


AMERICA
AND THE
WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

ERNEST HURST CHERRINGTON



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AGAINST ALCOHOLISM



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CONTENTS.

- I. THE NEW AGE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
- II. THE EVOLUTION OF PROHIBITION IN AMERICA
- III. THE ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION IN AMERICA,
AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM
- IV. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM
IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN POLICY
- V. THE ORGANIZED WORLD LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND
ITS INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES
- VI. WORLD TEMPERANCE ACTIVITY NOT UNDUE INTER-
FERENCE WITH THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS
OF OTHER COUNTRIES
- VII. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
PHASES OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM
- VIII. NOW IS THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TIME TO STRIKE
FOR WORLD PROHIBITION
- IX. THE CALL OF THE WORLD
- X. AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

FOREWORD

The purpose in the production of this volume is to suggest something of what partial prohibition success in the United States of America means in the way of opportunity for larger service in the world arena.

The volume is intended to emphasize the idea that by reason of such opportunity there devolves upon the moral reform forces of America a responsibility which can not be ignored and a sacred obligation which must be met.

The hope of the author is that this book, incomplete and imperfect as it is, may serve in some slight degree to direct attention to international phases of the question, believing as he does that the problem of alcoholism is one of world-wide proportions, and as such requires a world-wide remedy.

E. H. C.

November 1, 1922.

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye
could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the
wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies
of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down
with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there
rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the
central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-
wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging
thro' the thunder-storm;
Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the
battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of
the world.

—*Alfred Tennyson.*

Weep not that the world changes—did it keep
a stable, changeless state it were cause indeed
to weep. —*William Cullen Bryant.*

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth . . .
and I heard a great voice out of the throne say-
ing, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men.
—*Revelations 21, 1-3.*

I.
THE NEW AGE OF INTERNA-
TIONAL COOPERATION

THE history of the world's civi-
lization presents a very strik-
ing evolution of social, economic,
political and religious institutions
in which by reason of great wars
and other outstanding events, the
several stages have been distinctly
marked.

Prior to the year 1600 A. D. gov-
ernment in the main was but an-
other name for absolutism. From

AMERICA AND THE

1600 to 1775 great wars, peace treaties and most international conventions were concerned with the rights of royal families under autocratic forms of government. During the latter part of this period the dawn of popular government was seen in the tendency to handle many governmental matters of immediate and direct concern to the people of a locality, through local community action. Even this measure of popular government, however, was largely confined to the western world.

The period from 1775 to 1860 was peculiarly the age of state sovereignty. That period was the golden age of independent states in which, for the first time in history, government was conducted under

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

the authority of law rather than under the authority of men.

The period from 1860 to 1914 was peculiarly the age of nationalism in the world. During that period special emphasis was placed upon the nation. Special consideration was given to the rights and prerogatives of empires and republics, all of which had a tendency to bring small states together in the organization of strong central governments. During that period the several states, cities and communities of the Italian Peninsula formed the modern kingdom of Italy. During that period the many German states in middle Europe merged into an empire. Austria-Hungary was consolidated into a nation. The British Empire was enlarged

AMERICA AND THE

and the Japanese nation became a great central government. The same solidifying and centralizing process manifested itself moreover in the development and strengthening of the federal government of the United States of America and in the establishment of more strictly drawn national boundary lines between the many new republics of Central and South America. That period of a little more than half a century will undoubtedly go down in the history of the world as peculiarly the great age of nationalism.

Those who have lived through the stirring period of the recent great World War have been compelled to recognize the fact that we are rapidly passing out of the age of strict nationalism and that we

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

are already upon the threshold of a period of international cooperation such as the world has never before known.

The World War not only marked the close of the old era, but it also marked the beginning of a great epoch of human welfare in the world's history. That epoch was inaugurated when twenty-four nations joined forces for the protection of democratic idealism in the World War. The new age dawned with the union upon French battlefields of Indian, Chinese, American, Japanese, French, English, Portuguese, Russian, African, Scotch, Italian, Irish, Jew, Australian, Hindu, Canadian, Latin, and New Zealander.

The French army alone had en-

AMERICA AND THE

listed representatives of twenty different nationalities. Fifty-four nationalities were represented by those who were enlisted and fighting side by side in all the Allied armies on the fields of Flanders. Almost every nationality in the world, every social group, every race, every caste, every language and every religion, were represented by those who made common cause against the oppression of the weak by the strong, and set themselves against those who would have ruthlessly overridden the most precious treasures of the world's civilization in a mad dash toward world domination.

The great war, however, was in reality but the occasion for an expression of the new spirit of inter-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

national cooperation which had been slowly but surely developing in the minds and hearts of the peoples of all nations, the principal causes for which are significant and far-reaching. Among the most important contributing factors in the movement toward international cooperation undoubtedly has been that of popular education, which by creating a more nearly universal knowledge of conditions, governments, languages, and characteristics of the peoples of all countries, has paved the way for international understandings and international relationships that are now inevitable.

The diffusion of a cheap daily press has greatly assisted this new Renaissance. American daily news-

AMERICA AND THE

papers, for instance, now give to the people at their breakfast tables each day more detailed information concerning what is transpiring in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Tokyo and other great world centers, than the people of any American state received in months of time concerning the happenings in other states of the American union a century ago. What is true in America in this respect is also true in varying degrees in all civilized countries. Trade and commerce, capital and banking, manufacturing and industry, labor movements, travel, physical science and invention, the fashions, and public improvements, have all come in greater or lesser degree to have an international character.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

The stock exchange, the market value of commodities; the interest laws on loans and mortgages, the scale of wages, housing conditions, industrial welfare activities, together with the rules that govern retail business in the village as well as in the city, are all materially influenced today by the sensitive points of contact in international relations. Fraternal organizations throughout the world have been a great factor in the tendency to break down the high walls of national seclusion. Railroads, steam ships, electric lines, automobiles, submarines and airships, in a comparatively few years have converted the scattered and widely separated countries into a great neighborhood of nations.

AMERICA AND THE

The telegraph, the telephone, the ocean cable, the wireless, and the radio have brought the remotest sections of the earth into closer speaking contact than were the peoples of the different sections of New York a century ago. When these facts are considered, together with the great truth established by the history of nations to the effect that the greatest factors in the development of all civilizations have been those of transportation and communication, something of the remarkable change in world conditions and relations during the past century is apparent.

The universal tendency toward democratic government and democratic institutions, moreover, has given to the masses of every coun-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

try common interests and common yearnings, which promise rapidly to grow into common understandings.

Such movements as the Red Cross have most effectively woven a fabric of human sympathy, and have generated a great current of human brotherhood around the world, which can never be limited or confined by national boundary lines.

The greatest factor, however, in the inauguration and development of the new spirit of international understanding, international cooperation and international peace, has been the Christian religion, with its extensive foreign missionary activities and its challenging world-wide programs. Not only

AMERICA AND THE

has this been the greatest factor in the evolution of the new age, but in this factor is to be found the basis of all the determining factors as to what must be the future policy of nations under the influence of western civilization.

The practical application of the Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, if that doctrine is fundamentally sound, must of necessity result in the tearing down of the high walls of prejudice, distrust, hatred and provincialism, which have separated the nations. Ruthless competition must give way to friendly cooperation. Strife and envy must be overcome by kindness and helpfulness. Fear and distrust must be superseded by

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

faith and mutual confidence. Hatred and selfishness must be dethroned by friendship and altruism. The anarchy of intrigue and jealousy must yield to the reign of the Golden Rule.

The world will never again be what it was before the war. Every nation today is alive to the spirit of progress and reform. Slowly but surely it is becoming apparent that the gates of the future can not be unlocked with the key of the past. Slowly but surely the races of mankind are turning their faces away from the dead past and are setting them flintlike toward the future.

This new age of international cooperation is the age in which the great problems of our day must be solved. They must there-

AMERICA AND THE

fore be solved in harmony with the spirit of the age and with due regard to the conditions, obligations and responsibilities which that age imposes upon any nation or race capable of leadership.

Among the problems demanding consideration and insisting upon solution, none perhaps, aside from the problem of world peace, is so international in its scope, so vitally related to the economic, social, moral and religious life of the world, and so imperative in its requirements, as the beverage liquor problem. Well might the words of Lloyd George have been made applicable to all the Allies in the Great War when he declared that England was face to face with three great enemies, Germany,

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

Austria, and Drink, and that the greatest of these enemies was Drink.

The outworn rite, the old abuse,
 The pious fraud transparent grown,
The good held captive in the use
 Of wrong alone—
These wait their doom, from that great law
 Which makes the past time serve today;
And fresher life the world shall draw
 From their decay.

O backward-looking son of time!
 The new is old, the old is new,
The cycle of a change sublime
 Still sweeping through.
But life shall on and upward go;
 The eternal step of progress beats
To that great anthem, calm and slow,
 Which God repeats.

—*John Greenleaf Whittier.*

Not in vain the distance beacons; forward, forward let us range;
Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.

—*Alfred Tennyson.*

I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate and the beasts of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land.

—*Exodus 23, 29-30.*

II.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROHIBITION IN AMERICA

PERHAPS the greatest task in every outstanding reform movement is to strike the balance between the ideal on the one hand and the practical on the other. The pendulum constantly swings backward and forward between these two extremes. Idealism, untempered by the teachings of human

AMERICA AND THE

experience and unseasoned by due consideration for human limitations, makes for effervescence. On the other hand, the extremely practical, untouched by the divine spark of idealism, just as surely makes for utilitarianism and materialism. Practicality, uninspired by the spirit of idealism, leads inevitably toward reversion of type, while all the roads to higher realms of thought and life are those which are both signboarded and paved with the emotion of the ideal.

The prohibition movement in America has not escaped the difficulties of the conflict which always comes in reform programs, between the extremes of the practical and the ideal. The best testimony establishing the fact that

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

that movement in America has successfully evaded the Scylla of utilitarianism on the one hand, and has avoided the Charybdis of extreme idealism on the other hand, is the recorded Eighteenth Amendment to the federal constitution and the prohibition enforcement codes of the national and state governments.

