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WHERE JOHN BARLEYCORN STILL HOLDS FORTH IN SPLENDOR:  
A CASE STUDY OF PROHIBITION IN WISCONSIN

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### **Abstract**

This paper takes a look at Wisconsin Prohibition by focusing on a small town in southwest Wisconsin called Prairie du Chien. This paper starts by giving a background on early taverns in Prairie du Chien and why people liked going to taverns. The paper then goes into why Prairie du Chien and in a wider scope Wisconsin did not like Prohibition. The paper goes over how German ethnicity, religion, geography, economics, politics, and law enforcement all took a part in the demise of Prohibition in Prairie du Chien and Wisconsin.

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## **Background**

When it comes to the time of prohibition, 1920-1933, many residents of Wisconsin never really followed the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that prohibited the production, sale, and consumption of alcohol. Frank Buckley of the Bureau of Prohibition reported, "Wisconsin, to the average American unacquainted with actual conditions therein, is commonly regarded as a Gibraltar of wets- sort of Utopia where everybody drinks their fill and John Barleycorn still holds forth in splendor."<sup>1</sup> Wisconsin has long been known for its drinking culture for a long time, partially due to the German population and the beer industry. Wisconsin also did not adopt local prohibition laws as fast as the rest of the country. According to La Vern Rippley, "When World War I began, Wisconsin lagged well behind the nation, with only 45 percent of its people living in dry territory versus 71 percent for the nation."<sup>2</sup> This case study will use a Wisconsin town, to study prohibition and its effectiveness in Wisconsin. It is this paper's goal to use a Wisconsin town to show how Prohibition did not work in this state. The paper goes over how German ethnicity, religion, geography, economics, politics, and law enforcement all took a part in the demise of Prohibition in Prairie du Chien and Wisconsin. This Wisconsin town, Prairie du Chien, is located in Crawford County in the southwest part of the state, where the Wisconsin River meets the Mississippi River. The map on the next page shows that many counties and states went dry before prohibition was put into the United States constitution. The map is from an Anti-Saloon League flyer

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Buckley, "Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws: Official Records of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement: A Prohibition Survey of the State of Wisconsin." in *Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws, Official Records of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement*. vol 4. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 1097. Online, Available at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1273> viewed on March 11, 2006.

<sup>2</sup>La Vern J. Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), 127.

from 1915. The flyer was attempting to promote the passage of a prohibition amendment, which had in big bold print, “make the map completely white,” referring to all the white counties that already were dry.

The national prohibition movement was created because of concern in some circles about the working classes’ drinking behavior and new immigrants’ influence on American culture. From 1900 to 1920 middle/upper class Protestant reformers set out to make America safe from immigrants and the lower classes through a number of different social reforms. Many people believed that taverns and alcohol were evil and needed to be stopped. According to, K. Austin Kerr, who is a leading expert from the University of Ohio States, “The prohibition movement's strength grew, especially after the formation of the Anti-Saloon League in 1893. The League, and other organizations that supported prohibition such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, soon began to succeed in enacting local prohibition laws.”<sup>3</sup>

There were many social changes taking place around the turn of the century, resulting in the Industrial Revolution. Some of the results of that technology included labor issues, mass immigration, and urbanization. Taverns in turn reflected these social changes. Members of the growing working class spent much of their leisure time at taverns. My Great Great Grandfather Henry C. Hillfritch and Great Great Great Great Uncle George Wachter were both owners of a tavern in Prairie du Chien called the Billiard Parlor. Despite the name, the Billiard Parlor was basically a tavern with a couple of billiard tables in it. Historically, taverns were not just places for the sale and consumption of alcohol. Taverns served almost as clubs, where predominantly working

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<sup>3</sup>K. Austin Kerr, “Temperance and Prohibition.” Online, Available at: <http://prohibition.osu.edu/whyprohibition.htm>, viewed on March 11, 2006.

class men came together. This means that taverns were places for working class men to socialize outside of work, home, or church. Tavern owners were in the business of making friends and keeping their customers happy, so they would return to their establishments.<sup>4</sup>

Like many tavern owners of the time, George Wachter and Henry Hillfritch were immigrants who did not begin as tavern owners. "Of forty-seven saloonkeepers in 1900 who were traced back ten years in the *Worcester Directory*, thirteen were already saloonkeepers and four were bartenders. But of the thirty-one not in the drink trade in 1890, more than two-thirds held blue-collar positions."<sup>5</sup> George Wachter began working on a farm and then went to work with his brother-in-law in the hotel business. He saved enough money to purchase his tavern.<sup>6</sup> Upon George Wachter's death he willed his tavern to his nephew, Henry Hillfritch.<sup>7</sup> Hillfritch, before moving to Prairie du Chien to take over the tavern, had been a slate roofer in Chicago.<sup>8</sup> Immigrants, often went into the tavern business for three different reasons. First, being a tavern owner was not as physically demanding as many of the blue-collar jobs, such as a slate roofer or farmer. Second, a tavern owner was a property owner and his own boss, a very masculine attribute of the time. Third, being a business owner gave prestige and respect for which many immigrants were searching. One of the characters in 10 Nights in a Bar Room, by T.S. Arthur, a popular novel at the turn of the century that described taverns of the time, stated, "A tavern-keeper, is just as respectable as a miller--in fact, the very people who

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<sup>4</sup> Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours of What We Will, The Rise of the Saloon*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 52.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> *History of Crawford and Richland Counties*, (Springfield, Illinois: Union Publishing Co., 1884), 687.

<sup>7</sup> State of Wisconsin, Crawford County, George Wachter's Will, September 4, 1893.

<sup>8</sup> "Obituary of H.C. Hillfritch," Courier Press, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, April 1902.

used to call me 'Simon' or 'Neighbor Dustycoat,' now say 'Landlord,' or 'Mr. Slade,' and treat me in every way more as if I were an equal than ever they did before."<sup>9</sup> This novel became one of the symbols of the Anti-Saloon League because of its description of the awful events that happened in saloons.

