaviour, or go to jail for twenty days more.”*

During the entire week of the riot, the public were duly being informed, through the press, by an “intimation,” signed “Richard Cameron,” Secretary of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, that the Committee had no connection with the late meeting in Queen Street Hall, and that the Chairman and the Edinburgh Board were alone responsible. Had Mr Cameron, the secretary, intimated that the Committee had “no connection” with the party who incited the

* Abolitionist, No. 3, p. 2.

students to violate the peace, the "intimation" would have been much more satisfactory to the public.

An effective official reply, signed by the Secretary of the Edinburgh Board, was given to Mr Cameron's "intimation" through the newspapers, while, at the same time, the Board deemed "it right to state, that, having seen several members of the Society's Committee, they were informed that the "intimation" was published *without the consent* of the Committee, who were as indignant at the *few* who published it as were the members of the Board; and that steps were being taken by members to have the matter investigated."* But the sudden and unexpected resignation of Mr Cameron rendered this unnecessary.

On the night of the first outbreak of the riot in Queen Street Hall, a special meeting of the Board was convened; and, after mature deliberation, the Directors resolved upon prompt and decisive action; and the constitutional right of public meeting having been placed in peril, an additional motive was supplied for steadfastness in their course of practical reform. Having again arranged for the re-appearance of Dr M'Culloch, they at once appointed a deputation to wait on the Chief Magistrate, with the view of securing such police arrangements as would prevent a second outbreak. The Lord Provost kindly received the deputation, and requested them to meet him and his brother magistrates in the City Chambers on the following day. No definite arrangements having been concluded, the directors of the Music Hall, through their agent, intimated to the Secretary, that, owing to the late riotous conduct of the students, the doors of the Music

* Abolitionist, No. 3, p. 2.

Hall would remain closed on the night of meeting. Seeing that the right of free discussion was involved in the controversy, the Board determined that no surmountable obstacle could present itself which they would not overcome, and at once took legal advice upon the course they ought to pursue in the circumstances. After further correspondence with the Chief Magistrate, which occupied several days of anxious uncertainty, another deputation was requested to meet the authorities on the day of meeting. At the hour appointed by the Lord Provost, the deputation was introduced to a full meeting of the Magistrates, the Superintendent of Police being also present. The deputation urged their claims for protection, and intimated, that, acting under the instructions of eminent counsel, they were resolved to persist in maintaining their constitutional right of public meeting; and should the proprietors of the Hall persist in keeping the doors closed against them, a civil action for damages would be the result. The deputation further urged their claims for protection, by stating, that, in addition to their right peacefully to discuss their principles, which they believed inseparably associated with the social welfare and national greatness of a free people, they felt called upon, as citizens, to vindicate the dignity of civic authority, and to protest against the municipal government of the metropolis passively succumbing to a lawless mob. The Magistrates, finding the deputation inexorable in their just demands for protection, latterly resolved to place the entire constabulary force of the city at their disposal, and to hold the military in readiness for any emergency that might arise. The deputation, after being furnished with an official docu-

ment, and guaranteeing all the protection the Magistrates could command, with instructions for the proprietors of the Hall to have it in readiness for the meeting, withdrew, to prosecute arrangements amid the abounding difficulties with which they were surrounded.

As the afternoon drew on, large groups of students clustering about the College and perambulating the streets, clearly indicated that a second outbreak was contemplated; while large bodies of police being marched over to the scene of anticipated action, testified that the extreme forbearance of the authorities had at length given way to the stern realities of avenging law, and predicted the consequences which must ensue if the rioters again assumed an attitude of defiance to the constituted powers. The police were stationed underneath and around the Hall, ready for immediate action whenever they might be called upon by the Superintendent, who, with the entire Magistracy, was present on the occasion. To the firmness displayed by the Magistrates, and the admirable arrangements of Superintendent Linton, is chiefly to be attributed the suppression of a second outbreak, which might have resulted in loss of life and additional damage to public property. The hard-working mechanics of Edinburgh realized their responsibility, and nobly rose to the importance of the occasion, taking early precautions to distribute themselves well throughout the Hall. This judicious arrangement compelled the large columns of students to break up and become divided as they entered the meeting, which tended greatly to disconcert their plans; and the circumstance that several of the more forward and refractory were

summarily dealt with upon the spot, exerted a depressing influence upon their courage, and thus weakened their power of exciting tumult and revolt.

When Dr M'Culloch came upon the platform, he was saluted with a storm of hisses from the students, which was instantly drowned amid the immense cheering of the friends of temperance, free discussion, and social order. The chair was again occupied by Mr John Hope, who during the struggle, from its commencement to its close, manifested an amount of attachment to principle, steadfast adherence to duty, Christian forbearance, and moral heroism, which was duly appreciated and acknowledged by all classes in the community.

The lecture of Dr M'Culloch was all that could be desired; and, while distinguished for its singular prudence and discretion, it so reversed the theories, upset the arguments, and laid bare the subtleties of Professor Laycock, that from that hour he ceased to be regarded as an authority, either upon the moral, physical, or political aspect of the Temperance question.

So important was the elaborate lecture of Dr M'Culloch considered, that it was fully reported, occupying nearly three columns in some of the leading metropolitan newspapers; although it is somewhat remarkable, it was not even referred to in the *Journal* of the Scottish Temperance League. While the Edinburgh Maine Law riots had excited an interest over the whole country, and attracted the attention of almost the entire press of the United Kingdom, from the *Times* down to the obscure halfpenny print, the most perfect silence was also maintained by the *Journal* upon the subject. So soon, however, as the commotion was

allayed, without even referring to the lectures of Drs Lees and M'Culloch, or the public disturbances which had taken place, it came out in a leader, characterizing it as "a brave act in the Total Abstinence Society of Edinburgh to ask a man, who they must have known disagreed with them," to propound his antagonistic views under their special patronage;—a sentiment which, with the exception of the *Scotsman*, found no sympathy among its numerous and diversified contemporaries.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Directors of the Scottish Temperance League and the "Dram-shop Movement"—Maine Law Sentiment in Scotland—Disastrous Policy of the League Directors—Letter from a Member of the League—The Advocates of Prohibition misrepresented by the *Weekly Journal*—Maine Law Demonstration in Linlithgow—Sentiments of the Edinburgh Board upon the Abstinence and Prohibition Movements—The Edinburgh Conversation—Strictures of the *Weekly Journal*—The Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League and Alliance Agent.

DURING the spring of 1857, the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League were most indefatigable in their efforts to impress upon the Total Abstinence Societies, and their members, the importance of prosecuting the "Dram-shop Movement." This, however, was a most difficult task. A strong Maine Law sentiment having been formed throughout the country by the exertions of the United Kingdom Alliance, the *Christian News*, and the Edinburgh Board, and the absurdities and fallacies of the "Dram-shop Movement" having, years ago, been discussed and condemned by the League in the editorial columns of the *Review*, a strong

and deep-rooted feeling had been created and confirmed against it. It is a matter alike of astonishment and regret that the Directors of the League did not apprehend, and calculate upon, the feeling of opposition which they had so certainly to encounter, and which, to a great extent, having been created by themselves, it was found more difficult to overcome. Whether they were ignorant that such a sentiment of hostility to the Dramshop movement existed, or whether they considered that years of official and institutional teaching would be neutralized by a direct reversal of official policy, we are not in a position to affirm. The more probable supposition is, that having so long been accustomed to mock at all attempts to form a prohibitory sentiment in Scotland, and to declaim against it as utopian and impracticable, they had cherished the delusive notion that all others were in the same state of ignorance and indifference as themselves. Finding the public mind pre-occupied with prohibitive sentiments, and in many cases disposed to smile at their attempts to rescusitate and popularize the restrictive delusion which, years ago, they had "tried in the balance and found wanting," it became apparent that the agitation must be abandoned, or means be employed to eject the sentiment in favour of prohibition from the public mind. There is, perhaps, no period in the history of the League, which more fully demonstrates the utter incapacity of the Directors to conduct the Temperance movement in Scotland than the one to which we refer. After having laboured for years to prevent the members from taking up the restrictive movement, and told them that the "diminution of licensed-houses does not form an article in the recognised creed of *genuine* total Abstainers,

and constitutes no accredited part of the Abstinence movement:"* having further told them, that "the reduction of licenses will be a difficult measure to attain, and will not greatly reduce the evil when attained:" and, still further, having urged, that "if the principle of licensing to sell intoxicating drink be right, it cannot be too extensive—if wrong, it ought not to be done at all:"† we are struck with surprise that they should ever have called upon their members to enter upon an agitation they had so guarded them against. How much more worthy their character as *leaders* in this great movement, had they taken their stand upon the ground that the principle of granting license to sell intoxicating drink was wrong, and then boldly and honestly entered their protest against the system, and urged an immediate agitation for its extinction! Instead of this, it must be to us a subject of everlasting regret, that they should have resolved upon the bold attempt to dislodge from the minds of Temperance reformers their sentiments in favour of total prohibition, in order that their acceptance and unconditional approval of a partial and ill-defined restriction might be secured. To this rash and injudicious step, pregnant with mischief and terrible disaster to the cause, is to be traced much of that perversion and torturing of the truth, which has shrouded the Temperance movement with an atmosphere of calumny and slander.

In order to secure something like general action upon the restrictive movement, which was being eulogised in almost every number of the *Journal*, its readers were informed that there was "one work to which the members of the Scottish Temperance League are in a man-

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. vi. p. 298 † *Ib.* vol. v. p. 174.

ner committed—the Suppression of the Dram-shop;” and they were called upon, “in town and country, to do something at once in the matter.”* And, as if to prevent them manifesting their Maine Law tendencies, by going too fast or too far, they were reminded, that “Hasten slowly, was a good proverb of the ancient Romans.”†

In order that it may be seen how this appeal was responded to, we will introduce a letter from one of the members of the League, which appeared in the columns of the *Weekly Journal* :—

“SIR,—I am not surprised that you should complain of the apathy of Temperance reformers on what may be called the dram-shop movement. It is not to be expected that parties will take action in any line without the object being clear and well-defined. Happily there are many decided and enthusiastic Abstainers, who feel themselves at a loss to distinguish a ‘dram-shop’ among the thousands of houses, licensed for the sale of intoxicating drinks. Whether they gaze on your own ‘Queen’s Hotel,’ or give a passing look at the ‘Road-side Inn’—whether they count the customers entering the ‘Trongate Whisky Palace,’ or buy grocery or drapery at an opposite counter in the shop which also accommodates the public with ‘whisky, porter, ale,’ &c., they are of opinion that they are only contemplating so many departments of the one great dram-institution, conducted under government authority for the demoralisation and destruction of the community. ‘The dram-shop’ proper, or the house conducted after the manner of the Trongate palace, is seldom to be found in towns and burghs of less than five thousand of a population. And hence, many localities privileged with a vigorous Abstinence society, are not aroused by the results of the particular department of the drunkard-

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 12, p. 1.

† *Ibid.* No. 5, p. 6.

manufacture on which the League, and its agents and organs, have been directing special attention, and demanding special effort. It was stated at a public meeting of the League held in Edinburgh, what is believed by many, that the shops where grocery and drapery are sold in connection with intoxicating drink, are, if possible, more ensnaring and ruinous than those establishments where the *drinks* can only be had. The latter disgust, where the former allure, entice, deceive us.

"Besides, the dram-shop movement, or any other departmental effort, can only be carried out by *drawing distinctions and instituting degrees, where all is declared bad—unqualifiedly bad, wherever the scene, and whoever the parties.* So far as I am enabled to understand the object on which you have frequently and warmly insisted, it is more suited to the action of parties in the localities affected, than to be taken up by a general community, a large proportion of whom must necessarily depend on pen-and-ink descriptions and appeals. Better still; I would have the League and all its agents and organs keep the understandings and the affections of their constituents singly and intently fixed upon the drinking-system as an unmixed evil, *in all its departments, and demanding a simultaneous, unqualified, and indefatigable opposition.*

"In craving a corner in your columns for these observations, I shall have no objection to hear what you or any of the friends of the League may have to say in reply.—Yours, &c.,

A COUNTRY LEAGUER.

"*March 30, 1857.*"

Another effort put forth to induce the members of the League to join in the Restrictive agitation, was to misrepresent the Maine Law and Alliance party as contending for "all or nothing;"† and as sowing "dissension among the members of Abstinence Socie-

* Weekly Journal, No. 14, p. 3.

† Ibid. No. 7, p. 1.

ties, by trying to prove the ridiculous idea that the Temperance moral-suasion movement was a failure, and therefore should be abandoned."* Again and again were the League Directors and officials called upon to name and point out the parties chargeable with such monstrous folly as having said they would have "all or nothing," or had given utterance to the wicked idea, that "the Abstinence movement should be abandoned;" but, of course, the desiderated proof has never yet been advanced.

So assiduous were the Agents and Secretary of the League in seeking to suppress the Prohibition movement, by misrepresenting the sentiments of its advocates, that the Edinburgh Board, in compliance with earnest solicitations, sent deputations into various parts of the country, to explain what really were their views upon the subject. In accordance with a requisition presented by that fearless, uncompromising, and large-hearted friend of Abstinence and Prohibition, Mr Robert Learmonth, a deputation, consisting of Messrs Forsyth, Lewis, and Turnbull, visited Linlithgow, and on the evening of the following day—upon which that unfortunate victim of the traffic, Peter M'Lean, was executed for the murder of Thomas Maxwell—addressed a large and influential meeting in the Town Hall, where they vindicated themselves from the aspersions of the League officials, and earnestly advocated the total and unconditional abolition of the entire traffic.

That no misapprehension may exist upon the sentiments held and advocated by the Edinburgh Board, we shall here give extracts from the speeches of the deputation.

* Weekly Journal, No. 8, p. 3.

Mr Forsyth, who was the first speaker, said :—

“In discussing the great question of Temperance reform, he was perfectly wearied in talking of men being the victims of intemperance. Why, generally speaking, but for the traffic, the vice of intemperance could have no existence; and it was high time that men were beginning to bend their eye upon the cause of drunkenness, and to combine for its removal. He was aware that, in promulgating such sentiments as these, he laid himself open to the charge of being an enemy to the Temperance movement. He had received letters from the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League upon the subject, counselling him to desist from the advocacy of such sentiments, as ruinous to the movement. Why, what absurdity was this! Ruinous to the movement to insist upon the adoption of a plain, practical, and common-sense remedy for the evils we unitedly deplore, an enemy to the Temperance enterprise! Why, this was simply ridiculous! He was an abstainer of many years’ standing. He was there to-night reaping what might be termed the realized advantages of personal abstinence. He yielded to no man in his attachment to the Temperance cause; and, whatever ungenerous aspersions salaried agents might prefer, either against himself or the principles of which he was the exponent, no influence would induce him to desert the post of duty, and to proclaim his convictions with ‘bated breath and whispering humbleness.’”

Mr Lewis, who was the next speaker, said :—

“He was here to denounce drunkenness as an unmitigated curse, and to call public attention to the fact, that the liquor traffic was the grand primary and sustaining cause of that curse. He wished, for the sake of the Prohibition movement, to be sufficiently explicit upon this point, from the fact that there were interested parties traversing the country, industriously circulating the report that the advocates of Total Prohibi-

tion believed that 'the Abstinence movement had done no good;' and, as certain interested journalists had re-echoed the same calumny, it was but right that it should be known what were in truth our sentiments upon the subject. Were it not that these misrepresentations had been pertinaciously reiterated, it would appear absurd to repel a charge so utterly ridiculous, as he did not believe a sane man could be found who would aver that the Abstinence movement had done no good. The Abstinence movement had been instrumental in raising thousands from the depths of moral and physical debasement, and had placed them in the pathway of prosperity and peace. So stupendous were the changes and glorious the achievements wrought by this movement, that they were known only to Omniscience, and could be disclosed only in eternity."

Mr W. B. Turnbull was the concluding speaker. After referring to the aspersions which had been cast upon the Board, he said:—

"Attempts have been made to make it appear that we are the enemies of the Scottish Temperance League, and the Temperance enterprise, as conducted on the moral-suasion principle. Now, once for all, I affirm, that such is not the case. The idea of imagining that a man like James Mitchell, who for years has been pleading the cause of the drunkard, in such a way as to entitle him to the gratitude of every friend of the Temperance cause, and the other gentlemen who were associated with him, were actuated by feelings of hostility towards the Temperance cause, was absurd. But we are told that they are as much in favour of 'a Maine Law as we are.' Now, we submit that there is a very great difference indeed. They want the people to become sober, in order that we may have a Maine Law; we want a Maine Law, in order that the people may become sober. Now, we ask, is our position not a good one? Who is not aware that there are thousands

who would be free from the power of alcohol, if they could: but they cannot? They have often tried it, but as often have they failed. Why, I could introduce you into houses in Edinburgh where there are many pledge-cards. One individual is on my mind, who thirty-three times took the Temperance pledge, but as often did he violate his promise. While this gives clear evidence of the man's anxiety to be free, yet it shows that the power of the public-house is stronger than his: and what we ask is, that this evil power should be removed."

While the Edinburgh Board were thus engaged in clearing away the smoke by which the Temperance atmosphere was being beclouded and contaminated, a circular was being signed by a number of the members of the League, convening a meeting in the Waverley Temperance Hotel, to consider what was to be done in the then distracted state of the movement. The meeting was strictly private, no person being admitted but those who were invited by circular; and no circular was issued, except to those who were regarded as friendly to the restrictive policy of the League. But even here, in this select circle, notwithstanding the precautions which were adopted, the spirit of controversy strongly manifested itself, few of the speakers being of one opinion upon the subject. Mr Blair, Dalkeith, was in favour of a Maine Law, and thought the *extinction* of the liquor traffic should *specially* be kept in view. The Rev. Alex. Wallace contended that the evil must be dealt with piece-meal, and instead of crying out for total and immediate prohibition, let us take what we can get, or we will only retard the movement. Mr John Stewart, of the *Edinburgh News*, thought as union

* Abolitionist, No. 3, p. 3.

in this movement was most desirable, and as the principle of a Maine Law was involved in the Forbes Mackenzie Act, he could not see why the League should hesitate to admit themselves favourable to such a measure. Mr Thomas Menzies heartily concurred, and hoped that the Total Abstinence Societies would harmoniously enter upon the agitation of the subject. Mr John Robertson—who, it will be remembered, was one of the founders of the Maine Liquor Law League, and who had continued with steady and unwavering consistency to adhere to his principles—(his being invited upon this occasion is somewhat unaccountable)—spoke out in plain unmistakeable terms, and expressed his disappointment and surprise at the opposition which many manifested towards the Alliance movement. He would yield to none present as an Abstainer; but he felt called upon to express his firm conviction that it was the duty not only of Temperance Associations, but of every right-hearted Abstainer, to exert his influence on behalf of the objects of the Alliance. This, he contended, was indispensable to the progress and stability of the Abstinence movement. Mr Thomas Knox expressed himself opposed to the sentiments expressed by Mr Robertson, and thought that every society should mind its own work, and not mix itself up with the work of the Alliance. The Rev. Wm. Reid differed with Mr Knox; he thought the Abstinence societies should go heartily into the work, and render a distinct organization like the Alliance unnecessary in Scotland. There was nothing in the constitution of these Societies, or the Scottish Temperance League, to prevent them doing so. They had gone so far in the matter already, and he could not see why they should not go farther. Mr

Melvin, one of the Directors of the League, thought they should endeavour to induce Societies to petition in favour of the "Dram-shop movement;" and Mr Marr, Secretary to the League, assailed the friends of the Alliance, for urging the abandonment of the Abstinence cause. Mr John Davie, from Dunfermline, who, as if by accident or design, had, like Mr Robertson, been invited, nobly defended the Alliance. He assured the meeting that he had watched the Alliance very closely, had attended its inauguration and annual meetings in Manchester, and he gave it as his decided conviction, that the Alliance had carefully avoided all collision with the Scottish Temperance League. Mr Robert Cranstoun, one of the most trusty and sterling Abstainers, and one of the most honourable opponents of Legislative Prohibition, did not wish a Maine Law; and stated that the Alliance was no more an Abstinence society than was the Freehold movement. Such were the conflicting sentiments expressed by those who had come together to consider the future prospects of the movement; and it is not wonderful that they separated without having come to any resolution upon the subject.

Notwithstanding the divided state of the meeting, the *Weekly Journal*, to the astonishment of many who had been present, came out in an editorial article, declaring the result of the meeting to have been "a hearty and unanimous finding in favour of the policy pursued by the League."* So much at variance was this report with the acknowledged facts of the case, that it did very much to shake the character of the *Journal* as a medium of veracity and accuracy.

After the meeting broke up, a number of the friends

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 9, p. 1.

having remained, Messrs Marr and Melvin made an attack upon the reputation of Mr James Mitchell, by stating, that, while in the employment of the Alliance, he had applied to be engaged as an agent of the League. This application having been refused by the Directors, Mr Mitchell then, to gratify a vindictive spirit, was represented as having written a letter to the Alliance Executive, with hostile intentions towards the Scottish Temperance League; a copy of which they held in their possession, in proof of the statements advanced; at the same time putting to those present the interrogatory, "What do you think of the man who would thus act?" The friends of Mr Mitchell, utterly dismayed at the nature of the charges thus made, put themselves in communication with that gentleman, who at once wrote Mr Marr, demanding an explanation of the statements referred to. A correspondence then ensued, wherein Mr Marr apologized to Mr Mitchell for the statement made, which, upon inquiry, he had found to be untrue, and wherein Mr Mitchell showed, that Mr George Easton, agent of the League, had, in Stirling, requested him to accept the situation of League agent, for which it was now falsely asserted he had made application. Mr Mitchell having expressed himself satisfied, agreed to allow the matter to drop, upon condition that Mr Marr would set him, Mr Mitchell, right with all those parties who had been present when the charges were preferred; which we presume to have been done. A copy of the letter to which Messrs Marr and Melvin referred, we here introduce without remark, leaving the reader to judge how far its contents subjected Mr Mitchell to the charges preferred against him:—

“Sorton Grange, Bebington,
Cheshire, Sept. 8, 1856.

“DEAR MR BARKER,—Enclosed I beg to return you Mr Pope’s letter, with thanks for perusal. In my opinion, the answer of the League Directors has greatly simplified the position of the question. Let our Council ask these Directors honestly to state to the Temperance Societies and people of Scotland that they are now prepared to do the *work* of the Alliance throughout the whole of Scotland, and to seek, without delay, the total and immediate prohibition of the liquor traffic, and then, I suppose, the Alliance would be prepared to say, ‘God speed.’ But, if their work is to be, as their letter indicates, only a reduction of the number of public-houses, and the restriction and regulation of the traffic generally, with, as their constitution binds them, a pledge of teetotalism as a condition of membership, how on earth can they expect that an institution, embracing the whole kingdom, and having for its object only the immediate and entire destruction of the *whole* drink traffic, should hand over their work to an organization whose aim is something *less* and something *else*? If these League Directors (they are not the League) shuffle this point, or if they take the bull by the horns, and boldly declare that they prefer little-bit measures, then, I think, the only course left to the Alliance is to appeal to the Societies and people of Scotland, whether they will be willing to fritter away their influence in trying to limit, restrict, or regulate a traffic which all history testifies is impossible, or to unite heart and soul in a measure which will destroy it at once and for ever. Unless this matter is settled, and settled quickly, there will be shuffling and intriguing, and, I fear, attempts to misrepresent, which will hurt the Alliance. We have nothing to fear, and should disguise nothing. If Scotland wishes to run after ‘a will-o’-the-wisp’ in the shape of a Restrictive movement, we cannot help it; we are engaged in a great work, and cannot *come*.

down to work for it. But I should like my countrymen to know the *truth*, and to have the two systems laid before them, before I can believe they will do such a thing. We are a cautious race; but when we do take up a thing, we generally go through with it. I have written this my opinion to you without any intention of dictating; but I hope Mr Pope and the Council will not let matters be long in the position they now are. The League agents are at present busy visiting the Societies, and, with the instructions they have got, many of the Societies think that the League is *Maine Law out and out*.—I am, dear Mr Barker, yours ever,
 “JAMES MITCHELL, *Alliance Agent*.”

“To T. H. Barker, Esq.,
 Secretary to the U. K. Alliance.”

CHAPTER XVII.

Crisis in the history of the Scottish Temperance League—Dilemma of the Directors—The Directors pronounce for the entire Prohibition of the Traffic—The Circular condemned by Letters in the *Weekly Journal*, &c.—Attack of the *Journal* upon the *Christian News*—Defence of the *Christian News*—Dr Guthrie misrepresented by the *Weekly Journal*—Dr Guthrie vindicated by the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance—Confession of the *Journal*—Dr Guthrie advocating the principles of Total Prohibition and the Permissive Bill—Arrival of Neal Dow—Publication of the celebrated “Dead Letter” of J. B. Gough—Disastrous effects of its publication—The “Dead Letter” refuted by Neal Dow.

So indefatigable were the efforts of the Edinburgh Board,—so explicit the statement of their principles, and crushing their exposure of the crooked and tortuous policy of the Directors of the League, that they were making themselves felt in the most secret chambers of their official stronghold. So fearless and faithful

was the attitude maintained by the *Christian News*, and so terse, practical, and telling was the tone and spirit of the organ of the Alliance, that the eyes of many Temperance men were opened to the unsatisfactory position occupied by those at the head of the Temperance movement in Scotland.

Those Directors, long accustomed to dread the approach of the Annual Meeting with the members, now longed for its arrival, that a step in advance might be suggested and urged. But unfortunately several months must elapse before that period could arrive, and till then to think of defending their position, appeared absolute folly. No matter how convenient in other circumstances to intimate that "the Annual Meeting of the members should decide upon the course to be pursued by the Directors," it was an intimation utterly unsuited to the present emergency. Confronted by the "extreme" party of the *Abolitionist*,—subjected to the steady and heavy fire of the unfaltering "J. K." and "True Policy," through the columns of the *Christian News*, torn and cut up in argument by the sharp practice of the Manchester school, in the *Alliance Weekly News*, and deluged, as by an overflowing flood, with letters from a "grumbling and disaffected" constituency, it became apparent to these "leaders" themselves, that their position was one of imminent peril. When dynasties are about to be overthrown, or public institutions subverted, these are not the times for circumlocution, or lengthened dissertations on official dignity and power; and so we find all bombastical nonsense, for the time being, abandoned by the Directors, who for once, in their eventful history, rose to the importance of the crisis with which they were beset; and

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with all the promptitude of imperilled authority, issued a manifesto, publicly announcing a change of policy, and that they were now "for the *entire* Prohibition of the traffic."*

Great was the rejoicing of many, who had long struggled and fought for Prohibition, and for peace, when they heard the long-desired intelligence announced, that the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League had officially declared that henceforth they went for the "entire Prohibition of the liquor traffic."

Although this profession of a change of policy was trumpeted forth by the *Weekly Journal*, as given in "any thing but equivocal language—a statement plain, candid, and un mistakeable—entire Prohibition," and eulogised by the agents as all that the most ardent Maine Law man could desire; by those who were better acquainted with the antecedents of the League Directorate, the announcement was received with caution: for was it not but yesterday that they refused to enter upon an agitation for total Prohibition, because a temperance sentiment had not yet been formed in the minds of the community; and broadly asserted, that "before a man could properly insist for a Maine Law, he must, in the first instance, become a Maine Law to himself?"† That this announcement of a change of policy was nothing more than a sham, or, at least, that they had made it rashly, and with no intention of carrying it into effect, or that they had again changed their mind, and considered it a hopeless undertaking, was not long in being made evident; for in a few weeks we hear the *Journal* saying, that "the vote of a moderate drinker was not so good as the vote of a Total Abstainer;" and

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 12, p. 2.

† *Ibid.* No. 9, p. 1.

that, in short, he would be a bold and confident man indeed who would promise us the total Prohibition of the liquor traffic for a generation or two to come."* In further confirmation that they could have no intention of entering upon an agitation for the entire Prohibition of the traffic, we also find the *Scottish Review* strenuously opposing such an agitation "until the religious and intelligent classes of the community are found pledged to abstinence."†

Such being the avowed sentiments of those Temperance leaders, who publicly *professed* to go "for the entire Prohibition of the traffic," it is no matter of astonishment that the "Circular" should have been so generally reprobated and condemned. Among the numerous writers who tore to shreds its pretentious claims to importance, was Mr Forsyth of the Edinburgh Board, from whose article we give, *verbatim*, the following extract:—

"The whole scope, tenor, drift, and design of the circular, seems to me to be a transparent artifice,—a cunningly-devised dodge. *The League*, or any of its *agents*, in earnest about 'the prohibition of the traffic!' Bah! it's all stuff! I refuse to follow the 'herring trail.' *They* aspire to direct the Temperance sentiment of the people of Scotland! Are *they* worthy of our confidence? What is the date of *their* conversion to prohibitory sentiments? Who was it that, for the last ten years, systematically opposed and denounced the principle of legislative interference, and calumniated and misrepresented the advocates of Prohibition? Who were the bitterest opponents of the Forbes Mackenzie Act when it was first mooted? What institution was it that declared, by an official deliverance, in answer to a requisition from about sixty of its members, that it

* Weekly Journal, No. 17, p. 1. † Scottish Review, No. 19, p. 266.

was a violation of its constitution to recognise legislative interference at all with the traffic? Who was it that, only a few weeks ago, publicly and officially declared, that a certain branch of the traffic—the respectable hotels—‘*had claims for continuance?*’ Was it not this very self-same Scottish Temperance League that occupied each and all of these inexplicable positions? Most assuredly it was. That there is now a quickening amongst them is evident. They are veering round to a more defensible position. But, with them, is this a matter of choice, or necessity? All of a sudden, they have discovered that the world moves, and that they are lagging behind. Let the people of Scotland, however, ‘WATCH.’ Let them take the initiative. Let them give the marching-orders, or they will discover, to their cost, that the dubious policy and the crab-like course of action propounded in this illusive circular is a mere feint,—a catering for place, power, and pension, by the propagation of a current and ruinous delusion.”*

So general was the feeling against the circular, that even the *Weekly Journal* was made the medium of its condemnation, as will be seen by a perusal of the following, from a warm friend of the Scottish Temperance League:—

“*The League Circular.*”

“DEAR SIR,—It was with feelings of positive delight that I read in your last week’s *Journal* that portion of the League’s circular to the affiliated Societies, wherein it is broadly stated, that ‘we are for the *entire* legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic, and shall go on for this result as rapidly as the sentiment of the country will demand and sustain legislative action.’ This is what I have longed for, and what I thought the League

* *Abolitionist*, No. 4, p. 2-3.

should, years since, have declared for. But I demur to the statement, that the League is to wait till the public lead or drive it. It is the duty and place of the League to instruct and lead the 'public. I do not say that legislation is to be forced on a reluctant people. But, if legislation be asked, and the reasons for that legislation properly explained and enforced, the people will be prepared for the laws when these are passed. The people can be enlightened in hardly any other way.

"But I really must take exceptions to certain allegations in Mr Marr's letter. It is said that, '*We have been operating on our licensing courts—taking action to some extent in our municipal elections—and, in these efforts affecting the traffic, the Scottish Temperance League and its individual members have taken a large share.*' These statements have astounded not a few; for no one seems ever to have heard of such '*operating,*' '*taking action,*' or '*share.*' The League *could* not *constitutionally*, and *de facto*, so far as known, never *did*, interfere to *any* extent with municipal matters, licensing courts, or Parliamentary elections. Neither did any of its members, *as members*, ever do so. If in error in this, do set me and many others right. Point out *how* the League could so interfere, and *when*, and in what matter, *it* or *its members* ever did so. I may be wrong. I may be writing in ignorance; but surely all the *very* many who have conversed with me in regard to these singular statements cannot be so mistaken.

"These assertions do harm. It is like some abstiners taking credit for getting the 'Public Houses' Act' passed, and talking of it as *their* measure. Abstiners had nothing to do with it; and those who *had* stare with astonishment at such presumptuous and unfounded assertions, and set down all abstiners as equally unscrupulous, and all their other allegations

as equally unfounded. No handle of this kind should be given to the good cause's enemies.

"Yours faithfully,

"A WARM FRIEND OF THE SCOTTISH
TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.

"Glasgow, 25th March, 1857."

Having no well-defined principle to defend, and no arguments to support its position, the *Weekly Journal* spoke out in violent terms against the *Christian News* for the course it pursued "relative to the *Scottish Temperance League*," and in tones of injured innocence informed its readers as follows:—

"Our patience has been sorely tried, and even endurance has its limits. Week after week, the conductors of this journal (the *Christian News*) either unwittingly, or with full knowledge of what they were doing, opened their columns to the most unblushing tirades against the League,—accusing it of misdeeds which existed only in the fertile imaginations of the heterogeneous scribblers."