Moreover, the idealism of today which looks toward success for the cause of world sobriety, is not so ethereal and is not so far removed from the realm of the practical as to begin to compare in that respect with the extreme idealism and impracticality of the theory of national prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic which but vaguely appeared in the spiritual visions of

AMERICA AND THE

Frances E. Willard, John G. Woolley, Howard H. Russell, Purley A. Baker and other prophets of the anti-liquor movement a quarter of a century ago.

Twenty-five years ago, the enthusiast who advocated state or national prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic was a "fanatic." The principal objective of the temperance forces from a practical viewpoint at that time was to secure some form of local prohibition for townships and rural precincts. It was soon discovered, however, that the life of the rural community was rapidly becoming so interwoven with the life of the neighboring villages that prohibition must also be secured in the villages in order to secure success for

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

prohibition in the rural townships. Thus there arose the necessity for municipal prohibition and thus gradually for the same reasons there evolved the demand for county prohibition.

It was not long, however, until by reason of new inventions and rapid industrial progress, distance was conquered by electric interurban lines and automobiles so that rapidly it became apparent that if prohibition were to be effective and permanent in the townships, villages and counties, the policy would need to be extended to the state as a unit. Thus state-wide prohibition campaigns became the order of the day.

As state after state fell into line in harmony with the demand for

AMERICA AND THE

state-wide prohibition laws and state constitutional amendments, it became apparent that on account of an interstate liquor traffic, and by reason of interstate travel and interstate commerce, no single state as a unit could fully enforce state prohibitory laws without action by the federal government.

For long years the Congress of the United States attempted to legislate in such a way as to prevent the use of federal protection for the interstate traffic in liquors intended to be used in the violation of state laws. The Webb-Kenyon Interstate Liquor Shipment Law passed by Congress in 1913 did much to help the work of law enforcement in the several states, by stripping the cloak of in-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

terstate commerce from all interstate shipments of intoxicating liquors intended for use in the violation of law. The operations of this law, however, served to call special attention to the fact that the only real safety and the only real protection for state prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic lay in national constitutional prohibition.

That Herculean task has now been performed, so far as Congress and the constitution are concerned. Prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic is now a part of our fundamental charter. Yet we find ourselves today face to face with the outstanding fact that in this age of close international relationships, when economic, social, political, moral and religious

AMERICA AND THE

laws and customs so link together the destinies of the nations, the prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic in any nation is practically impossible of complete success without cooperation on the part of other nations. No nation in this day liveth to itself. The liquor traffic is organized as a world traffic. The liquor problem is a world problem, the solution of which can come only through organized world-wide activity.

The prohibition movement in the United States of America has been a practical demonstration of the age-old truth that great reforms are evolutions rather than revolutions. The development of the temperance reform in America covers a period of more than a

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

century and a half and has been marked by the three great stages which have characterized all social and moral reform movements under western civilization. These stages are, first, the creation of temperance sentiment; second, the organization of that sentiment into public opinion; and third, the crystallizing of public opinion into law and the enforcement of law.

John Brown and Carrie Nation methods cannot and will not prevail under free government. All such efforts may serve to direct public attention toward evil conditions which have been overlooked or disregarded, but as particular means to a definite end, such methods must fail. Permanent reforms can come only by

AMERICA AND THE

means of orderly procedure through popular government, where public opinion rules. This seems at times to be a slow process, but it is the only sure route. There is no short cut.

Time was in America when all that could be done was included in the work of sentiment-building. A little later, activity along temperance lines was limited to sentiment-building and the organization of sentiment into recognized public opinion. Since however the process of crystallizing public opinion into law and its enforcement has been and is effectively in operation in the United States, the three-fold program of activity must continue to be carried forward with even greater emphasis

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

and greater insistence than ever before. This three-fold process of creating, organizing and crystalizing, must continue until the liquor traffic, with all that that traffic includes, shall live only in history and shall have become but a memory of what free people once endured.

The same law of development which has characterized the prohibition movement in America must characterize the world movement against alcoholism. The moral and religious forces in America can undoubtedly be of great service to similar forces in other countries in all stages of the movement through which they must pass. This service, however, can best be rendered, not by at-

AMERICA AND THE

tempting to tell the people of other countries what they should do or how they should do, but rather by bearing witness to the beneficial results of prohibition in America and by conveying information as to how these results were secured.

In this connection it is worthy of thoughtful consideration that twenty-five years ago, only about one seventeenth of the area and about one sixteenth of the population of the United States of America was under state prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic, while today about one seventeenth of the area and one sixteenth of the population of the world is under national prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic. Reasonable it is to believe,

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

therefore, that if with no blazed trail and if, almost without chart or compass, the scattered and loosely organized temperance forces in America have succeeded in securing national prohibition in a period of twenty-five years, then certainly with such a tremendous beginning as has been made and with all the great benefits which the experiences in the American struggle will undoubtedly give to the present international movement, world prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic should be considered as something more than a bare possibility, in much less time than was required for the national movement in America.

I reach a duty, yet I do it not,
 And therefore see no higher; but, if done,
My view is brightened and another spot
 Seen on my moral sun.

For, be the duty high as angels' flight,
 Fulfill it, and a higher will arise
E'en from its ashes. Duty is infinite—
 Receding as the skies.

And thus it is the purest most deplore
 Their want of purity. As fold by fold,
In duties done, falls from their eyes, the more
 Of duty they behold.

Were it not wisdom, then, to close our eyes
 On duties crowding only to appal?
No; duty is our ladder to the skies,
 And, climbing not, we fall.

—*Robert Leighton.*

The best way to keep good acts in memory is to refresh them with new.

—*Cato.*

Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.

—*First Corinthians 10, 12.*

III.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION IN AMERICA, AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

THE boundary line between the United States and Canada extends for 3,898 miles. The Mexican boundary is 1,744 miles in length. The Atlantic coast line is 5,560 miles long. The coast line of the Gulf of Mexico stretches out to the extent of 3,640 miles, while that of the Pacific coast extends for a distance of 2,730 miles.

AMERICA AND THE

The total international boundary line of the United States is 17,572 miles in length. This is significant in view of the fact that beyond this boundary line in practically every direction the liquor traffic has a recognized legal standing.

In spite of all the intoxicating liquors held in bond in the United States at the present time, which are more than sufficient for all legitimate requirements for long years to come, the fact remains that during 1921 there was accepted at our ports, international imports of whisky to the amount of several hundred thousand gallons, and imports of champagne to the amount of several hundred thousand quarts.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

The single province of Quebec, Canada, on our northeastern border, imported during the fiscal year 1921 more Scotch whisky than had been imported into that province during the entire ten years preceding.

Estimates have been made and published to the effect that in the vicinity of Detroit, Michigan, there are smuggled over the Canadian border 1,000 cases of contraband liquors every twenty-four hours.

The islands of Bimini, and Cuba, together with others of the West Indies group, are well known bases of operation for international bootlegging and the violation of both the spirit and letter of the prohibition law of the United States of America.

AMERICA AND THE

The Mexican border with none too well policed mountain districts in northern Mexico presents large opportunity for the carrying on of illicit traffic in all kinds of liquors across the American border in defiance of the American Constitution as well as the national and state prohibitory codes. Most of the saloons in Northern Mexico are American owned and are operated for the benefit of American trade.

The Literary Digest is authority for the statement that United States government customs officials have made declarations to the effect that international bootleggers smuggle into the United States 9,000,000 gallons of beverage intoxicants each month.

No neighbor nation is likely to

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

place an army on the other side of our international border line in order to keep shipments of intoxicating liquors out of the United States. On the other hand, the government of the United States is likely to have no slight amount of international misunderstandings with which to deal, on account of the very fact that other countries bordering on the United States and engaged in trade with the United States are interested in the promotion of the international traffic in intoxicating liquors as a commercial enterprise. In fact, other governments have officially and strongly protested against the action of the United States in seizing and searching liquor-laden vessels flying foreign flags and hovering near the

AMERICA AND THE

three-mile limit for the purpose of smuggling intoxicating liquors into the United States.

In view of our experience with the Interstate Liquor Shipment Law in the United States, when the federal government had the fullest possible authority and control on both sides of state boundary lines, how much more successful is the United States government likely to be in stopping international smuggling when only one side of the border is under the control of this government, and when conditions on the other side are controlled by governments which both favor and protect the liquor traffic, and where great corporations with influence and unlimited wealth, under the full protection of the law,

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

may openly devise ways and means to promote the international liquor traffic and to defy and defeat American constitutional prohibition?

The problem presented by the thousands of foreign vessels which land and depart from American ports, is also one of international proportions which can hardly be permanently and satisfactorily solved except by the cooperation of other nations through the channels of international law.

The situation thus presented by vessels flying foreign flags is similar in some respects at least, to the general question involved in the efforts of the United States to prohibit the African slave trade more than a hundred years ago.

AMERICA AND THE

The American constitution provided that the African slave trade should not be interfered with prior to 1808, after which time it was undoubtedly the desire of Thomas Jefferson and other leaders from all the states in the Constitutional Convention, that the African slave trade should cease. Soon after 1808, however, the United States became involved in a war with Great Britain, in which the principal contention of the United States was that any vessel on the high seas, flying the American flag, should be free from search and seizure or the impressment of her seamen by the vessels of any other country.

Soon after the War of 1812 the United States government began

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

to take steps to stop the African slave trade, in accordance with the obligation implied in the constitutional provision and in harmony with the laws to that end which had been passed by Congress.

The African slave traders, however, were shrewd enough to fly some other than the American flag on their ships. The United States government, therefore, found itself in an embarrassing position in attempting to search or seize such vessels, in view of the principal contention for which she had fought in the War of 1812-14. Congress accordingly passed a law placing all vessels engaged in the slave trade between the African and the American continents, in the same category with pirate

AMERICA AND THE

ships, and finally declared the slave trade between the African continent and the United States to be a species of piracy.

