

## The Church, the School, and the Saloon

By JAMES F. DAILEY.

WHEN I made my brief address\* before the distinguished body of churchmen gathered at Temple Grove, Saratoga, on July 23, it was beyond my expectation that such wide publicity would be given to it, and that the interest in the facts there set forth should increase rather than diminish. The paper under discussion at the meeting was "The Masses and the Classes," by the Rev. Byington Smith, one of Saratoga's resident ministers. It was an interesting study of the state of affairs now existing between labor and capital; and as the eminent speakers present proceeded to consider the propositions set forth by Mr. Smith, reference was frequently made to the saloon as a factor in the struggle, but only in an indirect manner, the subject, to my mind, not being given the commanding place it deserves in our social and political economy. In presenting my side of the case I unhesitatingly declared that the saloon was not, as had been said by the Rev. Dr. J. R. Wilson, a gentleman from the South, "the perspiration of a bad civilization," but it was the very muscle and arterial blood of the serious troubles we were then witnessing in the labor world. I further said that it was my belief that, while the employer ought to pay his workman a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, it was also the duty of the workman to be as careful of his wages, which were his capital, as the employer was of his capital, and it was only by this care on the wage-earner's part that he would be enabled to resist the unjust encroachments of the selfish employer. It was no idle theory I was advancing when I declared at Temple Grove that it was the consuming jaws of the saloon that had devoured the substance of the

workingmen in all our great industrial centers, but an actual account of affairs that had come under my own observation in Philadelphia, where, as a workingman, I had discovered that the licensed saloon was receiving too large a share of the toiler's hard-earned dollars.

At this point, Bishop W. R. Nicholson, of the Reformed Episcopal Church, requested me to state what I knew concerning the relationship of the Church with the liquor business in Philadelphia. The request brought out the statement, briefly made to the audience, which has since attracted such widespread attention, and which I now more fully place before the great reading public through the columns of THE OUTLOOK. At the close of my remarks in Temple Grove, the Rev. Dr. Wilson arose and asked if this was a history of Tammany Hall; to which I answered, "No, sir. This is a history of the Republican party in Philadelphia, supposed to be the most pious institution on the face of the earth." The following day I was met by the Rev. Dr. William Durant, pastor of Saratoga's First Presbyterian Church, a Christian man and a man of great scholarly attainments, who thanked me for my utterances, and said I had got down to the very root and source of the social disorders.

It is the theory of our Constitution that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; but the government *de facto* in Philadelphia is a government of saloon politicians, by saloon politicians, and for saloon politicians. The irrefragable proofs of this are herein presented, through necessity, only partially. When, on the first day of last February, I began this exhaustive research, it was only with the purpose of discovering who the office-holders and politicians were who were engaged in binding on our shoulders the burdens and crimes of our saloons. It was not expected that the Church, the Protestant Church—and I speak on this point without any religious bias—would be found so conspicuously in the liquor business; but as the investigation ad-

\*The address to which Mr. Dailey refers was widely quoted in brief by the daily newspapers. In order to present in an authoritative form the remarkable facts which he has brought to light, he has written this article at our request. Mr. Dailey is assistant foreman of the composing-room of the Philadelphia "Public Ledger," and has made so thorough an investigation of his subject that we confidently advise our readers that his statements may be relied upon.—EDITORS THE OUTLOOK.

vanced day by day, names familiar in church work became unpleasantly numerous, until they began to make quite a show in numbers.

The only church into which a methodical examination was made was the Protestant Episcopal Church. This branch of Christianity held its vestry elections on Easter Monday, the day on which the last License Court opened, and as the names of the newly-elected vestries were published in the daily papers, a comparison of them with the names of the signers on saloon license petitions easily revealed the apparent connection between the two institutions—namely, the Church and the saloon. Conspicuous among the vestries was that of the Church of the Redemption, Twenty-second and Callowhill streets. Of the eight vestrymen, six signed for ten saloons in that vicinity, a neighborhood that has been always well supplied with drinking facilities. Here politics also made their appearance. Alexander Crowe, Jr., one of the vestrymen, the Republican leader in the ward, the Fifteenth, who was being urged for a Congressional nomination, appended his signature, or, rather, his name appears, on the applications of five different aspirants for saloon privileges.

The Church of the Mediator, Nineteenth and Lombard streets, is also prominent in this respect, one vestryman signing for a saloon directly opposite the church. Among the vestrymen signing here is the Hon. Alexander Colesberry, United States Marshal, who also appeared as counsel for several saloons in various parts of the city. In looking over the newspaper files of the time (last March) I find that a city missionary testified against one of the places for which Mr. Colesberry was counsel. The witness said that "a great many young women, old women, poor and abandoned women, some with hardly any clothes on, go there with kettles and come out with beer and ale." In one case, where a church was a remonstrant against a saloon, Mr. Colesberry is reported as saying: "Your honors, the churches mean well, but they make mistakes. Why, I am a vestryman." The other Protestant Episcopal churches, the names of some of the vestry of which appear on license applications, are St. Andrew's, Eighth and Spruce; All Saints', St. John the Evangelist, St. John's Church of the Transfiguration (where Councilman Patton is a signer), St. Mary's, St. Stephen's, probably Gloria Dei, St. David's, St. Timothy's, Manayunk; St. James's, West Philadelphia; Emmanuel, Holmesburg; Emmanuel, Richmond; and Grace Church, Twenty-second Ward. These are all city churches, and the vestrymen signers number between thirty and forty.

