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Article Title: Lincoln, Nebraska, and Prohibition: The Election of May 4, 1909

Full Citation: John Anderson, "Lincoln, Nebraska, and Prohibition: The Election of May 4, 1909," *Nebraska History* 70 (1989): 184-200.

URL of article: http://www.nebraskahistory.org/publish/publicat/history/full-text/NH1989Linc_Prohibition.pdf

Date: 5/15/2013

Article Summary: Lincoln's preoccupation with the prohibition issue quickened in the first decade of the twentieth century. In the 1890s efforts at statewide prohibition failed; in 1902 a progressive tax policy for Lincoln saloons was enacted; and in 1909, Lincoln became one of the "drys" for a period of two years. This article provides an analysis of the votes for and against prohibition by the various wards of the city.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Mrs F M Roads, Emil Dahl, Ashton C Shallenberger, Thomas Bonacum, William A Poynter, Mrs Frances B Heald, T F A Williams, Charles Metz, Edward Wallis Hoch, Dr Hattie Plum Williams, J Frank Hanly, Robert Malone, Donald L Love

Nebraska Place Names: Lincoln, Omaha, Hastings

Keywords: Bailey and Andrews saloon; *Daily State Journal*; Ladies Temperance Society; "drys"; Little Gold Dust Saloon; Civic League; "daylight saloon bill"; Nebraska Woman's Christian Temperance Union; *Nebraska State Journal*; *Lincoln Daily Star*; St Paul's Methodist Church [Lincoln]; First Congregational Church [Lincoln]; Anti-Saloon League; *Lincoln Evening News*; *Nebraska State Capital*; German-Russian

Photographs / Images: Lincoln, September 19, 1905, looking east from Eleventh Street down O Street; Little Gold Dust Saloon, 125 North Eleventh Street, Lincoln. Emil Dahl was proprietor; Nebraska Governor Ashton C Shallenberger; Thomas Bonacum, Bishop of Lincoln; Former Governor William A Poynter who died April 5, 1909; The Saloons' "Waterloo" [words to temperance song]; Indiana Governor J Frank Hanly; Dr Hattie Plum; Former Kansas Governor Edward Wallis Hoch; Donald L Love; Area in northwest Lincoln largely inhabited by German-Russians, Lincoln's most distinctive foreign group



Lincoln, September 19, 1905, looking east from Eleventh Street down O Street. (NSHS-741-1584)

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA, AND PROHIBITION: THE ELECTION OF MAY 4, 1909

By John Anderson

Armed with Bibles and hymn books, about twenty Lincoln women, members of the recently created Ladies Temperance Society, assembled at the millinery store of Mrs. F. M. Roads on the evening of February 17, 1874. They were the vanguard of the Lincoln temperance movement, directed chiefly against the town's saloons, located mostly within an area bounded by Ninth and Eleventh streets and N and P streets. On this evening the women's

John Anderson earned a master's degree in history from the University of Nebraska in August 1988. He is currently working on a Ph.D. at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio.

destination was the saloon of Bailey and Andrews, where they intended to lead the male clientele in prayer and song and to address them on the evils of drink and the virtues of temperance.

Forewarned of their visit, the proprietors of Bailey and Andrews advertised the meeting in the newspaper. Unsympathetic to the cause of temperance, the proprietors, and no doubt much of the saloon clientele, saw in the visit the potential for an evening's amusement and the opportunity to increase the night's profits. In anticipation of the evening's activities, a large crowd of men gathered at the establishment.

Upon arrival the women situated themselves in the back of the saloon among the billiard tables. The *Daily State Journal* reporter covering the event felt compelled to note the great respect accorded the ladies, the unusual silence of the saloon patrons, and the peculiarity of hearing men not known for hymn-singing raise their voices in song. After an hour of prayer, song, and exhortation, the assembly had taken all it could in respectful silence. The patrons began making muted demands for their beer. The ladies moved to the front of the saloon along with the bulk of their audience.

The weight of the unusually large

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crowd proved too great for the joists supporting the floor above the cellar. Someone shouted a warning, but it went unheeded by the temperance workers, who thought it a trick to get them out of the saloon. But the floor did give way, settling several inches with a dull thud. The women and a crowd numbering approximately 300 rushed in a panic for the single exit and the windows. No one was seriously injured, but the proprietors of the unlucky establishment found themselves with a sunken floor, several broken windows, and only a few customers.

Unshaken, the forces of temperance reorganized on the sidewalk and proceeded to the saloon across the street, where an understandably cautious barkeeper denied them entrance. Quick to adjust and committed to the cause, the ladies conducted their meeting on the sidewalk.¹

The incident at Bailey and Andrews was only one skirmish in the long battle to control and eventually eliminate the distribution and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The temperance movement in Lincoln was part of a broader state and national movement that was an important element in local, state, and national politics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the first decade of this century the movement had acquired a distinctly intolerant, coercive aspect. To the traditional approach of moral suasion, illustrated by the patient women of Lincoln in February 1874, the temperance cause added the political and legal struggle for prohibition. For these men and women the saloon was an evil institution that perpetuated the drinking habit and undermined traditional values of family, thrift, social order, democracy, and community prosperity.

To read Lincoln newspapers of the period is to find the evil combination, saloon and alcohol, blamed for many crimes. Drunken husbands were unable to provide for their families. Potential savings disappeared into the saloon, never to benefit the family or

the community. Money wasted on drink was money not spent at legitimate local businesses on food, clothing, and household necessities. Reports trumpeted that most arrests consisted of drunken men (and a few women). Many believed the saloon patron voted as the saloon owners instructed him, making a mockery of the democratic process. And many residents held that the brewers interfered in state and local politics to defend their illegitimate interests and oppose reforms. For Lincoln's temperance forces the situation was a pernicious blight on the community requiring decisive action. Prohibition

attracted many as the only effective solution. A city election on May 4, 1909, decided the issue by a close vote.² Nebraska's capital joined the ranks of the "drys" for the next two years.

However, prohibition was not the choice of all Lincoln. The prohibitionists' attempt to impose their preference produced a conflict in which class, ethnicity, religion, and the politics of reform played significant roles.³ The city was not homogeneous. Some residents belonged to the business and professional classes; others occupied humbler working-class positions. The majority of Lincolmites were native-born Americans of at least

Little Gold Dust Saloon, 125 North Eleventh Street, Lincoln. Emil Dahl was proprietor. (NSHS-D13)





Nebraska Governor Ashton C. Shallenberger signed a state-wide saloon restriction bill in 1909 (NSHS-P853) . . . (Right) Thomas Bonacum, Bishop of Lincoln, counseled Shallenberger to sign the bill but considered prohibition undesirable. (NSHS-P853)



the second generation. However, a sizable minority were foreign-born or the offspring of foreign-born parents. Protestants dominated the city's religious life. The majority belonged to pietistic, evangelical denominations, but a minority adhered to liturgical Protestantism or Roman Catholicism. Finally, Lincoln residents debated the prohibition question against the background of Progressive Era politics and reform movements. All of these factors influenced the sharp yet peaceful division on the issue within the city.

While dating from the 1870s, Lincoln's preoccupation with the prohibition issue quickened in the first decade of the twentieth century. In the 1890s efforts at statewide prohibition failed.⁴ The "drys" then focused their attention on the local level, the counties and

cities, where they enjoyed greater success. The spring election of 1902 saw the inauguration of a progressive excise, or tax, policy for Lincoln saloons. The excise tax, also called a license fee, was gradually increased to \$1,500. Supporters of high license expected it to reduce the total number of saloons by making them prohibitively expensive and to ensure that saloons would enjoy a better (i.e. wealthier) class of owners.⁵ The law provided for a gradual and successful reduction in the number of saloons and wholesale liquor establishments to a maximum of twenty-five and limited hours of operation from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., earning them the appellation "daylight saloons." It permitted no saloons on O Street east of Tenth Street. In addition, it prohibited

saloons near the railroad station, the high school, and the University of Nebraska.

