Drew University

College of Liberal Arts

Nursing the Hangover:
The Response of the Methodist Church to the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment
(1934-1950)

A Thesis in History

by

Erin Feith

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Bachelor in Arts

With Specialized Honors in History

May 2021

Abstract

The rapidity with which the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed affected the way that historical studies have treated the temperance movement in the years after 1933. Often, narratives present the post-repeal period as insignificant and lingering supporters of Prohibition as delusional groups who quickly splintered and dissolved upon the Amendment's revocation. As a staunch supporter of temperance and well-established religious institution, the Methodist Church is not accounted for in these repeal narratives. This paper examines the response of the Methodist Church to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment between 1934, the year after the constitutional end of Prohibition, and 1950, when the Cold War began to take shape . Through a content analysis of articles related to alcohol and other like terms in the New York edition of the popular Methodist newspaper, *The Christian Advocate*, I determined that Methodists tested a variety of tactics to achieve temperance. The types of tactics discussed correlated to contemporary historical events. While the initial shock of repeal led to a scattershot approach to temperance in the years immediately after 1933, the Church began to narrow its efforts around approaches that related alcohol to patriotic themes, as the United States entered the Second World War. As the Cold War began to take shape in the late 1940s, church members again shifted their tactics to fit the historical context, associating liquor with the need to strengthen the morality of the country. Transcending these years after repeal, the Methodist Church constantly endorsed education as the most effective solution to attaining temperance. Along with this, I found that temperance lessons evolved over this period and that the Church increasingly emphasized temperance's relationship to religious themes, such as morals and character-development. At the same time, I observed that Methodists identified a growing secularism in American society and expressed a concern for its role in the lives of the public. Searching for a way to secure its influence in this environment, church members and leaders found an answer in education and the public-school system. However, the Church's plans to implement Christian teachings into public-school curriculum proved challenging as debates over the separation of church and state revived. At this juncture, I concluded that temperance education provided Methodists with a solution. Being a part of public-school curriculum and associated with religious themes, temperance lessons provided the Church with an indirect way to bring Christian teachings into public schools. In their overlapping of concerns regarding temperance and secularism, the interests of the Methodist Church came to the forefront and pointed to the nuances of the involvement of religious institutions in social issues, both then and now.

Table of Contents

Introduction **1**

Tables 1-4: Tracking Articles Related to Alcohol in *The Christian Advocate* 7-8

Chapter 1- The Great Depressant (1934-1939) **12**

Chapter 2- World War Booze (1940-1945) **32**

Chapter 3- Cracking Open a Cold One (1946-1950) **55**

Conclusion **77**

Bibliography **82**

Introduction

Five months after the formal repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, James R. Joy, the editor of the popular Methodist newspaper, *The Christian Advocate,* stated that "prohibition is [,] for the present[,] out of the question." As he made this declaration in the same article where he previously cited that the New York East Conference Board of Temperance endorsed the idea of "'social ownership of the means of liquor production, distribution and sale, without profit to anyone, not even the government," the article appears to indicate an acceptance of defeat and retreat. However, quick to discourage that such an assumption be made, Joy instead explains these statements as part of the "new angle" from which the Methodist Episcopal Church, or the MEC, would attack the alcohol issue and eventually reimplement the abolition of alcohol once again. Using the analogy of an engineer, he described "'trial and error'" as the integral component of this new approach, wherein the Church, like his fictitious engineer, might do "what [it] thinks most likely to yield the desired result and if it fails [it] turns to other solutions, having profited by what [it] has learned from the failure." Indeed, as Joy went on to enumerate, the MEC had a number of potential "other solutions" through which they hoped to eventually reestablish measures of prohibition. Thus, unwilling to be "content to fold their hands and say, "Prohibition or Nothing! and get far worse than nothing," the Methodist Church committed itself to finding a cure for the hangover that accompanied repeal.[1]

Compared to the temperance movement which had persisted since the nineteenth century, the movement for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment emerged quite rapidly.[2] Piecing together

[1] James R. Joy, "Attacking from a New Angle," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) May 17, 1934, 459.

[2] David E. Kyvig "Sober Thoughts: Myths and Realities of National Prohibition after Fifty Years" in *Law, Alcohol, and Order: Perspectives on National Prohibition* ,ed. David E. Kyvig (London: Greenwood Press,1985), 5.

works by historians such as Michael Lerner and Daniel Okrent, a general outline of the series of events that led up to and surrounded the repeal of Prohibition forms. As Lerner and Okrent respectively highlight, the call for repeal grew steadily since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and only proved "more compelling" with the onset of the Great Depression. With a worsening economic climate exacerbating existing tensions over liquor consumption, the presidential election of 1932 provided an arena within which to discuss, and as it happened, settle the issue. Aided at least in part by his late promises to bring about repeal, President Franklin Roosevelt was elected. Within the first "nine days in office," Roosevelt "took swift action on…Prohibition" and "immediately legalized beer and wine." [3] At the same time, drafted plans of the Twenty-First Amendment, fully repealing the Eighteenth, had already been sent out to the states. This relatively fast timeline of repeal becomes significant. As David E. Kyvig argues, it affects the way in which Prohibition has been treated in subsequent historical study, wherein he finds that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment has too often been translated to the idea that this moment "lacks any relevance whatsoever to post-1933 America." [4] With this idea, many narratives on the topic reduce the post-Prohibition period to a few sentences in an Afterword rather than a historical moment to be explored on its own.

Challenging this characterization of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, historians have in recent years increasingly turned their study to those years after its abolition, to examine what Prohibition left behind. In his more recent work, Kyvig focuses on the political implications of repeal. He notes that the decision to rescind the Eighteenth Amendment "required the same degree of support" that was originally garnered for its passage and therefore could not have been

[3] Michael A. Lerner, *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 272.; Lerner, 303.

[4] Kyvig, "Sober Thoughts," 5.

"casually accomplished." In doing so, Kyvig indicates that if such a measure required this level of response, it must have impacted society beyond its moment in 1933. Kyvig goes on to describe the impacts of repeal, writing that it "led to an even greater caution so far as altering the Constitution." While he recognizes the irony of his conclusions, he explains that individuals saw in Prohibition how the "nation's government could be needlessly thrown into dangerous turmoil by tampering with…the…Constitution" and, therefore, were less inclined to "reshape it" going forward. As a result, Kyvig suggests an increase in "centralized…power" in the federal government. [5] In her recent work, Lisa McGirr similarly laments how the "widely accepted verdict… of repeal…distracted…later chroniclers from the significant…mark left…by this social experiment." Like Kyvig, she also draws the connection between the repeal of Prohibition and the rise of the "modern American state." In this, McGirr specifically argues that this growth in the state, along with the Prohibition-induced feeling of having a "responsibility for reining in crime," contributed to the expansion of the penal system during the twentieth century. [6] The federal government not only expanded but also experienced a change along with the rest of society. Susan F. Harding argues that the effect of repeal was the creation of a "modern secular…hegemony." [7] According to Harding, this increasingly secularized state largely relegated the Church and its decidedly non-secular role to a background position. Kyvig, McGirr, and Harding's works all contain an important commonality in that they emphasize the idea that repeal, while marking the constitutional end of Prohibition, did not signify the finality

[5] Kyvig, "Sober Thoughts," 6.; Kyvig, "Sober Thoughts," 18.; Kyvig, "Sober Thoughts," 18.

[6] Lisa McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and The Rise of the American State* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016), xiv. ; McGirr, xiv. ; McGirr, 249.

[7] Susan F. Harding, "American Protestant Moralism and the Secular Imagination: From Temperance to the Moral Majority," *Social Research* 76, no. 4 (Winter 2009) : 1284.

of its effects. Rather, the period following the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment proves to be significant and worthy of further analysis, as it did not end discussions about temperance and its place in American society.

One of the most important areas of focus centers around those who were directly involved in Prohibition. Excluding more ambivalent stances, the two main camps before, during, and after the repeal of Prohibition were somewhat colloquially known as the "wets" and "drys." A significant amount of the literature that exists and extends its look into the post-repeal period, including Larry Engelmann's *Intemperance: The Lost War Against Liquor* and David E. Kyvig's *Repealing National Prohibition,* focuses on the supporters of the Amendment's abolition. [8] While this is not meant to imply a shortage of accounts that highlight antiliquor groups post-repeal, most of the works provide a similar, and at times broad, treatment of their response. For, even as Daniel Okrent and Norman H. Clark include the stories of individual "dry" figures, the general story of the Prohibitionist post-repeal becomes simplified to an immediate desertion of the cause or a prolonged delusion that it would quickly return. In addition to describing the trajectories of individual promoters of the Eighteenth Amendment, recent historical work also considers the reaction of two of the leading groups that were involved in the temperance movement, the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, or the W.C.T.U. Mark Edward Lender and James Kirby Martin's conclusion that repeal "hit the major temperance organizations hard" and caused "their memberships…to dwindle" over time, capture well what other historians, like Clark, Engelmann and Okrent similarly describe. [9]

---

[8]Larry Engelmann, *The Lost War Against Liquor* (New York: The Free Press, 1979).; David E. Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979).

[9] Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Scribner, 2010) , 356-357. ; Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), 240. ;

Largely absent from these considerations is one of the temperance movement's most enduring champions, the Methodist Episcopal Church. Unlike the Anti-Saloon League and W.C.T.U. which mainly arose directly in relation to the temperance movement, the MEC, as a well-established religious institution, could not be "doomed to…splinter group status" nor simply dissolved. Rather, since the earliest calls for Prohibition, the Church proved to be a staunch supporter and this sentiment could not be abolished like the Eighteenth Amendment, as Jason Lantzer notes that "the dry cause…was part of…Protestantism." [10] Without suggesting that a decline in importance and attention ascribed to temperance efforts did not occur among the Church over time, the Methodists' fight against alcohol did not disappear after 1933. Rather, as Lantzer explains, the Church "adapted to the reality of repeal in a variety of ways." As it adapted to the post-repeal environment that began in 1934, the Church's "continued emphasis on total abstinence…and support of legal Prohibition," caused many of its members to recognize a need to consider other methods that could eventually assist in achieving this ultimate goal. Through such considerations, "the approach of the Church to issues in the field of temperance… broadened…[and]… include[d]…the development of…a strategy for dealing with [alcohol-related problems], such as education…and the use of various kinds of legal controls" that they hoped would achieve temperance, post-repeal. [11]

Focused primarily on the employment of these different strategies, this paper explores the response of the Methodist Church to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in the nearly two

---

Mark Edward Lender and James Kirby Martin, *Drinking in America: A History* (New York: The Free Press, 1982), 171.

[10] Lender and Martin, *Drinking in America,* 172; Jason Lantzer, *"Prohibition is Here to Stay" : The Reverend Edward S. Shumaker and the Dry Crusade in America* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 187.

[11] Lantzer, *"'Prohibition Is Here to Stay": The Reverend Edward S. Shumaker and the Dry Crusade in America,* 182; "Temperance and Prohibition," in *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, Vol. 1, ed. by Nolan B. Harmon (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), 793.; *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 793.

decades after this decision. In defining the scope of study, I analyzed the first sixteen years after repeal. This period extends from January of 1934, which marks the beginning of the post-repeal period, until December 1950, when the Cold War began to take shape. To examine and draw conclusions about the Church's reaction toward repeal during this time, I used the weekly Methodist newspaper known as *The Christian Advocate* as the primary source material that provides the foundation for the ensuing research. Since the Church published *The Christian Advocate* regionally across the United States, I selected the New York edition for this study, as it was the most widely distributed and read publication. While the northern denomination of the MEC ran the New York edition, the editor of the newspaper changed numerous times and a merger of all the Church's branches occurred which led to a consolidated publication of *The Christian Advocate* in 1941, these factors did not appear to have an effect on the discussion of alcohol. Thus, this edition reflected popular viewpoints generally held by the members of the Church, nationwide, at the time. While its beliefs about alcohol did not change, the name of the Church did during this period. To accurately reflect this change, I will refer to the Church as the Methodist Episcopal Church until 1939 and the Methodist Church from 1939 onward. I analyzed the articles in each weekly installment for their content, noting all text that referenced alcohol or other like terms. Acknowledging that a distinction exists between liquor and alcohol, the newspaper used the terms interchangeably, with the definition of alcohol in mind. Therefore, when the newspapers referred to an antiliquor sentiment, it included a call to ban beer and wine, along with distilled beverages. Given this, I also employed the terms as substitutes for each other in this paper. From these terms, it became possible to not only see the extent to which Methodists discussed the liquor issue post-repeal, but also in what way they discussed it. For, in this, the Church's different approaches for handling the liquor issue emerged, enabling the

articles to be further categorized within a given time frame. In this categorization, meaningful trends relating to content and context, came to the forefront.