The readers of the *Journal* were further informed that it "had no fault to find with the *Christian News*, because its praise was less than its blame," but that it deemed "it a sacred duty to stand upon our own defence when we find our position misrepresented, our principles carped at, and ourselves subjected to scurrilous, invidious, and unwarrantable attacks."*

The *Christian News*, in reply, stated that the *Journal* "might have done worse than inserted a few of the letters to which it referred, for the satisfaction of ourselves and our readers, as none of the complaints had ever been stated at the office, either orally or otherwise," and concluded an article written in firm but most

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 14, p. 1-2.

respectful terms, intimating that "the Executive would do us a favour, were they to state *wherein* we have misrepresented their position, or carped at their principles,"—admitting, at the same time, that in "denouncing the connexion of the professed Christian churches with the drink traffic as an unholy alliance," they might have done that which was "distasteful to the Executive of the League."*

In a rejoinder in the following number of the *Journal*, its readers were informed that the demand for proof on the part of the *Christian News* only "deepened our conviction of the absolute necessity which existed" for the former remarks. The *Christian News* was then cautioned against "being imposed upon" by Maine Law men; and the editor, as a member of the League, was censured for allowing certain gentlemen to advocate prohibition in its columns, as it served "to foment strife, and keep party spirit alive." Amazement was next expressed that it should be "so easily gulled;" and promises were held out, that if it would "quit their company forthwith, they should be better friends for the future;" and finally, if it would only "refrain from permitting the League, or its Directors, to be spoken against," it would henceforth be regarded by the *Journal* as a "firm, consistent, and enlightened friend."†

Notwithstanding these combined elements of intimidation, cajolery, and fair promises held out by the officials of the League, the *Christian News* remained true to the character and mission which it has so long sustained, and indignantly rejected all such officious interference; expressing, at the same time, its deter-

* *Christian News*, No. 558, p. 310. † *Weekly Journal*, No. 16, p. 1.

mination to continue to agitate for total prohibition—a resolution which every true friend of Temperance reform fully appreciated.

The *Abolitionist*, in referring to this controversy, expressed its regret, that “the influence of the League, pecuniary and official, should call for so much local and national animadversion, and that so much time should be taken up in correcting its numerous abuses. We have, however, no other alternative, our object being not only to agitate for a prohibitory law, but to correct and chastise those who stand in the way, and systematically seek to prolong our warfare, and to retard the day of final triumph.” *

About this time, the Rev. Dr Guthrie delivered a series of discourses upon “some of our social evils,” which were duly noticed in the *Christian News*, *Alliance News*, and *Weekly Journal* of the League. In the two former of these journals, the Doctor was represented as advocating “*Legislative interference* with the traffic ;” while in the latter he was represented as advocating “the principles of *Total Abstinence* as the only remedy for drunkenness.”† With the view of correcting the mischief which must necessarily result from the sentiments of such an eminent divine and genuine patriot being misrepresented upon a question of such vital importance, Mr Barker, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, felt it a duty both to Dr Guthrie and the cause of Prohibition, to have the misrepresentation corrected. Accordingly, in the next number of the *Weekly Journal*, there appeared from him a letter to the editor, from which we extract the following :—

* *Abolitionist*, No. 5, p. 2.

† *Weekly Journal*, No. 15.

“Referring to Dr Guthrie’s sermons on Intemperance and its cure, you say:—‘The Rev. Dr Guthrie has been preaching, *ex cathedra*, upon the rampant vice of our times. For two successive Sabbaths has he advocated the principles of Total Abstinence as the only remedy for drunkenness.’ Turning to other reports of Dr Guthrie’s deliverances, in the *Christian News* and the *Alliance News*, I find the following distinct statement, purporting to be something like the Doctor’s own words:—‘While he believed the glorious gospel to be the only cure for all the evils with which society was afflicted, there were two auxiliaries indispensable to the cure of Intemperance. The first of these was *legislative interference* (with the traffic); and the second, personal abstinence.’ Whether this is *ex cathedra* preaching or not, I do not think it fair towards Dr Guthrie, or your own readers, that the sentiments of this eminent and eloquent divine should be misrepresented. At the present time, it is peculiarly important that the true and advanced friends of Temperance should have the full benefit of Dr Guthrie’s bold and honest denunciation of the legalised liquor traffic as a system of ‘overpowering temptation to the people, and a vicious source of revenue to the government.’”*

Appended to the letter of Mr Barker was a note from the editor of the *Journal*, wherein the remarkable admission is made, “we candidly confess when we wrote the paragraph to which our correspondent alludes, we had not seen a report of the Rev. Dr’s second sermon;” while, at the same time, he says, that “the notices of the sermon given in the *Alliance Weekly News*, and *Christian News*, were, to say the least of them, one-sided.” That the *Christian News*, and *Alliance News*, were substantially correct, and that

* Weekly Journal, No. 16, p. 2.

the Secretary of the Alliance discharged an important public duty in correcting the misrepresentation of the *League Journal*, will appear evident on perusing the following extract from the Sermons since published. Not only does the eminent author advocate Legislative interference, but total Prohibition; and in one of the sentences, which we have italicised, the principle of the Permissive Bill is earnestly contended for:—

“ Such indeed has been the only training, such are the physical, economical, moral, and religious conditions of large masses of the people, that their safety lies, not in resisting temptation, but escaping it. None know that better than themselves. How would thousands hail and bless the day, which, shutting up the drinking-shops, would preserve them from temptations which are their ruin, and to which they at length passively yield themselves; although, as one said, they know their doors to be the way to hell. Yet not passively, until this fatal pleasure has paralyzed the mind more even than the body. Many struggle hard to overcome this passion. Ah, there is often a long and terrible fight between the man and the serpent that has him fast in his coils; between the love of wife and children, and the love of drink. Never more manfully than some of them, did swimmer struggle in his hour of agony—breasting the waves, and straining every nerve to reach the distant shore. *Would Parliament but leave this matter to these people themselves—would they for once delegate their powers of legislation to the inhabitants of our lowest districts—we are confident that, by their all but unanimous vote, every drinking-shop in their neighbourhoods would be shut up.* The birds, which are now drawn into the mouth of the serpent, would soar aloft on free and joyous wing to sing the praises of the hand that closed its jaws, of the heel that crushed its head. And so long as religion stands

by—silent and unprotesting against the temptations with which men, greedy of gain, and Governments, greedy of revenue, surround the wretched victims of this basest vice—it appears to me an utter mockery for her to go with the Word of God in her hand, teaching them to say, ‘Lead us not into temptation.’

“As a man, as well as a minister of that blessed gospel, which recognizes no distinction between rich and poor, I protest against the wrongs of a class that are to the full as unfortunate as they are guilty. They deserve succour rather than censure. They are more to be pitied than punished. And, assuming the office of their advocate, I wish to know why the upper classes of society should enjoy a protection which is denied to those who stand more in need of it? Gambling-houses were proved before Parliament to be ruining the youth of the aristocracy. Nobility complained. Coronets and broad acres were in danger. Parliament rose to the rescue. She put forth her strong hand, and by a sweeping, summary, most righteous measure, put the evil down. It was also proved in Parliament, that Betting-houses were corrupting the morals of our merchants’ clerks, our shopmen, our tradesmen, and others of the middle-classes of society. Once more Parliament rose up in its might, threw its broad shield over wealth and commerce, and closed every betting-house in the metropolis. Who talked then about the freedom of trade? When the honour of noble families, or the wealth of our merchants, and the honesty of their servants demanded protection, who talked about the liberty of the subject? Who proposed to leave these evils to be met by education, and such means as education? I don’t complain of, but commend the measures which Parliament adopted. Only, I want to know, if the virtues of humble families, and the happiness of the poor, are less worthy of protection than the wealth of bankers, and the honours of an ancient nobility? I want to know if the bodies of the higher

and wealthier classes are of better clay, or their souls of finer elements, than those of the very lowest of the people? Yet I would undertake to prove that, year by year, thousands, and tens of thousands, of our poor suffer the loss of fortune, virtue, character, body and soul, in those drinking-shops that glare upon the public eye—which the law does not forbid but license. For every one the gambling or betting-house ruined, they are ruining hundreds. I wish that those who govern this noble country should be able to say with Him who governs the universe, ‘Are not my ways equal?’ Nor let our legislators be scared from their duty in this case, any more than they were in the other, by the allegation that to shut up the drinking-shop will not cure but rather aggravate the evil, by leading to illicit traffic and secret drinking. The removal of the temptation may not always cure the drunkard: I don’t say it will. But it will certainly check the growth of his class, and prevent many others from learning his habits—until sanguine men might entertain the blessed hope that, like the monsters of a former epoch, which now lie entombed in the rocks, drunkards may be numbered among the extinct races, classified with the winged serpents and gigantic sloths that were once inhabitants of our globe.

“The subject before us is eminently calculated to illustrate the profound remark of one, who was well acquainted with the temptations and circumstances of the poor. He said:—‘It is justice, not charity, that the poor most need.’ And all we ask is, that you be as kind to them as to the rich. All we ask is, that you guard the one class as carefully as you guard the other from the temptations peculiar to their lot. I am sorry to say—but truth and the interests of those who, however sunk and degraded, are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, require that I should say—that this is not done. The ‘poor,’ says Amos, ‘are sold for a pair of shoes,’ and with us they are

sold to save the wealth of the rich. In this I make no charge which I am not prepared to prove. For example:—Certain measures were proposed in Parliament with the view of promoting the comforts and improving the moral habits of the common people. It was admitted that these, by introducing weak French and Rhenish wines in room of ardent spirits and strongly intoxicating liquors, would be attended with that most happy and desirable result. Yet they were rejected. And rejected, because their adoption, although it saved the people, would damage the revenue. As if there was not money enough in the pockets of the wealthy, through means of other taxes, to meet the debts of the nation and sustain the honour of the Crown! How different the tone of morals even in China! The ministers of that country proved to their sovereign that he would avert all danger of war with Britain, and also add immensely to his revenue, if he would consent to legalize the trade in opium. He refused, firmly refused, nobly refused. And it were a glorious day for Britain, a happy day for ten thousand miserable homes—a day for bonfires, and jubilant cannon, and merry bells, and bannered processions, and holy thanksgivings, which saw our beloved Queen rise from her throne, and in the name of this great nation address to her Lords and Commons the memorable speech of the pagan monarch:—‘I will never consent to raise my revenue out of the ruin and vices of my people.’ With such a spirit may God imbue our land!—‘Even so come, Lord Jesus. Come quickly.’”*

On the morning of the 20th April 1857, the long looked for arrival of Neal Dow, the author and originator of the Maine Law, was announced. To the friends of drink-cursed humanity, who longed for the arm of retributive justice to be stretched forth against

* “The City: Its Sins and Sorrows,” pp. 78-83.

that traffic, which had for generations revelled amid the tears and blood of those whom it has ruined, this was intelligence of a soul-inspiring character. To Abstainers who sighed over the desolations of those societies they had formed, re-formed, and thrice resuscitated, and who stood hopelessly appalled before the almost omnipotent power of that legalized iniquity, which mocked to scorn their efforts to stem the current of their nation's shame, and with brazen front and ruthless hand struck down the thousands which had been reclaimed, the intelligence of the arrival of Neal Dow inspired hope into their sinking spirits. There were, however, those, both in this country and in America claiming the names of Temperance reformers, who appeared to regard his generous visit to old England with feelings of envious jealousy and dislike. Immediately before the arrival of this greatest of living heroes in the cause of social emancipation, a letter had found its way across the Atlantic. Whatever might be the motives which prompted it, it came from the right man, in the right time, and was delivered in the right place, to embarrass and impede the mission of the distinguished champion of Prohibition. With all the characteristics of apparent sincerity, it was announced that "the Temperance cause in this country is in a depressed state. The Maine Law is a dead letter *everywhere*—more liquor sold than he ever knew before in Massachusetts, and in other States it is about as bad." While it was further affirmed that "the Maine Law was a UNIVERSAL FAILURE," and, as if to drive home the iron into the soul of him who had devoted his life to its realization, it was added, that "Neal Dow could tell better than any other man" why

it had failed. That such a letter could be written, as it was, by Mr J. B. Gough, the celebrated Teetotal lecturer, many were prepared at first to disbelieve; but all doubt on this point was soon set at rest. The effects of such a letter—from such a personage, and at such a time—must at once appear to have been extremely damaging. Published in the *Weekly Record*,* reprinted by almost every public-house organ in the kingdom, and circulated in handbills by the publicans, it produced such an unfavourable impression against the Maine Law, as would have deterred most men from prosecuting the mission upon which Neal Dow had come to this country. Still, nothing daunted, the illustrious stranger met the difficulty; and, animated by that courage which truth can alone impart, he confronted the imposture, denounced it as a calumny, and demonstrated it to be utterly untrue—at variance with the latest published returns of every department in the State, and contrary to all but universally admitted facts.

* *Weekly Record*, April 4th, 1857.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Literature of the League charged with misrepresenting the United Kingdom Alliance—Unsuccessful attempts to correct the evils complained of—The Dumfries Protest—Notice of Motion upon the subject by Dr M'Culloch. Active Opposition to Dr M'Culloch's Motion—Treachery in the Edinburgh Board—Annual Public Meeting of the Scottish Temperance League—Extracts from the Speeches of the Rev. Alex. Wallace, Neal Dow, and Mr Pope—Speech of Mr Pope at the Public Breakfast—Annual Business Meeting of the League—Discussion, and result of the Motions of Dr M'Culloch and Messrs Lang and Paton—Disadvantages of Motions adverse to the mind of the Directors—Annual Soirée of the League—The Edinburgh Board, and causes of its Dissolution.

SEVERAL months before the Annual Meeting of 1857, a strong feeling was being manifested against the conductors of the organs of the League, for repeated misrepresentations of the principles and policy of the United Kingdom Alliance. In the *Abstainer's Journal*, Dr Lees was represented as proposing "*the immediate enactment of a Maine Law*;"* and in the annual *Register* of the League, it was also stated that the principal aim of the Alliance "is to procure, by Parliamentary action, the *immediate* enactment of a Maine Law."†

So general was the feeling among Temperance men upon the subject, that Dr M'Culloch of Dumfries, who displayed a great anxiety to have these discreditable proceedings arrested, received "upwards of two hundred and seventy letters from different influential abstainers in Scotland, severely reprehending the conduct pur-

* *Abstainer's Journal*, vol. iv., p. 272. † *League Register*, 1857, p. 54.

sued by the League, and urging him to try to stop it." Dr M'Culloch "begged, entreated, argued, remonstrated, and pointed out the inevitable dissensions and split in the Temperance camp, and injury to the League itself, which a persistence in such conduct would of necessity occasion; but all to no purpose."*

All attempts having failed, a firm but respectful protest was drawn up, and forwarded from Dumfries to the Directors, setting forth the misrepresentations complained of, and demanding "that the Board of Directors of the Scottish Temperance League shall insert in the following newspapers, viz.—the *Commonwealth*, the *Christian News*, and the 2nd No. of their own *Weekly Journal*, in Glasgow, the *Edinburgh News*, in Edinburgh, and the *Alliance Weekly News*, in Manchester, on or before the 10th of January, 1857, a communication, by advertisement or otherwise, cordially welcoming the United Kingdom Alliance to Scotland, and expressing regret that the Alliance prize essay by Dr Lees, or the principles of the Alliance, should have been *misinterpreted* in any of your publications, particularly the *Scottish Review*."†

The protest was signed by the following gentlemen:—Rev. M. N. Goold, U. P. Church, Buccleuch Street; Rev. Thomas T. Dilks, Wesleyan Church, Queen Street; Rev. D. L. Scott, U. P. Church, Loreburn Street; William Martin, town-clerk; George Ingram, superintendent of police; G. G. M'Pherson, officer of excise; Samuel Milligan, grocer, High Street.

Notwithstanding the position occupied by these gentlemen, and their long and warm interest in the movement, their protest was also set at nought.

* Dumfries Protest, p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 5.

All private efforts having failed to induce the Directors to withdraw the misrepresentations so generally complained of, Dr M'Culloch gave notice of a motion to be brought before the Annual Meeting, charging the Directors with having, in the organs of the League, published and circulated misrepresentations of the United Kingdom Alliance, and its principles as set forth in their constitution and literature, and proposing that all such misrepresentations be immediately withdrawn.

So soon as it became known that Dr M'Culloch had resolved to bring his motion before the Annual Meeting of the members of the League, every conceivable instrumentality which stratagem could devise was employed, with a view to damage the prospects of his undertaking.

Not only were agents busily engaged in seeking, by the most questionable means, to turn the sympathies of members against the motion—not only did those deep in the councils of the League seriously inconvenience themselves to induce the gentleman, who it was understood had agreed to second it, to resile from his position; but individuals had gone forth into the temperance hotels, the rendezvous of delegates and members for the night, to traduce the character of the gentleman who had courage enough to demand, at the hands of an assembled constituency, that justice in behalf of a kindred institution, which a haughty Executive had denied; while the *Weekly Journal* and the *Commonwealth* apparently scrupled not to become the channels of adverse and uncalled-for remarks, in order that the motion might be forestalled. Never were plans more ramified, and precautionary measures more

complete, than on this occasion, in order to render the defeat of the motion most certain. It was at this juncture that one of the blackest transactions which have disgraced the Temperance movement in Scotland was consummated. As the Edinburgh Board, through its organ, the *Abolitionist*, wielded considerable power among the members of the League in various parts of the country, and as that was being exerted in support of Dr M'Culloch, it seemed desirable that the influence of the Board should be subverted. With the view of accomplishing this object, plans the most perfect were devised, measures of the most precautionary character were adopted, and various influences brought into active operation. These were immediately succeeded by the Secretary and Treasurer of the Board renouncing their position as leaders in the Prohibition movement, and becoming identified with those most bitterly opposed. There being only a few days to elapse between the declension of these officials and the Annual Meeting of the League, no time must be lost in turning this "victory" to practical account, in order that Dr M'Culloch might be discouraged, discomfited, and crushed, as well by the faithlessness of his former friends, as by the active opposition of his confirmed enemies. Accordingly, in the *Commonwealth* of the Saturday preceding the meetings of the League, a letter appeared under the attractive heading, "Dr M'Culloch, Mr Knox, and the Edinburgh Board," signed by "William Forsyth," and "William B. Turnbull," wherein they made a full confession and apology for having "either directly or indirectly countenanced the line of policy" which had been pursued by the Board; and while eulogising "Mr Thomas Knox as a gentle-

man who had done much for the Temperance cause," they "strongly deprecated" the motion of Dr M'Culloch, and intimated, that "*we, as members of the Scottish Temperance League, cannot vote for it, or be regarded as sympathising with it.*" * The publication of the recantation of Messrs Forsyth and Turnbull was by many deemed incredible. That men should thus forfeit the confidence of their fellows, and by a voluntary act destroy their usefulness in a movement with which they had been so long identified as leaders, was too improbable to be believed, more particularly in view of the speeches they had so recently delivered at Linlithgow. Alas! what a sad commentary did this transaction afford upon their high-sounding pretensions on the occasion referred to! Truly, after all, Mr Turnbull had retraced his steps; and Mr Forsyth, notwithstanding his remarks upon "salaried agents," appears to have deserted "the post of duty, and proclaimed his convictions with bated breath and whispering humbleness! !"

While the diplomatic transactions with the representatives of the Edinburgh Board had proved a "great success," arrangements had been made by the Directors of the League to have a resolution proposed at the *public meeting*, "approving of the manner in which the past operations of the League had been conducted." This step, if successful, would render the passing of Dr M'Culloch's motion, "*disapproving of the manner in which past operations had been conducted,*" highly improbable, and render its discussion little else than a mere sham, seeing that, by a piece of masterly *policy*, it would thereby be made to assume all the appearance of a vote of censure upon the proceedings of the pub-

* Commonwealth, No. 89, p. 83.

lic meeting. The Rev. Alex. Wallace, who, to use the language of Mr. W. B. Turnbull, had by this time "lowered his flag,"* was appointed to move the resolution. Mr Wallace, in support of it, spoke upwards of an hour amid the impatience of the meeting, a large proportion of the audience having come together to listen to the illustrious champion of Prohibition, Neal Dow, who had been invited to address the meeting. During the course of his lengthened address, Mr. Wallace insisted strongly upon union, descanting upon those societies which, in different parts of the country, had "gone down and perished upon the field of conflict, defeated not so much by the enemy as by themselves." After drawing largely from the well-known statistics regarding the machinery and literature of the League, he stated that it was an institution which required no advocacy from him. Its Directors had issued a circular, in which it was emphatically stated that "we are for the *entire* legislative prohibition of the traffic, and shall go on for this result as rapidly as the sentiment of the country will demand and sustain Legislative action." Having next referred to the Forbes Mackenzie Act as a practical measure, secured to Scotland, as he believed, "*through the vigorous action of the League*, and as the policy laid down in the present circular," he reiterated the statement, that the Directors were for "the *entire* prohibition of the traffic;" and calling attention to the presence of Neal Dow, Mr Wallace triumphantly asked "if he demanded more than this?" Then, as if blinded by some terrible infatuation, by which he might encourage the heart of the insulted patriot, and blast for ever the prospects of the

* Abolitionist, No. 4, p. 1.

policy he sought to vindicate, Mr Wallace proceeded to advocate an early-closing movement for the publicans, urging an agitation, in the *first instance*, for the Saturday half-holiday! and then trying to get a ten-hours' bill for the other days of the week! while, "in the meantime, we must insist upon a large reduction in the number of public-houses, especially in the poorer districts of our towns and cities!!!" *

The questionable taste which Mr Wallace displayed upon this occasion, both in the nature and length of his remarks, in the presence of the distinguished representative of the Maine Law, whom they had invited to attend and popularize their meeting, was a subject of general animadversion, and his address was even characterised by the *Commonwealth* as having "a little of the air of special pleading."† At the conclusion of Mr Wallace's speech, that trusty friend of human rights, the Rev. Patrick Brewster, whose keen eye appeared to penetrate the designs of the Executive and their *confidantes*, rose and desired some explanation upon the motion, as it appeared to him to settle by anticipation the motion of Dr M'Culloch. The Rev. Duncan Ogilvie rose to order, when "great confusion ensued." Dr M'Culloch then rose and requested that, as far as he was concerned, no attention be paid to what was said or done at the present meeting; after which the resolution was passed. Neal Dow, on rising, was received with immense cheering by the audience. He had uttered but a few sentences, when it was evident there stood before them a man of sterling truthfulness, large-hearted benevolence, and indomitable will—a man not of mere bluster and empty words,

* Weekly Journal, No. 20, p. 3.

† Commonwealth, No. 190, p. 4.

whose Temperance zeal was confined to Temperance platforms, and chiefly developed itself in seeking to elicit the praise and laudations of his fellow-men—but a man of worth, whose object was not to “play at Temperance,” but to realise it! The people of Maine, he said, secured their Prohibition-law by “asking and working for it.” Englishmen might bear the traffic and all its pauperizing consequences if they pleased, but in the States of America they had resolved that they would not. He referred to the statement of Mr Gough, that the Maine Law was a “failure”—most firmly denied it, and affirmed that the Maine Law was a “great and glorious success.” During his “able, eloquent, and argumentative address,” he sketched to the life the position occupied by the Directors in regard to Total Prohibition, as illustrated in the case of a certain eloquent divine, who, in America, was called upon to address a public meeting after it had been addressed by “an old man, full of fire and of the love and fear of God—an energetic man he was, a man of progress; not afraid of going too fast or too far in the right direction, although he had judgment enough to know *he was* in the right direction.” The eloquent divine referred to, on rising, said, “That his highly learned and reverend brother had proposed measures which he felt confident would result in great injury to the Temperance cause, and he counselled caution—feeling the way—not being too fast—not being too resolute—*not being in earnest*; but being very cautious and very timid. He thought that was the right policy; and he referred to a custom with us down east, among the farmers, which was this: when they came with a load of lumber to the brow of a hill, they take off all the

oxen except the pair upon the tongue, and hook them on behind to prevent the load from going down the hill precipitately. The clergyman said to the meeting: 'Now look! here is this immense load of lumber; it approaches the brow of a steep declivity; the oxen hitched on behind, hang back with all their power, and the load passes very safely down. Which, then, are most useful—the oxen on behind, or the oxen in front?' 'Ah,' said the other clergyman, 'but that is not our case. Our load is all up hill; and we don't want any dragging behind.'" The audience by this time had perceived the aptness of the illustration, and amid suppressed laughter, were just about to give way to their feelings, when, as if gently to resent the indiscretion of Mr. Wallace, Mr. Dow put the searching and telling interrogatory, "Have you any of these drags in Scotland?"* The point and well-merited rebuke which the interrogation conveyed appeared universally understood, and called forth a burst of tremendous cheering, which appeared to be appreciated by all, except those immediately concerned upon the platform.

After the Honourable Neal Dow had concluded, Mr Pope was called upon to address the meeting. He, in a few well-timed remarks, respectfully differed from the views advocated by Mr Wallace, intimating, at the same time, "that he would not be so uncourteous as to use their platform for the advocacy of his own views, when the Alliance had one of its own."

On the following morning, Mr Pope attended the public breakfast, and delivered the following address, which did much to vindicate the Alliance from the

* Christian News, vol. xi. p. 350.

calumny and slander which had been heaped upon it by designing and interested parties :—

“The chairman [ex-Provost Rough of Dundee] had stated that he thought the proper administration of the present license-law would be sufficient legislative action. The chairman said, suppose they could get prohibition now. That, however, was fighting with a chimera—a shadow without substance or reality. Prohibition at present was simply an impossibility, and therefore he declined considering it. He would use the present license-law as a weapon for the suppression of the traffic, but he protested against the principle it involved. No Government had a right to license an evil traffic. The license-law was wrong in principle and rotten to the core, and was already doomed. The question to be considered was, by what system would they replace it. He was for ‘total and immediate’ Prohibition, in the same way as the League talked, not about gradual abstinence, but about ‘total and immediate’ abstinence. What the Alliance wanted was to educate public opinion in the principle of Prohibition. The difficulties in enforcing a Maine Law in America were greater than they would be in Britain. Why? Because it was a Federal Union. The Maine Law in Maine provided for importation, not because they wished that, but because the neighbouring States had a different law, and they could not help it. Such a difficulty could not occur in Britain. Then there was the difficulty caused by emigration. It was difficult to enforce such a law in Boston and New York, simply because these cities had a varying population—the Boston of to-day was not the Boston of to-morrow. There was also the difficulty from the States having a written constitution. In New York, for instance, after the law had been passed, and to a certain extent enforced, the Judges of the Supreme Court pronounced it unconstitutional. That could not happen here.

Once let the public demand a Maine Law, and the Parliament enact it, and it would become part and parcel of the constitution of the country. It had been said 9-10ths of the members of the Alliance were not abstainers. That was not true. 99-100dths were, and the remaining hundredths were fast coming over. The vast majority of the total abstainers in England were Maine Law men as well. As advocating legislative enactments, the Alliance must not address itself to a section of the community—it must address the whole community. If a man came to the polling-booth to vote for an abstainer, or a Maine Law man, they would never think of asking him whether he was a personal abstainer. In England the working-classes generally were in favour of a Maine Law. Ernest Jones, the leader of the Chartists, advocated the claims of the Alliance in his paper, and went, at the late election, to the poll as a Maine Law man. The question had been brought before many members of Parliament, and from sixty-six of these replies had been received favourable to the Parliamentary policy of the Alliance. The late bribery act was a Maine Law in principle, and its influence had been such that at Bolton, for instance, contrary to all precedent, not a single committee meeting was held in a public-house. The press, too, particularly the religious press, had paid great attention to the operations of the Alliance. Richard Cobden had declared that he had never known any political organisation attain in so short a time so gigantic dimensions as the Alliance. Mr Pope resumed his seat amid loud cheering.” *

The Annual Meeting of members next took place, when Dr M'Culloch brought forward his motion; and after calling attention to the undue influence which had been exerted against it by individuals and the

* Christian News, No. 563, p. 350.

press, delivered an elaborate speech in its support, quoting from the *Abstainer's Journal*, *Scottish Review*, and *League Register*, in proof of the charges preferred in his motion. During the delivery of his speech, the Dr maintained the most dignified and respectful demeanour, notwithstanding the interruptions of Mr Marr, who was ordered to "sit down" from the body of the hall. Mr John Davie, one of the earliest friends of the League, and a gentleman whose whole life had been one of self-sacrifice in the Temperance movement, seconded the motion. Mr John M'Gavin replied, during which he asked Mr Pope to look to the other side of the border, and see if there was nothing wrong there. The Directors of the League, he said, had often to complain of Alliance periodicals. They had often been misrepresented in them, and that "recently and very grossly." * He referred to the Dumfries protest, and denounced it "as of as disgraceful a character as had ever been sent to any body of independent men." † The Rev. Alex. Hannay moved an amendment against the motion of Dr M'Culloch, which led to a stormy discussion, in which the Rev. Patrick Brewster, the Rev. H. Calderwood, and Messrs Samuel Pope, John Stewart, Edinburgh, and William Lindsay, Aberdeen, took a prominent part. The discussion was prolonged till Dr M'Culloch (who, in order to keep an appointment, had to leave the hall) had no time to reply; but, at the request of the Rev. William Reid and Mr John Stewart, he agreed to withdraw his motion, Mr Stewart being "assured there would be no more misrepresentation." ‡

* Christian News, Vol. xi, p. 351.

† Weekly Journal, No. 20, p. 6.

‡ Dumfries Protest, p. 6.

After the withdrawal of Dr M'Culloch's motion, Mr J. Lang moved a resolution proposing, that "the League urge the formation of political associations of parties desirous of the restriction of the liquor traffic, and recommend all abstainers to become members of, and in every way aid, such associations."

Mr James M'Nair seconded the resolution, which, after a brief discussion, was met by an amendment, and lost.

The motion of Mr John Paton, from Barrhead, proposing that the Directors of the League enter upon an agitation, with "the view of testing the propriety and practicability of suppressing the traffic altogether," next came on. To use the language of Mr Paton upon the subject, never was man more successfully "diddled" than he was upon the occasion referred to. On rising to propose his resolution, he was most courteously addressed by one of the Directors, and informed, that as the hall was about to be required for other purposes, it would be necessary for them to retire down stairs, and there he would have ample time to propose his resolution. In the plenitude of his generous and unsuspecting nature, Mr Paton at once complied with the request, and on going down stairs was introduced into a *small room*, crowded with gentlemen. Another of the Directors tapped him gently upon the shoulder, and addressing him in language of humble condescension, suggested the desirableness of withdrawing his motion in the *peculiar circumstances* in which they were *now* placed. Mr Paton, beginning to suspect he had been duped, declined, whereupon another "influential looking gentleman" made a similar attempt to induce him to withdraw his "important motion," as

he called it, "as it could not possibly get justice at this late hour of the day;" Mr Paton, however, was determined that they should at least hear his sentiments upon the subject, and distinctly and resolutely refused. All attempts having failed to induce him to compromise his position, the Secretary then, in a voice of stern authority, which contrasted strangely with the tones of those gentlemen by whom he had previously been addressed, called upon him to "proceed with his motion." Mr Paton then read his motion; and, in an effective speech, showed that, but for the influence of the traffic upon pledged abstainers, they would, through the instrumentality of societies, "have been able this day to present the majority of Scotchmen in the roll-books in happy and consistent membership." Having pictured in glowing characters the fearful desolations of the traffic upon affiliated societies, and the impotency of all restrictive and temporising efforts to cope with it, he called upon them, as honest and earnest men, to take up his motion, and enter at once upon the line of action which it clearly indicated. The motion was seconded by the Rev. Alexander Davidson, with an eloquent appeal to the Directors in its behalf; but this, "in the peculiar circumstances," was found utterly unavailing. So terminated the business meeting of the League; from which a very important lesson may be learned. In these days of prevailing dissatisfaction, when members are informed by agents and officials, that "the League and its policy are just what the members wish it to be, the Annual Meeting being the proper place to decide upon the mode of action to be adopted and carried out by the Directors:" let any one who has hitherto been misled

by this intimation, only remember that the Directors are in power—that they have at their command the support and influence of all who are directly concerned in the conducting of its operations, as well as those who are pecuniarily interested in the production of their literature and publications; and let him also take into consideration the use to which these varied instrumentalities may be perverted, and he will at once see the improbability, if not the utter hopelessness, of any change adverse to the minds of the Directors being obtained, in present circumstances, by the action of the members, who, scattered throughout the community—and many of them at great distances from headquarters—are comparatively powerless to deal with all the systematic and multifarious devices which an official correspondence and a well-plenished treasury can secure.

So long as the Directors of any institution have the will, and can command the means, to buy up all the really *purchaseable* literary power in the cause with which they are associated—so long as they can sustain a weekly organ through which they can chronicle and exaggerate their own official influence and importance, and systematically ignore or depreciate the successful operations of those whose influence and importance they are interested in destroying—so long as they are able by powerful considerations to employ individuals to itinerate the country assailing and misrepresenting the efforts of those who disapprove of their official policy and procedure, we much fear that the strife is too unequal to be long persisted in by men of independence and observation, who labour for the benefit of their fellow-men.