This action on the part of the United States brought speedy developments and the American government was soon face to face with the fact that her new piracy law against ships engaged in the African slave trade could not be successfully enforced without cooperation from other nations. This meant a practical change in international law.

Congress accordingly passed another law appointing an American Commission and requesting the appointment of similar Commissions by the governments of Great Britain and France. These Com-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

missions were appointed, met in joint session, and finally determined upon an international agreement in harmony with the provisions of the original law passed by the United States Congress. The provisions of this agreement went back to the treaty-ratifying power of each of the three governments. The Senate of the United States, however, insisted upon placing in its ratification of this agreement a reservation to the effect that such agreement should not affect vessels along the American coast, whereupon the two other governments involved failed to ratify.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the difficult problem presented by the African slave trade as well as that presented by

AMERICA AND THE

piracy on the high seas, was solved in large degree by the invention of the steamship, which made it easily possible to trail all pirate or slave trade vessels since such vessels could not well employ steam power and in the very nature of the case could not operate between ports where supplies and service were available for steam power vessels.

Another very important factor in the solution of the international problem arising out of the African slave trade question was that on that particular question, Great Britain, France and other important world powers were as nations naturally friendly to the end toward which the American government's efforts were directed. Had Great

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

Britain and France at that time been interested in the promotion of the slave trade, the international difficulties would have been greatly increased for the United States of America.

The international situation presented now as a result of the adoption of prohibition by the United States of America is far different from that presented more than a hundred years ago in America's effort to prohibit the slave trade, since every other great nation of the earth is now committed to the policy of protecting and promoting the interests of the liquor traffic, both national and international. It is self-evident, therefore, that the American foreign policy in dealing with the international smuggling

AMERICA AND THE

of intoxicating liquors, must be a very much stronger policy than that which was required in the case of the African slave trade.

The air ship is being employed as an agency for liquor smuggling. Already it is possible for a modern air ship to leave practically any point in the interior of the United States in the evening after dark, and land at some point outside the United States before daylight the next morning. What possibilities of law evasion such a fact suggests! Moreover, when one bears in mind the remarkable progress which has been made in aerial navigation during the past five years, it does not require a great sweep of the imagination to visualize the tremendous possibilities of the use of air

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

ships in great numbers for the breaking down of American prohibitory regulations, if the development of the air ship during the next five years is comparable to that of the past five.

Civilian flying increased in 1921 by 20 per cent over the preceding year, 1920. Aircraft to the number of 1200 were being operated by civilians in the United States. Those machines had a flying record for the year of 6,500,000 miles and carried 275,000 passengers.

This tremendous fact in its implications has to do with more than the relations of the United States to other countries in the matter of the liquor traffic. When the statesmen of America and of the world come to realize what

AMERICA AND THE

international relations must be, when instead of a foreign vessel landing at a particular spot in a particular harbor at a stated time, it will be possible for a vessel to enter at any one of a hundred thousand points on the American international boundary line of over 17,500 miles, at an elevation of 100 feet, or 500 feet, or 1,000 feet, or 10,000 feet, such statesmen will come to understand that not only the entire fabric of international law must be made to meet such new conditions, but that the whole structure of social and economic relationships as between the peoples of the different nations, must be reconstructed.

Complete success in stopping the smuggling of intoxicating liquors

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

across our international boundary lines, even under present conditions, would require a greater navy than that which the American government now possesses, and a greater standing army than any which America has had in times of peace, so long as the countries on the other side of the border are not in sympathy with the American national prohibition policy.

We may use the American enforcement mop along our international borders for the next hundred years, or by proper assistance and cooperation with the moral forces of these several other countries we may help to turn off the spigot on the other side.

The foe we fight has already seen the importance of interna-

tional cooperation to protect itself. The many new organizations in America for the nullification and repeal of prohibition are, after all, but a part of the program of the strongly organized international liquor traffic, which represents greater wealth and influence than it ever represented as a national institution, and which is determined that prohibition in the United States of America shall fail.

A democratic form of government, even in the United States of America, was not safe so long as there existed anywhere in the world a powerful autocracy. So today the future of American prohibition is unquestionably involved in what is to be the future policy on the liquor question in the other

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

nations of the earth. A strongly organized liquor traffic anywhere is a menace to prohibition everywhere.

Saith the Lord, "Vengeance is mine;"
 "I will repay" saith the Lord;
Ours be the anger divine,
 Lit by the flash of his word.

How shall his vengeance be done?
 How, when his purpose is clear?
Must he come down from the throne?
 Hath he no instruments here?

Sleep not in imbecile trust,
 Waiting for God to begin;
While, growing strong in the dust,
 Rests the bruised serpent of sin.

Right and Wrong—both cannot live
 Death-grappled. Which shall we see?
Strike! Only Justice can give
 Safety to all that shall be.

Shame! to stand faltering thus,
 Tricked by the balancing odds;
Strike! God is waiting for us,
 Strike! for the vengeance is God's!

—*John Hay.*

When Infinite Wisdom established the rule of right and honesty, He saw to it that Justice should be always the highest expediency.

—*Wendell Phillips.*

Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness . . . Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink; that justify the wicked for a bribe.

—*Isaiah 5: 20-23.*

IV.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

THE situation which presents itself today in small countries like Iceland, Norway, and Finland, is worthy of most careful consideration, especially in view of the fact that the international difficulties arising in those countries in

AMERICA AND THE

connection with the handling of the liquor problem are directly due to the fact that those countries have followed the example of the states or the federal government of the United States of America and have adopted prohibition.

The economic international pressure being brought to bear by such countries as France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy upon smaller prohibition nations naturally raises the question as to whether such action is of concern to the government or the people of the United States of America and if so, what is that concern, and what are the limits within which either the people or the government can operate to remedy the difficulty which has arisen and which stands as a great

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

threat against the governmental policy of prohibition throughout the world.

The foundations on which the American government has been builded are worthy of consideration in this connection. The American brand of patriotism has never been and, in the very nature of the case, can never be synonymous with provincialism. American patriotism means that the American citizen who professes and practices that virtue must be willing to promote, to fight for, to live for, and if need be to die for, those things which are recognized as fundamental and essential in American civilization. Among those great fundamentals first and foremost is the right of life, liberty and the pursuit

AMERICA AND THE

of happiness, which means, the right of all men to be free and to enjoy the privileges of life and happiness whether they happen to be born in New York City, in Australia, or in India. Another one of the great fundamentals is that of popular government—government of the people, by the people and for the people, to which the signers of the Declaration of Independence pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. These two great fundamentals, which are so closely related, together with those of religious liberty and public morality, have never been and can never be limited by geographical boundary lines. The very spirit of Americanism precludes the possibility of placing geographical lim-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

itations on such rights and privileges.

The Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, and other great American documents since that time, dealing with the purposes of the American form of government, all clearly set forth these great fundamentals in their universal character. They are even more truly universal today.

The great American wars, the outstanding peace treaties which the United States has made with other countries, the declared policies of the United States government from time to time, in connection with our international dealings and relations, present in a

AMERICA AND THE

very marked degree a constantly enlarging conception, on the part of the American people, of the great principles underlying American government and the relation of those principles to the international dealings between the United States of America and all other nations.

The American Revolution was fought by the colonists of 1775 for the purpose of permanently establishing the principle of popular government. The result of the Revolution secured the recognition of that principle in so far as it applied to the American colonies. The War of 1812 resulted in the recognition of that principle, so far as the united American colonies were concerned, not only

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

within the bounds of the United States but upon the high seas. The Monroe doctrine and the Mexican War extended the recognition of that principle for the benefit of other small nations in the western hemisphere, which alone did not have power to defend themselves against autocracy, either of the European brand or of the Santa Anna brand. The War of 1861-65 extended the recognition of that principle to apply to all men without regard to race or color. The results of the Spanish American War went further than any previous effort had gone in extending the recognition of that principle in its application to other peoples in both hemispheres, who had not even reached the re-

AMERICA AND THE

quirement of the Monroe doctrine of 1823 of nations which had "declared and maintained their independence."

Finally the World War, in which the American government was eventually compelled to involve itself, determined, it is to be hoped, for all time that fundamental principle of western civilization, first successfully established by the American republic and challenged by Prussian, Russian and Austrian autocracy in the so-called Holy Alliance of 1814. The results of the World War insisted upon the recognition of that great principle of popular government not simply for the benefit of the people of a single nation or a single continent or a single hemisphere,

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

but for all the people of all governments of all the world. Thus the stone "cut out of the mountain without hands" in England and France during the restless, stirring and eventful years of the seventeenth century at last in this the first quarter of the twentieth century has become the corner stone of national governmental structure in most of the countries of the world.

There is perhaps no more significant fact in modern history than the fact that this great fundamental principle of western civilization which has now been established as a recognized standard throughout the world, was made fundamental law first by the adoption of the Constitution of the

AMERICA AND THE

United States of America. It is therefore not strange that the foreign policy of the United States government from the time of its birth down to the present hour, should have been a policy insisting upon the recognition of the peculiar fundamentals set forth in that sacred document. It is indeed a perfectly natural course which the United States government has taken in making its foreign policy one that in an outstanding and extraordinary degree has insisted upon the recognition of those peculiar principles in the American charter, which had not been recognized by other nations as universal governmental policies. In harmony with this idea the recent utterance of Herbert Hoover is in

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

point. In speaking of the situation in Russia Mr. Hoover said: "The American government cannot give aid to the repression of Democracy, or the repudiation of popular rights in any country; nor can we impose these blessings on others by force."

As the American nation has grown, however, the Constitution of the United States has grown. Nineteen amendments have been added to that great document, all of which amendments are as much a part of it as any other portion of the original document.

