

TEMPERANCE INTERNATIONALISM: GUY HAYLER AND THE WORLD PROHIBITION FEDERATION

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Abstract. The World Prohibition Federation, organized in 1909, and the International Record, published from 1917 to 1968, sought to internationalize the temperance movement by collecting and disseminating anti-drink news from around the globe. The Federation was based in London, and most of its activists were English-speakers. A British reformer named Guy Hayler served as its honorary president for thirty years and edited the *International Record* until his death in 1943. The Federation emphasized that prohibitionists comprised a moral community, united regardless of race, religion, nationality, or politics. Poorly funded, the Federation had difficulty competing with the World League against Alcoholism after the Anti-Saloon League of America organized this rival propaganda society in 1919.

SHORTLY BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR, a handful of Anglo-American temperance reformers decided that the moment was ripe for an international propaganda society. Private discussions began in 1904; the first public announcement of the project followed in 1907.¹ Led by Edward Page Gaston (1868-1956), an American who lived in London, reformers from thirteen countries organized the International Prohibition Confederation in 1909.² Renamed the World Prohibition Federation in 1919, it functioned “as a central bureau, or clearing house, for the collection of Prohibition information from many lands, and in turn for the distribution of this responsible data in a multitude of directions.”³ Gaston held office as honorary (that is, unpaid) secretary into the 1940s. When he returned to the United States, the Federation also styled him its special American commissioner.

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An Englishman, Guy Hayler (1850-1943), became its honorary president, serving for thirty years.⁴ In 1917 he started a quarterly called the *International Record* that reported anti-drink stories from around the globe.⁵ Any reconstruction of the Federation's history must focus on Guy Hayler, its most important and committed leader and the one who left the fullest record. In 1919 the *Methodist*, an Australian newspaper, credited him with "the honour of giving vitality to the idea" of "world-wide prohibition."⁶

In 1925, when the Federation belatedly acquired its own premises, his son Mark H.C. Hayler (1887-1986) was appointed executive secretary.⁷ After Guy Hayler died, Mark Hayler kept the *International Record* alive until 1968. The newspaper was the last Federation activity to survive. When it ceased publication, the Federation ceased to exist.⁸

Temperance Internationalism

The World Prohibition Federation and the *International Record* were part of temperance internationalism. The international temperance movement helped pioneer moral reform internationalism, a now-familiar kind of secularized religion that in an era of nationalism transcends political boundaries. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, few international movements for moral reform could rival temperance for sustained vigor and popular support. In English-speaking countries the exchange of temperance lecturers, books, and newspapers was commonplace. Although English-speakers comprised the core of temperance internationalism, reformers from the European continent and of European descent living outside Europe also participated.

Helped by the fellowship of Protestant churches and do-good organizations such as the YMCA, international temperance took many organizational forms: periodic anti-alcohol conferences, large reform societies rooted in strong local affiliates, and small specialist institutions. As early as 1846, Anglo-American delegates meeting in London called themselves a world temperance

conference.⁹ In the last third of the nineteenth century, the pace quickened. By the 1870s, the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT), a fraternal temperance society, boasted lodges around the globe. Recognizing its worldwide presence, the IOGT changed its name to the International Order of Good Templars at the turn of the century. In 1883, the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union became the first international organization run by women. Beginning with a meeting in Antwerp in 1885, biennial international congresses against alcoholism attracted delegates from Europe, North America, and sometimes elsewhere.¹⁰ The International Bureau against Alcoholism was established in 1907, with headquarters in Switzerland, and still exists as the International Council on Alcohol and Addictions.

In contrast with the indifference shown by most historians, temperance reformers rejoiced in the global scope of their cause.¹¹ By being worldwide, the anti-alcohol movement supposedly demonstrated that its cause was right and its success inevitable. The ambitious coverage of the entire world in the *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, published by triumphant American prohibitionists between 1925 and 1930, comprised a six-volume monument to the spirit of temperance internationalism.¹² Seeing itself as part of the global advance of civilization, the anti-alcohol movement regarded prohibition as analogous to the abolition of slavery and the rise of parliamentary democracy. Proudly, it allied itself with the forces of progress.

Today, except in Islamic countries and a few states in India, prohibition is a dead issue. Obviously, the World Prohibition Federation and the other temperance organizations failed to dry up an alcohol-soaked globe. The Federation, its temperance competitors, and its allies remain important as windows through which we can study the shadowy story of moral reform internationalism and better understand the Anglo-American reformers who shaped this lasting phenomenon.

The Federation's idealistic rhetoric merits special exploration. Although other temperance reformers—especially in the United

States—might be unembarrassed champions of blatant religious and racial bigotry, the Federation insisted that drink reformers everywhere belonged to a single international moral reform community. Religion and race mattered less than a shared commitment to total abstinence and state prohibition. Although nearly all Federation leaders were devout Protestants, the literature that the organization published typically did not foreground evangelical religion.

Edward Page Gaston

The individual most responsible for creating the International Prohibition Confederation was Edward Page Gaston. For several years, he arranged exploratory meetings that preceded the session at the Imperial Institute, London, in July 1909, at which the new society was officially organized. He served as honorary secretary or joint honorary secretary into the 1940s.¹³

Today Gaston is almost totally forgotten. For instance, he does not appear in the *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography*.¹⁴ His absence from the United States for two decades helps explain why historians of the American temperance movement ignore him, but he was much more than the kid brother of the eccentric anti-cigarette crusader, Lucy Page Gaston.¹⁵

Gaston was born in the small town of Harvey, Illinois, in 1868 and died shortly before his eighty-eighth birthday in Washington, D.C. Adventurous, energetic, and charismatic, he lived a life too large for a single career. During his long lifetime, he found multiple outlets for his talents: journalist, lecturer, archaeologist, business executive, organizer of wartime relief, and political activist.¹⁶ He often became entangled in controversies, sometimes embarrassing ones.

At the time that he organized the International Prohibition Confederation, he was the European manager for Funk and Wagnalls and lived in Britain. Gaston became very much a part of his adopted country. He married an Englishwoman, and their three sons made Britain their permanent home. A Methodist, Gaston partici-

pated in the Nonconformist passive resistance agitation protesting local rates that assisted Church of England schools. To get the value of Gaston's unpaid taxes, the authorities seized his silverware and sold it at auction.¹⁷ He was one of the handful of extremists, frustrated with the half-heartedness of the Liberal Party, which organized a prohibition party in England. Before World War I, he helped edit the British edition of the *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*. After the war, he wrote the *American's Rapid Guide to England (with Canadian Notes)*.