The memorable meetings of the League for 1857 were brought to a close by a Soiree, which took place after the business meeting; and as it was by many regarded as an appropriate conclusion of the whole, we shall conclude the present chapter by a brief report of the proceedings:—

“When the company arrived, Mr M’Gavin rose and proposed that Mr Thomas Knox of Edinburgh take the chair. This was an unusual course of procedure, but he had adopted it in consequence of circumstances that had recently occurred. As they were all aware, Dr M’Culloch of Dumfries had given notice to the Directors that he intended, at the annual business meeting, to propose a motion, recognizing the right of the delegates at the tea-party to elect their own chairman, and reflecting on Mr Knox. (A voice—‘Enough of that.’) The Directors took legal advice in regard to the motion—(hisses)—which the legal gentleman they consulted declared to be libellous. He had a high opinion of Mr Knox (laying his hand on Mr Knox’s shoulder)—a gentleman who had done great service in the cause of Temperance, and to whom the efficiency of the League was in a great measure owing. (Cheers.) He begged to move that Mr Knox take the chair. (Applause.)

“Mr Knox had intended to slip quietly into the chair, as a matter of course, as he had done on a similar occasion last year. There had been some sign of opposition; but, if necessary, he would have fought his way to it. (A laugh.) His opponent, however, had cut and run away—(hisses, and cries of ‘shame’)—and he was left in undisturbed possession. (A laugh, and renewed hisses.) He trusted they would forget all past differences—(A voice—‘You’ve made a fine beginning’)—and enjoy a happy evening.

“The Rev. G. C. Hutton, Paisley, implored the Divine blessing, and the company partook of an excel-

lent tea. Several delegates and others then addressed the meeting.

"Mr Balmer reported that, with the Ayrshire Temperance Union, there were connected 42 societies, 8500 adults, and 2500 juveniles, being an increase of 37 per cent. on last year.

"Mr Vallance, Edinburgh, said there were 71 fewer public-houses there this year than last year, and 180 back-doors had been shut up. (Cheers.)

"Mr M'Lean, Dundee, stated that in that city the public-houses within a few years had been reduced from 626 to 375 (applause), and the number of brokers' shops had decreased in a corresponding degree.

"The Chairman called on Mr George Roy for a recitation. (Cheers.)

"Mr Roy said he was so out of sorts after the bad blood that had been displayed that day, that he did not feel able to do justice to a recitation. Mr Roy then made some harsh observations on Dr M'Culloch and the Alliance, in calling in question the policy of the League, which brought down upon him a storm of hisses, and loud cries of 'chair,' 'order,' 'shame,' &c.

"Mr Councillor Strachan, of South Shields, rose from the opposite end of the room, and said that he had rejoiced in the belief that all division had come to an end (applause), and he regretted very much to hear any gentleman attempt to renew dissension. He appealed to Mr George Easton whether the friends of the League from Scotland did not meet with the warmest reception when they crossed the Border. (Loud cheers.)

"Mr Easton, at a later stage of the proceedings, said that he had been treated like a gentleman in England. (Cheers.)

"During the confusion, most of the gentlemen on the platform were observed motioning Mr Roy that way. Mr Roy ascended the platform amid loud laughter, and after a few characteristic prefatory observations, in the course of which he complimented several

of the gentlemen beside him, gave a recitation in his best style." *

On the evening of the same day on which the Annual Meetings of the Scottish Temperance League were held, a meeting of the Edinburgh Board was convened, to which Messrs Forsyth and Turnbull were specially summoned. These gentlemen arrived from Glasgow just in time to be present, and to hear their conduct fully animadverted upon, and unsparingly condemned by each of their late colleagues. Both of these gentlemen having tendered their resignation, a motion was carried refusing to entertain any resignation until the books were balanced, and each member of the Board assessed for his share of any liability that might be found to stand against the Institution. Another resolution was carried, agreeing to take steps to let it be known, in quarters where this was necessary, who were the writers of several personal and offensive articles which had appeared in the *Abolitionist*, in order that those who had been erroneously charged with their authorship might be vindicated. The business upon the programme having been exhausted, the meeting dissolved, Mr Shepherd having fortunately taken with him several of the books, in order that the terms of the resolution of the Board might be carried out, his professional experience, and deep interest in the movement, eminently fitting him for the duties it involved. The next number of the *Abolitionist* having appeared in due course, and the ordinary meeting of the Board being convened as usual, it was found that the Minute-Book, along with the Dumfries and Man-

* Christian News, No. 563, p. 351.

chester correspondence had been unwarrantably removed from the office, which at once put a stop to all further business. Communications were then forwarded to Messrs Forsyth and Turnbull, both of whom declined to answer any questions upon the subject of the missing property. Advice having been taken upon the subject, the Board was advised to institute criminal proceedings; but as it was the general opinion that such a step would militate against the progress of the movement they were united to advance, the Board decided rather to dissolve the Institution, and allow *those other parties* into whose hands the records and correspondence, so discredibly obtained, had fallen, the full benefit of all the information they could afford.

CHAPTER XIX.

Neal Dow in Edinburgh—The results of his visit neutralised—Culpability of the Executive of the United Kingdom Alliance—Pamphlet of the Rev. J. B. Robertson, in defence of the League Directorate—Fallacies and Misstatements of the Pamphlet exposed—Misrepresentations of the Alliance officially corrected by the Executive—Return of J. B. Gough, and his ingenious defence of the "Dead Letter"—The "Dead Letter" disproved by Mr Gough's own evidence—Overwhelming and influential testimony against the "Dead Letter"—A new phase of Infidelity discovered by the *Weekly Journal*—Visit of Paisley Weavers to the Office of the Scottish Temperance League—Strictures of Dr M'Culloch.

ON the 22d of June 1857, the Honourable Neal Dow, accompanied by Dr F. R. Lees, visited Edinburgh; but through the injudicious character of the arrangements, his visit was made rather to retard than advance the interests of the movement he so nobly re-

presented. The nature of the reception which Neal Dow was to receive in the metropolis had been entirely committed by the Alliance Executive into the hands of the Rev. William Reid, who had just returned from attending the great ministerial conference in Manchester, and it is to be regretted that the arrangements were of the most paltry and unsatisfactory character. While the interest which Mr Reid *then* took in the Alliance fully justified the Executive in accepting his services in the getting up of a meeting for the reception of the distinguished stranger, we cannot exonerate them from blame in not having submitted such conditions as would have secured a meeting alike worthy of their honoured representative, and the important mission in which he was engaged. Instead of the meeting being held in one of our public halls, under the patronage of such of our magistrates and influential citizens as would have felt proud to do honour to one of the most noble and popular philanthropists of our day, it was not only stripped of its metropolitan character, but made to assume a congregational aspect, by being held in Mr Reid's own chapel. Not only did the reception given to Neal Dow in the metropolis of Scotland fall short of what was justly due to him, but the Alliance agitation, as a great citizen question, suffered seriously, by being most unnecessarily mixed up with the Total Abstinence agitation: which in Edinburgh was most unfortunate—seeing that there the official leaders of that movement had become notorious throughout Great Britain and America for their inveterate hostility to Alliance principles. Moreover, the treatment to which the members of the Alliance in Edinburgh were subjected on this occasion, was by

many regarded as a direct insult from the Executive. Although there were several hundreds of enrolled members in the city, and several members of General Council, few, *if any*, were invited to meet the world-renowned champion of their principles, while he was accompanied to the platform by members of that Committee, whose determined opposition to the Maine Law agitation had, only a few months before, led to a serious outbreak in the city, by which the public peace was outraged, and the lives of the inhabitants placed in peril. Professor Miller, who occupied the chair, took occasion to state, that, while a thorough Temperance man, he was not prepared to adopt the principles advocated by the honourable Neal Dow. Dr Lees, who spoke upon the occasion, appeared fully to understand the position in which he stood, and delivered a short address, admirably adapted for the state of matters in Scotland, and more particularly to the circumstances in which they were then met, calling particular attention to the fact, that the United Kingdom Alliance was a great political confederacy, agitating for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic.

Neal Dow, on rising, was called upon to ascend the pulpit, that he might be seen and heard by those in the gallery of the chapel, which was crowded to overflowing, and was received with tremendous cheering. During his address, which was of the most practical character, he appeared to carry conviction to every heart, and again and again did he call forth the hearty plaudits of a delighted and enraptured audience. The enthusiasm and cheering was overpowering when he told the true prohibitionists of Scotland not to be discouraged by the opposition with which they were

assailed by a few foolish and misguided Temperance men. In America they had the same difficulties to encounter; but by firm and unfaltering energy, all such unseemly opposition had been overcome. Notwithstanding the nature of the speeches of the Alliance representatives, and the hearty enthusiasm with which they were received, the Rev. Mr Reid rose, and, in the language of the *Commonwealth* correspondent, "told the Alliance some wholesome truths—that the advocates of the Maine Law must have clean hands," * &c. He then proceeded to enforce the Abstinence pledge as essential to a proper advocacy of the Maine Law movement. The circumstance of Mr Reid having urged that before the parliamentary constituency could properly record their votes for the prohibition of the liquor traffic, they must first sign the teetotal pledge, after Neal Dow had shown, that as citizens oppressed with the evils of the traffic, it became them *at once* to demand relief from its social and pecuniary burdens, exerted a prejudicial effect upon the meeting. While the injudicious conduct of the reverend gentleman was very generally condemned, there were numbers of influential parties who had been impressed with the reasonableness of the course of action propounded against the traffic by Neal Dow, and who would probably have been led to throw their influence into the agitation, but who at once turned from it as a hopeless undertaking, when they heard that it was to be delayed and made dependent upon the general adoption of the Abstinence pledge.†

* *Commonwealth*, No. 196, p. 6.

† FOUR-FIFTHS is the proportion of the people fixed upon by the Scottish Temperance League who will require to become teetotalers before a prohibitory law may be demanded, passed, and maintained.—*Scottish Review*, No. 19, p. 267.

To insist upon and *wait* for the general adoption and practice of total abstinence, before demanding the total Prohibition of the liquor traffic, appeared to this class as absurd as to insist upon the disappearance of the effects, before it could be proper or expedient to demand that the cause should be removed.

After having addressed meetings in several of the leading towns in Scotland, where he was most enthusiastically received, Neal Dow visited Ireland, accompanied by Mr Reid; and here, again, we regard the Alliance Executive as most culpable in having become party to any such arrangement, more particularly after what had occurred in Edinburgh, to say nothing of the appearance made by that gentleman in Manchester, where, from his public address, they must have felt satisfied that he either failed to apprehend or approve the marked constitutional distinction which existed between the Alliance and the Abstinence agitation—the former being based upon the *broad* platform of citizenship and social right, and the latter upon the *exclusive* basis of the Abstinence pledge. Had the mission of Neal Dow been to advocate *Teetotalism*, we believe a more appropriate colleague than the Rev. William Reid could not have been found in Scotland; but the circumstance that on almost every Alliance platform he now insisted on its being essential for all to adopt the Teetotal pledge before they could properly agitate for the total Prohibition of the traffic, most certainly unfitted him for the proper and successful occupation of an Alliance platform. We regard the individual, who upon an Alliance platform would denounce as inconsistent those who agitate for the Prohibition of the traffic who do not abstain, as pursuing

a course equally imprudent and indefensible with him who, recognising the Abstinence pledge, would, upon an Abstinence platform, brand as inconsistent those Abstainers who agitate for Total Abstinence, but who do not abstain from it in "a religious ordinance."

Neal Dow, having left Mr Reid, returned from Ireland (where, by reason of the circumstances to which we have referred, his tour was by no means so satisfactory as he could have wished), afterwards spent a few weeks on the Continent, and then again revisited England, where he laboured with great acceptance and success till the end of October. After a farewell entertainment from many of the leading Temperance Reformers in Britain, he left to confront and overthrow the Rum-party in his own country. Since his return, the originator of the Maine Law has been elected representative for the city of Portland in the State Legislature, by the largest majority any man ever had in that city, only 50 adverse votes having been recorded out of a constituency of 30,000.

Shortly after the Annual Meetings of the Scottish Temperance League, a pamphlet appeared from the pen of the Rev. J. B. Robertson, late Secretary, entitled "The League and the Alliance." The principal object of the pamphlet appeared to be to damage the influence of the *Christian News*, and to destroy the feeling in favour of the United Kingdom Alliance in Scotland. The writer having, under the shelter of several passages of Old Testament scripture, devoted somewhere between twenty and thirty pages of his work to the misrepresenting, twisting, and torturing of truths stated by Drs Lees and M'Culloch, the Secretary and Honorary Secretary of the Alliance, and several contri-

butors to the *Christian News*, proceeded, among many other unwarrantable statements, to make the following, which clearly show, that, however zealous Mr Robertson might be in the defence of the League, he was not sufficiently conversant with his subject to fit him for the task which he had accepted. Mr Robertson states "that up to 1852 or 1853, the question of the propriety of Temperance associations agitating for the Prohibition by law of the liquor traffic, had not been much before the mind of Temperance men."* That this statement is notoriously at variance with fact, must have already been observed by the reader of the foregoing pages. In order, if possible, to make its fallacy still more apparent, we shall here quote from a Report of the British Association, a resolution passed by that institution at a conference held in July 1838, bearing directly upon the subject:—"That it is the duty of every friend of Temperance to promote petitions to the Legislature, embodying our views on the immorality of the traffic, and urging respectfully, but firmly, the consideration of this subject, and the enactment of such laws as will speedily terminate the traffic in all intoxicating liquors."† A petition embodying the principles enunciated in this resolution, was adopted at a public meeting of "the members of Total Abstinence societies and other individuals resident in Glasgow"‡ in the same year, which clearly shows that the agitation for the Legislative Prohibition of the liquor traffic is not of such recent origin as Mr Robertson would have his readers to believe.

Mr Robertson states that, "at the Annual Meeting

* The League and the Alliance, p. 29.

† Teetotal Mirror for August, p. 119.

‡ Ibid. p. 73.

of 1853, it was arranged that the matter (the Legislative question) should lie over till 1854, and on that understanding the Directors entered on office."* Where Mr Robertson got such information, we have not been able to discover; but we have no hesitation in setting it down as a gratuitous assumption, utterly unsupported by any authority in the published official reports of the Scottish Temperance League.

Mr Robertson farther states that, at the Annual Meeting of 1853, the Directors "disclaimed any opposition to the Maine Law movement."† Here, again, he has most unfortunately failed to adduce any evidence in support of his assertion, which we presume to be equally baseless with his former statement; or, if not, it is sadly belied by the subsequent *practice* of the Directors. If it be true that they then "disclaimed all opposition to the Maine Law, at the Annual Meeting of 1853," why, we ask, did they send their Secretary to York to vote against it, in direct opposition to their disclaimer? and why did they themselves itinerate throughout the country, and, in their official and combined capacity as Directors, systematically oppose it? This is abundantly proved by the following letter, inserted in the *Christian News*, and with which we take leave of Mr Robertson and his pamphlet, where he has been pleased to denounce *all misrepresentations*, and unsparingly to condemn all who make assertions upon such a subject without adducing proof:—

"In the end of 1853, a deputation from the Directors visited Barrhead. The deputation consisted of Messrs M'Gavin, Melvin, Reid, and M'Kay. This was after

* The League and the Alliance, p. 30.

† Ibid.

the decision above referred to. One of the deputation gave a sort of out-of-date temperance address, and did not allude to the Maine Law movement. The other three, in spite of the *understanding* on which the Directors entered on office, decidedly opposed League agitation for a Maine Law. One of them opposed it because such action would be *in opposition to the constitution of the League*. Yet Mr R., and, I suppose, the Directors, have *now or lately* discovered that 'the *entire* abolition of the drinking system' may include agitation for Legislative suppression. I may here mention that the chairman of the Barrhead meeting, Mr Andrew Craig, read to the deputation the very article of the constitution which Mr R. quotes, and for the same purpose, viz., to show that the *constitution* of the League *emphatically sanctioned* the action *opposed* by the Directors. It follows, therefore, that the Directors were 'asleep,' and whether they acknowledge it or not, and to whatever cause it may be traceable, they are only recently waked up, if indeed, they are, even yet, fully awake.

"Another of the deputation, at the above meeting, opposed League agitation for a Maine Law, from the following among other reasons:—That there were one or two warm-hearted members of the League, whose purses were always open, but who were so much opposed to the Maine Law that, if the League took it up, their pockets would be closed, and, the fact was, *the League could not do without them*. This reason speaks for itself, and may, perhaps, help to throw some light on the opposition of the League Directorate to the Maine Law.

"The other member of the deputation, Mr M'Gavin, opposed the Maine Law on *principle*. He was *then* opposed to all such Legislative interference with the rights and operations of trade.

"It is in vain, Sir, to deny that there has been a change on the part of the Directors in this matter. Why, I find that in 1850 the League had 25 members in Barr-

head; in 1851 they had 36; in 1852 they had 44; in 1853 they had 49; while in 1857 they had only 14. Why this reduction? I speak advisedly when I say, that the League's treatment of the Legislative Prohibition of the liquor traffic has been its main cause. Than the persons who have, on this account, withdrawn from the League, there are no more thorough-going abstainers in the kingdom. It is, in fact, their thoroughness in their abstinence principles that makes them thorough Maine Law men. I believe a little more canvassing the town would produce some increase in the number of members, because the conviction is entertained that the Directors are coming round. But I am also persuaded that the only way by which the League can again enlist the bulk of those withdrawn, and men like them throughout the country, will be to adopt, not a *limping* policy of agitation, but an *open, thorough, honest one*—one which will command the respect and the support of the mass of the people, by presenting an issue *worth* striving for, and which, when achieved, shall *end the struggle*.

"I write this not because I am an enemy of the League, but, because I am its friend; and because I think when such matters are being agitated, it is right to state what may help to guide to a truthful decision. I am, sir, a member of the League. I rejoice in the good it has accomplished. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that the Executive's treatment of the Maine Law agitation has done harm and not good—has, in fact, deprived the League of a power which it would otherwise have had, and could have wielded in the mighty effort. Such, I know, to be the opinion of others of the few members of the League in Barrhead; and I hope the day is not far distant when *that* public opinion for which they *wait*, shall compel the Directors to take a position in this great question, worthy of the League and of themselves.—I am, yours truly,

"Barrhead, 23d June 1857.

A. DAVIDSON."

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"Barrhead, 23d June 1857.

A. DAVIDSON."

So far had the systematic misrepresentations of the United Kingdom Alliance been carried in Scotland, at the time to which we refer, that the Executive felt called upon to issue an official manifesto upon the subject, which was most successful in exposing the hollow-hearted and unprincipled attempts made to infuse a baneful poison into the Scottish mind upon the subject of Alliance principles and policy. As these misrepresentations are being from time to time revived, in the literature and by the paid agents of the League, we feel called upon, in justice to the cause of Temperance and truth, to give a few extracts from this important document. "*The principle of the Alliance is Prohibition of the traffic in strong drink, as a social right and necessity.*"

"The term 'IMMEDIATE' in their watchword is significant of rightful claim and duty, as when applied to the demand of the slave for *immediate* freedom, or to that of the people for the *immediate* removal of the tax upon bread; and no quirks and quibbles will hold good as against the well-understood and historic sense of this word, which do not equally apply to the demand for 'entire prohibition.'

"The claim is made immediate, and immediately made, because the wrong is immediate; and no other words can express, so fully and forcibly, the *real* truth and the *whole* truth. Seeking no disguise, and believing in no reticence, but simply in the truth and right, the Alliance announces the claims and principles in which alone it believes, and only with the granting of which it will dissolve its organization. Believing in Prohibition, and not in license, it honestly asks for what it wants, and will accept in discharge of its claim nothing less and nothing different.

"The Alliance demands Prohibition of the traffic,

total as well as immediate. Right and duty cannot be postponed, nor halved. Bit-by-bit prohibition, is *not* the prohibition of the traffic—it is only the *limitation* of it. It creates a monopoly. The traffic comprehends the cider-house, the beer-shop, the tavern, as well as the dram-shop, and to put down a *part* is not to set up Prohibition at all. The Alliance assails the traffic, ‘one and indivisible,’ and while rejoicing in every limitation to a machinery of mischief, still agitates persistently for its *total* and *immediate* destruction.

“The Alliance believes that when the people suffer a great wrong, the best policy is to proclaim that wrong entire, and not a part of it;—that the definiteness of the claim may give incisiveness to agitation, and the greatness of the evil stir up sympathy to action. Nothing is so fatal to political agitation as a suspicion of more being meant than is affirmed. A clear assertion of the ultimate object of agitation, may startle at first, but must eventually consolidate strength and conciliate public confidence. By demanding less than the ultimate object, a temporary but hollow success may be achieved, by adding to the list of adherents those who, not convinced of the ultimate principle, will fall away at the first pressure of disaster, or excuse of partial victory.

“The Alliance, while devoting its energies to its *own* principle, and to the working of its *own* policy, sincerely hails every effort of other societies tending to weaken a common enemy. Indirectly it will render aid to every wise and honest attempt to limit the traffic, but cannot forsake its own special mission. It will rejoice in every Parliamentary concession—believing that its own agitation for complete protection is the surest means of obtaining large and early concessions—but it will accept nothing in the way of *settlement*, save that which is really such—Prohibition, entire and final. To the Alliance, it is a matter of perfect indifference what party or institution, in or out of Parlia-

ment, conducts and crowns an agitation *on this principle*—provided the work be done.

“The Alliance has never sought to supplant, or to do the work of Temperance societies, but, on the contrary, has done very much to promote their efficiency and success, and has at all times acknowledged their necessity and usefulness.

“The Alliance has never assailed any other organization save that of the Licensed Victuallers; has never opposed any organization or policy having a friendly object; and has never dictated what should be the policy of the *abstainer* towards the Legislature, but simply declared its own views of the duty of the citizen.

“The Alliance has never claimed that Prohibition is the *adequate* and radical remedy for intemperance, but only for that large amount of intemperance which flows from the *Traffic*; and it is not therefore ‘radically defective.’

“The Alliance has never sought to anticipate public opinion by premature parliamentary enactment; but, on the contrary, aims at legislative measures as the *expression* of the public opinion which it seeks to create and embody. It is not therefore ‘coercive,’ and does not ignore the ‘active consent’ of the people.”

In the end of July, Mr J. B. Gough returned to England, when it was expected by many of his former friends that he would withdraw the statement which he had made regarding the Maine Law being “a dead letter,” and thus terminate a controversy which was doing more to destroy the Temperance cause than all he had ever done to promote it. Instead of this, they were surprised to find him appearing before the British public, and affirming that he was prepared to prove the controverted statement by a large budget of letters, indorsed by the most trustworthy and distinguished

Temperance reformers in America. In the address which he delivered immediately upon his landing at Liverpool, he proceeded to adduce his proof; and most ingeniously endeavoured to interpolate the words "very generally" into the disputed sentence of the original letter,—making it read thus: "The Maine Law is, *very generally*, a dead letter everywhere,"—instead of (as it did in the original document, published in the *Weekly Record*), "the Maine Law is a dead letter everywhere." Not only did this attempt to get quit of the unhappy statement prove a "failure," but, upon examination, it was found, that, out of the thirteen letters of his budget which were published, only *one* could be said to corroborate the testimony of Mr Gough, while the remaining twelve tended to overthrow the position which he foolishly attempted to defend. Immediately thereafter, several scores of letters, from leading Temperance reformers in the American States, were forwarded to this country, directly contradicting, in the most emphatic terms, the statements of Mr Gough,—confirming the testimony of Neal Dow,—and exposing the whole affair as a pure delusion. The publication of a large number of these letters in the *Alliance Weekly News*, and many of them being copied into other papers, fully satisfied the general public, although there were still those who—interested in Mr Gough's pecuniary prospects, and the heavy responsibilities incurred by the League—appeared resolutely determined neither to weigh nor appreciate evidence, however strengthened and confirmed by judges, magistrates, ministers, and officers in every department of the State.

The "dead letter" having thus been disposed of, "John Robertson," "True Policy," "J. K.," and several

others, continued, through the *Christian News*, to press home upon the hearts and consciences of the people the unintermitting ravages of the licensed traffic, and the necessity for an honest and fearless agitation for its overthrow. Meanwhile, the *Weekly Journal* was trumpeting forth the praises of Mr Gough, "as a God-sent man," and stamping with "infidelity" all who failed to recognise him as such, declaring that "his appearance was a Divine arrangement, calling for devout acknowledgment." *

So puffed up had the League officials now become with that institutional pride and vain-glorious adulation which has so long marred the beauty and impaired the usefulness of that institution, that it had become painfully transparent and peculiarly offensive to many of its most attached members. The terrible wrongs inflicted by the traffic upon suffering thousands appeared to be all but unheeded, while the most outrageous exaggerations of the extent and importance of the League were being most systematically indulged in, and the assumed ignorance of its country members and their families held up as a matter of wonder. That this is no fanciful picture, we will here devote a few pages, to place before the reader, in an abridged form, two articles from the *Journal*, which created considerable excitement at the time, and, we doubt not, will prove amusing in their present form :—

A VISIT TO THE LEAGUE OFFICE.

BY TWO PAISLEY "BODIES."

John. I say, Andrew, this must be the place. What's the number? Isn't it 108?

Andrew. There's nae manner of doubt aboot that; I'm sure

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 11, p. 42.

we see't often enough in the *Journal*. Yonder it is; do ye no see "Scottish Temperance League," in great big iron or goold letters—I dinna ken which—aboon the doors, and stuck into yon frames in the window? But, if that's the League office, it maun surely be a large establishment!

John. And so it should. Do ye no ken it's the National Institution, where a' the Temperance books, an' journals, an' tracts are published, that may be seen flecin' like snaw-flakes in winter owre broad Scotland?

Andrew. Weel, step in, John, an' I'll follow. Ye're aulder than me, an' can speak better, an' hae mair "cheek" bcsides.

[They enter, and, looking through a small window into the Board Room, perceive the Secretary of the League: a friendly nod and smile from whom emboldens them to open the door.]

Sec. Now, gentlemen, perhaps you would like to see the office?

John and Andrew. Certainly.

Sec. Well, this is the Board Room, where the Directors meet.

Andrew. We shouldna be here, then, I'm afraid. Have we no been intrudin'?

Sec. Don't mention it.

John. Who's yon you've got in that corner?

Sec. These are the photographs of a few friends of the cause—Mr Prentice of Manchester, Mr Tweedie of London, Mr Cruickshanks, the eminent caricaturist, and author of "The Bottle," Mr Knox of Edinburgh, &c.

Andrew. Stop, stop! Where have ye got a' the letters? That minds me o' a wee country post-office!

Sec. The second mail has just come in. Our correspondence here is pretty extensive. What think you of receiving sixty or seventy letters in a day frequently!

John. You can't answer the whole of them, surely?

Sec. We must; else some of you short-tempered creatures would take offence.

Andrew. Preserve us a'! To read and answer seeventy letters seems to me a gude week's wark, far less a day's. It aye taks me a full hour to write the shortest letter I can think o'. But then, you see, I canna write fast; whercas, I am certain the fingers o' you folks here maun flee along the paper, just like my shuttle.

Sec. Let us return upstairs. This is our editor's room, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the mysterious *we*; but as he is out at present, appeasing the voracious printers who have been calling for "copy" for the last half-hour, we may enter. You

see the shelves are all packed with parliamentary blue-books, and other valuable statistical works.

Andrew. I would like to be oot o' here as soon's convenient; I dinna feel a' thegither richt in sic a learned place. And, besides, I'm feared if the mysterious "we," as you ca' him, should happen to come drappin' in, he would be puttin' some-thin' like this in his Notices to Correspondents next week:—"John"—"Andrew"—(Paisley). "Your presence can be dispensed with. Future intrusions will be exposed in a leader." And rayther than that, I would suffer onythin'.

Sec. Well, since you're so nervous, we shall retire. Come to the saloon.

John. In the name o' a' that's wonnerfu', what's this!

Sec. That's one of our London parcels. We despatch such bales as these several times each month to London, Manchester, Edinburgh, &c.

[The door opens. A voice—"Anything for the South-Western?"]

Andrew. What's that? It cam' on me like a clap of thunder!

Sec. It's one of the railway officials asking if the parcel which so excited your surprise a little ago, is ready yet. He will take it away immediately, you will sec. Take care of yourselves, gentlemen, they are moving it off!

John. This is the *Journal*, I see.

Sec. Yes, that is our luminary. A number of our friends are anxious that it should be enlarged.

Andrew. Glad am I to hear o't; I am sure it'll succeed.

Sec. We have little fear of that. These parcels you see there are about to be posted to all parts of the kingdom; some, far beyond it. See, these are addressed to Canada; these, to New York; these, to Australia. One of our friends, in fact, regularly posts it to the South Seas.

John. We're much obleeged to you, Mr Secretary, for wasting your precious time on such humble individuals; but I'm sure, when I get to Paisley the nicht, I'll hae a lang story to tell. Lizzie, my wife, will be a proud woman when she hears frae my mouth o' the extent o' the League office in Glasgow. She's aye had an awfu' hankerin' to see't; but I'll astonish her.—Gude day to ye, sir. May our common cause prosper more and more!

Sec. Good-bye. I'll be delighted to see you again.

Andrew. Thanks t'ye, sir, for a' your kindness. I min' the day when the League office wasna sae big as it's noo; and I believe the day's comin' when it'll be bigger yet. The Scottish Temperance League is a great fact, sir; and though I may hae naething else to leave my bairns when I dee, I can

aye leave them this—and they need never be ashamed o' the legacy—that their faither, puir though he was, was ance a member o't.

[Exeunt; the Secretary waving them a hearty good-bye.]

SECOND VISIT.

Andrew. John, ye had better haud your tongue, as here's 108 Hope Street, and yonder's oor gude friend the Secretary, sitting in his arm-chair at the desk.

[The Secretary on observing them through the glass-sight, tenders them a smile of recognition, and making his arm describe a semicircle in the air, invites them within.]

Sec. Come in, gentlemen; take seats: I'm delighted to see you. Have you returned to take a peep at the other wonders of the League office?

John. Weel, sir, I'm rayther feared we maun plead guilty to the wish to trouble ye a bit; but we jist thocht, as ye were sae obleegin' the last time, we wad show ye that we hadna forgotten your kindness. But, first an' foremost, sir, we'll gi'e ye oor annual subscription to the League; and sure am I that thae five shillin's could scarcely be better spent. Ye ken, we maun hae *ten thoosan'* members this year—that wad mak' a very respectable *Register*, I'm thinkin'. Andrew an' I hae got a dozen new members a piece within the last fortnicht, and that scarcely without ony trouble at a',—so ye see, Maister Secretary, what folk can dae when thae have the will.

Sec. I must thank you very kindly for your personal exertions and your subscriptions—see there are your receipts. And now, come; did you ever see a printing office?

Andrew. No man, I never did. I've often thocht to mysel', I wad hae gien my head to see aye.

John. An' brawly ye wad hae seen't when you wanted the een.

Sec. This way, if you please, gentlemen—I hear you are inclined to be jocular. This is what is termed the case-room. You will of course observe the compositors at work. It is here that the *Weekly Journal* is, as we term it, "set up." See, there is a fragment of a leader, and there the half of a letter signed "Young Edinburgh;" yonder, part of the "Column for the Young;" and further on, a few small "pars." As the Ancient Egyptians used to reap their corn in "handfuls," so the entire body of our *Journal* is gathered together and made up in "stickfuls;" and, to continue the

figure, as the sheaves of corn were deposited in the granary, so the "stickfuls" of type are "emptied" into the "galley." Nay, don't start, gentlemen; we have no connection with slavery—we may have dozens of "galleys," but we have nothing else—for your "minion" overseers, and your haughty "bourgeois," are here all of lead. Have a care, there, Mr —, if you please, I know you are better acquainted with the loom than the oven; but if you do not exercise great caution, you'll have the whole of that column formed into a magnificent "pie;" and now, if you will only stand a little out of the road, I will reward you for your pains by showing you the most successful method of "imposing,"—ay, and upon the apparently poorest of all objects—a cold and close-grained stone.

Andrew. Preserve us a'! the like o' this I never heard!—what is't ye'r meanin'? "Galleys" and "pies," "minions" an' "stickfuls"—beggin' your pardon, sir, what is't ye'r speakin' about?

John. Weel, Andrew, I'm rayther thinkin' you've left your manners at hame this mornin'—d'ye no see that thae queer names are what the printers have for some of their concerns, jist in the same way as ye speak o' your "tram," an' your "twist," your "batten," an' your "treddles?"

Andrew. Oh, what a stupid blockhead I am, no' to hae seen that afore. I'm sure, sir, I'm extremely sorry if I've said anything to offend ye. But, losh me, jist to think that each of thae wee bits o' lead is an individuality, and that you can mak' them express onything, if you only pit them in the richt position.

Sec. A truce to apologies, my dear sir; come away down stairs till you see the "machine." It is driven by steam, and is termed a double-cylinder, because it can print an entire paper at once, whether composed of four or eight pages. If you were here when the *Weekly Journal* is being "knocked off," as we call it, I am sure you would enjoy a treat. One of the "imps"—I suppose you know who these are?—runs up aloft, and satiates its voracious maw; another catches the sheets as they fly out, while a third tends the engine—all of them working over-night.

John. And have ye a' this bother an' trouble with a *Journal* ye gie for a penny? I can believe now that we are livin' after a h' in the days of steam and competition. But, by the way, how's the *Journal* doin'?

Sec. Most admirably—it circulates in immense numbers throughout the whole country. You will find it in Shetland and Cornwall—"from Dan unto Beersheba." Its success has fairly outstripped our expectations, and it is still progressing.