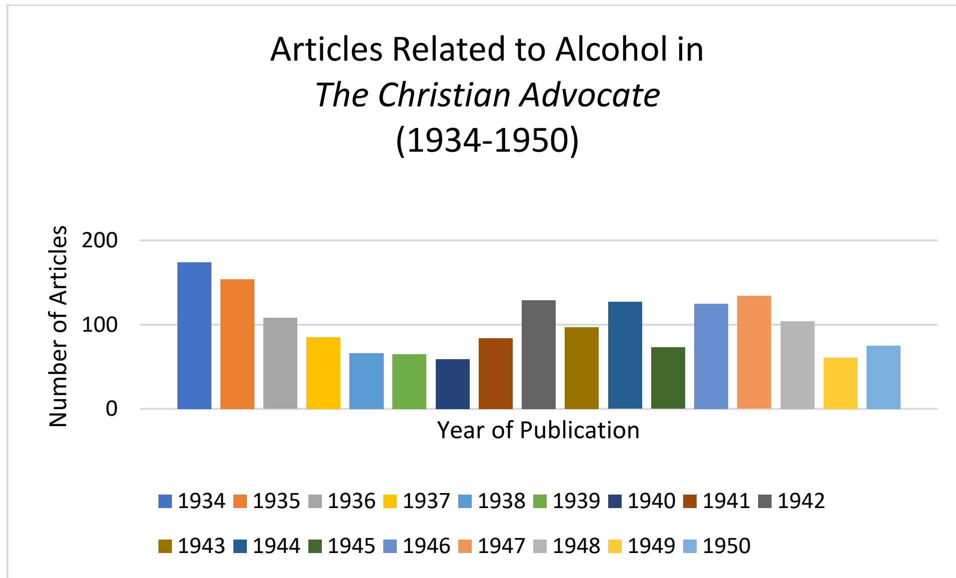

Table 1

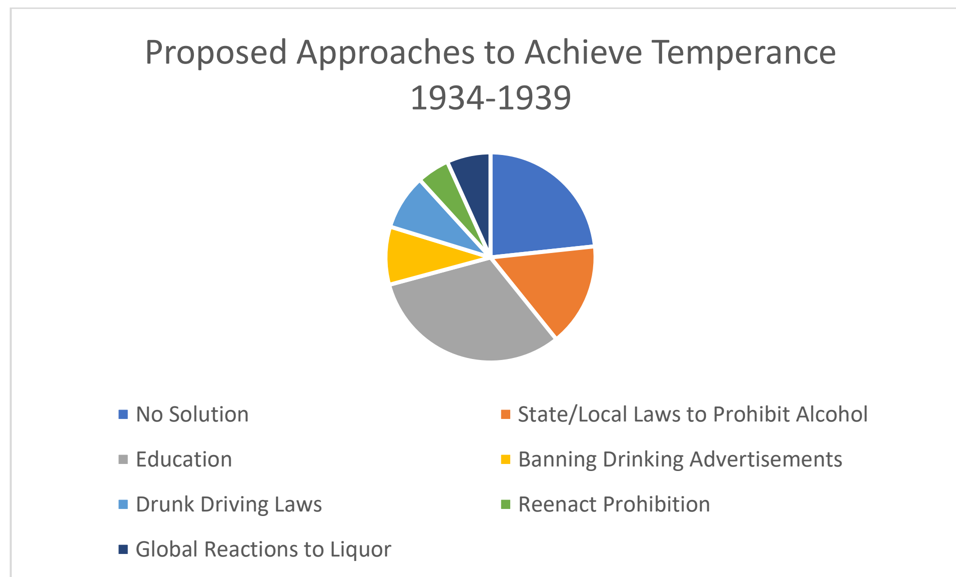

Table 2

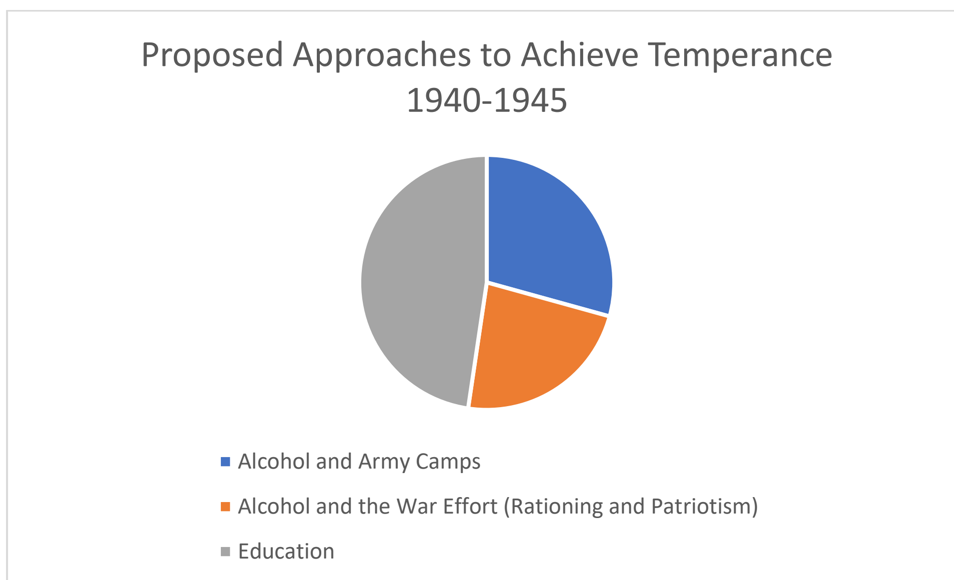

Table 3

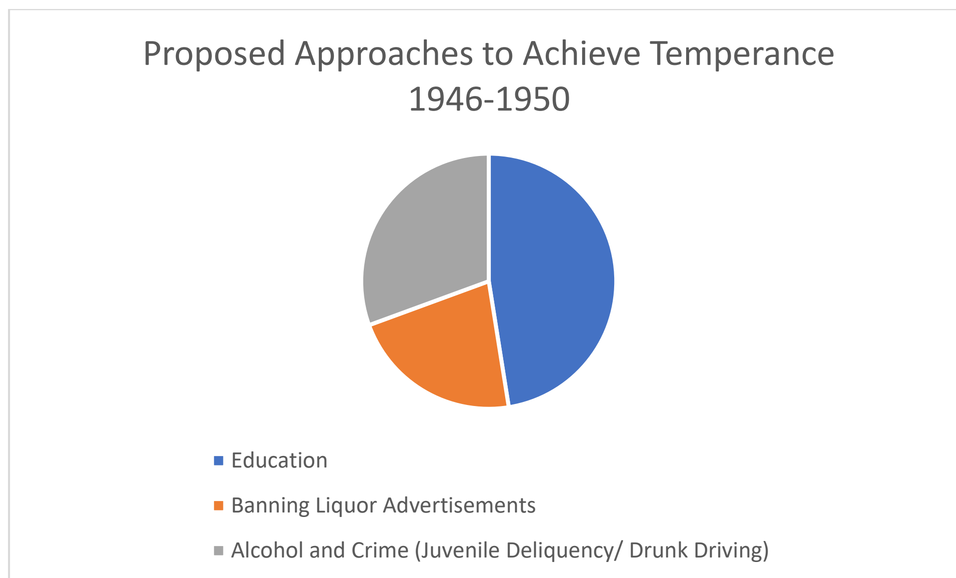

Table 4

Based on the data gathered from the process described above and displayed in Table 1, the Methodist Church remained a steadfast proponent of the temperance movement even after its repeal. Looking beyond the continuity with which the Church discussed alcohol, the graph also

reveals an interesting relationship between the frequency of these references and the time period during which they occurred. For, while temperance articles follow the trend that most historians put forth by declining immediately after 1934, the number of antiliquor references resurges, first when the United States entered the Second World War in 1941 and again in the early stages of the Cold War in the late 1940s. The concurrence of these resurgences and historical events points to the role that context played in the Methodists' temperance crusade after 1933, a role that becomes more explicit when viewing the breakdown of their proposed approaches within these periods. Beginning with the years immediately after repeal, the Church exhibited a lack of clear direction for their temperance aims. For, as illustrated in Table 2, they experimented with a variety of approaches, which included no concrete solution proposed, state laws, education, banning liquor advertisements, drunk driving laws, calls to reenact Prohibition and studying global reactions to temperance. While some of these methods, such as education, received more attention than others, the presence of so many different options demonstrated the confusion of church leaders in the period after the revocation of the Eighteenth Amendment. Examining Table 3 and 4, Methodists began to narrow their approaches for bringing about temperance, particularly around the major events of the day. In Table 3, the Church used the Second World War as a background and based their leading temperance methods around it. From 1940 to 1945, while calls for temperance education remained, the ideas of patriotism and liquor's threat to it, began to fill articles in *The Christian Advocate*. Proving the importance of context in shaping these approaches, Methodists largely ended their discussion of wartime issues and American soldiers by late 1945. Replacing this, they turned their attention toward the early stages of the Cold War. As represented in Table 4, the Church related its temperance efforts to topics associated with strengthening morality of the country. In these depictions, the way that the Church adapted its approach to achieve temperance became more visible. Thus, by highlighting how the methods

change over time and which remain, Table 2 through 4, and by extension the articles, reveal the motivations of the Church, even beyond prohibition.

Transcending these years, education consistently remained the chief method discussed by Methodists . Given the constant endorsement of it by the Church in the newspaper, education acted as the MEC's primary solution to the issue of alcohol. In this, it provided a way to instruct and instill an anti-alcohol sentiment in the next generation. At the same time, temperance lessons evolved over this period of nearly two decades. As the years progressed, the Church increasingly emphasized temperance's relationship to religious themes. Viewing this association against the backdrop of mid-twentieth century America, this emphasis adopts a greater significance. For, in a broader sense, this period marked the rise of "modern American secularity." Threatened by this growing secularism that they identified in society, the MEC expressed concern over its role in the lives of the American people. Although its membership increased from 7,986,419 in 1930 to 9,736,752 members by 1950, the Church felt that it had greater numbers but less actively engaged people. [12] Thus, its leaders and members alike searched for a way to secure its position in this environment and identified education as that way. Looking to draw in the next generation and bring back their parents, the Church wanted to introduce such Christian teachings into public schools. By doing so, these teachings would maintain and expand the reach of the Church in the lives of American youth. However, with the ever-present debates over the separation of church and state, Methodists encountered some difficulty in entering religion into public school curriculum. At this juncture, temperance education provided a solution. With temperance programs becoming a part of public-school

[12] Harding, "American Protestant Moralism and the Secular Imagination: From Temperance to the Moral Majority," 1283. ; "United Methodist Membership Statistics: United Methodist Membership As Compared to the United States Population Census," *General Commission on Archives and History,* http://gcah.org/history/united-methodist-membership-statistics .

education, the Church's association of the antiliquor campaign with morals allowed Christian teachings indirect way into this system. Without suggesting that the MEC and its members merely used temperance as a front for these motives, they instead believed in both causes and saw an opportunity where both could benefit. As a result, the prominence of temperance education accounts for the Methodists' belief that it provided the most effective approach to solving the liquor issue and re-solidifying its role in society. Thus, through an analysis of the articles related to alcohol in *The Christian Advocate*, I will argue that the Methodist Church responded to the repeal of Prohibition by testing different tactics, while they favored an educational approach that would later prove useful, as the Church sought to maintain a role in the resulting secular society of the twentieth century.

Chapter One

The Great Depressant (1934-1939)

Nearly fifteen years after its passage, the long-fought for Eighteenth Amendment faced repeal. An editor from the *National Methodist Press,* Henry Woolever described the scene in the House of Representatives for readers of *The Christian Advocate* in January 1934. In preparation for President Franklin Roosevelt's appearance before the Congress which would include comments on the topic, the "clerk read [out] the letter of official ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment by the State of Utah." Woolever speaks plainly when he notes the significance of this letter. For, he states that Utah's ratification of repeal "ended National Prohibition." [13] As Woolever recounts, Roosevelt, speaking before both houses just after this announcement, incorporated the news into his remarks. With the triumphant tone of a man who delivered on one of his main promises in the 1932 election to bring alcohol back, Roosevelt praised the Twenty-first Amendment. Touching upon some of the criticisms of the now-defunct Prohibition Amendment, he declared that "the adoption of [this new Amendment]should give material aid to the elimination of those new forms of crime which came from illegal traffic in liquor." With the applause that followed these remarks, two realities immediately became evident. First, the audience's reaction attested to the appreciable support for repeal and a return of alcohol to American society. Secondly, these cheers acted as a death knell for the Eighteenth Amendment in its current form. Confronted with both of these realities in the passage of the Twenty-first Amendment, proponent of Prohibition, the Methodist Episcopal Church, found itself in search of a new approach to temperance.

---

[13] Harry Earl Woolever, "United States Confused and Astounded," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 18, 1934, 50.

The nature of this new approach was not immediately known and would not be for the first five years after repeal. For, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the passage of the Twenty-first, caught the Methodist Episcopal Church, or the MEC, off-balance and left its crusade for Prohibition in a state of disarray. Understandably at the time of repeal, the Church must have felt that its temperance interests were secure, written into the nation's law for nearly a decade and a half. This notion that it one day could be repealed likely did not concern them because such an action was unprecedented. Indeed, not disguising their shock, Methodist supporters remarked on how it was "the first time in [American] history [that] an amendment to the Constitution to the United States ha[d] been repealed." Along with grappling with what they considered the improbable, if not impossible, the Church also met with a second blow when it turned its attention to how the Eighteenth Amendment came to be reversed. Members of the Church found that Prohibition "ha[d] been revoked by an overwhelming verdict of the American electorate," thereby indicating the popular support that repeal had. [14] From this observation, another reason for the disarray experienced by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the aftermath of repeal, becomes evident. For, the support for repeal amongst Americans highlights the different and even hostile environment in which Methodists now had to champion the cause of temperance. Within this environment of the Great Depression, a dominant narrative arose where Prohibition became the menace to American society. As referenced by President Roosevelt's comments in his address to Congress regarding the Twenty-first Amendment, supporters of repeal associated temperance and the rise of crime, where the absence of alcohol meant the increase in illegal activities to obtain or sell it. If Prohibition acted as the problem, repeal

[14]"A Methodist Legislator on State Liquor Control," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 18, 1934, 60.; *Ibid,* 60.

functioned as the solution, not only to crime but also for "financial problems [and] unemployment." [15] Regardless of how much truth these claims contained, they planted a certain story in the minds of Americans with which the Church had to contend. Already ill-prepared because of the unexpectedness of repeal, the Methodists now had to counter this narrative, which cast its temperance crusade so negatively, and turn the tide back towards Prohibition. Attesting to the state of disorder that characterized the rest of the MEC's temperance cause, the exact means for the turning of this tide remained elusive, especially as the Church began to reevaluate the use of the federal government and laws in their fight against liquor.

Further contributing to the unsettled reaction in the immediate years post-repeal, the Methodist Episcopal Church exhibited a wariness towards the federal government to assist in the control of alcohol going forward. Following repeal, it becomes evident that the Church began to doubt the federal government's intentions towards Prohibition. Exemplifying their skepticism, Church members associated these top-elected officials with the so-called 'wet' forces who championed the passage of the Twenty-first Amendment. According to these members, the narrative that cast repeal as the remedy for societal problems "w[as] supported by political leaders." Indeed, President Roosevelt's remarks about crime and Prohibition, which employed this rhetoric of repeal, did nothing to quell these suspicions, but rather only bolstered them. For reasons like this, the Church arrived at the conclusion that it could no longer rely on the federal government in its fight against alcohol. For, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment proved to them that this reliance was costly, as a number of Methodists felt that they "lost much ground in

---

[15] Ella A. Boole, "Church Women After Repeal," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 4, 1934, 10.

pinning [their] faith to laws and politicians."[16] With the belief that any further reliance would be a detriment to their temperance cause, the Church moved away from an approach that involved the federal government. This transition is identifiable in the way that they discuss the concept of a national approach in the post-repeal period. While careful to not completely dismiss its potential usefulness in a future where more Prohibition-minded officials might be elected, Church members express a disfavor for the national option they once turned to for the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. In this environment, they found the "national [approach] [to be] slow" and, given recent events, no longer dependable. For, it was built upon "individual sentiment" which now, with the support of the federal government, believed in the benefit of repeal.[17] From this, the state of disarray that the MEC found itself caught in, becomes even more visible. As evidenced by the amendment, the Church previously sought to achieve Prohibition primarily through national action. However, now, they abandoned this familiar tactic of turning to the federal government and its laws that they believed for some time would end the liquor problem and, at least temporarily, ceased calls for an immediate re-enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment. In the absence of this often turned to remedy, the Church found itself in a state of uncertainty and on an active search for new solutions that could replace it. Taken together with the hostile environment, these factors contributed to a Methodist Prohibition campaign that was in disorder in the years following repeal, a disorder that shaped their approach towards alcohol for the rest of the 1930s.

---

[16] Boole, "Church Women After Repeal," 10. ; John S. Chadwick, "A National Issue," in "Happenings Down South," by Chadwick, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 4, 1934, 11.

[17] Ira A. Morton, "Local Church Liquor Strategy, " *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 4,1934, 21. ; *Ibid,* 21.

In line with its state of disarray in the aftermath of repeal, the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a scattershot approach to identifying different means of tackling the issue of alcohol consumption. Throughout this period, Methodists experimented with a variety of potential solutions that ranged widely in what they proposed and how they aimed to achieve temperance. This range signified the confusion experienced by Church members and marked the period as one of trial and error. Indeed, during the first months after repeal, the Church struggled to offer any suggestion for what might be done regarding the liquor problem. After this initial response, church members tried solutions that most closely mirrored their previous experience, aiming to achieve temperance through legislation. Unlike their more cohesive campaign for the passage of a federal amendment, Methodists now focused on their attention on laws at a local level. Furthermore, they explored different types of legislation that could indirectly affect the consumption of alcohol in the country, such as laws targeting liquor advertisements and driving while intoxicated. For the first five years after repeal, the Church mainly tested a host of these legislative options. While some achieved a degree of success in the way of temperance, their drawbacks kept the Church searching and grasping for an effective way to control the alcohol issue. In its search, the Church's attempts in non-legislative measures, such as education, proved more appealing and effectual. For, church members discovered in education a way to instill an anti-liquor sentiment in American youth that they hoped would be more difficult to reverse than a law. During these initial years after repeal, the popularity of educational approach grew to the point where it started to distinguish itself as the leading measure for addressing the presence of alcohol in American society. At the close of the decade, the initial scattershot process subsided, and the Methodist Episcopal Church indicated its coalescing around anti-liquor education as the 1940s appeared on the horizon.

While undoubtedly believed to further the cause of Prohibition, the Church's championing of an educational approach paralleled the development of other issues during the period following repeal. At the same time that the American public voted to reverse the Eighteenth Amendment, Methodists identified another problem found to be afflicting society, namely an increasing secularism. According to some church members, the danger posed by this secularism demanded attention, recognizing it as the cause of the "real problem [in American society which was] moral and spiritual." In its lamentation of this secularism, the Church criticized the education system. For, it often noted that "school[s] [were] so absorbed in teaching the three R's that [they] neglect[ed] the fourth- [r]eligion." Indeed, some members even charged that little saved "the public education system from sheer paganism." [18] Above any other emotion, a sense of fear pervades these statements. The Church observed these changes in American society and found Methodism's role in it on the decline. Concerned by this prospect, the Methodists sought to solidify their role in mid-twentieth century America. As education provided a way for them to influence the upcoming generation in their daily lives, Methodists became invested in academic ventures. As a means for getting into the classroom, temperance education functioned as a promising option. For, temperance education had an implicit connection with morality and, by extension, religion. However, the presence of this incentive does not preclude the Church's belief in education as the most viable and effective method for combatting the liquor problem. Rather than some nefarious scheme on the part of the Church, the promotion of alcohol

---

[18] Boole, "Church Women After Repeal," 10. ; James R. Joy, "The Crime Crop, " *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 25, 1934, 75-76. ; Edmund D. Soper, "The Christian College in America Today, " *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) March 15, 1934, 248.

education and the desire to cement themselves in the landscape of secularized America represent the multi-faceted motivations that were at play. Therefore, instead of detracting from each other, the simultaneous existence of both of these motivations provides a more complete image of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the issues they faced, and how these issues informed each other. By analyzing the various approaches that the Church considered to deal with the liquor problem, these dual motivations come into focus. For, as their scattershot process began to narrow at the close of the decade toward education, the concerns over secularism become more evident, as well. Thus, to understand this path, the different approaches of the Church regarding alcohol from the moment of repeal must first be addressed.

Immediately following the repeal of the long-hoped for Prohibition, a sense of regrouping characterized the articles of *The Christian Advocate* in 1934. As Table 2 depicts, the largest segment, or 21.8%, of the articles that dealt with the topic of alcohol proposed no concrete solution for banning it. Articles belonging to this category largely followed a pattern where the author described the so-termed evils of alcohol and often lamented the re-introduction of such evils into society with the advent of repeal. An article entitled "And They Wanted It Back!" by Clarence Edwin Flynn exemplifies this classification. In it, Flynn recounts a series of encounters that he had or witnessed, of intoxicated individuals during the pre-Prohibition period. Here, he invoked almost all of the images that had originally troubled and outraged members of the dry camp to the point of action, including a "drunken woman lying on a stairway…two beautiful girls-someone's daughters-…plied with liquor until they lost all decency and self-control…a drunkard's …family [who] lacked…the necessities of life." He concludes each of these vignettes with the ominous statement that "people thought they wanted [this] back," thereby implying that such scenes would, if they had not already, resume. The editorials of then-editor

of *The Christian Advocate,* James R. Joy, largely highlight tragedies associated with alcohol. In one of his pieces, Joy decries the presence of "'the cocktail hour'" which he credits with leading to midday inebriation of men and women, as well as "being the prep school for young drinkers." While still in other editorials by Joy, he noted the casualties caused by the increasing amount of money spent on liquor by members of the American public.[19] However, after describing the negative impacts of the re-introduction of alcohol in society, the articles ended without offering any concrete remedy to the issues that were listed. Instead, most articles concluded with a denunciation of liquor and a vague conviction that something must be done, or as Clarence True Wilson closed one article, the sentiment that "we must help." [20] This category of articles which propose no solution are significant in that they demonstrate a moment of reassessment. Rather than signaling a retreat, the articles that proposed no concrete plan still condemned liquor as a problem against which they needed to take action. In this way, while they acknowledged a re-enactment of federal Prohibition would not be realistic at that time, they also did not yet have a defined, alternative plan. For, in emphasizing the issues that they believed returned with the legalization of alcohol, they maintained the visibility of the problem as temperance supporters had to reorganize around a new approach.

