

The
PALIMPSEST
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THE PURPOSE OF THIS MAGAZINE

THE PALIMPSEST, issued monthly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, is devoted to the dissemination of Iowa History. Supplementing the other publications of this Society, it aims to present the materials of Iowa History in a form that is attractive and a style that is popular in the best sense—to the end that the story of our Commonwealth may be more widely read and cherished.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

Superintendent

THE MEANING OF PALIMPSESTS

In early times palimpsests were parchments or other materials from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the records of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

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THE PALIMPSEST

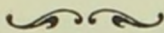
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The Liquor Merry-Go-Round

The tendency of a person lost in the woods to travel in a circle seems to have its counterpart in the handling of perplexing and apparently permanent social problems. Debate to-day swirls about the liquor question. Shall we prohibit, license, regulate, tolerate, or promote the sale of intoxicating liquor? What is intoxicating liquor? Shall we have saloons, government sale rooms, beer gardens, liquor with meals or without, speak-easies, prohibition enforced or unenforced?

Let us go back for a moment, back one hundred years to the time when the first white settlers were filtering into what is now Iowa. At that time there was no civil government here except the Federal regulations relating to the public lands and the Indians. Among these was one forbidding the sale or gift of liquor to the red men. It was the only prohibitory law and it was seldom enforced.

The average Indian wanted whisky — real “fire-water” — and for it he would sell his last blanket, even the gun on which his living depended.

But if there was prohibition, in name at least, for the Indians, there was none for the white men. Because transportation was difficult, the liquor brought into the western settlements was usually high-powered: whisky was the favorite drink and best known medicine, the reward of labor at “house raisings”, the promoter of sociability at weddings, the solace of those who mourned. Indeed, it was considered worthy of note in contemporary annals that the first church building in Iowa — the log church built by the Methodists at Dubuque in 1834 — was “raised . . . without spirits of any kind”, but not, it may be said, because the sale of liquor was illegal or its use uncommon.

The endless chain of time moves on. Iowa became first a Territory and in 1846 a State. There was legal recognition of the liquor traffic but not much regulation or restriction. Grocery stores — defined in the statutes of 1839 as places where “spirituous or vinous liquors are retailed by less quantities than one gallon” — were assessed from \$25 to \$100 a year at the discretion of the county commissioners — almost exactly the license fees for selling beer to-day.

A commentary on the tendency of the liquor traffic to "follow the crowd" is found in the Iowa law — intended to protect camp meetings — which forbade the sale of liquor within two miles of a worshipping congregation unless the seller had a license for his regular place of business. The fine was not to exceed fifty dollars and the money collected was allotted to the education of orphans or poor children.

In spite of the widespread sale of liquor to both Indians and whites — perhaps because of it — there had grown up in Iowa during the Territorial days a number of temperance societies. One of the first of these was organized at Fort Madison on April 27, 1838. A striking characteristic of these societies was the type of men represented. The officers of this Fort Madison society, for example, were Samuel B. Ayres, Henry Eno, and Philip Viele, all prominent in political affairs. A temperance convention, held in the Hall of Representatives at Burlington in November, 1839, included Robert Lucas, Governor of the Territory, and Charles Mason, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Soon after the organization of the State government came the fraternal society, "Sons of Temperance", with the pledge "No brother shall *make, buy, sell, or use as a beverage, any Spirituous or Malt Liquors, Wine or Cider.*"

The temperance society at Davenport was so effective that the *Davenport Gazette* in January, 1842, had been able — and apparently proud — to report: “ ‘Put it in your paper,’ observed a stranger, to us — a passenger in the most recent boat detained at our wharf — ‘put it in your paper, sir, as one of the most favorable items, connected with your beautiful town, that one of our passengers traversed it all over in search of liquor, but could not obtain a drop.’ ”

In the forefront of the fight to organize public opinion against the liquor traffic was Robert Lucas, Governor of the Territory of Iowa from 1838 to 1841. Never given to compromise with evil nor to drugging his Scotch-Irish conscience with political or financial considerations, Lucas protested in his message of 1839 against raising revenue by licensing intoxicating liquor, which he characterized as “legalizing indulgences to commit crime”. Instead, he advocated the repeal of license laws, preferring to depend on public opinion to suppress the evils of the traffic. In any case, he argued, each county should be given the right to refuse to grant licenses within its borders. Neither recommendation was followed at the time.