But come, I have other wonders in store for you. You've seen the place where our *Weekly Journal* is printed. I will now show you whence our *Burnish Family*, *Fortunes of Fairleigh*, *Adviser*, and *Pictorial Tracts*, are issued.

Andrew. Ye quite dumfounder me, sir, wi' the extent o' your operations.

Sec. Doesn't your teetotal blood burn in your veins, as you think that the continual "birr" you are hearing on all hands is aiding us in the good cause? What would the early founders of our movement think, if they could rise from their graves, and, remembering that they, in their time, could scarcely issue a small four-paged tract, without considerable trepidation as to who was to pay the printer, observe the tons of temperance literature we are flinging broadcast over the land every year! There *must* be something of a really patriotic, I had almost said, divine nature, in our movement; else, depend upon it, its success would never have been so thorough and so marked.

John. That's aye what I say at oor weekly meetin's in Paisley; an' I fin' it has far mair effect than if I were to begin and blackball a' the publicans i' the toun.

Sec. And now, to change the subject somewhat, perhaps you would like to see the "Foundry," where we stereotype the pages of our various publications.

Andrew. Certainly, sir; though I scarcely understan' what ye mean.

John. Weel, sir, I honestly declare you're a strange set o' folks about the League Office—wha would ever think that oor great-grand-children could hae copies of the *Burnish Family* printed aff from the same leaden pages as their forefaithers a hun'ner years afore? If I didna ken to the contrary, I wad be very apt to think that there was somethin' no a' thegither canny about thae queer operations.

Sec. And now, gentlemen, would you wish to pay a visit to our bookbinders?

Andrew. Wi' pleasure, sir; I ance thocht o' bein' ane mysel'.

Sec. There they are, then, busy at work. I remember that, when we began to issue the *Burnish Family* in the month of March last, such was the demand for it, that we were compelled to have them labouring hard at the binding of the several volumes from six o'clock in the morning to eleven at night, till the entire body of them struck, and declared they were quite unfit to bear up against such superhuman exertion. Of course we gave in to their demands, and there being no other plan left open to us, we had just to urge our friends

and subscribers to exercise a little of that scarce commodity patience, and they would be served by and bye.

John. I mind o' that fu' weel, an' I hae gude occasion tae, as I was disappointed o' the copy I had ordered for about six weeks; but, puir fellows! ye couldna mak' them labour abune their strength.

Sec. Here you will observe them at work upon our new volume, *The Fortunes of Fairleigh*—have you read it yet?

Andrew. That I have; for you see a frien' of mine sent my better-half, Katie, a present of a finely gilt copy, when she was at "the saut water" (dinna think that we puir weavers canna treat oor wives and weans tae a week or sae at the sea-bathing), an' the dear creature was like to gang demented about it. She could speak o' naethin' else for a week, and even gaed a day's journey round to a' her freens and acquaintances to tell them o' her gude fortune. But I'm feared, sir, we're keepin' up your time; so I'm rayther thinkin' we maun e'en be pappin' hame, sayin', as we said afore, that we're certainly muckle obleeged to ye. Ye dinna ken how proud I am o' oor League—mark what I'm sayin'—it's *oor* League. It's a great national institution, and my daily prayer to the Gi'er o' a' gude is, that it may mair and mair prosper.

Andrew. Amen, say I to that wi' a' my heart—I'm a puir Paisley weaver, but the principle the League embodies and represents has blessed me mair than tongue can tell. I only wish its noble-minded Directors wad honour me by letting me shake their hands, and shake them I wid wi' gratitude and pride. Gude day, sir; the time's comin', an' it's no very far distant, when our gude auld League shall be the one great social bond o' britherood in Scotland—"Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, an' gude will to men," then even as now, its emblem and its aim.

Sec. Gentlemen, thanks for your good wishes. Let me return the compliment by saying, that if all Scottish Abstiners were like you, our day of triumph would be very close at hand. Be sure and let mesee you soon again; it enlivens one's heart to come into contact with such choice spirits as you. [Adieus are exchanged—John and Andrew casting a "longing, lingering, look behind."] *

Evidently the object aimed at in these wonderful productions, was to convey to the uninformed, and especially to the members in remote parts of the

* Weekly Journal, No. 19, pp. 1-2; No. 13, pp. 2-3.

country, an exaggerated and delusive view of the importance of *their* League, and the extent of its publishing operations; and they were well calculated to produce this effect. Indeed, we have met with those who, when they afterwards heard that the League had neither a "machine" nor a printing-press of its own, and that the *Journal* itself, and the other publications, were printed in various offices in Glasgow, they were absolutely startled.

It is unnecessary to add, that to those who were in earnest, such drivelling nonsense occupying whole columns of the *Journal* (while brief notices upon Prohibition were excluded for "want of space") was most distasteful, and called forth strong expressions of feeling. Among those who spoke out upon this subject was Dr M'Culloch, who referred to it in the following severe, but not unmerited terms:—

"Look at the trash published in the *Journal*: for example, the twice-repeated fustian about the 'talk of Paisley weavers' at the League office. See what they attribute to these weavers, and then restrain a horse-laugh, or a sneer of withering contempt, if he can! Only imagine these Directors (all belonging, no doubt, to decent and respectable trades—millers, flour-dealers, commission-agents, book-agents, &c.) representing themselves, in *their own Journal*, as something so transcendently grand and magnificent, that two Paisley weavers are struck with trepidation and awe by the contemplation of the little room, and the very chairs they sit upon! Are men guilty of such mischievous perversity on the one hand, and such bombastic folly on the other, fit and proper persons to *direct* a great national and moral movement? Like old women, they served tolerably well to nurse and dandle the Temperance cause of Scotland in its infancy, but are no longer

capable of guiding its manhood. At Paisley, they attempted to defend themselves by declaring that they had 'no pecuniary motives;' who ever alleged that they had, excepting as regards Gough's £6000 salary? No one that I am aware of; but are human actions all swayed by mercenary motives? Certainly not. These men, however, seem to be swayed by institutional pride and jealousy, and by the ardent desire of exclusive dictatorship; they want to be sole 'cocks of the walk;' like their townsman, Nicol Jarvie, they must be 'sole a-agent o' the hoos of Osbaldistone & Co.,' or there will be no peace—hence their persistent persecution of Mrs Theobald, Mr James Allan, Mr Mitchell, the Alliance, &c. : in short, of any and every one who ventures to advocate the Temperance cause as a calling, without the permission and patronage of their High Mightinesses, the astounders of Paisley weavers!!" *

CHAPTER XX.

Discussion on the question of Total Prohibition in the Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society—Deputations sent out to represent the Scottish Temperance League—Serious opposition to the Deputation at Galashiels, and Correspondence connected therewith—Opposition to the Deputation at Greenock—The Deputation routed at Dumfries—Proposed basis of reconciliation submitted—Important Resolution of the Greenock Society—Visit of the Deputation to Dunfermline, and interesting Correspondence connected therewith—Deputation in Edinburgh—Remarkable conduct of the Rev. William Reid—Serious charges against the *Christian News* in the *Commonwealth*—Exultation of the *Weekly Journal* over the position occupied by the Rev. William Reid—An example of Christian forbearance.

IN September 1857, the question of Total Prohibition, as contended for by the United Kingdom Alliance, was brought before the annual meeting of the Edinburgh

* Dumfries Protest, p. 4,

Total Abstinence Society; but, through the unexampled conduct of the President and Committee, the discussion was interrupted, and the peace and harmony of the meeting destroyed, as will appear from the following abridged report of the proceedings :—

“Mr David Lewis proposed the following resolution—‘That while this meeting resolves to carry on by moral suasion an uncompromising warfare against the drinking system, it at the same time pledges itself to agitate for a Maine Law for Britain, and to sympathise with the United Kindom Alliance, and every other agency which aims at the total and immediate abolition of the liquor traffic.’ Mr Lewis, in supporting the resolution, said the experience of the last quarter of a century amply proved that mere moral suasion was totally incompetent to uproot the drinking system. The origin of intemperance was to be found in the liquor traffic, and while that traffic was sustained and shielded and legalised by British law, the triumph of the Temperance Reformation was an utter impossibility. Total Abstinence had conferred, and would continue to confer, invaluable benefits upon individuals and families wherever it was adopted and adhered to; but in view of the thousands who rejected all consideration of its claims, and the tens of thousands who are helplessly enslaved—are willing, but utterly unable to emancipate themselves—he was at a loss to account for those who failed to perceive that a Maine Law for Britain is the only hope of our country’s deliverance. Talk not of the insincerity of the drunkard; the fact of him appearing week after week, and paying the last sixpence he has on earth for yet another and another teetotal pledge, affords too mournful evidence of his intense desire to be free. He then called upon Temperance Reformers to adopt the resolution, and to secure the permanent stability of the Temperance Reformation, by removing the greatest obstacle to its ultimate success.

"Mr Grant, (one of the founders of the society) in seconding the resolution, urged the compatibility of an agitation for the legal suppression of the liquor-traffic with the moral-suasion movement for the reformation of the drunkard. He instanced the cognisance law took of danger to life and limb from probable accident; and yet a traffic ruinous to society, and which was the destruction of the bodies and souls of its victims to an extent beyond computation, was protected and legalised. He then referred to the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and gave instances within his own personal knowledge of the inefficiency of merely partial restriction.

"Mr Knox, president of the society, in a speech of nearly twenty minutes, here took advantage of his position as chairman of the meeting to misrepresent the character of the resolution, and the nature and policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, stigmatising Dr Lees and the Alliance advocates as the 'extreme party.' (Hisses.) He went on to say, that, for some reason unknown to him, he had been considered and represented for some time past as opposed to the Maine Law. After claiming for himself the honour of being the president of the society, and of being intimately identified with the Scottish Temperance League, he repeated that he had no sympathy with the extreme party. (Renewed hisses.) He was in favour of Prohibition through the licensing court, but not through Parliament. He had more faith in God than in Government, and more faith in principle than in Parliament. If a sufficiently strong public sentiment can be brought to bear upon our licensing magistrates, we have the power to shut up every public-house in Edinburgh. If we cannot succeed with our own municipal courts, he had no faith in prevailing with a Parliament 400 miles distant.

"Upon the conclusion of Mr Knox's speech, several parties rose to address the meeting; but the chairman awarded the preference to Mr James Turnbull, a mem-

ber of committee, who moved the previous question, which was seconded by Mr M'Laren, another member of committee.

"Mr M'Intyre here rose to support the resolution, but was not allowed to speak.

"The Rev. Wm. Reid rose and said, that he was naturally averse to discussion, and shrunk from introducing it at any meeting. Nevertheless, when it did arise, he would not shrink from expressing his sentiments on the subject, and recording his vote. He held he had an undoubted right to do so. If the statements he had heard to-night were correct, and if this society was not opposed to Legislative Prohibition, why, he asked, was this resolution opposed? If this society was in favour of agitating for a Maine Law, there was surely no reason why the public should not know it. Many Abstinence Societies in this country had already adopted a resolution similar to the one now under discussion. There was no necessity for any separate organisation for Legislative Prohibition. In America, it was the Abstinence Societies which had carried the Maine Law; and had these societies in this country done their duty, we would, long ago, have been far advanced in the direction of Legislative Prohibition of the liquor-traffic. All he had heard this evening, whether coming from Messrs Lewis and Grant, or from Mr Knox and those who opposed the resolution, convinced him of the necessity that existed for a Maine Law. He felt it his duty, as a temperance reformer, to support and vote for the resolution.

"Mr Knox again cautioned the meeting against committing themselves in favour of the resolution, and was again proceeding to address the meeting, when

"Mr Vallance, chairman of committee, rose, and reiterated several of Mr Knox's previous statements, and denounced the resolution as an attempt to compel the committee to agitate for a measure which many of them were conscientiously opposed to.

"Mr Knox again hoped there would be no more speaking; and strongly urged that instead of Mr Lewis being heard in reply, the meeting should proceed to vote. However, before doing so, he only wished to say a few things about the Alliance and its total and immediate Prohibition. He then proceeded to prejudice the meeting against the Alliance and its constitution and policy, when

"Mr Lewis rose, and protested against the Alliance being publicly misrepresented, and against the conduct of the chairman in taking an undue advantage of his position to prevent these misrepresentations being corrected.

"At this stage of the business, the meeting broke into uncontrol, and for a few minutes a colloquial sort of fusillade was kept up between the meeting and the platform. Amongst the din we heard the question asked whether the Edinburgh society did not take subscriptions to its funds from publicans, to which the chairman answered that such subscriptions did not constitute membership. Another question put was, What have you to say about Laycock?—answered from the chair, He is not a member of the society—rejoinder from the audience, No, but he is one of your lecturers. No reply from the platform.

"Order having been restored, and the chairman having called upon all who had not paid for their qualification to vote, to retire to the side-sittings of the chapel, and a large portion of the original meeting having left in most apparent disgust and dissatisfaction, Mr Turnbull's motion for the previous question was put to the meeting, when 45 were recorded, of which about 12 were those of members of committee. Mr Lewis' resolution was then put, when 20 votes were recorded."*

The time had now arrived when the deputations of the Scottish Temperance League must needs go

* Christian News, No. 583, p. 6.

forth to canvass their constituents for a continuance of their confidence and support. In those places where genuine Prohibition doctrines had not been much advocated, they were cordially received; but in the more advanced districts of the country their reception was of the most unsatisfactory character, and the interests of the League seriously damaged instead of being promoted.

On the 21st of October, the Rev. Mr Hannay and Messrs Livingstone and Marr visited Galashiels, where they were met by that firmness and decision of character which distinguishes the intelligent operative classes of that town. The deputation having delivered their addresses and the usual statement,—

“Mr A. Thomson proposed, and Mr Combat seconded, a vote of confidence in the Directors of the League, and approval of their policy.

“Mr Thomas Clapperton, after some strong remarks, proposed as an amendment—‘That no vote be taken in the meantime.’

“After some observations from Mr. Goodfellow, Mr J. Watson, in a speech of some length, unfavourable to the League, seconded Mr Clapperton’s motion, and was replied to by Mr Marr, and Mr Dawson of Kelso.

“Mr Anderson defended the Executive of the United Kingdom Alliance, and moved that the correspondence between Mr Pope and Mr Marr should be read.

“The chairman put it to the meeting whether the correspondence between the Directors of the League and the Alliance should be read, when it was resolved that it should be read.

“Mr Marr proceeded to read the correspondence that had passed between the officials of the League and the Alliance, during which he kept up a running criticism upon the correspondence, which was put a stop to by

a voice—‘No commentary wanted.’ On the conclusion of the reading of the correspondence, the general impression seemed to be in favour of the League’s position.

“Mr Anderson rose and said, that, from the correspondence which had been read, he must say that the League appeared to stand in the best position. Still, from what he knew of the gentlemen at the head of the Alliance, it was his conviction that there were circumstances of which, as yet, they were ignorant, that might place the matter in a different light before them.

“Mr Mercer, of Stow, wished to know what the League intended to do? He was a member of the League and the Alliance too; and he wished to know their reasons for declining to advocate the Maine Law?

“The Rev. Mr Hannay justified the policy of the League Directors.

“Mr George Lewis proposed the following motion—‘That the policy pursued by the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, with reference to the Prohibition of the liquor-traffic, is not in accordance with the views, and does not receive the approval of this meeting.’ He spoke at length in support of the motion; and stated, that while the League *waited* for the formation of public opinion, the Alliance, on the other hand, made it their principal object to *create* and *direct* public opinion, for the purpose of obtaining the total and immediate suppression of the traffic.

“Mr Anderson rose with much pleasure to second the motion, because he deprecated the position which the League had taken up.

“After a few remarks from Messrs Hannay and Combat in defence of the League, Mr Marr and Mr Livingstone said that the League was seeking the same thing in the same way. It was not waiting for the formation of public opinion, but seeking to create and direct it, whereupon

“Mr Lewis put the following question to Mr Livingstone—Are you then prepared, as a Director of the

League, and as knowing the sentiments of the other Directors, to agitate for 'the total and immediate suppression of the liquor traffic *now?*' To which

"Mr Livingstone replied—'We are doing it every day.'

"Mr Hannay—'No, no.'

"Mr Livingstone—'Yes, yes.'

"Mr Hannay (emphatically)—'No, no.'

"Mr Thomas Hall then rose and asked—'Mr Chairman, how are we to know the policy of the League, when the deputation differ among themselves?' A question to which no response was given.

"The motions were then put, when there voted for Mr Thomson's motion, 54; for Mr Lewis' amendment, 26, when the meeting broke up about twelve o'clock."^a

The report of this meeting gave rise to considerable correspondence, which resulted in some painful disclosures. Dr Lees having observed in a report of the proceedings, that Mr Marr, in reading the official correspondence between the Executive of the Alliance and the Directors of the League, had led the meeting to believe that he had been a party to misrepresenting the League Directors, immediately wrote a letter to the *Christian News*, asking an explanation from Mr Marr. In the same communication, Dr Lees says—"I had *no part* whatever in the correspondence alluded to, as your readers will have perceived. I was as much disgusted at its revelations of jesuistry as any of your readers could be. I saw it, and every part of it, for the *first time* but the other day. In a correspondence in which I took no part, and of the contents of which I was ignorant, it was *impossible* for me to misrepresent anybody."[†] On the week after, Dr Lees again

^a *Christian News*, vol. xii. p. 6.

[†] *Ibid.* No. 586, p. 5.

wrote to the *Christian News*, requesting insertion of the following, to which the editor appended the subjoined note:—

“*To the Editor.*

“DEAR SIR,—In reference to the Galashiels report in your paper, will you do me and Mr Marr the justice to insert the following letter.—I am, &c.

“F. R. LEES.

“Glasgow, 28th Oct., 1857.

“MY DEAR DR LEES,—I did not supply the *Christian News* with the report of our Galashiels meeting, and have resolved to take no notice of anything that appears in the columns of that paper. I may further add, that when I mentioned your name at Galashiels, I did so, expressing the highest respect for you.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN S. MARR.’

“[The inglorious result of Mr Marr’s last letter, in our paper, along with the occasional publication of very disagreeable facts, bearing on his character as a Temperance reformer, has led him—in desperation, we suppose—to imitate the foolishness of the ostrich. We have been too long accustomed to this description of tactics on the part of League officialism, to feel the smallest annoyance at the above very characteristic note from the pen of Mr Marr.—ED. *C. N.*]”*

Dark as was the suspicion which these brief notes threw around the doings of the Secretary of the League, they were painfully confirmed by the following from one of the most trusty and intelligent Temperance leaders in the south of Scotland, and which, without one word of comment, we leave with the reader that he may make his own reflections upon those features of the human character which its contents so vividly portray:—

* *Christian News*, No. 587, p. 6.

"To the Editor.

"SIR,—Will you allow me the privilege of saying to such of your readers as may have read your report of the League's deputation meeting at Galashiels, that my *then* hinted suspicion of the veracity of *all* details connected with the correspondence as read to the meeting by Mr Marr, has *now* been confirmed into actual belief. That correspondence, as published in your paper, and as read to us by Mr Marr, is, to my mind, a very different thing indeed. Mr Marr carefully concealed from us all knowledge of the interview held in Graham's Hotel between Mr Samuel Pope on the one side, and Messrs M'Gavin and M'Niell on the other, and the agreement come to by these gentlemen regarding the issue of a joint circular. He rushed from the brief acknowledgment of Mr Pope's second letter, which, he said, 'would be laid before the Directors at an early day,' right on to the 'Carlisle Conference' affair, and *this* he both represented as, and distinctly stated to be, an answer to the merely acknowledged letter of Mr Pope, just referred to. I may say that it was *this* jump which excited my suspicion; the space leaped over I now find exactly filled up by the interview and agreement of those three gentlemen at Glasgow. Besides, we were also left in the dark as to the fact that Dr Lees had suggested the propriety of the 'Carlisle Conference' entirely on his own individual responsibility. But, of course, the letter of the doctor in your last impression sufficiently explains all that to us, and must doubtless have substituted a blush (if that is possible) for the boast which mantled the brow of that official when he made the grand announcement that the Directors of the League had been ill-used by Mr Pope and Dr Lees.—I am, sir, yours, &c.

"GEORGE ANDERSON.

"Galashiels, Nov. 5, 1857." *

* Christian News, No. 587, p. 5.

On the week following the meeting in Galashiels, a deputation, consisting of Messrs Robt. Reid, M'Gavin, Tolmie, and Marr, visited Greenock: here also the "vexed question" was raised, and a long and stormy discussion ensued. We learn from a report of this meeting that, while Mr Marr's remarks "were pretty much directed against the Alliance," those of Mr M'Gavin were of a very opposite description, having, in reply to a question referring "to the League's notorious letter to the Alliance, as to confining its operations to England," said, "that they had no objections whatever to the Alliance carrying on its operations in Scotland; and should they get up large meetings in populous localities throughout the country periodically, or in any way that would not interfere with their societies and committees, they would not only not oppose them, but would assist them as much as lay in their power, they being all for Prohibition, and one-half of their number being members of the Alliance. On being further asked, however, if they would publish a statement to that effect in their *Journal*, Mr M'Gavin avoided a direct answer, by stating his unwillingness till the irritation caused by the Dumfries Protest had subsided,"* which by this time had been published, and had created an intense interest all over the country, explaining and unravelling to the satisfaction of thousands much of the mystery connected with this complicated controversy. This meeting also broke up about midnight, no vote of confidence in the Directors having been given.

Shortly after the Greenock meeting, Messrs M'Gavin, Livingstone, and Marr, visited Dumfries as a deputation from the League. Here the opposition was so

* *Christian News*, No. 587, p. 6.

overpowering that Mr M'Gavin was never allowed to set forth "the extent of the operations of the League;" neither was Mr Marr allowed to submit his "business statement." After a lengthened and stormy discussion, a resolution was moved by Dr M'Culloch, seconded by the Rev. Mr Dilks, refusing to hear the deputation until resolutions were submitted bearing upon the Alliance policy and the controversy which was threatening the destruction of the movement. This resolution having been carried, Mr W. F. Johnston moved, and Mr Wardrop seconded the following resolution:—

"That we, the members of the Scottish Temperance League in Dumfries and neighbourhood, while we declare our unaltered attachment to the principles of Total Abstinence, at the same time record our hearty approval of the agitation for the entire Prohibition of the liquor traffic; and, believing that we will never attain the end we all have in view without the harmonious working of both these principles, we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to bring about such a harmony."

This resolution having been also carried, and the deputation feeling that they were engaged in a losing game, again renewed the discussion, during which—

"Mr M'Gavin stated, that the deputation had no power to speak for the Board on the subject. Had it been mentioned in reply to Mr Marr's circular calling this meeting, that it would take such a course, he would not have been present; and were he to enter into the subject he would be able to show that the adoption of the resolution by him would be a degradation, unless a full explanation were given in regard to certain matters in which he had been misrepresented.

"Mr Wardrop expressed regret that Mr M'Gavin exhibited so much feeling, and said he thought the Di-

rectors present would have at all events said they individually approved of the resolution.

"We have not space to describe in detail the after-proceedings, which consisted in a great measure of spirited re-encounters between Mr M'Gavin and Dr M'Culloch, in regard to certain charges made against the League Directors by the latter.

"It was ultimately moved by the Rev. T. T. Dilks, and seconded by Dr M'Culloch, that the following resolution be passed by the meeting, and submitted to the Board of the Scottish Temperance League, and the Council of the United Kingdom Alliance:—"That this meeting regrets the unhappy differences that have taken place between the Board of the Scottish Temperance League and the United Kingdom Alliance, and would recommend that both institutions allow the existing differences to be forgotten, and that they arrange for a mutual meeting at an early day, so that a good understanding be secured between the two institutions;—and we beg to submit, in order to the carrying out of the resolution, that the respective Boards, in the meantime, pledge themselves to co-operate in a friendly manner, avoiding in every way anything that might impede the progress of Temperance, or hinder the usefulness and efficiency of either institution, or of its advocates and friends in either country.'"*

This resolution, which was also carried by acclamation, crowned the Prohibitionists with triumphant success, and completed one of the most disastrous defeats which the Deputation had sustained, leaving them the crest-fallen and discomfited representatives of a once harmonious but now distracted institution. The resolution was forthwith forwarded to the Executive of the Alliance in Manchester, and also to the Executive of the League in Glasgow; but, while cordially ap-

* *Dumfries Standard*.

proved of by the former, it was rejected by the latter, —to the amazement and dissatisfaction of large numbers of its members. Not only did the rejection of such a most reasonable ground of reconciliation, by the Directors of the League, tend to confirm and increase the disaffection of individual members, but it induced others, in their associated capacity, to raise the standard of revolt, and throw off all allegiance to the Scottish Temperance League, as being no longer worthy of their attachment and respect: as will be seen by the following resolution, passed by the Greenock Total Abstinence Society, on the 24th of November 1857:—

“That, believing the Scottish Temperance League Directors not only to have caused, but, from the manner in which they have treated the recent Dumfries effort at reconciliation, *to be the sole perpetrators* of the present unseemly controversy between the Scottish Temperance League and the United Kingdom Alliance, this Committee resolve entirely to discontinue their connection with the League, until such a line of conduct on their part is departed from, and a desire for peace and harmony manifested similar to that of the Alliance Executive, in the cordial and unreserved as well as prompt manner in which they acquiesced in the conciliatory resolution referred to. That, believing the suppression of the liquor traffic indispensable to the success of the Temperance reformation, we resolve, *in addition to our usual work*, cordially to welcome and assist the United Kingdom, or any other Alliance, which has for its object the immediate creation, in the public mind, of the demand for such a measure; and further, that we make a special effort, in Greenock, in behalf of the United Kingdom Alliance’s proposed Permissive Maine Law, about to be brought before the British Parliament.”*

* Christian News, No. 591, p. 7.

On the 6th of November, Dunfermline was visited by a deputation, consisting of Messrs M'Gavin, Livingstone, Lockhart, and Marr. Here the Society, which had adopted the original Abstinence pledge, had withdrawn from the League, because of the policy it pursued; but the deputation was received by another Society (which, by the way, allows its members to partake of intoxicants without medical prescription), and entertained to a soiree on the occasion of their visit. Notwithstanding the lax views held by this party upon the principle of total abstinence, they appear, some of them at least, not to have been satisfied with the spirit manifested by some of the speakers; as, upon the Chairman having intimated, at the close of the addresses of the deputation, that any one in the meeting, who wished, had now an opportunity to ask any question,—

“Mr A. Beveridge took advantage of this, and stated that Mr Marr had used, in the course of his address, the words, ‘evil-disposed persons.’ He did not think this could apply to the Dunfermline people, as they were always well-affected towards the League. He then asked, were the League Directors prepared to agitate for the total and immediate suppression of the liquor traffic now?

“Mr Marr replied, most undoubtedly not. He had been a Chartist ten years ago, and nothing would do then but the charter, the whole charter, and nothing but the charter. He had grown wiser now; he was content to take things by piecemeal. As to his using the words, ‘evil-disposed persons,’ he did not apply them to any one in Dunfermline; but he would recommend the audience, when they did fall in with such, just to give them the cold shoulder.

“Mr Beveridge then said, that he had seen it re-

ported that Mr Livingstone differed from his colleagues on the present agitation.

"Both Messrs Livingstone and Marr rose at this, and stated, that the report of the Galashiels meeting was altogether incorrect."*

So soon as a report of this meeting appeared in the newspapers, a letter was forwarded, in reply, from Mr James Wood, who has for many years occupied a front-rank position in the Temperance movement in Galashiels; wherein he says, in reference to Mr Marr's remarks upon the inaccuracy of the report,—“This is a groundless fallacy, and I defy either the ‘indefatigable’ Secretary of the League, or his ‘legal adviser,’ to point out one solitary inaccuracy in the whole report. Down-right perversion seems now to be the ‘order of the day’ at 108 Hope Street; and I verily believe they would fancy themselves *wrong* were it otherwise.” In the same paper, Mr George Anderson says,—“I beg to assure these gentlemen, as well as their auditory at Dunfermline, that, in saying this, they have said more than their most zealous friends have said for them. I challenge any one of these deputed gentlemen to point out a single error, in point of fact, that report contains.”† In addition to these unimpeachable witnesses, we next find Mr George Lewis, the gentleman who reported the meeting, writing Mr Marr, inclosing a copy of the report, acknowledging its authorship, and respectfully requesting him to point out wherein it was incorrect; to which Mr Marr replied, that he adhered to the statement made at Dunfermline, but had not time to point out the inaccuracies of the report.

It was at this time that societies were being visited

* Christian News, No. 590, p. 7.

† Ibid., No. 591, p. 6.

by the Rev. John Kirk of Edinburgh, and stimulated to action as men whose duty it was to work with earnestness, fidelity, and intelligence. This devoted minister of the cross had become so impressed with a persuasion of the body and soul-destroying influence of the traffic, that in the zeal of his nature he had gone forth not only to lay bare the enormity of the traffic, and the criminality of the trafficker, but to point out the path of duty and prohibition; and drive forth, from every conceivable subterfuge, those obstructives in the cause, who were ever throwing up excuses for inactivity and delay. It was at this time, through the columns of the *Christian News*, that "light was being thrown upon secret springs," and when Mr John Robertson in St Ninians was "defining positions," demonstrating "Who are the waiters?" and awakening, as by the voice of inspiration, the Temperance reformers of Scotland to a sense of their responsibility:—it was at this time that Dr M'Culloch was scourging, as with cords of fire, those who had become recreant to duty, who had fled from the Alliance standard to enjoy a comfortable but unenviable position under the wing and shelter of the enemy:—It was at this time that "A Chiel" was conjuring up all the acts of indiscretion and folly of which the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League had ever been guilty, and arraying them before the world with uncharitable hand:—and it was at this time, that the officials of the League felt called upon to make a determined, and, if possible, a most successful attempt upon the position and champions of the cause they still continued foolishly to oppose. Accordingly, we find the deputation announced for Edinburgh—comprising Messrs Robert Reid, M'Gavin, M'Neill, and

Marr—preceded by an anonymous advertisement, evidently designed to create division among the friends of the Alliance. As the object of this device was too apparent not to be understood, the Prohibitionists resolved to take no notice whatever of their proceedings, so that, as far as they were concerned, no opposition would be presented. The speeches of the deputation were most respectful, with the exception of some remarks from Mr Marr, which gave very general offence, by his urging that “all those who assumed a hostile attitude to the official policy which was being pursued, should be cold-shouldered and elbowed out of the movement.” After the deputation had got through with their several addresses, to the utter astonishment of almost all present, the Rev. William Reid rose and assailed most bitterly the *Christian News*, while he unconditionally endorsed the “dead letter,” by affirming, upon “unquestionable authority,” that “Mr Gough was thoroughly correct in what he wrote upon the subject.”* In calling attention to the *Christian News*, he said, “I shall take the present opportunity of saying, however, how annoyed and grieved I have felt at certain articles which have recently appeared in the *Christian News* against the League. At one article in the last number, especially, signed ‘J. K.,’ I have been greatly annoyed—grieved indeed beyond expression. There are statements made in that article which will not bear a single moment’s investigation; and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that, in what he has written, the author has committed a very gross mistake. That you may the better understand to what I am alluding, I shall read the more objectionable parts of the article in question:—

* Weekly Journal, No. 21, p. 83.

‘ Mr Gough is unutterably chagrined with the thought that he is fettered, and has to go over broad Scotland silent on the great subject of a Maine Law, that he may not offend; but he is silent, for all that.’ Now, my friends, there was never a more untrue statement penned or uttered.” Mr Reid, after a few remarks, endeavouring to prove Mr Gough to be “a thorough Maine Law man,” again referred to the remark of “J. K.,” and characterized it as “a statement which will not bear a moment’s examination; and which, in the face of this public meeting, I hereby pronounce to be untrue.”*

Such remarks as these, coming from the Rev. William Reid, “grieved beyond expression” not a few of his most warmly attached friends, who had long been accustomed to regard him as the representative of all that was noble, generous, and just, in the Temperance movement. How he should have been induced publicly to denounce, in such unmeasured terms of unqualified condemnation, one whom he must have known to be a brother minister of the gospel, and who for nearly a quarter of a century had stood side by side with him in the Temperance warfare. How he should have been led publicly to reflect upon the direct and oft-repeated testimony of his late colleague in the work, the Honourable Neal Dow, and to set aside as worthless the conclusive testimony of such men as Professor M’Coy, Drs. Beecher and March, Edward Delevan, and others, by endorsing as “*thoroughly correct*,” the statement, that in March 1857 the Maine Law was “*a dead letter every where*,” a “*universal failure*,” appeared to not a few in Scotland, England, Ireland, and America,

* Weekly Journal, No. 21, p. 83.

as utterly inexplicable. Whether it was the intention of Mr Reid to conciliate the officials of the League, after the offence which had been taken at his having associated himself with the Prohibition party, or whether he was anxious to secure for Mr Gough that confidence which he had forfeited by his singular indiscretion in the "dead letter" affair, we are not in a position to say. We should rather be disposed to think, however, that in view of the rising tide which threatened to submerge the Directors, and rend to pieces the institution which they had so thoroughly misdirected, Mr Reid had become afraid that the Director upon whom the maintenance of the League chiefly depended, would carry his threat into execution, "and wash his hands of the whole affair ;" * and that it was upon this account he had been induced to act the part he did on the occasion referred to. And really when we consider the amount of influence, time, energy, and means, which Mr Reid has sacrificed in building up and consolidating that organization, we are not astonished that he should have made up his mind "to stand by the League till it becomes a hopeless institution ;" although we are surprised that he should have lent himself to engage in a war against personal character, and to endorse as "*thoroughly correct*," a statement which few in America were bold and ignorant enough to affirm, and few in Britain wicked and stupid enough to believe. But it becomes us to inquire, had "J. K." any authority for making use of the statement that Mr Gough "*was fettered*?" Now, had "J. K." stated this on the faith of some idle rumour, he might have "committed a great mistake," and said what was "untrue ;" but

* Weekly Journal, No. 20, p. 6.

surely he could do neither the one nor the other, when he found Mr Gough reported in the *League's own Journal*, as having said only a few days before the article was penned, that "*I cannot open my mouth on several matters as I would. Being deputed by the London, British, and Scottish Temperance Leagues to collect information on several points on my return to America two years ago, I did so, and came over to this country again with much valuable information to communicate, but the opportunity of doing so has been destroyed.*"* Here, then, we have Mr Gough's own testimony, "I cannot open my mouth on several matters as I would." Why not? He had full possession of the faculty of speech. He had the inclination to speak out, as is signified in the expressive term, "I would." If, then, he had both the power and the will, why did he not speak out? For the sole reason that he was *hindered*, he was *prevented*, he was *fettered*; and that, too, as "J. K." intimated, by some cause unexplained.