Although many articles did not propose a concrete solution, the other articles that addressed alcohol in 1934 explored a host of different options that might be implemented. Among the most frequently referenced solutions was that of controlling alcohol on a state or local level, which 7.47% of the articles discussed. Under this measure, individual states and counties within each

[19] Clarence Edwin Flynn, "And They Wanted It Back!," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) April 5, 1934, 139. ; James R. Joy, "Editorial," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) April 19, 1934, 363.; James R. Joy, "Editorial," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) September 27, 1934, 787.

[20] Clarence True Wilson, "The Unrepealed Problem," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York), October 4, 1934, 809.

state could decide to impose restrictions upon liquor consumption. In an article entitled "A Methodist Legislator on State Liquor Control" from January 18, 1934, the Honorable Leon C. Prince recognized that the American people "[had] decided that National Prohibition [was] not the way to solve the problem of intemperance," and that, although not as ideal, a state option must now be relied upon. However, through his comparison of certain state methods of liquor control, it was evident that the response to state measures was not always uniform. According to this Methodist legislator, a state monopoly "dispense[d] liquor through state stores" was to be favored over the license system. Compared to a "private moneymaking enterprise," he believed a " state monopoly, administered by the government, [would] protect the people from a dangerous inmate[,]" meaning alcohol, and thus be an acceptable alternative to completely banning alcohol.[21] However, a state monopoly of liquor stores also came with its detractors. A month later in the Letters to Editor section, a 'Pennsylvania Citizen' denounces this idea, arguing that state-run stores still made a private profit for the state and liquor companies, which might promote interests in increasing demand, and therefore do little to "protect the people." The concurrent presence of articles reveals that the state option of controlling liquor and how it should be implemented led to some disagreement. Thus, while a state option such as this seemed the best "endeavor to restrict as far as possible the evil results of the legalized traffic" and therefore led to the passage of such measures in various states, it was generally thought of as a non-ideal approach. As the articles in *The Christian Advocate* suggest, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church did not unanimously agree on the details of the state option. As a

[21] "A Methodist Legislator on State Liquor Control," Uncredited, 60.

result, while the state option was implemented in states such as Alabama, Iowa, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, other and perhaps more ideal strategies continued to be explored. [22]

With a decline in the number of articles proposing no concrete solution, by 1935 the Methodist Episcopal Church persisted in promoting the state option. However, alternative approaches were also developed. One area that gained more consideration was related to alcohol advertisements, as demonstrated in the increase in articles from 5.17% in 1934 to 7.14% in 1935. In January 1935, a reader of *The Christian Advocate* posed a question about "liquor advertisements [and] what [the] Methodists [would] do about it," a question that would increasingly be supplied with an answer over the course of the year. [23] Of course, such liquor advertisements were discussed in 1934, and although despised, most responses included recommendations to end one's subscription or more often, lamentations. However, there were no actions agreed upon or taken which resulted in their removal from circulation in society. As evidenced by the articles in 1935, there appears to have existed an increasing concern for the effect that such advertisements had on the alcohol consumption post-repeal. For, in an article entitled "How Well Does the Press Carry Its Liquor?," an excerpt from a report from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was included that warned that "the reinvasion of the American Press by liquor advertising…is probably the most striking development of the year and the significance cannot even yet be fully appraised." [24] Seeing in this yet another potential

---

[22] Pennsylvania Citizen, "Private Profit Benefits by State Control," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) February 22, 1934, 180 & 191. ; "Report on Prohibition," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) June 7, 1934, 532. ; "Control State Directory and Info," National Alcohol Beverage Control Association, https://www.nabca.org/control-state-directory-and-info.

[23] William C. Poole, "What About Liquor Advertising?," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 3, 1935, 23.

[24] T. Otto Nall, "How Well Does the Press Carry Its Liquor?," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) February 21, 1935, 170.

solution to promoting anti-liquor interests, the MEC committed itself to act against liquor advertisements. The main way in which they did this was through support of a bill introduced by Senator Arthur Capper that aimed to "make it illegal to ship, mail or radio liquor advertising across state boundaries into dry states." The emphasis to act and to support the actual exclusion of liquor advertisements as a possible means to solve the alcohol issue was nowhere more evident than in editor of the *National Methodist Press,* Harry Earl Woolever's warning that "unless ministers and lay leaders…build up a sentiment [for the Capper bill], the destructive work of profiteers in intoxicants will go to unprecedented limits." While this rhetoric may overstate the significance of this approach, as the Capper bill still would not completely abolish liquor advertisements in so-called wet states, the Church nevertheless found a potential in this solution to "check…the advance of liquor forces" through a different means. [25]

As it expanded its approaches to addressing the liquor issue post-repeal, the Methodist Episcopal Church turned it energies toward another long-condemned subject, intoxicated driving. In fact, as illustrated in Table 2, about 7.14% of the articles were related to this topic. Since 1934, many of the articles in *The Christian Advocate* that centered around drunk driving largely detailed human and economic costs involved, along with a sentiment that it needed to be properly recognized for its role in the causing traffic accidents. However, by the end of 1934, articles such as "When Is a Man Drunk?" which states that "one drop of liquor ought to disqualify any person from handling an automobile in modern traffic," marks an important shift that highlights another potential solution through which the Church could respond to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Articles regarding intoxicated drivers began to call for certain

---

[25] Harry Earl Woolever, "Washington Observations," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) March 14, 1935, 237.

sanctions to be put in place regarding the amount of liquor at which a person would be uniformly considered incapable to drive. At that time, a standard level of intoxication was not in place and thus policing drunk driving proved difficult on the grounds of "lack of evidence." [26] The establishment of these levels would not only help curtail drunk driving incidents but also effectively control the amount of liquor that one could consume outside of reestablishing the federal amendment or state control. In May 1935, the newspaper appears favorable to the proposed plan in New York to "…have a police surgeon ready on immediate calls at all times, to medically examine any person charged with [intoxicated driving]." In addition to this measure, the MEC appeared to throw its support behind another idea that further attempted to standardize a level of alcohol consumption. Entitled "Scientists Not Fanatics," the article used information from the British Medical Association that states that "the effect of alcohol in a quantity corresponding to three ounces of whisky, has been shown….to diminish attention and control." Looking ahead to 1937, when a "device [was] invented…for testing breath for evidences of alcohol," the Church's solution of limiting alcohol consumption proved successful, even though alcohol imbibement still occurred. [27]

Along with the consistent support for solutions such as the state option, the presidential election year of 1936 corresponded with an increased call by some for a re-enactment of Prohibition. Whereas two to three percent of the articles discussed bringing back Prohibition in 1934 and 1935, about 7.41% of the articles centered around this solution in 1936. In *The*

---

[26] Dr. J.M. Rowland, "When Is a Man Drunk?," *Richmond Christian Advocate* in *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) November 22, 1934, 941. ; T. Otto Nall , "Drunken Motorists Have No "Pull" in New York," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) May 23, 1925, 474.

[27] Nall, "Drunken Motorists Have No "Pull" in New York," May 23, 1935.; "Scientists Not Fanatics," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) September 12, 1935, 803. ; T. Otto Nall, "Tipsy Drivers: Indiana Police Use New Fluid to Test Breaths," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) December 30, 1937, 1210.

Christian Advocate from May 1936, an article noted the "revived Prohibition Party" that had nominated Dr. D. Leigh Colvin to enter the upcoming presidential election. The article described some of the major aspects of the platform, chief of which was "proposed…" by Dr. Colvin "…that the party do its campaigning on the theory that the Eighteenth Amendment [was] still "rightfully a part of the Constitution, temporarily in eclipse, but to be reinstated.'" While other articles attest to the fact that the Prohibition Party championed various causes, its traditional plank of Prohibition appeared to elicit the most reaction by members of the MEC. For, as the campaign was launched, Prohibition Party members declared that "the failure of the Eighteenth Amendment" occurred as a result of who its "enforcement was entrusted to" and stated that it was "only by permitting the party that favors the law to enforce that law [that] progress in liquor reform be made." [28] Corresponding to the espousal of these ideas by the Prohibition Party and its timing at the first Presidential Election since repeal, there was a call for a re-enactment of Prohibition as a form of solution. By comparing the tone of the articles written before and after it, the effect of the entrance of the Prohibition Party into the presidential race and their subsequent campaigning on the promotion of a reenactment of Prohibition as a solution becomes evident. In an article from February 1936, which preceded the announcement of Dr. Colvin as the Party's nominee, Major-General Smedley D. Butler delivered a speech during which he "prophes[ized] that prohibition would return "for good' " However, he placed its return about "twenty-five years" in the future. Compared to this, after months of campaign messages from the Prohibition Party, Bishop Edgar Blake, in an extensive article from October 1936 , entitled "Repeal: Falsehood, Crime, and Cost," concludes with a somewhat urgent

[28] T. Otto Nall, "A Revival: The Prohibition Party of America," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) May 14, 1936, 458.; Jacob Simpson Payton, "Washington Observations," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) October 22, 1936, 1013.

instruction to "show [the liquor traffic] no mercy[,] give it no quarter…wipe it out completely." In the final lines of his article, he resolutely states that "*absolute prohibition is the only solution of the liquor problem.*" Related to this statement, the proposed solution of reenactment of Prohibition only declined from this moment. For, not only did it not win the election, receiving only 37,677 votes, the Prohibition Party was the only party who included the question of repeal, as "the platforms of the two major parties [gave] no evidence of recognition that there [were] citizens…who believe[d] in the dry cause." [29] Therefore, the solution of reenacting Prohibition in the form of an amendment essentially had to be dashed.

While the 1936 election largely solidified a decline in calls for a reenactment of Prohibition as an amendment, the 1937 and 1938 editions revealed another interesting approach of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which included looking at temperance as it was carried out globally. During these two years, the number of articles that highlighted how other countries handled the issue of alcohol increased from the years prior. Compared to preceding years where about three percent of articles considered global reactions to alcohol, the percentage of articles that discussed it in 1937 and 1938, ranged between 10.59 and 12.12% of the total number. Though some of the articles simply address and describe the varying temperance situations across the world, many of them function as comparison pieces. In an article entitled "Drunken Drivers: Swedish Authorities Have No Patience With Them," T. Otto Nall describes "Sweden's laws against driving when under the influence of liquor [that] are so stringent that a man can be arrested after having driven only a few feet." Understanding the then-ongoing issues with

[29] "Maryland Anti-Saloon League's Lyric Meeting," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York), February 20, 1936, 187. ; Bishop Edgar Blake, "Repeal: Falsehood, Crime, and Cost," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York), October 22, 1936, 1015. ; Michael Levy, "United States Presidential Election of 1936," Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., October 27, 2019 https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1936. ; "Prohibition Party Stands Firm," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) July 9, 1936, 653.

intoxicated drivers in the United States, this article seems to be included for the way in which it could provide ideas that could then be implemented. Another article, entitled "The National Toast in Water," characterizes this sense of comparison. For, Nall announced the "new indications of the greatness of the English people" that he attributes to "His Majesty King George's indication that the loyal toast to the Empire could be pledged in water instead of wine." Along with this praise of Britain's gesture of using water for the toast that Nall saw as promoting the "control [of] the traffic in intoxicating liquors," the article highlights the significance of the inclusion of pieces that consider global responses, when Nall states that "the American people could learn something from this." In this way, the Church almost used these global accounts to suggest different actions which may contribute to solving the liquor issue. Attesting to this notion, the title of an article literally posed the question of "[whether] decreases in [drunkenness in] Japan [and] India [would] set [an] example for America."[30] In this way, the increase in the number of articles that related global efforts linked to temperance suggests that the MEC may have turned to a global network solution, especially as other actions attempted to bring about temperance were frustrated. At the same time, the approach of the MEC to examine and consider these global methods proved largely hypothetical and potentially difficult to implement across countries.

As the Methodist Episcopal Church experimented with each of these options, education proved to be one strategy that had the potential of being ideal and was the second highest topic discussed in articles related to liquor with 18.39% of them in 1934. In January 1934, the author

[30] T. Otto Nall, "Drunken Drivers: Swedish Authorities Have No Patience With Them," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) April 14, 1938, 338. ; "The National Toast in Water," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) August 5, 1937, 709. ; T. Otto Nall, "Drunkenness: Will Decreases in Japan, India Set Example for America?," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) October 13, 1938, 1038.

of an article entitled, "No New Dry Party," favored educational measures as being more capable of effecting change and bringing about the banning of liquor, than the reestablishment of a political party platform on the issue. The article goes as far as to indicate that such education, which could develop "a belief that the use of liquor is bad for the individual and society" would precede any "party action" that might eventually follow.[31] From this, only a month later, an article endorsed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's plan to open "in every state in the Union, a training school for the intensive study of the liquor question as affected by present conditions." The program boasted of a new approach in this training that "eliminat[ed] at the outset any semblance of blind antagonism of alcohol" and instead turned its focus to "apprais[ing]…what alcohol *is* [and] what alcohol *does* when used." The article distinguishes the shift in the style of the delivery and of the material, suggesting an attempt to make temperance education informative yet appealing. Additionally, this further points to the significance that was increasingly placed upon education as a means to respond to repeal, a significance that seemed to be solidified by April 1934, as a short bulletin stated that "an intensive educational campaign on behalf of temperance was adopted." [32] While education was a widely supported approach, it was recognized that its effects would not be immediate and therefore, other more direct approaches were still investigated. However, as evidenced by the rapid progress that it made as a frontrunning method for addressing temperance in the post-repeal period, the promise of education made it an integral and cemented part of the antiliquor crusade going forward.

---

[31] "No New Dry Party," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 4, 1934, 4.

[32] "Training Schools in Alcohol Education," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) February 15, 1934, 155.; "Untitled," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) April 26, 1934, 397.

Tracing the Methodist's discussion of education in the five years after repeal, education maintained its position as the leading approach for solving the liquor problem and this popularity pointed to the Church's coalescing around it by the end of the decade. In 1935, only a year after church members decided to adopt an educational campaign on temperance, James R. Joy wrote that, in the fight against alcohol, "the obvious policy now [was] education." Through his language, it becomes clear that, by this point, the Methodists already saw the value of teaching temperance in an academic setting. Indeed, by August 1935, a former pastor, John B. Ekey, demonstrated the implementation of this strategy for other church members, as he "sp[oke] persuasively to parent-teacher groups [and] to students in high school and college" about temperance. [33] The Church made the connection between Prohibition efforts and educational instruction even more explicit in 1936. Two years after repeal, the Commission on the Supervisional System unveiled the creation of a "Board of Christian Education which [would] be responsible for the supervision and administration of the affairs and activities of the Board of Education, and the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals." In this, Methodists effectively erased the division of these two fields, combining their responsibilities. While some expressed reservation over this merging, many others, such as Edward Laird Mills, believed it was both beneficial and logical for the Church's anti-liquor campaign. Mills described the combination as "good [because] the emphasis in the temperance and prohibition fight for the next [number of] years [was] bound to be educational." Therefore, according to Mills, "the more closely [the Board of Temperance] [could] act in conjunction with [the Board of

[33] James R. Joy, "Editorial," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) January 17, 1935, 51-52. ; "Talking Temperance in High Schools," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) August 22, 1935, 758.

Education], the better for all concerned" and their efforts.[34] The success of this merger in promoting alcohol education as the means for achieving temperance became particularly evident in 1937 and 1938. During these years, the idea that this type of instruction was "the most important single approach to the liquor problem" took shape. The Church cited this approach in its advertisements, calling "Christian [t]emperance [e]ducation imperative," a sentiment that the International Council of Religious Education echoed a year later. By 1939, alcohol education solidified itself as an approach behind which the Church could focus its efforts. For, Methodists noted that "there [was] again a rising tide of temperance sentiment in America," achieved, in part, because "more than four hundred high schools [had] been addressed by the [Board of Temperance's] speakers during the year."[35] From the time of repeal, the Church displayed its continual and increasing support for anti-liquor education as a strategy to attain temperance. At the end of these first five years, the Church narrowed their approach to one that advanced its Prohibitionist, and as it would turn out, religious interests.

Throughout the years that followed repeal, temperance education kept the Church's antiliquor ideals in circulation in such a way that church members used this education to address its fears of an increasingly secular society. Not surprisingly, a particularly important venue through which temperance education was taught was the church school. The relationship between the church school and antiliquor education is evidenced across the years of *Christian Advocate*. For, in the

---

[34] "VI. Connectional Board" in "A Study of the Supervisional System," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) November 14, 1936, 1025. ; Edward Laird Mills, "The Future of the Board of Temperance," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) February 27, 1936, 196.; *Ibid*, 196.