Among the several amendments which have been added is the eighteenth amendment, prohibiting the beverage liquor traffic. Since the policy of the American government

AMERICA AND THE

for the last one hundred and thirty years in its foreign relations has been to insist upon the recognition of the fundamentals of the American Constitution when such fundamentals have been espoused by small nations, would it not seem consistent for the American government in this day to take the same attitude with respect to the new articles in that fundamental charter? How then does this old American policy relate itself to the new international problems of the new day?

Spain, by the use of economic weapons, has compelled Iceland to suspend her prohibition of the liquor traffic, for one year. Spain's pressure upon Iceland in this connection was just as threatening as

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

if she had surrounded Iceland with her warships. By this action, under threat of what practically meant starvation to the fish industry which is the principal sustaining industry of Iceland, Spain has absolutely disregarded the right of self-determination of small nations and has compelled Iceland to accept Spanish wines against the protest of her people and the attitude of her own national legislative body. There is no clearer case in modern history, of the coercion of a small nation by a larger and stronger nation.

The same situation now threatens in the case of Norway, where national prohibition has been decreed by majority vote of the citizens of that country. France,

AMERICA AND THE

Spain, and Portugal have abrogated their trade treaties with Norway and are demanding that the will of the Norwegian people be overridden and that the national Parliament of Norway refuse to obey the instructions of the people, under threat of national economic boycott, in the interest of French, Spanish, and Portuguese wines. This action is in full harmony with the policy which has been pursued by France in other cases, one of the most outstanding of which was the case of Finland where prohibition, twice before adopted by the national legislative body, was defeated by French threats of economic boycott.

What the closely organized

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

world liquor traffic is thus attempting to do through Spain, France, and Portugal, this same world liquor traffic will attempt to do through all the wine-producing, beer-producing, and whisky-producing countries of the world.

What should be the policy of the United States government and what should be the attitude of the American people toward the situation that has thus arisen in Iceland, and other small countries?

Suppose Spain succeeds in permanently defeating prohibition in Iceland. Suppose Norway, in spite of the decree of her people, is brought to her knees. Suppose Finland is compelled to yield. Suppose the same economic pressure succeeds in the case of Poland,

AMERICA AND THE

with her newly adopted prohibition, and suppose that by virtue of the effect of such reverses for prohibition and such successes for the international liquor traffic, the world organized liquor interests should proceed to use the economic weapon of many liquor nations against larger governments, in order to stay the progress of prohibition, as a governmental policy? How long will it be before such pressure affects the United States of America?

If the United States government was justified in the Monroe Doctrine to protect American governmental ideals in South and Central America in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, what about the case of Iceland, Norway and Fin-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

land in this the first quarter of the twentieth century, when these countries are struggling to uphold the ideals represented in that portion of our sacred charter known as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution? If the Monroe Doctrine was justified in its day, and if the consistent foreign policy of the United States government from the days of Washington down to the present time has been justified, then the hour has already struck for a new declaration and a new application of an old principle in American foreign relations, for the protection of the new ideals which the American people have incorporated into fundamental law.

Just as the principle of popular

AMERICA AND THE

government insisted upon by the American people in the Constitution of the United States more than one hundred and thirty years ago and opposed at that time by most of the countries of the world, has now become the great foundation stone upon which have been builded the governments that control eighty-five percent of the population of the globe, so will the time come when the principle of government now represented in the eighteenth amendment to the federal constitution of the United States and opposed by most of the other countries of the world, will be a part of the fundamental law of all nations. This consummation, however, of necessity must come as a result of a determined stand on the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

part of the American Government in the council of the nations even though that stand may require the practical application of the gospel of civic righteousness, emphasized by the late John Hay in his remarkable interpretation of the Lord's Prayer:

"Thy will! It bids the weak be strong,
It bids the strong be just.
No lip to fawn, no hand to beg,
No brow to seek the dust.
Wherever man oppresses man,
Beneath the liberal sun,
O Lord, be there, Thine arm made bare,
Thy righteous will be done!"

Be strong!

We are not here to play, to dream, to drift,
We have hard work to do, and loads to lift.
Shun not the struggle, face it, 'tis God's gift.

Be strong!

Say not the days are evil—who's to blame?
And fold the hands and acquiesce—O shame!
Stand up, speak out, and bravely, in God's name.

Be strong!

It matters not how deep intrenched the wrong,
How hard the battle goes, how long;
Faint not, fight on! Tomorrow comes the song.

—*Maltbie D. Babcock.*

When desperate ills demand a speedy cure,
distrust is cowardice, and prudence folly.

—*Samuel Johnson.*

He sitteth in the lurking places of the vil-
lages; in the secret places doth he murder the
innocent. His eyes are privily set against the
helpless. He lurketh in secret as a lion in his
covert. He lieth in wait to catch the poor; he
doth catch the poor when he draweth him in
his net.

—*Psalms 10: 8-10.*

V.

THE ORGANIZED WORLD LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND ITS INTERNA- TIONAL ACTIVITIES

Prior to the adoption of prohi-
bition as a part of the fundamental
law of the United States, the liq-
uor traffic against which the tem-
perance forces of America were
battling, was a national organiza-

AMERICA AND THE

tion. The development of the temperance movement from local to national proportions had followed the development of the organized liquor traffic of the United States from local to state and finally national proportions.

Before the victory for national prohibition in America became assured, there was no particular reason for cooperation or united activity on the part of the organized liquor interests of the United States with similar interests in any other part of the world. With the coming of national prohibition, however, that condition changed.

As a result of the wholesale abolition of saloons, breweries, distilleries and wineries in the United States by the provisions of

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

the national prohibition code under the Eighteenth Amendment, a large portion of the liquor traffic which formerly operated in the several states of this nation, has been transplanted to other countries which still recognise and legalize various phases of the traffic. Numerous breweries have moved across the American border line and have been transplanted in the soil of neighbor nations. Wholesale and retail liquor interests in great force have crossed into Cuba and other islands of the West Indies group. Brewing, distilling, and wholesale liquor establishments of practically every character have penetrated into South and Central America, into Japan, and China, and into other sections of the world.

AMERICA AND THE

The effect of prohibition in the United States in curtailing the vast wine trade of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Austria, has resulted in the great interests of the wine and vineyard industries of those countries uniting in common cause to combat the havoc wrought in their American export trade, and to stem the tide of prohibition legislation in other countries.

The ale and stout industries of England, moreover, have become thoroughly alarmed at the agitation of the prohibition question in the British Isles as a result of national prohibition in America, and have consequently sought close alliances with what remain of the national liquor interests of the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

United States of America, as well as with the national liquor organizations of other countries interested in the same cause, for the same purpose.

Vast beer interests of Germany, Austria and the Balkans, as well as the vodka industry of old Russia, have all been compelled to seek a relationship of cooperation with similar interests of other countries to promote their so-called business, to provide for the necessary campaign of propaganda and to entrench themselves against the alarming and enlarging crusade for absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic.

The object of the world liquor traffic, frankly stated, is two-fold: first, to prevent the spread of pro-

AMERICA AND THE

hibition throughout the world, and second, to secure the repeal or the nullification of prohibition in the United States of America and wherever else the policy has been attempted. The following Associated Press dispatch of October 28, 1922, immediately after the secret convention of the International Liquor Organization Against Prohibition, at Brussels, Belgium, speaks for itself:

WORLD WAR ON DRY U. S. Wine Interests Pledge Millions for “Merciless” Drive

**International “Wet” League to Oppose
Prohibition Everywhere**

[By The Associated Press]

“Paris, France, Oct. 28.—A large fund, reaching many million francs, has been pledged by the wine interests of Eu-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

rope to carry on a "merciless" campaign against prohibition in the United States and other countries. The fight will be waged through the International League Against Prohibition, with headquarters here.

"The American campaign will be carried on in cooperation with the liquor forces of the United States, it was learned today. Organizers of the league say that they have little to fear from the prohibition forces in Europe. Their chief concern is to give every possible assistance to American wets."

Thus the world liquor organizations present anew the main issues involved in the Holy Alliance of 1814,—the spirit of greed and the protection of special interests against the public welfare. It is to be hoped that during the century to come the autocracy of this strongly organized world liq-

AMERICA AND THE

uor traffic will be no more successful, at least, than the efforts of the autocracies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria through the Holy Alliance have been, in perpetuating the institution of the divine right of kings during the past century.

The chief weapon which is being used by the organized world liquor traffic in countries outside the United States is that which aims at the generation of and development of anti-American feeling. This is the natural method for the world liquor traffic to employ. It is in keeping with the record of this traffic in all countries during the past century. A traffic, in fact, which itself has no respect for the laws of God or man, can hardly be expected to manifest sin-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

cere regard or love for any government on the face of the earth. Such a traffic knows no appeal but that to ignorance and prejudice.

Lady Astor, the first woman member of the English Parliament, upon leaving American shores after a brief visit in her native land, in 1922, made the significant declaration that the principal anti-American feeling in England had been created by the owners and promoters of the British liquor traffic, who hope by anti-American propaganda to postpone the day of prohibition in Great Britain.

Reasoning from the point of view which has characterized the entire liquor traffic, such a policy as that now being pursued in other

AMERICA AND THE

countries is perhaps shrewd. By it the liquor interests naturally estimate that they have everything to gain and little to lose. By creating hatred of the United States of America they naturally generate a hatred of American institutions and American governmental policies which in both cases involves the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Moreover, by generating hatred for America they naturally calculate that in every other country, the road will be made much more difficult than now, for any government to follow the lead of the government of the United States in solving the liquor problem by the prohibition route.

The gross misrepresentations of conditions under prohibition in the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

United States of America, and of the operation of the prohibition law, which have found their way through international news agencies to the press of practically every country in the world, are not only indicative of the methods which the international liquor traffic is already using in its defense, but they also suggest what the prohibition forces in every country can expect as an important phase of the conflict ahead. In this respect the international liquor interests are running true to form, and are using the same methods employed with a greater or lesser degree of success by the liquor interests of the United States of America for the past twenty-five years or more, in the case of Maine, Kansas, North Da-

AMERICA AND THE

kota, and a score of other states which have been under state prohibition for periods ranging from ten to seventy years.