The unfortunate speech of the Rev. William Reid was too much of a windfall for the officials of the League not to take every advantage of, and to convert it into capital, by which they might show how grievously they had been "wronged, misrepresented, and slandered" by the Maine Law party. Not only was it published in the *Commonwealth* and *Journal* of the following Saturday, but, while in the former attention was called to the "*misrepresentations, and slanders, and libels in the Christian News,*"† the latter appeared to regard the example thus set by a minister of the gospel of peace as a license, by which it might indulge in personal abuse and "unmitigated calumny." In an edi-

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 19, p. 75.

† *Commonwealth*, No. 217, p. 3.

torial article, which occupied the columns of the same number of the *Journal* as the report, the writer appears, in the following remarks, to have forgot the responsibilities of his office, and to have given unrestrained license to the most unhallowed passions of the human heart:—

“The Rev. William Reid’s generous vindication of the League from the accusations of the slanderer makes us, therefore, all the more glad that we had not been forward in our own defence. Mr Reid is known to be an out-and-out Maine Law man; his sympathies are with Legislative restriction in its extremest form; he could therefore have no other interest but truth to serve in making the very solemn declaration, not merely of his opinion, but of his perfect knowledge, that the insinuations and assertions in the columns of a contemporary, were nothing more and nothing else than unmitigated calumny of Mr Gough, and most gross misrepresentation of the League Directorate. ‘Be sure thy sin will find thee out,’ is the aphorism of inspiration. The writer in question appeared to have dropped this text from his copy of the Scriptures; nevertheless, he has been exposed at last, and with shame and confusion of face he stands charged with what no honourable man would desire for a moment to be guilty of.

“There is a difficulty, we know, in the Ethiopian changing his skin, or the leopard his spots; but though long accustomed to do evil, we trust it is not too late for the calumniator ‘to tak’ a thoct, an’ mend.’ For his own sake, we should hope that this is not impossible.”*

We come now to consider, How did “J. K.” meet such a combined and overwhelming amount of gross misrepresentation and cruel reproach? Did he “ren-

* Weekly Journal, No. 21, p. 82.

der evil for evil—railing for railing?” Verily no. He appears amid the dense and soul-sickening atmosphere of calumny in which he was enveloped, to have heard a voice saying, “Render to no man evil for evil—Say not thou, I will recompense evil; but wait upon the Lord, and He shall save thee.” The spirit of forbearance and Christian charity with which “J. K.” met his detractors upon the occasion in question, was regarded by not a few as carrying Christian forbearance to an extreme, if not sinful extent. Rising above all petty jealousy, when his public character was passing through the fires of defamation and slander, he even refrained from confronting his accusers, with the testimony of their oracle Mr Gough, as the authority for his challenged remark; and, as if utterly absorbed in his desire for the amelioration of his country and his fellow-men, independently declared, that he would neither pledge himself to stand by the Alliance nor the League, but by the victims of an unrighteous traffic, and the legitimate rights of an oppressed people. So successfully did “J. K.” deliver himself from the suspicions with which his reputation was being destroyed, and so omnipotent for good was his defence of the position which he had taken up, and was *determined to maintain*, that we extract from it the following as an appropriate conclusion to the present chapter:—

“We urge the universal heart and voice of our countrymen, so far as they are free from the spell of this monster delusion, to cry out for the uplifting of the strong arm of British law in deliverance of these devoted ones (the victims of the traffic). Reader, pause and think of what is going on! Tens of thousands of drink-shops, of every degree of attractiveness

and power to delude and destroy, continue to propagate the plague of drunkenness at a rate which enables them to laugh to scorn all the efforts of Christian and gospel agencies to pull the victims out of the fire a thousandth-part as fast as they can throw them into it. This vast engineery of the Wicked One, legalized by our 'admired' licensing-system, is *legally* sacrificing untold multitudes of men, women, and children, while all the efforts of mere moral-suasion with the drinker is not doing more than rescuing a few stray individuals from its power. The idea has entered the minds of men (and gained mighty hold, too), that this vast machinery of hell might and ought to be suppressed by law. Those in whose minds this thought has found a place of power, are constrained to call every one to aid in agitating for this great object. They see men of mark trifling away time, and an immense organization wasting its vast resources in timid and crouching policy, instead of throwing every weight into the scale of this great deliverance. They see the greatest orator, perhaps, who has ever spoken on Temperance, dumb, by some unholy spell, on this great question. They know that all this is delaying salvation to the doomed ones, and that thousands must go to everlasting ruin, who might be saved but for such defections. If they stand by the perishing, how can they be silent? We cannot but regard it as an unhappy mistake into which the easy nature of some have led them, of holding on to both Alliance and League, merely as such. We sympathise with the desire to see both agree and work together; but we are not and cannot be so blind as to lose sight of the fact, that the great subject of a Maine Law has got, and still gets, the go-by from high authorities of the League; and it is, in our mind, treason to the sacred cause of humanity, to be *pleased* with this, merely that we may have the cheap satisfaction of seeing some few leaders agree. What will ever bring those leaders to their true position? We ask not at

all what will make them good friends; but what will make both parties, in their spheres, come right out for a thorough-going Maine Law? Nothing but the decided voice of the great Temperance public. This has brought the League so far already; and, either with the present or with other hands, that great organization will be yet brought fully round. That will never be, however, by mere words of soothing. We must speak out, and speak loudly too, or the vast influence of the League is lost in this crowning effort of Temperance Reform. But who that has a heart can speak softly when he ever hears in the distance the dismal wail of hundreds and thousands for whom deliverance is delayed! May God send help for these, if men will be cold-hearted enough to think of waiting for the good pleasure of the purse, ere they are roused to demand the stroke that would set them effectually free! We know not a few whose lives are one almost unmitigated sorrow, because of public-house influence, who pray the Divine Deliverer, night and day, to send the help they require. *They* see well enough the *futility* of mere lecturing and tract-printing in a case where physical disease and semi-insanity have so much to do! With burning tears, we know many of them deplore the course pursued by the League. These are the parties whom we stand by—these need aid. *Law* now protects those who are enriched from their hearts' sorest and fiercest pangs. They implore law for the protection of themselves and their children. We can find no words to express our sorrow and indignation, when we find forced upon us the conviction—that even Gough is faithless to their cry. We fear, if he continues so long, he will find out his mistake, as the League will along with him, when it may be too late to redeem the golden opportunity they now so amazingly lose. Let the true hearts of Old Scotland stand by the victims of wrong. We have been only too long silent and confounded before the gigantic influence of

the wide-spread-drink interest; and we have been too long silent, too, under the silly dissensions of men. Let us rise from our dull slumbers, so far as they have stolen over us, and never rest till the law of our country consigns the thief and the drink-trader to the same ignominious cell.

“J. K.”*

CHAPTER XXI.

United Kingdom Alliance Deputation in Scotland—Opinion of Abstinence Societies on the Permissive Bill—Complaints of the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League—Letter of Alderman Harvey, Chairman of the Alliance Executive, to the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League—Circular of the League upon the Licensing System, and its results—Effects of Mr Gough's visit upon the Abstinence agitation—Deputation of Members to the Committee of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, and its results—Series of Maine Law Meetings in Brighton Street Chapel—Edward Grubb in Edinburgh—Great Public Meeting of the Inhabitants—Vote in favour of the United Kingdom Alliance Policy in Scotland, and condemnation of the Policy of the Scottish Temperance League—Maine Law Meetings in Leith—Opposition and defeat of the Abstinence Society's Officials—The Rev. James Wilson charged with depreciating the Abstinence Movement—Renewed attack of the *Journal* upon the *Christian News*—The *Journal* and its Jury—Letters of Mr John Robertson to Mr Gough—Conflicting sentiments of Mr Gough upon the Maine Law.

TOWARDS the close of 1857, a deputation from the United Kingdom Alliance, consisting of Mr Pope and Dr Lees, again visited Scotland, where their appearance was hailed with unmingled satisfaction by the advanced Temperance men all over the country. The visit was regarded as most opportune, as it was made at a time when the “dead letter” controversy had been revived, and when the Alliance and its officials were made the subjects of renewed attacks from the

* *Christian News*, No 591, p. 6.

opposing party. Most of the large towns were visited by the deputation; and the addresses delivered were thoroughly adapted to the state of the movement, and showed an intimate acquaintance with the varied, persevering, and widely-ramified opposition with which the United Kingdom Alliance had to contend in Scotland. The dignified and independent manner in which the sentiments of the deputies were delivered, secured for themselves a strong feeling of sympathy and favour, while the measures they advocated were largely advanced. Shortly after the return of the deputation to Manchester, a circular was forwarded to the Total Abstinence Societies in Scotland, in common with those in Ireland, England, and Wales, for the purpose of ascertaining their opinion in reference to the principle of the proposed Permissive Bill, and their willingness, or otherwise, to support it by petitions, on its being introduced into Parliament. The result was, that one hundred and eighty-five Societies in Scotland pronounced in favour of the Bill, and expressed themselves willing to work for its realization.

No sooner had the Directors of the League forced upon them the unwelcome truth, that the majority of their "affiliated Societies" had pronounced in favour of the Permissive Bill, and were prepared to join the Alliance in an agitation in its behalf, than they felt perplexed and annoyed; while they wrote to the Alliance Executive, complaining that they should have given the Societies "the opportunity of committing themselves to your agitation, and having their answers put in print before you thought fit to ask our opinion."* In reply, the Directors of the League were

* Weekly Journal, No. 38, p. 1.

informed that their circular was posted in due course with those of the London and British Temperance League; and, at the same time reminded, that, from the manner in which the Alliance Executive had hitherto been treated, nothing but a feeling of courtesy rendered it imperative that they should have been consulted in the matter.

The League Directors having, in their letter, also expressed the opinion that it was not the time to agitate for a Permissive Bill, the Chairman of the Executive, Alderman Harvey, wrote a most admirable letter, wherein that gentleman firmly and faithfully, yet respectfully, gave them his mind upon the subject. In reply to the objection, that the League Directors were of opinion that it was not the time to agitate for the proposed measure, Mr Harvey said, "You may think so, and I am not disposed to find fault with you for this; but, if you think proper to fetter yourselves with this opinion, do not attempt to put shackles on others, who want and ought to think for themselves. To the questions we have put let the Societies give an unbiassed opinion: we ask no more."

Immediately thereafter, a circular, signed by the Secretary of the League, was issued to the several Societies, calling upon them to be up and ready for the Licensing Courts, and to defend the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and informing them that, for "this end, concentration of effort will be needed; and if, instead of this, you allow your efforts to be divided, or diverted to something else, you miss the one thing needful for the present, and, like the dog of the fable, who snapped at the image and dropped the reality already between his teeth, you will sacrifice to a theory that yet remains to

be realised, a solid advantage that has already been attained. Be not deceived. If the abstainers of Scotland are prohibitionists at the expense of restriction, they are in a false position, and will wreck their own cause. Better a partial advantage as a step to more, than to fling it from us with contempt because it is not the whole, with the sure result, in that case, *and on that principle*, of for ever dashing ourselves into spray on the rock of impracticability." *

The ill-concealed opposition to genuine Prohibition which shone transparent through these gross and unwarrantable insinuations against the Alliance and the Permissive Bill, defeated the object for which the circular was designed. Not only was it totally disregarded by the great majority of Societies, but by not a few it was literally laughed at. There were, however, those who took up and acted upon the suggestion which it contained anent the Licensing Courts, and got up petitions to the Magistrates at considerable labour and expense, but were poorly rewarded for their pains. For example, at Selkirk, we find one of the Justices telling those who had got up the petitions, that "they had made a mistake in sending the petitions to them. They ought to petition Parliament to stop the distilleries, and not bother the Justices time after time." † There were, again, others who entered heartily upon canvassing for signatures to petitions, but who, finding a large number of those applied to declining to sign because the petitions were based upon a principle of partiality and favouritism, abandoned the work. The language of such objectors generally was, "get up a petition to withhold all licenses, and put a stop to the

* Weekly Journal, No. 38, p. 230.

* Southern Reporter.

whole traffic, and we will readily sign it; but so long as you use your influence to persecute out of their living a few of the poorer and less influential publicans, and thereby divert their trade into more respectable and extensive establishments, we can neither sign your petition, nor sympathise with you in your well-meaning, but misguided efforts." Such objectors might be railed against, but we fear there would be few indeed who would be satisfactorily able to refute them.

Early in the year 1858, Edward Grubb, the primitive Total Abstinence and celebrated Maine Law lecturer, visited Scotland. The principles of genuine Abstinence having by this time been sadly compromised in many places, chiefly through the visits of Mr J. B. Gough to this country, it was expected that Mr Grubb would do much to correct, as he certainly did, some of those abuses. While the lectures of the great American orator did much to induce the people to speak about Abstinence, and not a few to practise it, it is also much to be lamented that it tended greatly to lower the dignity of the Abstinence platform, and to compromise its claims. The fact that, with Mr Gough, we had imported into our Societies the outrageous inconsistency of moderate drinkers occupying the chair, instead of our Presidents, many of whom had spent years of long and unrequited services in the cause:—the fact that the chairman was not unfrequently surrounded upon the platform by numbers of his "boon companions," while the members of the Society's committee, upon whom the movement depended for its existence, were to be found seated in the body of the hall;—and the still more painful fact, that moderate drinking clergymen were to be found

opening the proceedings by praying for success upon a movement the claims of which they practically denied, afford abundant evidence that by such indefensible proceedings the cause of good old Teetotalism had been shamefully compromised, and that a visit from such a one as Edward Grubb was not unneeded. Edinburgh having in like manner suffered with other places, and the Maine Law movement having been opposed by the Society's committee, a requisition, signed by fifty-four members, was presented by a deputation of twelve of their number, requesting the committee to engage the services of Mr Grubb for a series of lectures, under the auspices of the Society. The deputation, when presenting their requisition, referred to the declension of the Society, and to the general and wide-spread dissatisfaction among the members, as to the official policy which had been pursued. They also called attention to the inefficiency of the pledge, and to the necessity of active measures being used to aid in securing the total Prohibition of the entire traffic. With the exception of the President, the committee listened most respectfully to the statements of the deputation, who were shortly afterwards informed, in a note from the Secretary, that the committee declined to grant the request of the requisitionists. A report having appeared in the newspapers, giving a minute and accurate account of the discussion which took place between the committee and the deputation, a letter immediately followed, signed by Dr Cappie, corresponding Secretary, denying the accuracy of the report, and pronouncing some of the statements therein contained as "untrue." The deputation replied in a letter, bearing each of their signatures, re-

peating the statements contained in the report, and adducing proof in support of each from the published reports of the Society. They concluded, by calling upon the committee either to deny the accuracy of their own published documents, or honourably to withdraw their false and unguarded accusations contained in the letter of their corresponding Secretary. The Committee, unable to do the former, and not having magnanimity and courage enough to do the latter, continue to occupy the position of unenviable silence.

At this time a series of important and crowded meetings for the agitation and public discussion of the whole Prohibition question was being held in Edinburgh under the auspices of the Total Abstinence Society in connection with Brighton Street Church. At these meetings lectures were delivered by clergymen, and other gentlemen from different parts of Scotland—all of whom advocated the claims of the Alliance Permissive Bill and the Maine Law. Mr Edward Huie, whose gentle and unassuming deportment, combined with a firm and unswerving attachment to principle made him highly respected by all parties, proposed that the most reasonable request, rejected by the Committee of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, be placed before the Committee of the Brighton Street Society. The suggestion of Mr Huie was at once brought before the Committee of the Brighton Street Society, who, to their credit, at once complied with the request; and, without further delay, entered into arrangements for the reception of Mr Grubb—the announcement of whose appearance created considerable excitement in Temperance circles. On his arrival, Mr Grubb was met by a large number of the oldest friends of the

Abstinence cause in Edinburgh, and entertained to a soiree in Miller's Temperance Hotel, where Mr Grubb received a hearty welcome from many of his old friends, among whom were Mr John Macintosh, regarded as having been the first Total Abstainer in Scotland, and Mr James Grant, one of the founders of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society. At the hour appointed the party broke up to attend the public meeting in Brighton Street Chapel, where Mr Grubb was announced to deliver a lecture. Upon the appearance of the lecturer, he was received with such demonstrations of applause by the large audience, as fully satisfied him that "in Edinburgh there were many Temperance men, whose minds were unclouded upon the great subject of genuine Temperance reform, even amid the smoky atmosphere of Auld Reekie." During his brilliant lecture, Mr Grubb unmasked, and fearlessly denounced "the shams and hypocrisies" which a few men of yesterday had associated with the sacred cause of Bible and physiological Temperance, and explained and enforced the claims of the Permissive Bill with great effect. At the close of the lecture, a resolution in favour of the Bill was submitted to the meeting, and carried amid great enthusiasm.

On the following evening, the series of lectures was concluded by a public meeting of the inhabitants, when resolutions of a practical character were submitted for consideration. The meeting was attended by nearly two thousand people; and, among others, a resolution was passed, approving of the United Kingdom Alliance mission to Scotland, and censuring the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League for their conduct towards the Alliance movement. An amendment was proposed

to this motion by Mr W. B. Turnbull, refusing to pass a verdict against the Scottish Temperance League. This led to a discussion upon the merits of the motion and the amendment; after which they were submitted to the meeting, eighty having voted for the amendment and the League, while almost the entire audience voted for the motion and the Alliance. The motion was accordingly declared carried amid tremendous cheering.* Thus terminated a series of the most exciting and important meetings which has ever been held in connection with the Temperance movement in Scotland.

During the time the series of meetings were being held in Brighton Street Chapel, the Rev. William Reid commenced a series of Temperance lectures in his own Chapel on the same evenings. The numbers who attended were comparatively few, and to no visible extent affected those being held for the discussion of the Maine Law. Mr Reid shortly afterwards re-delivered his lectures to the audiences which attended the stated weekly meetings of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society.

During the series of Maine Law meetings in Brighton Street, the Rev. James Wilson, who by this time had been appointed as an additional agent of the United Kingdom Alliance for Scotland, rendered considerable service. Towards the close of those meetings, Mr Wilson introduced the claims of the Alliance, and the Permissive Bill, before the inhabitants of Leith, where he was met by an organized and official, but honourable opposition. Accompanied by Messrs Hamilton and Lewis, and a few friends of the Alliance, from

* Daily Express of 16th April 1868.

Edinburgh, he visited Leith, where Councillor John Adam, who has manfully stood by the principles of Temperance and social reform amid much discouragement and reproach, generously gave the gratuitous use of his commodious public hall, in order that the truth might be explicated, and error exposed, upon this important question of social economics. Mr MacLellan, who was called upon to preside at these meetings, discharged the duties of the chair with the greatest impartiality to all concerned. The Alliance party having advocated their views, and pressed them upon the attention of the meeting, they were straightway opposed by the officials of the Leith Total Abstinence Society, Messrs Gilbert, Archer, and Joseph Adams, the President and Secretary, with whom an interesting debate was kept up for several nights. Messrs M'Fadyen, Guthrie, and others, took part in the discussion, and apprehending the agitation of the Alliance to be that of a great citizen question, strongly, and, as we think, correctly, protested against "all attempts of the Teetotallers to mix it with the petty squabbles of any mere moral organization." The result of these discussions was, that when the vote was taken, twenty for one declared in favour of the Alliance and the Permissive Bill. The correspondent of the *Edinburgh News*, in referring to these meetings, says:—

"We had a rare night of it at the Maine Law meeting last Monday night. The discussion was to be from eight o'clock to ten—a quarter of an hour at a time. It was opened by the Maine Law party, who shelled away in rare style. The moral-suasion men replied calmly and deliberately for a time, but they began to waver. One of them was evidently in a poor

state of preparation, for he got up and asked how the revenue was to be supported, seeing that three-fourths of the whole was derived from intoxicating drinks? From that instant the Teetotal party failed. It was the omen of bad luck; and though the chairman of the Abstainers made a desperate effort to regain the lost ground, his speech fell powerless, for it was in turn demolished. The sympathy of the meeting was unmistakeably in favour of a Permissive Bill." *

By the excitement and inquiry which Mr Wilson was causing in the districts which he visited, he was becoming peculiarly obnoxious to the officials of the League; so much so, that in company with "other Alliance advocates," he was charged with pouring contempt upon Restriction, and depreciating the Abstinence movement. For the first time did the *Weekly Journal* now condescend to adduce proof in support of charges which, with terrible persistency, it had continued to reiterate; and to enable the reader to judge whether Mr Wilson was guilty of the charges preferred against him by the *Journal*, or whether he was only stating in public that which had become an established fact in the history of almost every Total Abstinence Society in the land, we give the proof by which the *Journal* sought to establish its accusations:—

"At Kirknewton, the Rev. Mr James Wilson is reported to have said—"What is the *remedy* for the fearful disorganization of society through drink? He showed that total abstinence, though a most excellent *principle*, was wholly inadequate as a *practical* cure, since the traffic in intoxicants made drunkards far more rapidly, and in greater numbers, than were ever reclaimed by the efforts of *moral-suasionists*. Restriction, too, as a remedy, was sadly faulty, and evidently con-

* Edinburgh News, No. 522, p. 5.

tained the seeds of its own dissolution. It recognised a *license-law*, and, according to a circular of the Scottish Temperance League, condemned the 'dram-shops,' while it asserted that 'licensed hotels' had *claims for continuance*." *

The *Christian News*, which had been presenting its readers with notices of those meetings, was attacked in the same number of the *Journal*, denounced as a paper which devoted its first pages to "*theoretical Christianity*," and an offer made by the *Journal* to submit the settlement of existing differences with the *Christian News* to a jury of twelve ministers of this "*theoretical Christianity*," whose names, without either their knowledge or consent, were selected and dragged before the public by publication in the *Journal* of the same date. Whatever might be the motives for thus attempting to mix up the Evangelical Union ministers with this controversy, we know not; but, as was to be expected, it led to considerable discussion: and but for the wisdom and Christian prudence of those gentlemen, division and discord might have been the result.

While the controversy was raging to a less or greater extent in almost every Abstinence Society, between the Prohibitionists and the moral-suasionists, or Restrictionists, as they had now become, the temperance columns of the *Christian News* afforded evidence, week after week, of the intense earnestness of the leaders of the cause of Prohibition. It was there that "J. K." continued to breathe, as it were, into the valley of vision, and infuse new life into the dry bones which were now beginning to knit bone to bone, and stand up to join in the daily increasing army of progress

* Weekly Journal, No. 40, p. 238.

and Prohibition. It was there that John Robertson of St Ninians, continued to pour into the deaf ear of the great Temperance Oracle the most powerful arguments why he should speak out in behalf of perishing millions. It was there he arrayed before him, in terrible distinctness, the drink-bedeveled slaves of a thrice-cursed traffic, and pled with him for the sake of the poor emaciated, uncared-for children of those who were the victims of national cruelty and legalized crime. It was there he thundered in his ear the call to awake to a sense of his responsibility, and using the talent that God had given, to let his voice be heard against the greatest of all conceivable engines of hell's device, by demanding through the people the total and immediate cessation of its diabolic power. But the watchman of St Ninians pled, appealed, and remonstrated in vain. The Oracle was silent: he was "fettered:" and could only reply in the hollow withering accents of despair: "I cannot speak out upon those matters as I *would*. I had much valuable information to communicate; but the opportunity for doing so is gone,"—and, alas! so far as Mr Gough and Scotland are concerned, we fear it is gone for ever.

No one can impartially reflect upon the contradictory position which Mr Gough has occupied in reference to the Maine Law agitation, without having forced upon his mind the conviction that in many respects it has been more that of a comedian, or a hired pleader, than of a genuine, consistent advocate of a cause which, as he admits, is pre-eminently philanthropic and Christian in its nature and development. That Mr Gough has modified and changed his sentiments upon the question of liquor traffic Prohibi-

tion, to suit the *peculiar* circumstances of the case, will appear abundantly evident upon perusal of the following reference to his antecedents.

In CINCINNATI, in 1853, "Mr Gough remarked, that he had not come there that night to discuss particularly the Maine Law; but he would give *his* opinions upon it. *Annihilation was the only remedy for intemperance.* It was asserted by many, that no one had a right to oppose the *traffic*, and the previous exertions of Temperance Societies had been so employed. This was an egregious error—the *traffic*, and the *traffic alone*, should be warred against. *The Maine Law is the proper law to quench—the only law that will quench the fatal plague that is yearly consuming thousands.* Give him, he said, the Maine Law or none—*annihilation or nothing.* Take extreme measures, or abandon the labour, which must result fruitlessly. Its necessity was being felt more and more every day! Countless methods had been adopted and tried; and experience had taught *this was the only manner* of rescuing the world from the most horrible of all vices, honour-destroying, sense-consuming, contagion-breathing, woe-creating, soul-damning Intemperance.*"

In LONDON, in October of the same year, Mr Gough said,—

"The liquor traffic was the cause of pauperism and of crime. Before they passed the Maine Law, the Mayor of Portland had stated that it was desirable that the House of Correction in that city should be enlarged; now it was empty, and to let. For the same cause the only use to which they could put the watch-house was to store in it condemned spirits. . . . It was nonsense to appeal to the moral sense of men who had no moral sense. He believed in prevention;

* See Published Speech of Mr Gough.

and that was what *he was come here to recommend*. In America, they had felt that they could endure the liquor traffic no longer; and that was what they would have to resort to in England. *He had never seen public opinion so rapidly forming on any subject as he had on this, since he had been in this country.*"*

In GLASGOW, in February 1854, Mr Gough said,—

"In order that these customs be abolished, they were taking measures to wage war of entire prohibition and annihilation of the traffic. (Great cheering.) He could only illustrate the position they had hitherto occupied by comparing themselves to a party playing at ten pins. The game is going on, and they were busy in getting the pins put on their end, but up comes the ball, and their work is to begin again. We have again and again put them up—but now, as the game is going on, we cry, Stop that ball. The spirit-dealer, like the ball, is undoing the work of the Temperance reformer, and we are coming to the conclusion that his business must be stopped, and it is rapidly becoming public sentiment. In the United States, it is not the being called a Temperance man that now satisfies—and *unless a man says he is for Prohibition, his Temperance is considered rather doubtful*. We wage a war against the business—and in saying so, we do not mean the dealing it out, at a half-penny a glass, but that traffic which is indicated by such an advertisement as the following:—*Corn, corn, corn!—Highest cash prices given for corn delivered at our distillery.*"†

In LEICESTER, Mr Gough, before his return to America, stated that, "after a brief sojourn there, he hoped to return hither, and wage a war against the liquor traffic until old England, the land of his nativity, was free from the curse of the drinking-shops, and the

* Weekly News.

† Christian News.

people as sober and intellectual as they were proverbially industrious.”*

Again, when Mr Gough returned to America, we find him speaking out, and declaring that “the case in regard to Prohibition is as if one had a bad tooth in his head. He takes a seat in the dentist’s chair, and if *the dentist is a bungler*, he will give him wrench after wrench, but still the tooth wont come out. Common sense tells us to give the liquor-dealer a wrench *once for all*; out with the tooth at once; *put the liquor-dealer out of his agony by Prohibition*. We want no half-measures; the time for that has passed by; crush the traffic, or give us nothing.”†

In BOSTON, Mr Gough said,—

“When he was young he went for moral-suasion; but *now he knew better*. You might as soon try to storm Gibraltar with a pop-gun; to shoot off a gun moderately; or to make Brooks, of South Carolina, a decent man, as to effect a great moral reformation by the moral-suasion movement.”‡

Such, then, are the clear, unmistakeable, harmonious, reiterated utterances of Mr John Bartholomew Gough, before he entered upon his engagement with the Scottish Temperance League. What, then, are his utterances when he comes to fulfil the terms of his agreement with that Anti-Maine Law Association?

At MANCHESTER, in August 1858, he told his audience that “the liquor traffic had been abolished from one hundred and seventy places in New England, by

* Christian News, No. 425, p. 174.

New York Tribune.

† Christian News, No. 571, p. 6.

the people being a law unto themselves, through the influence of *moral-suasion and the Temperance Pledge*. A gentleman at the close of Mr Gough's oration, asked permission to put a question in regard to the above statement; but the chairman, Mr W. Morris, would not allow Mr Gough to be questioned." *

In LIVERPOOL, as is well known, he attempted to prove the Maine Law to be a "dead letter everywhere," and a "universal failure;" and in that same town, subsequently, gave it as "his opinion that total and immediate Prohibition was almost total and immediate nonsense;" and, that before we "get a prohibitory law to be honoured in Great Britain, the Church of the living God must throw out of her bosom every man and woman who make money by drink."† Can it be possible that Mr Gough was ignorant of the fact that, in Scotland, the Sabbath traffic was regarded as lawful by the Church, until branded as illegal by the State?

Who can peruse the sentiments of this great "*God-sent man*," and contrast them with those enunciated and fearlessly advocated, before he came under the withering influences of the hostile officialism of the Scottish Temperance League, and not feel grieved for the sake of the victims of the traffic, the general interests of humanity, and the sake of Mr Gough himself, that he should ever have come in contact with those influences which have prevented him "speaking out as he would" upon this great question, in which are inseparably associated the temporal and eternal destinies of untold millions. Of what avail is a few thousand pieces of perishable gold, when put in comparison with the blessings of those "who were ready to perish," the sympathetic rejoicings of angels, and the benignant smile of Heaven's King!

* Christian News, No. 628, p. 6.

† Liverpool Mercury.

CHAPTER XXII.

Annual Meeting of the Scottish Temperance League—Reasons assigned for not taking up the Permissive Bill—United effort with Non-abstainers declared indispensable by the League—Gough *versus* Lees—Origin and results of the Case—Moral effects of the Case upon the representatives of the League—Soiree in honour of the Editor of the *Christian News* and the Rev. John Kirk—Suppression of free discussion at the Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society—Censure of the President by a Public Meeting—Maine Law Meetings in Pennicuik—Signal cowardice of the Rev. J. A. Johnstone of West Linton—Charge of misreporting against the *Weekly Journal*.

AT the Annual Meetings of the Scottish Temperance League for 1858, the spirit of controversy which pervaded the movement was strongly manifested. "The Alliance men" and the "Licensed Victuallers" were spoken of as the two great enemies with which the League Directors had to contend; and the articles which appeared in the *Christian News* were of such a character as to "be allowed to speak for themselves." At the business meeting, Mr Lang again brought up his motion, urging "the formation of political associations in Scotland, in connection with the League," and embodying the important principle of admitting "all parties opposed to the traffic, whether Abstainers or not." The Rev. Alexander Davidson moved as an amendment, "that the Directors of the League take up the Permissive Bill." The Rev. John Guthrie opposed the amendment of Mr Davidson, seeing that "the Permissive Bill *did not originate with the League Board*, and that to *palm* such an agitation on the

League in present circumstances, would, in all respects, be most preposterous and *ungracious, and completely in the face of the vote of confidence* and thanks they had so very heartily accorded to their Directors." He also opposed Mr Lang's motion—"deprecated the formation of new Temperance organisations," and moved a long, and somewhat indefinite, amendment—the only particular and truly important clause which it contained, being that which committed the League to the official and authoritative declaration, that the Prohibition of the traffic was "*only possible through the united efforts of moral reformers, whether Abstainers or not.*"* The motion and several amendments being put, Mr Guthrie's was declared carried. Seeing that by this resolution the League had homologated and officially recognised the principle upon which the Alliance policy was based, it was expected that the charges of "inconsistency" and the pharisaical cant about having "clean hands," which had been so liberally applied to all who sought to aid in liquor traffic Prohibition, without having previously signed a Teetotal pledge, would henceforth cease. But no. Like many other resolutions carried at the meetings of the League, it was little more heard of; and, in a few weeks, the *Journal* and the officials continued to condemn and denounce the principle as before, notwithstanding the fact that it has become an element in their own policy, just as certainly as it is the grand fundamental principle of the Alliance.