[35] "A New Textbook on Alcohol," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) June 24, 1937, 598. ; "To Meet the Present Day…Christian Temperance Education Is Imperative," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) October 14, 1937, 944. ; T. Otto Nall, "Against Alcohol: No Campaign, but Educational Program Planned by Churches," *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) March 3, 1938, 194. ; "Board of Temperance," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) December 21, 1939, 1236.

section devoted to the "Church School" and later what was called the "Bible Class," that contained the lesson for the week, the topic of alcohol frequently appeared with such titles as "The Financial Cost of Alcoholic Beverages. " However, temperance education was not only limited to a strictly religious, Sunday school setting. In some states, laws created during the pre-Prohibition era ensured that this instruction would be taught in public schools as well. An example of such a law in New York was the McGrath Bill, which as the article stated, "[made] mandatory the teaching of the effect of alcohol…upon the human system in the various divisions of physiology and hygiene as thoroughly as any other branch in all the schools under state control." [36] In this way, anti-alcohol education had existed in both religious and secular settings. However, the post-repeal period moved farther away from 1933, the Church increasingly transitioned its promotion of temperance education into a call for a highlighting of morality and stated that such lessons in morality should be made a part of a youth's daily education. With some contention over a specific religious belief being taught in America's historically secular public schools, a plan for "moral instruction to be given to pupils [during] an excused one hour per week…" for which they would "…receive school credits for the time so spent" was enacted.[37] At the same time that it advanced these actions which related to the teachings of temperance morals, the Church also sought to maintain its influence in an increasingly secularized America. Thus, with its promotion of an anti-liquor sentiment and morality, the Methodists identified a duality in temperance education that it would find useful.

---

[36] "The Financial Cost of Alcoholic Beverage" Jan 21, 1937; "New York Preachers' Meeting Against McGrath Bill," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) March 21, 1935, 273.

[37] "Religion in Education," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) September 28, 1939, 929.

Fearing rising secularism in the post-repeal period, the Church employed moral education, like temperance, to retain its reach in the everyday life of the American public. Along with alcohol, the Church identified another issue afflicting citizens, a spiritual degradation. According to church members, this degradation stemmed from a secularization of society during the twentieth century. As education influenced the next generation of Americans, Methodists were particularly concerned with schools and secular lessons that they might teach. Acting on this concern, the Church searched for an avenue through which they could enter curriculum and create a space for religion in it. Temperance education provided this avenue for them. An article from 1934 demonstrates how this kind of instruction functioned as a vehicle for Methodists to insert religion into schools and the lives of American youths. The Church emphasized the "development of sober" citizens through the teaching of lessons on temperance. However, Methodists described how this lesson had to not only teach "abstinence [but also] the futility found in a life of self-indulgence." Here, the Church's planned instruction on alcohol transitioned into one that contained a religious undertone. This undertone became more pronounced by the end of the article. For the Church explained that through this lesson, it intended for schoolchildren to learn that "only by a life wherein all appetites and all desires are sublimated to a perfect, spiritualized plane, can happiness be found." [38] In this article, the way that anti-liquor education functioned as an avenue by which the Church could introduce a spiritual element into schools, becomes evident. With education working doubly to advance the cause of prohibition and religion, the Church organized around this approach. As the new decade began and the impact of the Second World War affected American society, the Methodist Episcopal Church's commitment to temperance education only grew.

[38] "Happy Days Are Here Again," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) February 22, 1934, 179.

Chapter Two

World War Booze (1940-1945)

For members of the Methodist Church, the infamy of December 7, 1941 began the night before in the barroom. Indeed, by May 1942, Methodists identified alcohol as the other enemy that attacked the Honolulu naval base. As contributing writer to *The Christian Advocate* Elmer E. Helms laid out for his readers, the proof of this secondary attacker could be found in each liquor-soaked detail of the day. In the spirit of Congressman Clare E. Hoffman's directive to "Remember Pearl Harbor," Helms instructed his readers to "forget not the hour [and to] remember the day" before pressing them further to question "why so early in the day, and why, the seventh?". Providing the evidence for the response he hoped for, Helms revealed that the attack occurred the day after "pay day in [the] Army[,] Navy and for air and defense workers." His secondary point that this particular pay day "was [on a] Saturday" only offered further support to his conclusion that if Methodists attempted to follow the money, they would be led into the bars of Honolulu. With this evidence before his readers, Helms set about to expose the true account of Pearl Harbor and the reason why Americans suffered the defeat they did. He cited "that Saturday night Honolulu was wide open [,with] men[…] crowded into 493 places that dispensed liquor" and explained that it was from these locations that servicemen emerged, still intoxicated, into the early morning of the seventh. Thus, already assaulted by alcohol on the sixth, servicemen "were wholly unfit for any service." Helms concluded that when the second enemy descended on the naval base the following morning, "the defenders were most vulnerable." As promised by Helms, Americans could expect this vulnerability and defeat to be repeated if "King Alcohol [remained] on [his] throne." The only sure defense against another

Pearl Harbor, Helms urged, was a renewed commitment to the ideal that "there shall not be a drunkard on earth." [39]

As the new decade began, the Methodist Church, or MC, continued in its pursuit of advancing the temperance cause in the post-repeal period and favored the temperance education approach as the best way to resolidify the Church's position in the increasingly secularized world of the mid-twentieth century. With nearly a half decade of experience in an American society without the Eighteenth Amendment, the Church's initial disbelief over repeal had faded. As a result, the Church recognized that the disarray that characterized their temperance efforts for most of the immediate years following repeal, could not continue if they wanted them to be effective. Instead, they would need to narrow their approaches for attacking the liquor problem, around a particular foundation. No sooner than they recognized this, the perfect basis arose with the onset of the Second World War. For, the war permeated nearly every aspect of national life and the Church acknowledged the extent to which it "occup[ied] the public mind." Noting the power of such a hold on the public's mind that the war had, Methodists saw an opportunity. Indeed, just months after the conflict initiated, the Church began to examine the potential relationship between this preoccupation and the "anti-liquor sentiment post-Repeal." [40] In doing so, the Church identified a concern they already knew was shared by most Americans and intended to make use of it for their crusade against liquor. Whereas it always had a passion for the cause, the MC's temperance efforts now had a direction. With it, Methodists gained access to new tools, such as an expanded rhetoric, that they employed in their fight against alcohol. Exemplifying

[39] Elmer E. Helms, "A Report from all fronts: The War and General Booze," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) May 28, 1942, 686.

[40] "Dry Sentiment: Gallup polls register up-swing throughout the nation," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) April 4, 1940, 320.

this, they discussed temperance in terms of devotion to country and exhibition of patriotism. Furthermore, the war enabled church members to endow their anti-liquor campaign with a different sense of urgency, based upon the reality of international crisis rather than more abstract threats of moral Armageddons that had failed to advance their cause in the past. In this way, the Second World War provided the Church a framework upon which to structure their approach toward alcohol in the opening years of the new decade.

By establishing a connection between American involvement in World War II and alcohol, Methodists not only expanded their available rhetoric but also used it to directly engage with and motivate their readers. As noted, the war affected nearly every aspect of daily life. It impacted the delivery of composition of families, with its training camps, and with its rationing systems, the delivery of milk and the amount of food consumed. In connecting liquor to the war, the Church created a situation where the threat of alcohol likewise pervaded these areas of citizens' lives. Rather than a peripheral enemy, Methodists cast the consumption of alcohol as involved in the threat to the safety of American sons and to the amount of food available to families as well . Highlighting the place of the liquor threat in daily life, the Church intended to not only emphasize their temperance cause but also to activate the public in its interest. For, they followed the concept that if alcohol could be identified as a shared menace, every American should have an interest in eliminating it. Prompting "the plain, average, inconspicuous laymen to render a service," the MC increasingly appealed to its readers to directly engage in the fight against liquor with tangible acts. By doing this, Methodists aimed to generate support among the population that could then, in turn, be used to influence the federal government. Indeed, the proposed actions typically included a request that the public "ask for legislation." In this way, the Church, who grew wary of the promises of government officials after repeal in the last decade, found a

viable way to broach the discussion of temperance legislative measures that had been largely tabled since repeal. For, they identified how "congressmen and senators…[were] extremely susceptible to the influence" of public opinion and therefore, determined that dismissal was less likely.[41] Thus, using the background of the Second World War to activate the public and secure their support, the Church turned back to the federal government and considered national legislation that could enact modified forms of prohibition.

Aware of the variables involved in relying on public action and the federal government to bring about desired temperance goals, Methodists continued to favor temperance education. Maintaining their stance from the previous decade, the Church still viewed education as the most effective approach to instilling an anti-alcohol sentiment in the American population. Establishing this tone, the MC "declar[ed the need] for an intensified program of education and agitation on this vitally important matter" of temperance, at the opening of the 1940s. As the MC attached World War II to temperance, its importance and, in turn, the necessity for education on the topic, grew. For, in emphasizing the danger that alcohol posed to the American soldier, church members likewise called attention to its threat to the American student. For, they argued that the young citizens at home experienced "days of great and intense demands upon the body, mind, and spirit," from the Depression to the current international conflict, which left them especially susceptible to such vices as liquor.[42] With this susceptibility, the Church warned of the moral degradation of the home front. To preserve both American society and its future generation, Methodists determined that they "must inculcate in [the country's] youth [with] a

---

[41] "Letters Do Make An Impression," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 23, 1942, 931.

[42] Bishop H. Lester Smith, "We Are Unequivocally Committed to Destroy the Liquor Traffic," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) November 20, 1941, 1497 and 1520. ; Dean M. Schweickhard, "What About Our Children," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 24, 1944, 233.

horror of [alcohol] and a deadly fear of contracting the liquor habit" through education. Similar to the previous decade, the Church went about this inculcation by relying on church schools and courses offered in public schools. In relation to public schools, church members expressed their belief in the influence of that institution in the lives of American youth and recognized how it could affect their habits, namely with regard to alcohol. As the war progressed, temperance education found itself connected with instruction on the development of character and morals. Signifying this association, church leaders during the war years adapted anti-alcohol lessons to be incorporated "into a variety of studies where the matter seems to have a natural relationship." [43] Given the Church's correlation between liquor and morals, temperance education expanded its involvement into new areas of instruction that had even more overtly religious connotations. In this way, temperance lessons acquired a spiritual nature, one that proved useful to the Methodist Church.

As in the previous decade, the Church's concern regarding the liquor problem corresponded with their alarm over their position within an increasingly secular American society. Identifying signs of this secularism, church leaders called attention to the decline of their institution. During this period, they cited their "alarm over [the Church's] empty pews, its declining statistics, and its waning of effectiveness." Accompanying this, Methodists noted a drop in the church school enrollment, which provided them access to future members of the faith and, correspondingly, their parents. The Church acknowledged that their schools functioned as the "most productive agency of the Church," with the reach it had among its members. For Methodists, this decline arose as the direct result of what secularism produced. Among these effects, they identified the

[43] Roy L. Smith, "In My Opinion: We Must Begin All Over Again," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 18, 1943, 195. ; "Temperance Education to Continue," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 4, 1943,131.

"tremendous and lamentable sag in [the] national and moral idealism[,] the widespread disregard for that which was held sacred [and the] materialistic interpretation of life," as contributing to the Church's waning influence.[44] Imagining post-war America, Methodists conjectured that this decline of religion would continue with secularism allowed to increase, uninterrupted. To combat this possibility, the MC laid out plans to create a Christian framework for society after the war. As part of this plan "to provide the religious and ethical undergirding for a world order in which there [was] a recognition of the Fatherhood of God," education played a key role. For, Methodists viewed education as a way to influence the population and bring about this re-Christianized civilization. Identifying the reach that schools had, church members recognized the school as "a mighty moral force" and urged that it be combined with the force of the Church. With this, the Church sought to create a program of moral instruction particularly in public schools, where "the Christian spirit [could permeate the country's] highly secularized educational" system. [45] However, the country's long-standing commitment to the separation of church and state created some difficulties in implementation of spiritual education in public schools. While the Church encouraged a released-time program, its leaders still desired to reach all students throughout the school day. In this situation, temperance education provided an answer. Emphasizing alcohol's impact on the health of American youth, the Church already secured laws in some states for temperance lessons to be taught in public schools. However, with the association made between these lessons and moral instruction, Methodists could use

---

[44] Roy L. Smith, "In My Opinion: We Have Lost Our Desperation," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) October 21, 1943, 1315. ; Council of Bishops, "The Church School Decline," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 10, 1944, 167. ; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, "Methodism, Arise," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) May 11, 1944, 567.

[45] George B. Ahn Jr., "Christian Education Accepts the Challenge," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 25, 1943, 234.; Joy Elmer Morgan, "The Church and the School," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 3, 1941, 426-427. ; T. Otto Nall, "A Year for the Lord and Our Lamb," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 20, 1944, 475.

temperance education to promote Christian ideals at the same time. By using temperance education in this way, the Church put into action its plan to create a religious undergirding for American society and thereby cement its own role in it. Given the connection between the two, an analysis of the Church's actions regarding temperance during the Second World War proves necessary in tracing how it aimed to use this kind of instruction to solidify their influence in the population.

Recognizing an opportunity to use the war concerns to advance the temperance issue, the Church turned to the war effort and patriotic fervor as a solution in the post-repeal period. As early as November 1940, an article described how "the increase in size of the regular army and the National Guard and the calling of several hundred thousand young men to the colors through the draft [made] acute the danger of the traffic of liquor…in the vicinity of army training camps." [46] By the start of 1941, the issue of alcohol and the army permeated the newspaper. Many of the articles were centered around the notion of protecting the soldier from the alcohol that might be found in the surrounding towns, noting that the towns contain "the worst evils connected with the liquor business." Highlighting the presence of such vices, an article from January 1941 entitled "War Camp Towns Face Responsibility," the Church also described that it "[lay] within [its] power to bring pressure upon governors, mayors, city councils and law enforcement officers that will result in clean cities and towns." In this statement, it becomes evident how the Church used its apparent responsibility to bring about these "clean cities and towns," or a liquor-free city or town, something the Church had sought to bring about for years since repeal. Repeatedly, they invoked the image of the "liquor traffic and vice…waiting for

[46] "Dry Sentiment: Gallup polls register up-swing throughout the nation," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) April 4, 1940, 320.; "Notes By the Way," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (New York: New York) November 14, 1940, 945.

[soldiers] when [they] got to camp" along with a rallying cry that "Methodists must see to it that the churches about the camps [were] not left to fight the battle alone." [47] By doing this, the Church again called upon its members to join in a crusade against liquor. Even though it never actually called for Prohibition to be reenacted, the Church did support a measure that would legally enforce its ideas. In March 1941, an article explained "a bill…introduced by Senator Morris Sheppard which provides 1) a complete prohibition of any and all sales of intoxicants of any alcoholic content whatever at…any camps (2) that the Secretary of War [Henry L. Stimson], shall have the power to establish a "dry zone" about any camp." [48] Through this proposed bill, the Church aimed to bring back a degree of Prohibition that would seem more appealing at the time, under the banner of supporting the training soldiers. However, the fact that the bill moved very slowly and met backlash from the "liquor interests [who were] campaigning against the bill in every way" suggests a lack of support for reimplementing a measure similar to Prohibition, albeit not the same. Moreover, with "the responsibility for sales of liquor to American boys in training rests squarely upon the shoulders of President [Roosevelt] and his cabinet secretaries," the fate of this bill rested in the hands of a President who just repealed prohibitive measures on alcohol not even a decade earlier. [49] Relying upon the decision of the federal government, Senator Sheppard's bill remained under deliberation for years and would never be passed. Furthermore, with the bill proposed before December 1941, the widespread support from a patriotic public, which might have pressured those in the government to enact such a measure,

---

[47] "War Camp Towns Face Responsibility," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago), January 2, 1941, 5.; "Then the Soldiers Came," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 9, 1941, 48-49.

[48] "Support this Bill," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 6, 1941, 293.

[49] "Support That Bill," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 10, 1941, 889.; "It's Up to the President," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) December 4, 1941, 1570.

had not yet been fomented. Therefore, while measures such as these stalled for the present, the attack on Pearl Harbor at the end of 1941 changed the discussion about the war and enabled an examination into its relationship with alcohol going forward.

