

Der Kapitän der Milwaukee gebaut hat

The Perpetual Influence of Frederick Pabst on the City of Milwaukee
throughout the late 19th century

Danny Borgstrom

HISTORY 489

Dr. Kate Lang

Cooperating Professor:

Dr. Teresa Sanislo

Copyright for this work is owned by the author. This digital version is published by McIntyre Library, University of Wisconsin Eau Claire with the consent of the author.

Table of Contents

I.	Introduction.....	3
II.	Immigration.....	6
III.	Social Life.....	10
IV.	So, Why Milwaukee?.....	14
V.	Pabst and His Humble Beginnings.....	17
VI.	Pabst in the Brewing Industry.....	19
VII.	Pabst’s Success in Milwaukee.....	22
VIII.	The Philanthropy of Captain Pabst.....	25
IX.	Milwaukee Brewers Association.....	30
X.	The Demise of the Captain.....	32
XI.	Prohibition and the Temperance Movement.....	34
XII.	Anti-German Sentiment.....	36
XIII.	Conclusion.....	38
XIV.	Bibliography.....	40
XV.	Appendices.....	43

Tables and Figures

1.	Production of Leading American Breweries.....	11
2.	Largest Breweries in 1895.....	15
3.	Pabst’s Philanthropic Donations.....	27
4.	Milwaukee Brewers Association Philanthropy.....	31

Cover translation: *Der Kapitän der Milwaukee gebaut hat* (The Captain that Built Milwaukee)

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the economic success of Captain Frederick Pabst and his lasting influence on the city of Milwaukee. Frederick Pabst was known as a beer baron and was one of eight individuals who essentially established the brewing industry in Milwaukee. This industry started locally in Milwaukee and grew into a nationwide success story, and in return, gave the beer barons thousands of dollars in assets. Frederick Pabst, along with the beer barons, donated their thousands of dollars to local charities, hospitals, social clubs, parks, and political campaigns in Milwaukee. Their enduring success from brewing and public donations is prevalent all over Milwaukee to this day, from the historic Pabst Theatre to the Pabst Building. But what is unclear is why Pabst and the other barons donated their assets to the city in exchange for seemingly nothing more than a glorified reputation. By analyzing former records of Frederick Pabst, the general ledger of the Milwaukee Brewers Association, and newspaper articles from the *Sentinel*, one can see how important he and they were to the development of Milwaukee, as well as the brewing industry of Wisconsin. This paper will explore three possible motives for his prominent standing in the community; philanthropy, business strategies and economic power. I will provide strong evidence that places Frederick Pabst within the growing philanthropy movement in Milwaukee, and examine how his business strategies were beneficial not only to his economic success, but also to his personal reputation in Milwaukee.

I like to treat people well because it is pleasant to think that after I am gone there may be someone who will say that old Fred wasn't such a bad fellow after all.

-Captain Frederick Pabst

INTRODUCTION

Early industrial cities in America developed for a number of reasons. Some, such as Chicago and Cincinnati were pivotal resource centers in the midst of the industrial age. Others, like Superior and Duluth offered abundant natural resources needed to fuel manufacturing. Milwaukee, however, was a bit different. Since its location on Lake Michigan made it significant for shipping interests during the Industrial Revolution, Milwaukee was able to benefit from the industrial expansion taking place during the late nineteenth century. However, rather than being historically significant for its steel or wheat manufacturing like other cities on the lakes, it was truly the brewing industry that put Milwaukee on the map.¹

It was once said that Milwaukee's sinks had three faucets: one for hot water, one for cold water, and the biggest one for beer.² Although this idea is a bit of an exaggeration, there is a conclusion to be drawn from it. One is able to understand the importance of brewing in Milwaukee during that time, as well as understand how much beer played a role in the lives of early Milwaukeeans. Yet, some may not know how the beer became so renowned and so widely conventional at a time when immigration and ethnic pride was threatening the very cornerstone of early American society since most brewers and consumers of the product were indeed

¹ Thomas Cochran, *The Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business* (New York: New York Publishing, 1948), 256. This was stemmed by a friendly feud between Schlitz and Pabst who argued over which slogan came first and which slogan each company would use. In the end Schlitz kept the slogan: Schlitz, the beer that made Milwaukee famous, and Pabst use the slogan: Milwaukee beer is famous-Pabst made it so.

² Russell Austin, *The Milwaukee Story: The Making of an American City* (Milwaukee: The Milwaukee Journal, 1946), 80

immigrants. For an answer, one has to look no further than the Milwaukee beer barons. These beer barons came from what is now unified Germany and brought to the new world their traditions and culture, including brewing. As brewing continued to gain strength in Milwaukee, one thing became evident; the wealth and fame that these beer barons would obtain would ensure that their names remained in the history of Milwaukee for years to come. But as these barons acquired their fortunes, something significant occurred. The beer barons of Milwaukee gave thousands of dollars back to their city to be used in construction endeavors, social projects, and culture preservation efforts directed at not only the German population in Milwaukee but also the Polish, Irish, and Scottish as well.

It was not that public donation was something out of the ordinary. In fact the opposite is true. During the late nineteenth century, public donations had become sort of trend among industrialists. The industrial revolution brought enormous quantities of wealth to several individuals who in turn used that money to finance public projects such as libraries and hospitals. The significance of the beer baron's financial donations lies in the fact that they donated more frequently than others. Additionally, these donations were much more fundamental to the creation of Milwaukee because they occurred in a relatively small city in comparison to other American cities such as New York or Philadelphia.

By contributing to the growth of their city, as well as their ability to identify with an immigrant, and thus less opportune class, the beer barons made themselves quite distinguishable from other industrial philanthropists. Although there is evidence of their profit kept for personal capitol, the Pabst mansion as one example, there is direct evidence of public donations to the city found in the Brewers Association general ledger which documents donations and money transfers of the Brewers Association of Milwaukee. This evidence, along with articles from the

Milwaukee Sentinel and personal accounts of Milwaukee citizens attest to the fame Frederick Pabst received from even the poorest of Milwaukeeans, which were often the newly arriving immigrants.

This paper will first examine Milwaukee during the period of immigration by looking at the dominance of German culture throughout the city in relation to other ethnicities found in Milwaukee at the same time period.³ We will also examine the role of Frederick Pabst within the brewing industry and his rise to power. We will then examine the projects to which he donated as well as describe the motives for civic involvement among the beer barons. More notably, I will provide strong evidence that places Frederick Pabst within the context of the Philanthropic movement in the late nineteenth century progressive era and evaluate his community leadership role in Milwaukee. I will also examine Pabst's personal motives for his good-hearted actions and explain how he benefited from the fame he received, both economically and through his own personal reputation.

³ In the context of this paper, I will be using the term Germans, but will be referring to the separate nations within Germany prior to 1870 after the Prussian wars. These ethnic Germans include most notably Bavarians, but also Saxons, Turingians, and Bohemians. Although most secondary literature refers to these states of unified Germany as in fact Germans as a whole, it is important to know that the separate sovereign states within what is now unified Germany were very distinct, and their cultures represent a relevant difference among other ethnic Germans in regards to immigration to America. It also important to note that these ethnicities influenced emigrated Germans living in America, especially in regards to social life and their viewpoint on beer and brewing.