In order to understand tavern society from 1870 through 1920 one must know what kind of customers frequented the tavern. Tavern patrons were overwhelmingly working class. The tavern gave working class men an exclusive and reasonably cheap place to socialize. On the other hand, middle and upper class men had the money and time to socialize in clubs or go to other more exclusive establishments where most working class men would not be welcome. According to Rosenzweig, "Drinking of course, was not limited to the working class. But saloongoing was. Those in the middle and upper classes who did drink and the numbers were probably considerably smaller than among the working class in the late nineteenth century generally drank at home, private clubs, or expensive hotels."<sup>10</sup> Most tavern owners, like George Wachter and Henry Hillfritch, were also from the same working class as most of their patrons. Sometimes they might be a little better off financially than the working class but not significantly. "While saloonkeepers were by definition small-business people, they should not be automatically assigned to a "middle-class" category."<sup>11</sup>

Ethnicity also played a large part in the characteristics of tavern patrons. Some taverns in large urban areas catered specifically to one ethnic group.<sup>12</sup> This was most

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<sup>9</sup> T.S. Arthur, *10 Nights in a Bar Room*, pg. 6, Online, Available at: [http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk\\_files=6897&pageno=1](http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=6897&pageno=1), viewed on November 11, 2005.

<sup>10</sup> Rosenzweig, 51.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid 52.

<sup>12</sup> Madelon Powers, *Faces Along the Bar, Occupation, Ethnicity, and Neighborhood*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 63-69.

likely not the case in Henry Hillfritch and George Wachter's Billiard Parlor because Prairie du Chien was not large enough to have particular ethnic segregation in its establishments. Madelon Powers states about a large urban area, like Chicago, "Instead, most working-class neighborhoods tended toward ethnic diversity and continual flux. This was owing to unending floods of newcomers, high rates of residential mobility, and polyglot character of many nearby factories, marketplaces, schools, and other urban institutions."<sup>13</sup> This is true of Prairie du Chien because of the presence of a canning factory and carpentry factory that employed many immigrants.<sup>14</sup> Taverns became ethnic centers in part because factory and working class men were recent immigrants or still had close association with their particular ethnic group. Innovations of the Industrial Revolution such as the assembly line, which required lower job skills, contributed to immigrants' ability to find work. This might have made it much easier for many immigrants to find jobs but it also enabled factories to replace their workers if or when they wanted.<sup>15</sup>

The taverns did not typically cater to patrons of a specific age, and customers' ages ranged from late teens to elderly men. Any male was working or living on his own was welcome to drink in the tavern. Most taverns would not allow young children to drink but they would allow them in the tavern to buy a bucket of beer or other alcohol for their parents. According to Powers, "Adults frequently sent both boys and girls to fetch their beer for them. Most saloonkeepers readily complied despite signs often displayed

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid, 65.

<sup>14</sup> The carpentry factory was a place furniture and cabinets were made.

<sup>15</sup>Mark Wahlgren Summers, *The Gilded Age or, The Hazard of New Functions*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1997), 133-148.



on the walls proclaiming that no liquor would be sold to minors.”<sup>16</sup> It was also not unusual for the tavern owner’s child to work behind the bar and sell drinks to the customers. For many prohibitionists the thought of a child bartender doing as good of a job as an adult was horrifying. A chapter in *10 Nights in a Bar Room* asserts, “A handy boy that, sir; a very handy boy. Almost as good, in the bar as a man. He mixes a toddy or a punch just as well as I can.”<sup>17</sup> The tavern was also a place where boys became men. Young men could sit and hold conversations about work or life with men with more experience and knowledge.<sup>18</sup>

A tavern’s customers were predominantly male, and tavern going was seen as a manly activity. According to later analysts, factory work at low wages left men feeling inadequate with loss of pride. Not having control of their lives meant that men had to redefine or find new ways of restoring their masculinity.<sup>19</sup> The tavern provided that outlet. Powers states, “For many urban laborers in the late nineteenth century, the realm of leisure began to offer more opportunities for establishing their worth as men. Here they strongly identified with male peer groups who shared some mutual interest such as following sports, arguing politics, asserting ethnic pride, or defending home turf.”<sup>20</sup> A tavern owner or bartender was also seen as occupying a manly profession. A male bartender made the atmosphere in the tavern more masculine, helping the predominantly male customers confirm their manliness. There were some women who tended the tavern but for the most part it was a man’s job. According to Powers, “More commonly,

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<sup>16</sup> Powers, 36.

<sup>17</sup> T.S. Arthur, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Powers, 33-39.

<sup>19</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10-22.

<sup>20</sup> Powers, 29.

though, saloonkeeping was a male occupation, with the barman upholding the same code of manly comportment and gender-based camaraderie that prevailed among his regulars.”<sup>21</sup>

There were exceptions for women going to a tavern during this time. Generally, women did not go to the tavern because it was not considered an appropriate place for women to spend time. A proper and respectable woman would never be seen at such an establishment, but at the same time if a woman did enter a tavern, her presence would change the way that the men behaved. There would not have been any dirty jokes or foul language in the presence of a woman. Powers states, “One breasted the bar, downed a drink, and became a man among men. To allow women into the working-man’s world would not only cramp its style, but defeat its purpose as well.”<sup>22</sup> Those exceptions when women did go to the tavern would be to eat the free lunch that taverns provided, order a carry out, or for social occasions held in the back room. Women who did go to taverns typically used the back room, and did not usually go through the front door of the tavern. They entered through a side door that was usually close to the back room. According to Powers, “First it [the side door] permitted women to enter inconspicuously and minimize public scrutiny of their coming and going... Second, women’s entry through the side door eliminated the necessity of their running the gauntlet through the establishment’s front door...”<sup>23</sup> By going through the front door women might be subjected to harassment of drunken men. There were some women tavern owners or family-run taverns in which the wives and daughters tended the bar. In the anti-saloon league novel, the author presents the following scene: “The boy went out at the call of his

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid 35.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 32.

mother; and when a new customer entered, I noticed that Flora, the daughter, came in to wait upon him.”<sup>24</sup> This episode from *10 Nights in a Bar Room* has the wife of the owner yelling through the side door to get her son from behind the bar and then puts her daughter in charge of bartending. It shows that even the wife of the owner might not like to go into the tavern, she will send her daughter in to keep the establishment running.