The events that occurred at the Pearl Harbor naval base in early December 1941 affected both America's involvement in World War II and the Church's approach to achieving its goal of temperance. As highlighted in Elmer E. Helms's article which opened this chapter, Methodists quickly identified alcohol as the primary cause behind the American defeat by the Japanese. In naming alcohol as the real culprit, church members brought forth their evidence and presented it to their readers. They began their case by relying on reports from the "*Chicago Tribune* [that] Saturday evening, December 6, was payday and 11,000 soldiers, sailors, and marines were on leave in Honolulu." For Methodists, only one conclusion could be reached from this information and they took care to present this to their audience, namely that with the financial means and weekend opportunity these servicemen went to the city's bars. Calling attention to the time of the attack, the Church explained that the level of defeat stemmed not solely from surprise but also because men, still inebriated from the night before, lacked usual "promptness and efficiency." [50] However, as Methodists pointed out, it was not only the events leading up to the attack on Pearl Harbor that highlighted liquor's role in it, but also those taken after it. Following the attack, the United States military issued an order that "closed every place that dispensed liquor of any kind" in and around Honolulu. While Methodists commended this action and lamented its temporariness, they also declared it further proof that alcohol was behind Pearl Harbor. For, they saw the ban as "showing what responsible officers thought of the contributing cause" of the

---

[50] Bertha Rachel Palmer, "Just Before the Battle," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) August 6, 1942, 1001 and 1022. ; Jacob Simpson Payton, "Prayers on All Fronts," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 29, 1944 798.

attack. In this identification of liquor as the cause for Pearl Harbor, the Church found a way to advance their temperance crusade. For, invoking the image of the attack, they changed liquor from an abstract threat, stalking young men in training camps to a realized one, which led to "the worst naval defeat [the] country has suffered and the loss of nearly 3,000 who were killed [at Pearl Harbor]." [51] In doing so, Methodists cast alcohol as the paramount opponent faced by Americans. Indeed, church members found that "[Adolf] Hitler and [Tomoyuki] Yamashita [were] not [the] greatest menace" but rather it was "the enemy within [America's] gates," liquor. For, while Methodists expressed confidence that a "sober nation [could] look after both of them," they warned that "a drunken nation [would face] inevitable danger of defeat." [52] By presenting alcohol as an enemy capable of defeat, most especially in the example of Pearl Harbor, they appealed to the public's duty to their country and concern over the prospect of future loss, to induce them to stop drinking. In this, it becomes evident not only how the Church employed patriotism in their admonishment of alcohol but also how this appeal to national fervor differed from pre-Pearl Harbor ones. While the threat of attack on American soil seemed abstract, the events on December 7, 1941 turned this threat into a startling reality. As a result, latent patriotism that existed in the population immediately awakened and, thus, became a useful tool for Methodists to further their temperance cause. Indeed, using this patriotic tone to create an anti-liquor sentiment, they associated the consumption of alcohol with acting unpatriotically. In this, the Church's correlation between temperance and patriotism that would last the duration of the war, began.

---

[51] Helms, "A Report From All Fronts: The War and General Booze," May 28, 1942, 686. ; Palmer, "Just Before Battle," August 6, 1942, 1001 and 1022.; Palmer, "Just Before Battle," August 6, 1942, 1001 and 1022.

[52] George Barton Cutten, "Alcohol and War Won't Mix," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 2, 1942, 838-839 and 856.

With the increased appeals to patriotic fervor, Methodists revisited army training camps and turned to the long-standing issue with prostitution at these sites to advance their temperance interests. Acknowledging from historical example that “venereal disease was the greatest cause of inaction in the Army,” leaders in the American government and military agreed early on that measures needed to be taken to eliminate the source, prostitution. As a result, Chairman Andrew J. May of the House Military Affairs Committee introduced the May Act, which “gave the Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson [the] authority to ban prostitution from the vicinity of training camps.” While the May Act was “enacted by Congress [and] signed by President Roosevelt [by July 1941],” Methodists still found “thousands of young men [became] infected since entering the Army” by the opening months of 1942. Partly blaming the lack of invocation of the May Act, church members saw this continued rise as resulting from “the twin harpies that [were] preying on American young manhood[,] professional prostitution and liquor selling.” [53] In this, the Church argued that a relationship existed between the two and presented it as a “fact [that] wherever [one] could find prostitution [one] could also find liquor.” For, they made the connection that, under the influence of alcohol, soldiers would likely engage in other vices that received more attention from the military and government. Emphasizing this premise that “more alcohol [meant] more syphilis,” church members concluded that “a blow struck at liquor [was] one struck at [this] vice.” [54] In this, the Church’s underlying temperance aims came to the forefront, as this recommendation provided an opportunity for Methodists to revive federal measures to prohibit the sale of alcohol to soldiers and potentially to citizens around these

---

[53] Daniel J. Blumlo, “How the Common Grunt and Prostitute Changed Military Policy” (master’s thesis, Florida State University, 2004), 46.; “Invoke the Law, Mr. Secretary!,” Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 5, 1942, 163.; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

[54] “The Army Goes to Town,” Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) August 27, 1942, 1091.; Cutten,“Alcohol and War Won’t Mix,” July 2, 1942, 838-839 and 856.; “The Army Goes to Town,” August 27, 1942, 1091.

camps, as previously devised laws proposed. Indeed, Methodists suggested that a simultaneous passage of the earlier, still-undecided Senate Bill 860 from the late Senator Morris Sheppard and enforcement of the May Act would eliminate the increase in venereal disease among servicemen, so feared by the government. Here, they presented the Senate Bill 860 as a means of augmenting the May Act, where they cast the former as ultimately making the latter more effective in preventing disease. The advancement of the Senate Bill 860 would be put off again. For, upon the media's presentation of these facts to the government, Congress largely addressed prostitution as its own issue and took steps to resolve it through federal measures. However, this did not discourage the Church from emphasizing the link between liquor and prostitution, an emphasis that becomes more significant when examining those in charge of acting against prostitution. For, since the presentation of the Church's concerns, the "Social Protection Section of [the] Federal Security Agency" carried out "the clean-up of venereal disease…so energetically." Worthy of noting, at this time, Eliot Ness, who was a "Prohibition agent" earlier in his career, now direct[ed] the Division of Social Protection for the [Federal Security Agency]." Aware of the "failure that attended efforts of promoting anti-liquor legislation" because most politicians "sh[ied] away from programs advanced on moral grounds," Methodists likely identified a potential ally within the government upon seeing this temperance background.[55] As a result of his connection to efforts to eliminate prostitution around army camps, they continued to attach this vice to liquor with the goal of garnering attention and potentially federal action in the way of temperance. Thus, in linking prostitution and alcohol, the

---

[55] Clarence W. Hall, "Our Second Look at Army Morals," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 18, 1942, 774-775 and 795. ; Cari Romm, "During Owlrd War II, Sex Was a National-Security Threat," *The Atlantic,* October 8, 2015, Sexually Active Women Were Quarantined During World War II - The Atlantic. ; "Ness, Eliot,"Case Western Reserve University, NESS, ELIOT | Encyclopedia of Cleveland History | Case Western Reserve University.; Hall, "Our Second Look at Army Morals," June 18, 1942, 774-775 and 795.

Church identified a potential approach to achieve temperance among American soldiers, as it searched for a way to limit liquor consumption among the general population.

As they looked to prostitution to provide them with a way to prohibit liquor in army camps, Methodists also considered another approach to achieve temperance, which involved the lowered age of drafted soldiers. In July 1942, the Church noted the "War Department['s] discussi[on] [of] the probability of calling eighteen-year-old boys into the armed forces of the nation." With the announcement of this prospect, church members immediately related this new age limit to the presence of alcohol in camps. Desiring to end this presence of alcohol around all soldiers, Methodists used the government's "intention to draft boys [to] raise again into sharp relief the question of the sale of beer in Army camps." To do this, they described how "physical[ly] and moral[ly] immature boys" who would already be "exposed to abnormal pressure" would then have to contend with liquor for the first time. As they appealed to parents to "make a determined effort to bring about an end to this sorry business" with this presentation, Methodists emphasized that protection for these young men rested squarely with the federal government. [56] In this, they hoped by catalyzing members of the public to put pressure on the government to defend eighteen year old boys against alcohol, they might attain their long-awaited passage of a bill to prohibit liquor around army camps. Indeed, the Church's commitment to such a measure became evident a few months later, when the Senate passed "a revision to the Selective Service Act to lower the draft age to include boys who have reached their eighteenth birthday." For, they supported an amendment to the bill, proposed by Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma. The so-termed Lee Amendment "was identical with that introduced by the late Senator Sheppard in 1941 and known

[56] "Beer and Eighteen-Year-Olds," July 30, 1942, 962 ; "Eighteen-Year Olds," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) October 29, 1942, 1379. ; *Ibid.*

as Senate Bill 860." With almost exact wording, the Amendment sought to "make unlawful the presence of intoxicants in camps and 'within such reasonable distance as the Secretary of War shall determine'." Thus, again, the Church attempted to promote this bill, which would further their temperance campaign because of its implementation of dry zones for young Americans in the camps and citizens surrounding them. However, just as in the case of linking alcohol to prostitution, the Lee Amendment stalled. Furthermore, Henry Stimson, the Secretary of War who would create these vicinities of prohibition under the Lee Amendment and Senate Bill 860, was "the most influential voice raised against" them both. Accounting for his disapproval, Methodists acknowledged that Stimson and others would be "unwilling to move in the direction of enactment of any law which may be found wanting a sufficient preponderance of public support." [57] Therefore, although frustrated again in their attempts to prohibit alcohol in training camps, the Church identified a need to gain this support. As the war continued, the Church turned its attention in this direction and expanded its rhetoric to advance the cause of temperance among the American population.

Impacting the daily lives of all Americans, the ration system provided the Church with a way to both reach the public and promote their temperance crusade as the Second World War continued. With the establishment of the Office of Price Administration, or the OPA, in 1941 and the implementation of ration cards to citizens nearly a year later, the federal government limited Americans' consumption. [58] Under these measures, most materials needed in waging war, such as rubber, and food products became regulated, while alcoholic beverages did not.

---

[57] Jacob Simpson Payton, "Home of Lost Causes," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) November 5, 1942, 1425. ; Jacob Simpson Payton, "'Began to Make Excuse'," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) November 5, 1942, 1425.; *Ibid.*

[58] "Sacrificing for the Common Good: Rationing in WWII," National Park Service, last modified June 3, 2016, Sacrificing for the Common Good: Rationing in WWII (U.S. National Park Service) (nps.gov).

While attempting to remedy this exclusion, Methodists recognized the potential that the rationing system had in advancing their goal of temperance. For, with a ration on the amount of liquor, the amount of liquor consumed by the public would be controlled and, a form of the Eighteenth Amendment would be revived. Setting about to accomplish this task, the Church, first, aimed to appeal to the American people and highlighted the need for alcohol to be included in the rationing system. Emphasizing the need to "draft the liquor business also," they compared the effect of rationing on citizens' lives to the relatively insignificant influence it has had on distillers. In this, the Church noted how "housewives [were] being rationed in sugar [and] [b]abies in the home can be deprived of milk but distillers [could] go blithely on their way, the favored children of Washington." On the latter of these points, the Church devoted much attention, notably in relation to the ration on rubber that led to a lack of available tires on the home front. As Methodists explained, the government ruled that "a vehicle that delivers goods to a retailer [was] classified as a wholesaler's truck and [was] entitled to tires." However, being a "'retailer's delivery wagon'" instead, a "wagon that delivers milk and bread to homes [were] denied tires." Underlining this difference, the Church provided the public with "the only interpretation…[that]… it was more important to deliver beer to the stores than deliver milk to the homes." [59] By drawing this comparison, church members aimed to remind Americans of their sacrifices and invoke a sense of anger, that could be used to pressure the government to add constraints to liquor consumption. For, at the same time that they highlighted this discrepancy in rationed items, Methodists championed recommendations to the federal government to pass a ration on alcoholic beverages. In 1943, the Office of Civilian Supply under the War Production

[59] "Draft the Liquor Business, Too!," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 5, 1942, 293. ; Cutten, "Alcohol and War Won't Mix," July 2, 1942, 838. ; "Milk, Bread and Beer," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 9, 1942, 450-451.; *Ibid.*

Board, or W.P.B., chaired by Donald M. Nelson, proposed that "a liquor ration of one per cent of the 1941 consumption be ordered." While not a complete elimination of alcohol consumption, the Church supported such a plan and expressed their disgust when "the Economic Stabilization Board [led by James F. Byrnes] declined the recommendation…on the ground that the Government need[ed] the taxes on alcoholic beverages." Methodists experienced further disappointment in this effort. A few months later, they found that "the Food Administration ma[d]e no recommendations about rationing liquor [and] the Office of Price Administration offer[ed] no plans for federal control." With this, a federal ration on liquor proved unlikely and, indeed, never occurred during the war. Instead, the Church's efforts to ration alcohol materialized largely at the local level and in a greatly modified form, where some "states [took] steps to lessen the supply [of liquor]." At this point between 1942 and 1943, the closest they came to rationing liquor consumption on a national level arose as a consequence of a "ruling [from] the National Tire Rationing Board" that listed beer as a luxury, preventing "brewers [from] buy[ing] new tires for their delivery trucks." [60] Aware of their failure to federally limit alcohol through the ration system, this attachment of liquor to other rationed products appeared promising. Thus, during this period, the Church increasingly considered less direct ways to achieve the same effect as rationing alcohol, the limitation of imbibement and advancement of temperance.

Recognizing the potential for regulating alcohol through other means than the direct rationing of it, Methodists also championed the re-allocation of liquor resources for the war effort to achieve their temperance agenda. Indeed, at the same time that they called for rationing, the

---

[60] Jacob Simpson Payton, "Liquor Rationing Refused," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 25, 1943, 370. ; *Ibid*.; Jacob Simpson Payton, "Summer Brings No Surcease," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 29, 1943, 946.; *Ibid.* ; "The Brewers' Big Tires," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) August 13, 1942, 1028.

Church also endorsed the idea of converting existing alcoholic beverages into usable materials for American soldiers. With such conversion, the amount of drinkable liquor available to the public, would be greatly reduced. Being in concordance with their temperance goals, the re-purposing of alcohol proved favorable to the Church and Methodists supported this approach in a variety of iterations throughout the war. Beginning in June 1942, the Church noted ongoing debates in Congress regarding the "allocation of funds for synthetic rubber by the petroleum process and skimping butadiyne, a chief ingredient" in its production. To remedy this issue and quell congressional differences, Nelson's War Production Board brought alcohol into the conversation. For, the Board found that alcohol could be used as a "substitution for petroleum" after its conversion to ethyl alcohol, to produce synthetic rubber. Upon the Board's proposal of transforming distillers' plants to produce ethyl alcohol, Methodists expressed their approval. With this action, they hoped that "manufacturers of America's number one killer-alcohol-[would] soon see the total conversion of their mischievous plants to the production of rubber, explosives, and other vital war materials." [61] By September 1942, the W.P.B. announced that "on November 1, [distillers'] plants would be converted to producing high-proof alcohol." While this measure had more success for their temperance crusade than the elusive federal ration on liquor, church members felt that the action provided too many allowances to the liquor industry. For, it still "permit[ted] small distilleries without facilities to produce high-proof alcohol to continue to ward off the depletion of whiskey [and] granted 'holidays' [to] larger [ones]." As a

---

[61]Jacob Simpson Payton, "Capitol Comment," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 4, 1942, 723. ; Julius Albert Krug, "War Production in 1944: Report of the Chairman of the War Production Board," June 14, 1945, HyperWar: War Production in 1944 (ibiblio.org) .; Payton, "Capitol Comment," June 4, 1942, 723.

result, Methodists redirected their efforts into re-allocating resources in the production of alcohol in different, and more literal, manner that would better promote temperance. [62]

In late 1943, the Church turned their attention toward grain. Noting "the Department of Agriculture['s] strict warning to livestock producers to conserve feed," church members admonished distillers who claimed that "the stock of war alcohol [was] ample [and] ask[ed] for millions of bushels [of grain] to be used in the manufacture of whiskey." Indeed, to these claims and request, the Church maintained that "granted the stock of war alcohol [was] ample, the fact remain[ed] that the grain stock [was] not sufficient." As "grain manufactured into alcohol cannot be used as food for man or beast," they proposed that bushels of the product be re-allocated from the production of liquor to that of food supply. In this proposal, Methodists' promotion of their temperance aims became evident. Recognizing that an adequate amount of high-proof alcohol would likely increase the production of consumable liquor once again, they used grain insufficiency to again limit the quantity of liquor in the hands of the public. For, without grain, production of alcohol would effectively come to a halt. Given that as late as February 1945, the Church still championed that grain be used to "feed the world's starving" rather than to produce alcohol, they found some viability in this plan. [63] However much success these re-allocation approaches gained for their overall temperance aims, they were mostly connected to the war effort. Therefore, as the war came to close, the reasoning for creating high-proof alcohol or conserving grain gradually became defunct. As a result, the Church still did not have a stable solution to achieve its temperance goals. Thus, even as they addressed areas that impacted

---

[62] Jacob Simpson Payton, "A Keg for Pedestal," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 24, 1942, 1223. ; *Ibid,* 1233.

[63] "Distillers Demanding Grain," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 9, 1943, 1123. ; *Ibid.*; *Ibid*. ; Business Men's Research Foundation, "It's Hard to Believe that It's Called a Whiskey "Holiday'," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 22, 1945, 234.

Americans during the war, Methodists still searched for a continuous way to motivate the public to take up the temperance cause and incorporate it into their daily lives.