These latter stipulations indicated some of the concerns of Lincoln residents. O Street was the heart of commercial Lincoln, a visible symbol of the city's prosperity. Traveling east on that thoroughfare brought the traveler into some of the best residential areas, which would be tarnished by saloons and their denizens. The railroad station was the first impression many visitors had of the city; a bevy of drinking establishments in that area, while lucrative, would set a bad example. And saloons offered a terrible example and possible temptation for impressionable high school students.

The University of Nebraska and its students were a special concern for the

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many prohibitionist residents. As the only large educational establishment in the state and one of the largest in the country, it stimulated community pride. Many believed that easy access to liquor was too great a temptation for the young men (never the young women) who attended the school.⁶ Created specifically for the May 1909 election, the city temperance campaign committee of the Civic League, an organization of influential citizens dedicated to preserving and improving Lincoln's quality of life, considered this one of the essential reasons for eliminating the saloon. In a newspaper article published two days before the election, the committee noted that good civic conditions attracted parents to a city.⁷

The spring election occurred against the background of prohibition agitation. "Wet or dry" elections were routine throughout the nation. A few weeks before Lincoln's election the state legislature defeated a county option bill enjoying strong support. County option permitted a county to determine its position on the prohibition issue and allowed Nebraska's large rural population an effective voice in the decision. Prohibition sentiment flourished among this element of the population as well as in the city.⁸

The passage of a last-minute, statewide saloon restriction bill on April 3, 1909, further aggravated the situation. Narrowly passed in the legislature, it became known as the "daylight saloon bill" and produced a storm of activity and protest on both sides of the issue. A "historic" number of petitions and partisans besieged Governor Ashton Shallenberger, whose position on the bill remained unknown.⁹ Lincoln papers reported rumors that the brewing interests of Omaha, chief villains in Lincoln's anti-saloon sentiment, paid for the train and tickets that brought hundreds of Omahans to protest the bill in the capital.¹⁰

Events of April 5 cloaked the bill and the entire local movement in unexpect-

ed gravity. On that day ex-Governor William A. Poynter appeared in the crowded governor's office to urge his colleague to sign it. Expressing the feelings of many prohibitionists, he emphasized the presumed correlation between crime and saloons:

The saloon is the rallying point, the incubator of crime. If an officer wishes to catch criminals, he goes there to find them. Let us curtail the hours, thereby curtailing the drink habit and crime which follows in its wake.¹¹

Upon completing his appeal, the former governor dropped to the floor, dead from heart failure. Mrs. Frances B. Heald of the Nebraska Woman's Christian Temperance Union having already launched her impassioned plea, it was a few minutes before the crowd realized what had happened. In one hectic afternoon the forces of temperance and prohibition gained a new weapon in the daylight saloon bill and a martyr to the cause.¹²

Former Governor William A. Poynter died April 5, 1909, just after urging Governor Shallenberger to sign the daylight saloon bill. (NSHS-P853)



In adopting the statewide bill Nebraska appeared to follow the lead of Lincoln, which had instituted seven o'clock closing on its own. An editorial appearing after the governor signed the bill assumed Lincoln's progressive leadership: "No sooner does the state follow Lincoln in the early closing of saloons than Lincoln moves up a step and arranges for the stopping of the sale of liquor at 6:30 instead of 7:00."¹³ Closing at 6:30 received recognition as a progressive measure, but for ardent dries prohibition was by this time the chief means to effect the eradication of saloons and a host of related evils. The temperance campaign committee believed that

the public safety, the public health, and the public morals are the supreme concern of the government. The saloon, as everyone knows, endangers the public safety, destroys the public health, and corrupts the public morals. Therefore, the government that is true to itself must outlaw and inhibit the saloon.¹⁴

Besides indicating the solid opposition of the prohibition cause to anything short of total prohibition, this statement is a striking example of the prohibitionists' reliance on the coercive powers of government to effect social change. The concept of personal liberty, the individual's right to decide for himself, did not apply to alcohol consumption. As far as they were concerned, it was an issue of safety, health, and morals, the province of government prerogative. Social progress depended on government action, and that demanded political action by citizens allowed to express their preference directly through an election. However, another obstacle had first to be overcome.

In his plea before Governor Shallenberger, ex-Governor Poynter alluded to the power of the brewers and their interests.¹⁵ The opponents of saloons and liquor considered them the chief obstacle to reform through their influence over legislators and other government officials. According to one Lincoln lawyer, T. F. A. Williams, "Those who are interested in the political and moral reforms are continually

THE SALOONS' "WATERLOO"

Tune: Yankee Doodle

Saloons have been by Lincoln tried . . .
And drinking has been easy.
And many of our men and boys
Occasionally are boozey.

Chorus

Lincoln now is going dry
Yankee doodle dandy,

Saloons have met their "Waterloo"
Strong drink no more is handy.

We will no longer give consent
Our sons are far too precious,
We now unite saloons to rout
And ask the Lord to help us.

Chorus

Let all now join the Civic League
And help to clean up Lincoln
And we will be the better off
Is what we now are thinking.

Chorus

For every dollar that they pay
Saloons have cost us twenty
And if we turn these leeches out
Some poor folks will have plenty.

Chorus

Our buildings would soon fill again
And business go a humming,
When people spend their money
right
And quit their foolish bumming.

Chorus

— T. J. Merryman

From Nebraska's Favorite Temperance Rallying Songs (1908), compiled by Mrs. Frances B. Heald, Nebraska WCTU president.

finding that the liquor traffic element is always lined up with special interests and stands in the way of moral and political reform."¹⁶

Sentiments such as these were not unusual and found frequent expression in the local papers as the election heated up. At the same time headlines proclaimed the injustices and corruption of big business and its harmful impact on the nation. In its concern with reform and the brewers' power, the prohibition movement in Lincoln reflected the broader national trend.

If the brewing interests were the power that stood in the way of progress in Lincoln, then the saloon was the means by which prohibitionists thought these interests spread their power and influence into local politics. The city had no breweries but in 1909 possessed twenty-five saloons, all within a small area bounded on the west by Eighth Street, on the east by Twelfth Street, on the south by M Street, and on the north by Q Street.¹⁷ Prohibitionists perceived these saloons as headquarters for brewers' campaigns against prohibition and other threatening reforms.¹⁸

Omaha had the largest concentration of brewing establishments in Nebraska. Home to five breweries, it was Lincoln's chief rival. Lincoln looked upon Omaha, with its politically active business interests and large foreign-born population, as the stumbling block to progressive reform.¹⁹

Following the signing of the daylight saloon bill into law, the *Nebraska State Journal*, Lincoln's largest paper and decidedly anti-saloon (although not in favor of immediate prohibition), editorialized concerning Omaha that

her brewers are sending their agents into every city and town in Nebraska to destroy local restriction of the sale of liquor. The greatest danger to Lincoln's 7 o'clock closing law has been the money of Omaha brewers . . . ready to drop in here at the critical moment to turn the scale in a close election.²⁰

A few days earlier the *Journal* had expressed anti-Omaha sentiment in a manner more threatening and coercive: "Omaha will be stunned for a time and then rebellious, but the brewery kings are advised that early closing must be respected or the next movement against their business will not be

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county option merely, but state prohibition.²¹ The *Lincoln Daily Star* reported that the daylight saloon bill was a vindictive success, because Omaha and its brewers opposed nearly every measure that the independents and farmers in the legislature wanted.²²

Certain trends in the national economy that affected Nebraska tended to reinforce the opinion that industries such as the breweries were a problem. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries American industry grew tremendously. Larger companies consolidated or absorbed smaller entities. As a result, a few large firms dominated many industries.