IMMIGRATION

To better understand the success of German brewing in Milwaukee, one must first understand what Milwaukee was like in the 1850's. Between 1850 and 1860 Milwaukee experienced a steady stream of immigration. The 1850 census ranked Germans as the largest ethnic group in Milwaukee at forty percent.⁴ This was not the case prior to the 1850's. During this time, Milwaukee had a difficult start gaining any considerable population at all. The area the city would later encompass was comprised mostly of marshland and timber, two geographical obstacles that discouraged European inhabitants due to extreme effort needed to make land farmable. It was not just that German population numbers were low, however, but rather the fact that all population numbers in Milwaukee were low. In fact the population of Milwaukee in 1840 was only 1,700 inhabitants.⁵

The majority of the pioneers that came to Milwaukee were mostly from Chicago, which had already gained a reputable German population due to its early ports on Lake Michigan. But some argue it was the freedom of entrepreneurship and the geographic familiarities of lower Wisconsin, which made it so ideal for German immigrants who came to the United States in droves after the failed revolutions and political pressures of 1848.⁶ Milwaukee Historian, Russell Austin, explains that southern Wisconsin was a suitable place for Germans to relocate because of its similarities to Bavaria and other German States.⁷ Farmland was abundant and very fertile due to glacial affects, which explains Wisconsin's reputation as a farming state. Although the geographic similarities may explain Wisconsin's early success in agriculture, and abundance

⁴ Kathleen Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 233

⁵ Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1948), 28

⁶ Conzen, 19

⁷ Austin, 66

of entrepreneurship freedom, it does not fully explain their reasons for locating in Milwaukee in the first place. For this, one must examine the work of Kathleen Conzen.

Kathleen Conzen is a leading historian on urban America and nineteenth century social history in the Midwest. She explains that early Milwaukee was a primarily German town because German citizens already living in Milwaukee, as well as in the rest of the country, wrote several letters and promotional postcards to family in the Old Country telling them of great opportunities that were awaiting them in America.⁸ Many families, including the Pabst's, responded to one these promotional letters and immigrated in 1848, not because of the revolutions in Germany like so many others, but because they already had family living in Milwaukee.⁹

Since the Germans came in such vast numbers to a small city, their experiences did not coincide with other German immigration patterns or stories occurring in America. In her book *Immigrant Milwaukee*, Conzen explains that because the numbers were so much larger than other ethnic inhabitants, Germans essentially took over Milwaukee, which allowed for much more German immigration to the city. Although other ethnic groups had contributed to a number of sub communities within Milwaukee in an effort to assert power, they usually lacked enough significant members to maintain a power. Some groups, such as the Scottish, had raised donations for the famine of 1847 in Scotland, and held a number of Scottish celebrations such as St. Andrews day and Robert Burns' day.¹⁰ Other notable groups were the English, Welsh, and French whose organizations were generally short-lived. Out of all of these ethnic groups, the Irish came about as close to the Germans in terms of social mobility, but because of deep class

⁸ Conzen, 38

⁹ Cochran, 47

¹⁰ Conzen, 170

divides, the Irish never gained social momentum past the realm of the church. The Irish had come together due to the early Temperance Movement which had threatened their own social structure.

Although the American born inhabitants, the Irish, Scottish and English, had already formed a respectable foothold in the city, it was the Germans who created a collective society that was able to form the primary social structure of the city. By the 1850s, Milwaukee's immigrant German population had surpassed the native born inhabitants of the city. With such a large population of Germans, it was only a matter of time before the German social structures and *Vereinswesen* would come to incorporate many parts of Milwaukee in almost all aspects of daily life.¹¹

The Germans were very active in the community by attending local meetings, politicians' accountability on platform issues and had several times pushed for social changes throughout their city.¹² They had truly taken the idea of democracy and applied it directly to the city, something that most political movements at the time had trouble with and some still to this day. The German people had stayed clear of the political machines which had encompassed most of the Irish and British citizens in the city. Kathleen Conzen believed it was local needs which generated most of the German community involvement, but also a set of viable sub communities, potentially disruptive of any sense of unified *Deutschtum* within Milwaukee that could be expected to multiply with the increasing size and heterogeneity of German settlement in the 1850's.¹³ Whether it was the flow of promotional postcards or the political inequalities of

¹¹ *Vereinswesen* in German refers to social groups that were quintessentially German such as singing societies or gymnastic societies.

¹² Still, 80

¹³ Conzen, 170. *Deutschtum* refers to a sort of unified German culture within a German community.

Germany prior to World War One, a conclusion can be drawn. German presence in Milwaukee is due to not just one factor but various factors regarding immigration.

No other city in America had boasted such a prominent German presence as Milwaukee had done in the nineteenth century. In most of the city English had become a minority language, the smell of brewing resonated daily throughout the city, shops and business fronts were all written in German, and non-Germans had learned to become bi lingual in an effort to maintain a presence in Milwaukee.

It is well known among historians that German was a dominant culture of Milwaukee. Shop keepers and the like were expected to know German and would be pressed to find a job otherwise. Signs and bank notes were written in German as well as community event posters.¹⁴ Even the shipments of hops and barley would be an almost daily occurrence. These are clear examples of how intertwined the German and American culture were in nineteenth century Milwaukee as well as prove how dominant the German culture was in the city.¹⁵ This widespread German culture as well as social *Vereinswesens* or sub-community groups would continue to influence life and social functions in Milwaukee for years to come.

¹⁴ Still, 188

¹⁵ Robert Wilbur Interview, "Interview with the Brewmaster", interview by Daniel Borgstrom, October 18, 2008. Early in American history, the only beer available was ales and stout because they did not require cold fermentation. To the new German Immigrants this was a poor substitution to their beloved Lager. As a result German breweries started to appear in New York and Philadelphia. As demand grew for beer, so did the demand for choice ingredients. We know it today as the Purity Laws of Germany, but to the Brew Masters and Germans alike it was known as *The Reinheitsgebot of 1516*. Some believe these laws were to spite the nobility who firmly controlled the wheat industry in Europe, while others claim it is to ensure the healthy ingredients and to keep such things as roots and bark out of beer. As it is the oldest food law in history, it stands as just one example of how German beliefs and ideologies carried into the new country, and still influence brewing practices today.

SOCIAL LIFE

For a look into how the social life in Milwaukee was influenced by brewing, one must first examine why brewing was a popular trade to begin with. As Robert Wells, a Milwaukee Historian of the 1970's explains, it was a succession of events that brought beer into the idea of Milwaukee.

In Wells' book, *This is Milwaukee*, he explains this series of events:

If the Southern states had not seceded, there would have been no Civil War. If there had not been a Civil War, it would not have been necessary to impose a one-dollar tax on Whisky, doubling the price charged in Milwaukee saloons. If Milwaukee's thrifty saloon patrons had not sought to counteract this inflationary trend, they would have not switched to beer. If they had not switched to beer, the breweries in existence would have continued to be small, family run operations making only enough to supply the neighborhood trade.¹⁶

If you combine this explanation of events, along with the abundance, or rather dominance, of a German culture in Milwaukee, one can see how the brewing industry established itself Milwaukee, as well as account for its early success among Germans.