The names of the church officials and members of other Protestant churches not being accessible

without an immense deal of labor, a clear declaration cannot be made concerning their connection with the liquor traffic; but in four special cases where clergymen were shown the list of names of license signers in their particular wards, each one was able to point out members of his or other churches among the names—an almost sure indication that the iniquitous Brooks high-license law has struck its poisonous fangs deep into the body of the Church. The very names, in many cases, make one feel the proximity of the Church, more particularly in the aristocratic wards. Information on the subject came to me from various quarters. In one instance a young man, a Sunday-school scholar, pointed out the names of two Methodist Sunday-school teachers; but these records were lost. There were no religious differences in the matter of signing the license petitions, for, while the majority of applicants were Catholics, their Protestant brethren cheerfully loaned them the use of their names. One United Presbyterian clergyman, interested in a mission, was disgusted to find that a member of his denomination had signed the license of a man who wanted to start a saloon in the mission building, with only a board partition between.

On the last day of the License Court, at the request of the Judges, Clarence D. Gibbony, Secretary of the Law and Order Society, read out a list of names of men in the Sixth and Ninth Wards who had signed more than one license petition. In this list was included the name of Sheriff Samuel Clement, who signs two licenses. The appearance of his name in the newspapers excited some passing comment in Bethany Presbyterian Church (Wanamaker's), where one or two other signers were found, and where Mr. Clement is an elder. Personally Mr. Clement is a very agreeable person, and it is difficult to understand his strange position. Among the other Presbyterian churches where the saloon has apparently entered are the North Broad Street Presbyterian, where Councilman Hunsicker signs six licenses, Olivet, the Gaston, the Wylie Memorial, Dr. Beale's Church on Girard Avenue, the Wharton Street Church and the Oxford. In two cases in the Methodist Church two former class leaders recently got into the saloon politics of their wards and then out of the church, and finally appear on the license-signing list. It is for this that we license the saloon? In Kensington Methodist Church two leading members had their names forged in the interest of a saloon-keeper, and the Spring Garden Methodist Church has one official member who appears on the list of license signers, being a member of City Council. This was discovered by the late pastor, the Rev. Dr. Hurlburd. Union Metho-

[Has been elected since]

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dist Church, Siloam, Memorial, Park Avenue, Broad Street Methodist Church, and three English Lutheran Churches were also among the delinquents. In three Baptist Churches two official members are among the signers, the most prominent of whom is Richard G. Oellers, the President of the Board of Trustees of the Baptist Temple, whose name appears on the petition of a saloon, one of the most profitable in the city, at Broad and Susquehanna Avenue, in company with State Senator Porter. Mr. Oellers wants the Republican nomination for City Treasurer.

On Thursday, August 9th, the Republican City Campaign Committee met and decided that a nomination should be made in the Third Congressional District, and directed the district committee to take action. This district committee includes one court official, William L. Smith, who signed thirty licenses; one Republican member of council, Joseph H. Klemmer, who signs and bonds for fourteen; State Senator Elwood Becker, who signs and bonds for eight; the whole committee, eight in number, representing some seventy license applications before the last Court. On Monday, August 13th, it was agreed to nominate a man named Frederick Haltermann, who is connected with several clubs where beer is disposed of, it is said, Sunday and week-day. It is also stated that his nomination was made in order to secure the German vote in the German wards. Mr. Haltermann is a school director, and signs and bonds for five saloons in the Twelfth Ward.

Leaving, without nearly exhausting, the Church phase of the liquor business, the political side is the last to be considered, but not the least in importance. It is at the ballot box that the saloon evil is fastened upon the State of Pennsylvania, and the union of the saloon traffic and the Church is cemented. In March last the annual term of our City Councils expired, and on the first Monday of April the new Councils took their places. The lower branch of councils includes 123 members, and a careful investigation of the license records shows, with one ward left out, that 81 of them were signers, bondsmen, and counsel—one, both, or all three—for from one to twenty-six licenses apiece, the latter number belonging to Councilman Van Osten, of the Sixth Ward, President of the Liquor Dealers' Association, one of the few Democrats in the body. In fifteen wards every member appears on the list, and in five instances they are saloon-keepers. In Select Council twenty-seven out of thirty-seven members also appeared before the last License Court in the same capacities of signers and bondsmen as did the members of the lower branch. Their figures range from one to twenty-five, the

latter number belonging to Councilman Bringhurst, of the Ninth Ward.