Gaston's humanitarian activities during World War I brought him praise (including a decoration conferred by the government of neutral Denmark), followed by humiliating notoriety and an abortive libel suit.¹⁸ After an unsuccessful attempt to remove the remains of Pocahontas for re-interment in Virginia, he returned to the United States permanently, apparently in the mid 1920s.¹⁹ He rejoined the American prohibition movement while continuing to serve the World Prohibition Federation with the added title of special United States commissioner.²⁰ In 1928 he undertook a major tour of the United States and organized many conferences.²¹

Although he had served as an International Crusade of Peace delegate at the 1899 Hague peace conference, Gaston showed much more of a taste for things military than did the pacifist Haylers.²² His *International Record* obituary described him as "a tall, handsome man of military bearing and command." In the late 1930s, Gaston headed something called the Patriot Guard that claimed many high-ranking American military officers as members. The Patriot Guard tried to persuade dock unions to boycott trade with Japan after it invaded China.²³ The central purpose of the Patriot Guard was something different: "to fight the communism now sweeping the United States through illegal labor disturbances and other destructive actions." Gaston reminded Americans that "I went through the Moscow-financed general strike in England in 1926, when my family had a part in breaking down that short-lived revolutionary effort."²⁴

He liked to call himself Captain Gaston, the rank coming from a commission in the New York State National Guard. Bizarrely, during World War II the elderly prohibitionist went to jail for wearing a U.S. Army captain's uniform without authorization.²⁵ He described this as "a clumsily constructed frame-up of the beer-barons." After the war, President Harry Truman granted Gaston a full and unconditional pardon.²⁶

In the 1940s, an unfriendly member of the United States Congress described Gaston as the "generalissimo" of the World Prohibition Federation.²⁷ In fact, by then he played only a marginal role in the British-based organization. His priority after Pearl Harbor became wartime prohibition for his own country. With the help of a House of Representatives ally from a dry state, Gaston used congressional mimeograph machines to spread his message: "America should soon be dry again, and next time Prohibition will come to stay as a success."²⁸ After the war, Gaston served as field director for a campaign against liquor advertising in the press, radio, and television.

Guy Hayler

Guy Hayler lacked Gaston's flair and glamour, but Hayler was the only leader committed entirely to international prohibition news and propaganda. At the time of the Confederation's organizational meeting, he already was 58. His beard grew gray as he faithfully served the worldwide dry cause until his death at the age of 93.

Our exploration of the Confederation and the Federation relies heavily on Hayler. We have his books and many shorter publications, including articles that appeared in the *International Record*, as well as odds and ends of biographical material.²⁹ In the mid-1960s, the University of Wisconsin purchased part of his library from a Baptist minister who had acquired it. Salvaged after a 1944 German V1 bombing raid, it arrived in eleven large tea chests. In 1982 Wisconsin arranged for the microfilming of thirty-five bound volumes of pamphlets and other ephemera. They include otherwise rare writings by or about Hayler.³⁰ One of his sons, (Guy) Wilfrid

Hayler, achieved sufficient success in America as a planning engineer and architect for the University of California, Berkeley, to add his papers to its archives. The Wilfrid Hayler collection includes historical materials about Wilfrid's parents, Ann and Guy Hayler, and a few letters from father to son.³¹ As his father's editorial successor at the *International Record*, Mark Hayler printed numerous articles about his father at the time of his death and at the centenary of his birth. He also offered a biographical appreciation in a lecture that was published as a pamphlet.³² Mark Hayler deposited many of his father's pamphlets at the London library of the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance, now the library of the Institute of Alcohol Studies, with other Federation-related materials.³³ Other than the Institute, the Ohio Historical Society probably has the most complete collection of the *International Record*. With the help of these resources, there is a reasonably clear picture of Guy Hayler from the age of six when he pledged total abstinence at a blacksmith's anvil until his death during World War II.

International temperance was a second career for Guy Hayler. Prior to 1909, he spent more than three decades as a provincial temperance organizer, residing in grimy North of England industrial towns, first at Hull and later at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Although this could have been a parochial life, in fact many foreign temperance reformers visited him.³⁴

Hayler always had transnational interests. Not surprisingly for the son of a Chartist weaver, Hayler had been a working-class radical in his youth. He served as honorary secretary for the International Democratic Association when it organized what was described as "a Republican Demonstration," held at Hyde Park on April 16, 1871, in support of the Paris Commune.³⁵ A year earlier, he joined the mostly working-class Good Templar fraternal temperance society that had originated in the United States. Although he probably did not remain a republican, he did stick with the Good Templars throughout his life, and his Good Templar membership nurtured his internationalism. Beginning with a journey in 1893 that carried

him as far west as Iowa, Hayler visited North America several times to attend Good Templar meetings, and in 1901 he researched a book there about the effectiveness of local prohibition laws. In 1905 he was elected to international office in the Good Templar Order.

In the following year, he suffered a breakdown in health, perhaps aggravated by the frustrations he experienced as an English prohibitionist. The dismal prospects for prohibition in his own country may have encouraged Hayler to focus on other parts of the world where there was a better chance of persuading governments to outlaw the sale of drink. Working without pay for international temperance in what amounted to a part-time job was less strenuous than his previous career as a regional organizer, which had required incessant travel, speaking at public meetings, and fundraising. Presumably wealthy temperance reformers enabled him to live comfortably without salaried employment. Hayler continued to hold concurrent offices in other temperance organizations, notably the Good Templars and the National Temperance Federation, and often worked for international temperance in them too.³⁶ In the 1918 general election that followed World War I, he stood for Parliament as an independent Liberal and lost.

If Hayler's life had ended in 1906, he would be remembered, if at all, as a third- or fourth-rank temperance worthy, an uncompromising and impractical extremist even by the standards of the Liberal Party's prohibitionist wing. He lived for nearly forty more years and became sufficiently important for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* to find room for an entry about him. What made him more than an obscure temperance militant was his work as writer and editor, his much-admired library, and his contribution to international temperance.