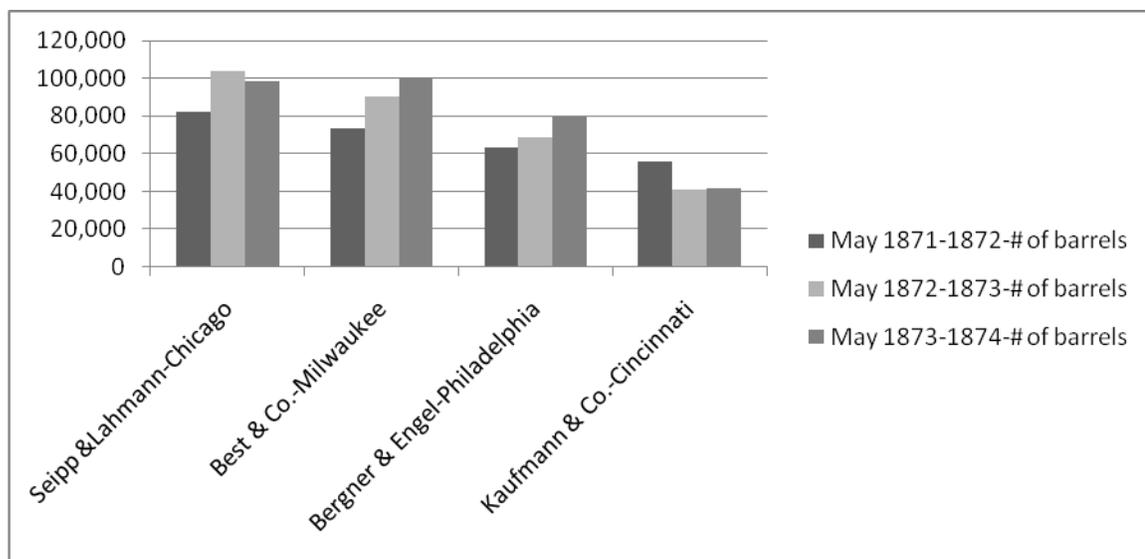
German society and beer went hand in hand, but that's not to say the Germans were alcoholics; hardly. Rather the Germans, along with other Bavarian immigrants, viewed beer as a respectable social beverage that one could share with their families; unlike whisky which had gained a bad reputation and would later come to influence the Temperance Movement in America. Gin had also created a parallel with the Temperance Movement because of its association with the poor in England and later led to a ban on gin.¹⁷ Besides Milwaukee, there were other cities that were known for large brewing sectors such as Cincinnati, New York and

¹⁶ Robert Wells, *This is Milwaukee*. (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970), 100

¹⁷ Wilbur Interview, October 18 2008. England had imposed a limit on gin production because of its excessive use in the cities. Gin was usually associated with a poor class because it was made cheap by subsidies and so readily available. Gin was popular among the Dutch who were the predominate culture in the east. To this day, Holland remains one of the oldest gin producing countries in the world.

Philadelphia.¹⁸ Figure 1.1 illustrates the production of beer in America. As of 1874, only one city was producing more beer than Milwaukee; Chicago.

Figure 1.1
Production of leading American Breweries Of 1871-1872
 (With production figures for 1872-1873 & 1873-1874)¹⁹



In order to sell their chief product, Brew Masters and Beer Barons had to utilize certain establishments, such as the local saloon. However, unlike today's modern tavern, the tradition remained predominately German; one saloon, one beer.²⁰ Each brewery supplied saloons and regulated them. Often they only carried that beer and very little hard alcohol such as whisky. Beer halls also became popular in German communities and were able to support large numbers of people year round. But for the summer months, Germans required an outdoor social scene, and thusly the Biergarten was born.

¹⁸ Cochran, 56. Graph of the leading producers in terms of Milwaukee Breweries 1866-1872.

¹⁹ Cochran, 56. Figures for 1871-1872 are from the *American Brewer*, IV, No. 3 (Mar. and Apr. 1873), 22, 32, 33; 1872-1873 and 1873-1874 from the *American Brewer*, V, No. 6 (June 1, 1874), 118, 119; V, No. 8 (Aug. 1874), 182; V, No. 11 (Nov. 1874). 254

²⁰ Wilbur Interview, October 18 2008. This was common practice among Germans because large scale distribution was not available, nor was it favorable.

The Biergarten resembles an early German tradition where the idea of outside social galas would promote social interaction through friends and neighbors and spark political conversation.²¹ These Beer gardens would often have a band and some sort of social event as the centerpiece. This idea carried over the Atlantic from Germany and was the basis for the creation of gardens and parks all over Milwaukee, and the Midwest, which would hold weekly events with music, games, and of course, beer.²² Although these gardens received a large amount of acclaim in the Milwaukee newspapers and from the public, they did come with some skeptics. Some Americans believed that drinking in public was considered deplorable because it was not seen as socially acceptable, and instead some Americans chose to drink in seclusion.²³

These parks, some of which are still around today, usually had the name of the brewer in the parks name. For instance, if one were to go to Pabst Park, one would also drink Pabst beer because that brewer owned the distribution of beer through that garden, much like the saloons and beer halls. But as brewing profits soared, the gardens became an even larger center of attention. Dignitaries would speak, day and night shows would occur, and even wild-west shows would all draw in hundreds of people a day to relax and experience the German idea of *gemutlichkeit*.²⁴ Since the beer was associated by name recognition in Milwaukee, these saloons, and Biergartens were very important for the beer barons. Therefore, what may seem like a donation of a park or the construction of a beer hall was actually the creation of a capitalistic

²¹ Mayor Rose, 1908, speech delivered to anti-prohibition crowd June 1908. September 1995.

²² One of the most well known parks was not even a park at all, but rather a resort. Captain Pabst created the Whitefish Bay resort which was world renown and offered a getaway for the elites on the shores of Lake Michigan. The legacy of the resort supersedes the resort itself. Tales of extravagant dances, water activities, and who's who were all articles in Milwaukee newspapers.²² Some notable guests were the Rockefellers, J.P. Morgan, and other elites from Milwaukee, and they all viewed Pabst's resort as one of the finest. Since it had reputation as a getaway for the elite, Milwaukee became a suitable vacation destination, especially for those wishing to leave Chicago.

²³ Wells, 156. Some American believed that drinking was to be done outside of the public eye. This was common for whisky drinkers and other patrons of hard alcohol. Stories in the newspapers include articles in the Sentinel from 1893-1895.

²⁴ Still, 79. *Gemutlichkeit* refers to a German phrase meaning closeness and warmth between people.

venture. It is important to note that since the Biergartens, beer halls, and saloons were all owned and operated by the same breweries which were supplying, they were essentially money making businesses. This is one explanation for the economic success in which the beer barons enjoyed in Milwaukee.

SO, WHY MILWAUKEE?

Milwaukee had many attributes which made it a successful brewing town. Although other states boast the first brewery or the first beer for sale, no city could compare with Milwaukee; the city that was virtually built on malt and hops. The unmatched quantities of beer consumed in the brew city during the nineteenth century gave rise to the popular term "Milwaukee goiter," used to refer to a rounded belly that was common among Milwaukeeans. One story recounts a German worker at the Pabst brewery who drank a bucket of beer not once, but twice in one sitting; the first time to make sure he could do it, and the second in front of the mayor of New York City.

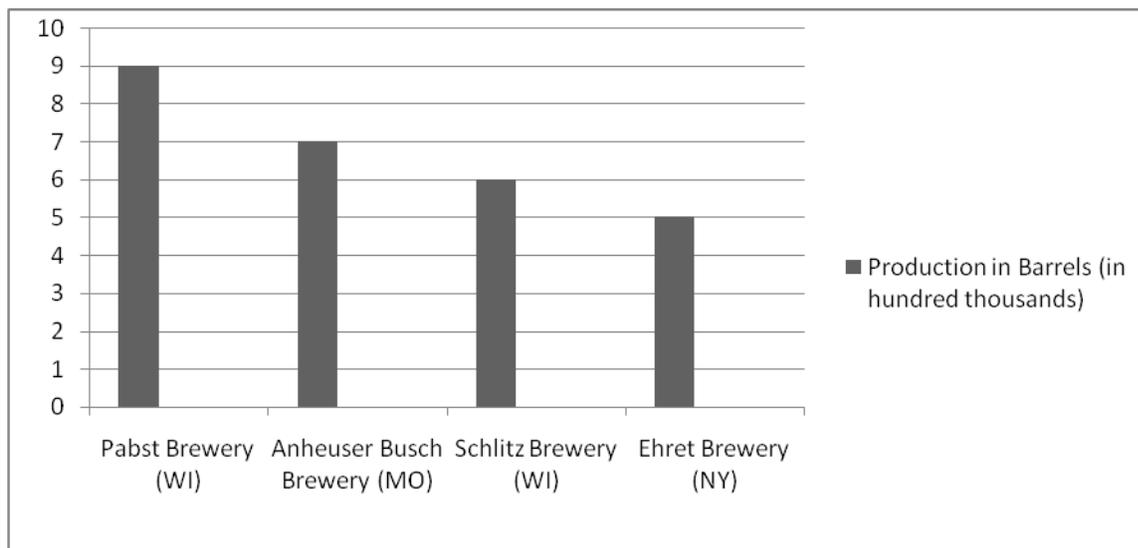
Milwaukee not only had a large population of ethnic Germans, but the city also rested right on the shore of Lake Michigan, making it an ideal location to obtain vast amounts of water and ice to continue year round brewing, something lacking in most other industrial cities. According to Brew Master Robert Wilbur, water quality was also a main factor in beer production. The water around Milwaukee provided an excellent source that did not be altered by any chemicals, something that other brewing cities could not claim.²⁵ Since Milwaukee had an ideal location on the lake and access to clean water, it soon became a dominate power in brewing. Figure 1.2 shows the strength of German breweries in 1895 by examining the number of barrels filled and distributed.