Another reason that working class men went to the taverns was that they began to have the time to go to the tavern. Labor unions had slow success in reducing the number of hours that the working class men worked in a day. At the turn of the century the working day started to go down to ten hours and eventually to eight hours of work in a day. Rosenzweig states, “...a decrease in control over work combined with an increase in free time; the demise of a traditional, home-centered, and sexually integrated gathering place along with the development of a more ample and comfortable public meeting spot.”<sup>25</sup> There were also more restrictions on drinking on the job. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was common practice for laborers to drink on the job. Employers did not simply accept drinking on the job but many even paid part of their workers wages’ in drinks. This pattern changed by the end of the nineteenth century. According to Rosenzweig, “The gradual tightening of workplace discipline as exemplified by the anti-drink regulations was accompanied by a more favorable change for the working class: the gradual shortening of the workday.”<sup>26</sup> Since the workplace was not allowing men to drink on the job and the workdays became shorter, both contributed to the rise of the tavern.

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<sup>24</sup> Arthur. 15,

<sup>25</sup> Rosenzweig, 46.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 38.

Taverns were also an outlet for their patrons to confide in. Many working class men expressed their darkest secrets, thoughts, and feelings. The more alcohol the customers drank the more open they usually became. The bartenders often knew their patrons better than did the latter's wives or girlfriends. There was really no other place in which many of these men could talk as openly as they did in the tavern. According to Powers, "The saloon sometimes served as a forum for the airing of deeply personal grievances, disappointments, and regrets, as many a bartender cornered into playing the poor man's psychiatrist could attest."<sup>27</sup>

Taverns before Prohibition were the working class men's sanctuary, where men could escape hardships at work and at home. Through the taverns these men found a support group in which they could celebrate the good times and work through the bad. With the Industrial Revolution, mass immigration and the social changes that were going on during this time, the taverns embodied all of that. It is no wonder why some people resisted prohibition; it was not so much about the consumption of alcohol as it was to preserve the valued place of the tavern.

On January 16, 1920 the president signed the Volstead Act. This act of congress implemented the constitutional Prohibition, making manufacturing, transporting, or selling of intoxicants illegal. Despite its being the law of the land, Prohibition was marked by widespread disobedience. People in Wisconsin and Prairie du Chien had many different reasons for defying the law, including ethnicity, religion, economics, and joy/availability. In Prairie du Chien there were many instances of defiance. Some violators were arrested and fined, others got away completely.

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<sup>27</sup> Powers, 169.

## **Ethnicity**

In order to understand why people in Prairie du Chien were inclined to resist prohibition, one must know who lived there. Ethnicity, is one way to help understand what kind of people were living in Prairie du Chien. Ethnic groups often display certain characteristics, although obviously not all members of a particular group are identical. However, knowledge of ethnicity can shed light on a group's customs, beliefs, morals, and political affiliation. In addition, others of different ethnic background living in a region dominated by another group might display the same customs, beliefs, and morals.

German ethnicity is a possible catalyst for resistance to prohibition. In 1920, Wisconsin had 750,548 people of German ancestry living among the 2,632,670 Wisconsinites, which made up roughly one third of the population.<sup>28</sup> Prairie du Chien at the time was also very similar in demographics. The population of Prairie du Chien in 1920 was 3,537, out of whom 900 were of German ancestry, roughly one fourth of the population.<sup>29</sup> An important part of German culture was the production and consumption of beer. Therefore German ethnicity will be the focus of establishing a connection between ethnicity and resistance to prohibition.

Some Germans took the passage of prohibition as a direct slap in the face by the rest of the country. During World War I, the United States was fighting Germany and prohibitionists used that fact to gain support for prohibition. According to Robert C. Nesbit, "Part of the propaganda for the passage of prohibition took advantage of the wartime spirit by identifying liquor and the saloon with the Kaiser and the hated "Hun."<sup>30</sup> In order to keep their German identity and customs many Germans continued to drink

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<sup>28</sup> Rippley, 124.

<sup>29</sup> 1910 Census, Crawford County, (Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1910).

<sup>30</sup> Robert C. Nesbit, *Wisconsin a History*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 462.

during Prohibition. Since drinking was never seen as immoral by Germans, they did not believe Prohibition was the answer to “cleaning” up America. According to Paul W. Glad, “Though living in a new land, they were reluctant to forsake customs that in Germany had never seemed inconsistent with either decent living or church teachings.”<sup>31</sup> For Germans drinking was a social custom that did not reflect badly on the individual.

During this time, at least one aspect of “cleaning” up America meant Americanizing immigrants. Yankees worried about the new immigrants and their slow assimilation in American culture.<sup>32</sup> One way that other residence of Wisconsin tried to speed up assimilation of Germans was by the Bennett Law, which made German speaking schools adopt English. Prairie du Chien had a German school, which was located at 202 North Wacouta Avenue, across from the courthouse.<sup>33</sup> According to the Wisconsin Historical Society, “German Americans denounced the Bennett Law as an assault on their culture by Yankees who sought to force their own values on everyone else.”<sup>34</sup> Prohibition and the Bennett Law were both used to rally people of German background to fight against perceived Yankee oppression. According to a German cultural activist quoted in Russell A. Kazal’s book, “...we must not only create a national German-American teachers’ seminary, we must also support it, for children are not raised at the beer table or in card games ...”<sup>35</sup> This quote by a German culture activist, wants German children to be educated in German and not learn German and German culture

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<sup>31</sup> Paul W. Glad, “When John Barleycorn Went Into Hiding in Wisconsin,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 68 (Winter 1984-85): 125.

<sup>32</sup> Yankee refers to Americans who have been living in the United States for a number of generations and they are usually from the northeastern states.

<sup>33</sup> Prairie du Chien Area Chamber of Commerce, History, Online, Available at: <http://www.prairieduchien.org/first/visitor/history.htm>, Viewed on June 18, 2006.