For more than a generation, the state prohibitory laws in Maine and Kansas have been well enforced, yet during all that period the American liquor interests have conducted a publicity campaign throughout the United States and in other countries of the world, the object of which has been to convince the people outside of these states that prohibition in Maine and Kansas has been a farce. The program of the world liquor interests is nothing more nor less than this same old program, enlarged to world proportions.

The best answer to the national

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

propaganda of misrepresentation and falsehood regarding the failure of prohibition in Maine and Kansas was the fact that through all the years Maine and Kansas continued loyal to state prohibition and in spite of the numerous attempts on the part of crafty politicians and others to utilize the anti-prohibition sentiment which was left in those states, the people at the ballot box continued to record their approval of Prohibition. Even when enforcement was least efficient, the people of those states preferred prohibition at its worst as infinitely better than license at its best. Likewise henceforth the most successful argument against the misrepresentation of American prohibition among the people of the

AMERICA AND THE

other countries of the world will be the continuance of the prohibition policy in the American republic. In the continuance of this policy, however, the prohibition forces in America must not forget that whereas before the adoption of national prohibition the opposition to their efforts was directed largely by state and national pro-liquor organizations, henceforth their struggle to maintain and extend prohibition must take into account the organized opposition, international in character and thereby stronger financially and in every other way than any national liquor organization which has ever been faced by any temperance reform movement in any country.

Immediate and aggressive action by the united moral forces of

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

all the world and especially by the moral forces of the United States of America against the evil of alcoholism and the further development of a great, wealthy, influential and closely organized world liquor traffic, is more than justified by the alarming rate of development which has characterized that traffic during the past few years, the enormous proportions to which it has already grown, as well as the anarchistic and anti-peace propaganda in all parts of the world to which this world traffic is now giving itself without reservation.

The civilized world in this new age cannot continue indefinitely to exist part dry and mostly wet, any more than the United States or any other country, could continue to exist, part slave and part free.

Is True Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! True Freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free!

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—*James Russell Lowell.*

To pity distress is but human; to relieve it is Godlike.

—*Horace Mann.*

And he answered them, and saith, Who is my mother and my brethren? . . . For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

Mark 3: 33-35.

VI.

WORLD TEMPERANCE ACTIVITY NOT UNDUE INTERFERENCE WITH THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES

WIDE publicity has been given the loud cry of the friends of the world liquor traffic to the effect that international activity along temperance lines is interference by Americans in the domestic affairs of other countries: "American interference in the

AMERICA AND THE

local affairs of Cuba and Spain, which cost the American lives and American money spent in the Spanish-American War, might be subject to the same pro-liquor criticism. Were the reasons for interfering in Cuba any more important or demanding than those which now present themselves in connection with the international liquor problem, in such a threatening aspect, in the island of Cuba and especially in the city of Havana?

Why should America with her money and science invade the countries of Central America for the purpose of stamping out yellow fever and of opening those countries to the commerce and intercourse of the nations of the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

earth? Was there any more justification for our interference in the local affairs of those countries than there is now for friendly interference and moral invasion in those same independent countries in connection with the difficulties that arise from the international liquor traffic? The liquor traffic in Central America is likely to interfere more with the public health, the public peace, and the public welfare of the United States than yellow fever in Central America ever did. Action in regard to a great moral problem such as the liquor problem is more necessary and imperative than action in the interest of physical sanitation.

The pro-liquor critics who have championed the cause of protect-

AMERICA AND THE

ing the domestic affairs of other countries might well have raised the same cry against interference when the people of America contributed their millions and sent their representatives into Central Europe for the relief of the homeless children of that section of the world, after the great war.

The efforts of the people and the government of the United States in recent years to relieve human suffering and starvation in China and even in Russia, a government not recognized by the United States, might have been subject to the same pro-liquor criticism.

What excuse is to be given for the activity of the Christian churches of America in foreign

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

missionary efforts in China, Japan, India, Africa, and South America, whose people, and some of whose governments, are committed to forms of religion, far different from the Christian religion? It would be just as reasonable to criticize the sending of American missionaries to foreign mission countries as it is to raise objections to the program of a great moral reform movement which contemplates sending the truth about American prohibition into countries whose people and governments have been and are at present committed to the policies of the world liquor traffic, which so long as it exists anywhere threatens civilization everywhere.

The old argument about inter-

AMERICA AND THE

ference in the domestic affairs of other countries has been worn threadbare by its application to those policies of American government and American institutions to which it has never been properly applicable.

The threadbare argument is not in any sense in harmony with the international political policies and the international political activities of the Christian nations of the earth. Much less is it in harmony with the activities of the Christian and moral reform institutions of these same countries.

This superficial theory of the world liquor interests does not jibe with the joint international action for the protection of Christians in the old Turkish Empire, nor with

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

the Allied expedition for relief in the Chinese Boxer uprisings, nor with the international agreements and activities for the suppression of piracy on the high seas. It is not in accord, moreover, with the international action for the suppression of opium in the Orient, the international agreements for the suppression of white slavery, or the action of the several Brussels conferences for the protection of native races.

The policy of the interests organized for the promotion of the beverage liquor traffic, both state and national, has been always to appear to be in favor of dealing with the evils of the liquor traffic in some other way than that proposed at any given time by the temperance

AMERICA AND THE

forces. When the prohibition forces throughout the United States attempted to secure local option laws in order to promote the cause of prohibition by townships and villages the liquor interests were against local option and were in favor of strict regulation. When progress had been made to the point where the temperance forces were seeking county option the liquor interests were strongly favorable to village and township option as the only proper solution for the liquor problem. When the fight came on in many states for state-wide prohibition, the liquor interests in those states became inspired with a burning passion for county and district option. When the evolution of the prohibi-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

tion movement had reached the point where the temperance forces of the nation united in a campaign for national prohibition, the liquor interests became the strong defenders of the policy of states' rights as applied to methods of dealing with the liquor problem.

In view of this record, it is not strange that the international liquor interests of today should be especially concerned about the organized temperance forces in any country interfering with the domestic affairs of other countries. In fact, it is not unreasonable to believe that when the movement for world prohibition shall have reached the point where success seems inevitable and immediate by international legal provisions, the liquor inter-

AMERICA AND THE

ests of the world will become the advocates of national prohibition as against any sort of international action.

The relation of citizens and groups in any civilized nation to the general movements for human welfare and moral uplift in the other countries of the world, is a very different relationship today than ever before in the history of the world. Rapid developments along all lines of human activity and the remarkable progress of science during recent years, are largely responsible for the fact that today the average citizen in any one of the leading countries of the world bears a peculiar responsibility in connection with the economic, social and moral life of the world at large.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

In America it has not been difficult for the average citizen to realize something of the responsibility of citizenship in the village or community. It has perhaps been a little more difficult for him to realize his responsibility as a citizen of the county or of the commonwealth in which he lives, and it has been even more difficult for him to appreciate the responsibilities of national citizenship as he has come to appreciate the responsibilities of state and local community citizenship. But the average American citizen today of necessity slowly but surely is coming to realize the fact that he is not only a citizen of his own local community but that he is a citizen of the county and the state and the nation and moreover that in these

AMERICA AND THE

days of close and intricate international and interracial relationships he is in a large sense a citizen of the world.

The modern movement toward democratic institutions and democratic government which today is sweeping every section of the world especially emphasizes the important fact that it is becoming more apparent with every cycle of time that the responsibility of community citizenship upon the citizen is not greater in reality than the responsibility and obligations of state and national citizenship, and that the obligations of world citizenship are rapidly growing into something real and definite.

The cry of the world liquor interests against the invasion of oth-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

er countries by American prohibition ideals represents a conception of protection and license for which modern civilization has no proper place. It is not merely the demand of the "road hog" against the proper rights of others who travel the international highway. It is the last cry of the social and moral savage against the inevitable advance of Christian civilization.

Say not, the struggle naught availeth;
The labor and the wounds are vain;
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be—in yon smoke concealed—
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow—how slowly!
But westward, look, the land is bright!

—*Arthur Hugh Clough.*

Our country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind.

—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

And Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but what I have, that give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk.

—*Acts 3:6.*

VII.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PHASES OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM

THE economic disorganization and financial chaos, especially among the countries of Europe, is of such proportions and so far-reaching in its relations that it cannot but have a very significant effect upon any international movement of whatever character at the present time. Consequently the world movement

AMERICA AND THE

against alcoholism is no exception to the rule. The vast indebtedness which has been piled up against the governments of the world as a direct result of the World War is of staggering proportions. The indebtedness of the United States government has jumped from one and one-half billions to 24 billions of dollars. That of Great Britain has gone over 38 billions; that of France more than 50 billions, Germany more than 70 billions, Italy 18 billions, Austria 17 billions, Hungary 8 billions, etc. It is conservatively estimated that the aggregate of the indebtedness of the governments of the world is about 350 billions of dollars.

This vast indebtedness, however, is not the worst aspect of the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

financial situation that confronts most of the countries of the world. Of the European countries engaged in the World War, not one has had sufficient current receipts since the signing of the Armistice, to take care of its current expenses since that date, and even last year Great Britain was the only one that had been able to balance its budget. In the case of many of the other countries, even at this time, the regular current receipts are not more than one third of the current expenses.

The most competent authorities on national and international finances indicate that it will undoubtedly be many years before the budgets of most of these countries can be balanced and that the

AMERICA AND THE

inevitable result in Central Europe will be repudiation at least of inflated currency. Most of these same authorities indicate that any serious effort to liquidate the present indebtedness of the countries of Europe most directly affected by the World War will at best require a period of a hundred years. The attitude of many of the world's great statesmen and great economists is that most of the indebtedness of Europe can never be paid.

The aggregate of the world's drink bill today is approximately 20 billions of dollars annually. Most of this is expended by the people of the very countries of Europe which are now staggering under this overwhelming burden of

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

national indebtedness, and it does not require a great statesman or a great economist to figure a plan for a sinking fund in which each year would be placed the amount of the drink bill of the world, which would absolutely wipe out of existence both interest and principal of all the debts of all the nations of the earth within a period of twenty-five years.