Milwaukee was on its way to becoming a success story in the industrial age, but its chief product was not being exported at a large enough rate to become economically viable. It was not

²⁵ Wilbur Interview, October 18, 2008. Other noteworthy cities that have superb water quality for brewing would be Pilsen, Czech Republic and Burtonatrente, Germany.

until 1871 that the Great Chicago fire “put Milwaukee on the map.”²⁶ With over 17,000 buildings destroyed and the beer industry at a virtual standstill, Chicago was thirsty and looked to its neighbor to the north for a much needed quench. The first improvement to the distribution to Chicago was improved rail lines. The rail lines allowed for more barrels to be taken because horses were no longer needed for the day trip. The second and most important improvement to Chicago distribution was the newly created taxes placed on distribution. This helped Milwaukee because the Chicago market was roughly twice the size of Milwaukee which now created an economic incentive to distribute. The revenue created by this distribution would further contribute to the capitol created by the saloons and beer halls among beer barons.

Figure 1.2
Largest Breweries in 1895²⁷



Milwaukee and its beer barons responded to the devastation of Chicago by making daily trips to the city to sell beer, and a result Milwaukee boomed. It only took a matter of days to get

²⁶ Cochran, 55

²⁷ Cochran, 79. *Brewers guide for the United States, Canada, and Mexico* (1896). A barrel is 31 gal., or a keg in today's context.

Chicago drinking again, mostly fueled by a friendly feud between beer barons. Their competition for control over the Chicago market increased the production of most breweries to the point where they had become the largest beer distributors in the country.²⁸

²⁸ William George Bruce, *Builders of Milwaukee*. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1946), 68.

PABST AND HIS HUMBLE BEGININGS

Although Frederick Pabst became one of the most prominent citizens in Milwaukee, his career in the brewing industry would have not been so if he had not met another beer baron, Phillip Best. The Best family had immigrated to Wisconsin in 1844 and began their fortune making vinegar.²⁹ In 1845, the family switched from vinegar and established the Empire Brewery. Established by Phillip's father, Jacob Best, on Chestnut Street hill, the Empire Brewery was producing an average of 300 barrels a year.³⁰ As the Empire Brewery grew so did its profits and production levels. Milwaukee population was increasing every year, and the market for beer responded by rising demand. To match this demand, the Best's had to implement new technology and practices. One example of this would be the first iron brew kettle, allowing them to keep up with demand. An Iron brew kettle would allow for more repeated use because it heated and cooled much quicker than the small copper pots which were used in the first American breweries. Iron kettles also made it possible to control the amount of heat which came from the wood fires underneath.³¹

The Empire Brewery proved to be a very successful one in Milwaukee and went on to go through a series of operators and later became known as Best & Co. When Jacob retired, control went to Phillip his oldest son where it continued thrive in Milwaukee. It was under the control of Phillip Best that the Brewery expanded even more by producing roughly 2,500 barrels; a sharp contrast to his father's brewery and their 300 barrel output. It was also under the direction of Phillip Best that Captain Pabst became associated with the brewery.

²⁹ Cochran, 4.

³⁰ Cochran, 5.

³¹ Cochran, 15. Milwaukee banned coal in an effort to keep air clean. As a result, breweries had to use wood to fuel fires which made it difficult to control temperatures due to its chemical properties.

Captain Pabst perhaps is the best known name in the Brewing industry in Milwaukee towards the end of the nineteenth century. His family immigrated to America in 1848 and located in Milwaukee since they had family already located there. His parents found no opportunities to their liking, and having exhausted their savings Frederick's father Gottlieb, and his family was forced to find work in a boardinghouse in Chicago. The death of Frederick's mother in the cholera epidemic of 1849 ended their arrangements at the boardinghouse, and Gottlieb became a cook at the Mansion House where young Frederick waited on tables for \$5.00 a month and board.³² When work in Chicago became too mundane for young Pabst he left for a life of work on the Great Lakes. He had spent many years around the Great Lakes as a cabin boy as well as a ship hand. At the age of 21 he was promoted to captain, a title which he held very close to his reputation.

Captain Pabst was captain of *The Comet* when he met Phillip Best. It only took dinner at the Best household for Pabst to be set to marry Phillip's daughter, Maria. After marrying Maria, Pabst sold his shipping interests and decided to follow his father-in-law into the brewing industry.³³ Under the guidance of Phillip, Frederick Pabst became a well known figure in the community. In 1863, Pabst was elected as Second Ward alderman and water commissioner, proof not only of Phillip Best's standing in the community, but also of young Pabst's winning personality.³⁴ Pabst was also director of a bank and main contributor to the Milwaukee Brewers Association. His dignified titles would prove to be a major influence in his economic rise to power. For example, the bank he directed financed his and most of the other breweries in Milwaukee.

³² Cochran, 47.

³³ Cochran, 48.

³⁴ Cochran, 48.

PABST IN THE BREWING INDUSTRY

When Captain Pabst bought the company from the recently retired Phillip Best in 1872, he took the Best & Co. name to new heights. The first year under Pabst's direction recorded 100,000 barrels and was operating as the second largest brewery in the country. But the Captain did not inherit the business alone. Instead, he was joined with another in-law of the Best family, Emil Schandain. Schandain had attended a science and technology school in Germany and contributed the knowledge that Pabst needed to effectively operate the brewery.³⁵ The biggest influence Schandain had on Pabst, however, was the ability to make friends and the ability to command the respect of the community through civic duties such as public donations.

After Pabst and Schandain had paid Phillip Best's remaining share of ownership, the brewery became theirs. Under the continuing title of Best & Co. the brewery remained consistent with barrels produced under his mentor Phillip Best, however, that would soon change. Whether it was optimism or arrogance, Best & Co. Brewery became too small for the pair. In 1869 the two in-laws purchased the Charles T. Melms Brewery, adding to their early dominance of the Milwaukee market. With their new purchase of the largest brewery in Milwaukee, the two soon moved into larger production and were set for the increase in sales that the city soon would desire. Sadly, Emil Schandain died in 1889, leaving majority share of the company to Pabst as well as control of the Charles T. Melms Brewery.³⁶ The legacy that Schandain would leave on Pabst would be critical in understanding the nature of Pabst to come. As I explained earlier, Schandain showed Pabst the importance of community involvement and

³⁵ Cochran, 49.

