

FORWARDED AT THE LEHIGHTON POST-OFFICE AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER.

ANTI-PROHIBITION.

Mon. Speaker's Analysis of the Question in Its Legal Status.

(From the Philadelphia Record.)

It is generally admitted that the human race would be better off, that the future of humanity would be elevated into a higher and more intellectual plane, if drinking, as even moderate drinking, were utterly abolished. But when the strong arm of the law is invoked to force this desirable result, the practical questions come up: Can intemperance be abolished by statute? Will Prohibition prohibit, and, more than all else, is it safe public policy to do so? If the answers to these questions be doubtful, then the moralist and statesman should hesitate, call a halt and consider upon the wide field of natural rights and personal liberty.

"Nature's Eminent Domain" before total prohibition law is enacted. It is a two-edged sword. But restriction and regulation of the liquor traffic we must have, for the same reason that we have many other laws to regulate human conduct. It is exceedingly difficult to get even the ablest of men, who have once become infatuated with the Prohibition doctrine, to discuss the subject with anything like judicial calmness. An examination of the recent discussion in the August number of the North American Review strikingly discloses this feature of the leading Prohibition arguments. Dr. Funk tells the readers of the North American Review that "the strongest argument for Prohibition" is, that "with the masses that which the law permits is right, and that which the law forbids is wrong"—ergo, if drinking is prohibited by law the masses will come to believe drinking morally wrong.

DEFYING THE LAW.

But think a moment. The law prohibits smuggling, yet people not only refuse to consider smuggling immoral, but actually justify false swearing because smuggling can't be carried on without it. Scandalous cases pass that hundreds of otherwise honest and reputable men and women—many of them active and sincere Christians—do not solemnly call on God to witness falsehood, and excuse the deed on the ground of "mere legal formality." The law forbids the employment of young children in factories, and parents unhesitatingly lie about their children's ages. So far from its being true that men regard as immoral that which the law forbids, they consider the rule, and men unhesitatingly defy or evade laws which forbid actions not in themselves immoral.

The sympathy of civilization is with the Irish members of Parliament imprisoned for addressing prohibited meetings; yet in the eye of the law the imprisoned members are as criminal as any other misdemeanants.

UNTENABLE STATEMENTS.

Rev. Charles F. Deems makes an untenable series of statements. "It is, to say the least," he says, "very doubtful whether the men who now make a living by the liquor traffic could go to work in mines and factories, and in a thousand productive arts, if they wanted to." There are thousands of idle men, not liquor dealers, not liquor makers, not liquor drinkers, who are looking for work in mines and factories and productive arts and can't find it. Senator Blair informs us that "science has proved alcohol to be a poison as undeniably as strychnine," which, if it were true, would be a queer argument for Prohibition, since strychnine, in moderate doses, is one of the safest and most commonly used of tonics. General Dow asserts that "Prohibition has failed nowhere that it has been adopted," yet admits in a succeeding paragraph that "the liquor traffic, so far as its interests are concerned, controls absolutely the legislation of the nation and of the States and cities; so we find it difficult everywhere, and in Maine impossible, for the moment, to obtain such legislation as we require for the extermination of the traffic of the liquor traffic yet remaining."

President Bescom urges us to "dry up the streams of intoxication that flow into our cities and appetite will no more crave beer and whiskey than thirst furnishes water or than hunger supplies food," an argument which, to say the least, is as strong as arguing the efficacy of Prohibition as for it. Hon. G. F. Stewart, calmly assuming as a proposition which, as he says, none will deny "these minds are not capable of personal participation in the evil," that the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in any form is a moral crime—which is a sheer begging of the question—goes on to argue "that to license or to regulate the liquor traffic would be as absurd as the licensing or regulation of pestilence."

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

But President Seelye argues the question in a spirit of fairness, and his strongest point consists in his endorsement of Mr. Gladstone's dictum, that "it is the duty of Government to make it as hard as possible for a man to go wrong, and as easy as possible for him to go right." It is, however, an easy matter to assent to Mr. Gladstone's proposition without agreeing with President Seelye's conclusion. Throughout these attractive essays there runs this untenable argument and reassuring assumption that certain things must be true because the writers firmly believe them to be true; and therefore raise a political issue which, in their opinion, all good citizens are in duty bound to support. In deed, these articles have a strong tendency to make one feel that his moral and his mental soundness is suspected by the full-fledged Prohibitionist if he presumes to criticize these illogical positions.