Addressing the annual convention of the Nebraska Woman's Christian Temperance Union on September 22-25, 1909, in Hastings, Frances B. Heald, WCTU president, noted this process of consolidation, its impact on the liquor industry, and its meaning for prohibition. In fearful, apocalyptic language she described the recent creation of a multi-billion dollar national federation composed of four, formerly separate organizations representing the brewing industry. She expected this monstrous organization to turn all of its considerable assets to the fight against prohibition.²³

That the liquor industry was not immune to the trends toward consolidation and fast-paced expansion was evident in the first decade of the twentieth century.²⁴ In 1899 2,831 establishments in the United States produced distilled, vinous, and malt liquors. Ten years later there were 2,317 such establishments. Yet while the number of producers declined, capital investment, the number of employees, salaries and wages paid to employees, the value of the product, and the value added by manufacture all increased.²⁵

Similar trends were evident in Nebraska's brewing industry.²⁶ Between 1899 and 1909 the number of establishments producing malt liquors



Indiana Governor J. Frank Hanly.
Courtesy of Indiana Historical
Society Library.

declined from nineteen to fourteen, while capital investment, the number of employees, salaries and wages, the value of the product, and the value added by manufacture increased greatly. As the number of establishments declined, so did the number of individual proprietors - from fourteen to five. The industry grew larger as control was consolidated in the hands of fewer men.²⁷

Omaha's brewing industry flourished in the ten years between 1899 and 1909.²⁸ The city in 1899 had six malt-liquor-producing establishments owned by two different proprietors.²⁹ Ten years later there were five establishments owned by one proprietor, identified by the Lincoln newspapers as Charles Metz. Metz declared that 100 men in his brewery, one third of the labor force, would be laid off if the daylight saloon bill was signed. He declared, "If the very life of the city is not to be throttled, this bill must not be signed."³⁰ The *Nebraska State Journal* declared in incredulous surprise that

they [the brewers and their friends] will be here to see that "the very life of the city is not throttled." The prosperity of the great city of Omaha, it appears, is not founded . . . upon the trade of half a dozen mighty states in the central west. It rests upon the foam in the tops of beer glasses, and when it is blown away the whole structure comes tumbling down to the ground in a hopeless wreck.³¹

The *Lincoln Daily Star*, adopting a tone of moral superiority, told its readers and the residents of Omaha that "in spite of all this wailing and gnashing of teeth we are not seriously perturbed . . . No matter whether Omaha loses her soothing evening drink or is able to raise such a clamor as to let her keep it, the city will go ahead, will prosper, and will continue to be great."³²

In both editorials the suggestion that closing saloons harms business, strongly endorsed by Metz, received short shrift. Similarly it was the opinion of the *Lincoln Daily Evening News* that "the only intent of the bill is to lessen the amount of drink consumed in the state."³³ Contrary to the fears of the "wets" that closed or restricted saloons would mean a decline in business activity by setting off a chain reaction of business closings and profit losses, prohibitionists believed that one of the boons of their success would be increased business activity. As the city temperance campaign committee of Lincoln declared, money once wasted in saloons would find its way into the legitimate businesses of the city.³⁴

While prohibition was a vital issue in Lincoln, it was only part of a constellation of reforms as diverse and divisive as woman suffrage, direct election of state senators, the initiative and referendum process, cigarette smoking among young boys, pure food laws, and Sunday baseball. Lincoln prohibitionists tended to see these reform issues as interrelated. For example, in explaining a Douglas County (Omaha) senator's failure to vote in favor of a state woman suffrage bill in March 1909, the *Nebraska State Journal* concluded that "the brewers' fears that women would vote against them if allowed to vote was the mix up . . . which swerved his vote."³⁵

Similar sentiments appeared in print with regard to the initiative and referendum. Nebraska had not yet adopted this political reform on a statewide basis, although individual cities and towns had. Lincoln was in this category, and the process was used to get the prohibition question on the ballot for the spring election. The vigilant *Journal* explained the failure of an initiative and referendum bill in the legislature in March 1909 as the result of brewers' intrigue:

The brewers showed their hand as they have regularly done when any measure that might in some remote event disadvantage them comes up. The position of the Douglas county (Omaha) senators, always the sign of the brewers' attitude, was one of hospitality. It was an expression of the brewers' fear that the voters are against government by brewers and stockyards and must therefore be kept from enforcing their views.³⁶

A few days later in an editorial on bossism, the *Journal* accused Nebraska's temporary bosses, the brewers, of denying the initiative and referendum process to the state.³⁷

The campaign to make Lincoln dry occurred against the background of active attempts to find solutions for a variety of problems, real and imagined. On April 25, 1909, one of the more important events in the campaign captured the attention of many citizens. That day several thousand participated in the activities surrounding the appearance of J. Frank Hanly, a former governor of Indiana and devoted prohibitionist. Newspaper reports estimated that at least 1,500 enthusiastic men and boys heard Hanly's afternoon address on temperance and prohibition at the city auditorium. While the men and boys gathered at the auditorium 1,500 women met at St. Paul's Methodist Church to hear a WCTU address. At the First Congregational Church 1,200 children collected for a temperance rally that culminated in a march to the auditorium, where they greeted their fathers and brothers with buttons and banners that urged them to "Vote for Me" and with temperance songs such as "Mark in the Top Square" (a

reference to the position of the prohibition measure on the ballot). Later in the evening 2,000 women and children joined the audience that heard Hanly's second address.³⁸

The enthusiastic response of significant numbers of Lincoln's citizens to a prohibition rally indicates to some extent the strength of prohibition sentiment in the city. Yet the narrow victory of prohibition in the following election indicated that strict prohibition did not enjoy overwhelming popularity. Groups such as the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League, which operated as nonpartisan pressure groups, had strong representation in Lincoln, but other organizations, such as the anti-prohibition and anti-restriction Personal Liberty League, enjoyed considerable notoriety as well. The latter drew much of its support from the foreign-born population.³⁹

Who were the elements in Lincoln's population that sought continued restriction, if not strict prohibition, and who opposed them? The results of the May 4 election show 3,631 men in favor of Form A, the resolution for prohibition on the ballot; 3,285 men in favor of Form B, the resolution for 6:30 closing of saloons; and a mere 153 men for Form C, the resolution for neither — in other words, the vote for a "wet" city.⁴⁰ Prohibition won by the narrow margin of 346 votes.⁴¹ In comparison, prohibition lost by about 200 votes on a similar ballot in the election of 1907.⁴² It was never a firmly decided issue.

One striking aspect of the election returns is the very small amount of support that seemed to exist for a "wet" city. It was obvious that anti-saloon sentiment was strong enough to make no control over saloons a virtual impossibility. Consequently those voters who wanted saloons to remain open, even if at reduced hours, voted for Form B, early closing. About one month before the election the *Nebraska State Journal* described the probable state of affairs:

They [the saloon men] dare not vote against both propositions, for if their votes are not cast for

early closing, prohibition will certainly prevail. The saloon men and their friends will present an odd spectacle working to cut off half an hour of their business in the most profitable time of day, but they must do it to avoid a greater calamity to them, a dry Lincoln.⁴³

Lincoln's two other daily papers recognized this situation, and all three urged voters to make their vote count by voting for either Form A or Form B. Votes for Form C, neither restriction nor prohibition, detracted support from Form B, making it conceivable that a minority of the city's voters could vote Lincoln "dry."⁴⁴ While no paper suggested that any group intentionally fixed the ballot in this manner, the presence of both Form B and Form C on the ballot had the capacity to divide the "wet" vote and leave the "dry" vote dominant in the event it did not have a clear majority.

A minority of the voters did not make the decision. But prohibition succeeded by the barest of majorities, fifty-one percent of the vote. Evaluation of the vote on a precinct and ward basis reveals significant divisions within the community on the issue. Reflecting the influence of class, ethnicity, and religion on voter preference, the patterns that appear provide answers to the questions of who supported and who opposed prohibition.

For electoral purposes Lincoln in 1909 was divided into seven wards, each with three precincts labeled A, B, and C. The First and Second wards were on the west side of the city (west of Twelfth Street). The Third and Fourth wards occupied the center of town north and south of O Street. The Fifth Ward lay on the south side of Lincoln below the Second and Fourth wards. The Sixth and Seventh wards occupied the east side of the city. Lincoln's twenty-five saloons were all within Precinct A of the First Ward in downtown Lincoln. The Second, Third, and Fourth wards formed the western and southern boundaries of this precinct, and to the east and north lay the railroad tracks.