³⁶ John Eastberg Interview, "Interview with the Pabst Mansion Historian", November 18, 2008. Schandain was the major share holder of the Charles T. Melms brewery. When he died, the shares went to Pabst along with his real estate enterprises in Milwaukee.

civic engagement. For a more in-depth look at this we must examine family Historian, Thomas Cochran.³⁷

There is perhaps no other better expert on the Pabst family than family historian Thomas Cochran. Author of the book *The Pabst Brewing Company: the History of an American Business*, Cochran states that “for business reasons . . . it was important for a brewer to be a well known figure”.³⁸ This may seem like a basic concept to us in the twenty-first century, but in nineteenth century Milwaukee, this was a new idea. Since entrepreneurs often came from humble beginnings, it was important to remain in the public eye, lest one feel ostracized from their community. As a result, local communities required one to be very liberal.³⁹ In other words, one would not have succeeded unless they were willing to help out the community which in turn bought their product. Nowhere was this more evident than in the brewing industry.

Thomas Cochran explains:

The sales of beer depended to a considerable extent on the popularity and prestige of its producer. The fact that Pabst and Schandein were both generous men who liked to give time and money for local welfare played an important part in their phenomenal success. The captain, for instance, established a park with a rifle range for the Milwaukee’s Sharpshooters Club, then in 1873 gave his holdings to the club. It was said he gave as much as a thousand dollars a year in small personal gifts. Often he would make a special trip to someone’s house to see what was needed, so that his gift would show true consideration.⁴⁰

From this excerpt, we can see how important community standing was to an entrepreneur. We can also see how Pabst valued such things as name recognition to sell his product. In fact, some

³⁷ Thomas Cochran was a family historian who was granted unprecedented access to the family records of the Pabst’s. Sadly, the records were destroyed after his book had been published in 1948.

³⁸ Cochran, 67.

³⁹ In this text, liberal refers to one who is favoring gradual reform, especially political reforms that extend democracy, distribute wealth more evenly, and protect the personal freedom of the individual

⁴⁰ Cochran, 68.

would argue that Pabst was the first beer baron to go to such great lengths to promote his product. For example, Pabst would often pay a person outside of a saloon or beer hall to buy a round of drinks for everyone and toast “To the health of Frederick Pabst, Milwaukee’s most beloved citizen”.⁴¹ This would ensure name recognition of his product as well as optimistically increased sales, both contributing factors to his success.

⁴¹ Still, 332. New York was the primary location for Pabst to build his distant empire. He built a hotel in what is now Times Square and owned what was the largest restaurant in America called the Pabst Harlem.

PABST'S SUCCESS IN MILWAUKEE

After the name change to the Pabst Brewing Company in 1889, Milwaukee received a similar merit. The year 1889 marks the only year in Milwaukee's history that beer was the largest industry in the city. These were truly the golden years of brewing in Wisconsin, and America. The Beer Barons had opened up a national market for their product and were now competing for regional control over a consumer base. Pabst had opened up offices and breweries in New York and Chicago, while other barons looked toward Los Angeles and the Rocky Mountain areas as possible business endeavors.⁴²

Frederick Pabst also was a believer in large scale employment. At one time, his breweries employed 20,000 men whose jobs ranged from product taster to horse caretaker.⁴³ But his demand for competent workers even forced him to fire some people whom he did not see fit to operate some areas.⁴⁴ Because he employed such a large number of people, he was viewed by the community as a leader of the people. Perhaps he was so loved by the poorer citizens because he offered so many jobs. One thing is certain, however. Pabst and the other beer barons exclusively chose German workers for their breweries, not because of ethnic or racial issues, but because of their knowledge of beer.⁴⁵

⁴² It did not take long for a few key players to emerge in the brewing industry. Names like Schlitz, Blatz, Best, and Miller became household names in Milwaukee. Their status in the community was almost of nobility standing. Although most breweries competed against each other, it was the Best family that took an early lead. Jacob Best decided to take almost all the money he had and invested it in copper tanks. This may seem dismissible, but with a copper tank he could heat and cool the beer quicker making it a faster product.⁴² The Pabst name had become the most popular name in Brewing in America. To celebrate, Pabst ordered one million feet of blue silk to tie around each bottle produced, thus coining the name Pabst Blue Ribbon.

⁴³ One account tells of Captain Pabst firing a horse driver after he saw him mishandle the mouth reigns. He said to the man "although you are a good worker, your services are not needed in this area. Take the horses back to the stable and return to your home".

⁴⁴ (Milwaukee) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 2, 1904, 3.

⁴⁵ Before modern chemistry was implemented in the brewing process, brewers and their employees relied on systematic and repetitive procedures to make their product. Because most Germans had a long history and

We also see in an article from the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, the possible nomination of Frederick Pabst for governor or mayor. One would expect a man to throw his hat in so to speak due to his unwavering success as a philanthropist as well as a well known figure in Milwaukee. In the winter of 1890 Pabst was presented with a possible nomination for mayor and later that year governor.⁴⁶ Instead of accepting however, he said, “I know the offices are high and honorable ones, but I have no desire for public position or political honors.”⁴⁷ It is interesting that a person was able to obtain a nomination with no political background, but furthermore, is remarkable to see the power that he held in the city. The success and acclaim the Captain received in Milwaukee would continue to influence his actions. Due to his success at a young age, Pabst became one of the elites of the nation. As Cochran explains, Progressive Era elites received large amounts of money through their industries and most, including Pabst, were considered Philanthropists.⁴⁸

We can also observe the year 1873 as a milestone for Frederick Pabst with the incorporation of his brewery. With a capitol of \$300,000, Pabst was able to get much larger freedoms in terms of financing and therefore was able to expand his brewing extensively. Incorporation was a common practice in the Progressive ear as is noted by Alan Trachtenberg. Trachtenberg explains that this concept is based on minority ownership and provided capitalists with an improved ownership of their industry.⁴⁹ This was popularized by railroad industry and was seen as a way of increasing profits while maintaining singular control. This is a significant

respectable knowledge of brewing, they were the most sought after. Most brew masters did not want to hire someone they had to train from the ground up. It was for this reason that they employed so many Germans in their breweries.

⁴⁶ (Milwaukee) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 2, 1904, 3.

⁴⁷ (Milwaukee) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 2, 1904, 3.

⁴⁸ Cochran, 250.

⁴⁹ Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 5.

move by the Captain. By incorporating his company, he was able to increase his profits therefore allowing him to donate more assets.

THE PHILANTHROPY OF CAPTAIN PABST

Philanthropy in the Progressive era was becoming a trend among the elites. Due to Industrialization, large profits were being made and people wanted to prove their status by large purchases. Historian of the Progressive Era, Robert Wiebe explains that not only did “quantitative ethic influence their decisions to expand and consolidate [their money], but it usually dominated their sense of personal importance as well”.⁵⁰ Many times, elite families would compete over large purchases of a castle or artwork. Wiebe also explains that people were judged by the public based on their income and public displays of wealth served as reminder to the public of class divides.⁵¹ But was their motivation to transparently display their wealth to the public or to assist the community financially? Some would argue that elite philanthropists cared about nothing more than their own status. After all, the Vanderbilt’s in the midst of economic depressions had built large mansions dwarfing the homes around them and exerting their status in a very dominating way.⁵²

On the other hand, other philanthropists diverted large sums of money to schools, universities and other social causes in hopes of bettering society. The early donations of Captain Pabst provide excellent proof of this. Captain Pabst had donated huge sums of money to the city of Milwaukee in hopes to bring about a better society among his fellow citizens. His donations went to orphanages, hospitals and widows. Even other beer barons in Milwaukee were publicly donating money like Joseph Schlitz and Valentine Blatz. So what set Captain Pabst apart from the other philanthropists? For this we look to the early newspapers of Milwaukee.

⁵⁰ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 41.

⁵¹ Wiebe, 40.

⁵² Wiebe, 41. The Vanderbilt’s built homes ranging in the 5 million dollar mark with over forty rooms and servants to match.

