

Mediator between God and man, and as most injurious to the human soul by the substitution of the traditions of men for the Word of God. We are united in opposing its political influence as fatal to freedom and national progress, because its principles keep men in leading strings, forbid them to think for themselves, and accustom them to lean on the judgment and direction of another. Can we entertain any doubt that where this ecclesiastical institution is allowed, in political and social affairs, free scope of action, it must prove a decided enemy of sound and liberal education? At the same time, are we not constrained to admit that history recounts numerous instances in which the men have been better than the system, and have risen far above it? Yet there are Protestants who entertain a belief that the system itself has undergone an essential change, and is no longer to be feared; and there are others who so dread the system that they would give the men no quarter. Our duty seems to lie between these two extremes. As haters of ecclesiastical despotism, and lovers of personal freedom, we are surely bound to draw a distinction between the men and the system, and to award to each the treatment which our principles enjoin upon us. We may, and do differ amongst ourselves as to the advantages of ecclesiastical establishments and the evils of purely secular education, but in this thing we ought to be agreed; that we will gladly extend to Roman Catholics, as to other classes of the Queen's subjects, the benefits of a sound education, by removing any hinderances thereto which do not involve a question of principle; yet whilst we desire to respect the freedom of individual men to teach and to learn, in subjection to the law of the land, according to the dictates of their own consciences, we will not, under the pretence of encouraging higher education in Ireland, devote public money, directly or indirectly, to the endowment of an institution which experience has proved to be a most bitter enemy of intellectual progress.

JAMES MADEN HOLT.

ART. III.—THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

This great battle for temperance, with its manifold organisations, its prodigious activities, its pardonable exaggerations, its sometimes morose and brusque asperities, and its unavoidable mistakes, is, perhaps, at the present time on the watershed of its career.—THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

THE cause of Temperance is in a very different position now to what it was twenty years ago. The stream of Intemperance was then rolling its polluted waters along, with scarcely any

organised hindrance or check. Faithful men and women here and there upraised their voices in indignant protest against this national iniquity; total abstinence associations were established in several localities; a few British Workmen public-houses had been opened: but no hold had been taken upon the mind of the people. Now, however, the state of things has been altered very much for the better. We firmly believe that the tide has turned, and that the foul stream has begun to roll back. It cannot for a moment be asserted that any portion of the national reproach has yet been removed, or that gigantic exertions have not still to be put forth in defence of the truth and of the right in this matter; but it is a great thing calmly to contemplate the difference between the state of England now with regard to this vital question, and the state of England even twenty years ago. Now, the necessity for counter-attractions to the beer-shop and the tavern is fully recognised; coffee-taverns, cafés, cocoa-houses, British Workmen temperance stalls, kiosks, are springing up around us with magical luxuriance; the eye of the traveller, as he journeys through his native land, is refreshed by the sight of numerous temperance hotels, like green oases in the desert; scarcely a town of any size or importance is without its coffee or cocoa palace, and in the larger towns there are several; most villages have a coffee-room or other place of pleasant and profitable entertainment. The Church of England Temperance Society, with its two wide and benevolent arms outstretched to invite every comer, has a branch in innumerable parishes, and the general current of popular opinion seems to be setting strongly in the right direction. There is very much in all this, even though there is in it much want of finish and perfection, to cause encouragement and to make us rejoice.

The true key to be struck in this beneficent movement is to elicit a healthy public opinion with reference to temperance. The difference in the state of society throughout the upper classes in this country between 1779 and 1879 is due to this. In the former year it was considered gentlemanly to be drunk: in the latter it is considered ungentlemanly. The earnest, unintermitting, strenuous endeavour of all who have the welfare of their country at heart ought to be persistently turned to this one end—that the whole mass of society, especially the working men and artisans, should be fully impressed with the feeling that drunkenness is a disgrace. Not very long ago Mr. Cross stated his opinion, which he had acquired from his experience at the Home Office, that such a state of public feeling among the lower orders was being distinctly formed. Similar testimony was borne at the recent Church Congress by Lord Aberdare, who had acquired equal experience in the same important and laborious post. The tone of the animated discussion on Temperance