<sup>34</sup> Wisconsin Historical Society, Americanization and the Bennett Law, Online, Available at: [http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/tp-031/?action=more\\_essay](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/tp-031/?action=more_essay), Viewed on June 18, 2006.

<sup>35</sup> Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 133.

only at social settings. Many Germans wanted to keep their culture alive and one of the ways to do that was through keeping their language.

Even though Germans thought prohibition was supported by Yankees to Americanize Germans, Yankees also sought to Americanize other ethnic groups, such as the Irish. Even though the Irish were on the allied side during World War I they were still seen as a nuisance to American society. According to Glad, "... with Americanizes urging total abstinence as a way of overcoming stereotypes that associated drunkenness with certain immigrant groups. During the nineteenth century the Irish in particular, had gained notoriety as hard drinkers."<sup>36</sup> Germans were not the only ethnic group to be singled out as heavy drinkers, but Germans saw themselves as a different kind of drinker. They saw themselves as socializing with a few beers and did not associate drinking with drunkenness. Glad states, "Most Germans, however, found a great difference between the whiskey-swilling Irish reprobate and the honest burgher enjoying his 'continental Sunday' in the Biergarten."<sup>37</sup> Many Germans looked at the Irish as many Yankees did, as drunk and disorderly. This supports the idea that Germans did not associate drinking with drunkenness and did not find their drinking as immoral.

### **Religion**

Religious affiliation was another part of German heritage that resisted prohibition. Germans were mainly Catholic and Lutheran. According to Glad, "The dominant religious affiliations among German-Americans, the Catholic and Lutheran

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<sup>36</sup>Glad, 125.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 125.

churches, also exerted an influence over attitudes towards prohibition in Wisconsin.”<sup>38</sup>

Prairie du Chien operated two Catholic Churches, St. Gabriel’s and St. John’s. St. St. Gabriel’s was associated with the French and the Irish, and St. John’s was associated with the Germans and Bohemians. St. Gabriel’s church is located on North Beaumont Road and is the oldest parish in Wisconsin, which dates back to the 1820s.<sup>39</sup> In addition there were two Catholic high schools: Campion and St. Mary’s.<sup>40</sup> Campion was the all boys school and St. Mary’s was the all girls school. The Lutheran Church in Prairie du Chien was called St. Peter’s Lutheran Church, and included many German members in its congregation.

What made religious affiliations important, is the way these two denominations differed from those of the prohibitionists. Many prohibitionists were from Protestant churches like, Baptist, Congregational, and the Puritan Yankee Churches. Many of these churches focused on being morally perfect and not giving into devilish temptations such as alcohol. These Protestant religions had very strict behavior standards and pushed their members to fear sin and be as good as possible. They looked at the world as a place they should improve while they saved their own souls. Glad states, “To Evangelicals, conversion was a profoundly moving individual encounter with the Almighty that involved ‘getting right with God’; for at least some of the converted, pledges of abstinence may have come to hold a special place as passports to eternity.”<sup>41</sup> This was a very different approach to life than that of Catholicism or Lutheranism.

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid, 124.

<sup>39</sup>Prairie du Chien Area Chamber of Commerce, Online, Available at: <http://www.prairieduchien.org/first/visitor/history.htm>, Viewed on June 18, 2006.

<sup>40</sup>The Courier (Prairie du Chien), October 14, 1919 and 13 June, 1922.

<sup>41</sup>Glad, 124.



Catholics, on the other hand, looked at prohibition in an entirely different light. Catholicism was the dominant religion among many of the new immigrants to America, such as the Polish, Irish, and Italians. This was different from many of the immigrants from Western Europe. Many Americans were apprehensive about the thought of so many Catholics entering this democratic state. Many Protestants viewed Catholics as taking orders from the Pope, the equivalent of a foreign ruler. Catholics viewed prohibition as a way for Protestants to discriminate against them. German Catholics did not look at conversions as a religious goal and did not have the same theological perspectives as the Protestants, which helped them oppose prohibition. Even the Archbishop of the Milwaukee Archdiocese, Sebastian G. Messmer sent out letters to Catholic Churches in Wisconsin to be wary of Prohibition because it was an attack on Catholicism. Archbishop Messmer states, "...there is a strong sectarian power back of the present prohibition movement... pastors of parishes in this Archdiocese from allowing any prohibition speeches, to be given on any premises, be it the church, the school or a hall."<sup>42</sup> Messmer made it clear to his priests that prohibition should not be discussed at the church because he feared that the church might be attacked by its enemies due to its view on drinking.

Even though Lutherans were Protestant, they were not as strict as the Protestants that supported prohibition. German Lutherans however, did differ from other Lutherans. Scandinavian Lutherans were similar to the American Protestants, which made them in favor of prohibition. German Lutherans followed sixteenth century confessional writings, which made them less open to emotional outcries because they

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<sup>42</sup>Archbishop Sebastian G. Messmer to all priests of the Archdiocese. June 17, 1918, Archdiocese Archives, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. Quoted in Glad, 128.

were involved in studying religious writings. They did this to find out what the “true voice of God” sounded like. According to Glad, “They resisted such deviations as pietism, rationalism, and modernism, and they could accept neither prohibition nor the Social Gospel as having anything to do with the efficacy of God’s love, the only means by which a sinful mankind might be saved.”<sup>43</sup> Though Catholics and Lutherans had opposed each other since the Reformation, however, they found prohibition was something they could agree on. Also, like the Catholics, Lutherans did not want to preach prohibition in their churches. They did not believe it was anybody’s business to tell another what is and is not acceptable. A writer in the Northwestern Lutheran wrote, “We can see no good whatever in a church’s espousing any outside cause. Least of all so messy a cause as prohibition, involved as it is with plots and counterplots, with spying and detective work, with smug hypocrisy and cant.”<sup>44</sup> German Lutherans felt it was not their place to judge others and prohibition was an invasion of their privacy.