Hayler's greatest service to international temperance was in collecting and disseminating information. At his home in a south London suburb, he created a huge library. Its most impressive section was situated in an attic room "packed from ceiling to floor with the files of Temperance periodicals, from every corner of the

globe,” as well as annual reports, pamphlets, and “a huge collection of posters.”³⁷ Nearly every day the postman brought Hayler replies to his letters as well as temperance periodicals from all parts of the world. He was not content with written information about the drink question. “Few visitors to this country who were associated in any way with the Temperance Movement escaped him. He would meet them at the [railway] stations and accompany them to meetings or bring them home, and he would gather from them the latest news of the work being done abroad.”³⁸ Famous to temperance folk as “the house with the white gate,” his home attracted innumerable temperance visitors, many of them from overseas (“of Scandinavian visitors, there seemed no end”).³⁹

He was more an editor than an original writer. “Hayler was an inveterate clipper and paster. His books were loaded down with newspaper clippings.”⁴⁰ His own publications consist mostly of excerpts from government documents and from other books and newspapers. He was fond of statistics. On each anniversary of the enactment of national prohibition in the United States, he distributed to newspapers around the world a letter that “kept the public alive to the progress of the Dry Forces.”⁴¹

Always hopeful, Hayler exaggerated the importance of signs of a rising dry tide. This liberal humanitarian sometimes found reasons for optimism in strange places: in Fascist Italy, Mussolini “closed over 25,000 liquor shops,” while in Nazi Germany, “not only is Adolf Hitler a total abstainer, but we are told that many of his prominent workers are also likewise principled.”⁴² Hayler commended the “popular propaganda against Vodka” in the Soviet Union.⁴³

Hayler's Ideology

Although largely descriptive, Hayler's books, booklets, and journalism contain a fragmentary international temperance ideology.

Early in the twentieth century, he wrote *Famous Fanatics*, in which he pointed out that throughout history men and women who later were honored as great humanitarians had been originally ridiculed as fanatics. Consequently, Hayler had no problem with being called a fanatic. He did object to the assumption that teetotalers focused exclusively on “one idea,” total abstinence. In fact, teetotalers were progressive people who recognized the need for a variety of reforms.⁴⁴

In *Prohibition Advance in All Lands*, published on the eve of the First World War, Hayler boasted that the temperance movement contributed to world peace. It joined together “the peoples of the earth” in fraternal solidarity, “irrespective of colour, education, politics or religion.”⁴⁵

After the war it became obvious, concluded Guy Hayler, that “we must move out of our old parochialism, overstep the bounds of nationalism, and render service in the wide fields of internationalism.”⁴⁶ As early as 1922, when anti-German sentiment remained intense in his own country, he arranged for the *International Record* to appear in a German edition. Hayler occasionally mixed a dash of realism into generous servings of his customary cheery optimism. In a pamphlet published in the early 1920s, *The New Europe and Prohibition*, Hayler acknowledged that “one would not make any predictions regarding Prohibition in Europe.”⁴⁷ But he expressed the hope that “soon, perhaps in the lifetime of many now living, the ends of the earth will be linked in one final crusade” against alcoholic drink everywhere.⁴⁸

In fighting the drink evil, prohibition was the “master method,” to be preferred over any lesser temperance reform.⁴⁹ Hayler argued that it was not simply “an Anglo-Saxon experiment.”⁵⁰ “Prohibition is on the doorstep of the world.”⁵¹ Reformers must organize “the Prohibition International.”⁵² At a time when the prospects for prohibition had faded in his own country, he made the cause of prohibition throughout the world his mission. He enlisted for life in “the World’s Wet War.”⁵³

From Confederation to Federation

A definitive institutional history of Hayler's organization is beyond our reach. Printed records of a few conferences and publicity leaflets tell us most of the little that we know.⁵⁴ Consequently, this article focuses on leaders for whom information is available.

In 1909, when prohibitionists gathered in London for the twelfth international congress on alcoholism, the International Prohibition Confederation was born. Persuading congress delegates to stay a few extra days for a Confederation meeting was easier than asking them to make a special trip, so this conclave and most of its subsequent conferences would be held in conjunction with the well-established biennial congresses on alcoholism. Many of the people listed as Confederation delegates probably had only a shallow commitment.

Gaston argued: "this movement for international Prohibition has its genesis among the intellectuals of many lands."⁵⁵ Reformers from thirteen different countries had signed the call for the conference that organized the Confederation. At its next conference, in the Netherlands in 1911, Gaston proudly reported that representatives from thirty-nine countries supported the new Confederation.⁵⁶ He suggested that this increase was proof that the organization was a success. He observed that the International Prohibition Confederation "implies by its very name an escape from the insularity and littleness which hedges in too many efforts at social amelioration."⁵⁷ The Federation did its best to be well informed. For instance, in 1912 Gaston corresponded with Booker T. Washington to learn how the drink trade harmed African Americans.⁵⁸

In the early years, Confederation president Hayler counted fellow Good Templars among his principal supporters: Tom Honeyman, leader of the Scottish Grand Lodge, and Joseph Malins, head of the English Grand Lodge. In 1918 at least half of the members of the International Prohibition Confederation's executive committee were Good Templars.⁵⁹ The Confederation echoed the Good Templar

ideology of universalism that invited into IOGT membership all teetotalers regardless of their sex, race, religion, or nationality.

Despite a host of vice-presidents from many countries, the Confederation or Federation remained essentially an Anglo-American organization that existed in large part to praise American prohibition as a model for the world. It maintained its headquarters at London and, until after the Second World War, its president was always British. Its first honorary secretary (Gaston) was an American. So was its first honorary treasurer (Isaac K. Funk, who was Gaston's employer in Funk and Wagnalls). Two later honorary treasurers were Presbyterian ministers who lived in the United States, Dr. Charles Scanlon and after his death Dr. J.W. Claudy. A Methodist layman Dr. David Leigh Colvin—who in 1948 became the Federation's first American president—served as honorary treasurer, 1934-48.⁶⁰

In 1929 a majority of the members of the executive committee represented countries other than the United Kingdom and the United States, but nearly all of these officers either resided in Europe or were of European ancestry. Although the objectives were genuinely global, persons of color were rare. For instance, although in 1911 two prominent Indians (one of them being the Indian National Congress leader G.K. Gokhale) represented the subcontinent, in 1929 India's sole representative was a British missionary. The 1929 executive committee did include a Japanese member.

Although women comprised most of the world's teetotalers, men occupied most of the offices in the Federation. For instance, a document issued in 1929 listed by name and country fifteen women and sixty-eight men as members of the "world committee," not counting the four men who held office as honorary president, honorary secretary, honorary treasurer, and executive secretary.⁶¹ Probably the best-known female member of the committee was Agnes E. Slack, an Englishwoman who for many years served as the honorary secretary of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

As a propaganda organization, the Confederation sought "to disseminate responsible data regarding the world-wide advance of

Prohibition,” both for alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs.⁶² It claimed to have distributed during its first twenty-one years more than five million leaflets, pamphlets, and other publications in many languages.⁶³ It is difficult to imagine that recipients had paid for all of them, so how the organization paid for its printing and postage bills is unclear. For instance, during its first two years it collected just over 123 pounds and spent 118 pounds. The Confederation’s modest income included ten pounds from the honorary president (Hayler) and over twenty pounds from the honorary secretary (Gaston). The honorary treasurer (Isaac K. Funk) contributed two pounds while his publishing company (Funk and Wagnalls) added another twenty pounds.⁶⁴ In short, it operated on a miniscule budget.