The election was not consistently



Dr. Hattie Plum Williams did several important studies on the German-Russians of Lincoln. (NSHS-W727-3)

close in all wards and precincts. The First and Second wards on Lincoln's west side voted in large numbers for Form B. The Sixth and Seventh wards on the east side of town showed strong support for Form A or prohibition. In the remaining wards located in central Lincoln and on the south side the majority of voters supported Form A but not by the large percentages found in the eastern wards. In fact, in each of these wards one precinct returned a majority for Form B but without the strength found in the First and Second wards. The peripheral wards on the east and south, the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh, supplied about three-fifths of the "dry" vote, while the western wards and the two central wards, the Third



Former Kansas Governor Edward Wallis Hoch addressed Lincolnites in May 1909 on the opposition to prohibition by recent immigrants. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION ON EXCISE RULES, MAY 4, 1909					
Form	Vote			Percentage	
	A	B	C	A	B
FIRST WARD	185	530	11	25%	73%
Precinct A	96	271	2	26%	73%
Precinct B	39	231	7	14%	83%
Precinct C	50	28	2	63%	35%
SECOND WARD	277	605	15	31%	67%
Precinct A	192	266	5	41%	57%
Precinct B	45	169	7	20%	76%
Precinct C	40	170	3	19%	80%
THIRD WARD	539	461	44	52%	44%
Precinct A	170	128	6	56%	42%
Precinct B	249	185	30	54%	40%
Precinct C	120	148	8	43%	54%
FOURTH WARD	520	451	10	53%	46%
Precinct A	210	160	5	56%	43%
Precinct B	175	125	4	56%	41%
Precinct C	135	166	1	45%	55%
FIFTH WARD	768	591	20	56%	43%
Precinct A	184	167	6	50%	47%
Precinct B	392	170	5	69%	30%
Precinct C	192	254	9	42%	56%
SIXTH WARD	645	401	28	60%	37%
Precinct A	332	242	17	56%	41%
Precinct B	162	99	7	60%	37%
Precinct C	151	60	4	70%	28%
SEVENTH WARD	697	246	25	72%	25%
Precinct A	174	87	13	64%	32%
Precinct B	252	84	11	73%	24%
Precinct C	271	75	1	78%	22%
TOTAL	3631	3255	153	51%	46%
Form A - Prohibition	Form B - 6:30 Closing		Form C - Neither		

and Fourth, supplied about three-fifths of the "wet" vote.

A division on the prohibition issue existed along east-west lines. Lincoln residents of 1909 recognized the split. The *Lincoln Evening News* noted that the Democratic candidate for mayor enjoyed his greatest support in the wards with large populations of workingmen, which the paper identified as the First, Second, Third, and Fourth wards. Also noted was the strength of anti-prohibition sentiment

in these locations. The candidate, Robert Malone, resided in the A precinct of the First Ward and refused to take a definite position on the prohibition issue, carefully promising instead to abide by the will of the people.⁴⁵

The radical prohibition weekly, the *Nebraska State Capital*, some months before the election, recognized the strength of radical temperance in the eastern wards, the Sixth and Seventh, characterized as the best residential zones in the city. The Republican

mayoral candidate, Donald L. Love, enjoyed his greatest support in these wards and received recognition as the prohibition candidate.⁴⁶

In a pre-election article the *Journal* also noted differences among Lincoln's seven wards. The "wet" vote concentrated in the First and Second wards, and the "drys" found their strength in the eastern wards. Aware of the general sentiments of the wards, the Democratic committee, the paper reported, engaged in a bit of cautious politicking. Party workers distributed cards containing a message implying that the Republican mayoral candidate might assume a weak stance on prohibition in the more Republican and "dry" Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh wards. However, the committee carefully avoided distributing such compromising cards in the "wet" and Democratic First and Second wards.⁴⁷

The newspaper accounts suggest possible explanations for the marked differences in the election results of the various wards. An obvious factor was the social class of the majority of the voters in a ward. The First, Second, Third, and Fourth wards were located chiefly in central Lincoln near saloons and railroad facilities. These were working-class neighborhoods, with anti-prohibition sentiment, as the *News* and the *Capital* indicated in their reports.

Employment reflects upon the class and status of an individual in his community. An examination of the occupations of residents of three streets, each located in a different ward, indicates that distinct differences in class and status existed from ward to ward, from east to west. Claremont Street was located in the precinct that returned the largest majority (eighty-three percent) for continued operation of saloons on a restricted basis, Precinct B of the First Ward. It was near the railroad tracks, just north of the University of Nebraska and a few blocks from the saloon district. Of the nineteen households on Claremont Street listed in the city directory for

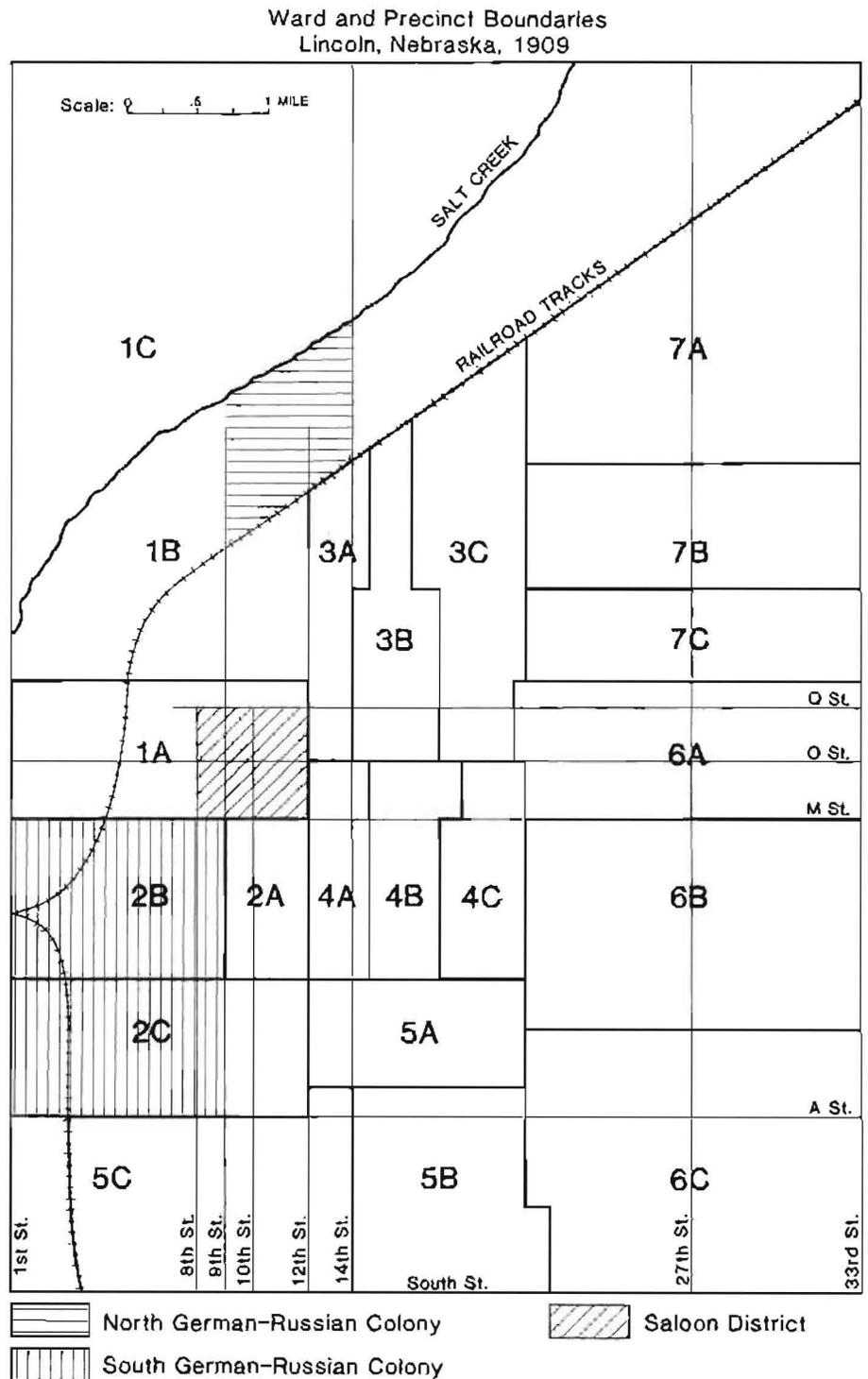
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1910, fourteen appeared with the occupation of the principal male resident.⁴⁸ The directory classified eight of these men as laborers, two as drivers, one as a scavenger, one as a machine operator, and three held common positions with the railroads. Obviously, these households were not among the most prosperous in Lincoln.