### **Geography**

Geography can also be an important piece in the resistance of prohibition. Where Prairie du Chien is located supported anti-prohibition feelings. Prairie du Chien is located where the Mississippi and the Wisconsin River meet. Having two major water ways made transportation of alcohol very easy. The Wisconsin River connects central Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, while the Mississippi connects everything from St. Paul,

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<sup>43</sup>Glad, 126.

<sup>44</sup>H.K.M., “A Few Results of Prohibition,” Northwestern Lutheran, 3: 162 (November 7, 1916). Quoted in Glad, 129.

Minnesota to New Orleans, Louisiana including Prairie du Chien.<sup>45</sup> Being relatively close to Canada also helped in smuggling of Canadian alcohol. Bootleggers could come in a couple of different ways. It could cross the border and travel down the Mississippi River or it could be shipped into Green Bay and travel down the Wisconsin River. *The House By the River* by August Derleth, also discusses how Prairie du Chien was in a prime location to receive Canadian alcohol. The children's book that was loosely based off of this bust is August Derleth's, *The House By the River*. The book gets its title because the Villa Louis, an old historical house in Prairie du Chien, is right on the Mississippi River, it tells of two boys' canoe trip down the Wisconsin River to Prairie du Chien, in the summer of 1925. The boys end up discovering a bootlegging operation in the basement of the Villa Louis. In the book, the alcohol was flown in by a hydroplane that landed on the Mississippi River right next to Prairie du Chien. It later was shipped to Chicago and to Al Capone.<sup>46</sup>

The map on the following page shows how the Mississippi and the Wisconsin River are very close to Prairie du Chien. The Mississippi River is the river that is flowing north and south on the map, while the Wisconsin River is the river that is flowing into the Mississippi from the east. The picture does not do justice to the hiding spots on the rivers. However, one can tell the Mississippi has many back channels and sloughs that would make for perfect hiding spots for stills. Both of these rivers are littered with sand bars that are heavily forested, even though they are not shown on the map.

Writing in 1929, Mabel Walker Willebrandt, argued that the problems with the smuggling of intoxicants to the United States is because the border patrol was not unified.

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<sup>45</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1927, (Madison: Madison Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1927), 55-67.

<sup>46</sup>August Derleth, *The House By the River*, (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1965), 1-151.

Mabel Walker Willebrandt was an Attorney General from California who handled many Prohibition and tax law cases. There was a lot of alcohol smuggled into the Great Lakes states from Canada. The border patrol did see its job as regulating shipments of alcohol. The Bureau of Prohibition existed to do that. Willebrandt also discussed how Canadian patrol boats need to help crack down on bootleggers as well. Willebrandt believed the only way to put a stop to smuggling of intoxicants was to have all of the different agencies work together under one command. If the Canadian patrol, the United States Border Patrol, and the Bureau of Prohibition all worked together, there would be less of a chance for alcohol to get into the U.S.<sup>47</sup>

The rivers also acted as a hideout for many moon shiners. The islands on the Mississippi and the Wisconsin River housed many stills. Since this was public land many people put stills on these islands so the still would not be traced back to the owner. According to Nick Campbell and Elmer Moon, people always knew where the stills were in Prairie du Chien because black smoke would be billowing out of the islands.<sup>48</sup> This is interesting because one would think that everyone would know where moonshine was being made.

### **Economics**

Economics was also a concern to Germans and other people living in Prairie du Chien during prohibition. Brewing and distilling employed many Germans and others in Wisconsin. Alcohol was a major industry that employed a lot of people and the passage of prohibition financially hurt many people. According to the 1910 census, “By 1910,

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<sup>47</sup>Mabel Walker Willebrandt, *The Inside Prohibition*, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merill Company, 1929), 62-78.

<sup>48</sup>Nick Campbell and Elmer Moon, interview by author, 1 July 2006, Prairie du Chien.

Wisconsin ranked third among states in the production of malt liquors and second in the production of malt.”<sup>49</sup> Taking away one of the largest industries in the state would financially hurt a lot of people. Brewing beer was closely associated with Germans and during World War I breweries had been under attack by anti-German propagandists and prohibitionists. They claimed that German brewers were hurting the United States and were disrupting industrial efficiency. Thomas C. Cochran states, “We have German enemies in this country too. And the worst of all our German enemies, the most treacherous, the most menacing are Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz, and Miller.”<sup>50</sup> Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz, and Miller were the four largest brewers in Wisconsin and all four of the founders are of German ancestry.

Prairie du Chien had a brewery in its city limits. The brewery in Prairie du Chien was located on west Church Street and north Bluff Street, which is now Beaumont Road and Blackhawk Avenue, respectively. Theodore Schumann established the brewery in 1876. The brewery changed hands a number of different times but remained in Prairie du Chien. Schumann and a man by the name of Mr. Meges owned the brewery until 1902. They sold it to two other men Gronent and Bittner, who ran the brewery until 1911. They then sold the brewery to George Schwatz, who owned the brewery from 1911 through 1916. 1917 through 1920 the brewery ran under the name of Prairie du Chien Brewing Company. From 1901 through 1912, John Thomas was the George Heilmman Brewing Company agent for the Prairie du Chien brewery. This leads to the conclusion that the Prairie brewery was not brewing their own brand of beer, but making

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<sup>49</sup>Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Supplement for Wisconsin (Washington, 1913), 667. Quoted in Glad, 124.

<sup>50</sup>Thomas C. Cochran, *The Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business* (New York, 1948), 320; *The American Issue*, Wisconsin Edition, April, 1918: Odegard, *Pressure Politics*, 70. Quoted in Glad, 130.

beer for the George Heilmann Brewing Company, which was located in La Crosse, Wisconsin. Since La Crosse is only sixty miles from Prairie du Chien it would be easy to drive any beer shipments back and forth.<sup>51</sup> The brewery in Prairie du Chien brought in money from La Crosse but with Prohibition the money stopped coming in.