at the Swansea Congress was very hopeful in this respect. The deliberate conclusion come to by the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance is, that "drunkenness is less common than formerly among the more respectable portion of the working classes, and that the increase has taken place chiefly, either in the lowest grades of society, or among those whose education has not kept pace with the increase of their wages," and that "as a rule, the higher class of artisans are becoming more sober, and the apprehensions for drunkenness are becoming more and more confined to the lowest grades of the community." The manifest avidity with which the appliances for temperance, when judiciously placed within the reach of the people, are welcomed, is a further proof of the present tendency towards good. Care must, however, be taken lest, in our eagerness to elicit and to foster sound public opinion, we hinder and retard it. Like the constitution of our own dear native land, genuine feeling on such a subject as this cannot be created: it must grow. We only trust that its growth may be strong and sturdy, not like the quick and evanescent growth of tropical vegetation, but like that of the grand old English oak, its roots striking deep into the soil, and its branches, with their beautiful burden of foliage, spreading far and wide,—an emblem of loveliness and strength.

It is universally admitted that one of the best means for eliciting this desirable public opinion is the employment of counter-attractions to the alehouse and the tavern. All seem thoroughly agreed on this point. The true secret of success lies here. Exhortations against drunkenness fall powerless on the ear, when nothing is provided to tempt men away from the places where not only intoxicating liquor, but warmth, light, society, and friendly intercourse can be obtained. Most men very naturally desire these attractions. They are necessities for human nature. Men sometimes grow weary even of the happiest homes: much more do they weary of homes where comfort and happiness are very rarely found. Even in cases where men have comfortable and happy homes, change and variety and more animated social intercourse than can be obtained there are sought for after continuous labour in the field, the workshop, or the mine. Common sense has at last prevailed, and compelled us to see that houses in which society and converse, warmth and light, food and refreshment, comfort and recreation are to be obtained, without the fatal attraction of intoxicating liquors, constitute a want which has hitherto been most inadequately supplied to the working-men of England. We only marvel that this crying want has not been supplied earlier. As already stated, it is a cheering sign of the times that houses of the very kind required are springing up with delightful rapidity. Care

ought, however, to be taken by all who are bestowing their time and energies in starting them, that these places are really attractive, and are just what the men themselves desire. They will beat the public-houses hollow, if they are of the right kind; they will remain empty, and consequently useless, if they are not. Such houses ought not to be too grand, too beautiful, or too neat. The working-man will not feel at his ease in them if they are. We were particularly struck with the truth of this remark, when visiting two coffee-houses not long ago. One was very clean, tidy, even luxurious, but—empty; the other was on a rougher scale, men could lounge and smoke and enjoy themselves after their fashion, and consequently it was full. In neither were intoxicating liquors sold. The one object to be kept steadily in view is to make such houses exactly adapted to the purpose for which they are intended. What may suit one place may not suit another. They must differ according to the taste of the locality, and to the exigencies of the village or the town where they are situated. No uniform system can, of course, be adopted. At every meeting of the Company to which each house belongs, the questions must be faithfully put and honestly answered, Is it answering its object exactly? Is it a real counter-attraction to the public-houses? If not, how can it be altered to make it so?

These houses ought invariably to pay. If they do not, then they are not fulfilling their purpose, and there must be something faulty in the manner of their management. It cannot be too strongly urged that, if properly managed, they ought to be at least self-supporting, and, in most cases, remunerative. No public feeling in their favour can possibly be entertained in any town where they do not pay. This is a certain test. In the great majority of cases, public-houses are remunerative. Otherwise they would not be so numerous, and the great aim of the friends of temperance is to contend with them on their own ground, and to drive them from the field. Publicans, as a rule, do not want their customers to be intoxicated. They supply light and warmth and accommodation in order to attract people thither, and induce them to buy sufficient liquor to repay themselves, and not to bring discredit on their houses. Sordid as the sentiment may sound, the first point is to see that these new public-houses pay. If they do, other things will follow. First make them a success—"nothing succeeds like success"—and they will be admired and imitated, and crowded.