MORE FAIR REASONING.

The complete Prohibition doctrine is that mankind should be forbidden by law to manufacture alcohol, to buy it, to sell it, to use it, to touch it. Why? Because, briefly expressed, some people abuse their privilege and natural rights, and because it tends to lead them into temptation and seas of trouble. If this be a sound reason for Prohibition, to be enforced by law, then it is impossible to name one inalienable natural right of mankind—personal, political or religious—which that line of reasoning and belief would not legitimately take away from the human race forever, and multiply or multiply would not decrease. Are the American people ready to assent to such a political proposition?

Let us draw a parallel. It may safely be said that there are many more true and earnest Christians throughout the United States who firmly believe that religious belief, religious practices and conduct are of far greater moment not only in this life, but in the hereafter, than the most desirable of pleasures, than the comparatively small moral or political question of Prohibition in this world. Therefore, if Prohibition be a good thing and a desirable political issue, why would it not be just as valid and proper for another set of men, or for the same set, on a higher plane of morals and re-

ligion, to legislate as a political issue a highly religious measure?

COMPULSORY CHURCH-GOING.

For example, that every man, woman and child of proper age should be compelled by law to attend church or divine service twice on every Sunday, because such a party of men believe it to be so very much better for their eternal welfare to do so than to neglect it or to do as they pleased about it. The most conservative Prohibitionist must admit that the preparation for eternal life is of far more consequence than Prohibition. If this be so, and the enactment of important religious question not be brought into practical politics? And the logic would lose none of its force if the agitation should be directed in the interest of some particular church, because it is fair to assume that a particular church is nearer the true faith than some others, with the probabilities in favor of the suggestion that only one church and one creed can be the true and genuine one. It is no answer to this argument to say that such a thing could never be accomplished—that it is an unfair argument—because the idea appears to be impracticable. A large majority of the people make the same objection to Prohibition.

SENSE TO PERSONAL LIBERTY.

My object is simply to call attention to the threatening menace to personal liberty which stares us in the face when we attempt to go beyond a given safety line in the enactment of laws which invade and take away our beliefs and aims, the inalienable and natural rights of man. The fundamental maxims of government enunciated by Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, would deny to every Legislature, Federal and State, the power to restrict the individual liberty of the citizen except in so far as that liberty may be directly harmful to another.

Following these precepts the people of this country have ever maintained a bold front of uncompromising hostility to all attempts at tampering with their natural and inalienable rights. Whatever freedom of thought and conduct we enjoy to-day in matters of personal liberty, faith and religion, is largely due to the jealousy and strength of our ancestors, connecting religious denominations and also to the envy and power of our political parties. In considering this dangerous political condition, careful distinction should be made between the terms political and party politics. All questions involved in legislation are political questions, but all political questions are not party questions any more than they are moral questions.

PARTIES AND POLITICS.

The mass of legislation, civil and criminal, is of such a nature as to win the support and approval of all good citizens, irrespective of party; and so general and uncontentious is this acceptance that the precepts and penalties possess the dignity of unwritten law. Party questions are such as involve essential theories of construction; but party questions are not always party issues—a party issue being a contest between the people as sovereigns.

It is the duty of a political party to place in offices of governmental trust men who represent in personal character, in executive ability and in public policy the highest political virtues of its theory and system of government. But it is not the duty nor the right of a political party, as such, to champion the growth and development of political-moral or religious questions. A political party should be a conservative force in government. It should be aggressive only so far as it can safely go without encroaching upon the inalienable rights of all the people. It should never forget that its first duty is to hold fast to that which civilization has demonstrated to be good.

INALIENABLE RIGHTS.

There are distinctive, inalienable forces all the time at work in mines and factories, every sacred inalienable right, every institution of good which has been left unto us through peace and war. To protect that which now exists is the first duty of a political party; and no party should voluntarily let go of any substantial good in the constitution and laws of its country. That the Prohibition party may soon become extinct is by no means improbable, since the National Temperance Society has recently shown itself ready to take the whole temperance movement on the possibility of proving, in the face of the scholarship of the world, that the drink-offerings of the ancient Levitical system were not made with regularly matured wine, and the said society even goes so far as to affirm that "if this position cannot be maintained, it is inconsistent for Christians to advocate total abstinence." We may well pause when we consider the total abstinence feature of Prohibition in connection with the whole temperance movement, and marvel at the melancholy illustration of human fallibility.