This political interest in the saloon by our city fathers ramifies through the whole city government, from the precinct officer who counts the vote, up. Of the twenty-eight police magistrates twenty-three are signers or bondsmen for from one to five saloons each, and seven of the clerks in the Court of Quarter Sessions sign from one to thirty licenses each, and seven clerks in the sheriff's office sign for from one to fifteen petitions. Add to these the names of fifty or more other city officials of different degrees of responsibility who were interested in saloon licenses before the last Court, a rather large total of Philadelphia saloon statesmen is reached. The State lawmakers make no better showing. Of the eight State Senators whose term of office expires with the election of their successors in November, six appeared as signers, counsel and bondsmen, among them being the Hon. Boies Penrose, who will probably be the next Republican nominee for mayor. The Pennsylvania House of Representatives includes thirty-eight members from Philadelphia, and of this number twenty-seven had a signatory interest in license petitions. Their term of office expires in November, and nearly all of them are up for re-election.

Now, I have no harmful word to say of any of these office holders. They represent the license policy of the State of Pennsylvania. It is the policy upon which they were and will be elected; it is the policy of the Republican party and the policy of every voter who votes that ticket, making no difference whether he stands behind the bar or behind the altar. As a voter, I discovered that in the summer of 1889, and since that time have not voted a license ticket; not so much because I practice individual temperance—many saloon-keepers do that much—as because I believe that we can have no effectual reform in municipal, State, or National Government while office-seekers willingly or are compelled to bend to the saloon.

But this is not all. I have shown how the saloon and the church agree together; it now remains to be shown how the saloons and the public schools of Philadelphia are brought into in-harmonious harmony. Here is the story in tabulated form:

Ward.	School Directors in Ward.	Signing School Directors.	No. of Licenses Signed.
First . . . . .	13	6	10
Second . . . . .	13	4	10
*Third . . . . .	13	7	16
Fourth . . . . .	13	7	17
*Fifth . . . . .	13	6	25
*Sixth . . . . .	13	12	88
Seventh . . . . .	13	2	4

[all were elected.]

Ward.	School Directors in Ward.	Signing School Directors.	No. of Licenses Signed.
*Eighth . . . . .	13	7	12
Ninth . . . . .	13	7	28
*Tenth . . . . .	13	1	1
*Eleventh . . . . .	13	10	27
Twelfth . . . . .	13	6	19
Thirteenth . . . . .	13	4	9
*Fourteenth . . . . .	13	1	8
Fifteenth . . . . .	13	5	9
Sixteenth . . . . .	13	3	11
Seventeenth . . . . .	13	9	22
Eighteenth . . . . .	13	1	2
Twentieth . . . . .	13	2	2
Twenty-first . . . . .	13	3	9
Twenty-second . . . . .	15	3	4
Twenty-third . . . . .	13	0	0
Twenty-fourth . . . . .	17	0	0
Twenty-fifth . . . . .	13	4	8
Twenty-sixth . . . . .	13	2	3
Twenty-seventh . . . . .	19	5	12
Twenty-eighth . . . . .	13	1	2
Twenty-ninth . . . . .	13	1	2
Thirtieth . . . . .	13	5	10
Thirty-first . . . . .	13	3	4
Thirty-second . . . . .	13	0	0
Thirty-third . . . . .	14	6	13
Thirty-fourth . . . . .	15	1	1
Thirty-fifth . . . . .	13	6	10
Thirty-sixth . . . . .	13	2	6
Thirty-seventh . . . . .	13	4	6
Total . . . . .	496	146	411

By this we see that 146 school directors, men in whose hands rests the education of the chil-

dren, signed 411 licenses. In those wards marked thus (\*) from one to four members of the sectional board are saloon keepers. And these men were elected by church members and saloon keepers in unison! Is this the right sort of school directorship or church affiliation?

The strangest part of the whole investigation was the insight given into the delegation which left Philadelphia to nominate the Republican candidate for Governor on May 28 last. There were sixty-three delegates. Of this number two were saloon-keepers, two were directors in a brewery which increased its sales 74 per cent. the last six months of 1893, one had been a saloon-keeper for twenty-five years, and thirty-eight were signers, bondsmen, counsel—one, both, or all three—for from one to thirteen saloon licenses each, and this delegation handed the nomination to a Methodist Church trustee! As the two brewery directors among the delegates directly represented every licensed or unlicensed place selling this beer, it can be safely set down that the whole delegation represented 400 and more legal and illegal places for the sale of liquor. In this delegation was our District Attorney, the Hon. George S. Graham, who was not only interested in the transfer of a license, but had written strong letters in two or three instances for "reputable" applicants. He is a Presbyterian Elder. I leave this shameful recital for the careful consideration of the Christian voter.