Moreover, we have learned in America by the experience of the last quarter of a century and by the comparison between conditions before and after prohibition became effective in the several states, that the cost of maintaining the liquor traffic, in addition to the money expended in the national drink bill, must be paid by

AMERICA AND THE

the tax payer in the increased millions of annual appropriations necessary to take care of that portion of the poverty, insanity, crime and misery directly resulting from the liquor evil.

The people of Europe must eventually come to a recognition of the self-evident truth that the beverage alcohol drink bill of those countries today is a mill stone around the necks of the governments, second only to that of militarism.

From an economic viewpoint the people and the governments of the world must eventually give thoughtful consideration to that important phase of the prohibition question which had much to do with the rapid development of the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

movement for state and national prohibition in America. Perhaps the most important phase of the great industrial revolution in the United States has taken place during the recent years when also prohibition, both state and national, was rapidly taking shape.

Half a century ago it was not unusual for newspapers to ascribe many of the numerous freight and passenger wrecks on American railroads to "drunken engineers." During the half century past, railroad mileage in the United States has increased from 53,000 miles to 264,000 miles, and railroad activities have increased to the point where now 2,000,000 men are employed at an annual compensation of three billions of dollars. These

AMERICA AND THE

railroads carry each year more than two thousand million tons of freight and more than one thousand million passengers. Yet with 60,000 engineers driving the locomotives on these railroads day after day, how many wrecks are today charged to "drunken engineers" or drunken train dispatchers or drunken telegraph operators? The railroads of America will not employ an engineer who is known to use intoxicants either on or off duty. This imperative law of the railroad companies carries with it a far greater degree of punishment than any local, state or national prohibition law ever attempted to provide against the use of alcoholic beverages. Even the most ardent advocates of the liquor traffic in Amer-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

ica have long since ceased to defend the personal liberty of railroad engineers to drink intoxicants. The state Legislatures and the United States Congress would just as quickly pass a law making it permissible for children to carry firearms and to play with explosives as to think of passing a law permitting railroad engineers to use intoxicants. It is no longer necessary to argue the question as to whether railroads in the United States must be manned by men who are free from the handicap of alcoholism.

The giant ore freighters which come from the vast ore districts of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan are unloaded at the American ports of the Great Lakes and the ore is

AMERICA AND THE

transported by trains to the numerous smelting furnaces of the United States for the manufacture of iron and steel. Forty years ago such vessels were unloaded by means of laborers with shovels and wheelbarrows. Taking into account all the gangs that could work to advantage on a single ship, the unloading capacity for any vessel under the old system was about 100 tons of ore a day. Today four great electric machines unload an ore ship at the docks of the American lake ports at the rate of 3,000 tons an hour, which is 240 times as much in the same period of time as could be unloaded under the old system. Even greater revolutions than this have taken place in the equipment of the iron and steel mills of America.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

In the old days, a large number of laborers might be under the influence of liquor and still manage to muddle through, since it was entirely possible for an unskilled employee with a fairly well soaked brain to handle a shovel and a wheelbarrow. Today, however, employment would not last long for any man who would attempt to operate one of those great electric unloading machines if he were an habitual user of alcoholic liquors, and the same rule would apply with even greater force to the vast electrical equipment now operating in the great iron and steel mills of the nation. This is a most significant factor, when it is borne in mind that the United States of America now produces annually

AMERICA AND THE

more iron and steel than all the rest of the world.

During the last ten years the coal mining industry of the United States has been in the throes of an industrial revolution. Modern inventions are rapidly changing the whole system of coal mining. During the last few years, electric mining machines have been perfected, a single one of which, with two operators, will easily do the work that a decade ago required twenty miners. The coal mining industry in America has a very close relationship to the other great industries of the nation. It provides employment for more than 750,000 men, and it is required to produce more than 40 per cent of all the coal used in all the countries of the world.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

It was entirely possible for the old miner to produce 6 or 8 or 10 or even 12 tons of coal a day, with a brain fairly well soaked with alcohol, but the man who operates an electric mining machine today, which machines are rapidly being installed in great numbers, must be a sober man.

During the nine years preceding 1922, the tonnage of American ships clearing American ports increased from 4,793,523 net tons to 30,180,809 net tons, an increase of more than 500 per cent in less than a decade. The remarkable improvement in the character and equipment of ships and the revolution in the facilities with which cargoes were handled during that period, presents even a more striking

AMERICA AND THE

contrast than that shown in the tonnage increase. The wonderful system of electric devices for the handling of ship cargoes, both on board ships and at the docks, has not only greatly decreased the old demand for the proverbial "drunken sailor" but has greatly increased the imperative requirements for carefully trained, skilled men, with clear brains and full control of all their faculties.

The vast shipping interests of America, struggling now for a place in the international trade of the world, can not afford seriously to consider the possibility of permitting alcohol to play havoc with this rapidly developing industry. The old drunken sailor can not meet the acid test required by the very na-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

ture of the vast change which has taken place. America's part in the international commerce of the future can not be jeopardized by compromise with the old system under which alcohol played a leading role.

Perhaps no series of legislative acts so aroused the great manufacturing interests of the United States to the absolute necessity of prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic in connection with industrial development, as the Workmen's Compensation laws passed during recent years by the Legislatures of all but three states of the American Union. As a result of the passage of these laws, millions upon millions of dollars have been invested in safety devices, to protect the health, limbs, and lives of the

AMERICA AND THE

10,000,000 employees in the great manufacturing industries of the nation. Of all the great safety devices, however, which have been employed for the protection of life and property in American manufacturing plants, the leaders and directors of practically all phases of manufacturing in the United States will testify that none has been so far reaching and so effective as the prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic. Safety to workers in the manufacturing plants, and insurance to the manufacturing interests, are such as to preclude the possibility of the great interests involved taking the risk and accepting the hazard which would be inevitable with the return of the beverage liquor traffic in America.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

The cry for repeal or modification of prohibition does not come from those who are charged with the great responsibility of American manufacturing interests and the direction of that vast army of 10,000,000 manufacturing employees.

Only a few years ago, the vast tonnage of grain and other agricultural products, as well as the tonnage belonging to industrial and commercial enterprise in America, was moved on short hauls by wagons with teams of horses or spans of mules in charge of teamsters. Today, a very great portion of that tonnage is moved by auto trucks in charge of automobile drivers.

One large truck, in charge of a competent operator, will move upon the average, more tonnage than

AMERICA AND THE

could be moved under the old system by ten wagons with twenty mules and ten drivers. There are more than a million auto trucks in operation in the United States today. These trucks move more than ten times as much tonnage as was moved by the same number of men as teamsters, a few decades ago.

It was entirely possible in the old days for half drunken drivers to throw the lines around the dashboard and depend upon the dumb animals drawing the load to avoid collisions and the ditch. But the millions upon millions of value in the auto trucks of today, to say nothing of the value of the tonnage itself, can not be trusted with half drunken drivers. This important

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

factor is infinitely more significant when it is taken into account in connection with the activities of the modern drivers of all other classes of automobiles which are in use for all purposes in all parts of the American republic.

Still another most significant factor presents itself in this connection. The United States of America, with only one sixteenth of the world's population, has in operation a total of 10,000,000 automobiles. All the rest of the world, with fifteen sixteenths of the world's population, has only about 2,000,000 automobiles. In other words, the United States of America has actually five times as many automobiles in operation as the rest of the world, and in proportion to the pop-

AMERICA AND THE

ulation, the ratio is seventy five to one. America, therefore, may be said to be the most thoroughly automobilized nation in the world. The great development of the automobile industry of the United States has taken place in the last decade, during which same period prohibition by state legislation was rapidly covering the area of the United States. Much of this development has taken place since the United States of America as a whole went under national prohibition. The old beverage liquor system in operation, in this automobile age in America, is unthinkable. What would happen, on every American highway today, if the American liquor traffic were to be restored? What degree of safety,

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

under such a condition, could be vouchsafed to any traveller upon the highway or any pedestrian on the sidewalk? If America faces such a situation now, what will other countries of the world do in regard to this important question as the use of automobiles increases by leaps and bounds as it is bound to do during the next few years?

If no other phase of the prohibition question had been considered or were to be considered by the people of the United States of America, this one factor, properly understood, is of itself sufficient to determine the future attitude of the American nation toward prohibition.

Perhaps no department of American business has developed in such

AMERICA AND THE

a remarkable way in recent years as the business of life insurance. Life insurance estates are rapidly becoming important factors in the financial world. In a little more than thirty years, the amount of life insurance in the United States has increased from slightly more than four billions of dollars to more than forty-two billions of dollars. The number of life insurance policies in existence in the United States in 1890 was 5,202,475. The number in 1900 was 14,395,347. The number in 1910 was 29,998,281, while the number in 1920 was 64,341,000. Through literature, physical examination, the study of the theory and practical benefits of life insurance, and the direct scientific instruction which has come to millions of men

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

who in greatly increasing numbers are availing themselves of the practical value of the scientific truth about alcohol, the life insurance business has played a great part in the fight for state and national prohibition. Experience in the investigations of actuaries covering long periods has demonstrated beyond the question of a doubt that there is a very decided difference between the actual cost to insurance companies of risks on the lives of abstainers as against those of non-abstainers. With this vast increase in the number and amount of risks carried by American insurance companies, the greater part of which increase has come during the period of state and national prohibition, the question naturally presents its-

AMERICA AND THE

self as to what would happen to the millions of these insurance risks and what would be the effect not only on the insurance companies themselves but on the vast financial business of America in which these insurance companies now play so significant a part, if the beverage liquor traffic were to be restored with its attendant results through the use of alcohol, upon millions of policy-holders, and its even more far reaching effect upon the mortality statistics that would inevitably result from accidents, disease, and crime that would follow like an avalanche in the wake of alcoholism?