Sometime after the Annual Meeting of the League, considerable excitement was created by an anticipated trial for libel against Dr Frederic Lees, at the instance

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 46, p. 287.

of Mr J. B. Gough. In the *Edinburgh News* of Nov. 7, 1857, an article appeared, of a somewhat personal character, reflecting upon the moral and religious character of Mr Peter Sinclair, late of Edinburgh, then labouring as a Temperance lecturer in America. By this time it had been ascertained by Mr Gough and his friends that Mr Sinclair had been chiefly instrumental in collecting and forwarding that formidable documentary evidence which had so successfully demonstrated the false and delusive character of the famous "dead letter." Dr Lees, when in Scotland, having also learned that Mr Gough had some knowledge of the article before its publication in the *Edinburgh News* (as he himself when upon oath admitted), and that he had dispatched large numbers of copies of the paper, containing the article against Mr Sinclair, into the districts where that gentleman was labouring in America. Indignant and annoyed that an old friend in the Temperance cause should thus be persecuted in his absence, Dr Lees wrote to Mr Wilson of Sherwood, an intimate friend of Mr Gough, requesting him to ask Mr Gough to desist from such a course of procedure, and, at the same time, intimating, that should Mr Gough decline to do so, he would feel it his duty to make disclosures which would neither be agreeable nor satisfactory. Mr Wilson, instead of conveying the message of Dr Lees to Mr Gough, at once put himself in communication with several other parties, the result of which was, that an action was raised against Dr Lees upon the charge of defamation contained in his letter to Mr Wilson. In due course, an application for a criminal information against Dr Lees was lodged before the Court of Queen's Bench ; but after going into the

case, it was refused by Lord Campbell and his colleagues upon the Bench. At this stage of the proceedings, large numbers of the Temperance friends throughout the kingdom then stepped in, and urged a settlement of this disagreeable business by arbitration. This proposal was acceded to by Dr Lees, but repudiated by Mr Gough, who next raised a civil action for damages in the Court of Exchequer. The preparations that were made afforded ground for hope that a *bona fide* trial would take place ; and many witnesses were summoned to London from various parts of Scotland to give evidence in support of the statements of Dr Lees, or to bear testimony to the innocence of Mr Gough.

While there were those, better acquainted with the true nature of the case, who were perfectly satisfied that the evidence of the witnesses would never be disclosed in court, there was a very general belief that the whole evidence *pro* and *con* would be submitted to the public, and that, in common with the jury, they would be placed in possession of the facts of the case, so as to be able to form a satisfactory opinion upon a subject upon which so much diversity of opinion existed. In this, however, they were disappointed, as during the preliminaries of the anticipated trial, and before any of the witnesses had been examined, a most unsatisfactory compromise was effected by the counsel for the prosecution and the defence, alike discreditable to one and all concerned, with the exception of the witnesses, to whom no blame can possibly be attached. Thus terminated the case "*Gough versus Lees*," leaving the matter, so far as the public are concerned, just where it commenced, and where, notwithstanding all

that has been said, written, and expended upon the subject, it is likely to remain, shrouded amid darkness, difficulty, and doubt, an inexplicable enigma.

Notwithstanding the humiliating and fruitless results of this long threatened trial, humiliating alike to prosecutor and defendant, and fruitless to all but "the gentlemen at the bar," the lesson which it was so admirably designed to teach appears to have been utterly disregarded. Instead of it being accepted as an illustration of the folly of all such personal animosities, and although the Temperance friends in Kilmarnock and elsewhere, had publicly remonstrated and earnestly insisted upon peace, matters in Scotland only appeared to "wax worse and worse." Instead of a desire being evinced to bury out of sight that which had proved a stumbling-stone and reproach to the cause of Temperance Reform, it was eagerly laid hold upon and trumped up into all the proportions of a controversy, upon which the issues of two distinctive, but kindred institutions were made to depend. Speciously attired in all the attractions of a great institutional dispute, this "personal squabble" was held up before the Temperance Reformers of Scotland, and pertinaciously thrust upon their attention as being intimately associated, if not in reality constituting the great subject of difference which existed between the United Kingdom Alliance, and the Scottish Temperance League. Such representations having been found to succeed admirably in those quarters, and among those parties where the merits of the controversy were not understood, it was traded upon as capital to a most shameful extent.

It was about this time that the Rev. J. A. Johnstone,

of West Linton, came before the public as a champion of the "Hasten slowly" policy, and volunteered to do battle in its behalf; and as if to demonstrate his efficiency for the work, he proceeded to assail the personal character of gentlemen in a way which very seriously detracted from his own. It was also at this time when, from some cause yet unexplained to the Temperance public, the Rev. William Reid gave way to those paroxysms of feeling against the Alliance and the advocates of its principles, which, for his own sake, hundreds of his best friends have been led to regret. When this reverend gentleman stood up in Buchanan's Hall, on the 7th of July, 1858, and compared Dr Frederick Lees of Meanwood, "to an assassin dragged from the bar of justice, a convicted man, gleaming vengeance upon his intended victim,"* and in "a strain of inimitable satire," denounced the *Christian News* in language which we care not to repeat, he did more to affect his own reputation, and to blast his future prospects as a leader in that movement for which he has done so much, than years of arduous and conciliatory effort will be likely to efface.

While the *Christian News* was being bitterly denounced and persecuted by the Suasionists and Restrictionists, it was valued and admired for its faithful and fearless attitude by the Prohibitionists. In appreciation of the important services which it was rendering to the best interests of the Temperance Reformation, the highly honoured editor, the Rev. Peter Mather, and the Rev. John Kirk, one of its ablest contributors, were invited to attend a soiree in Edinburgh. There were present on the occasion the leading representa-

* Weekly Journal, No. 54, p. 296.

tives of the movement from Dunfermline, Dumfries, Stirling, Selkirk, Kirkcudbright, Linlithgow, Belhaven, Balerno, Dalkeith, Ford, Glasgow, Leith, Lasswade, &c. Dr M'Culloch, of Dumfries, was called upon to preside, and Messrs Davie, Brodie, Huie, Mitchell, Simpson, Lewis, Hamilton, Cuthbertson, and Learmonth, addressed the meeting, in addition to the guests of the evening, the Rev. Messrs Mather and Kirk. The speeches were of the most telling and practical character, and exerted a most salutary influence in behalf of the Prohibition movement.

At the Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, in September 1858, the question of Prohibition and the Permissive Bill was introduced by Mr Robert Moir one of the first who took a stand against the principle of finality and conservatism in the Temperance movement. Mr Moir, on rising to propose his resolution, was requested by the President to hand it up to the platform, in order, as Mr Moir supposed, that he might read it to the meeting; but no sooner did the President discover the nature of the resolution, than he retained possession of it, and intimated to the meeting that he would not allow Mr Moir to proceed. Such extraordinary proceedings evoked from the audience a demand that the resolution should at least be read; but this the President also declined to comply with. The audience demanded, in a voice of stern authority, that the resolution of the meeting should be read, but again their demand was disregarded. The meeting then became a scene of general uproar and confusion; when, finding himself unable to quell the tumult he had so unconstitutionally created, the President descended from the platform into the body of the chapel, which

by this time presented a sad scene. Several of the members of Committee for a while retained their seats, till seeing there was no longer any hope of business being resumed, they descended from the platform, when the excited audience retired to the outside of the chapel, and gave three cheers for the Permissive Bill and the Maine Law. On the following morning advertisements in the daily papers appeared, convening a public meeting in Brighton Street Chapel for the purpose of reading and considering the motion of Mr Moir, which had been rejected at the Abstinence Society's annual meeting. Considerable interest was created upon the subject, and a large attendance assembled to hear the motion which had been so unwarrantably suppressed. Mr Moir was warmly received by the audience, and calmly submitted his motion to the meeting. He supported it by an able and earnest speech, wherein he reviewed, and denounced in firm but dignified terms, the conduct of Mr Knox upon the previous evening, at the same time exonerating the Committee, except in so far as they ought to have expressed their disapprobation of the conduct of the President, by whom he considered they were represented. The motion was carried unanimously, as will appear from the following, extracted from the *Edinburgh Daily Express*:—

“At a large and influential public meeting, held in Brighton Street Chapel last night, the following resolutions were adopted, the first unanimously, and the second with only *three* dissentients. Moved by Mr Robert Moir, seconded by Mr W. F. Cuthbertson, ‘That while this meeting heartily approves of the principle of Moral-Suasion, and hails with pleasure every effort to restrain the traffic in Intoxicating Liquors, it at the same time agrees to petition in favour of the Permissive Maine Law Bill, about to be introduced into Parliament.’

“Moved by Mr E. Huie, seconded by Mr D. Smith, ‘That

this Meeting expresses its regret that the motion now so enthusiastically carried, was even refused a reading by the President of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society at its Annual meeting last night.' " *

About this time the Rev. John Kirk, in compliance with a request from a number of Prohibitionists in Pennicuick, delivered a lecture in that place. At the conclusion of his lecture, the Rev. J. A. Johnstone came forward to refute the arguments of the lecturer, and condemned the Permissive Bill, because "there was no Prohibition in it," and for other similar reasons. Having made but a feeble impression upon the audience, and evidently feeling that it would require "some study" to meet the arguments of Mr Kirk to the satisfaction of a public meeting, he intimated that he would return on an early evening, and reply to the lecture which had just been delivered. Shortly thereafter, public placards announced the night and subject of the lecture, at the close of which it was intimated that there would be "DISCUSSION ALLOWED." The Rev. James Wilson, Agent of the United Kingdom Alliance, had just returned from the North, where he had been lecturing, in time to learn that Mr Johnstone was to deliver an adverse lecture upon the Permissive Bill in Pennicuick, and that he had challenged discussion. Urged by his official duties, he proceeded to Pennicuick, there to grapple with the arguments and test the intellectual prowess of one who, in a comparatively short time, had acquired for himself quite a reputation as an adverse champion in the arena of Permissive Bill and Maine Law controversy. Mr Wilson, who had evidently gone with too sanguine expectations, was sur-

* Daily Express, October 1, 1858.

prised to find that the lecture of Mr Johnstone consisted pretty much in an attack upon the *Christian News*, and several of those associated with the Prohibition movement, in conjunction with some commonplace objections to the suggestions for a Permissive Bill as published by the United Kingdom Alliance. At the conclusion of the lecture, Mr Wilson rose to reply, but was struck with bewilderment when informed by the chairman that Mr Johnstone would not undertake to discuss the question with him or any person from Edinburgh. It was quite true that discussion was announced in the placard, but Mr. Johnstone had exacted a *private arrangement* from the committee, that in the event of any person coming forward to controvert his statements *from a distance*, they were not to be allowed to proceed. Mr Robert Blair a mutual friend and member, both of the Scottish Temperance League and the United Kingdom Alliance, then rose and expressed his surprise at such unaccountable proceedings, at the same time informing the chairman, that he had seen the placard seven miles distant from Pennicuick; and as it broadly and unequivocally announced that discussion would be allowed, he had come all that distance to be present on the occasion. Notwithstanding that the conclusive character of Mr Blair's remarks carried conviction to the minds of the audience, the feeling of which was decidedly in favour of Mr Wilson being heard, it mattered not. The mind of Mr Johnstone and *his* chairman was inexorable; and the lecturer having informed the meeting that no resolution of theirs would induce him to allow discussion, there was no alternative but submission. The meeting then broke up amid considerable dissatisfaction,

one sagacious rustic remarking as he retired, "Mr Johnstone is a great man when he gets his ain way ; but, wae's me, he maks a puir figure when he's put tilt!"

Notwithstanding the appearance which Mr Johnstone had made, and the humbling position which he occupied before the audience, a highly complimentary notice appeared in the *Weekly Journal*, the true nature of which will best be explained by the following letter which was sent for insertion in the next number of the *Journal* ; and, although signed by Messrs Robert Blair, James Paterson, and Peter Neilson, three office-bearers in an affiliated society, and influential members of the League, its insertion was declined :—

"SIR,—For some time back there has been a hue-and-cry about misrepresentations of meetings, &c., contained in certain portions of the public press, and while we were grieved to think of the possibility of such proceedings, we flattered ourselves that, in this respect, our own *Journal* would be blameless ; but the report, given in your last, of Mr Johnstone's meeting at Pennicuik, has forced us to the conclusion that even to its pages misrepresentations and non-truths find their way ; and we much mistake Mr Johnstone, if he himself is satisfied with the report. Your correspondent begins by stating, 'that the meeting had to adjourn from the school-room to the parish church, in consequence of the great numbers who were anxious to hear Mr Johnstone.' Now, without trying to detract from Mr Johnstone's popularity, we may state that one principal reason for the large attendance was, that the bill announcing Mr Johnstone's lecture, also announced that discussion would be allowed at the close. Considerable excitement having been created by Mr Johnstone the week previous, throwing down the gauntlet to Mr Kirk ; but, waving this, your correspondent goes on to state his opinion of the lecture, which he has a perfect right to do, and then he says—'At the close of the lecture, Mr James Wilson, Alliance agent, rose to speak, but the chairman told him he could not hear him, as Mr Johnstone, in agreeing to deliver the lecture, had stated to them that he had laid it down as a rule, in lecturing through Scotland, that he would answer objections only from persons residing in the locality, or any brother minister from

any quarter, and as it would break faith with Mr Johnstone, *the meeting supported the chairman.*'

"Now, Mr Editor, this is notoriously untrue. The chairman did not, at that stage, say any such thing; he merely asked Mr Wilson's name, and then told him to sit down, by calling upon Mr Johnstone. He then read the bill, paraphrasing that clause permitting discussion, by saying that 'discussion did not mean free discussion,' and then we got at the secret arrangement; and to say that the meeting supported the chairman, when he disallowed Mr Wilson to speak, is very wide of the truth; indeed, the meeting looked utterly blank and disappointed, and gave not one symptom of support to the chairman."

Shortly afterwards, the Rev. James Wilson and Mr D. Lewis, visited Pennicuik for the purpose of lecturing upon the Prohibition movement in general, and the Permissive Bill in particular. Public discussion was respectfully invited, and a special notice sent to the Rev. J. A. Johnstone, who, however, failed to make his appearance. The Rev. John Home, minister of the parish, generously granted the use of his church, and presided upon the occasion. Each of the gentlemen having delivered a brief lecture upon the subjects announced, the Chairman then intimated that the platform was open to any party, whatever might be his station in life, or whether he resided in the district or not. Messrs James Paterson and James Thomson rose to controvert the statements of the lecturers, which were successively disposed of to the satisfaction of the audience. The only view advanced, which appeared to have any weight with the audience, was when the objectors endeavoured to get quit of the argument that all Total Abstinence effort had been inadequate to cope with the physical and unremitting appliances of the traffic, as evidenced in the backsliding of members and the declension and not unfrequent resuscitation of extinct

societies. None were more sensible of the low state of societies, and the lamentable extent of pledge-breaking, than were the objectors ; but, instead of attributing it in any degree to the temptations and facilities afforded by the liquor traffic, they directly charged it home upon the advocates of the Prohibition movement, who, as they asserted, were going about advocating views which were raising divisions in the movement, and thereby directing the attention of members and committees from their legitimate work. This, said they, is the real cause of the declension of members and societies, and the Maine Law advocates are responsible for the consequences. Such a plausible way of accounting for the unhappy state of affairs referred to, appeared to secure for the "Suasionists" a triumph ; but this was exceedingly short-lived, one of the lecturers pertinently inquiring, When did this tide of backsliding and apostasy introduce itself? Surely, not since the Maine Law advocates commenced to "disturb societies." Let us ascertain ; and calling attention to an article which was published in the *Review* of the Scottish Temperance League, in 1849, he read the following :—"We have arrived at this conclusion in full view of the fact, that apostates from the Temperance movement have been very numerous ; that every society has had its backsliders by the score, and some by the hundred ; that in places where societies once existed, and where their appropriate machinery was in healthy action, societies are now extinct, leaving perhaps a few solitary abstainers, isolated and unknown, the wreck of an excellence and usefulness that is gone. This is no exaggerated picture. With many examples we are familiar, a fifty miles circle would furnish a dozen."* The reading

* Scottish Temperance Review, vol. 4, p. 97.

of this passage from an article published under editorial sanction, as far back as nine years ago, most completely upset the argument of the representatives of the policy of the League, and exposed, to the satisfaction of all present, the indefensible position which they had assumed.

“ Mr Muir rose and asked if the parties opposing the gentlemen from Edinburgh were really sincere in the views they had enunciated? He said the Scottish Temperance League insisted greatly on the value of Mr Gough’s services; but he would tell them the *effect* of the ‘orator’s’ eloquence in their own town:—‘On the occasion of his visit,’ said Mr Muir, ‘so many wished to take the pledge, that we had not cards to supply them, and yet, in *three* months time, this large number dwindled down to two! This showed plainly that *excitement* was not what they required, but the *removal* of the *temptations* which caused so many to go back.’ He appealed to office-bearers of the Society, if the fact was not as he had stated, and was thereupon fully corroborated by one who had long been engaged in the cause.

“ The Rev. Mr Home expressed the great pleasure he felt in presiding on this occasion. He deprecated strongly the introduction of narrow-minded views and prejudices into this great national question, and eulogised very highly the mode in which the deputation had handled the subject, presenting, in his mind, a model which other Temperance lecturers might most advantageously imitate.”*

* Christian News, No. 34, p. 7.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Conference of Total Abstinence Societies in Glasgow—Discussion upon the Permissive Bill—Origin of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association—The League advocating the Permissive Bill prior to the formation of the Scottish Association—The League condemning the Permissive Bill, after the formation of the Scottish Association—Inflammatory Appeal to the Abstainers of Scotland against the promoters of the Permissive Bill—Promoters of the Bill misrepresented by the League Officials—Pacific Manifesto of the League Directors—The expulsion of the Alliance from Scotland, and the subversion of the New Association demanded, as the only terms upon which peace could be secured—Conditional terms of forgiveness held out to the Prohibitionists—Terms of peace and forgiveness unanimously rejected—The Rev. William Reid's nine objections to the New Association examined.

WE now come to refer to the origin of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association, an event of vast significance in relation to the Temperance movement in Scotland. In order that the causes which gave rise to it may be fully explained, we will require to refer to a meeting of friends of the Temperance movement, held in Glasgow, on the evening of February 5th 1858, from which emanated the following circular, which was addressed to each of the Total Abstinence Societies in Glasgow :—

“ Glasgow, 8th Feb. 1858.

“ DEAR SIR,—At a meeting of a number of the friends of the Temperance movement, from the various districts of the city, held in Simpson's Coffee House, on the evening of Friday, 5th instant, James Horn, Esq., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved, ‘That a Conference, consisting of two representatives from each of such Total Abstinence Societies in Glasgow, as may choose to appoint them, shall be held in Simpson's Coffee House, 29 Jamaica Street, on the evening of Tuesday, the 16th current, at Eight o'clock. The object of said Conference being to promote a greater reciprocity of feel-

ing and interest among the Temperance Societies in the city, and to secure a greater amount of unity, and vigour, and promptitude of action, when any emergency or circumstance of a social, moral, or political nature, likely to exert an influence on the Temperance cause, may occur to demand it.'

"In pursuance of the above resolution, your Association is hereby respectfully requested to send two representatives to the above specified Conference, and to contribute, through them, the sum of One Shilling, to assist in defraying the expenses thereof.

"Measures judged likely to promote the permanent interests of the cause in the locality, will be submitted for the consideration of the meeting.

JAMES HORN, 135 Hospital St., *Chairman*.
H. CRAWFORD, 119 Crown St., *Clerk*."

As the result of the meeting thus convened, it was agreed that a quarterly Conference be regularly held for the purposes set forth in the circular, it being understood that notices of resolutions to be submitted to the Conference be notified to the Secretary, "at least fourteen days before the meeting." Notice of a resolution was thereafter given by the Main Street Bridge-ton Society, to be brought before the Conference by their representative, Mr Robert Court. The following is the resolution:—

"Resolved, That this Conference, satisfied of the soundness of the principles of the 'Permissive Maine Law,' and the desirability of procuring an enactment which will give the people more direct control over the drink traffic, recommend to the Temperance Societies of Glasgow, that they commence at once a vigorous and combined agitation for the total and immediate overthrow of the liquor traffic."

The practical nature of Mr Court's resolution at once commended itself to the judgment of the earnest-minded members present, while, at the same time, it evoked the opposition of those hitherto opposed to everything like present and decided action of a thoroughly effective character. Mr J. S. Marr disapproved of such a resolution and recommended great caution

in interfering with the Permissive Bill, strongly urging the Conference to prepare for the approaching licensing courts. Mr M'Gavin was greatly amazed at the gullability of the Scotch, in reference to the Permissive Bill, and was decidedly opposed to the motion, as was also Mr Melvin, both of whom moved amendments against it. However, the resolution was in good hands, perhaps the best hands it could have fallen into in Scotland, on the occasion, and under the circumstances referred to. Mr Court had a most perfect apprehension of the whole scope and character of the Permissive Bill, while he had an equally perfect knowledge of the nature of the opposition he was called upon to encounter. Having all the experience of a well-disciplined mind, and skilled as a popular controversialist, he was able to unravel the complicated plottings, and to unmask with fearless hand the specious sophistries by which good, earnest, and well-meaning, but inexperienced men are apt to be misled. Messrs M'Gavin, Melvin, and Marr, finding in Mr Court an antagonist not easily to be "bamboozled," or overthrown in argument, an attempt was made to turn the meeting against him, because he, a "non-official," should dare to take notes of the speeches of the opposition, which they seemed afraid should find their way into the newspapers. This attempt, however, signally failed; Mr Court contending, "that in the lecture-room, at the public meeting, at tea parties, at festivals, at church, in the infidel hall, and even at the semi-private instructions of popish priests in their own chapels, he had taken notes, and been in no case interfered with or molested."* After several nights of adjournment and debate, the discus-

* Christian News, No. 618, p. 6.

sion closed; and now when the vote must decide the future policy of the Glasgow Societies, intense interest pervaded every countenance, more particularly those of the League officials. Several amendments, all admirably adapted to divide the friends in favour of the Permissive Bill, were put in succession; but, notwithstanding the *tact* and experience of the opposition party, a majority of *five* declared in favour of the Permissive Bill. It having then been suggested by Mr Court, that steps be taken to acquaint the various societies with the result, Mr Marr rose and stated, that it was by no means an important result after all, seeing that the majority had neither the weight nor influence of the societies with them. Such a remark was felt to be a gross insult offered to the majority, who rose to their feet, and protested against the indignity offered by one of their paid officials, and hence a scene ensued which appeared to paralyse the chairman. Order having been restored, it was resolved to forward an official notice to each of the societies interested, which terminated the memorable discussion in the Conference of societies in Glasgow. Great credit is due to those societies and their representatives, who had the moral heroism thus to prefer the policy of instant action against the entire traffic, as propounded by the Alliance, to that of partial action against a certain branch of it, as propounded by the League, and that, too, in the face of the direct and determined opposition of its officials. In particular, are the Temperance public indebted to the Main Street Bridgeton Society, and to their noble representative, Mr Court, for having introduced a resolution of vital importance to the best interests of the Temperance reformation.

From the feeling and conduct displayed by Mr Marr, it will appear evident that, if the Permissive Bill agitation was to be taken up, as the majority were determined it should be, it could only be done by a voluntary separation from such active elements of division and discord. Heartily wearied with vain professions of "entire Prohibition" and undefined prospects of "prospective agitation," and having abundantly experienced that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," they resolved at once upon the formation of a separate and distinct organisation. A prospectus was forthwith issued to the various Temperance Societies throughout the country, and arrangements entered into for its public inauguration.

A separate organisation being now inevitable, the Directors of the League set themselves industriously to beset its path with thorns, and, if possible, to blast its prospects of success. No longer did the Directors "approve of the principle of the Permissive Bill;" it had now become "visionary" and "vapoury," and transient as a passing "Comet." That there may be no dubiety as to the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League having not only been favourable to the Bill, but that they devoted their *Journal* to promote it, we give the following from its columns; and we do so the more readily, because it is the best answer to many of those objections they have since published abroad through the same medium:—

"To us it seems peculiarly appropriate that such a traffic as the liquor traffic should be dealt with rather by burgh or county action than by the Imperial Parliament. It will not only be denied, that, other things being equal, the men who have the most complete knowledge of the nature and ramifications of the drink traffic, are the men most competent to deal with it in a practical manner. Nay, more, it should not be forgotten that there is a greater analogy between this method

of dealing with the trade, and the mode on which our American friends have dealt with it, than there is in demanding what is called a Maine Law from the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. . . . Now, acting in the spirit of the views to which we have just given utterance, what is to hinder Scotland from having the strong drink traffic *prohibited* long before England is prepared for such a measure? Something like this conviction, we presume it is, that induced the United Kingdom Alliance at its last Annual Meeting, *wisely, as we think, to resolve that they would agitate for such a general law as would leave it in the power of parishes or counties to adopt, and enforce at will, a prohibitive act.* Thus, those portions of the country that are most advanced upon this subject, would reap the full fruits of that advancement; while the example set, and the highly salutary results achieved, would no doubt operate as a powerful lever by which to lift laggard districts to the same elevated platform of social reform. *It is, therefore, with joy that we see in the very sensible resolution of the Alliance, to which we have referred, an attempt to grapple with the exigencies of society as it is.* Indeed, much as we value our present licensing-system for the purposes we have indicated, we are ready to admit, that, were the idea of the Alliance to become fact in Scotland, it would, by giving a still more direct control, more effectually curb the nefarious traffic." *

Such were the sentiments enunciated by the Directors of the League regarding the Permissive Bill, prior to the formation of the association for its Agitation. Let us now see what were their sentiments after that Association had been formed.

"Instead of giving nothing, the present Permissive Bill policy gives something less, that is worse than nothing. It gives windy expectations that are doomed to certain disappointment; and by imperiously inaugurating precipitate and quixotic agitations, *defiant of all local peculiarities*, and of all sister organisations, it sows broadcast throughout the Temperance camp the dragon's teeth of discord, and is at present introducing much confusion into the cause in Scotland."

* Weekly Journal, No. 20, p. 78.

Such were the sentiments enunciated in a leading article of the *Journal* only a few days after the public inauguration of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association; and the said article concludes with the following sentence:—

“It only remains for us accordingly, as occasion suggests, to take up that latest-born Temperance sentiment, which has leaped full-armed from the head of the Alliance, and show it to be a monster that, to the extent to which it may be fostered, can only do mischief; and which, therefore, on all hands deserves to be hunted down, and buried out of sight.” *

We come now to consider in what light the promoters of the Permissive Bill Association were viewed and spoken of by the *Journal*. Their conduct was characterised as “disgraceful in the extreme.” They had engaged in forming a Society which “we brand as piratical and contemptible; and we call upon the Abstainers of Scotland, as they value the honour of the cause, to spurn the indignity, and quit them like men. Be it remembered henceforth, by every honourable-minded Abstainer of Scotland, that the policy has been avowed, and is in course of being pursued, of directly seeking to *alienate Temperance reformers from one another, and to compass, if possible, the dissolution of THEIR League*, to the irreparable injury, if it succeed (which, however, it will not) of a cause with which, as the declaration truly affirms, are identified the dearest interests of our country and of mankind.”

“In circumstances like these, the Abstainers of Scotland cannot remain neutral. The time has come—it has been forced upon them—when they must choose their side, and give forth a certain sound. The pre-

* Weekly Journal, No. 67, p. 360.

sent and prospective interests of the cause demand decision, if the adverse policy we have exposed is to go on: if it is not to be *repented of and repudiated forthwith, peace, and even neutrality, in the Temperance camp are entirely out of the question.*"*

Such was the inflammatory nature of the harangues being delivered to "the Temperance reformers of Scotland," through the columns of the *League Journal*, before ever the new organisation had been inaugurated; and, as if to justify such a reprehensible course of conduct, the readers of the *Journal* were informed that circulars had been sent out to the Societies by the promoters of the new Association, "inclosing direct attacks upon the League, and a dastardly call to stop the supplies." Notwithstanding the specious fallacy and gross mis-statement which lurked beneath this intimation, it was believed by many to be true; and as, like the "Gough and Lees controversy," it was found to operate successfully in swelling the list of members for the *Register*, it was industriously and pertinaciously reiterated. It has been said, that experienced calumny never assails its victim by hazarding a statement, unless some acknowledged circumstance can be found which will throw an air of plausibility around the charge preferred. It was precisely so in the case before us; and to show that there was a twisting and torturing from their legitimate connection, we give the original sentence in which they occur, of the words referred to:—

"The enlightened thought, the long-settled conviction, the crushing sense of wrong, the sickening sympathy with the victims of the liquor trade, the rapidly growing hope of the suppression of that trade, the strong consciousness of right in the breasts of freemen, the faith in man and trust in God,

* *Weekly Journal*, No. 64, p. 338.

which all go to make up the *true Temperance sentiment*, already created and fast approaching maturity in Scotland, make it something that can't wait, and won't, if it could. It will hail any man who seems to be a friend, and lends any sort of hand to the work; but the moment it has fairly discovered *him to be a foe*, or a mere *self-seeker in disguise*, it will turn from him, and hold on its way. It will gladly pay what seems clearly needful for the work that is required; but not one fraction will it give when it ceases to see that work efficiently done. On that day, *when it is convinced* that professed leaders and devotees of the cause *are seeking our money rather than ourselves*, it will '*stop the supplies.*'"^{*}

Such, then, are the words complained of; and where, we would ask, do the officials of the League find in them their justification for the unwarrantable accusation, that the promoters of the Permissive Bill Association addressed "a dastardly call to stop the supplies?"

The writer of the article merely asserted it as his opinion, or predicted, that as soon as the pure Temperance sentiment in the country discovered a seeming friend to be a foe—a mere self-seeker in disguise—and that the work necessary to the suppression of the liquor trade was not being efficiently done, it would "stop the supplies," without asking or calling upon any one to adopt any particular course whatever.

In the same number of the *Journal* which contained some of these inflammatory appeals for discord and strife, the Directors of the League intimated that they longed "for peace, and for this purpose they issued a pacific manifesto," as the basis upon which that peace could be secured. Preparatory to the terms of peace being submitted, it was announced, "We have witnessed with regret and sorrow the misunderstanding and division." "We are persuaded that this strife is as unnecessary, as it has proved itself to be vexatious and

^{*} J. K., in *Christian News*, No. 629, p. 6.

hurtful." "We are convinced that the division which we deplore might have been avoided. We will not, by pointing out the origin or tracing the history of this unnatural war, assign to any party the guilt of its existence: but the present safety, the future progress, and the ultimate triumph of a cause near to our hearts, and with which are identified the dearest interests of our country and of mankind, make us greatly desirous of obtaining present peace, and of securing future concord. We think the present strife may be best terminated by permitting what has been unpleasant in the past to sink into oblivion. And we are of opinion that future discord may be best prevented, and the triumph of Temperance most speedily secured, by the general adoption of the following principles:—

"*First*, The Temperance movement in Scotland shall be kept separate and distinct."!!

"*Second*, The Scottish Temperance League shall be the general Association for Scotland"!!! And why? "It is national in its operation, and very fairly represents *the wisdom, the zeal, and the power*, of the Temperance movement. *Its past achievements, its present position*, its thoroughly liberal and popular constitution, and its representative character, fully entitle it to the gratitude, *the confidence, and the support* of all true Temperance Reformers."!! "To the Temperance Reformers of Scotland, then, we say, Rally round the Scottish Temperance League,"* &c. The readers of the *Journal* were further told, "If the recommendations of that *admirable and influential* document be not carried out, the responsibility, we can answer for it, will not rest with the Directors: it is they (the Prohibitionists), and

* Weekly Journal, No. 64. p. 338.

not we, who sustain the character of aggressors. It is they, accordingly, that must be held responsible for all the disagreeable, perplexing, and disastrous results which will inevitably, to some extent or other, follow from this mad procedure." *

Such were the preamble, the conditions, and the appeal for peace, submitted by the Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, who aspired to drive by the popular voice of the people the Alliance of the United Kingdom from this drink-degraded portion of her Majesty's dominions, and who, by the same popular power, demanded that the Scottish Permissive Bill Association be strangled in its birth. But this official proclamation was not unaccompanied by terms of mercy to those who had despised the authority of the League. "Even now, if they choose to retrace their steps, and acknowledge the dishonourable error into which, in *the outset of their career*, they allowed themselves to be betrayed, their delinquency could be overlooked and speedily forgotten, but when, without the faintest approach to any such acknowledgment, they disclaim what they did in such terms as simply to reflect on us and clear themselves, we accept the disclaimer as only a further and aggravated wrong!" †

No response having been given to the "admirable and influential document," after the lapse of fourteen days, the promoters of the Permissive Bill Association were charged with basing an organization "on the entire prostration and obliteration of the Total Abstinence pledge," of "deserting the Total Abstinence flag," and "throwing down the distinctive battlements of Temperance Reform." ‡

* Weekly Journal, No. 64, p. 338.

† Ib. No. 68, p. 354.

‡ Ib. No. 70, p. 362.