An article in the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel from January 2nd, 1904 praises Captain Pabst as the most giving man in Milwaukee. The article explains how no one would miss Pabst more than the poor and underprivileged of Milwaukee. He gave hundreds of dollars to the poor, gave Christmas presents to orphans, supported widows and veterans, and even turned down a nomination for governor because it would have taken himself away from the people that truly needed him. He would ask for dignitaries birthday dates and addresses and would send them presents merely because he could.⁵³ This is another excellent example of Pabst's true character. However, the Captain's generosity did not end there. Pabst, a lover of the arts, ordered a theatre be built to provide the community with German shows, operas, and ballets. Furthermore, when the theatre burnt down in 1890, Pabst ordered it be rebuilt immediately; it took only six months. Pabst also financed numerous other parades, parks, and saloons, as well as continued his personalized gifts to numerous families. Besides the article in the Milwaukee sentinel, there are other sources that identify the philanthropy of Pabst. For instance we can look at the work of Thomas Cochran and his documented examples of donations by Pabst. Figure 1.3 illustrates a broad range of his personal donations.

Perhaps the Captain's most notable philanthropic endeavor would be his donation to for the 1889 civil war reenactment of a naval battle on Lake Michigan. As the story goes, the city wanted to present veterans with a memorial to their service, but could not afford them free admission.

⁵³ (Milwaukee) Milwaukee Sentinel, January 2, 1904, 5.

Figure 1.3⁵⁴**Annual Donations made by Captain Frederick Pabst**

\$1,000 annual donation to Associated Charities of Milwaukee
 \$1,500 Donation of books to Law Association
 \$1,000 donated in 1899 to Young Women's Christian Association Building
 \$8,000 donated in 1899 for autographed books used to erect Soldiers monument
 \$10 annual Christmas baskets to hundreds of individuals
 \$50-\$200 donations to other entrepreneurs in Milwaukee
 \$500-\$1000 to feed poor annually at Christmas
 \$14,000 donated to Grand Army celebration in Juneau Park

Ten years free rent to Milwaukee Law library Association

Public Buildings

Pabst Theatre	Pabst Building
Pabst Harlem Restaurant	Whitefish Bay Resort
Pabst Hotel	Pabst Park

As news reached Pabst of the city's attempt to charge one dollar per person, he stepped forward and directed that all bills go to him which totaled to around \$15,000. The soldiers, who were astonished at the kindness of the Captain, thanked him personally by redirecting the parade route, which was to precede the naval reenactment, directly through the Pabst Brewery.⁵⁵

The many significant donations made by Frederick Pabst seem to coincide with his humble beginnings. Since Pabst had known what working for little money was like, he may have been so liberal because he understood the struggle of the less fortunate. Most of his donations did not go to help the elite in Milwaukee. Rather they were for soldiers' monuments, personal gifts of food and clothes, and theatres to commemorate German culture. Although Thomas Cochran believes that Pabst fell into a broader context of philanthropy following the Spanish American War, Historian John Eastberg is less convinced. Eastberg believes it was

⁵⁴ Cochran, 268-270.

⁵⁵ (Milwaukee) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 2, 1904, Maj. Anson Recalls Entertainment, 2.

because a successful rise to the top would not have happened in Germany.⁵⁶ The aristocracy would not have allowed it. Therefore, Eastberg argues that Pabst was as generous as he was due to the fact that he could associate with almost any citizen in Milwaukee because of his humble beginnings.

Cochran and Eastberg draw an interesting debate about the nature of Captain Pabst and his donations. On one side, Pabst is considered a philanthropist who was a good natured individual. Conversely, he is portrayed as person who is kept humble by his past and is influenced by it later in his life. Both arguments represent the Captain as a kind person who donated to worthy causes; however, it is the reasoning behind his donations that creates discussion. I believe it is a combination of both that truly characterizes Pabst. Pabst's donations reflect his attitude towards the public by donating to worthy causes and constantly helping the less fortunate. Nevertheless, his donations were made publicly and the acclaim he received directly benefited his business. Frederick Pabst may have been a good natured individual who believed in helping others, but one cannot dismiss an economic motive behind his philanthropy. As I stated earlier, a Brewer's reputation was the basis for their sales, and having a prominent standing in the community was one way to bolster sales. Therefore, it seems appropriate to assume that public donations helped strengthen sales and as a result profits increase.

This assumption is not made to discredit the Captain. One cannot argue with the acclaim Pabst received both during and after his life in Milwaukee. Without his donations, Milwaukee may not have some of its historical icons such as the Pabst Theatre and Pabst Brewery, nor would its citizens have benefited directly from the captain's actions such as the widows or

⁵⁶ Eastberg interview, November 18, 2008. The Revolutions of 1848 stemmed from the Hapsburg Empires and were an attempt to gain autonomy from the ruling family. Though some uprisings succeeded, as in the case of Hungary, the uprisings in Germany failed and as result forced many to relocate. A vast majority came to the United States shortly after.

veterans. We know this from the *Sentinel* article and the works of Family Historian, Thomas Cochran. However, to say that the Captain was simply a kind person who had no personal motives beyond helping people is to neglect his economic prominence in Milwaukee. He was able to continue donating to causes because he continued to profit from the brewing industry which led to his increasingly large assets.

THE MILWAUKEE BREWERS ASSOCIATION

As more and more breweries developed, the competition began to take its toll. Some breweries only lasted a few years while others were on track to becoming a reputable economic force. As the market developed, it became clear that there were eight or so leading producers. These individuals formed the Milwaukee Brewers Association and were the first contributors to the brewing cooperative. This association established itself to protect the causes of the leading producers such as national competition and federal taxes. The primary reason of the association was to work collectively with the brewing market in Milwaukee, establish a proper representation to Washington to oppose the growing Temperance Movement, and to combat the added taxes placed by the U.S. Congress.⁵⁷ The Association began in August of 1883, with the intent of forming a collective pool of money to pay taxes, control the market in Milwaukee, and fund social gatherings sponsored by the beer barons. By working together they could collectively battle Temperance legislation which was attacking the saloons.⁵⁸ Since the collective served in the best interests of the barons it was advantageous to work together on certain issues like taxes and water issues, while at the same implemented fines to keep the barons honest among themselves.

It did not take long, however, for the Association to shift focus from primarily brewing to helping the citizens of Milwaukee. In order to examine the impact of the Brewers Association, we must analyze the general ledger which held records from 1883 to 1894. The first contribution noted in the general ledger of the association came in November of 1883 to the

⁵⁷ Cochran, 50.

⁵⁸ While whisky suffered from many taxes meant to eradicate it from American society, beer was not affected as much. Taxes placed on barrels of both products drove the price up. However, since one barrel of whisky was equal to ten gallons, and beer was thirty-one gallons, whisky was hurt much more by the newly developed tax.

Passavant Hospital for the amount of \$100. Sequentially following this donation, more social causes become evident in the ledger. Figure 1.3 shows where most money went to between the years of 1883-1890. Everything in the general ledger is accounted for with specific dollar amounts as well as where the money was directed to go and the amount it was for. Again, a Brewer's image was important for business, so a collective pool of brewers would be well advised to promote causes among the citizens in order to help sell their product. The donation recipients shown in figure 1.4 prove this need to be prevalent in the community.