Every true Christian will heartily desire and earnestly pray that this new movement may have a decidedly religious tone and character. It must be remembered, however, that the grand object it has in view is temperance, and, so far as it is concerned, temperance only. We believe with all our heart and soul that

Christianity, with its hallowing, elevating, purifying influence, is the true temperance society. No one can be a real follower of our dear Lord who is not moderate and sober. But that is not the question in the establishment of coffee-houses. The point is, how are we to attract men into them, in order that they may become temperate and sober? It must be decided in each locality how far religious services, Bible classes, and prayer meetings are to be employed. What will be eminently useful in one place, will not do in another. For our own part, we should like to see every house thus utilised, and every meeting of every Company sanctified and sweetened by the Word of God and prayer; but this would, in many cases, scare away the very men we want to attract. While we grieve at having sometimes to relinquish our cherished desires in this respect, let us take comfort in remembering that, when men become sober, whatever be the instrumentality, they become thoughtful, reasonable, and prepared to receive Christian argument and instruction.

The voice of public opinion will soon be so clearly heard as to render legislation on this subject imperative. We have frequently heard the remark that "men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament." We cannot imagine any one giving expression to so ridiculous a sentiment. We are perfectly aware that men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament, any more than they can be made partakers of Divine grace, or can be rendered reasonable or thrifty. But temptations to drunkenness can be removed by legislation; and we believe that it is the bounden duty of the State to see that the number of public-houses is reduced, and the standing temptation to thousands thus removed. If no more effective remedy can be devised, the mere test of number should be taken, and only a certain number of public-houses allowed for a certain number of the population. Of course, in some places this plan would press unfairly; but the irregularities arising from it would, ere long, right themselves. The difficulty in legislating seems to arise on this point; but surely means to meet it can be devised by patriotic and practical statesmen. Delay is a still greater evil, for, while legislators are wrangling, men are being ruined daily, body and soul, by the irresistible witchery of drink. We cheerfully acknowledge the outward reformation and the social benefit of previous legislation, all imperfect as it is; but we are fully persuaded that further legislation is imperatively required to reduce the innumerable sources of temptation.

The present aspect of the temperance question is, on the whole, decidedly cheering; but we must all be up and doing. We look forward to the future with cheerfulness and hope; but we must be prepared to take advantage of every turn of events. The Christian public must urge our Houses of Legislature to act

vigorously and promptly. The very valuable Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords must not be permitted to remain a dead letter. We do not know that we altogether approve of the Gothenburg system, or of the modification of it recommended in this Report. It seems as if the municipal authorities of the town adopting it would sanction the liquor traffic, encourage it for the benefit of the place, and thus become partakers of other men's sins. On the other hand, the system has the advantage of having been a practical success in Sweden, once "the most drunken country in the world;" and the experiment ought to be tried in England. Public-houses must be closed, if not during the whole, yet during the greater part, of Sunday; the hours of sale on the week-days ought to be curtailed; grocers' licenses and other incentives to illicit drinking should be discontinued; and the most strenuous endeavours should be made to remove the temptations to drunkenness in the case of women, the increase in which is the most appalling blot in the present aspect of the question. Above all, the Church of Christ ought to be fully awake. Missions to the public-houses should be encouraged and vigorously maintained, for the good which even one City Missionary does in visiting such places is incalculable; men of God should be commissioned to follow up those who have been arrested for drunkenness, and have been released either from the police court or the gaol; a Temperance Association should be a branch of the machinery in every parish; the admirable organ of the Church Temperance Society (*The Chronicle*) should be extensively circulated, to give the best and ripest information on this all-engrossing subject; and unceasing prayer should be offered that He whose prerogative alone it is to bring good out of evil, would be pleased to give heavenly light and wisdom to those engaged in combating this gigantic evil, to strengthen the hands of the Legislature, and to create a clear and healthy public opinion, so that the reproach on the fair fame of our country may be removed, and that she may stand forth before the world beautiful in her sobriety and glorious in her strength.

HENRY MORRIS.