Hayler began editing his small newspaper for the Confederation during the First World War. “At this ideal moment, when Prohibition was in the air [during the wartime emergency many countries restricted or eliminated the sale of alcoholic beverages], Guy Hayler launched his *International Record*, for the purpose of collating and disseminating news of the progress of the movement around the world.” No figures survive for the mailing list, but Hayler’s little quarterly was distributed free of charge to “Statesmen and Members of Parliament, Universities and Libraries, Colleges and Schools, Editors, Writers, and Speakers, and other leaders of thought the world over.”⁶⁵ The slogan on the first page of the inaugural January 1917 issue was “knowledge is power.” The expenditures for the *International Record* in its first year were less than 130 pounds.⁶⁶ Once again, the modest amount of money available for the newspaper raises doubts about its effectiveness, but by the time of its October 1921 issue, Hayler had distributed one hundred thousand copies.⁶⁷

Temperance reformers were hopeful that postwar reconstruction would include prohibition. This seemed reasonable at a time when forms of national prohibition existed in both the capitalist United States and Bolshevik Soviet Russia and when an Asian nationalist hostile to both capitalist and socialist versions of Western modernity, M. K. Gandhi, called for immediate and complete prohibition

in India.⁶⁸ The Federation petitioned the League of Nations to appoint an international committee to inquire into the drink problem. Optimistic that prohibition would spread quickly, the Federation called in 1921 for “a dry Europe by 1930.”⁶⁹

Federation and League

After its first decade when it had been the principal—albeit small—international organization created specifically to promote prohibition worldwide, Hayler’s society faced a challenge from a better-financed American-based competitor.⁷⁰ Even before the founding of Hayler’s organization, several general-purpose societies had enlisted in the international fight, notably, the Good Templars and the World’s WCTU. Hayler’s newspaper did not complain about their work as competition. “To all we bid God’s speed. There is room for all, and no effort should be spared in this great struggle for International Friendship and International Prohibition.”⁷¹ In contrast, the Anti-Saloon League of America seems to have preferred a monopoly or at least clear hegemony.

Once the Anti-Saloon League had achieved national prohibition in the United States, it sought to spread the benefit of the abolition of the drink trade to the rest of the globe through the World League against Alcoholism, founded in 1919. There was little distinction between the leadership of the two American leagues. The World League occupied space in the Anti-Saloon League’s Westerville, Ohio headquarters, and all the World League’s international conferences were held in North America. Ernest Hurst Cherrington called the World League “the child of the Anti-Saloon League.”⁷²

For a few years, the Anti-Saloon League pumped money into the World League. For instance, in 1921 the Anti-Saloon League provided the World League with over \$30,000. Of this, \$14,000 went to its London office to support it for two years.⁷³ In 1922 the World League’s income exceeded \$75,000.⁷⁴ The League established additional offices in Switzerland, Scandinavia, the Baltic states, and Mexico. The World Federation could not compete with the World

League financially. In 1921 the Federation launched a 10,000-pound appeal, but it is unlikely that it collected more than a tiny fraction of that amount.⁷⁵

Soon the Anti-Saloon League faced financial problems of its own, so its substantial overseas commitment did not continue. From the beginning, many of its leaders regarded international propaganda as a much lower priority than did Cherrington and Bishop James Cannon, the Anti-Saloon League's two principal champions of the World League. Cherrington was the World League general secretary, while Cannon chaired its executive committee.

The Americans had the advantage of the prestige of national prohibition, but outside the English-speaking world most temperance reformers favored different policy objectives and a different rhetorical style. On the European continent, most drink reformers were professors and physicians who did not define temperance as prohibition but as moderation, sometimes favored government monopolies for the sale of alcoholic drink, and were uncomfortable with evangelical religious language. The World League's blunt-speaking international organizing secretary, William ("Pussyfoot") Johnson, grated on the nerves of many European reformers.

From the perspective of continental Europe, the programs of the World League and the World Federation were similar. Obviously, the World Prohibition Federation wanted prohibition. Although hostile to the influence that the drink trade wielded in politics, Hayler strongly opposed creating government monopolies for the retail sale of alcoholic drink. On one topic, the World Federation stood shoulder to shoulder with many continental reformers. The Federation wanted to prohibit opium and other addictive drugs, a social and medical problem not on the agenda of the World League.

The World League appears to have resented the continued existence of the older World Prohibition Federation. A historian of the World League described its relations with the World Federation as "acrimonious."⁷⁶ They were "distinguished by a lack of courtesy which occasionally degenerated into open competition."⁷⁷ Throughout its existence, the Anti-Saloon League habitually dis-

paraged competitors, and the two Leagues had a vehement dislike for some of the Federation's American associates (notably, Emil Hohenthal, a prominent figure in the Sons of Temperance fraternal society and the Prohibition Party).⁷⁸

The American supporters of the World Federation made good relations with the World League difficult. The Prohibition Party, the National Temperance Society, and the denominational temperance societies had been marginalized by the Anti-Saloon League, and sometimes their activists fought back. In 1906 and 1907, prior to the creation of the International Prohibition Confederation, Dr. Charles Scanlon (1869-1927) began to assemble a coalition of anti-League temperance reformers. A "career reform bureaucrat" who served as general secretary of the Presbyterian temperance board, Scanlon joined the executive committee of the International Prohibition Confederation no later than 1911 and no later than 1918 became its honorary treasurer.⁷⁹ Allegedly, he attempted to discourage British delegates from attending an Anti-Saloon League conference at Columbus, Ohio, in 1918. Cherrington described this as "the kind of Christian warfare tactics that we are already facing in connection with the world-wide program for the League movement."⁸⁰

On the eve of national prohibition, Scanlon organized the National Dry Federation. He served as its secretary, while William Jennings Bryan was president. Excluding the Anti-Saloon League, the National Dry Federation claimed ("falsely," according to historian K. Austin Kerr) the affiliation of many denominational temperance bodies. In reality, it "never amounted to more than a letterhead with prominent names."⁸¹

After the Dry Federation faded away, Scanlon attempted in March 1920 to organize another alliance of prohibition societies that excluded the Anti-Saloon League. This time Scanlon's organization claimed to operate "as the American section of the World Prohibition Federation." Its goals were the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States and the promotion of temperance elsewhere. As president of the World Federation's American affli-

ate, Scanlon explained, "without regard to creed, party, race, sex or other distinction, we shall work through this movement against alcohol and all other habit forming drugs." He suggested that the evangelist Billy Sunday might become honorary president of the international organization. Scanlon's news release emphasized that an organization of Roman Catholic priests was affiliated with the World Federation. When the *New York Times* interviewed the editor of an Anti-Saloon League newspaper, he retorted that the League too had its Roman Catholic supporters. He sardonically denied that the League had any quarrel with the new organization or "its predecessor," the National Dry Federation. Accordingly, to the interviewer this League editor declared, "that the federation was welcome to all the joy it could get out of the announcement that the Anti-Saloon League was not affiliated with it."⁸²