Figure 1.4

Donations Made by the Milwaukee Brewers Association

Passavant Hospital	United States Brewers Association	Frei Press
Brewers Festival	Robert Chivas Relief Corp Fair	Public Housing Project
Mississippi River Ferry	Catholic Society of Milwaukee	Camp Douglas
4 th Battalion	Infant House	Knights of Pythias
Polish Fest	Little Sisters of the Good Shepherd	Saugerfest
Turnverein Vorwaerts	Badger Temple	Kansas Campaign
Nebraska Campaign	Iowa Campaign	Musicians Convention
Home for the Aged	First German Reformation Church	Ladies Relief
German/American Festival	Anti Prohibition Association	Public Soup House
Pabst Soup House	Women and orphan foundries	Mountain Square Fountain
Wisconsin State Fairs	Training School for Nurses	Welsh Presbyterian church
8 th ward Baptist church	13 th ward Catholic Church	Jerusalem Church
Galloway Hospital	4 th of July celebrations	German Lutheran Church
Badger State Rifles	Farmers Ball	Ladies Charity Ball
Mission Kindergarten	Baseball Club	Associated Charities
St. Rosa's Orphanage	Working People's Reading Club	Allomania Singing Society

THE DEMISE OF THE CAPTAIN

In spite of all the philanthropic endeavors and social causes with which the captain associated himself with, he could not escape ill health. Towards the end of his life the captain was suffering from three separate ailments. His smoking habits had led to emphysema, he had acquired diabetes, and he was also suffering from pulmonary edema. He had made several trips to spas around Europe such as Wiesbaden and Carlsbad.⁵⁹ Although he summered often in Germany, he spent one summer in California to take advantage of the drier climate. However, after suffering from two strokes he travelled back to Milwaukee where he died on January 1st, 1904. Although his funeral was a private affair, the Pabst family could not keep the news from the public who in turn gathered in enormous numbers around the mansion to pay their respects.

The article in the *Sentinel* from January 2, 1904 illustrates the Captain's impact on not only Milwaukeeans, but also from other businessmen from around the country. Special dispatches from the *Sentinel* demonstrate the wishes of the Captain's friends to pay their tribute just a day after his death. These dispatches came from New York, Chicago, St. Paul and Pittsburg and described the lasting influence the Captain had on them. The overall theme in the dispatches is that Pabst was a caring, kind, friend who would do anything for anybody. He never put money in front of people's needs and it is for that reason he was going to be Milwaukee's most beloved citizen.⁶⁰

After his death, the business stayed in the family but would not prosper as it did under the control of the Captain. Besides the business aspect, the Pabst family was at odds with one another over the estate. This is evident in the 1899 letter to his children which urges his family

⁵⁹ John Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion* (Milwaukee 2006).

⁶⁰ (Milwaukee)*Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 2, 1904, 5.

to keep the estate together and care for their mother. Pabst asks his children to “preserve harmony and goodwill among each other and to best as they can preserve union.”⁶¹

Although the death of Frederick Pabst saddened many, he was lucky not to see the fall of the brewing industry in America. The Temperance Movement was gaining momentum and many brewers ignored the warnings because of past failed attempts by the Temperance societies. However, because of the other industrialists in America now favoring Prohibition, it would finally obtain the strength it needed to finally take down the brewing industry.

⁶¹ Frederick Pabst personal correspondence, August 30, 1899. This personal letter to his children outlines his wishes for the family as his health becomes an apparent problem.

PROHIBITION AND THE TEMPORANCE MOVEMENT

After all the success the brewers had worked hard for, and after all the good they did in the city of Milwaukee, it slowly came to an end. The Temperance Movement would have never gained the strength it had if not for the influence of other notable philanthropists such as Henry Ford and Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie and Ford believed that profit could be maximized if people worked more and took shorter lunches. So in a response to their large European working class they had employed, they enforced their strict rules. As a result, numerous workers either quit or were fired. As this occurrence became frequent, other industrialist leaders took note and implemented the same laws within their company. Soon, the German way of life would be something of the past.⁶²

As Carnegie and Ford's ideas became an accepted norm among industrial practices, the Temperance Movement then set its sights upon the saloon as the center of evil in American culture. Although these saloons were not exclusive to beer drinking like the majority in Milwaukee, Carnegie and Ford nevertheless hoped to bring them down. As the Temperance Movement gained support, breweries were closing and saloons were being raided. However, those who were successful enough to support their acclaim made a change to their business. The Pabst brewery most notably switched to cheese production. By 1930, the Pabst family was making 8 million pounds of cheese and had become a premier name in the cheese industry. Others such as Schlitz and Blatz decided to take a more conservative approach and stick to brewing sodas and other malted beverages.

The Temperance Movement led to the legislation of the eighteenth amendment which banned the sale, manufacturing, and transportation of alcohol. Though never officially ratified in

⁶² German way of life is reference to a social norm among Germans of a laxity towards drinking.

Wisconsin, it was enforced as a federal law. The fact that it was never ratified by Wisconsin proves the longstanding German traditions which are found in Wisconsin. The Milwaukee Brewers Association did what was in their power to battle prohibition, but in the end could not compete on the national level. To make matters worse, another issue was threatening the brewing industry, but in a much more indirect way.

ANTI-GERMAN SENTIMENT

Along with the spread of the Temperance Movement on America, there was another pressing issue at hand. Europe had engaged itself in a massive conflict which pitted the nations of Europe against itself. This conflict was becoming a center of debate among Americans and with it came the difficult decisions for Americans; stay loyal to their homeland or defend their new home, America. Because Kaiser Wilhelm had engaged with Czar Nicholas, a series of treaties unfolded and at the heart of the matter was the issue of allies. Because America was allied with Great Britain, France and Russia, it pitted Germany as the enemy. Those feelings bore deep into America and the result was an anti German ideology. Sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, and signs in German became signs now written in English. What all this eventually led to was the assimilation to a broader American culture that had no room for separate ethnic pride. A machine gun was even setup in Milwaukee to deter people from attending a performance of *William Tell*.⁶³

Robert Wilbur recalls that it was a sense of shame being German in America after the World Wars.⁶⁴ People stopped learning the language, German culture was frowned upon, and even the literature of German pride, which had been large in comparison to other ethnicities in Milwaukee, had stopped. Secondary literature on Germans did not resume until after World War Two had ended. Even then it looked back at nineteenth century Milwaukee as a sort of nostalgia that could be viewed as “the good ole days” so to speak.⁶⁵ Essentially the German culture never recovered. To this day, an idea of a German Milwaukee is perhaps lost on the new residents of

⁶³ Gerd Korman, *Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967),160. William Tell was a play about medieval Germany and promoted resistance to the elites.

⁶⁴ Wilbur Interview, October 18, 2008.

⁶⁵ Austin, 83.

Milwaukee who may have no idea of the great success of the city, yet pass by its remnants on a regular basis.

CONCLUSION

Although the Temperance Movement, prohibition, and anti-German sentiment nearly destroyed the brewing industry and German culture, the impact that it had on Milwaukee can be seen even to this day. Milwaukee is home to an annual German Festival. The city also supports more than a dozen German restaurants, and still has more than twenty breweries in the city. Even more of a testament to brewing, Frederick Pabst stands among Milwaukee's greatest citizens and his impact on Milwaukee is measured by his perpetual influence still seen today. The Pabst Theatre is still the premier venue for musical artists. The parks built by Pabst himself, and in his name are still seen to this day, and the Pabst Mansion continues to be a place of great historical significance among Milwaukeeans.

Although Milwaukee has since decayed from its once glorious past, it still remains one area in America where just for a time the brewing industry was controlled by a group of individuals who lived, worked, and cared for its fellow citizens. Frederick Pabst showed his true character through his donations to the city and to individuals. He controlled large areas of the brewing industry for several years in Milwaukee, and continued his esteemed prestige well into his older years. In 1904 to summarize the legacy of Frederick Pabst, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* published an article titled *Captain Pabst was Always a Liberal*.⁶⁶ This article pays tribute to one Milwaukee finest citizens and gives numerous examples of the impact Pabst had on the poor citizens, union workers, religious groups, and the German societies, just to name a few.