As in the previous decade, the Church identified education as the most effective approach to reaching the public and inducing them to advance its goal of temperance. Even as they attempted different means of combatting liquor consumption, church members maintained the importance of anti-liquor education throughout the Second World War. In the early years of the conflict, Methodists continued to affirm that "the evils of alcohol must be taught." The Church considered two main venues where these evils might be taught, namely the church and public schools. Regarding the latter of these two locations, church members argued that "if every school child in the United States were taught the effect of alcohol by the teachers of [the nation's] public school, it would not be long before a generation would be raised up to condemn the liquor traffic." The particular usefulness of the public school system resulted from the potential reach it offered to the Church. Indeed, their significance to the temperance cause only increased during this period, with Methodists recognizing by the midpoint of the war that "the Church allowed legislation to become a cheap substitute for spiritual education and conquest." [64] This recognition reflects a shift in emphasis that occurred during the second half of the war, where alcohol education became increasingly related to the development of character and morals. As mentioned earlier, beginning in 1943, the Church's International Council of Religious Education decided to "introduce temperance lessons into a variety of subjects where it [had] a natural relationship," such as moral instruction and character-building. Highlighting the natural relationship between the two in the following year, Methodists supported the enactment of laws that states such as

---

[64] H.J. Burgstahler, "America's Second Column," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 18, 1943, 203.; *Ibid.*; Ralph S. Cushman, "Is Temperance A Lost Cause?," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 18, 1943, 200.

Minnesota and New York passed. These measures provided that "the State Department of Education be authorized and directed to prepare a course of instruction relating to the effects of alcohol upon character and society…that *shall be used* in all public schools of the state." [65] Supporting the expansion of such legislation in states, Methodists also directly correlated temperance education to this development of one's character, a correlation that they only endeavored to strengthen through other institutions. Opened in 1943, the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, which provided summer courses related to the scientific investigation of questions related to alcohol, functioned as such an institution. For, in 1945, the Church drew important conclusions from the program's study on personality of those who drink excessively. From these results, church members concluded a need for "a more thorough-going and deepened appreciation of the moral and spiritual aspects of the problem." To do this, they decided upon a "move into the realm of Christian personality development, basic in any program of Christian education." [66] By the close of the war, the Church endorsed temperance education as they had since the previous decade but became more explicit in relating these lessons to ones of morality. Thus, in this, the religious and character-based component of the alcohol question gained a clear prominence and, as it would prove, at a time when the Church most needed it.

As in the previous decade, Methodists expressed concern over the decline of the Church's influence in American society during this period. Within the same vein as the pre-war years since repeal, church members identified an increase in secularism and corresponding weakening of the role of religion in the lives of the public. Attesting to this weakening in the face of secularism,

[65] "Temperance Education to Continue," February 4, 1943, 131.; "What About Our Children?," February 24, 1944, 233.

[66] Marvin B. Kober, "When Science Studies Alcohol," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 20, 1945, 1087-1088.; *Ibid.*

they noted that the "church has not been able to win more members." Related to this issue of membership, Methodist leaders highlighted the "losses in Church-school enrollment and attendance, " resulting from the prioritization of secular activities over religious ones. Citing how "increasing majorities of [their] recruits for church membership [came] through the church school," the Church proved concerned that this decline could not "continue without jeopardizing [its] strength as a religious movement." [67] Along with these concerns, which largely continued from the previous decade, the Second World War contributed to a new sentiment of alarm for church members. For, in the final years of the conflict, the Church pondered the structure post-war world, "suppose[ing] [the United States] won [and] …the people [were] delivered into the hands of sinister forces of materialism" they observed at play in society at that moment. Identifying the "tragic implications the [then] present world situation [held] for the future of Christianity," the Church aimed to "justify its existence" in the post-war environment, by creating a religious framework for it. For Methodists, the most effective means in establishing this Christian ungirding was education. Through education, church members saw an opportunity to "strengthen the influence of the church" by "reaching out to the children of America," namely those in the public school system. Unlike the church-school which met weekly and addressed students already affiliated with the Church, public schools would allow Methodists to broaden their audience. For, the introduction of Christian teachings in public schools could "restore religion and morals as regular parts of the daily program, so that every child may learn and use religious and moral truths." In addition to learning these moral truths, they also wanted to develop Christian-based "program of character building." With the incorporation of religious

[67] "Methodism, Arise!" May 11, 1944, 567. ; "This Retreat Must Stop," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) December 30, 1943, 1636-1637. ; "The Church School Decline," February 10, 1944, 167.

curriculum in public schools, the Church argued that "the task of "moral rebuilding'" could be achieved. [68] As the war came to a close, the incorporation of the spiritual into the secular proved troublesome, leading the Church to use alternate ways to advance their religious teachings in public schools.

While advancing the Church's anti-liquor crusade, temperance education remained a solution for bringing religion into the public school system. At this time, church members found their calls for Christian instruction in public schools encountered certain difficulties. Noting that the "Government tend[ed] to curtail the influence of religion in the schools," they recognized that arguments regarding the separation of church and state would be difficult overcome. As a result, the Church needed to find another, less direct, means to achieve the same religious inroads without breeching this line of separation, a means that temperance education offered. During this period, Methodists sought "to make religion more vital to all by actively interpreting the basic concepts of [their] religion into the social problems of [the] times." Being such a social issue, temperance became endowed with a spiritual aspect and its education reflected religious ideals. As mentioned previously, church members increasingly emphasized a relationship between temperance education and the development of character. Discussing anti-liquor lessons, Methodists emphasized that "the whole problem before teachers [was] establishing serviceable habits which [would] lead [America's youth] along the right paths." In this, the habits that would contribute to these paths, largely coincided with spiritual precepts that might be included in Christian instruction, such as honesty, "service to others and character traits, [like] self-control

[68] "Suppose We Win," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 23, 1944, 340-341. ; "Methodism, Arise!," May 11, 1944, 567. ; "Christian Education Accepts the Challenge," February 25, 1943, 234. ; Boyd M. McKeown, "Christian Education," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 2, 1944, 258. ; W.S. Fleming, "At Last Religion Returns to the Schools," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 14, 1944, 1146-1147.

and cooperation." Coupled with this, Methodists underscored the purpose of temperance lessons as "insur[ing] the cultivation of moral attributes." [69] With this, the Church lessened the distinction between temperance and religious education. By doing so, they temporarily avoided church and state debates and introduced Christian instruction into public schools through the topic of temperance. Thus, as it continued to search for a means to achieve temperance after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Church saw in temperance education a way to solidify anti-alcohol and Christian sentiment in American society.

[69] McKeown, "Christian Education," March 2, 1944, 258. ; "Christian Education Accepts the Challenge," February 25, 1943, 234. ; "What About Our Children," February 24, 1944, 239. ; *Ibid*.; *Ibid*.

Chapter 3

Cracking Open A Cold One (1946-1950)

On January 18, 1946, a judge in Chicago, Illinois reached a verdict in a crime which left a woman dead and a man convicted. In this crime, a nineteen-year-old former merchant marine beat a woman to death and "left her body in an alley." However, according to the Methodist Church, the young man did not act alone. For church members, the young man's would-be accomplice was alcohol. Visiting "relatives in the city," the youth "spent a considerable part of a night at a tavern [which] served [him] six whiskies and four bottles of beer." With whisky and beer by his side, the otherwise lawful young man ended both his victim's life and derailed his own future. On this point, the Chicago judge did not waver, stating that "if [this youth] had not been served with intoxicating liquor at the age of nineteen he would not have been standing before [him] [that day]." Moreover, he continued by affirming that "if there had been no tavern open at four A.M., the girl would have been alive." Despite alcohol's role in the crime, Methodists emphasized that neither "the tavern [nor its keeper] [were] brought into court." [70] Instead of the forty-year punishment given to the young man, the Church noted that his fermented accomplices remained unfettered. For Methodist reporters at *The Christian Advocate,* the danger this liquid criminal posed to American society increased with every passing day. The time had arrived when alcohol needed be brought to trial, prosecuted, and finally locked up in a way it had not been since the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, almost two decades earlier. Hoping for a similar conviction, Methodists set about to create a case against alcohol in the post-Second World War American society.

[70] "Another Tavern Tale," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 31, 1946, 131.

In the years immediately following the Second World War, the Methodist Church maintained its crusade against alcohol and championed temperance education as both the most effective solution in this crusade and in cementing its place in an increasingly secular world. During the final years of the conflict, Methodists expressed their concerns over the type of American society that would emerge. Fearing a moral degradation among the population, the Church emphasized a need to re-Christianize America, a need that intensified as relations between the United States and the Soviet Union grew worse in the immediate post-war period. For, while not officially beginning until 1947, the Cold War and the threat of Communism occupied an increasingly prominent role in the minds of government officials, citizens, and, in turn, the Church. In this, the actions of the Soviet Union and Communism became topics with which Church leaders and members contended. Though undoubtedly anti-Communist, Methodists proved to be unlike other groups, such as American politicians, in their focus during these early years. Beginning in 1946, the Church responded critically to much of the fanatic rhetoric that claimed a "red" invasion, where "subversive individuals were to be found at almost every other desk in Washington." Recognizing this typical invocation of Communism, the MC instructed its members to be skeptical of the speech and the actions that often accompanied them. Indeed, it acknowledged that "nothing more was needed to damn any proposal, in the thinking of millions of people, than to label it as being "'Communistic'." Extending this disapproval to the accusations leveled at members of the public, church officials condemned the "besmirching of individuals or groups with social vision and the indiscriminate application of the word "Communist."[71] In this, the Church discredited these governmental "witch hunters" but, importantly, not the danger of Communism itself. Rather, the Church agreed that "Communism [was] diametrically opposed to

---

[71] "They Found a Mole," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 17, 1948, 771. ; "Red Herrings," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) October 31, 1946, 1379. ; *Ibid*, 1379.

everything in the American heritage and tradition," namely its religious tradition. Therefore, the Church still adopted an anti-Communist tone but adapted it to emphasize the threat this system posed to Methodism. In doing so, they described how "the spread of Communism throughout the world, constitute[ed] a threat to the very existence of Christianity." For Methodists, it functioned as an "antithesis of the religion of Jesus Christ," with its promotion of materialism and focus on worldly affairs. [72] The Church underlined the extent of the damage that unchecked Communism could unleash in American society, as it identified how "democratic tradition [proved to be] interwoven with the Christian tradition in the country from the time of its birth." From this, they determined that a "vigorous and virile Christianity [acted] as the strongest and most effective answer" to preventing Communism and ensuring democracy, results increasingly desired by the public. [73] With this perspective on Communism, Methodists utilized it to inform their approach to their temperance crusade in the post-war years.

Adapting the tactics they previously employed during the Second World War, the Church used the early Cold War environment to shape their anti-alcohol efforts. At this time, Methodists presented Communism as a danger to the principles and character of American citizens. By emphasizing this threat, they affirmed the idea that Communism contributed to a "debilitat[ion] [of] the moral health of the republic." Along with contributing to such debilitation, church members also highlighted the inverse, where other factors such as "alcohol create[ed] [situations]

[72] "Red Herrings," October 31, 1946, 1379. ; "Methodism Faces the World," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 22, 1948, 516-517. ; "This is Judgement Day," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 29, 1948, 548-549.

[73] J. Earl Moreland, "Christian Education Can Save Democracy," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) November 27, 1947, 1511-1512. ; David L. Taylor, "Lay Activities," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 31, 1947, 980-981.

in which Communism often [took] root."[74] Within this context, the Church began to promote different approaches to temperance that correlated to larger public fears about the breakdown of democratic society. In this, they championed anti-liquor methods that related to broader social issues, such as juvenile delinquency, and the content consumed in everyday life by the American people. The topics being associated with temperance, such as crime or advertisements, pointed to forces that weakened the population's morals. By doing this, the Church focused on temperance approaches that they thought would resonate with a public already invested in protecting democracy, which included the character of American citizens, from Communism. For, in these anti-liquor methods centered around the development of personal integrity, they included much of the same rhetoric and concepts being expounded on a national level regarding the Soviet Union. Indeed, almost repeating their earlier mentioned comments on Communism, the Church pleaded that "for the sake of the nation's health [and] for the sake of its morals, there must be a new insistence upon total abstinence."[75] Using similar themes, Methodists sought to attach a degree of significance to temperance. In this, they cast it as a way of defending American society and its youth, which might be recognized and received by a population increasingly primed to respond to efforts to remove threats to its moral fabric. Thus, by fitting their anti-alcohol approaches into the context of the period, the Church strongly attached their efforts to morality and character-building as the early stages of the Cold War began.

Given this emphasis on building the morals in American youth, Methodists championed temperance education as the dominant approach to achieve its anti-liquor objective in the post-

---

[74] Jacob S. Payton, "Danger Signal," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 24, 1949, 259.; "Temperance: Strategy for War," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) December 9, 1948, 1585.

[75] Roy L. Smith , "In My Opinion: Alcoholism Can Be Eradicated," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 12, 1948, 202.

repeal environment. In this way, church members maintained their position from the previous decade and a half, that education provided the best method of inculcating this anti-alcohol sentiment in the consciouses of the American people. Reflecting in 1946, over a decade since the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, church members acknowledged the "success of temperance education." Noting how repeal occurred because of a "failure to maintain a vigorous program of education," they identified the "most hopeful sign" in this period as the emphasis on anti-liquor instruction. By doing so, the Church "committed to the maintenance of systematic instruction about alcohol, both in the schools of the church and throughout the whole public school system." [76] As during the Second World War, Methodists continued to associate this type of education with the development of personal morals and integrity, an association that only strengthened as the Cold War atmosphere began to form. In this, temperance education adopted a spiritual undertone in its lessons. For, as they "warn[ed] against the dangers lying along the alcoholic pathway, secular and Sunday schools stressed and profoundly emphasized the basic morality of it all." [77] The emphasis on morality not only appealed to a public inundated with threats of Communism but also signaled the formation of a more intimate linkage between temperance education and religion. Within the broader context of this immediate post-war period, the existence of such a linkage between the two provided Methodists with a valuable tool going forward.

As in previous years since repeal, the Church's continued crusade against liquor overlapped with its efforts to cement its role in an ever more secular American society. Examining this

[76] Charles E. Schofield, "The Truth Shall Make You Free," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 21, 1946, 242-243.; *Ibid,* 242; *Ibid*, 242. ; *Ibid*, 242.

[77] Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker, "For Their Sakes," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 3, 1949, 290.

society at the beginning of the Cold War, Methodists concluded that "secularism ha[d] taken its toll." Explaining this toll, they cited "proof that large numbers of [their] people turned away from God and [that] a materialistic way of life steadily became more evident each year." With the notion that Communism threatened to only add to this rise in secularism, church members recognized a need to act. To avoid the further "weaken[ing] [of] the moral fiber of the nation," Methodists underlined the need to "translate the faith of the Church into the everyday life of men." [78] As they found in the past, education functioned as the most effective way to accomplish this infusion of religion into citizens' daily lives. For, with their reach among members of the population and long-term influence in the lives of the country's youth, public schools possessed the power to "educate the conscience of America." Indeed, during this period, the Church continued to place an emphasis on the incorporation of religion into public schools. However, with this, it added a further highlighting of the public-school system's "responsibility for the inculcation of moral and ethical ideals." Even as they stressed this, the implementation of this plan encountered greater obstacles than in previous years. For, in public schools, the separation between church and state widened, most notably with the decision reached by the Supreme Court in McCollum v. Board of Education, or the "Champaign case," in 1948. [79]

Beginning in the lower courts of Champaign, Illinois, the McCollum v. Board of Education case centered around the earlier concept of released time during the school day for religious instruction. With its outcome, "that the release of children for religion classes conducted in

---

[78] J. Edgar Hoover, "Secularism-Breeder of Crime," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 12, 1948, 208 & 220. ; *Ibid*, 208.; *Ibid,* 220. ; "The Christian Faith and Secularism by J. Richard Spann" advertisement, Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 30, 1948, 1270.

[79] Jacob Simpson Payton, "Controls By Congress or By Character," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) August 22, 1946, 1061. ; Herbert E. Erway, "The Public's Responsibility for Crime," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 1, 1948, 840-841.

school property was an unconstitutional act," the case effectively promised the barring of religious material in the classroom, as well. [80] Now legally prohibited from bringing religion into schools, the Church relied upon indirect means to ensure that the Christian faith reached American youth and, in turn, to maintain their position in society. Similar to its role during the Second World War, temperance education provided the Church with a solution, given its increasing connection with morality and character development. In this, temperance lessons acted as a vehicle through which religious themes might be introduced into public schools in a less overt way. Using anti-alcohol education in this way, Methodists sought to establish not only temperance but also a prominent position in the lives of the American people. As a relationship exists between the two, the Church's approaches to temperance during the early years of the Cold War need to be examined to trace how it used its dominant method, temperance education, to cement their role in a secular world.

Following in the fears they expressed during the Second World War, Methodists called attention to the involvement of alcohol in crime to advance their temperance crusade in the immediate post-war years. In the later years of World War II, church members articulated a concern over a potential increase in the criminality within American society after the conflict, as a result of a broader moral degradation. However, this potential turned into a reality, as the Church observed an increasing crime rate among the population. For, they noted that "America enter[ed] 1946 with 6,000,000 criminals within its borders," which marked a "13 percent increase in crime over 1945." [81] Identifying this as "the highest rate of increase on record" at the

---

[80] "An Indecisive Decision," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 25, 1948, 388.