The occupations of householders on G Street between Twelfth and Fourteenth streets in Precinct A of the Fourth Ward exhibit considerably more variety and suggest a prosperous, middle-class neighborhood.⁴⁹ This precinct voted for prohibition, although a large minority (forty-three percent) voted for open saloons with restrictions. Occupational listings are available for twenty-six of the thirty householders on this two-block stretch of G Street. Ten were foremen, managers, clerks, and solicitors with local firms. Four dealt in real estate. Most of the remainder engaged in skilled occupations such as bricklayer, electrician, harnessmaker, barber, cigarmaker, and confectioner. Residents of this street also included a music instructor, a lawyer, a fireman, and a theater propman.

The householders of T Street between Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth streets resided in the precinct which gave the largest majority (seventy-eight percent) for prohibition, Precinct C of the Seventh Ward. Of the twenty-one householders listed, occupations for fourteen appeared in the directory.⁵⁰ The majority enjoyed upper level positions in Lincoln society: professor, president or owner of a firm, manager or superintendent with a large national or regional company, dentist, and traveling salesman (an occupation that seemed to enjoy high regard if the frequent favorable attention it received in the Lincoln papers is any indication).

The composition of the city temperance campaign committee provides further evidence that occupation, class, and status were factors in the position one took on prohibition. The *Journal*



listed the names of fifty-six men on the committee that formed to aid the success of Form A and to coordinate the activities of the various organizations in support of the temperance cause.⁵¹ Of these, fifty-one appeared in the city directory for 1910 with address and occupation listed.⁵²

Indicative of the east-west split among the city's inhabitants on the prohibition issue, thirty-one of the committeemen resided in the Fifth, Sixth, or Seventh wards. Another fourteen dwelt in the Fourth Ward, which also voted for prohibition. Five lived in the Third Ward, and only one resided in the "wet" Second Ward. None of the fifty-one were residents of the First Ward, Lincoln's least prosperous neighborhood.

By occupation these men represented some of Lincoln's most successful and prominent residents: presidents or managers of companies (16), lawyers (10), ministers (9), professors and other university officials (6), public school officials, including the superintendent (2), a physician, and the secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. The remaining six occupied other positions of authority or respect in the community: life insurance agents, salesmen, and managers. The brewers' interest as represented in Lincoln's twenty-five saloons and the evils of drunkenness, crime, and poverty associated with them symbolized a threat to the moral values and economic interests of these men and the class to which they belonged.

Class, occupation, and status were not the only factors with implications for the prohibition issue. Another important element was ethnic background. A former governor of Kansas, Edward Wallis Hoch, addressed yet another large crowd in the city auditorium a few days before the election and touched upon the "foreign problem," as he called it. He reminded his audience that the strong-minded, moral, and freedom-loving immigrants of the past represented the best their



Republican Donald L. Love, a supporter of prohibition, was the successful Lincoln mayoral candidate in 1909. (NSHS-P853)

nations had to offer. Criminals and cheap laborers imported by the great corporations, contemporary immigrants came from a different class. Solid republican institutions and the high standards of American citizenship wavered before this onslaught.⁵³

Hoch incorporated his evaluation of a foreign "threat" to traditional values in an address on prohibition and tied it to questions of class and the power of corporations. Such an appeal was well-suited for an audience composed of the prohibitionist, progressive, reform-minded middle class of Lincoln. His ideas found sympathetic listeners not unaware of the impact ethnicity had on the prohibition issue in the upcoming election.⁵⁴

Unlike Omaha and South Omaha, the only other city of size in Nebraska, Lincoln, had a large native-born population. At the time of the 1910 census the city reported 59.2 percent of its

inhabitants as native whites born of native parents.⁵⁵ Comparable figures for Omaha and South Omaha were 42.6 percent and 2.4 percent.⁵⁶ The discrepancy is in part attributable to Lincoln's origins; it was settled by native-born Americans from the North and East.⁵⁷ The remainder of the population in all three cities consisted of a very small number of blacks and of foreign-born residents or the offspring of foreign-born or mixed parentage. A minority in Lincoln, these groups were a majority in the two Omahas.

Saloons and foreigners went hand-in-hand in the minds of many Americans. For them the foreigner, as much as the saloons he was presumed to haunt, represented a threat to the values of sober, middle-class citizens.⁵⁸

Although a minority, Lincoln's ethnic population was sizable. It had an impact on the outcome of the election and helps to explain the east-west division of prohibition and anti-prohibition sentiment in the city. Of Lincoln's males of voting age, 58.3 percent were native-born whites of at least the second generation; 17.1 percent were native whites born of foreign or mixed parentage; 22.3 percent were foreign-born; and 2.2 percent were black.⁵⁹ (Figures for Omaha and South Omaha, where local prohibition was not a popular issue, show a marked difference for this time; 40.7 percent and 26.5 percent were native whites born of native parents; 22.8 percent and 17.4 percent were native whites born of foreign or mixed parentage; 31.9 percent and 50.4 percent were foreign-born; and 4.4 percent and 3.6 percent were black.)⁶⁰

Germans and Russians dominated the immigrant community in Lincoln.⁶¹ Almost all of the latter were actually the descendants of Germans who had emigrated to Russia long before their progeny came to America. They had maintained their German identity in Russia, and in Lincoln they became the largest and most distinctive foreign element. The German-Russians settled in two communities, one in northwest

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Lincoln and the other on the southwest side.⁶² The former lay in the Second Ward. These were the two western wards that returned the largest (seventy-three and sixty-seven percent respectively) anti-prohibition majorities.

The distinctiveness of the German-Russian community was readily apparent.⁶³ Numbering approximately 4,000 in 1909 and about 6,500 five years later, they represented a fast-growing group over half of whom had been born in Russia. Their colonies occupied the least desirable neighborhoods of the city, areas dominated by garbage dumps and prone to yearly flooding. In addition, the saloon and red light district lay between them. Most inhabitants worked as street laborers, railroad employees, and seasonal agricultural hands. In contrast to the majority of the city's inhabitants, they were largely Lutheran and Reformed Christians. Although they established clean, orderly communities, they remained the object of local prejudice.

The newspapers identified the foreign derived population in the western wards as the most significant group within them. Reports in the *Journal* indicated that many saw the Germans as the tools of the saloon and brewers' interests in the prohibition battle.⁶⁴ An article of October 1908 reported on the meeting of the local Personal Rights League in the Plattdeutsch Hall in the saloon-filled Precinct A of the First Ward.⁶⁵ A German pastor addressed the meeting in German on the lack of Biblical evidence for prohibition and the absurdity of creating laws based on the alcoholic abuses of a small minority. An Omaha lawyer spoke in English on the danger prohibition presented to the individual rights Germanic peoples came to America to secure.

For the loyal prohibitionist, typically a middle-class, native-born American, a report like this had disturbing connotations. Opposition to his cause existed among aliens who spoke a

strange language, lived and worked in a distinct part of town, and took a hostile position on a vital issue. The fact that Omaha lawyers were among the supporters of this organization undoubtedly evoked additional antagonism. Different in language, status, and values, they also appeared to be in league with the much distrusted Omaha interests.