Scanlon's new organization did not survive. Instead, the World Federation acquired as its American affiliate an older organization that lobbied for legislation promoting personal morality and against drink and drugs. Founded in 1895 as the International Reform Bureau, it became known from 1924 as the International Reform Federation.⁸³ This American organization had ties to the Prohibition Party, never the friend of the Anti-Saloon League. Here the key figure appears to have been Virgil Goodman Hinshaw (1876-1952) who served as superintendent from 1923 to 1926 and in other International Reform Federation offices through 1938. He chaired the Prohibition Party national committee, 1912-1924, and no later than 1918 joined the World Federation's executive committee.⁸⁴ In 1924, when Hinshaw and the much hated Hohenthal gave financial support to Germans working for prohibition, Cannon undercut them by supporting another German group that advocated the more limited policy of local option.⁸⁵ Thwarting rivals appeared to be more important than promoting prohibition.

In addition to their dislike of many of the Americans associated with the World Federation, the two Leagues also had a low opinion of Hayler. Although Cannon conceded that he was "pleasant," he added that "there is so much puff and blow about him that he had

never appealed to me very much.”⁸⁶ In other words, Hayler was an ineffectual windbag.

There also was a difference in tone between the assertive Americans and the more irenic Federation that hindered cooperation. Southern Methodist bishop Cannon was an activist in the nativist American Protestant Alliance, outspokenly anti-Roman Catholic, and contemptuously racist. More tolerant, Hayler included two chapters on Catholic abstainers in his *Famous Fanatics* and rejected race as a barrier to temperance solidarity in his *Prohibition Advance in All Lands*.

The conflict between the World League and the World Federation should not be exaggerated. Some reformers worked with both comfortably. For instance, the French reformer Dr. Paul Maurice Légrain headed the Federation’s European committee but cooperated with the World League too. Unlike either the Federation or the League, Légrain’s immediate interest was treating alcoholics and not prohibiting the sale of alcoholic drink.⁸⁷

By 1927 Guy Hayler recognized that his organization could not compete with the wealthy and self-confident Americans. When a middle-level World League official considered an “arrangement” that would allow the World League to swallow the Federation, he was willing, provided that his son Mark “was assured of a reasonable position” in the merged organization. In fact, the League official only considered Mark Hayler as a possible assistant to the American agent in charge of the London office.⁸⁸ Bishop Cannon rejected any merger unless Hohenthal was purged.

The World League and the World Federation limped on separately. In the early 1930s, allegations of financial and sexual improprieties damaged Cannon’s reputation, while the financial problems of the Anti-Saloon League reduced the World League to a moribund shell.⁸⁹ Despite the disappointment of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States, a handful of loyalists kept Hayler’s Federation and the *International Record* at least half alive for several more decades. For instance, from 1933 to 1935 the

Haylers “distributed over 350,000 [copies of the *International Record*] and other temperance pamphlets.”⁹⁰

After Repeal

Guy Hayler showed no discouragement when the United States ended national prohibition. Completing a quarter century as president in 1934, he delivered his presidential address to the Federation at the Imperial Institute, London, where the organization had been born. In *Prohibition: The Inevitable Solution of the Liquor Traffic*, a defiant title, he argued that the liquor traffic had been weakened over the past twenty-five years: “it is less respected, less secure.” He blamed the repeal of national prohibition in the United States on the demand for revenue during the Great Depression. He argued that national prohibition had benefited the country in a variety of ways, from improved health to increased church memberships. In looking at other parts of the world, Hayler took comfort in Nazi Germany’s concern over drinking among the young, and he rejoiced in Mexico’s presidential election at which the victorious Lázaro Cárdenas called for national prohibition. Hayler insisted on the importance of the prohibition movement. It was not irrelevant or of marginal importance. He wanted prohibitionists to propagandize everyone: “the communist as well as the communicant ought to hear our gospel.” He acknowledged, “that our work during the past two or three years has been very uphill.” As “an Internationalist” he insisted that peace was essential. “The new world that we are all seeking is based on a common brotherhood—a kingdom of righteousness.”⁹¹

In September 1937, as Europe drifted toward war, Hayler presented his Federation presidential address at Warsaw, Poland. Instead of starting his speech with a description of the drink problem, he began by identifying the three things that he regarded as fundamental for the happiness of humankind: “the peace of the world, which should be based on a true conception of the inherent worth

of man; freedom and democracy, which should not be filched from the possession of mankind, whose rightful heritage they are; and the national standard of life that it be kept as high it can be made.” In Hayler’s judgment, these objects “will be more realisable when the nations of the world are freed from the influence and domination of the liquor traffic.”⁹² He refused to be discouraged. For instance, he contrasted the disappointing end of prohibition in the United States with what he regarded as the certainty of national prohibition in an even more populous country—India—once the nationalist movement there achieved independence.⁹³ Despite the slowness of progress in most parts of the world, Hayler had no doubt about eventual success in the fight against alcoholic drink. “Whether its entire elimination is achieved in the next decade or century, no one knows, but each day brings the world nearer to the victory of the Temperance and Prohibition forces.”⁹⁴

Mark H. C. Hayler

After Guy Hayler’s death, his son Mark kept the World Prohibition Federation alive—or at least he continued the publication of the *International Record* for another fifteen years. As the Federation shrank, a very few people did what work got done. For instance, shortly before he died, Guy Hayler told a son who lived in California that Mark Hayler personally typed all the copy for the *International Record* before delivering it to the printers.⁹⁵

Guy Hayler’s humanitarian internationalism affected his children. Two of his sons, Mark and Glen, were court-martialed during the First World War for refusing to perform non-combatant service. Although reared in his family’s Congregationalist denomination, Mark joined the pacifist Religious Society of Friends, but not until after the war, in 1924. It was not for strictly religious reasons that Mark was among the first fifty people to join the No-Conscription Fellowship.⁹⁶ Describing his family, he said: “we were all conscientious objectors,” his four sisters and three brothers as well as

himself. "It seemed to us too ridiculous for words, war. Not a religious feeling, more a moral point of view."⁹⁷

Always a committed teetotaler, Mark Hayler worked from 1904 to 1909 at the estate office of the earl of Carlisle, husband of the redoubtable prohibitionist Rosalind Howard, countess of Carlisle. He then studied at a theological college in Wales. At the time that conscription became law, young Hayler worked at a school for juvenile offenders in Liverpool. The local tribunal refused him a full conscientious objector's exemption from military service. In an attempt to avoid arrest at a railroad station, he bicycled to London, but he soon was arrested there on Good Friday in 1916. He was sentenced to a term at hard labor. Re-arrested in 1917, his final term of imprisonment ended early in 1919. As a wartime conscientious objector who had spent time in prison, it was difficult for Mark Hayler to find suitable work ever again. He found outlets for his energy and ability in the temperance movement. In addition to serving as the World Prohibition Federation's executive secretary, he joined the executive committee of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1938 and wrote the centenary history of that prohibitionist organization, published in 1953.⁹⁸ He was eighty when he published the last issue of the *International Record*. With the newspaper no more, the World Prohibition Federation ceased to exist.