Eight years later, however, the first State legislature did enact a local option law permitting the voters in each county to decide whether or not the

county commissioners should issue licenses to sell liquor. The first election under this law, held on April 5, 1847, resulted in a decisive victory for the dries: every county except Keokuk voted not to license the sale of intoxicating liquor.

But it soon appeared that Iowa was not as dry as the vote seemed to indicate. Before long the law was being openly or secretly violated. The next General Assembly made a strategic retreat and gave the county commissioners the right to issue licenses or to refuse them. Two years later the *Code of 1851* virtuously declared that the people of Iowa "will hereafter take no share in the profits of retailing liquors". The sale of liquor to be consumed on or about the premises was prohibited but other sales of liquor as merchandise were neither forbidden nor regulated.

In the matter of liquor control, two diverse influences were striving for supremacy. On the one side were the temperance forces, militant, aggressive, and committed to the use of political action. On the other side were those who desired liquor, augmented by the increasing number of immigrants from Europe, especially the Germans who had fled from the penalties of the Revolution of 1848. The frontier liking for "hard licker" was being diluted by a thirst for the milder beer and wine.

The temperance forces won the first skirmish. In 1854 the Whigs in convention declared for the prohibition of the sale of ardent spirits as a beverage. With this declaration James W. Grimes, their candidate for Governor, was in complete accord. The Whig party was victorious and on January 22, 1855, the first prohibitory law in Iowa was approved by the Governor. The bill carried the unusual requirement of a popular referendum, and on April 2nd the voters — men only, at that time — approved the prohibitory statute by the narrow margin of 25,555 to 22,645. Thirty-three counties showed a majority for it, thirty-two against it, and in one the vote was tied.

This law absolutely prohibited the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage, with two exceptions: home-made wine and cider might be sold in quantities of not less than five gallons and liquor might be imported in the original packages. Agents appointed by the county judge were to supervise the sale of liquor for medicinal, mechanical, and sacramental purposes. Thus did Iowa make a partial trial of government sale of liquor.

From the beginning, the state-wide prohibitory law met with both open and passive resistance, especially in the river towns. A Muscatine paper reported in July, 1855, that "liquor is kept for

sale, and sold, in this city by individuals who are not legally authorized to traffic in the article". It added that complaints about the violation of the prohibitory law were as common as those about the intense heat. It appears that no one tried to do much about either. At Burlington, officers located a number of barrels of liquor, so heavy that they needed assistance in moving them, but not one of the spectators gave them a hand. The temperance societies had apparently disbanded and gone home. The Sons of Temperance, for example, were already showing signs of decline, and by 1857 the order had largely merged with the "Good Templars".

It was soon evident that the prohibitory law was not being satisfactorily enforced, especially in centers where it was unpopular, and, following the usual American custom, the Iowa legislature began to strengthen the law rather than its enforcement. Intoxicating liquor was redefined to include all spirituous, malt, and vinous liquors, except cider and wine made from fruit grown or gathered by the person making the liquor. Instead of an agent appointed by the county judge to have charge of the sale of liquor not for beverage purposes, any citizen who was a resident of the county, except keepers of hotels, saloons, restaurants, grocery stores, and confectioners, might

buy and sell intoxicating liquor for medicinal, mechanical, culinary, and sacramental purposes, provided he gave a bond for \$1000 and furnished certificates from twelve citizens of the township that he was of good moral character.

This amendment, however, did not promise enough to satisfy the thirsty, and so on the following day, the legislature passed a license law, similar to one enacted in 1849. It was a combination of license and local option. Each county might, upon the petition of a hundred voters and at the call of the county judge, vote on the question of licensing saloons and if the majority voted in the affirmative, saloons might be licensed in that county although the prohibitory law was still in force in the other counties. This license law was held to be unconstitutional because it delegated legislative powers to the voters and abrogated the uniform operation of a general statute. Not finding it feasible to amend the law geographically, the next legislature determined to amend it on an alcoholic basis, and so legalized the manufacture and sale of beer, cider from apples, and wine from grapes grown in the State.

The Civil War came, absorbed the attention and energy of the people for more than four years, and finally ended. The "wets" and the "drys" renewed the struggle. Cities and towns had, appar-

ently, come to have distinctive opinions, for a law, enacted in 1868, gave municipalities authority to regulate or prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors not prohibited by State law — beer, wine, and cider — and to assess or impose a tax on such sale. Another attempt in 1870 to extend local option to counties by means of a popular vote was again declared unconstitutional.