That the seat of anti-prohibition sentiment lay in this region of the city was not the figment of overactive prohibitionist imaginations. Voting results indicate that the German-Russian dominated precincts of the First and Second wards provided nearly seven-tenths percent of the early closing vote, a significant figure in a close election. If the votes from peripheral precincts are included, those abutting the saloon district and the colonies where sizable numbers of German immigrants had settled, the early closing vote exceeds fifty percent.⁶⁶

As the election neared, newspaper reports commented upon the campaign effort in the German community. Printed instructions regarding the election appeared in practically all saloons on April 29. In German on large yellow placards and small slips of paper, the instructions urged saloon patrons:

Vote once for Form "B" by marking a cross in the square as shown above.

This is the only effective way to vote Lincoln a well governed, well regulated, decent, orderly city with the liquor traffic under proper and drastic control, closing saloons at 6:30 o'clock p.m.

To vote for prohibition or directly against prohibition means at this time to place a blight upon the moral and business interests of the city of Lincoln with misrule, boot legging, and prohibition.

Vote only for Form "B."⁶⁷

Noticeably absent from the message was mention of the other issues in the election, such as a bond issue and selection of a mayor and school board. Also of note, and perhaps giving credence to Hoch's warning that recent immigrants threatened republican institutions, was the suspicious instruction to vote once. In a related concern the *Journal* reasoned that one cause for the possible success of prohibition was the ignorance of illiterate

foreign voters.⁶⁸ Finally two days before the election the *Journal* reported that the Russians (the German-Russians) had completed their pre-election lessons.⁶⁹ According to the paper, workers among these voters drilled into their heads that the "B" in Form B stands for beer.⁷⁰

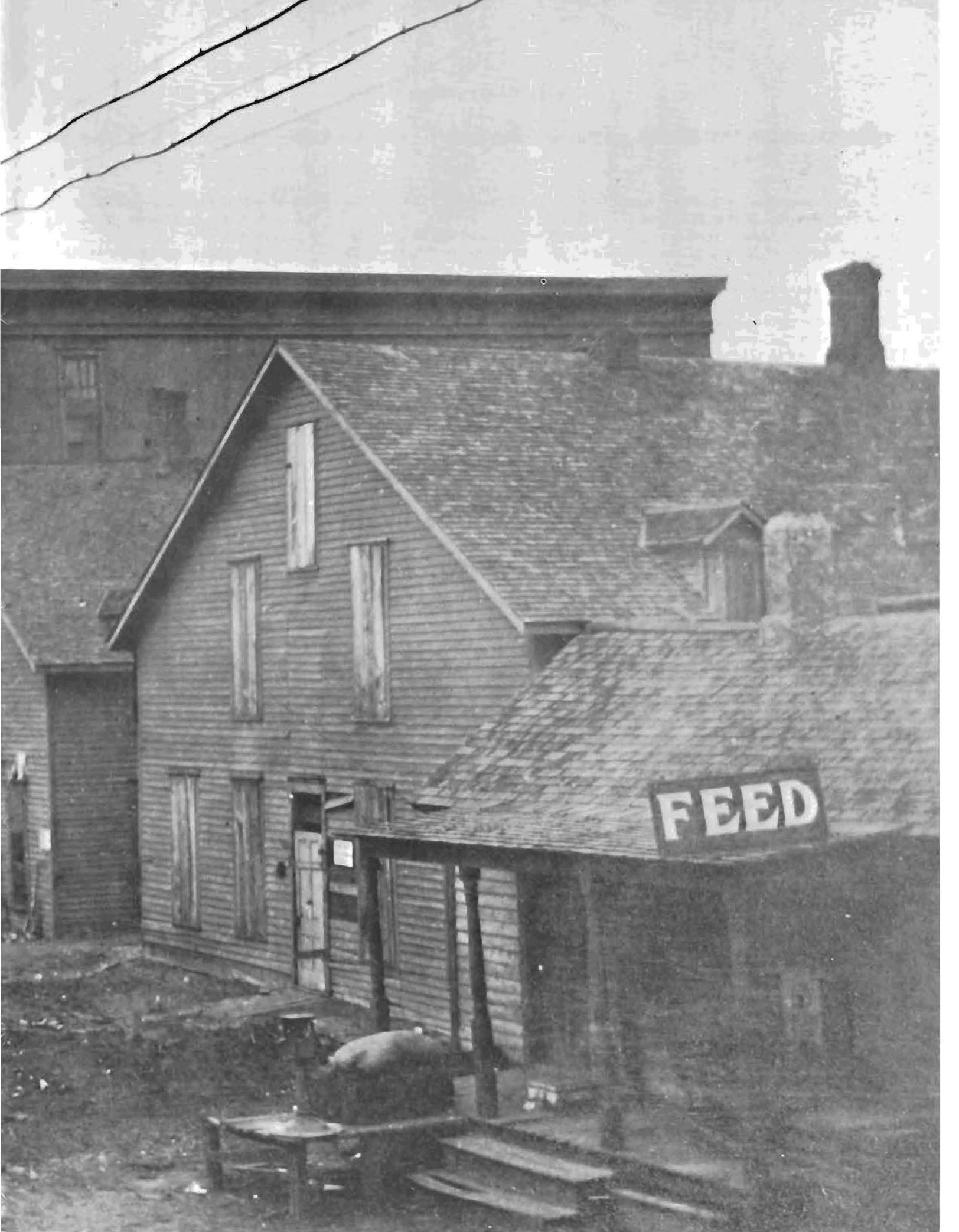
Echoing Hoch's foreign concerns, the paper commented on the problems campaign workers faced in preparing the "foreign" voter in the present election with a ballot more complicated than any previous ones. According to the *Journal*, past campaign workers had shoved the ignorant German-Russian voter into the voting booth. Standing a short distance off, the workers shouted either "Stimmt in zweiten" ("Vote in the second!") or "Stimmt in dritten" ("Vote in the third!"), indicating which party circle, Republican or Democratic, to mark. This technique was not practical with the new ballots. The drill method applied in the saloons was one alternative.

Another factor besides class, status, and ethnicity influenced the prohibition issue. From early in its history Lincoln possessed a religious composition that set it apart. Methodists and Presbyterians, members of Protestant denominations with strong traditions of temperance, were among the earliest settlers of the city.⁷¹ By 1909 three of Lincoln's principal eastern suburbs were thriving college towns founded and dominated by Methodists (University Place), Seventh-day Adventists (College View), and the Christian Church (Bethany). The temperance spirit and prohibition thrived in these arid communities.

In 1909 Lincoln was home to fifty-one churches representing a variety of Protestant denominations.⁷² Catholics were a definite minority with only two churches. The distribution of denominations reflects the strengths of the city's early roots. Methodists (eleven), Congregationalists (eight), Presbyterians (six), Baptists (five), Evangelicals (four), Christians (three),

This area in northwest Lincoln was largely inhabited by German-Russians, Lincoln's most distinctive foreign group. (NSHS-W727-165)





and Adventists (two) accounted for over three-fourths of the city's congregations. While it is not possible to go into the details of individual church positions on prohibition, it is clear that pietistic, non-liturgical Protestant denominations inclined towards temperance and prohibition dominated the religious life of the community. Lutherans, Episcopalians, Catholics, and Reformed, liturgical denominations less inclined towards prohibition, accounted for approximately a fifth of Lincoln's churches.

The predominance of pietistic denominations in Lincoln is critical. Among pietists, whose background lay in the great public religious revivals that swept America in the nineteenth century, the outward evidence of purity held great significance. The saloon and drunkenness represented obvious sources of public impurity and a threat to community values. They inclined toward using the government to effect laws, such as prohibition, that bolstered their values. In contrast, the liturgical denominations stressed not the outward appearance of piety but the forms of worship and doctrinal orthodoxy. Morality was the concern of the individual and the church, not public institutions like governments.⁷³ That point of view did not dominate Lincoln in 1909.