This forgotten organization and its newspaper deserve a chapter in any history of international temperance. What distinguished the World Federation from many other early twentieth-century temperance organizations was that it emphasized the argument that drink reformers everywhere belonged to a single international moral reform community. When the leaders of the rival World League talked about the global community, it did so self-confidently in terms of white Protestant American or Anglo-American cultural imperialism. In contrast, Hayler and his World Federation showed greater modesty and were emphatic that embracing international temperance meant a rejection of nationalism, religious bigotry, and racism.

Somewhere in the world there always could be found news about prohibition to keep Guy Hayler cheerful about the future. In return, as editor of the *International Record* he did his best to keep other prohibitionists optimistic too. The international dimension gave comfort to reformers residing in countries resistant to the idea of prohibition.

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NOTES

1. *Report and Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference of the International Prohibition Confederation, the Hague, Holland, September 11-16, 1911* ([London: International Prohibition Confederation, 1911]), (hereafter *Second Biennial Conference*) page number indecipherable on microfilmed copy.

2. See obituaries: "Captain Gaston is Dead at 87," *Washington Post*, October 12, 1956, 38; "Mr. E. Page Gaston," *Times* (London), October 15, 1956, 15; "Death of Edward Page Gaston," *International Record*, October-December 1956, 3; as well as [anonymous] "Gaston, Edward Page," *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 6 vols, ed. Ernest Hurst Cherrington (Westerville, Ohio: American Issue, 1925-1930): 1073-74. I am grateful to Ann-Marie Szymanski for helping me identify Gaston's date of death. He often was styled E. Page Gaston.

3. *Second Biennial Conference*, 7.

4. See David M. Fahey, "Hayler, Guy," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2004, 26: 45-46. Matthew McKean contributed entries for both Guy Hayler and the World Prohibition Federation in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*, ed. Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell (2 vols., Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003): 288-89, 692-94 [pagination is continuous through the two volumes]. The Fahey and McKean articles fail to mention that Guy Hayler had a notable older brother, a sanitary engineer best known as a critic of the Metropolitan Board of Works in the 1880s. As a result of an inheritance, Mark Hayler Judge changed his surname and so obscured his relationship to his brother and his nephews.

5. In the 1920s, the British edition was supplemented by a German-language one and another English-language version published in Philadelphia.

6. *Methodist*, March 8, 1919, quoted in Ian R. Tyrrell, "Prohibition, American Cultural Expansion, and the New Hegemony in the 1920s: An Interpretation," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 27 (1994): 421.

7. J. Stuart Horner, "Tribute to the Late Mark H.C. Hayler, 1887-1986," in an unpublished report to the Board of the United Kingdom Alliance. Institute of Alcohol Studies library, London. I am grateful to Derek Rutherford for my copy; Rutherford wrote the entry for Mark Hayler in Blocker, et al., eds, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 289.

8. The World Prohibition Federation papers at the Institute of Alcohol Studies include a request from the *Europa Year Book* for an update of the Federation listing. Although the Federation apparently failed to reply, the *Europa Year Book* repeated in 1969 the information printed in 1968. Probably the 1968 listing itself was out of date in its claim that the Federation still had members in many countries. Both the 1968 and the 1969 entries state that the object of the Federation was "the abolition of intoxicants and habit-forming drugs throughout the world." The entry claimed that over thirty countries were represented in the Federation. The office of honorary president was listed as vacant, while Mark H.C. Hayler was identified as both executive secretary and editor of the *International Record*. *Europa Year Book* 1 (1968): 409; *Europa Year Book* 1 (1969): 427.

9. (James) Dawson Burns, *Temperance History*, 2 vols. (London: National Temperance Publication Depot, [1889-91], I: 268-70. In a pioneering article, Douglas Maynard identified the 1840s as the seedtime for international reform and London as the site for most of the early meetings. Douglas Maynard, "Reform and the Origin of the International Organization Movement," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963): 220-31.

10. Beginning in 1931, an organization named the International Temperance Council was responsible for calling the congresses.

11. Exceptions to historians' neglect of international temperance include Ian R. Tyrrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); David M. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); and Blocker et al., eds., *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*.

12. The Anti-Saloon League of America sponsored the *Standard Encyclopedia*.

13. Gaston was identified as honorary secretary in the January 1944 *International Record* (5), but Mark Hayler was listed as honorary secretary in the April 1944 *International Record* (8). Presumably the death of Guy Hayler prompted reorganization.

14. Mark E. Lender, *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984).

15. Lucy Page Gaston was a poor money manager, so her brother often financed her anti-cigarette agitation. Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 63.

16. For instance, as a young man Gaston joined the celebrated Hemenway archaeological expedition to Arizona, founded a news agency in Mexico City, edited a prohibition newspaper in Denver, served as vice-president of the Chicago-based National Christian Citizenship League, and became a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He contributed to general interest magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, and the *Windsor Magazine*, as well as prohibition publications such as *Voice* and the *Union Signal*. He was a popular lecturer on both sides of the Atlantic, addressing non-temperance topics such as his experiences living among the Zuni Indians in western New Mexico and climbing a 17,000-foot volcano in Mexico in addition to topics related to the evils of drink.

17. "American 'Passive Resisters,'" *New York Times*, August 8, 1903, 7.

18. He visited battlefields to recover personal items of the fallen—relics for their families—and to mark graves and also visited prisoner of war camps to distribute parcels and money. As an agent for Wells Fargo, he helped stranded Americans remove their luggage from wartime Europe. At first the American ambassador at Berlin cooperated with Gaston, but in 1915 he repudiated him, insinuating that Gaston had pocketed money meant for POWs. When British newspapers printed a letter in which the ambassador criticized Gaston, he sued for libel, but because the witnesses were in Germany the case could not be heard. "Retrieved Trunks Here from Abroad," *New York Times*, October 24, 1914, 4; "Embassy Drops Gaston," *New York Times*, April 2, 1915, 2; "Gerard Letters Causes Suit," *New York Times*, December 2, 1915, 3; "Libel Suit Put off till after the War," *New York Times*, March 18, 1916, 5.