When prohibition was in effect breweries either changed to produce other products or closed down. According to the Wisconsin Historical Society, “With Prohibition, many breweries began to make near beer while others began to produce soda, ice cream, and cheese. Some brewers made malt syrup and other products which individuals could use for home brewing. Many breweries eventually had to close some forever.”<sup>52</sup> Since breweries had the equipment to produce beer, soda was an option that many breweries chose to go with because manufacturing soda required much of the same equipment. In fact, the Prairie brewery turned to producing soda. This 1919 advertisement in the Prairie du Chien newspaper shows the change to manufacturing and selling beer to root beer. The company knew Prohibition was coming and changed to the production of soda before the Volstead Act went into effect.

Brewing and distributing alcohol was not the only economic concern that prohibition caused. Other parts of the economy were affected, such as gas stations and the farming industry. Gas stations were affected because beer distributors were not driving their products to all the taverns and liquor stores around the state, which hurt gas station revenue. Wisconsin has had a rich history of farms and farmers who have been selling their crops to breweries and distilleries. According to the 1910 census, Crawford

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<sup>51</sup>Wayne L. Kroll, *Badger Breweries: Past and Present*, (Jefferson Wisconsin: Wayne L. Kroll, 1976), 114-115.

<sup>52</sup>Wisconsin Historical Society, Brewing and Prohibition, Online, Available at: [http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/tp-051/?action=more\\_essay](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/tp-051/?action=more_essay), Viewed on June 18, 2006.

County, where Prairie du Chien is located, had 1,983 farms. These 1,983 farms had a 745,001 value of cereals.<sup>53</sup> Even though not all of the corn and other cereals went to the breweries and distilleries, a good portion of them did. The following quote from a German Lutheran, who believed a conspiracy was behind prohibition. H.K.M. states,

“The first was the Rockefeller interest, which “absorbs the corn output, and by removing the brewer and distiller hopes to buy all the corn at lowest prices. Second were the meat packers, who expected cheaper meat and greater profits to result from lower grain prices, and the canners, who looked forward to new markets in grape-juice and other products to take the place of the vanished cheer. The third interest behind prohibition included the manufacturers of certain beverages, such as Coca-Cola, which is said to contain habit-forming drugs.”<sup>54</sup>

This quote shows the importance of economics in the fight against prohibition. It also shows the emergence of farmers as possible anti-prohibitionists. Even though many might have thought prohibition would have hurt the need for cereals, such as myself but it really did not. According to the 1920 census, Crawford County had 1,911 farms which produced 2,349,912 in cereal value. The number of farms went down slightly but the value of cereal skyrocketed. This could have been due to innovations in farming or the need to feed the soldiers in World War I. The 1930 census lists 1,915 farms with 936,060 in cereal value.<sup>55</sup> The drop in cereal production to levels that are similar to the 1910 figures shows that prohibition did not have an affect on cereals or farmers. However, it still is significant because before and during the beginning of prohibition many farmers worried prohibition would financially hurt them.

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<sup>53</sup>Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, Historical Census Browser, Online, Available at: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php>, Viewed on September, 10, 2006.

<sup>54</sup>H.K.M., “The Prohibition Amendment is Winning,” Northwestern Lutheran, 6: 9-10, (January 26, 1919). Quoted in Glad, 129.

<sup>55</sup>Geospatial and Statistical Data Center.

Towards the end of prohibition it became clear how prohibition took jobs away from Prairie du Chien. Not only did prohibition take away the brewing industry from Prairie du Chien, but it made farmers worry about the price of cereal. Prohibition also took away the potential of more jobs in Prairie du Chien. The jobs that were taken away by prohibition were the jobs that had to do with the distribution of alcohol. A 1933 article in the *Courier* discussed the Blatz distributorship in Prairie du Chien and the addition of two new families to the town. The article also discussed how the Blatz distribution will open five new jobs in Prairie du Chien. In two other articles in the *Courier* discussed how other beer distributors were leasing buildings in Prairie du Chien and how they were hiring people to work in them. They also said they will be doing repairs and remodeling of the building, which will bring work for laborers.<sup>56</sup>

## **Politics**

One way that people in Prairie du Chien showed their opinion of the eighteenth Amendment was through politics and voting. Voting gave citizens of Prairie du Chien a legal way to oppose prohibition. Political party platforms show what the parties' views on prohibition. It is important to remember that Prohibition was not necessarily a partisan issue and both Democrats and Republicans were pro and anti-prohibition.<sup>57</sup>

The Democratic party platform changed from the beginning of prohibition to its demise. In the beginning of prohibition Democrats were much in favor of the eighteenth amendment. The 1919 Wisconsin Blue Book said the Wisconsin Democratic Party platform was the same as the national platform and it supported President Woodrow

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<sup>56</sup>The Courier, April 4 and 11, 1933.

<sup>57</sup>The Wisconsin Blue Book 1933, (Madison: Madison Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1933), 467-469.



Wilson, who signed the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.<sup>58</sup> This meant that the Democrats were going to support Wilson's decision to amend the constitution and see how Prohibition would be excepted by Americans. Only a couple of years later the Democrats platform started to use stronger language in favor of prohibition. According to the 1923 Wisconsin Blue Book the Democrats' fifteenth issue on their platform states, "We believe and most strongly urge, that the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and laws enacted under the same amendment, both national and state, be strictly enforced."<sup>59</sup> By having the words strictly enforced means that the Democrats felt that the way Prohibition was going to succeed would be through tougher police actions. Rhetoric did not start to change in the Democrats' platform until the end of prohibition, when it was apparent that the Eighteenth Amendment was going to be repealed. The 1932 Democratic platform called for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.<sup>60</sup>

The Republican Party platform was never totally in favor of prohibition. The Republicans also never called for citizens to disobey the law. In 1919, the Republican platform of Wisconsin called for the liquor question to be in the legislative districts and legislators should vote in accordance with the people.<sup>61</sup> In this case it is more like prohibit. For the most part, the Republican platform did not address prohibition for the rest of the time during prohibition. This leads me to believe Republicans did not like prohibition but since it was law they were not going to go against the Constitution. The 1932 Republican platform told the people to follow all laws, but it outlined how to amend

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<sup>58</sup>Paul F. Hunter, ed., *The Wisconsin Blue Book 1919*, (Madison: Madison Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1919), 102.