As the election approached, the churches became a means of furthering the goals of the prohibition campaign. In April the brotherhoods of several organized into a federation to pool their efforts in promoting civic reform.⁷⁴ It did not approve of simply restricting the operations of saloons. From its inception the federation dedicated itself to driving saloons from the city and cooperated with the city temperance campaign committee. The three chief officers of the federation came from the pietistic, temperance-oriented denominations with the largest representation in Lincoln: a Congregationalist president, a Methodist vice-president, and a Presbyterian secretary. The organization's execu-

tive committee was similar in composition.

About three weeks before the election the federation sent prominent members of the city's business and professional community to address twenty-seven congregations on the temperance issue.⁷⁵ Twenty-four of the twenty-seven visited belonged to pietistic denominations with a temperance tradition. Lincoln's Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopal churches, nine in number and less enthusiastic in their support of temperance, did not receive the attention of the federation. Only one of their number, a Lutheran congregation, received a visit.

Thomas Bonacum, Bishop of Lincoln, represented the Catholic leadership's position on the prohibition issue. Following legislative approval of the daylight saloon bill, the failure of an earlier county option proposal, and the emergence of prohibition as an issue in the upcoming election, the bishop wrote to Governor Shallenberger, counseling him to sign the daylight saloon bill into law. He termed it an "eminently wise and salutary" measure "calculated to lessen the abuses of the liquor traffic." As he closed the note, he stated his belief that the bill obviated "the necessity for any future legislation which might be harmful to the best interests of our commonwealth."⁷⁶ The bishop's diplomatically worded position implied that prohibition, one much-discussed form of future legislation, was undesirable.

In contrast, the leadership of Lincoln's pietistic Protestant churches aligned themselves on the side of prohibition. A group of ministers representing twenty-four of Lincoln's churches met to discuss the temperance issue on April 16 under the auspices of the campaign committee.⁷⁷ At least eighteen of the twenty-four led Methodist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Christian, and Evangelical congregations. These were some of the same churches targeted for visitation by the federation and the

temperance campaign committee and the source of leadership of these organizations.⁷⁸

The addresses of the city's churches in part reflected the alignment of its wards on the saloon issue. The Fourth Ward contained the largest share. Here, in the neighborhood of the Capitol and southeast of the saloon district, were six of the nine Catholic, Episcopal, and Lutheran congregations in Lincoln and many representatives of the other denominations found in the city.⁷⁹ However, the "dry" Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh wards were noticeably less polyglot. Fourteen of the fifteen churches in these neighborhoods were Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, Adventist, or Evangelical.⁸⁰ Although fewer in number than the churches in the central wards, these congregations were overwhelmingly associated with the denominations active in the prohibition cause.

Who were the prohibitionists in Lincoln? They tended to reside in the relatively affluent southern and eastern neighborhoods. Members of the city's professional and local business elite, they were Lincoln's middle class and tended to belong to the pietistic, non-liturgical denominations, whose churches dominated the eastern wards of the city that exhibited the strongest support for prohibition.

In contrast, the "wet" vote in Lincoln tended to concentrate in the less affluent western neighborhoods where much of the city's working class resided. Many of Lincoln's "foreign" citizens lived in this area. At least among the large German and German-Russian community, the liturgical and anti-prohibition Catholic and Lutheran denominations held sway.⁸¹

These factors gave the issue long-standing vitality in local politics. Supporters of prohibition were not overwhelming in number but of sufficient strength to produce a majority in the election of May 4, 1909. The prohibitionists pursued their cause rather than restriction and high license,

because they wanted a city free of the crime and poverty produced, they believed, by saloons and drunkenness. They also believed that eliminating the saloon would free money once spent on liquor for expenditures in the "legitimate" enterprises of the city. And they hoped that a city free of liquor-related problems would attract more families, more business, and more students.³²

Civic pride and civic purity did not exist in a vacuum, unrelated to external factors and pressures. Lincoln's prohibitionists saw in Omaha a growing brewing industry and its opposition to their cause. They attributed the failure of social, economic, and political reforms that institutionalized their values to the hostile power of the brewers' interests. Prohibition, intolerant and coercive in nature, seemed the only logical means to rid Lincoln forever of an institution and ideas that threatened traditional values of their class: family, community prosperity, social order, thrift, and democracy.

A narrow victory does not guarantee permanent success. In 1910 prohibition once again appeared on city ballots. A majority of 935, an increase of several hundred over 1909, renewed it for another year.³³ The next year saw it on the ballot again. Aided by the same initiative and referendum process used by the "drys" in 1909, the "wets" brought the issue before the voters. The result was a narrow defeat for prohibition.³⁴ The city returned to the strict licensing system. Whatever the reasons for its failure two years after its initial success, its persistence as an issue suggests the firm hold it had on the populace. And the fact that the end of prohibition meant a return to strict licensing geared toward the gradual elimination of the saloon indicates that the majority of Lincoln's inhabitants remained troubled by the saloon and what it symbolized.

NOTES

¹"Great Excitement in Lincoln," *Daily State Journal*, February 18, 1874, 4. An alternative account of this incident, which fails to note the collapsing floor or the restrained behavior of the patrons, appears in Andrew J. Sawyer, ed., *Lincoln: The Capital City and Lancaster County, Nebraska* Vol. 1 (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1916), 294-95. A list of the society's officers with their church affiliations indicates the early dominance of temperance work by Lincoln's Methodists and Presbyterians.

²"Minutes of the Regular Council Meeting Held May 10, 1909," *Record of Council Meetings* 28, December 7, 1908-May 10, 1909, City of Lincoln, 241. Election returns show that only 153 votes out of a total vote cast of 7,069 were for the Form C option that provided for neither prohibition nor restrictive licensing.

³No studies on the history of prohibition in Lincoln, Nebraska, exist. However, there are some studies of the issue as it pertains to the state of Nebraska. See Joe A. Fisher, "The Liquor Question in Nebraska, 1880-1890" (M.A. thesis, Municipal University of Omaha, 1952); Addison E. Sheldon, "The Anti-Saloon Victory in Nebraska," *Nebraska: The Land and the People* 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1931); and Julia Pamelia Watson, "The Evolution of the Temperance Movement in Nebraska" (M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska, 1925). Robert E. Wenger, "The Anti-Saloon League in Nebraska Politics," *Nebraska History* 52 (Fall 1971), 267-92 was very helpful in this study. Other studies that were of value in preparing this paper include Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966); Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 58-88; and Frederick C. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 33-52. Comprehensive studies that focus on the prohibition issue in specific states or cities include Norman H. Clark, *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965) and Jed Dannebaum, *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washingtonian Revival to the WCTU* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

Particularly valuable in providing information on the German-Russians in Lincoln are three works by Hattie Plum Williams, a student and later a sociology professor at the university during and after the events of 1909. These are "The History of the German-Russian Colony in Lincoln" (M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska, 1909), "A Social Study of the Russian German" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, 1916), and "The Road to Citizenship: A Study of Naturalization in a Nebraska County," *Political Science Quarterly* XXVII:3 (September 1912), 399-427. ("Road to Citizenship" was reprinted in *Nebraska History*, 68 [Winter 1987]: 166-82.) Williams based the first two studies on a door-to-door census in the German-Russian neighborhoods in 1908-9. Focusing on the problem of the "foreign" voter in the latter, she examines the practice of permit-

ting immigrants who had declared only their intention to become citizens to vote. Declarations of intent increased prior to elections as politicians and their organizations used the situation to their advantage. Although she takes no obvious stand on the prohibition issue, her comments in the article reflect the attitudes and anxieties of the anti-saloon and "progressive" element in Lincoln.

⁴Sheldon, *Nebraska*, 842.

⁵Watson, "Evolution," 31-34. Watson explains the origins of this attitude in the 1870s and 1880s.

⁶"Festive Greeks Took a Whizzer," *Lincoln Daily Star*, March 14, 1909, 2; "The Saloons and the University," *Nebraska State Capital*, April 23, 1909, 1; "Protect the University Boys," *Nebraska State Capital*, April 30, 1909, 1; and "Talk for a Dry Lincoln," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 1, 1909, 5.