19. Gaston claimed to be her descendant. "Protest Seeking Pocahontas' Grave," *Washington Post*, January 1, 1923, 5. As early as 1918, Gaston listed a New York City address. Guy Hayler, *The Coming of Prohibition* [International Prohibition Confederation, Document No. 10] (Birmingham: [Templar Press], 1918), 2.

20. Although his work in the United States is not well documented, we know that he was proud about having taken an axe to a 15,000-gallon moonshiner's still in southern Maryland, and that as commander of an organization called the New Vigilantes of America he attempted to enforce sobriety at the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933. "Vigilantes Plan to 'Dry Up' Capital for the Inauguration," *New York Times*, February 13, 1933, 1; "Inauguration Was Dry, Vigilante Declares," *Washington Post*, March 6, 1933, 16. In his last years, he supported the International Federation of Narcotic Education as well as the presidential nomination campaign of Estes Kefauver, a Tennessee senator known as an enemy of organized crime.

21. *World Prohibition Federation, A Record of Twenty Years' Work on Behalf of International Prohibition: An Urgent Appeal for Increased Financial Support* (London: Lawson House, 1929), 4. I am grateful to Derek Rutherford for providing me a copy.

22. Gaston, "The World's Peace Conference," *Independent* 51 (June 8, 1899): 1540-42. W. T. Stead led this unofficial delegation.

23. "Military Officers to Ask Sea Union to Boycott Japan," *Washington Post*, December 16, 1937, 1.

24. Gaston to "Captain," April 6, 1937, in *Nation* 144 (May 15, 1937): 575. Gaston hoped to recruit into a Patriot Guard "reserve" young people enrolled in college and high school Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) programs. The letter that he sent to a high school student in Arizona fell into the hands of a woman who regarded the Patriot Guard as fascist. She forwarded the letter to the editor of the *Nation*.

25. In May 1943 he was convicted, sentenced to serve ninety days, and fined \$150. In April 1944 the Court of Appeals upheld his conviction. "Dry Leader Tried for Illegal Use of Army Uniform," *Washington Post*, April 29, 1943, B1; "Dry Leader Loses Appeal," *New York Times*, April 11, 1944, 36.

26. Gaston, "Liquor Bribery of the American Press," *International Record*, April 1951, 6.

27. "Ask for Inquiry on Drys," *New York Times*, February 26, 1942, 26.

28. "Return of the Drys," *Time*, January 12, 1942.

29. For instance, Guy Hayler's memoir, "Temperance Books and Literature that Helped Me," *International Record*, October 1944: 7-8 (reprinted from an unidentified earlier publication).

30. Brookhaven Press (La Crosse, Wisconsin) microfilmed *Temperance Tracts* in eight reels. A copy is available at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Vol. 14 of *Temperance Tracts* (microfilm reel 4) includes material that Hayler collected about his family and his own life. Hayler's notes for a biographical dictionary of the temperance movement and most of his newspaper cuttings, originally part of the Wisconsin collection, have been lost. Hayler annotated some of the books now at Wisconsin's Memorial Library but usually with no more than dates of birth and death of fellow temperance reformers.

31. The author is in possession of a microfilm of the Guy Hayler folder, which includes letters to his son Wilfrid, 1936-43, from the (Guy) Wilfrid Hayler collection, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library BANC MSS 72/204c (negative number 2824). Presumably this son's middle name honored Sir Wilfrid Lawson, longtime president of the prohibition lobby known as the United Kingdom Alliance. The headquarters of the World Prohibition Federation was called Lawson House. Like all of Guy Hayler's children, Wilfrid Hayler was a staunch teetotaler. The World Cat citation for *Frank Oldfield, or, Lost and Found* (1891) states that the copy in the Guy Hayler collection at the University of Wisconsin includes a label saying that his fourteen-year-old son, Guy Wilfrid, won first prize in the *Abstainer's Advocate* young persons' competition in February, 1892.

32. Mark H. C. Hayler wrote *The Man from Battle, Being a Centenary Reinterpretation in Three Themes of the Life and Work of Guy Hayler, Social Reformer (1850-1943)* [Joseph Malins' Memorial Lectures, No. 13] (Birmingham: International Order of Good Templars, 1950). Guy Hayler had been born in the little Sussex town of Battle near Hastings, so he was the man from Battle. Biographical articles in the *International Record* include [perhaps by a son, Walter Trevelyan Hayler], "The Centenary of Guy Hayler," October 1950, 7. W. T. Hayler also assembled a large temperance library that included a substantial collection of World Federation materials. Sadly, German bombers and British looters combined to devastate it.

33. I am grateful to Judith Crowe, librarian at the Institute of Alcohol Studies, for providing me with copies of many otherwise unavailable Guy Hayler publications.

34. An American newspaper argued that the World Prohibition Federation "had grown like the mustard tree from a tiny seed which was sown in Hull." "World Anti-Rum Body a Success," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 7, 1925 (reprint), part of the World Prohibition Federation papers at the Institute of Alcohol Studies.

35. Hayler, *The Man from Battle*, 5; handbill reproduced in *Temperance Tracts*. When even younger—aged sixteen—Hayler demonstrated his radicalism. In 1866, in support of franchise expansion, he helped tear down railings when the authorities barred demonstrators from Hyde Park: he "spent the night beneath trees in the Park to avoid being arrested." "Grand Old Man of Temperance," *Norwood News*, September 24, 1943.

36. For instance, during his years (1912-19) as honorary corresponding secretary of the National Temperance Federation, Hayler wrote to Andrew Bonar Law at the Colonial Office, 23 February 1916, to complain about the imprisonment of temperance activists in Sri Lanka after the 1915 riots. P. T. M. Fernando, "The Post Riots Campaign for Justice," *Journal of Asian Studies* 29 (1970): 262.

37. "Guy Hayler's Home in London (3)," *International Record*, October 1944, 7-8.

38. Hayler, *The Man from Battle*, 17.

39. "Guy Hayler in His Home," *International Record*, January 1944, 6.

40. David Cherry, "The Guy Hayler Collection on British Temperance," [University of Wisconsin] *Library News* (April 1966): 5-6.

41. Hayler, *The Man from Battle*, 13.

42. Guy Hayler, *The Dry Challenge: A Glance at the World's Liquor Problem* (London, World Prohibition Problem, 1930), 7; Guy Hayler, *Prohibition: The Inevitable Solution of the Liquor Traffic* (London: [World Prohibition Federation], 1934), 7.