<sup>59</sup>*The Wisconsin Blue Book 1923*, (Madison: Madison Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1923), 509.

<sup>60</sup> *The Wisconsin Blue Book 1933*, 451.

<sup>61</sup>Hunter, 105

the constitution and told the people if they want it changed it needs to be amended. The platform also called for the people to vote for representatives that will ratify the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.<sup>62</sup> This demonstrates that Republicans for the most part were never in favor of prohibition.

In the election of 1916, the majority of Prairie du Chien voters voted for Woodrow Wilson. Wilson took 442 votes, compared to Republican Charles E. Hughes 309 votes.<sup>63</sup> Even though Wilson signed the eighteenth amendment and was pro-prohibition, does not mean that was the reason why voters voted for him. He was a president that was keeping the United States out of World War I and many people voted for him for that very reason. After Wilson the presidential election is not as important as state elections. The reason for this is because the amendment was already in place, which meant prohibition was going to have to be around for a while.

State elections became more important because enforcement legislation were going to be made in state legislatures. Even though the Volstead Act made the sale, transportation, and consumption of alcohol illegal nationally, it was the states that had to come up with a more precise plan of law enforcement. In the election of 1918, the voters in Prairie du Chien split almost evenly between Republican Emanuel L. Philipp winning for his third term as Wisconsin governor and the Democrat, Moehlenpah. 244 people from Prairie du Chien voted for Philipp and 263 voted for Moehlenpah.<sup>64</sup> Philipp was known as the war governor because he was the governor that led Wisconsin through World War I. He did not have very much significance for prohibition but his successor

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<sup>62</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1933, 554.

<sup>63</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1917, (Madison: Madison Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1917), 108.

<sup>64</sup>Hunter, 113.

did. His successor was Republican John J. Blaine, who was known as a “wet governor.” Rippley states, “Led by her upcoming wet governor, John J. Blaine, Wisconsin in several stages beginning in 1923, in 1926, and in 1929 dismantled prohibition as far as a state by itself could accomplish.”<sup>65</sup> Prairie du Chien voted overwhelmingly in favor of Blaine. In the 1922 election, 479 voters from Prairie du Chien voted for Blaine and 150 voted for the Democrat, Bentley.<sup>66</sup> Blaine stayed as governor until 1927 when he then ran for the Senate. Blaine and his constituents continued their anti-Prohibition efforts in December 1932 when he introduced federal legislation that ended prohibition. Crawford County voted 3,974 in favor of amending the constitution and 1,226 against.<sup>67</sup>

The eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act made the manufacturing and sales of alcohol illegal, but did not discuss enforcement. During the 1920 general elections Wisconsin had to vote for a prohibition referendum that was going to help define prohibition in Wisconsin. According to Glad,

In Wisconsin, the legislature passed the Mulberger Act in June 1919. A disappointment to the dries, it legalized beer containing 2.5 percent alcohol. Yet it also provided that the alcoholic content established by Congress was to be accepted under state law. And when the United States Supreme Court upheld the authority of Congress to define intoxicating liquor, the Anti-Saloon League came out in support of the Mulberger Act.<sup>68</sup>

Crawford County, where Prairie du Chien lies, was in accordance with the rest of the state when it voted in the referendum 2,592 in favor of the Mulberger Act and 1,549 against. This is very similar to the state outcome, which was 419,309 in favor and 199,876 opposed to the referendum. Even though the Mulberger Act did not allow the

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<sup>65</sup>Rippley, 128.

<sup>66</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1923, 529.

<sup>67</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1933, 554.

<sup>68</sup>Glad, 131.

manufacturing of 2.5 percent beer, many who voted for the Mulberger Act, thought it was more lenient than other prohibition legislation; therefore Prairie du Chien continued to vote for anti-prohibition legislation.<sup>69</sup> 2.5 percent alcohol was seen as a weak beer because most lager beer was brewed at 5 percent or higher. Later in 1921, the Severson Bill took the place of the Mulberger Act. The Severson Bill set up law enforcement in Wisconsin. According to Glad, "In signing of the Severson bill Blaine noted that there can be no invasion of the home or any spying on family life under the bill, and it provides simplified machinery for enforcement."<sup>70</sup> This shows Blaine's anti-prohibition feelings because he believes that what a person does in their home is their own business and does not feel that government should be able to invade peoples' privacy.

By looking at Prairie du Chien's voting records one can get the feel of how the voters felt about prohibition. Prairie du Chien voters continually voted for anti-prohibition politicians and in favor of anti-prohibition legislation. Since, the majority of people in Prairie du Chien seem to be anti-prohibitionists one might assume they were more likely to not follow the Prohibition laws because they did not feel they were just. If they did not follow the laws of prohibition, did many of these people get into trouble with law enforcement officials or did the law enforcement not do anything about drinking in Prairie du Chien?

### **Law Enforcement**

Law enforcement of prohibition in Prairie du Chien was viewed differently by different people. Those caught breaking the law viewed law enforcement as active,

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<sup>69</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1921, (Madison: Madison Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1921), 226.

<sup>70</sup>Glad, 131.

others who thought enforcement of Prohibition was far too lax. The United States government wanted to check if Prairie du Chien and Crawford County were doing a good enough job of enforcing Prohibition. The Bureau of Prohibition of the Treasury Department sent Agent Frank Buckley to survey enforcement in Wisconsin. Buckley reported on the ability of the sheriff to enforce prohibition, the general nature of the community in reference to prohibition, and of the foreign element of each county in Wisconsin.<sup>71</sup> In 1929 Buckley reported that Crawford County's sheriff was not cooperating with the enforcement of prohibition, the community was wet and borders on Iowa, and there were 4,899 foreign elements in Crawford County.<sup>72</sup> Like most other counties in Wisconsin Crawford County was considered wet. Glad states,

The Official Records of the Commission contained a section on Wisconsin, and if anything, it indicated that prohibition violations were even more common than anyone thought. According to a summary table in the records, only twenty of Wisconsin's seventy-one counties deserved to be called dry... In any case, Frank Buckley, who conducted the survey of Wisconsin, visited several towns and cities and in almost all of them alcoholic beverages could be obtained with ease.<sup>73</sup>

The significance of Buckley's report was that it was one more report that showed the failures of Prohibition.