⁷"Appeal Made to Voters," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 2, 1909, 3.

⁸Sheldon, *Nebraska*, 843.

⁹"Petition in Boots," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 6, 1909, 1.

¹⁰"Both Omaha Factions Send Trains," *Lincoln Daily Star*, April 4, 1909, 1; and "Governor Hears Many on Question," *Lincoln Daily Evening News*, April 5, 1909, 18.

¹¹"Boots," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 6, 1909, 2.

¹²*Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹³"Lincoln Moves Forward," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 4, 1909, 4-C. Williams, a Lincoln resident at this time, makes similar observations on the quality of Lincoln's citizenship and its leadership in political and moral reform. See "Road to Citizenship," *Political Science Quarterly* XXVII:3 (September 1912), 422-23.

¹⁴"Appeal," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 2, 1909, 3. See also "Civic League to Be Active," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 14, 1909, 4.

¹⁵"Boots," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 6, 1909, 2.

¹⁶"Talk," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 1, 1909, 5. Williams draws a similar conclusion in reference to the saloon forces' opposition to a citizen suffrage amendment considered in 1909. See "Road to Citizenship," *Political Science Quarterly* XXVII:3 (September 1912), 423-24.

¹⁷*Lincoln, Nebraska Directory: 1909* (Lincoln: Jacob North and Company, 1909), 656-57.

¹⁸"Talk," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 1, 1909, 5.

¹⁹"Justice to Omaha," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 7, 1909, 6; "An Earned Humiliation," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 6, 1909, 6; "Daily Drift," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 13, 1909, 4; and "Notes on the Lincoln Campaign," *Nebraska State Capital*, May 7, 1909, 2.

²⁰"Home Rule in Nebraska," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 6, 1909, 6.

²¹"Following Lincoln," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 3, 1909, A-4.

²²Legislature Passes Daylight Saloon Bill," *Lincoln Daily Star*, April 3, 1909, 1.

²³"President's Address," *Report of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Nebraska Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (University Place, Nebraska: Claflin Printing Company, 1908), 47-48.

²⁴United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Abstract with Supple-*

ment for Nebraska, Table 110 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 520.

²³Ibid., 568.

²⁴Ibid., 678; Table I, 690.

²⁵Ibid., 568.

²⁶Ibid., 691.

²⁷Ibid., Table I, 691.

²⁸"A Ruined Metropolis," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 5, 1909, 4.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰"Omaha's Troubles," *Lincoln Daily Star*, April 5, 1909, 6.

³¹"The City Election," *Lincoln Daily Evening News*, April 5, 1909, 4.

³²"Feeling Better," *Lincoln Evening News*, April 9, 1909, 4. "The Business Argument," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 12, 1909, 4; and "Appeal," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 2, 1909, 3.

³³"Jeptah's (sic) Daughters," *Nebraska State Journal*, March 28, 1909, 4-C.

³⁴"Killed by Fear," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 1, 1909, 6. See also "Belshazzar Is Warned," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 3, 1909, 4.

³⁵"Bossism," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 4, 1909, 4-C.

³⁶"Hanly Gives Two Addresses," *Lincoln Daily Star*, April 26, 1909, 12; "Thousands Heard Hanly," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 26, 1909, 3; and "Four Grand Meetings Held," *Nebraska State Capital*, April 30, 1909, 3.

³⁷Sheldon, *Nebraska*, 843.

³⁸*Record of Council Proceedings*, 28, 348.

³⁹Ibid., 341.

⁴⁰"More or Less Personal," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 4, 1909, 4.

⁴¹"Forward," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 4, 1909, 4.

⁴²"Today's Election," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 4, 1909, 6; "Tomorrow," *Lincoln Daily Evening News*, May 3, 1909, 4-B; and "'Wet' or 'Dry,'" *Lincoln Daily Star*, May 3, 1909, 6.

⁴³"Insists That Drys Did Not Deliver As Agreed," *Lincoln Daily Evening News*, May 5, 1909, 10; and "Malone Favors Bond Issue," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 29, 1909, 7.

⁴⁴"Reason for His Defeat Not Hard to Find," *Nebraska State Capital*, November 20, 1908, 1. Love's stand on the issue, actually similar to

Malone's, is recorded in *Nebraska State Journal*, April 25, 1909, 4-B. Love won the election with a small majority. He carried the "dry" Sixth and Seventh wards, while Malone dominated in the "wet" First and Second wards. Results in the remaining wards were less decisive just as they were in the voting on the excise issue. Some anomalies existed, indicating that factors other than the liquor question influenced voter preference. See "City of Lincoln Dry," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 5, 1909, 1, for results of the mayor's race.

⁴⁵"Saloon Men Getting Busy," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 30, 1909, 7.

⁴⁶*Lincoln, Nebraska Directory*, 1910 (Lincoln: Jacob North and Company, 1910), 32-671, 739.

⁴⁷Ibid., 4; 741-42.

⁴⁸Ibid., 32-671, 764e.

⁴⁹"Preliminary Moves Made," *Nebraska State Journal*, March 27, 1909, 5.

⁵⁰*Lincoln Directory*, 1910, 32-671.

⁵¹"Throng Heard Ex-Gov. Hoch," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 3, 1909, 3.

⁵²Williams, "The Road to Citizenship," 412, 413, 414, and 421 provides additional confirmation of these attitudes among the population.

⁵³*Thirteenth Census Table II*, 618.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, State of Nebraska, *Lincoln City Guide*, American Guide Series (Lincoln: Woodruff Printing Company, 1937), 17.

⁵⁶Gusfield, *Crusade*, 55-56, 106.

⁵⁷*Thirteenth Census Table II*, 618.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., 610. Williams reports that after 1900 "Russian subjects, mainly Germans, have formed the chief foreign element among newly made voters, reaching 74 percent in 1910. It should be noted that almost all live in the city of Lincoln." See "The Road to Citizenship," *Political Science Quarterly* XXVII:3 (September 1912), 412-13.

⁶⁰*Lincoln City Guide*, 44, 56.

⁶¹Williams describes the colonies in "The History of the German-Russian Colony in Lincoln," 1-3, 95, and "A Social Study of the Russian-German," 6-20.

⁶²Williams also took note of this presumed

collusion. See "The Road to Citizenship," 423-24.

⁶³"Day of Heavy Campaigning," *Nebraska State Journal*, October 31, 1908, 4.

⁶⁴Williams, "A Social Study of the Russian German," 18-19.

⁶⁵"Busy," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 30, 1909, 7.

⁶⁶*Nebraska State Journal*, May 3, 1909, 3.

⁶⁷"Campaign About Closed," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 2, 1909, 5.

⁶⁸Williams comments on the degree of pressure brought to bear on foreign voters and potential voters by "interested parties" and the "ward boss." "The Road to Citizenship," 414, 419-20.

⁶⁹*Lincoln City Guide*, 18.

⁷⁰*Lincoln Directory*, 1910, 20-23.

⁷¹Jensen, *Winning*, 58-83. Jensen's account of the split between pietistic and liturgical Protestants is very helpful in understanding their respective positions on temperance and prohibition.

⁷²"Brotherhood Lays Plans," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 13, 1909, 5.

⁷³*Lincoln Daily Evening News*, April 16, 1909, 3.

⁷⁴"Boats," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 6, 1909, 2.

⁷⁵"Ministers Meet to Discuss the Temperance Campaign," *Nebraska State Journal*, April 17, 1909, 6.

⁷⁶*Lincoln Directory*, 1910, 32-671; and church directories in various Sunday issues of the *Nebraska State Journal* for April 1909.

⁷⁷Ibid., 20-23.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Jensen, *Winning*, 58.

⁸⁰"Appeal," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 2, 1909, 3.

⁸¹"Lincoln Goes Wet," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 3, 1911, 2.

⁸²"Back Two Years," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 3, 1911, 6; and "Park Bonds Defeated," *Nebraska State Journal*, May 4, 1911, 5.