[81] Jacob Simpson Payton, "Congressmen at Home," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 10, 1946, 51.; "The Liquor Situation Today," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 27, 1947, 259-260 &285.

time, Methodists connected this increase with the consumption of alcohol, as servicemen who began drinking in camps returned home and citizens adjusted to life after war. Accordingly, the uptick in "brawls, beatings, stabbings, shootings, highway accidents and domestic tragedies…result[ed] from intoxication." Establishing a connection between the two, Methodists emphasized the cost of crime and, by extension, alcohol, being incurred both financially and morally, by the American people. To begin, they often considered the monetary fee of liquor-induced crime, detailing it in terms of the individual expenses that added to this amount. Noting that the "liquor bill of the American people reached the figure of $7,000,000 annually," church members argued that this number only "continu[ed] to grow with the increase of [the] evils that go along with the commercial beverage alcohol traffic," most notably crime. [82] For, they added to this bill the "tax burden imposed upon the community by the police costs incurred by [liquor-motivated] affairs." Breaking down these costs, the Church tacked on another "$845,000 [for the] cost of board and keep" of jails, where "drunkards [often formed] the largest group" of inmates. [83] In this, church members not only demonstrated the costliness of the liquor issue as it relates to crime but also the way that this costliness involved the entire population.

Throughout their discussion of crime, the Church highlighted how the public shared in the incurred expenses, thereby turning criminal activity related to alcohol, into a community issue. By doing this, Methodists aimed to "intere[st] many people in the necessity of finding a solution to th[e] problem[s]" that alcohol caused, an interest they hoped to only expand as they addressed the moral cost that crime and liquor effected upon society. They stressed that the unchecked

---

[82] "The Liquor Situation Today," 260. ; "Congressmen at Home," 51; The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church, "A Call to Churches," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 25, 1946, 515. ; *Ibid*, 515.

[83] "Not Only Alcoholism," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 26, 1946, 1219-1220. ; "The Liquor Situation Today," 260. ; *Ibid,* 260.

growth of drinking, and thus crime, "blight[ed] human character…[and] undermin[ed] resistance to temptation[,] mak[ing] moral cowards of men and women." Affecting citizens in this way, the Church warned of the "rotting foundations" which could contribute to a "nation [that] suffers from a decay of character." In this correlation between crime and alcohol, the Church found a means to further their temperance efforts. For, through their inclusion of finances and morals, they appealed to the population leaving one conflict behind and entering the next. Since proving the strength of the nation became paramount in the oncoming conflict, church members used the rising crime rate and its costs to "arouse alarm" and "awaken public-spirited citizens in bringing about a better understanding and handling of the [liquor] problem." [84] Here, they identified a potential way to pressure the federal government to pass legislation to limit alcohol consumption, but even more to demonstrate the role of temperance in establishing a moral fabric of the country. As the opening stages of the Cold War progressed, the Church's focus on the rise in criminal activity offered a way for members to promote their temperance interests, particularly as the conversation began to consider the impact of vice on American youth.

Related to crime, the rise in juvenile delinquency during this period captured the attention of the Church and provided it with another potential avenue through which to achieve temperance. Since the end of the Second World War, Methodists noted an "increase of juvenile delinquency" among American youth. Citing reports from J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, they highlighted the "total increase in all offenses, of nearly 175 percent" from the previous decade. While these offenses ranged from robberies, to driving while intoxicated, assaults and juvenile murders, church members assured that all of them shared a singular cause,

[84] Charles M. Crowe, "Alcoholism or Alcohol?," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) October 7, 1948, 1296 & 1306. ; *Ibid*, 1306. ; Jacob S. Payton, "Enemies At Large," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 1, 1949, 1152. ; *Ibid*, 1152.

alcohol. Indeed, they argued that it proved "impossible to list the evils that contribut[ed] to juvenile delinquency and omit drunkenness or to [decide upon] preventative measures without recommending curbs on [this] arch-despoiler of American family life." [85] In this, church members highlighted the way that liquor could be doubly indicted as the primary reason for juvenile delinquency. The first of these indictments stemmed from alcohol's impact on the homes of these young people. With liquor left unchecked by society, church officials found that more parents engaged in drinking, often to the point of drunkenness. This drunkenness affected the lives of children in a way that "no [other] factor [proved] comparable." For, these officials argued that "alcoholism caus[ed] parents to utterly neglect and cruelly abuse their children." Tracing the impact on the child, the Church underscored how drinking led to the disruption of the home to the extent where "the childhood home [became] no longer habitable" for the young person. Corresponding to this loss of habitability, Methodists cited a "crowd[ing] of police courts." [86] For, with their homes upended by the effects of alcohol, young people became involved in crime. To further indict alcohol as the cause of juvenile delinquency, Methodists addressed drinking among youths themselves. Apart from their parents, church members also noted that "the drinking problem emerg[ed] in the population group 15 years of age and over." Highlighting the "local spots of moral disease such as dispensaries of alcohol" found throughout American communities, church members aimed to demonstrate the ease with which young people became drinkers and, thus, criminals. From this, they emphasized how alcohol correlated to the likelihood of youth crime. Compared with the portion of the population which increasingly exhibited a drinking problem, an overlap existed, where members of the same age group held

---

[85] "A Call to Churches," 515. ; "The Liquor Situation Today,"260. ; "Enemies At Large, 1152.

[86] Elwood F. Nelson, "Saving Young Delinquents," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 18, 1946, 910. ; Ibid, 910. ; Enemies At Large," 1152. ; *Ibid*, 1152.

"the greatest frequency of arrests." [87] By relating alcohol to juvenile delinquency in these ways, the Church made "the liquor problem a new and pressing family problem." In doing so, they sought to attach a societal importance to alcohol that would induce the public to support its regulation. With such support, they could gain more attention in their calls to replacing "rum shops and saloons [which act as] the destroyers of homes" with other options. In this, Methodists championed the creation of "recreation, guidance, education, camps, and local crime prevention clinics" to combat not only juvenile delinquency but also the drinking from which it stemmed. At these locations, church members could impart temperance morals and prevent the development of liquor habits. Thus, in this, Methodists sought to curb the influence of alcohol in the lives of American youth as they prioritized a cleaning up of society. [88]

Through this call to clean up society in response to the relationship between alcohol and juvenile delinquency, the Church found another approach to achieve temperance, which involved the movies. Beginning in 1946, church members in the Women's Society of Christian Service of Methodism turned their attention to the film industry and "addressed the moving picture producers on the subject of the portrayal of liquor in current cinema productions." In this, they argued that such portrayals impacted all American children and put them at a greater risk of becoming drinkers. For, these church members identified a "psychological effect on young people, even those who had unimpeachable moral training in home and church, [from] constantly witnessing as an accepted social usage, casual drinking scenes in homes or glamorized drinking in any place." From this, the Women's Society of Christian Service of Methodism urged that

---

[87] "The Liquor Situation Today," 260. ; "The Public's Responsibility for Crime," 841. ; Jacob S. Payton, "Alarming Facts," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 17, 1947, 499-500.

[88] "The Liquor Situation Today," 260.; "Enemies At Large," 1152.; "The Public's Responsibility for Crime," 841.

“drinking be entirely omitted” from movies, except for situations where it contributed to “the authenticity of a tavern or the accuracy of character deterioration.” [89] Supportive of these demands, the Church expressed its belief in the Women’s Society of Christian Service to attack this issue and effect change in place of liquor in the movie industry. However, at the same time, the wider Methodist community also believed that the removal of alcohol from films would “have far-reaching results in stemming the tide by which American life [was] being alcoholized.” As a result of the importance they ascribed to it, the Church emphasized “the necess[ity] [of] further action and organization if the largest results [were] to be obtained” and considered the form this action should take. Adding to the letters of protest sent by the Women’s Society, the Church advised the group to use its nationwide chapters to increase the pressure on the film industry to respond. In this, Methodists laid out a plan where “inside each [Women’s] society, a strong, vigorous, and courageous committee be organized to visit the manager of the local theater and voice objections.” At the Church’s suggestion, these visits, which “should be carefully planned” and include “no mincing of words,” should function as “organized boycotts” where they “expressed [their opinion] with Christian seriousness.” [90] In these proposed actions, the larger Methodist body aimed to achieve more visibility for the issue of liquor scenes in movies viewed by youth, and by extension, temperance. For, in removing alcohol from the movie screen, they eliminated one of the ways that it pervaded the American public’s daily lives. Motivated by this goal, the Church saw an opportunity to extend the “actions of [their] church groups” who called for the removal of liquor scenes when “a legal body added to the insistence that motion pictures sh[ould] not corrupt the morals and ideals of young people,” through their inclusion of

---

[89] “Our Women Can Do It,” Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 10, 1946, 35. ; *Ibid*, 35. ; *Ibid*, 35.

[90] “Women’s Society to Take Action,” Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 25, 1946, 516. ; *Ibid*, 516. ; *Ibid*, 516.; *Ibid*, 516.

alcohol. In 1947, a federal grand jury for the northern district of Illinois concurrently observed that a "large number of [their] criminal cases [involved] intoxicating drink [and that] multitudes of young people who attend[ed] motion pictures [were] faced with drinking scenes in almost every picture." Seeking to prevent the development of a habit that would lead to later crime, the jury sent a letter to Eric A. Johnston, the president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America. They pressed Johnston to "take steps [to] improve this situation by greatly eliminating or reducing to a great extent the drinking scenes in motion pictures[…] for the sake of the good citizenship of youth." With this, the Church acknowledged the "service of profound importance" that this legal body performed "in addressing itself to the picture industry," and it used this momentum to further their own efforts. [91] Despite this attention and strong requests, neither the Church nor the jury secured the passage of a legal measure to remove liquor scenes from movies. Indeed, throughout this period, church members repeatedly implored those in the movie industry to eliminate such scenes, with little progress. Moving forward, Methodists remained committed to removing alcohol from the everyday view of the American public but sought to do so through legal means.

Expanding their scope beyond movies, the Church revisited liquor advertisements as a way to promote their temperance crusade. As they had in the years immediately following repeal, Methodists acknowledged the "beverage alcohol business and its increasing inroads on American thought and life." Among these inroads, church members identified advertising as the most pervasive and, thus, the most threatening. Calculating that "the American liquor industry [would] spend at least $100,000,000 on advertising during 1947," Methodists sought to demonstrate the

---

[91] "Movies Hear From a Jury," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 2, 1947, 3-4. ; *Ibid*, 4.; *Ibid*, 4.; *Ibid*, 4.

number of liquor advertisements produced. Translating the numerical into the spatial, they underlined how these ads filled the pages of newspapers and magazines, being fully visible to American youth. In this, the Church warned of the susceptibility of youths to these advertisements, which it characterized as "so seductively appealing to naïve, unprepared young people" as to induce them to drink. [92] Similar to films, they found in liquor advertisements the same glamorization of alcohol, where with the "most attractive style[s] in color," such ads pressed "growing children to become users of intoxicants." From this, the Church described how "through advertising[,] distillers, brewers, and vintners [held] lines of invasion into every American family circle." [93] Presenting this as an attack on American youth, church members aimed once again to appeal to the larger public[,] imploring them to "join [this] battle between those who [strove] to protect their families [against] those who [sought] to despoil them." However, the Church included another key actor in this battle, the federal government. For, it argued that "when the display of liquor advertising became practically universal and when Christian parents [were] unable to subscribe to any magazine which [was] free from such objectionable advertising, it [became] the responsibility of the government." As part of this responsibility, Methodists urged a federal "protection of [American] homes through legislative enactment." [94] Aiming not only to remove liquor advertisements but also to advance temperance, they championed the adoption of legislation for the rest of this early Cold War period.

---

[92] Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker, "Coming Alive," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 25, 1946, 518-519.; Roy L. Smith, "In My Opinion: It Cannot Be Made Respectable," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 27, 1947, 266. ; "Coming Alive," 518.

[93] John R. McFadden, "Letters to the Editor: Concerning the Young Man with *Time," The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 6, 1947, 191. ; Jacob Simpson Payton, "The Battle Is On," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) May 22, 1947, 658. ; *Ibid*, 658.

[94] "The Battle Is On," 658. ; Roy L. Smith, "In My Opinion: Parents Have A Case," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) May 8, 1947, 586. ; *Ibid*, 586.

While first addressed in the immediate post-repeal years, federal discussion about legislation for liquor advertising came to a head during this period. One such piece of legislation proving to be a holdover from over a decade earlier was the Capper Bill. Proposed by Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas directly after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the bill sought to "restrict the interstate advertisements of liquor" into dry states. After numerous delays, the Interstate Commerce Commission, then chaired by Senator Wallace H. White Jr. from Maine, finally agreed to hear the measure on May 12, 1947. Using this as an opportunity to prohibit the presence of liquor from everyday life and advance temperance, Methodist officials urged church members "to support [the Capper] bill." To demonstrate this support, they advised congregations, "who desire[d] to protect their homes and their children [, to] write to the [Interstate Commerce] committee and express their opinion." [95] Ascribing it an importance beyond prohibiting cross-state liquor advertising, the Church presented the bill "as necessary to the safety of the morals of young people and the welfare of the nation. For this reason, when a decision on the Capper Bill stalled in the Senate, Methodists refused to abandon their push for legislation on the issue. Indeed, by December 1949, a renewed chance for removing liquor advertisements came in the form of the Bryson Bill and Langer Bill. With Senator Capper "le[aving] Congress in 1948," Senator William Langer from North Dakota and Congressman Joseph R. Bryson of South Carolina took up the problem of advertising alcohol and proposed similar measures. Under these bills, liquor "advertisements would have to be left out of all newspapers passing from one state to another, no licensed radio station could broadcast any [ads] of alcoholic beverages, [and] no letters or pamphlets advertising such beverages could be sent

[95] "Liquor Advertising," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 24, 1947, 516. ; M.E. Lazenby, "Meetings: Board of Temperance Charts Plans for Special Emphasis," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 20, 1947, 243. ; "Stop That Invasion," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 5, 1947, 700.

through the mail." [96] Of these two measures, the Langer bill received a hearing by the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, chaired by Colorado Senator Edwin C. Johnson, on January 12-13, 1950. The Church again couched the outcome as "an event of high significance to the American home," it repeated its calls upon church members to voice their support of the bill. However, despite this support, the Langer bill met with the same fate as its predecessor. By September 1950, the "the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commission Committee killed the proposal to ban liquor advertising from interstate commerce." While the Church continued to explore options to prohibit liquor advertisements, the major legislative efforts brought forth in this period did not yield any permanent results. To curb the influence of alcohol in the lives of the American public in the way that they intended in these legal measures, Methodists recognized a need to "enter into the process of educating the masses" in a more direct way. [97] Thus, the Church once again found itself turning to schools to advance its temperance goals.

Similar to the previous decade and a half, Methodists recognized education as the preferred and most useful means of removing alcohol from the daily lives of American citizens and furthering their temperance crusade. By this period, they "realized that the alcohol problem [was] not going to be met by a few simple, negative warnings and taboos, especially in a society where drinking [was] accepted so widely." Acknowledging this, church members again turned toward

[96] Deets Pickett, "Liquor Advertising: Representatives of Millions of Americans Testify Against It," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 5, 1947, 723. ; Pamela Ehresman Pennock, "Public Health, Morality, and Commercial Free Expression" Efforts to Control Cigarette and Alcohol Marketing, 1950s-1980s" (dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2002), 104.; "Liquordom Will Object," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) December 29, 1949, 1725.

[97] "Stop That Invasion," 700. ; "Miscellaneous: Langer Bill Dies," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 7, 1950, 1081.; Reverend Thomas H. Smith, "Letters to the Editor: What Is Education," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) August 21, 1947, 1087.

the approach of long-term instruction, placing "a very important emphasis upon temperance education."[98] At the same time, the Church also began to apply a more religious tone to the temperance movement, which impacted the significance and scope of education on the issue. Continuing on from the Second World War, church members connected anti-liquor lessons to the development of personal morals and character. In doing so, they adopted a new perspective during this period, which named temperance education as a key actor. Analyzing their crusade, Methodists identified a need to "keep men away from alcohol," rather than "keep[ing] alcohol away from men." Expanding upon this distinction, the Church noted that "when a man decided for himself that he would keep away from alcohol, the problem [would be] solved." To "put prohibition on the inside of the individual," church members concluded that the only approach proved to be "one of education."[99] They outlined that this "education [began] with an understanding of basic motives [of the liquor industry] and provid[ed] personality development without the use of alcohol." On the notion of personality development, the Church ensured a component of "sound character education" in this temperance instruction. In this, they explained how "Christian character education [taught] one to discriminate where the unthinking [fell] prey to what appear[ed] to be all right on the surface but [was] demoralizing underneath," like alcohol. Therefore, Methodists not only placed an emphasis on temperance education to induce the public to not drink but also added a focus on character development which would fortify citizens against liquor. For the Church, this moral strengthening helped individuals to know that alcohol offered "nothing to gain and possibly everything to lose" before a drink could even be

---

[98] Albion Roy King, "Why People Get Drunk and What the Church Should Do About It," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) February 27, 1947, 268- 269. ; "This Is Not a Liquor Advertisement," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) October 30, 1947, 1382.

[99] William C. Skeath, "Keeping Men From Alcohol," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) May 1, 1947, 555. ; *Ibid*, 555.; *Ibid*, 555. ; *Ibid,* 555.

presented to them. As a result, it highlighted the importance of this "sentiment against beverage alcohol [to be] directed toward the general public, especially youth." Similar to the Second World War, Methodists pushed for "alcohol education in public schools." [100] For, with their reach, the public school system functioned as an ideal venue through which to dispense this temperance and moral education that would prompt youth to deny alcohol. With the developments during the latter half of this period, the Church's emphasis on anti-liquor and character education became even more valuable in its efforts.