43. Guy Hayler, *Towards World Sobriety: Some Facts and Comments on Present-Day Activities* (London: World Prohibition Federation, 1937), 8.

44. Guy Hayler, *Famous Fanatics* (London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1910), iii.
45. Guy Hayler, *Prohibition Advance in All Lands: A Study of the World-Wide Character of the Drink Question* (Westerville, Ohio: American Issue; London: International Prohibition Confederation, 1914; first published, 1913), 1.
46. Guy Hayler, speaking at the Copenhagen conference of the World Prohibition Federation. *International Record*, October 1920, 2.
47. Guy Hayler, *The New Europe and Prohibition: A Post War Survey* (Westerville, Ohio: World League against Alcoholism, 1923), 12.
48. *Ibid.*, 1.
49. Guy Hayler, *The Master Method: An Enquiry into the Liquor Problem in America* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Temperance Institute, 1901).
50. *International Record*, October 1917, 4.
51. Guy Hayler, *Thinking It Out: Present Day Aspects of Prohibition* (London: World Prohibition Federation, 1926), 16.
52. "The Prohibition International," *International Record*, October 1922, 4.
53. Guy Hayler, *The World's Wet War: The Liquor Traffic—A World Problem* (London: World Prohibition Federation, 1930).
54. For an example of a mass mailing, see the circular letter, "Honouring the 'Seven Men of Preston'," signed by Mark H. C. Hayler that announced a world centenary conference for 20 June 1932. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, folder World Prohibition Federation. Pam.Fol. HV 5088.W67 D3.
55. *Second Biennial Conference*, 6.
56. *Second Biennial Conference*, 7.
57. *Second Biennial Conference*, 11.
58. Gaston to Washington, 19 June 1912; Washington to Gaston, 5 July 1912. *Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972-89), 11: 557.
59. Hayler, *The Coming of Prohibition*, 2.
60. "Leigh Colvin Dies, Prohibitionist, 79," *New York Times*, September 8, 1958, 35.
61. World Prohibition Federation, *A Record of Twenty Years' Work on Behalf of International Prohibition*, 2.
62. "International Prohibition Confederation," *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 1361. See also "World Prohibition Federation," 2916.
63. Guy Hayler, *Between the Two Thirties, 1832-1932: Ten Decades' Struggle with the Liquor Traffic* (London: World Prohibition Federation, 1932), 14.
64. *Second Biennial Conference*, 7.
65. Joseph Malins, M.A., "Guy Hayler as Prohibitionist," *International Record*, January 1944, 5. A son of the Joseph Malins who was the founder of the Good Templar Grand Lodge of England, this younger Joseph Malins was Hayler's immediate successor as Federation president.

66. *International Record*, April 1917, 1.

67. *International Record*, October 1921, 4.

68. See David M. Fahey and Padma Manian, "Poverty and Purification: The Politics of Gandhi's Campaign for Prohibition," *Historian* 67 (2005): 489-506.

69. Quoted in Tyrrell, "Prohibition, American Cultural Expansion, and the New Hegemony in the 1920s," 422.

70. Susan Mary Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism: The Attempt to Export an American Experience" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1972), 12; Tyrrell, "Prohibition, American Cultural Expansion, and the New Hegemony in the 1920s," the standard work on the World League; Ian Tyrrell, "World League against Alcoholism" in Blocker et al., eds, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 691-92; Robert A. Hohner, "Exporting Prohibition" in *Prohibition and Politics: The Life of Bishop James Cannon, Jr.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 145-61.

71. *International Record*, January 1919, 1.

72. Ernest H. Cherrington, *Report on Behalf of the American Committee on International Relations, to the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in Session at the Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 12, 1924* ([Westerville, Ohio]: American Issue, 1924), 3.

73. Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 129.

74. Cherrington, *Report*, 3.

75. *International Record*, April 1921. The Federation hoped for 2000 pounds a year for the next five years to pay for, among other things, a traveling secretary.

76. Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 54.

77. Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 104.

78. For Hohenthal, see Lender, "Hohenthal, Emil Louis George," *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography*, 232-33.

79. Lender, *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography*, 436; *Second Biennial Conference*, 1; Hayler, *The Coming of Prohibition*, 2.

80. Cherrington to R. P. Hutton, February 11, 1919, quoted in Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 54.

81. K. Austin Kerr, *Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 134, 157.

82. "Drys United; Omit Anti-Saloon League," *New York Times*, March 15, 1920, 17. The Scanlon quotation can be found in "Aim to Enforce Volstead Act," *Washington Post*, March 15, 1920, 11. For a brief account, see Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 54-56.

83. The best account is Gaines M. Foster, "Conservative Social Christianity, the Law and Personal Morality: Wilbur F. Crafts in Washington," *Church History* 71 (2002): 799-819. Crafts died in 1922.

84. For Hinshaw on the World Federation's executive committee, see Hayler, *The Coming of Prohibition*, 2.

85. Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 105.

86. Cannon to Edward J. Richardson, July 5, 1927, quoted in Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 106.

87. Tyrrell, "Prohibition, American Cultural Expansion, and the New Hegemony in the 1920s," 428.

88. Richardson to Cannon, June 7, 1927, quoted in Brook, "The World League against Alcoholism," 106.

89. The World League clung to nominal existence until the 1970s. Mary S. Higley, "World League against Alcoholism, 1900-1937," in Randall C. Jimerson et al., eds., *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Temperance and Prohibition Papers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan [sic], 1977), 208.

90. Horner's tribute to Mark Hayler.

91. Hayler, *Prohibition: The Inevitable Solution of the Liquor Traffic*, 3, 10, 11 (quotations).

92. Hayler, *Towards World Sobriety*, 3.

93. Hayler, *Towards World Sobriety*, 4-5.

94. Hayler, *Towards World Sobriety*, 12.

95. Guy Hayler to Wilfrid Hayler, July 24, 1943, Wilfrid Hayler papers, University of California, Berkeley. Scrapbooks, vol. 1, BANC MSS 72/204c.

96. The Imperial War Museum Sound Archives include an oral history interview with Mark Hayler used extensively by Felicity Goodall, *A Question of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in the Two World Wars* (Thrupp, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997).

97. "Mark Hayler's Story" Internet site of Peace Pledge Union, http://www.ppu.org.uk/learn/infodocs/cos/st_co_wwone3s3.html (last accessed June 13, 2006). Glen Herbert Hayler was a professional gardener who contributed to the horticultural press.

98. In 1997 a research fund established at the University of Sussex to support study of the history of drinking and temperance was named after Mark Hayler and another temperance reformer, James Hudson.