The liquor traffic may have been possible in the agricultural world, in the age of the horse-plow and the mule teamster. It is not possible

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

in the age of the tractor and the auto truck. The liquor traffic may have been possible in the days when the woodchopper with an ax was the only means of felling trees in the great forests of the Northwest, but it is not possible in the age when electrical operations and electrical operators are essential to the rapidly increasing lumbering industries of those parts of America where great forests still exist. The liquor traffic may have been possible in the age of the ox cart and the water-mill; but the liquor traffic is not possible in the age of the electric dynamo. The liquor traffic may have been possible in the age of the stage coach; but the liquor traffic is not possible in the age of the flying machine. The liquor

AMERICA AND THE

traffic may have been possible in America during the age of the drunken sailor and the drunken engineer, and the age when manufacturing concerns were not held responsible for the health and safety of employees; but the liquor traffic is not possible in the age of the industrial development which has revolutionized railroad operations, the mining industry, the vast manufacturing interests, extensive international commerce and trade activities and other great industries and enterprises which have figured and are figuring in the economic progress of America.

These significant economic facts suggest something of the possible indirect cost of the liquor traffic if it were to be allowed full sway in the

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

United States of America under the new industrial conditions that have arisen and they suggest with even greater force something of the possible indirect economic cost that is inevitable to pro-liquor nations of the world if they insist upon continuing to harbor the liquor traffic and upon attempting to harmonize its operations with the new age of skilled workmen and the application of brain power and nerve energy to the simplest processes of industrial activities. If these facts be true in America, where is the nation, large or small, located anywhere on the face of the earth, which, in the face of rapid economic progress and promised economic competition for the years to come, can afford to quibble with the problem of alcoholism?

This I beheld, or dreamed it in a dream:
There spread a cloud of dust along a plain;
And underneath the cloud, or in it, raged
A furious battle, and men yelled, and swords
Shocked upon swords and shields. A prince's
 banner

Wavered, then staggered backward, hemmed by
 foes.

A craven hung along the battle's edge,
And thought, "Had I a sword of keener steel—
That blue blade that the king's son bears—but
 this

Blunt thing—!" He snapt and flung it from his
 hand,

And lowering crept away and left the field.

Then came the king's son, wounded, sore be-
 stead,

And weaponless, and saw the broken sword,

Hilt-buried in the dry and trodden sand,

And ran and snatched it, and with battle-shout

Lifted afresh, he hewed his enemy down,

And saved a great cause that heroic day.

—*Edward Rowland Sill.*

The strongest principle of growth lies in human choice.

—*George Eliot.*

And this, knowing the season, that already it is time for you to awake out of sleep; for now is salvation nearer to us than when we first believed.

—*Romans 13:11.*

VIII.

NOW IS THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TIME TO STRIKE FOR WORLD PROHIBITION

NO student of world conditions can doubt that now is the psychological time for international action on the part of the moral forces against alcoholism, and that the psychological hour is fast passing.

Governmental reconstruction and reorganization now taking place in practically all the nations of the

AMERICA AND THE

earth especially favors a great campaign for the solution of the world liquor problem. Political conditions in practically every country are more nearly ripe for proper change and advance steps than they likely will be again after the nations settle down to the grind of routine. There has not been a time in centuries when reforms in governmental procedure were so much in vogue as at this very hour.

It is a significant fact in this connection, moreover, that the benefits which came from restrictions and prohibitions of various kinds placed on the liquor traffic in most countries during the World War are still fresh in the public mind. In many countries

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

these war restrictions represent the only practical demonstration of the benefits of prohibition in their history, and in almost every case the results of these war prohibition activities will make much easier the progress of a more far-reaching anti-alcohol movement in those same countries.

The rapidly growing world liquor traffic is injecting itself into the legislative and administrative councils of practically every country now that the war is over, and is making an heroic effort to persuade governments to rest the burden of taxation on beverage alcohol, in order that by such a method that traffic may entrench itself and secure protection against the rising tide of prohibition.

AMERICA AND THE

If the world liquor traffic succeeds in making itself as much of a factor in governmental revenue production in other nations as was done by the American liquor traffic in the United States immediately following the war of the sixties, it will take another generation to dislodge it.

The recent activities of the organized world liquor traffic especially in Oriental countries present one of the strongest possible arguments in favor of immediate action by the advocates of world prohibition. For long centuries the old religions of the Orient have been total abstinence religions and have kept the liquor traffic from getting such a hold as it secured in Europe and America. The pro-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

gress which the traffic has made in Oriental countries in these recent years finds its main support among Europeans and Americans, rather than among natives. Yet the propaganda of the world liquor traffic is now making great headway, offsetting in a very large degree the activity of foreign missionary enterprises, and threatening greater evils for the Orient than even those of the opium traffic.

Since the liquor problem is so linked with the industrial, social and moral progress of the world, its solution is undoubtedly most imperative in those leading nations where progress in civilization is most rapid and where modern scientific methods and equipment are most highly developed. The invention of ma-

AMERICA AND THE

chinery within the past ten years has absolutely revolutionized the industrial world. Never before in industry were clear eyes, steady nerves and sober brains so essential as today. In many countries of the world, in fact, conditions are such that if the liquor traffic is to continue to hold full sway modern inventions or industrial equipment can not be put into operation, since capital will not take the risk. It is therefore apparent that in many of these countries if prohibition is to do the service that it is capable of doing and enable the industrial and social life of the people in those countries to develop with those of the wealthier and more highly educated nations, the way must be cleared and the handicap must be removed.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

Another important factor which must be taken into account in connection with the opportunity now presented for aggressive prohibition activity throughout the world is that of this policy in relation to the future. Prohibition has made remarkable progress in the last ten years. It has succeeded in compelling the thoughtful and serious consideration of the civilized world. If at this stage of progress for prohibition it should be checked, if it should fail to make progress now in other nations or if it were to receive a set-back in those nations in which it has already been adopted, generations must pass and the liquor evil in all probability must come to play a far more deadly part in the wrecking of the world's

AMERICA AND THE

civilization, before another such opportunity is presented to the moral forces of the world.

The remarkable progress of science during the past decade is responsible for the revolution which is taking place in industrial activities throughout the world. The very character of this revolution requires as never before clear eyes, steady nerves, and sober brains. Without these, progress in the industrial world will be slowed down and many of the possibilities in industrial development will not be realized.

Moreover, this is a formative period as regards temperance reform, for the religious and moral forces of practically every foreign country. These forces are now at

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

the cross roads of destiny as regards this question. By virtue of America's action they have been compelled to face the liquor issue. The moral and religious forces in practically every country are now shaping their opinions as to the best policy to be pursued and as to the best program to be adopted for the solution of the liquor problem. These forces in some countries are already turning to license and regulation. In others they are turning rapidly to public ownership and state control, while in still others they are drawing the line between distilled liquors on the one hand and wine and beer on the other. Convictions are being formed, definite policies for the future are being settled. Now of

AMERICA AND THE

all times there is presented the opportunity for effective effort that may influence the moral progress of the world for centuries to come.

The opportunity thus presented to the people of the United States of America for great service in behalf of humanity carries with it an obligation which cannot be ignored. Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas might well have had in mind the crisis thus faced by the American temperance forces when he made personified Opportunity say:

“Master of human destinies am I,
Fame, love and fortune on my footsteps
wait.

Cities and fields I walk; I penetrate
Deserts and seas remote and passing by
Hovel and mart and palace, soon or late,
I knock unbidden once at every gate!

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

If sleeping, wake; if feasting, rise, before
I turn away. It is the hour of Fate.
And they who follow me reach every state
Mortals desire, and conquer every foe
Save death; but those who doubt or hesi-
tate,
Condemned to failure, misery and woe,
Seek me in vain, and uselessly implore;
I answer not, and I return no more."

Rejoice we are allied
To that which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of his tribes that take,
I must believe.

—*Robert Browning.*

Give! as the morning that flows out of heaven;
Give! as the waves when their channel is riven;
Give! as the free air and sunshine are given;
Lavishly, utterly, joyfully give!
Not the waste drops of thy cup overflowing;
Not the faint sparks of thy hearth ever glowing,
Not a pale bud from the June roses blowing;
Give as He gave thee who gave thee to live.

—*Rose Terry Cooke.*

Who gives himself with his alms feeds three;
Himself, his hungering neighbor and Me.

—*James Russell Lowell.*

Now we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves.

—*Romans 15:1.*

IX.

THE CALL OF THE WORLD

THE present age moves with great rapidity. Unlike the progress of most important movements even in Modern History, the great projects of today must of necessity take into account the very important fact that in this new era "time is the essence of the contract."

The anti-slavery movement required for its development a pe-

AMERICA AND THE

riod of almost a century. The Protestant Reformation had to its credit in years almost a century and a half before it became firmly grounded and permanently established. The struggle for Home Rule in Ireland dates back for more than two hundred and fifty years. The Roman Empire did not give any real recognition to the Christian religion until more than three centuries after the birth of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the Christian religion is now more than nineteen hundred years old, yet its great program for the Christianization of the world is very far from being accomplished.

Many of the factors, however, which have contributed to the ushering in of the new age upon

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

which the world has entered, are themselves responsible for the present insistent demand that movements which affect the progress of civilization must take account of the time element. Science and invention have played a leading part in the great change which has developed in this respect. The modern steamship and the powerful locomotive today afford the opportunity of circling the globe in much less time than was required for the old vessels of the Greeks to travel from what is now the Suez Canal to the Rock of Gibraltar. The modern airship has sufficiently demonstrated its possibilities that we may confidently expect that ere long aerial navigation of the globe will be possible in less than a week's time.

AMERICA AND THE

The exploits of science, moreover, in the matter of methods of communication during recent years, have resulted in placing such widely separated ports as New York and Hong Kong within speaking distance. The great movements of the future undoubtedly will be measured by years and by decades rather than by centuries. No better illustration of this truth is to be found, perhaps, than the significant fact that although the prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic became a part of the constitution of the United States of America in 1920, yet within two years from that date the agitation of the prohibition question had become a reality in every civilized country of the globe.