One factor that rendered enforcement of prohibition difficult was the fact that Prairie du Chien lacked city ordinances prohibiting drunkenness, drunk and disorderly conduct, and driving while intoxicated. The city was in fact typical of Wisconsin municipalities. Many other states at the time already had city ordinances that made the

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<sup>71</sup> Foreign element refers to immigrants or people who strongly identify with their ethnic group.

<sup>72</sup>Buckley, 1100.

<sup>73</sup>Glad, 133.

sale, consumption, and transportation of alcohol illegal.<sup>74</sup> According to the 1927 Wisconsin Blue Book, only eighteen cities had city ordinances that prohibited those activities.<sup>75</sup> By not having a city ordinance that prohibited those activities shows that Prairie du Chien did not want prohibition and did not want to let go of their drinking culture. However, under the Volstead Act, it was still illegal to manufacture, transport, or sell intoxicating beverages.

Even though Prairie du Chien did not support prohibition and did not have any city ordinances against drunken activities, this did not stop police from making some arrests for the manufacture, transportation, and sale of intoxicating beverages. Police made many small arrests for violations of the Volstead Act during prohibition. When Burt Lester was arrested for having a quart of moonshine on November 1, 1927, it constituted as a small arrest.<sup>76</sup> A small arrest means that only couple of people were arrested and they only had a small amount of alcohol on them. There were many arrests in Prairie du Chien of a single person with a small amount of alcohol. There were more significant arrests at this time as well, as on March 2, 1926 when Sheriff Sherwood and prohibition officer Oscar Stevenson destroyed two stills that contained twenty-five barrels of mash and arrested one Italian man.<sup>77</sup>

There are two incidents that stand out in Prairie du Chien's Prohibition enforcement history. In the first case, on May 24, 1932, a children's' book was based on it. What made the actions of law enforcement officers so significant is that the still was very large and it was on a historical site. The prohibition officers estimated the still was

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<sup>74</sup>The Anti-Saloon League of America, map.

<sup>75</sup>Wisconsin Blue Book 1927, 264.

<sup>76</sup>The Courier, November 1, 1927.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid, March 2, 1926.

worth \$20,000. It contained a copper cylinder four feet in diameter and twenty feet tall, connected to another copper cylinder. The final step of the fermentation occurred in its 100 gallon tank, which was heated by a steam boiler fired by an electric driven fuel oil burner. The prohibition officers reported this still used the most advanced equipment. This was the most significant enforcement effort during prohibition in Prairie du Chien. It was also noteworthy because this still was in the barn of the Villa Louis.<sup>78</sup>

The children's book that was loosely based on this event is August Derleth's, *The House By the River*. The story illustrates Prairie du Chien's defiance of prohibition and even though this book is fiction, it is based on historical events. The book is also a written account of the Villa Louis as a place to pick up illegal alcohol during prohibition. Even though there is no hard evidence that says the Villa Louis was a place to pick up alcohol, it is believed by many local people that it was. Through conversations with my grandparents, local librarians, and local scholars, they have all brought up that the Villa Louis was a place where a person could get moonshine. They said one had to go to the basement of the Villa Louis and leave a mason jar along with some money and the next day the mason jar would be full of moonshine.<sup>79</sup>

In the second incident that stands out in prohibition enforcement in Prairie du Chien an officer was killed during a raid. On June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1932, John E. Kenford was burned to death as the still that was being raided blew up. Elmer Geittmann and Louis Witt, who were also agents, were both injured during the explosion. This raid took place seven miles out of town in the Mill Coulee. The paper said the fire started mysteriously but the men poured gasoline around the shack that housed the still and mash barrels. *The*

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<sup>78</sup>The Courier, May 24, 1932.

<sup>79</sup>Nick Campbell and Elmer Moon, interview by author, 1 July 2006, Prairie du Chien.

*Courier* was unsure if the men did not put out the fire in the still or if they accidentally lit the gasoline. After the explosion, Geittmann got Witt into the car to drive back to town, but he could not find Kenford. Apparently, Kenford, disoriented from the blast, disappeared into the woods, where Paul Rodenkirk found him and brought him to the hospital where he died from his wounds.<sup>80</sup>

According to my grandfather, Donald Wachter, this story is somewhat accurate. Donald Wachter has owned and operated a farm on the ridge next to the Mill Coulee and got to know Paul Rodenkirk and his family. According to Wachter, the still was on the Rodenkirk's land and the Rodenkirk boys operated the still. The Rodenkirk boys apparently hid on a hill that overlooked their still and witnessed the explosion. The boys said the prohibition officers poured gasoline all over the still and threw a torch on it, which made the still explode, resulting in the death of Kenford.<sup>81</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Prohibition has been called "the noble experiment" by many people, mostly prohibitionists. Prairie du Chien and Wisconsin would not have looked at prohibition as a noble experiment because the majority of people in Prairie du Chien and Wisconsin did not view the consumption of alcoholic beverages to be morally wrong. German ethnicity played a major factor in the way people viewed alcohol and Prairie du Chien and Wisconsin had many German inhabitants. German's and their religions did not condone drinking and did not believe prohibition was the answer to making a great society. Germans also made Wisconsin into a brewing powerhouse, which financially hurt many

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<sup>80</sup>The Courier, June 14, 1932.

<sup>81</sup>Donald Wachter, interview by author, 20 July 2006, Prairie du Chien.



people when prohibition turned its back on the brewing industry. This did not help prohibitionists in gaining support from the Germans or Wisconsin. Since the majority of the population did not support prohibition, law enforcement was made difficult by lack of support. The legislation and even local law enforcement in Wisconsin never put up a full effort to eradicate alcohol from Wisconsin. Prairie du Chien is a prime example of a regular, small town in Wisconsin, Prairie du Chien compares wonderfully with the rest of Wisconsin as far as how prohibition in Wisconsin did not work.

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