The official proclamation having failed either to divide the friends of the Permissive Bill, or prevent large accessions to their number, the Rev. William Reid then presented the Temperance public with a letter occupying upwards of three columns of the *Journal*, and containing nine objections to the Permissive Bill Association,* which we now propose to examine.

First.—Mr Reid objects “to the new organisation, because it is an Association instituted to agitate for a measure we are never likely to obtain.” Whatever may be said against this first objection, it cannot be said that it is a novel one, having been advanced against almost every question of reform during the last three centuries. Neither can it be said to be an unpopular one, having been urged by those interested in the continuance of the traffic in common with that large class opposed to all questions of social improvement. As this objection has ever and anon disappeared before the ever-widening circles of enlightened public sentiment, Mr Reid has failed to show why it should not be overcome in the present instance: which is most unfortunate, as he admits the concessions demanded to be in accordance with equity and right. But the Bill also proposed “to make that a crime in Leith which is no crime in Edinburgh.” Therefore, upon this ground, we must object to the Police Boundaries Bill, because *it makes* that a crime in the immediate proximity of the objector’s own house, which is no crime three hundred yards distant.

Second.—Mr Reid objects “to the proposed Bill, because it could secure nothing that may not be secured by the policy of the League.” To us it appears that

* Weekly Journal, No. 67, pp. 49-50.

the value of the policy of any institution depends not upon what it *may*, but what it *seeks* to secure ; and as the policy of the League is only to *profess* to be "for the entire prohibition of the traffic," while it is the policy of the Permissive Bill Association to *work* for it, there only exists between the policy of the League and the Permissive Bill Association, that difference which exists between *profession* and *practice*.

Third.—Mr Reid contends "that the principle of limitation and restriction gives more than even this proposed Bill professes to give. It gives a mitigation of the evil complained of even now, and the *full abolition of it a great deal sooner than it can ever be got by the measure in question.*" That is, the individual who demands and prosecutes for an instalment of a claim to which he has a legitimate right, with the view of getting payment of the whole—the community who demand the "limitation and restriction" of legalized slavery in order to secure its total abolition—and the nation which demands by "bit by bit" instalments the total abolition of an obnoxious impost upon human food, will, by this means, get it a "great deal sooner than it can ever be got" by an urgent demand for the whole. Reader, what do the commercial experience of everyday life, the history of the Egyptian bondsmen, and the political antecedents of our own country, say to this? That the Rev. gentleman should so lightly esteem the salutary lessons taught by the history of the past, is certainly to be regretted.

Fourth.—Mr Reid objects "to the new Association, because it is not based upon the Abstinence principle." Where, we ask, does such an Association exist? Certainly not among the various Temperance and refor-

matory associations of Great Britain—our most perfect Total Abstinence Societies ignoring that *principle*, even in connection with the most pure and delightful associations upon earth. But again, this is no modern objection. It was urged and conscientiously contended for by many of the Society of Friends in the days of British slavery in her Indian colonies. Scrupulously did these good and philanthropic men object to an association not based upon “personal abstinence” from slave-grown commodities; but the objection was exploded, and disappeared before the sound argument and thrilling eloquence of George Thompson, while defining the difference between private habit and legislative sanction—between a moral and a great social and political agitation.

Fifth.—Mr Reid objects that “the new Association originates in a spirit of inveterate hostility to the Scottish Temperance League.” In proof of the charge preferred, he says the Provisional Committee distributed a circular, wherein it was said—“the League men are drumming up for half-crowns. Long-headed Scotchmen have made up their minds that we have had quite enough of that sort of thing, and propose canvassing the country for voters, and supporting the expense of the organisation upon the freely given shilling, or upwards, which Abstainers or others may be disposed to pay. Their firm belief is, that the League is playing at Temperance. They regard the present leaders as incapable of forming the conceptions of the policy now demanded in the movement.” Such, then, is the proof that the Scottish Permissive Bill Association “originated in a *spirit of* inveterate hostility to the Scottish Temperance League.” Does the evidence

adduced justify the accusation? We think not—each of the successive statements made being only a repetition of that which is established by historical fact. That “the League men were drumming up for half-crowns,” is not attempted to be denied; that “there were Scotchmen who had made up their minds that we have had quite enough of that sort of thing,” is terribly demonstrated in the numbers of individuals and societies who have withdrawn from its connection; That the Permissive Bill Association is “canvassing the country for voters,” is an important fact, which the columns of our public newspapers daily demonstrate; and that the expense is defrayed by the “freely given shilling and upwards,” the publication of the subscription-lists will declare. That the Provisional Committee of the new Association believed the League to be playing at Temperance, they made no effort to conceal; and in view of the treatment they received at the Conference, we fear there was too much reason for the belief expressed; and that they were correct in regarding the present leaders as incapable of forming the conception of the policy demanded in the movement, the whole history of the past abundantly testifies.

Sixth.—Mr Reid objects “to this new organisation, because it is fitted to accomplish nothing but evil!” Here, again, is another objection, which may claim kindred with the generations of the past. From the earliest dawns of the Reformation, up till the proposed inauguration of the Permissive Bill Association, it has been pressed into active service in every age, and on every question where forbearance was exhausted, and dissent had become a duty. Let Mr Reid turn over the pages of ecclesiastical history, and as he sees the

stern John Knox confronting the organized powers of Papal darkness, he will hear issuing from the conclaves of Romish persecution, "Protestantism must perish, because it is fitted to accomplish nothing but evil." Let him consult the "Fathers of his own Church," and there will flash from the historic page the argument of their adversaries, that "Dissent must be suppressed, because it is fitted to accomplish nothing but evil." Let him turn to the Hall of St Stephen's, when the power of British commerce and industry struggled for a share in the management of the nation's affairs, and he will hear the stern proud voice of hereditary Conservatism demanding that Liberalism be overthrown, "because it is fitted to accomplish nothing but evil." Let him cross the Channel to the French Republic, and while he hears, as it were, the hollow murmurings of an impending revolution, he will hear the voice of one of earth's greatest despots demanding that the press be put in chains, "because it is fitted to accomplish nothing but evil;" and yet, each and all of these are entitled to equal consideration and respect with the objection in question.

Seventh.—Mr Reid says—"this new organisation is vindicated on the score that immediate measures are required to meet the evil." Most certainly they are! Does not the experience of almost every Total Abstinence Society in the land prove, beyond all question, that all mere moral efforts have signally failed to affect and reclaim a *certain class* who, in the language of the objector himself, have begotten an appetite for intoxicating liquor, "which dies only in the grave." Has he not told us that "we may preach Total Abstinence till the millenium," and that we shall never succeed till

the legalised traffic is suppressed? And does not the experience of three hundred years, and the four hundred restrictive Acts which stand upon the British Statute Book prove, beyond doubt, that the traffic, *while tolerated*, is unrestrictable.

Eighth.—Mr Reid says—"We, therefore, greatly prefer the Scottish Temperance League, which is adequate to all the measures which may be required for the successful prosecution of our movement." That the objector has a perfect right to prefer the Scottish Temperance League, no one will presume to dispute; and that it is adequate to all the measures which may be required for the work in hand, *may be correct*. But of what avail, we ask, is the *mere adequacy* of an institution, if it firmly, systematically, and perseveringly refuse to call into active operation, and employ in a proper sphere, those means which it so adequately possesses. But is Mr Reid really satisfied that the present policy pursued by the Scottish Temperance League is adequate for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic? If so, what does he mean when speaking of the efforts of the Restrictionists? He says—"To our minds it is strange beyond conception, that a Christian benefactor is *satisfied* if a formidable agency for corrupting the morality of the people be only restricted. *Why not plead for their utter extermination!! Why then aim at anything short of their entire removal!! In asking then, MERELY FOR A REDUCTION of their number, is there not something of the appearance of a compromising with evil?*" The principle of admitting the pernicious tendency of a system, and yet, at the same time, be willing to tolerate it in a modified form, bears on its forehead glaring inconsistency. IT IS AN UNWORTHY TAMPERING WITH

AN EVIL WHICH WE ARE POWERFUL ENOUGH TO CRUSH, IF WE ONLY MANFULLY SET OURSELVES FOR THE TASK." *

Ninth.—Mr Reid says—"But, even were this Permissive Bill a measure worthy of support, I doubt if this be the time to launch it on the country." Again, in the language of the objector, we would ask, "Where would religion, and science, and philosophy, and liberty have been, had all great innovators been thus timorous?" † "I doubt if this be the time!" So have said some upon all questions, and in all ages of the world; so says Mr Reid now; and so will men of "timid counsels" say till the end of time. Still, notwithstanding, the glorious truth remains—an imperishable testimony to its fallacy—that reformers have remained unaffected by its chilling influence, and reforms have and still continue to be achieved. We, therefore, feel assured that the Prohibitionists of Scotland are not the men to be damped in their noble efforts, and the Permissive Bill is not the measure to be obstructed and extinguished by such empty doubts and vain prophesyings! To the Rev. gentleman, and to those others who have devoted themselves to the work of persecuting the promoters of the Permissive Bill, we would tender the counsel of Gamaliel of old, and say, "Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found, even to fight against God."

* Temperance Cyclopædia, p. 441.

† *Ib.* p. 440.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Inauguration of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association—Disastrous career of the Deputations of the Scottish Temperance League—Fallacious character of the policy of the League—The *Christian News* in Court—Presentation to the Rev. John Kirk—Practical character of the operations of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association—Triumphant career of the Deputations of the Alliance and Scottish Association—Results of the canvass—Painful Exposure and Conviction of T. L. Cuyler of New York—Alarming disclosures of the League Register—Concluding Remarks.

ON the 1st of October 1858, the Scottish Permissive Bill Association was inaugurated in Glasgow, under the most auspicious circumstances, and supported by an amount of talent, influence, and enthusiasm, which had not been accorded to any Temperance organisation hitherto set afoot in Scotland. On the forenoon nearly one hundred delegates and leading Temperance Reformers met in the Lesser City Hall, James Torrens, Esq., in the chair. The meeting was opened with a most appropriate prayer, by the Rev. John Kirk. The Provisional Committee's declaration of principles having been discussed in detail, the Association was duly formed, and the meeting brought to a close. The delegates and friends were afterwards entertained to tea in an adjoining apartment, by a number of kind-hearted ladies, who had provided the refreshment at their own expense. It is worthy of remark, that in Glasgow, where the cause of Temperance reform has been greatly promoted by the self-sacrificing and public-spirited efforts of the ladies of that city, they are, with few or no exceptions, very devoted in their attachment to the Maine Law agitation.

The public meeting in connection with the inauguration was held in the large City Hall. Notwithstanding the state of the weather, a goodly number of the Temperance public of Glasgow had taken their seats long before the hour of taking the chair, and by eight o'clock the hall was well filled. James Torrens, Esq., president of the Association, occupied the chair. On and around the large platform (which was crowded with many friends of the Temperance movement), there were present amongst others, Samuel Pope, Esq., Hon. Secy. of U. K. Alliance; Wm. Euing, Esq., Glasgow; John Davie, Esq., Dunfermline; ——— Arthur, Esq., from Canada; Robert Simpson, Esq., Glasgow; Wm. Ridley, Esq., Glasgow; Thomas Hamlin, Esq., J.P., Greenock; H. Drummond, Esq., Glasgow; Rev. Messrs Galloway, Cowan, F. Johnston, R. Anderson, H. Anderson, and P. Mather, Glasgow; Rev. P. Brewster, Paisley; Rev. Alex. Davidson, Barrhead; Rev. D. Brodie, Greenock; Rev. G. T. M. Inglis, Paisley; Rev. John Kirk, Edinburgh; Rev. F. Ferguson, sen., Aberdeen; Rev. John Reid, Catrine; Rev. James Wilson, Edinburgh; Rev. Geo. Cron, Belfast; Rev. John Inglis, Bellshill; Messrs David Lewis, John Miller, J. Grieve, Andrew Hamilton, John Dickson, Henry Morris, Eneas M'Kay, John Lees, and John M'Intosh, Edinburgh; James M'Naught, and John Crawford, Greenock; Andrew Craig, John Cochran, and Matt. Craig, Barrhead; James Osborne, Mearns; Alex. Hamilton, Stirling; James Little, Kilmarnock; Andrew Glendinning, Port-Glasgow; D. M'Farlane, Neilston; Robert Learmonth, Linlithgow; Geo. Anderson, Galashiels; Geo. Lewis, Selkirk; James Malcolm, Largs; James Mitchell, Ed. Morris, John Smith, John Nicol, Jas. Selkirk, Alex.

Graham, James Malcolm, Robert M'Gregor, James Murray, Robert Court, J. Y. Bogle, Thomas Trench, John M'Minnon, John Tweed, James Bone, Hans Newall, John Buchanan, John Gardiner, &c., Glasgow.

The meeting having been opened by a most impressive prayer from the Rev. Mr Anderson, the chairman then rose, and read letters of apology from Robert Service, Esq. of Culcreugh; Rev. Mr Scrymgeour of Linlithgow; and Rev. Wm. Reid of Stirling, all expressing the sympathy of the writers with the objects of the Association.

The speakers on the occasion were the Rev. Alex. Davidson, Samuel Pope, Esq., Messrs Arthur (from Canada), Paton, and Lewis. A resolution having been put to the meeting, approving of the United Kingdom Alliance agitation in Scotland, the chairman then rose, and put it to the vote, when the entire audience held up their hands, followed by thundering applause, which lasted for some time. The chairman asked objectors to hold up their hands, but they gave no sign. The Rev. F. Ferguson, Aberdeen, pronounced the benediction, and the large meeting dispersed.

By this time the annual deputations of the Scottish Temperance League were traversing the country, pleading, as usual, for confidence and support. Although they were organised upon a more formidable scale, and embodied a greater degree of diversified talent than hitherto, their career was largely chequered with opposition, reverses, disasters, and defeats. The feeling of hostility to the League having, in 1858, been immeasurably greater among those *long associated* with the movement, than on any previous occasion, it became necessary to draw to a large extent upon clerical talent,

which, as we previously hinted, has ever been the policy of the League in seasons of perplexity and danger. The principal parties called out upon this occasion were the Revs. William Reid, Joseph Boyle, John Guthrie, and J. A. Johnstone, each of whom might be said to represent a certain class in the Temperance community.

That large and influential class who regard alcohol as a poison, and moderate drinking as a direct violation of the laws of God, as inscribed upon the human constitution, might be said to have been fitly represented by Mr Reid. Those, again, who may be said to have no well-defined or fixed views upon the subject; who, manifesting no great interest in any particular phase of the question, yet like to be associated with it,—somewhat indifferent to real personal, practical effort, but fond of a little amusement, and appreciating a well-told anecdote, or a good joke—by whom could they be better represented than by Mr Boyle? although it must be admitted that, in such places as Greenock, and Barrhead, where fine stories were at a discount, the characteristic talent of this gentleman was not so fully appreciated. Next, there was that somewhat troublesome class, characterised as the “extreme party” in the *Abstinence* movement, who believed that the popular churches of the day were “partakers with the sins” of the manufacturers and vendors of alcoholic fluids—those who conceived it to be an “inconsistency” to brand as unhallowed a traffic, while not only recognising as members and office-bearers in the church, those engaged in it, but, at the same time, continuing directly to support it in the celebration of “religious ordinances.” Mr Guthrie being associated with a church, which to the minds of the parties referred to is consistent

upon this point, was admirably adapted to represent the sentiments of this class. Still there was that section, who cared little whether or not the movement progressed, provided that the Alliance and its Permissive Bill were denounced, and the League duly magnified; fully appreciating bold, reckless assertion, although unsupported by argument; slavishly surrendering their judgment at the behests of an arrogant and imperious dictator, and silently approving the policy which would insinuate and heap insult upon the absent, while it would, coward-like, skulk from open and public investigation—this class, though, fortunately, few in numbers, found a not inapt representative in Mr Johnstone.

Among the places where the League deputations met with opposition, were Barrhead, Blairgowrie, Dundee, Dalkeith, Dunbar, Glasgow, Galashiels, Greenock, Hawick, Kilmarnock, Paisley, Pennicuik, Perth, &c.; and that some idea may be formed of the scenes which the deputations had to pass through, we shall give an abridged report from a few of the more important places:—

“In Galashiels, the Rev. Wm. Reid of Edinburgh, and Mr R. Lockhart from Kirkaldy, as a deputation from the League, addressed a public meeting of the inhabitants, in Union Street Chapel. The meeting was the largest we have seen for some time. Mr George Carruthers, president of the T. A. Society, occupied the chair.

Mr Lockhart rose, and spoke briefly on the merits of the League and its Directors, and expressed a hope that all those bickerings, so rife of late, were now near an end. The Rev. William Reid told that for the last month he had visited many places in his present capacity, and there were two things had ever crossed his path—viz., the Comet and the Permissive Bill, both of which were very vapoury. He preferred a license-law as it already stood to a Permissive Bill—simply because it was permissive. When, he asked, would Parliament ever grant us a Permissive Bill?—A voice: ‘Whenever the country demands it.’—‘Aye, but that will be sometime to come. They won’t grant it now.’—A voice: ‘Why not try?’—Mr Reid

continued to frame arguments and excuses for the government's refusal, amid a pretty general peppering of negative interrogation and exclamation, until, under considerable excitement, he came slap down on the Permissive Bill Association. He objected to it because it was unnecessary; because it had been started with a view to destroy the Scottish Temperance League; and offered the proof by reading from the prospectus of the Association,—then by *endeavouring* to read from a slip article entitled, 'Day is Breaking,' over the initials of J. K.—'supposed,' said he, 'to be the Rev. Mr Kirk of Edinburgh'—adding significantly—'Pretty like work for a Christian minister!'—Here Mr Reid desired to read merely a paragraph of the article, commencing about, 'The League are now drumming up for half-crowns,' &c., when voice after voice followed, 'Read the whole article.'—No, said his reverence, I shall only read what serves my purpose. But, 'No, no! We'll have no *Reekieism* here!' He must either read the whole or none! Mr Reid again interposed that it was too long, and the audience would not have patience.—'Try it! try it! come on with the whole article,' again was loudly rejoined. He began again to read, but it was at the old place; and the cry for the whole article brought the *reader* to a pause. Mr Combat then proposed that the voice of the meeting be taken whether the article be read in whole or in part. The motion being seconded and about to be put, Mr George Anderson rose, and said that since a motion was 'before the house,' he had a right to speak to it. He then appealed to the audience to demand, for the sake of truth and justice to the writer of that article, that it be read as an *entire and complete production*; and asked the Rev. Mr Reid, who had some experience in composition as an author, how he should like to have his opinions and sentiments represented—or rather *mis*-represented by a garbled extract to suit the purpose of an opponent or enemy? The motion being put by the chairman, it was carried by an overwhelming majority that the article *in whole* should be read. Thus had Mr Reid to be what his friend Mr Lockhart had said the Directors of the S. T. L. were, namely, 'The servants of the people of Galashiels.' We need scarcely add here, that the article seemed to produce an excellent effect on the general audience. But this honest defeat of a *cliquish* pride, seemed to take the *heart* out of the deputy during the remainder of the evening; and it was only when he descanted on the entry-money for membership to the Permissive Bill Association that he rose to his usual fervour. Here again, however, lay a snake in the grass; for, comparing the respective charges of that party and the League (1s and 2s 6d), he asked sneeringly, 'What is to be done with the eighteenpence?' adding in the same tone, 'It will go for *drink*, I suppose.' This impertinence cost his reverence a good round of hisses and other marks of disappro-

bation. The lecturer's readings, &c., having been drawn to a close, Mr George Anderson offered to give information to the rev. gentleman who, it appeared to him, knew little about Permissive Legislation; instancing the introduction of the New Police Improvement Act into Galashiels, Mr A. was interrupted by Mr Reid, who tried the Edinburgh style of suppressing opposition; but still, 'No *Reekieism* here!' Mr A. assured Mr Reid that he had the wrong man to deal with in this case, as nothing but the meeting itself would put him down. Mr R. cooled down and Mr A. proceeded, showing the permissive nature and good result of the Bill, which had now become the favourite measure of many who had opposed it. Deprecating the manner in which Mr Reid had spoken of the Permissive Bill Association and its supporters, Mr A. remarked that a 'long series of years might elapse ere we could get at Prohibition,' because, so long as the S. T. L. continued to send forth to the world such men as Mr Reid to *preach down* all that was practical in our movement, to create difficulty to earnest minds, and division amongst united ranks, it was, indeed, but too likely that it would take a 'long' time to realise our object. But he was very glad to tell Mr Reid and his other friend that they had been *too late* in coming to Galashiels to destroy this measure, as the canvass for it was nearly finished up, and the result just before entering the meeting was as 6 to 1. Six favourable, for each one opposed or neutral. He would recommend to the Deputation that they should tell the Directors of the League that, like themselves, we too were twenty years' abstainers, loved our pledge, and honoured our principles; but while they 'played' at Temperance, we worked at it, and would continue so to do, despite of all heartless prophecies and dreadful predications. *

"Greenock was also visited by a deputation, which consisted of the Rev. J. A. Johnstone, of West Linton, Rev. Joseph Boyle, of Leith, Rev. Professor Guthrie of Greenock, and Mr J. S. Marr, the Secretary of the League. The hall was crowded. The Chair was taken by Mr M'Pherson, Cartside, who called upon the Rev. Professor Guthrie to open the meeting with prayer.

Mr Marr then proceeded with his usual business statement, referring specially to the efforts put forth by the Directors in defence of the Forbes M'Kenzie Act. This measure, he contended, demanded *the exclusive* attention of all Abstainers, as from the zealous efforts made by the publicans it was still in danger of being modified or repealed. He next alluded to the Permissive Bill, remarking that some parties were for agitating for another measure. (Great cheers.) He contended,

* Christian News, No. 635, p. 7.

however, that such proceedings would lead to disaster, and concluded by calling upon all the friends of the Temperance Cause to give their undivided support to the Scottish Temperance League.

Rev. Mr Boyle maintained that the surest method of securing Prohibition was by bringing public opinion to bear on the licensing courts, and thus gradually reducing the liquor traffic. He afterwards entertained the audience, in true Gough style, with numerous ludicrous stories in illustration of his various arguments.

Rev. Mr Johnstone (of anti-permissive notoriety) was the next speaker. He confined himself more particularly to the League's prohibition policy. He endeavoured to prove that the Permissive Bill was not much better than our present License Laws, which permitted the justices entirely to suppress the traffic if they chose (cries of 'No'), and by which means he maintained they would sooner and more effectually succeed than by a Permissive Bill, in securing that desired object, the entire prohibition of the traffic. For his part he could not wait for a Permissive Bill (laughter).

Mr Johnstone's address was protracted so long, and was so denunciatory of the Permissive Bill, that, about half-past ten o'clock, the audience lost all patience, and very unceremoniously brought him to a stop.

A gentleman then rose in the body of the hall, and said that it was not treating the meeting respectfully for the deputation to extend their speeches to so great a length, as by the lateness of the hour to preclude the possibility of questions being asked, and the many gross misrepresentations that had been advanced being replied to. (This statement was received with universal approbation.)

Mr Fairgrieve also remarked, that as there was much that could be said on the other side of the question, the speaker should give way. (Applause.)

Mr Johnstone, with clenched fist and under great excitement, declared he was *determined to be heard*, though he should stand there till five o'clock next morning. (A storm of hisses and confusion followed.) He gave some further kicks to the Permissive Bill, and soon after sat down, the audience having lost all patience with him.

Mr Marr then rose to state, that any member of the League would now have an opportunity of putting questions to the deputation; but that, of course, those who were not members of the League could not be heard.

Now commenced the *melee*. About a dozen of the audience in the body of the hall started to their feet, and attempted to address the chair. The bill calling the meeting was demanded, and being forthcoming, it was handed to the chairman to read. The bill was headed 'Public Meeting,' and made no reference

to members of the League, nor even to abstainers; it was therefore contended by several speakers, that *all present* had a right to be heard.

Mr Marr, Rev. Mr Guthrie, and others, were about to speak, but the meeting would not hear them till the chairman had decided with reference to this matter.—The Chairman at length gave his decision, that none but League members could be heard. A perfect hurricane ensued, several speakers loudly protesting against such a decision. At this juncture, the whole scene was extremely amusing, several speakers in the body of the hall and on the platform endeavouring to address the chair, and the deputation all on their feet in the greatest consternation, and giving indications of their contemplating a hasty retreat.

Amidst the confusion and uproar, the Rev. Mr Brothie ascended the platform, and was received with great cheering. He said it was evident, from what they heard that the League Directors did not intend doing anything more than they had been doing for the last year or two. They should go at once for the suppression of the liquor traffic—

Mr Brothie was here rather unceremoniously seized upon from behind by the Rev. Mr Johnstone, who, apparently forgetting the colour of his coat, was to all appearance about to stop all opposition by physical force!! Mr Brothie proceeded. He did not think much good would be effected by mere restriction. Give us the Permissive Bill, and we'll have a Maine Law in Greenock to-morrow. (Tremendous cheering.) He concluded by moving the following resolution:—‘That this meeting, being of opinion that the taking of the people's food and converting it into intoxicating liquors; and the licensing to *sell* intoxicating liquors under any circumstances as a common beverage, is both unjust and impolitic, cannot give its confidence to any body of Temperance Reformers who do not *agitate* for the total and immediate suppression of the whole liquor traffic.’

The resolution having been seconded,

Mr Marr presented himself to the meeting. No man, he said, more highly appreciated the services of the Rev. Mr Brothie than he did. He knew him as an old abstainer, and an earnest worker in the cause; and he was sure no one could too gratefully acknowledge the great amount of good he had done in Greenock. (He was proceeding in this style when Mr Cameron called him to order.)

Mr Cameron—If you have an amendment to propose, we can hear you, but not otherwise. (Cries of ‘Have you an amendment,’ ‘Vote,’ and great confusion.)

Mr Marr—I have an amendment. (Increased uproar, in the midst of which the Rev. Mr Brothie was heard to vociferate.)

ferate, that Mr Marr would not allow the motion to be put to the meeting.)

[Mr Marr denied this, but the terms used created great sensation—we do not care to print the expression.]

Mr Brothie—I heard you distinctly say to the chairman. (The rest was drowned in the uproar which followed.)

The Rev. Mr Guthrie having suggested that the meeting should decide for itself, without the interference of the deputation,

The Chairman mustered up courage to put the motion to the meeting, and having called for a show of hands, declared it carried unanimously, amidst great acclamation. It was observed that the Rev. Mr Johnstone stood up on the platform, and held up *both* his hands in its favour.

The Rev. Mr Guthrie explained, that he was not one of the deputation, and that his name had been inserted in the bill without his authority. He denied being a League Director. (Great cheering.) He shortly afterwards proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, which, however, was not given, and the meeting broke up with three cheers for the Permissive Bill.

As a grand finale to the whole proceedings, Mr Brothie, with the chairman's consent, intimated amidst great cheering, that on the evening of that day week, in the same hall, the Rev. John Kirk, of Edinburgh, would deliver a lecture on the 'Permissive Bill—Should we go for it—*now*?' *

"Dundee was also honoured with a Deputation, consisting of the Rev. Wm. Ritchie, Dunse, Rev. John Guthrie, Greenock, and W. Tolmie, Esq., Glasgow. A meeting of the members of the League was called, in Lamb's Hotel, at half-past six o'clock. Most of those who were dissatisfied with the policy of the League, having left the meeting to go to the Thistle Hall, and when it was about to strike eight o'clock, a vote of thanks to the deputation, and of confidence to the League, was proposed to the mere handful who still remained, and without the formality of a seconder, or taking a vote, it was declared carried. This ended the first meeting with the deputation.

The attendance in the Thistle Hall was good. Mr Rough occupied the chair, and the deputation delivered three good addresses. Mr T. Buist, in a short pointed speech moved the following motion:—'That this meeting, while approving of the efforts made by the Scottish Temperance League in the promotion of Total Abstinence and in the reduction of the number of public-houses under the present License Law, regrets that it has discountenanced the agitation for a Permis-

* Christian News, No. 635, p. 7.

sive Maine-Law, believing that it would greatly increase its claims to the support and confidence of all classes of Temperance Reformers if, without relaxing in its present efforts, it would enter heartily into the agitation for the entire Legislative Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.'

Mr J. Sutherland, another member of the committee, seconded the motion.

In moving and seconding the motion, some observations were incidentally made in reference to the League and Alliance dispute; and when Mr Guthrie rose to oppose the motion, he seized on the one or two strong expressions, paid almost no attention to the motion, and attacked the Alliance and Mr Pope as if the motion had been a vote of confidence in them.

Mr W. Blair defended the Alliance and its honorary secretary.

Mr Hannay rose up, and referring to these disputes, moved that the whole published correspondence, which Mr Guthrie said he had with him, should be read to the meeting. This motion, however, was opposed and was not insisted on.

The Rev. Mr Masson said, that a motion of confidence in the League had been carried in the previous meeting, and charged the promoters of the motion with creating division, and with acting in a way fitted to favour the spirit-dealers.

This insinuation was spiritedly replied to by Mr T. Paul, one of the vice-presidents of Dundee Temperance Society. He testified to the zeal for the Abstinence cause displayed by the mover and seconder of the motion, and expressed his regret that the terms of the motion had been lost sight of in the discussion. The night was now far advanced, and several were beginning to leave the meeting, and the cry of vote, vote, was heard on all sides.

Mr Hannay again addressed the meeting, and earnestly requested the mover and seconder to withdraw the motion.

This was decidedly refused, on the ground that the League deputations, on former occasions, asked the opinion of the public meeting, and it was right they should have the benefit of it this year, as usual.

Mr Guthrie said they were not bound to follow the exact course pursued on former years, and if the motion was carried at this meeting, the deputation would not convey it to the Directors. A vote of confidence had been given at the League members' meeting, which was the proper place for such a motion.

Mr James Small, for several years one of the vice-presidents of the society, who had been at the members' meeting, and knew how the vote there had been obtained, said the deputation would do well not to lay much stress on the vote of confidence given at the former meeting.

Mr Hannay rose a third time, and moved the following amendment—"That it is incompetent for this meeting, composed of the general public, to pronounce any opinion upon the policy of the Scottish Temperance League, which must be guided by its constituency, the members of the League!"

The meeting now became considerably confused, and the utmost efforts of the chair were required to keep anything like order. Several attempted to speak in favour of the motion, but only Councillor Smith—also a member of committee—and Mr Milne got a hearing. The cry on all hands was for the vote. The amendment was twice put to the meeting, and well explained each time. The first time, we believe one-half of the meeting did not vote for it. This was observed, no doubt, and Mr Guthrie rose and tried his influence again on the meeting, and when the amendment was put the second time the votes appeared to be increased. The motion was put to the meeting, without being re-read, or a word of explanation, and the chair declared the amendment carried. Certain we are that if the amendment had a majority, it was small; and our opinion is, that had the League and Alliance controversy, not got mixed up with the discussion, the result of the vote would have been different.

The meeting broke up about twenty minutes before twelve o'clock."

"In Glasgow, a deputation consisting of the Rev. Joseph Boyle and Mr John M'Gavin, visited the Calton, Mile-End, and Bridgeton Total Abstinence Society, to solicit their confidence in, and describe and justify the line of policy, pursued by the Scottish Temperance League. Mr M'Callum, president of the Society, occupied the chair. He expressed the pleasure he felt in presiding at such a meeting, and expatiated on the wonders and glories of the League, of which he had had no adequate conception until admitted into their *sanctum sanctorum*, by being appointed one of their Directorate.

Mr M'Gavin rose, and proceeded to speak on the rise, progress, and development of the League. The millions of letter-press pages, and the thousands of volumes which annually took their departure from 108 Hope Street, were recorded with merciless fidelity; and the superiority of the League and its literature over every other similar institution in the world whatsoever, was as clearly and incontrovertibly demonstrated. As to the policy of the League, he said that its grand fundamental principle was entire personal abstinence from intoxicants, and little progress could be made in the temperance movement, unless this first, grand principle was adopted. He said that Scotland was the battle-ground of Prohibition. He thought that English societies had no right

to work here; and said, that when the movement in England had arrived at the high position which it occupied in Scotland, it would be time enough to send their assisting labourers north. He concluded by an eloquent peroration and appeal on behalf of the half-crowns, as the season for making up the annual Register was at hand.

Mr Boyle thought that it was foolish to make such an outcry about the Permissive Bill, and neglect to take advantage of the facilities which the present license-law afforded for uprooting the traffic. He objected to the Alliance principle of receiving non-abstainers or even drunkards into their ranks; for it was a glaring inconsistency to support public-houses by drinking, and at the same time join an institution whose sole aim was the abolition of that traffic; and it reminded him of a bridge built of bricks, which crumbled to dust, so soon as the supports were removed. Mr Boyle's speech was thickly interlarded with funny anecdotes, the retelling of which appears to be his great *forte*; and they had at least the merit of keeping the audience in good humour. Most of these anecdotes, however, were double-edged; and though they apparently illustrated his arguments very well, an expert reasoner, with little trouble, could make them tell as powerfully on the other side of the question.