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BROADBRIW'S N. Y. LETTER

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held the father that the young man was enjoying himself hugely in kingdom come; that he had his dogs and his guns, his horse and his yacht, and, moreover, a young spiritual divinity named Bright Eyes was paying him marked attention; and in short, he was getting along as comfortably as any young man could be expected to be under the circumstances. The bereaved and dying father was delighted to hear it; he declared that nothing was too good for "CHIR." From this time out Mr. Carroll appears to have devoted himself to Mrs. Stryker. Mrs. Stryker removed from her humble apartments in Brooklyn to elegant quarters in New York; her house became a marked spiritual center; she was held every day and every night, and sheals rolled in by the wagon-loads, and collected a post for communications with the late husbands or departed wives; and weeping widows who wanted to know what their future chances were in the matrimonial market, were expected to come down an extra two dollars and a half. A year passed by, and Mrs. Stryker said that "CHIR" (that was the son) was going to be married to Bright Eyes; this met with the old gentleman's hearty approval, as he had discovered himself, although he was sixty, that it is not good for man to be alone. When Mrs. Carroll found out that Mr. Carroll was devoting too much attention to Mrs. Stryker, and that while Mrs. Stryker was cutting around with Lyons silks and three-piled velvet, she was having a hard time. Thereupon Mrs. Carroll got her mad up and kicked up a lively shindy. She made it exceedingly warm for Carroll and somewhat lively for Mrs. Stryker, but Carroll was equal to the occasion. The aprils informed him his wife was crying a little; he forthwith summoned a couple of physicians and they interviewed the distracted wife, and two days after she was dragged out of her house and shut up in a lunatic asylum. Mr. Carroll then moved to Mrs. Stryker's house, and as the wedding of his son with Bright Eyes approached, he got up magnificent wedding invitations and sent them to all his friends. The house was a bower of flowers, a "spiritual" ceremony was found to be a celestial knot, a couple of empty chairs, wreathed in roses, were supposed to contain Cliff and Bright Eyes; all the company passed the chairs bound to the unseen spooks, and the affair wound up with a magnificent super-spiritual wedding wound up in a blaze of glory.

After a time Mrs. Stryker announced that a son had been born to Bright Eyes Cliff. Mr. Carroll was ready to stand on his head—he was a grandfather; and the priestess announced that the child would be baptized in the middle of the Falls of Niagara. Mr. Carroll hired a special train and carried up a party of a hundred spiritual friends to witness the ceremony. Down they went to the Horseshoe Falls; no one but Mrs. Stryker saw the spooks, but she saw them as plain as a pikestaff. Meanwhile poor Mrs. Carroll was fast behind prison bars in a lunatic asylum, and no spooks were trying to help her out, though Mr. Carroll was spending her money like water.

Opinions are divided as they were in the case of O'Della. Some swear that Mrs. Stryker is a true medium, having a double-entendre telephonic communication with the other side of Jordan, and many more equally profound, declare she is a fraud of the first water and ought to be sent to the penitentiary. One thing is certain, Mr. Carroll believes in her as firmly as Luther Marsh did in Ann O'Della Debar. Luther Marsh is not cured yet, and the best thing now to do would be to have the four of them go into partnership. They would make a spirit team that would make Rome howl.

This, good people, is in the great city of New York in the month of January, 1889. We are wont to make fun of our "Parsons" and to deride their belief in witches, and pride ourselves on our superior intelligence in this year of grace, and yet at that spiritual wedding and baptism were present a host of rich merchants taking an active part in the ceremony, and when Madame Blavatsky gets back here, which she will shortly, the high priestess of Theosophy will have scores of men and women ready to take the whole temperance movement on the possibility of proving, in the face of the scholarship of the world, that the drink-offerings of the ancient Levitical system were not made with regularly matured wine, and the said society even goes so far as to affirm that "if this position cannot be maintained, it is inconsistent for Christians to advocate total abstinence." We may well pause when we consider the total abstinence feature of Prohibition in connection with the whole temperance movement, and marvel at the melancholy illustration of human fallibility.

There are plenty of spiritualists here, men and women of the most unquestioned intelligence and honor, who deprecate the vagaries of these so-called spiritual prophets. Judge Daley, Mr