The struggle dragged along year after year, each side getting an occasional advantage. So far, the agitation and resolutions as well as the votes had belonged to the men, but in 1874 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized in Iowa. The Iowa State Brewer's Association, meeting at Burlington in 1876, resolved it would "support only those candidates without regard to party, who are not in accordance with the narrow-minded element of prohibiters." The "drys" countered with their associations, one of which was the Iowa State Temperance Alliance organized at Clear Lake in September, 1876. During the following year the Blue Ribbon movement, based on voluntary abstinence, swept over the State. A Blue Ribbon celebration at Marshalltown in June, 1878, was attended by 15,000 persons. It ended in a torch light procession.

It is the impulse of any contender in a long and doubtful struggle, once an advantage is gained, to

“nail it down” in some way. In American politics this often takes the form of a constitutional amendment. So it happened that in 1882 Iowa adopted constitutional prohibition. It was not accomplished without much bickering and debate. One amendment, defeated in committee, called for an appropriation to compensate the owners of the breweries for property invested — estimated at \$4,000,000. Another much debated question was whether the prohibitory provision should apply to the manufacture of liquor to be sold outside the State. The *Des Moines State Register* said no, but the *Keokuk Gate City*, which opposed any prohibition, protested against such an exemption. “The other States”, it declared, “suffer the ills of intemperance and we make money out of it.”

The prohibitory amendment came before the voters on June 27, 1882. The Brewers' Association levied a tax on its members, based on production the previous year, which brought in some \$6000. Supporters of the amendment, with probably less money, had more enthusiasm. Children paraded the streets carrying temperance banners. The vote, while not overwhelming, was decisive — 155,436 for the amendment; 125,677 against it. Seventy-five counties gave a majority for the amendment; twenty-three were opposed; one was a tie. That night the church bells pealed.

But Andrew Jackson was right when he said it was easier to get a decision than to enforce it. In fact, there was no State enforcement act, since the legislature was not in session when the amendment was adopted. Cities and towns, however, were authorized under the old law to prohibit the sale of liquor or abate it as a nuisance. Many of them did so, but in other places there was no enforcement. Council Bluffs, for example, adopted a local mulct law, authorizing the city council to enter into "agreement with the saloon keepers of that city, whereby the latter are to continue business, and are to be fined monthly or quarterly, the fines during the year to amount to a good round license."

But the woes of the liquor men and the celebration of the temperance supporters were short-lived — so far as the amendment was concerned. On January 18, 1883, the Iowa Supreme Court, in deciding the case of *Koehler and Lange vs. Hill*, ruled that the amendment had not been legally adopted. There had been an inadvertent discrepancy in the wording of the resolution actually adopted by the Eighteenth General Assembly, which contained the words "or to be used", and the enrolled amendment, approved by the Nineteenth General Assembly and ratified by the people, which omitted the phrase.

The tug of war continued. A warning of the growth of the liquor industry was given by an Iowa City paper in a partially reprinted editorial: "As rapid as has been the growth of the country in population, wealth and everything else, in one thing it has had a growth that may well astonish the world, and that is beer. Where, 20 years ago, pints were made, it is now hogsheads; and where one modest beer-shop begged for the privilege of existence, a thousand now demand the right to spread disease and death." Capital and business skill had been put into the business, continued the editorial, and a "systematic effort was inaugurated to create a demand for an article which bore so royal a profit, and the business changed from one which merely supplied drunkards to one of manufacturing drunkards."

The next advance was made by the drys. The legislative session of 1884 repealed the wine and beer exemption of 1858, thus restoring Iowa to complete and state-wide prohibition, so far as the law was concerned. The new prohibitory law contained the unique and questionable provision that in liquor cases, one-half of the fine imposed went to the informer and one-half to the schools.

In some sections of the State, the new law was openly defied. On the Fourth of July, 1884 — the day the law became effective — it was re-

ported that beer and wine were sold as freely in Burlington as before. That this opposition was not confined to the new restriction on the sale of beer and wine is evident from a statement quoted from a Dubuque paper: "It is understood that the law will be ignored in Dubuque the same as the old law has been ignored for the past twenty years or more".