Mr Thornton student of the E. U. Academy, asked whether Newton, who was so far ahead of the men of his times in scientific matters, was to be considered a fanatic and an enthusiast, and his ideas ridiculed as Utopian? and whether it was to be deemed a fault to be before the people? He thought it was the duty of a leader to go before, and, flag in hand, lead his men to victory. At this, three hearty spontaneous cheers burst from the audience, proof enough that the sentiments of the speaker found an echo in the meeting.

Mr M'Gavin rose, and snappishly inquired the querist's name, after which he delivered a tirade against the interlopers from Anderston, Bridgeton, Cowcaddens, &c. many of whose faces he knew. He said they had come to speak to the society regarding their policy, but not to be 'heckled,' like a candidate for Parliament by a promiscuous mob.

Mr Marr then rose, and assuming all the airs of a deputy, which he was not, managed to consume, amid the expressed impatience of the meeting, nearly half-an-hour of valuable time. Mr Marr, however, is an elastic gentleman, and no amount of laughter or derision could keep him from having his say.

Another question was asked, 'would the League petition for the Permissive Bill?' This vital question on which the vote of the meeting depended, was answered, or rather not answered by Mr Boyle. He evidently thought he was on dan-

gerous ground, and feared to trust himself to an answer. Out it came, bit by bit. He thought—at least he supposed—that is to say, he didn't see any reason why they should not. On receiving this hum-drum answer, the audience got clamorous for a more definite reply, and Mr Boyle had got as far as 'This reminds me of a Mrs Glass,' in one of his interminable yarns, when a voice shouted, 'Nae mair o' ye'r stories!' Mr Boyle and his reminiscences of Mrs G. were heard of no more. Nothing was put to the vote. Even a motion for a show of hands on the Permissive Bill was not put. The meeting grew 'smaller by degrees, and beautifully less,' and a hearing was almost impossible. In despair, at eleven o'clock, a vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and the noisy crowd went down stairs, debating and gesticulating to the last. The League has gained no laurels in the Calton; a few more such rough receptions, and their deputed peregrinations will be few and far between."*

A deputation also visited Edinburgh, where the most effective measures were taken to prevent anything like discussion upon the policy of the League. So thoroughly did the deputation appear to dread an encounter with the Prohibitionists of the metropolis, that in the placards announcing the visit of the deputation, even those members of the Abstinence Society in favour of the Alliance, and the Permissive Bill, were excluded from the meeting; the invitation being only addressed to those who were "members and friends" of the League. Thus, for one night were they secured from the attacks of the "malignants."

"Barrhead was also visited by a deputation, which included the Rev. Messrs Boyle and Johnstone, and Mr Marr, the secretary. This was a stormy meeting. Mr Andrew Craig called in question Mr Marr's statements in regard to the credit due to the League for the reduction of licenses in Glasgow, and for the upholding of Forbes M'Kenzie's Act. With respect to the latter, Mr Craig said it was a fact he was prepared to substantiate, that the League had opposed and ridiculed the measure while it was before Parliament; and he thought the less they said about it now, in the way of displaying their achievements, the better. The Public-House Bill had been obtained without them, nay, in spite of them, and it was quite a warrantable supposition that the same influence that got it could keep it. Nor had their claim to the lessening of the number of spirit shops in Glasgow any better foundation. These places had been reduced from 2800 to 2000 before the League stirred a step in the matter—and was it not a perfectly logical inference that the subsequent farther reduction of fully 300 had been effected by the same means as

* Christian News, No. 635. p. 6.

the 800, especially when we consider that the Forbes M'Kenzie Act had been superadded. Considerable feeling was manifested on both sides in the discussion of this and kindred topics, Mr John Paton taking part with Mr Craig in reviewing the past operations of the League in regard to legislative interference. As Mr Craig that night stated, the result of this visit of the deputation has been a deepening and extending of the conviction that the Directors of the League have been hitherto followers and not leaders, and that their denunciation of any measure is by no means any proof that it ought not to be adopted." *

These remarks of Mr Craig are worthy the attention of all interested in the cause of Temperance reform, showing, as they do, most conclusively, that (while the League officials were opposing the reduction of public-houses) the numbers were being reduced by the influence and operation of a public taste for larger establishments, which was by no means peculiar to the liquor traffic, but extended itself to almost all departments of commercial enterprise. Here, then, we have brought before us a fact which exposes the delusive and disastrous fallacy wrapt up in this agitation for reducing the number of public-houses. The number of public-houses in any given locality, or in the nation generally, without taking into consideration their size, and the peculiar temptations of the different classes, is a most short-sighted and fallacious mode of estimating their power for creating and perpetuating drinking and drunkenness. For example, in the year 1829 the spirit-licenses in Scotland amounted to nearly 18,000, and the consumption of spirits was less than two millions of gallons annually, while in 1857, these licenses were under 13,000, but the consumption of spirits has increased to nearly SEVEN MILLIONS of gallons. In Glasgow, again in 1816, there was one pub-

* Christian News, No. 638. p. 7.

lic-house to every 74 of the inhabitants, but now there is only one such house to every 170 of the population; while drinking and drunkenness is as prevalent as ever. The reason is obvious; many of the public-houses being now ten times the extent of the largest of those in 1816, while their temptative power in display, and everything that can captivate the young, the unwary, and the irresolute, is increased a thousand-fold. So much, then, for the tinkering, peddling, policy of the Scottish Temperance League.

So inveterate had the spirit of hostility become against the *Christian News*, that, in October 1848, it was dragged into court upon a charge of libel. The prosecutor was Mr Lang, who alleged that the *Christian News* had "wickedly and maliciously printed, published, and circulated a slanderous statement in regard to him," and that in consequence, he was entitled to the very reasonable sum of twelve pounds as *solatium*. The circumstances upon which Mr Lang founded his action are the following:—It will be remembered that, in consequence of the insulting conduct of Mr Marr, Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League, towards the majority of delegates who attended the Conference of Societies in Glasgow, that they felt it their duty to withdraw from all further intercourse with the minority. Having done so, they subsequently met, and passed the following resolution, which appeared as an advertisement in the *Commonwealth* and *Christian News* of the following week:—

Resolved—"That this meeting record its protest against the remarks of Mr J. S. Marr, derogatory to the Societies favourable to the Permissive Bill, uttered at the meeting of Conference: and also against the assertion published in the *League Journal*, that the 'vaunted majority' was 'a mockery

and a farce'—as untrue and contemptuous; and it was further resolved that the protest be published."

In the *League Journal* of the following week, appeared a letter, signed by the chairman and secretary of the *Conference*, to the following effect:—

"The usual quarterly Conference of the Glasgow Temperance Societies was held in the Temperance Hall, 14 Stockwell Street, on the evening of Wednesday, the 8th instant, Mr J. L. Lang presiding. A resolution was agreed to unanimously condemning the grossly incorrect reports of previous meetings of Conference, given by correspondents of the *Christian News*, and which that newspaper had refused, when called upon to correct."

Again, in the *Christian News*, there appeared the following, upon the contents of which Mr Lang had contrived to trump up his case, and to urge his demand for the twelve pounds:—

"MR EDITOR,—The *Weekly Journal* of the Scottish Temperance League of last Saturday, contains a false report of the Glasgow Temperance Conference, which was held on the evening of Wednesday, the eighth of this month, in the Temperance Hall, Stockwell Street, and it is signed by J. L. Lang, chairman, and H. Crawford, secretary. That part of the report, which is not true, is as follows:—

'A resolution was agreed to, unanimously condemning the grossly incorrect reports of previous meetings of Conference, given by correspondents of the *Christian News*, and which that newspaper had refused, when called upon, to correct.'

"Now, Mr Editor, we will show that the above quotation, taken word for word from the *Journal*, is 'grossly incorrect,' by the following particulars:—1st, We, whose names are appended (and we do not know how many more), did not agree to such a resolution. 2d, It was not put to the decision of the meeting *at all*. 3d, Two of the delegates spoke most decidedly against the attempt made by the chairman, the secretary, and Mr Ronald Wright, to get the meeting to decide in favour of it. But what although a majority of the meeting had voted for such a resolution, they would represent only a small portion of the societies, for the meeting appeared to be deserted by most of the former delegates, and we are far mistaken (owing to the conduct of certain parties) if even the few who attended that meeting shall all meet again; not that we are unwilling to consult and *work* in this great reform, but because we are sick tired of answering objections, over and over again in a Conference meeting, which would be more fitting—

the mouths of publicans themselves, and which they do employ against us. We have no objection to meet, a night now and again, in public, and discuss our differences. But to turn a Conference meeting into a debating assembly, where every possible objection to the onward progress of the cause is brought up, and that by a minority, as if they were afraid that we would obtain a law *too soon* for the Prohibition of the traffic, is what we are resolved not to submit to; in fact, it would only be to keep a drag on the wheels of *the cause* to confer with such parties. We therefore choose to consult and work with those who act as if they heard the words of the Lord by Moses to the people,—‘*Go Forward.*’

<p>“ROBERT FARMER, ALEXANDER M'GREGOR, JAMES MALCOLM, JOHN MUIR, ROBERT GRAY,</p>	}	<i>Delegates.</i>
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The case came on before Sheriff Strathearn, and in referring to it, the *North British Daily Mail* says,—

“The question of relevancy being disposed of, it was resolved to take up the merits of the case on Thursday next.

Before the parties withdrew, Mr Lang said, if he had had an opportunity of giving an answer to the article in the *Christian News*, he would have pointed out the incorrectness of reports published in that paper for the benefit of those who might read it.

The Sheriff—It is a good newspaper, and I hope they will continue reading it, as it is fitted to do a great deal of good.

Mr Lang—If they don't tell the truth, it is a bad paper.

The Sheriff was not surprised that insertion had been refused to the letter which Mr Lang had sent to the *Christian News*. That letter, he observed, accused the editor of ‘acting under the control of unscrupulous parties, who, in pushing their own ends, care for neither honour nor honesty;’ and he thought that if the editor put that in he would be insane.”

The case was again brought up the following week, but Mr Lang could not proceed—several of his witnesses, for reasons best known to themselves, having failed to appear. The agent for the defence stated, that all his witnesses were in court, and expressed himself quite ready to enter into the merits of the case. The Sheriff then granted diligence in respect to the following parties who had failed to attend, viz. :—John

S. Marr, William Melvin, Matthew Connell, Robert Miller, and John M'Allister. On the succeeding week, the case was again brought up, and in the facts elicited at the examination of the Conference Secretary, it was proved on oath—

“That no such resolution as that referred to in the report, signed by the witness as Secretary, and Mr Lang as Chairman, was ever come to at that Conference—that the subject respecting the previous reports in the *Christian News* was merely introduced; and it was most positively admitted—1st, That no such resolution was agreed to by the five delegates; 2d, That it was not put to the decision of the meeting at all; and 3d, That one of the delegates, at least, spoke decidedly against the introduction of the subject.”

It was also shown that the memoranda of the Secretary's minutes, produced in Court, contained no note of censure on the *News*; and although the motion was said to have been “*hurriedly*” written out for publication, there is an interval of ten days between the date of meeting and publication of the report. Indeed, whether the vote of censure on the *Journal* and Mr J. S. Marr was not the reason why it *saw the light at all*, we are not sufficiently able to determine. In short, it was clearly admitted in Court, that the statement of the five delegates, the basis of the alleged libel for which damages were claimed, was no libel at all. Mr Lang admitted the inaccuracy of the report; Mr Crawford swore that it was wrong; the five delegates and others had declared, and were in Court to prove, that it was wrong—so that Mr Lang had no case.

On the 8th November 1858, a grand demonstration in honour of the Rev. John Kirk, took place in the Trades' Hall, Glassford Street, on the occasion of a presentation to that gentleman, “for his noble and disinterested exertions in advancing the Temperance and Maine-law movements in Britain.” The large hall being packed in every part, recourse was had to the lesser hall to accommodate all who came forward. Upwards of 600 persons sat down to tea. Captain

Thomas Hamlin, of Greenock, occupied the chair—supported on the right and left by the honoured guest of the evening, Col. Michael Maxwell Shaw, of Bourtree Park, Ayr; Rev. D. Brothie, Greenock, and a number of the leading friends of the cause throughout Scotland.

“The chairman introduced the proceedings, by calling on the Rev. P. Mather, who invoked the Divine blessing.

“After a most substantial and excellent tea, the company stood up and returned thanks by singing two verses of the hundredth psalm.

“On the removal of the tables, &c., the company in the lesser hall were admitted, and got accommodation in the vacant space. Indeed, every nook in the large hall was occupied, and many crowded the door-ways and passages.

After the chairman’s address, Colonel Shaw rose, and in a few appropriate remarks placed in the hands of the Rev. Mr Kirk a purse, containing sixty sovereigns, as a token of appreciation for the eminent services he had rendered to the cause of Temperance and Prohibition.

“Mr Kirk, in acknowledging the manner in which the friends of Temperance reform had been pleased to testify their appreciation of his efforts in the cause, stated that he had done no more than what he regarded to be his duty, and assured the audience that he would continue to prosecute the course upon which he had entered, altogether independent of the approval of friends, or the hostility of foes. The meeting was also addressed by the Revs. G. T. M. Inglis, F. Ferguson, junr., N. Galloway, A. Davidson, D. Brothie, and Messrs J. Fraser, D. Lewis, A. Craig, and James Mitchell. A vote of thanks to the chairman and committee terminated the proceedings.”

Meanwhile the Scottish Permissive Bill Association had entered upon its work of enlightenment, with the view of awakening the Temperance public to the practical character of the Permissive Bill, and its claims upon all who longed for “the suppression of the liquor

traffic, the diminution of pauperism and crime, and the oppressive amount of taxation, which are its legitimate and inevitable consequences. While the Association, through means of deputations, &c., addressed itself to the people, it was not contented with merely denouncing drunkenness as our national vice, and insisting upon the Prohibition of the liquor traffic by some prospective process, alike impracticable in its nature, and undefined as to the period of its application; but it boldly impeached the traffic as the prolific source of our national intemperance, and set itself in earnest to accomplish its destruction. While recognising Total Abstinence from alcoholic poison as a universal duty, it regarded the general observance and fulfilment of that duty as an absurd and unreasonable expectation: in short, as utterly impracticable—while the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors was tolerated, sanctioned, and sustained by the authority and majesty of British law. Viewing the liquor traffic as the great procuring cause of drunkenness, and believing in the maxim, “remove the cause, and the effect will cease,” it at once directed its entire energies to the complete and final overthrow of this most powerful engine of individual, domestic, and social oppression. The means by which it purposes to achieve this glorious object is by the immediate agitation and ultimate adoption by the country of the Permissive Bill as propounded by the United Kingdom Alliance; wherein it is proposed to grant *permission* to the people to *prohibit* the manufacture as well as the sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

In the cordial reception and hearty sympathy accorded to the Scottish Permissive Bill Association by the Executive of the United Kingdom Alliance, we

have a clear manifestation of their sincerity, when they stated to the Directors of the League that they cared not by whom the agitation was conducted in Scotland, providing the work was done. So fully did they act up to their professions in this matter, that instead of giving way to a spirit of discreditable jealousy, we find the Agents of the Alliance not only frequently occupying the same platform, but in many cases forming joint-deputations with the officials and representatives of the Scottish Association. In the happy and harmonious feeling and collateral sympathy and support which exists between those two organisations, we have an example worthy the imitation of those who, during their whole official existence, appear to have derived immense satisfaction by wasting their energies in carping and cavilling, and in persecuting all and sundry who differed with them in their course of policy, and dared to exercise the inalienable and independent right to think and act for themselves upon the question of Temperance Reform. That the Temperance Reformers of Scotland fully approved of the principles, and appreciated the services of the Deputations of the Alliance and the Scottish Association, was evidenced by the hearty reception which they received from all classes, and in all parts of the country. During the short time the Permissive Bill has been before the public, these Deputations have visited most of the leading and many of the minor towns in Scotland, and their career has been of the most satisfactory and triumphant character. Notwithstanding the misrepresentation and scandal which has been heaped upon this measure and its promoters, by certain Temperance men, these Deputations have evoked an amount of sympathy and support, which, in the limited period

and under the circumstances, is altogether wonderful. Their teaching being more of a practical than a sentimental or theoretical description, has called into active exercise an instrumentality to ascertain by personal and systematic canvass, the real state of public opinion upon the important question of Liquor Traffic Prohibition. These *true leaders* in the cause of Temperance Reform, who have undertaken this truly noble and patriotic work, have brought to light the infinitely important fact, that there exists in the hearts and homes of broad Scotland a latent Temperance sentiment, which many in their ignorance alleged had yet to be created, but which experience has proved only requires to be awakened, concentrated, and properly directed, to hurl from the pathway of human progress the mightiest obstacle to the cause of social, political, and religious freedom.

That the mouth of the time-serving, self-seeking, gainsayer may be for ever stopped, and that the past efforts of practical Temperance and social reformers may no longer be slighted and ignored, we shall give the results of the canvass as already ascertained:—

	Agt.	Neut.	For.	Total.
Selkirk.....	86	240	997	1,343
Galashiels.....	120	223	1,700	2,043
Barrhead.....	238	358	2,630	3,226
Greenock.....	389	1,878	14,352	16,619
Balfron.....	16	131	511	658
Mearns.....	88	168	811	1,067
Bellshill.....	22	—	751	773
Kilmarnock (partial).....	41	122	617	780
Edinburgh (one ward).....	428	856	4,175	5,459
Glasgow (partial).....	477	979	7,027	8,483
Earlestone (partial).....	2	15	93	110
Thornhill.....	8	81	623	712
	1,915	5,051	34,287	41,273

These most important and soul-cheering returns, speak hope for the drink-cursed sons and daughters of humanity, and bring to light the existence of a healthy and powerful *Temperance sentiment*, which proves to a demonstration, that the time has already come for all true Temperance and social reformers to unite, and, taking advantage of this sentiment which, in the providence of God, has been created, to demand, as the people's right, the power utterly to prohibit the Liquor Traffic as a nuisance no longer to be tolerated in our midst.

While the Temperance public were being encouraged by the results of the canvass, the enemies of the Permissive Bill were neither indifferent nor inactive. Those occupying the position of leaders in the Anti-Maine Law crusade, were imprudently obtruding themselves upon gentlemen of Parliamentary influence favourable to the agitation, and cautioning them against being imposed upon by returns which it was alleged were a "mere sham." The *Weekly Record*, too, was again called into requisition, and made the medium of once more proclaiming that "the *new* law in Maine had failed," by publishing a letter from the Rev. T. L. Cuyler of America, an intimate friend of Mr Gough, and a devoted partizan of the Scottish Temperance League. In his letter, Mr Cuyler says:—

"*The new law in Maine has failed to do anything very effectual at home, and thus far has been powerless in its influence abroad. And no wonder. If it cannot shut up dram-shops in Portland, can it be expected to affect the dram-shops of Boston or New York?*"

A copy of the *Record* having found its way direct to the Hon. Neal Dow, he forwarded to this country a letter under date December 21st, 1858, and which being addressed to the Rev. John Kirk, was published

in the *Christian News*, and told with damaging effect upon Mr Cuyler. In his letter, Mr Dow says:—

“I cannot permit a statement so untruthful as that of Mr Cuyler, to circulate in Great Britain to the infinite damage of our great cause, without doing whatever I can to avert the wound it is calculated to inflict upon it, by sending after it the truth as speedily as possible.

“Mr Cuyler has written to England that the law has failed in Maine—intimating that it has not and cannot shut up grog-shops in Portland. This city is particularly spoken of, I suppose, because it is known by the Temperance men of Great Britain, that it is the place of my residence; and they would conclude, that if the Maine Law were really dead here, that it would be beyond hope of resuscitation, and could never be of the slightest value anywhere. I have no alternative but to characterise this declaration of Mr Cuyler as false in all its length and breadth. It is a harsh word, but no other will meet the case.

“Not a word of Mr Cuyler’s testimony is true; by abundant proof we show it to be otherwise. We cannot say we fear that he is *mistaken*—that he is in *error* and no more. He has testified to that which is not true, and has borne false witness in a question of the greatest importance. No one will attempt to excuse him on the ground that he did not testify under the forms of an oath. That is perfectly immaterial, and the moral obligation upon him to tell the truth and nothing but the truth, is precisely the same as if he had sworn to do so. Without the form of an oath he cannot be convicted of perjury, for that is a technical phrase; but in the eye of God, and in the estimation of all good men, false witness is precisely the same thing, whether it be with or without the form of an oath.

“The new law went into operation on the 15th July last—five months ago only, and already there is not one wholesale shop remaining in the city; nor was there one at the date of Mr Cuyler’s letter. More than half the grog-shops abandoned the business entirely, without any prosecution, through the moral effect of the law alone, and had done so at the date of Mr Cuyler’s letter. There is not now one open grog-shop in the city, nor was there one such here at the date of Mr Cuyler’s letter. Whatever liquor is sold here is kept with secrecy and caution, and was so at the date of Mr Cuyler’s letter. Grog-shops have been prosecuted, and liquor seized and forfeited, in execution of the law, and had been at the date of Mr Cuyler’s letter. The city authorities prosecute promptly, every violation of the law, when they can obtain proof, and did so at the date of Mr Cuyler’s letter. Drunkenness has diminished in our city at least fifty per cent. and had

done so at the date of Mr Cuyler's letter. Pauperism has diminished more than one-third, and had done so at the date of Mr Cuyler's letter. Indeed, the monthly return of pauperism in the city for November, the date of Mr Cuyler's letter, showed a diminution of thirty-seven per cent. as compared with November 1857, a year of license. Our streets are without drunken rows by night and by day, and were so at the date of Mr Cuyler's letter—they were not so during the days of license. And our police say they have little to do now, comparatively, so peaceful is the city, but in days of license they had plenty to do. I have thus very briefly stated the facts of the case, and they can be compared with the solemn testimony of the Rev. T. L. Cuyler, of New York.

"I thought it of so much importance to the prosperity of the cause in Great Britain to satisfy the people there of the true character of Mr Cuyler's statements, that I have taken the precaution to fortify my declarations by proper certificates.—
Very respectfully yours,

NEAL DOW.

Mayor's Office, Portland, Maine,
December 21, 1858.

Mr Dow has submitted to us his statements in the above letter, in relation to the operation of the Maine Law in the city, and we are happy to be able to say that they are true; and we would further add, that we consider the statements of the Rev. T. L. Cuyler, as quoted by Mr Dow, not correct, either as it regards the city of Portland or the state of Maine.

JEDH. JEWETT, Mayor.

OREN RING, Dept. Marshal.

In addition to the valuable testimony of the Hon. Neal Dow, as to the operation of the Prohibitory law in the State of Maine, we insert the following important official document just received. We thank the men of Maine for the promptness they have displayed in this matter:—

Forest City Division, No. 3.—Sons of Temperance.

Portland, Maine, Dec. 16, 1858.

At a regular meeting of this division held last evening, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That we hail with pleasure the well directed efforts of the friends of Temperance in Great Britain to obtain a prohibitory law, and that we bid them God-speed in their application to Parliament for the enactment of a Permissive Bill, by which this whole question will be submitted to the people, and the laws affecting the liquor traffic placed upon their only sure basis—*Prohibition*.

Resolved, That any statement to the effect that Prohibition has failed to accomplish its object is false; and that 'who

says it *innocently* says it *ignorantly*, who says it *knowingly* says it *falsely*.'

Resolved, That, as sons of Temperance of Maine, we urge our brothers in Great Britain to plant themselves upon the principle of Prohibition, as the only agency under which they may hope for final success.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolves, signed by the worthy patriarch and recording scribe of this division, be transmitted to the *Alliance Weekly News* published in Manchester, England, and *The Christian News*, published in Glasgow, Scotland, for publication with seal of division attached.

JAMES W. GRAY, W. P.

STUART A. STROUT, R. S.

Notwithstanding the tremendous and expensive opposition which has been brought to bear against practical Temperance reform in Scotland, the Abstinence movement has, of late years, been drifting rapidly towards the goal of entire Prohibition. Nor could it possibly have been otherwise, as the steady and ever-desolating influence of the liquor traffic upon Societies was too transparent and disastrous always to be overlooked. That the traffic is more successful in making drunkards, than the combined efforts of Abstinence Societies are in making *permanent* abstainers, is a mournful fact, whatever may be said to the contrary; and that vast numbers of apparently confirmed abstainers are being withdrawn from our Societies, through the seductive influence of the traffic, is abundantly proved in the experience of every Total Abstinence Society. So alarmingly true is this, that, while we are acquainted with only three individuals who have been induced voluntarily to abandon the traffic through abstinence teaching, we can point to ten times that number, who have occupied a prominent position as office-bearers and leaders in the movement, who have been seduced from their principles through the influence of the

traffic, while even some of them have been led to engage in its prosecution.

It appears to us one of the most paradoxical things in this inexplicable age, that there should be found Temperance men who will not look this matter honestly in the face, but who manifest strong signs of impatience, and get out of temper, whenever it is pressed upon their attention. The Directors of the Scottish Temperance League afford an ample illustration of the class to which we refer. For a series of years this truth has been forced upon them; yet, instead of applying themselves to meet the evil, it has been systematically ignored,—while they have not hesitated to misrepresent the sentiments, and to characterise as “enemies of the movement,” those who faithfully continued to press it upon their consideration. As might have been expected, such a course of conduct has proved most suicidal to the permanent stability of the League, and given depth and force to that current of dissatisfaction and alienation, which has become truly alarming. The great number of Societies which are being dissociated from the League, gives us an insight into the extent of this feeling. For example: we find, after a careful examination of the several annual *Registers* published by the League, that upwards of two HUNDRED AND TWENTY SOCIETIES, once affiliated with it, have ceased their connection, and do no longer appear among the list of its Societies. Had the League continued to maintain the hold upon the Societies which it once had, instead of three hundred and seventy-seven, as given in the *Register* for 1859, there would have appeared on its list of affiliated Societies at the present time no fewer than six hundred. This fact

furnishes an unanswerable reply to the vain and oft-repeated assertion, that the Scottish Temperance League continues to possess the confidence of the Temperance reformers of Scotland; and exposes the impertinence and monstrous folly of the Directors, in asserting that any other general organisation is unnecessary, and shall not be allowed to exist. But, while three hundred and seventy-seven societies continue affiliated with the League, it must not be supposed that each of these approves of the policy pursued by the Directors, a considerable number having sent in their subscriptions in conformity with resolutions carried in their respective committees by small majorities; while others have strongly remonstrated upon the necessity for a change of policy.*

From the circumstance that upwards of two hundred and twenty societies have dropped from the affiliated list of the League, some idea may be formed of the overwhelming number of individual members who have withdrawn from its connection. From this it is also apparent that many of them must have been representative men—leaders in their respective localities, and among the most useful and long tried members of which the League could boast. True, by dint of indomitable energy, and expensive effort, their places upon the list of membership may continue to be supplied: but of what avail are mere *names* when in a great measure made up of children, who, apart from

* In reply to one of these remonstrances, wherein it is said, that the "opposition they (the Directors) have manifested to Alliance or Permissive Bill principles, has been both unwarranted and undignified," Mr Marr makes the following extraordinary statement:—"The League Directors have not opposed Prohibition, but done all they could to advocate the principle, AS [OUR PUBLICATIONS PROVE]!!! [For what may we not be prepared, after this?]-*Manuscript Letter of date 12th November 1858.*

the deceptive character of *mere numbers*, are utterly destitute of that influence which can alone impart strength and stability to an institution which ought to be pre-eminently aggressive in its character. That the places of those withdrawing from the membership of the League are to a great extent being filled up by mere juveniles, a cursory glance into the Register will abundantly testify.

Let it not, however, be supposed that we object to juveniles being enrolled in the Register of the Scottish Temperance League, although it might be raised as a question how far it is in accordance with the constitution to enrol as members those who by reason of being only a few months old, are unable to "subscribe the pledge of a Total Abstinence Society." What we object to is, that their names should be taken advantage of, and made to lend a false importance to an institution of the very existence of which they are utterly unconscious. Such ill-judged policy may serve a temporary purpose, but it can scarce fail to prove disastrous in the end. Should the Scottish Temperance League ever have the misfortune to be dragged before a Parliamentary Committee, as an illustration or test of the strength of the Abstinence movement in Scotland, we much fear the Register would form a powerful armoury, from which the political representatives of the Licensed Victuallers would draw weapons which might be wielded against the Abstinence cause with cutting and terrible effect.

We have thus delineated the rise, progress, and present position of the Temperance Movement in Scotland, with particular reference to the struggle for its

political developement up to the present hour, and it now only remains for us to draw to a close. We are not foolish enough to suppose that our efforts will be approved by all classes of Temperance Reformers; neither are we inexperienced enough to believe that they will not evoke and bring down upon their author censure and condemnation for what some may consider his uncalled for interference with a subject which might have been left to one more able and adequate for the task. We know that the same spirit which has hunted, as for the life, the legislative movement, still lives, and that we have no reason to advance why we should be exempt from the penalty awarded for its defence. Still, we neither dread nor desire to shrink from its infliction. We have done what we have regarded to be a duty, and if in this we have erred, we shall cheerfully accept the consequences of our indiscretion. Meantime, let us urge the advanced Temperance Reformers of Scotland to be true to the cause, to which, in the providence of God, they have been called. Never did Temperance men occupy a position more responsible than they in the present juncture! True, they have nothing to apprehend from the temper or position of those against whose traffic they have arrayed themselves. Dissociated and comparatively helpless in moral influence, and afraid to come before the public to vindicate their claims, they appear as if being prepared by the over-ruling Providence of Heaven to fall before the impending social crisis. Neither have they anything to fear from the adverse influences of a powerful public opinion, which is fast being awakened into sympathetic action in their behalf. But there is a danger which is imminent, and an opposition which,

they must meet, strongly fortified and entrenched in the very centre of the Temperance camp. That hostile confederacy has proclaimed a war of extermination against all kindred organisations, and officially declared that nothing short of institutional supremacy will satisfy its arrogant demands. Let no one henceforth, therefore, be deceived. In the language of the *League Journal*, "neutrality is no longer possible." The Prohibitionists of Scotland have therefore a position assigned them, and it becomes them honestly, faithfully, and fearlessly to defend it, and compel the adoption of a less imperious and more liberal ultimatum. Already has the indomitable opposition to Legislative action been driven, from one stronghold after another, by the irresistible and increasing power of active and aggressive Prohibition principles; from deadly hostility to all legislative action, to a professed recognition of the principles of a partial Restriction; from a mere profession of the principle, to a practical application of its power; from the practical application of a restrictive policy, to an official declaration in behalf of "*future*" Prohibition. Let them therefore continue to prosecute their mission, and by a proper use of the increased instrumentalities that God has given them, press close upon the opposing foe, and they may yet constrain a practical development of that which is now a mere fruitless profession. Let no professions, however plausible—no promises, however seemingly sincere, induce them to desert, or dissolve, their independent agitation: as it is this alone that will press into active prohibitory service the machinery of the League—if indeed this is not utterly hopeless. Let them remember that all progress hitherto has been merely "a concession to

pressure:"* the result not of choice, but necessity, and therefore not too much to be relied upon. Let them never forget that a great principle was never worsted while allowed fairly to confront its adversaries, but that, in numberless instances, it has been crushed beneath the unprincipled and hypocritical patronage of a mean-spirited and inveterate foe. Let their policy be such as will constrain the representatives of this unnatural opposition to descend from their high elevation of an imaginary dignity, and manifest the same zeal in the development and consolidation of the Temperance cause, as they now do for mere party domination and institutional supremacy.

In presuming to address a parting word to the official antagonists of progress, we would say, "suffer the word of exhortation." No longer be content to recapitulate to the world the amount of money, influence, and effort that has been expended, but see to it that the results—the real tangible amount of good—is commensurate with the efforts put forth. Abandon all vain and peddling attempts to improve and turn to a satisfactory account a *licence-law*, based upon injustice and oppression, and which is totally, essentially, constitutionally corrupt. Make up your minds to give up the hopeless warfare which has officially been proclaimed, and gratefully hail the efforts of all, individually or collectively, whether Abstainers or not, who by a *present* and *direct* agitation for a Prohibitory law, seek to extinguish the fires of those breweries and distilleries which destroy the food, corrupt the morals, and pervert the capital of a highly privileged but yet socially oppressed people. Cease all misrepresentation and insti-

* Weekly Journal, No. 70, p. 1.

tutional jealousy; "follow after those things which make for peace;" and thus avert that catastrophe to which your present course, if persisted in, must necessarily lead. In short, HONESTLY, UNRESERVEDLY, and IMMEDIATELY, join in the agitation for the Prohibition of the *manufacture* and sale of Alcoholic liquors, as demanded by the varied and united wants of an industrious population. Let this be done, *in earnest and reality*, and the voice of civil strife would speedily be hushed, the brands of discord and division speedily be extinguished, and the united Temperance forces of the kingdom would present a front which would impart courage to our rulers, and strike terror to the hearts and consciences of the traffickers in Britain's shame! Then would a voice be heard in the halls of the Lords and Commons of the nation, backed up by the authority of the people, demanding that Britain's glory and Britain's honour be no longer tarnished and outraged by the manufacture and sale of alcoholic poison as a beverage for the people! Then would a law based in that justice which is eternal, and approved by that God who is omnipotent, be inscribed in the statute-book of this great empire!

THE END.