Concurrent with its temperance crusade, Methodists discussed their fears over an increasingly secular society and attempted to establish the Church's role in it. During this period, church members noted that "God ha[d] been blocked out of too many homes, schools, and entire communities." The Church found the "proof of [this] turn[ing] away in the predominance of a materialistic way of life" among American citizens. With the opening of the Cold War, the threat of this materialism, or secularism, only grew with that of Communism. At this time, church members highlighted "the sweeping spread of communism [as] the most alarming fact with which Christendom [was] confronted." For, with its "basic philosophy of pure materialism," Communism "le[ft] no room for any of the spiritual convictions which [were] supremely dear to all Christians."[101] Recognizing this, Methodists searched for a way to curb the spread of secular ideologies and reaffirm the place of religion in American society. In this, church members set about to "reclaim [their] century for God," a goal they believed they could accomplish through

[100] "Why People Get Drunk and What the Church Should Do About It," 268. ; John E. Marvin, "Learning Facts About Alcohol," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) October 30, 1947, 1384-1385. ; *Ibid*, 1385. ; *Ibid*, 135. ; T. Otto Nall, "Christian Education: Board Seeks Wider Knowledge, Deeper Insights, Higher Efficiency," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 13, 1947, 339. ; *Ibid*, 339.

[101] "Secularism: Breeder of Crime," February 12, 1948, 208. ; *Ibid*, 208. ; Roy L. Smith, "In My Opinion: Methodism Is A Redemptive Movement," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) September 18, 1947, 1194. ; *Ibid*, 1194.

education. Expanding upon this position, they believed that "education [stood] out as one of the tested techniques for guiding and changing human nature." As a result, the Church determined that implementing a "Christian education [would] offer [a] fine and firm foundation for Christian decision and a Christlike life" for all citizens, but particularly youth. Acknowledging the significance of this implementation, Methodists emphasized that without this education to bring religion to the public, "[the Church] [would] continue to show signs of lessening influence." [102] Thus, while they included church schools in this call, the Church again focused on public schools as "most of the nation pass[ed] through [them]." Identifying them as one of the "great agencies of influence" in American society, church members underlined the potency of public schools in their effort to cement the position of religion in this environment. For, during this period, Methodists felt that "if [they] [could] control the teachings in [these] great agencies that influence a civilization of culture[,] [they] [could] also determine the destiny of that civilization." [103] From this notion, they promoted the instruction of religious lessons in the public school system that would, at once, curb secularism and provide the Church with a dominant role in society. Toward the latter half of this early Cold War period, new legal developments about the relationship between public school and religion came to impact the Church's approach for introducing spiritual instruction into a secular setting.

Handed down by the United States Supreme Court in March 1948, the decision in the case of McCollum v. Board of Education greatly complicated the Church's attempts to insert religious education into America's public schools. The case, also known as the Champaign case, began in

---

[102] "Reclaiming Our Century," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 9, 1950, 301. ; Weldon Crossland, "Christian Education: A Guide to Redemption," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 22, 1948, 108-109. ; *Ibid*, 108.; Bishop Fred P. Corson, "Christian Education: Whose Superscription Does It Bear," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) March 20, 1947, 367.

[103] "Keeping Men From Alcohol," 555. ; *Ibid*, 555.

the district courts of Champaign, Illinois. In this city, "classes in religion were being conducted in [public] school property during school hours, and children were permitted to attend if request were made to that effect by their parents." Vashti McCollum, a parent of a student in the Champaign public school and an atheist, introduced a "suit to compel the school board to abandon the religious education classes." While district and state Supreme Courts found the "religious instruction within the law," multiple appeals by McCollum brought the case before the Supreme Court of the United States. Reversing the decisions of the lower courts, the Justices ruled that "teaching religion in public school buildings [was] a violation of the Constitution and must be discontinued." [104] While noting its vagueness, the Church also expressed its alarm. For, they recognized how "the decision rais[ed] a long list of issues at the same time that it propos[ed] to settle one." Among these issues, Methodists emphasized that "not the least of the dangerous [ones] [would] be the fear it [would] inspire in school administrators concerning exercises which ha[d] been unquestioned." With this, church members feared the complete removal of existing religious practices in schools, making "inevitable a[n] increase in the tide of godlessness." Unwilling to allow this outcome, the Church maintained their commitment to "standing guard over the souls of [American] children" in public schools. Indeed, members saw the decision as a "call to a more vigorous and effective program of Christian teaching than they ever had." To do this without disobeying federal laws, they turned to its language, determining that the "Supreme Court decision [did] not prohibit the lifting up spiritual values and moral principles in the

---

[104] "An Indecisive Decision," 388-389. ; *Ibid*, 388. ; John O. Schisler, "What Does the Supreme Court Decision Mean," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) April 29, 1948, 550 & 575.

teaching of literature, history and certain other subjects." [105] As a result, the Church turned to more indirect means related to values, to bring religion into public schools.

At the same time it advanced their anti-alcohol campaign, temperance education also functioned as a particularly useful yet indirect way of including religion in the public school system. Despite the ruling in the Champaign case, Methodists "insisted that, if religion [was] not to be taught, [then] neither shall irreligion." With this conviction, they "highlighted present and possible relations between the church and public schools," not specifically mentioned in the law. One such relation arose in the form of moral instruction. For, church members "requested the inclusion of character education in the public-school curriculum" to take the place of "credit of religious education classes [which] was withdrawn after the Supreme Court decision." They continued that "classes in character training [be] based [up]on the common acceptance of teachings in the Holy Bible." [106] Recognizing that these requests often stalled with school officials, Methodists found another way to bring character, and thus religious, lessons into the public school, through temperance education. As previously noted, temperance education became increasingly associated with the cultivation of personal character and morals during the opening years of the Cold War. In this, they emphasized an "effort to develop temperance in disposition," where they aimed to achieve this sentiment against liquor through the instruction of values. Indeed, church members argued that a part of anti-liquor instruction "must build the inner disciplines which can hold life together." With this correlation, temperance education

[105] "An Indecisive Decision," 388. ; *Ibid*, 389. ; *Ibid*, 389.; "What Does the Supreme Court Decision Mean," 550. ; "An Indecisive Decision," 389. ; "What Does the Supreme Court Decision Mean," 550.

[106] An Indecisive Decision," 389 ; "Christian Education: Board Seeks Wider Knowledge, Deeper Insights, Higher Efficiency," 339. ; "Morals Course: Asked," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) July 29, 1948, 984. ; *Ibid*, 984.

provided an answer to the Church's increased calls for the "development of courses for a program of character education." For, these anti-liquor lessons included a moral component that brought an "emphasis on religious experiences," back into public schools in the way that Methodists desired. [107] Demonstrating this overlap, Methodist temperance "publications[,] pamphlets[,] and books [such as the *The Voice* and *Clipsheet* were] being used in public-school courses." As a result, the line between the spiritual and the secular blurred, enabling religion to reach American youth. By doing this, the Church used temperance education as a vehicle through which "religion could be taught in the public schools outside the scope of judicial concern." [108] Thus, while it considered other approaches to achieve temperance during the post-repeal period, the Church identified temperance education as a means to advance the anti-liquor crusade and its own role in American society.

---

[107] T. Otto Nall, "Christian Community," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) December 19, 1946, 1623. ; "Social and Personal Dynamite," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 21, 1949, 100-101.; "Religion In The Schools," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) December 8, 1949, 1609. ; *Ibid*, 1609.

[108] "A Methodist Center of Education Against Alcohol," Uncredited, *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) August 1, 1946, 992. ; Elmer E. Burns, " Out of the Mailbag: Religion In The Schools," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) January 19, 1950, 66 .

Conclusion

In 1950, the Methodist Church recounted "a half-century of achievement and failure, victory and defeat" in its "promot[ion] of the righteous cause of freedom from the terrible tyranny of drink." At the same time, they also laid the foundation for its future plans against alcohol. Taking their cues from this past, Methodists launched a "new advance temperance movement" going forward. For this, they emphasized the importance of approaches which would lead to the "awakening of the nation to the extent and nature of the [liquor] problem." Positioning itself as the source responsible for bringing this awakening to the American public, the Church pointed to another desired effect of its future temperance efforts, influence. Recalling the decades-old issue of whether proposed methods of eliminating alcohol signified an over-involvement of "the church in politics," Methodists reemphasized their right to "exert influence." Calling upon the earlier words of Bishop Francis J. McConnell, church members reintroduced the notion that "[i]nfluence has to do with reasons, with honesty in handling facts, with moral character." From this, they posed Bishop McConnell's questions to a new generation to consider. First, "are churches to be stopped from taking part in discussion which affects the public welfare just because they are churches?" and further "is not the church, in fact, in this world to perform a prophetic function?." Indicating their response, Methodists reaffirmed their commitment to the cause of temperance in the future. Not "seek[ing] leadership in this cause," the Church instead sought "only the opportunity for service," an opportunity that it extended to include its concerns over temperance and secularism at this time. [109]

[109] Deets Pickett, "A Half-Century of Temperance Reform," *The Christian Advocate* (Illinois: Chicago) June 22, 1950, 814-815.

The Methodist Church responded to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment by testing a variety of tactics, while they favored an educational approach that proved useful as the Church sought to advance both temperance and their position in American society during the twentieth century. In a general sense, their commitment to the cause of temperance in the post-repeal period proves unsurprising. As a religious institution, the Church desired to perpetuate certain values and a way of life that corresponded to them. Cherishing this aspect of societal structure, church leaders and members attached a significance to these values. By doing this, they also demonstrated a willingness to defend such values against any perceived threats to them. For Methodists, alcohol represented just the threat they feared. With its impact on the conduct and decisions of the drinker, liquor acted as the antithesis to the moral code that the Church aimed to promote. As a result, following the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, Methodists had an immediate response. However, the long-term vision accompanying this immediacy, pointed to an important and often overlooked aspect of the Church's response to repeal. Committed to the preservation of Christian values and the elimination of alcoholic beverages which undermined this effort, the Methodist Church acted with intentionality as they set about to achieve these goals. Expanding upon this, they applied an organizational logic to their temperance efforts in the post-repeal period. In this, Methodists did not become a delusional fanatic group after the revocation of Prohibition but rather rational actors. Accordingly, they arrived at decisions which most advanced their desired outcomes. Being this rational actor, the Church tried different approaches to temperance that kept their interests at the forefront in more ways than one throughout this period.

Beginning with its anti-liquor crusade, the Church exhibited rational behavior in its exploration of potential ways of attaining temperance in the decades following repeal. During

this period, Methodists focused on tactics which they believed would benefit their cause. To determine which of these would be most beneficial, the Methodist Church increasingly turned their attention toward the larger context of the moment. In this, they used this historical context to inform their proposed approaches, where major events became related to alcohol. Thus, the Great Depression and even more so, the Second World War, and the Cold War functioned as a foundation upon which the Church positioned their anti-liquor efforts. As a result, church members tailored their temperance rhetoric to the environment in a way that attested to their rational behavior. For, they examined their surroundings to determine the best available choices on how to address the issue of alcohol. Demonstrating this correlation, Methodists promoted certain tactics during one historical moment that received little to no attention only a few years later, as in the case of most of the approaches suggested during the Second World War. While this kind of behavior introduced tactics at the moment when they would be most effective, it also resulted in certain shelf-life for these methods. However, displaying its role as a rational actor in relation to their anti-liquor crusade, Methodists identified an approach that provided the maximum benefit to their cause at the same time that it proved transcendent across the post-repeal period, temperance education. The Church continually endorsed an educational approach, where an anti-alcohol sentiment might be instilled in the next generation. Evolving over time to include an element of morals and character-development, temperance education came to serve another interest of the Methodist Church. Recognizing this potential benefit, church members began to use temperance lessons in a way that maximized their objectives , which at this point of the twentieth century in the United States, expanded to include secularism.

Functioning as a rational actor, the Church utilized its decision to promote temperance education to also advance the influence of religion in society. In the decades that followed

repeal, Methodists identified an increasing secularism within the population. With this, they recognized a prioritization of non-religious institutions and ideas over that of the Church and its teachings. As a result of this, the Methodist Church feared a loss of its position , and by extension, its reach in society. To avoid a loss of influence, they acted in a rational manner in order to secure their role in the American public sphere. Viewing education as the most effective way to solidify their place, church members sought to enter the public school system in order to increase the public's exposure to religion. This plan underwent some necessary alterations, as those outside of the Church reinforced the separation of church and state. While this distinction became sharper, Methodists embodied the rational actor, as they began to blur the division between temperance education and religion. They endowed anti-alcohol lessons with an increasingly moral undertone, which enabled these lessons to be ideal for the incorporation of Christian teachings into the public-school setting. In this demonstration of their rational behavior, Methodists' endorsement of temperance education for their anti-liquor crusade also doubled to serve their religious desires. Thus, through temperance education, the Church attempted to maximize its gains in both causes in the post-repeal period.

Today, the United Methodist Church, as it is now known, still contends with the issues of secularism and temperance that it identified in the twentieth century. In March 2021, Gallup reported that "Americans' membership in houses of worship decline[d] [,] dropping below 50% for the first time in Gallup's eight-decade trend." [110] At the same time, while its earlier vehemence has waned over the decades, the Church maintains its position against alcohol and associates it with other recreational drugs. Although these two realities seem disparate in

[110] Jeffrey M. Jones, "U.S. Church Membership Falls Below Majority for the First Time," *Gallup,* March 29, 2021, https://news.gallup.com/poll/341963/church-membership-falls-below-majority-first-time.aspx

modern society, an understanding of the correlation between a decline of religious worship and the Methodists' stance on liquor in the period after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment holds significant insight. Highlighting the relationship between their concern for temperance and secularism in the twentieth century, an analysis of these issues lays bare what was at stake for the Methodist Church in their involvement in both of these issues. In viewing the overlap between these two causes, the existence of a moral voice and the Church's influence in enforcing it in the nation, proved to be at risk. Behaving as a rational actor, the Church aimed to preserve these interests in its response to alcohol and growing secularism during the post-repeal period. Thus, while making them no less sincere, an examination of the Methodist Church's temperance efforts post-repeal, adds nuance to the involvement of religious institutions in social issues in a way that offers an elucidation of their role in modern societal debates.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Krug, Julius Albert . "War Production in 1944: Report of the Chairman of the War Production Board." June 14, 1945. https://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/ATO/Admin/OPM/WPB-1944/index.html.

The Christian Advocate, 1934-1950. Drew University Special Collections and United Methodist Archives, Madison, New Jersey.

Secondary Sources

Blumlo, Daniel J. "How the Common Grunt and Prostitute Changed Military Policy." Master's thesis, Florida State University, 2004.

Clark, Norman H. *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976.

"Control State Directory and Info." National Alcohol Beverage Control Association. https://www.nabca.org/control-state-directory-and-info.

Engelmann, Larry. *Intemperance: The Lost War Against Liquor*. New York: The Free Press, 1979.

Harding, Susan F. "American Protestant Moralism and the Secular Imagination: From Temperance to the Moral Majority." *Social Research* 76, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 1277-1306.

Jones, Jeffrey M. "U.S. Church Membership Falls Below Majority for the First Time." *Gallup*. March 29, 2021. https://news.gallup.com/poll/341963/church-membership-falls-below-majority-first-time.aspx .

Kyvig, David E. *Repealing National Prohibition.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Kyvig, David E. "Sober Thoughts: Myths and Realities of National Prohibition after Fifty Years." In *Law, Alcohol, and Order: Perspectives on National Prohibition*, 3-20. London: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Lantzer, Jason S. "Everything Old is New Again." In *"'Prohibition Is Here to Stay": The Reverend Edward S. Shumaker and the Dry Crusade in America*. Jason S. Lantzer. Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2009.

Lender, Mark Edward and James Kirby Martin. *Drinking in America: A History.* New York: The Free Press, 1982.

Lerner, Michael A. *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Levy, Michael. "United States Presidential Election of 1936." Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. October 27, 2019. https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1936.

McGirr, Lisa. *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016.

"Ness, Eliot." *Case Western Reserve University* online, https://case.edu/ech/articles/n/ness-eliot.

Okrent, Daniel. *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition.* New York: Scribner, 2010.

Pennock, Pamela Ehresman. "Public Health, Morality, and Commercial Free Expression: Efforts to Control Cigarette and Alcohol Marketing, 1950s-1980s." Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2002.

Romm, Cari. "During World War II, Sex Was a National-Security Threat." *The Atlantic,* October 8, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2015/10/during-world-war-ii-sxually-active-women-were-a-national-security-threat/409555/

"Sacrificing for the Common Good: Rationing in WWII." *National Park Service*. Last modified June 3, 2016. https://www/nps.gov/articles/rationing-in-wwii.htm#:~:text=During%20the%Second%20World%20War,contributed%20to%20the%20war%20effort.&text=Supplies%20such%20as%20gasoline%2C%20butter,diverted%20to%20the%20war%20effort.

"Temperance and Prohibition." In *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism* Vol. 1. Edited by Nolan B. Harmon. Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974.

"United Methodist Membership Statistics: United Methodist Membership As Compared to the United States Population Census." *General Commission on Archives and History.* http://gcah.org/history/united-methodist-membership-statistics .