After examining the article in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, analyzing his life through the work of Pabst family Historian, Thomas Cochran, as well as referencing direct evidence from the

⁶⁶ (Milwaukee) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 2, 1904, 3.

Milwaukee Brewers Association's General Ledger, we are able understand the impact Frederick Pabst had on Milwaukee. In a broad perspective, he was a philanthropist much like Carnegie or Ford. His public donations, as with other industrial philanthropists, were common in the Progressive era and we can look to several secondary sources to reaffirm that. From a more focused perspective however, Frederick Pabst was a great businessman who knew the value of strong community control in order to market and sell a product. This also helped to create a successful business through hard work and benevolence. As we can now see, the influence and legacy of Captain Frederick Pabst outlasted his economic and philanthropic supremacy of Milwaukee, and we can say with certainty, "That old Fred wasn't such a bad guy after all".

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Milwaukee Sentinel. "Wisconsin Historical Society Articles." *Wisconsin Historical Society*. January 2, 1904. <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org> (accessed September 25, 2008).

Pabst, Frederick. "My Dear Children." *personal correspondence*. Milwaukee: Historical Society of Wisconsin/Pabst Family Mansion, August 30, 1899.

Rose, David S. "Milwaukee Doesn't Want Prohibition." *Milwaukee County Historical Society*, 1995: 99-104.

Wheeler, Andrew Carpenter. *The Chronicles of Milwaukee: Being a narrative history of town from its earliest period to the present*. Milwaukee: Jermain & Brightman, 1861.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Blatz Papers*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Small Collection 132, 1862-1964.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Fredric E. Miller Papers*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Small Collection 167, 1771-1884.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Gettleman Brewing Papers*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Large Collection 170, 1860-1987.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Milwaukee Brewers Association Records*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Manuscript Collection 142, 1883-1894.

Secondary Sources

Apps, Jerold W. *Breweries of Wisconsin*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Austin, Russel H. *The Milwaukee Story: The Making of an American City*. Milwaukee: The Milwaukee Journal, 1946.

Baron, Stanley Wade. *Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States*. Boston: Little Brown, 1962.

Bruce, William George. *Builders of Milwaukee*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1946.

Club, Old Milwaukee Settler's. *Early Milwaukee: papers from the archives of the Old Settler's Club of Milwaukee County, 1830-1890*. Madison: R. Hunt, 1977.

Cochran, Thomas C. *The Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business*. New York: New York University Press, 1948.

Conzen, Kathleen. *Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1860*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Eastberg, John, interview by Daniel Borgstrom. (November 14, 2008).

—. "The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion." *Pamphlet*. Milwaukee: Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion Inc., August 2006.

Gettleman, Nancey Moore. *The A. Gettleman Brewing Company: One hundred and Seven Years of Brewing in Milwaukee*. Milwaukee: Procrustes Press, 1995.

Kazal, Russell A. *Becoming Old Stock*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Korman, Gerd. *Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers*. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967.

Kuhm, Herbert W. "Milwaukee's Early Bohemians." *Milwaukee History*, 1995: 81-98.

Lankevich, George J. *Milwaukee: Chronological and Documentary History*. New York: Oceana Publications, 1977.

Milwaukee Sentinel. "Wisconsin Historical Society Articles." *Wisconsin Historical Society*. January 2, 1904. <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org> (accessed September 25, 2008).

Pabst, Frederick. "My Dear Children." *personal correspondence*. Milwaukee: Historical Society of Wisconsin/Pabst Family Mansion, August 30, 1899.

Rose, David S. "Milwaukee Doesn't Want Prohibition." *Milwaukee County Historical Society*, 1995: 99-104.

Simon, Rodger D. "The City Building Process: Housing and Services in New Milwaukee Neighborhoods 1880-1910." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 1978: 1-64.

Still, Bayrd. *Milwaukee: The History of a City*. Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1948.

Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Wells, Robert. *This is Milwaukee*. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970.

Wheeler, Andrew Carpenter. *The Chronicles of Milwaukee: Being a narrative history of town from its earliest period to the present*. Milwaukee: Jermain & Brightman, 1861.

Wiebe, Robert. *The Search for Order*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Wilbur, Robert, interview by Daniel Borgstrom. *Interview with Brew Master Robert Wilbur* (October 18, 2008).

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Blatz Papers*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Small Collection 132, 1862-1964.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Fredric E. Miller Papers*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Small Collection 167, 1771-1884.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Gettleman Brewing Papers*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Large Collection 170, 1860-1987.

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of. *Milwaukee Brewers Association Records*. Historical Records, Milwaukee: UWM Manuscript Collection 142, 1883-1894.

Appendix 1

My Dear Children

The following is a letter written by Captain Frederick Pabst to his children in 1899. It is in the original format and grammar.

Aug. 30/99

My dear Children!

I place these few lines in the Package containing my last Will and address them to you, instead of your dear Mother, for Reason, that she & I have several times talked the Matter over and she fully understands my wishes herein expressed. You have all been good Children, and a great Comfort to me. My happiest thoughts are connected with you in the hope and belief that after I shall be called away, you will, all of you strive to be kind and good to your Mother, and to each other. I have the earnest and cherished desire, that you will, after I am gone, strive to preserve Harmony, and good will, and unselfish relations among yourselves. Try to keep the estate I leave you together, so far as you can, and make it productive of not only, of increase and Substance, but let it be a cause for mutual confidence and affection. Each of you should yield to the other more or less, if necessary to preserve harmony and union.

Sickness, Misfortune, perhaps something worse can come to someone of you, but my dear Children, face it bravely, and with hearts full of Love for each other, and do just, what you think, I would like to have you do, if I was present to advise and counsel you.

Be generous and unselfish to each other in Case of need and above all, be honest and noble, in all your dealings, not only with each other, but with the World.

I want you to always have a good Name

It is better than riches, and your greatest happiness will come from your Knowledge of doing right.

You must first of all be good to your Mother. Do all you can to make her last days her best days, and when she is gone, and you, and you are left without either father or Mother, try always to remember my last Wishes that you my dear Children shall live in harmony & mutual confidence, each doing all in his or her power to keep the estate productive of the best results, for the interest not of any one Child, but for all surviving Children.

I can not say more in this Letter, it is merely a last Word to you all, begging you to remember your Fathers last wish, that you each, and all, do all you can, to promote each others happiness & welfare through life, no Matter what changes may come, or how one may be favored, or another be frowned upon by the fortunes of the World.

Good bye my dear Children

Your loving Father.

Appendix 2

Timeline

- 1836 – Frederick Pabst is born in Nicholausreith, Saxony, Germany
- 1844 – Jacob Best and his sons establishes the Empire Brewery
- 1848 – Frederick Pabst immigrates to America with his parents at the age of 12
- 1857 – Frederick Pabst becomes a Captain for the Goodrich Steamship Company
- 1862 – Frederick Pabst marries Maria Best, daughter of Phillip Best, and enters the Best family business
- 1866 – Emil Schandain marries Elizabeth Best, and enters the Best family business
- 1869 – Phillip Best dies leaving majority of the company stock to Frederick Pabst
- 1870 – Pabst and Schandain purchase Charles T. Melms Brewing Company
- 1873 – Best and Co. was incorporated and raised capitol to \$300,000
- 1888 – Emil Schandain dies leaving majority control of the company to Frederick Pabst
- 1889 – Name of brewery changes from Best and Co. to Pabst Brewing Company
- 1892 – Pabst Building erected
- 1895 – Pabst Theatre rebuilt after a devastating fire destroyed most of it
- 1899 – Pabst Hotel opens in New York City drawing nationwide fame
 - Pabst makes donation to soldier's monument in Milwaukee
- 1900 – Pabst Harlem restaurant opens in New York City, the largest restaurant in America
- 1904 – January 1 Captain Frederick Pabst dies