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

The call of the peoples of the world for assistance of every kind is greater and more insistent to-day than ever before in history, and perhaps the most significant fact in this connection is that the call which comes from almost every land and clime is directed toward America. The faces of all the races of mankind are turned expectantly toward the new continent, and the basis of the hope that inspires their urgent appeals is to be found in no small degree in the great world-wide foreign missionary programs of American Christianity during the past fifty years. The recognition of this important truth, together with the recognition of the further significant fact that the prohibition

AMERICA AND THE

movement in America has been a great part of the program of the Christian church, compels thoughtful consideration both as to the possibilities of the temperance movement in connection with the church's program of world evangelization, and also as to the tremendous responsibilities which consequently rest upon the leaders and promoters of the prohibition movement in America.

Perhaps the greatest demonstration to the world at large of the essential Christian character of American civilization, has been the practical service which in recent tragic years the people of the American continent have rendered to starving China, destitute Russia, the homeless, helpless children of

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

central Europe, and numerous other missions of mercy, benevolence and uplift to which American contributions of men, women and money have been most freely given.

The great needs of the world, however, are not to be supplied entirely by the kind of charity which expresses itself in terms of food and clothing and money. What most of the countries of the world today need most, is the knowledge and the practical demonstration that will help the peoples of the nations to stand on their own feet and solve their own problems. Most of the nations are struggling with many of the same great problems which America has been compelled to face and

AMERICA AND THE

which the people of the United States have been trying to solve. If the experience which America has been privileged to have in these struggles and the beneficent results which have come from the remedial efforts which have been made in this country, will serve in any substantial degree the peoples of other countries, certainly the least that Christian America can do is to bear witness to those truths, even to the ends of the earth.

Knowledge and opportunity mean duty and responsibility to pass on that knowledge and to improve that opportunity. The experience of the United States in the successful efforts that have been put forth along the lines of

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

dealing with the beverage liquor traffic, places upon the moral and religious forces of this nation the sacred obligation of stewardship, which cannot be ignored.

The temperance reform from its very beginning has been essentially missionary in character. Its main objective has been to help "the other fellow." The altruistic factor in the movement against alcoholism in the United States has been the dominant factor. The economic and political phases of the question have naturally demanded consideration and have played their part in the movement toward prohibition. But the moral issue involved has furnished the impelling and compelling motive.

AMERICA AND THE

The great difference between Judaism and Christianity must be measured largely in terms of missionary vision and missionary activity. The same difference presents itself today between the prohibition movement in America as such and the international movement against alcoholism.

The history of the Christian church in the United States during the past century is an unanswerable argument both as to the value and the necessity of the foreign missionary program of the Christian church.

Just as the church in America long since learned that it must preach the gospel to the world in order to save itself at home, so the prohibition forces in America to-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

day are beginning to realize that they must preach the gospel of prohibition to the world in order to save prohibition in America.

The flaming torch of prohibition truth must be borne aloft that it may brighten the dark places of the world. One of the inevitable results of the successful performance of this stewardship will be that the stronger the rays of light from this torch and the further those rays penetrate into the dark corners of the earth, the more brightly will the flame of that torch shine here in America, to the end that more easily the people of the home land will come to know that truth which alone can make them free.

One of the world's great sculp-

AMERICA AND THE

tors has wrought in marble a famous piece of art which is known as "The Two Ambitions." On the one side of this great masterpiece there is represented a man with a jewelled crown on his head, while in his arms and hands as he holds them forth are treasures, jewels and trophies representing what would seem to be the satisfaction of all desire, and on his face there has been carved an expression suggestive of selfishness and greed. On the other side of that masterpiece there is represented the form of a splendid athlete clinging with one hand to a crag and with the other drawing from out the waves of an angry sea an exhausted, helpless fellowman. These two figures are representative of the two

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

motives between which the moral forces of the United States of America must choose, in the movement against alcoholism, which has already come to be a movement of international proportions.

The question as to whether the people and governments of the rest of the world desire that the moral forces of the United States of America shall preach the gospel of prohibition to them, is not the most important question to be decided. If the Christian church in America had waited until it had received invitations to preach the gospel of Christ to the natives of Africa, India and other portions of the missionary world, most of those missionary countries would not yet have heard that gospel.

AMERICA AND THE

The greatest moral and religious leader of the ages did not instruct His disciples to go into those portions of the world into which they might be invited to preach the gospel; He commanded them to "go into all the world."

— The history of the development of our boasted western civilization suggests the query as to what that civilization might have been but for the missionary vision of a Saint Paul, which was largely responsible for making Christianity a world religion.

— America, young in years among the nations of the earth, has already made vast contributions to the progress of civilization. American science and invention, American ideals of popular government

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

and American genius and initiative have played no small part in the advance movement of the race during the past century. But with all due consideration for the importance of contributions to the world's welfare which America has made in the past, it is not too much to predict that if the result of the American prohibition experiment should finally be responsible for the universal adoption of the prohibition policy throughout the world, that would unquestionably prove to be the greatest, the most important and the most far reaching contribution ever made by any nation to the social, economic, political, moral and religious life of the world.

Once to every man and nation comes the
moment to decide
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the
good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering
each the bloom or blight;
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the
sheep upon the right,—
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that dark-
ness and that light!

New occasions teach new duties—time makes
ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward, who would
keep abreast of Truth;
Lo, before us gleam her campfires! We our-
selves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly
through the desperate winter sea—
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's
blood-rusted key.

—*James Russell Lowell.*

Rightness expresses of action what straightness does of lines; and there can no more be two kinds of right action than there can be two kinds of straight line.

—*Herbert Spencer.*

The night is far spent, and the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness and let us put on the armor of light.

Let us walk becomingly as in the day; not in revelling and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and jealousy.

—*Romans 13: 12-14.*

X

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

THE United States of America stands today as the wealthiest, one of the most powerful, and one of the most influential of all the nations of the earth, past or present. A recent international convention of bankers and financiers had placed before it the esti-

AMERICA AND THE

mates of the wealth of nations, which indicated that the wealth of the United States of America is greater than the combined wealth of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Japan. The vast wealth of the American nation, her untold natural resources, her strategic geographical position, her educational development, and her relation to the economic, social, moral and religious life of other nations, place her in a position practically to decide in large measure the destiny of the world. From the international point of view, in her hands are the issues of peace and war.

America in a peculiar sense is on the mountain top. The danger of self-centered provincialism is

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

not a new danger. It has not been peculiar to any one country. Every great nation of history in turn has faced the acid test which the United States of America faces to-day. Each has been taken to the mountain top of vision and shown the glory, honor, riches, and dominion of the world. One by one, most of the great nations of the past have yielded to the supreme temptation of considering itself all sufficient, all important, all satisfying, and all powerful, while at the same time considering other races, nations and peoples as inferior. This same temptation in turn came to Assyria, China, Egypt and Persia. It was presented to Greece and Rome and France and Spain and Germany

AMERICA AND THE

and Great Britain. It is presented today to the United States of America. If this nation does not follow in the path of Assyria and Greece and Rome and Spain and Germany, it will be because she learns and applies the fundamental doctrine that the secret of national greatness and national permanency is the spirit of service to humanity. The great need of the hour in America is not selfish provincialism; it is genuine Christian internationalism, which means the real flowering of the bud of American patriotism.

The securing of national prohibition in America has been heralded to the world as one of the greatest moral victories of the age; yet the adoption of prohibition in

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

America was not so much a victory over which to rejoice as it was a new opportunity and a new responsibility demanding at the hands of the moral forces greater activity, greater courage, greater sagacity, greater devotion and greater practical service than ever before.

The great test for the victorious moral forces of America is whether these forces can meet the new opportunities and responsibilities as effectively as they have met the old ones.

Just as strict individualism for Robinson Crusoe came to an end when he saw footprints in the sand that were not his own, so strict nationalism in the temperance reform movement gives way to

AMERICA AND THE

something deeper and broader when the moral forces of America find themselves as they do today at the crossroads of the highways of the world.

The law of centripetal and centrifugal forces, as it applies to this reform, might well engage our consideration in this connection. One personifies the spirit of provincialism, the other is constantly generating and throwing off in every direction power and inspiration.

The keystone of the arch of all temperance activity is the missionary spirit. The definite objective of the Anti-Saloon League of America and the moral reform forces in America is "the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic." That

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

object will have been accomplished only when in every nation of the earth the liquor traffic has been placed upon the shelf of Antiquity.

The Anti-Saloon League movement in America has reached far beyond the solution of the liquor problem. It has been a purifying factor in politics; it has had a most significant part in the general movement toward church unification; it has given to the word "federation" a new meaning.

Just as the political influence of the Anti-Saloon League movement through moral legislation has exalted national political standards in America, so the world movement against alcoholism may well prove to be a most helpful factor in international political relations.

AMERICA AND THE

Just as the Prohibition movement in America has made for closer cooperation among the churches, so the world movement against alcoholism may well make for world federation of religious forces, to the end that friendly international relations may prevail among the nations, that the universal movement for world peace may be accelerated, and that a real kingdom of righteousness may be established in the earth.

The possibilities of such a movement as the world movement against alcoholism challenge the imagination. The unparelled opportunity presented by existing world conditions to the moral forces of prohibition America, is such as has never before been pre-

WORLD LIQUOR PROBLEM

sented to the moral forces of any country. America's decision in this crucial hour means much, not only for the solution of the world liquor problem, but also for the influence which such a solution is bound to have on the world's civilization. Is it not possible that in responding to the call of the world for help in the struggle against the liquor traffic, the religious and moral forces of America may play a significant part in the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah, who as he looked far into the future, weighing world conditions and measuring the possibilities of the movement to be started by the promised Messiah, said: "A bruised reed shall he not break, a dimly burning wick shall he not

quench; he shall bring forth justice in truth. He will not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set justice in the earth, and the isles shall wait for his law."

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