At Keokuk, a mulct tax, similar to that adopted by Council Bluffs, was imposed, but after a while the saloon keepers refused to pay the mulct fines and defied closing. Half-hearted attempts to enforce the law resulted in riots at a number of places, including Iowa City, Muscatine, Sioux City, Fort Dodge, and Marshalltown. At Fort Dodge, former Governor C. C. Carpenter was attacked by angry liquor dealers and was saved from injury only by the interference of friends.

The liquor question was naturally one of the topics discussed in the campaign of 1885, although it can not be said to have been exactly a partisan issue. The Democratic party demanded a compulsory license of \$250, permitting communities to raise this to \$1000 if they wished. The Republicans declared it was not a party issue. The laws of 1886, however, evidence a victory for the dries, for statutes enacted by that General Assembly required that the harmful effects of alcohol and

narcotics must be taught in the schools; that plaintiffs in liquor cases were entitled to receive not less than \$25 as an attorney's fee, to be taxed as costs to the defendant; and that payment of a United States revenue tax on liquor was evidence of a violation of State laws.

The next four years were marked by a struggle for enforcement in some localities, climaxed by the murder of the Reverend George C. Haddock at Sioux City in August, 1886, and by open and uncontested defiance in many other places. A circular letter sent by Governor Larrabee to the sheriffs of the various counties in 1887 reported nearly four hundred saloons open in Iowa, 80 being reported from Des Moines County, 75 from Lee County, 40 from Wapello, and 35 from Pottawattamie. The sheriffs from Clayton, Clinton, Dubuque, and Scott counties did not report. In addition there were many "blind tigers", "blind pigs", "bootleggers", and "beer depots".

In one connection both the wets and the drys had won a victory — the drys having the last word. In 1890, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Iowa law forbidding the importation of intoxicating liquor in original packages was a violation of the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. The mail and express business went up. No community could

protect itself against this form of the liquor traffic. But the prosperity of the "mail order" liquor houses was brief, for on August 8, 1890, Congress passed the "Wilson Bill", subjecting liquor imported into a dry State to the prohibitory laws of that State.

By 1894, public opinion had, apparently, moved in the direction of legalizing the condition which had grown up in many communities. The arguments sound curiously familiar. The prohibitory law was alleged to be a failure, was not enforced, ought not to be enforced, could not be enforced, was a violation of personal liberty. There were, it was said, three hundred drinking places in Des Moines alone. Apathy prevailed among the temperance forces. From out this morass of debate, charges, and countercharges there emerged in 1894 the so-called "Mulct Law" — said to have been suggested by Welker Given of Marshalltown — which, in effect, delegated to the various localities the decision as to whether liquor could be sold under official sanction — a delegation of authority which, in a slightly different form, had twice been declared unconstitutional. This plan had been opposed by Governor Boies — although he favored the repeal of the prohibitory law — on the ground that the State would be encouraging violations of its own laws.

The Mulct Law was a political mongrel, neither prohibition, license, nor local option, but a mixture of all three. The prohibition law was left on the statute books, but saloons were permitted to operate in cities of over 5000, if a written petition of consent were signed by a majority of the voters voting at the previous election. The operation of saloons in areas outside the cities of 5000 or more was somewhat more difficult, but a few towns in Iowa owed their incorporation to the desire for a saloon and were financed chiefly by the revenue.

The minimum license fee prescribed by the Mulct Law was \$600 a year, one-half to go to the county general fund and one-half to the municipality. Additional fees and regulations might be imposed by the licensing municipality, all of which, it appears, went to the city or town. If this tax were paid the liquor dealer was immune to prosecution unless he violated the law — this particular law of course — but the immunity from prosecution might be withdrawn by a majority vote of the city council or through an opposing petition signed by a majority of the legal voters.

Statistics prepared by the Secretary of State showed that on September 30, 1906, liquor was legally dispensed in 43 of the 99 Iowa counties. Saloons existed in 242 towns and cities of Iowa — approximately one-fourth of the total number —

and in 51 townships. The total number of saloons was 1770 and the average tax was \$865.85. The revenue collected for the preceding year amounted to \$1,474,145.20. There were 22 breweries and distilleries.

But the legalized liquor traffic never looks as attractive when it exists in a community for a while as it does when it is first restored after years of law infringement. By 1909, Iowa was moving toward another ride on the prohibition horse of the merry-go-round. The Moon Law of 1909 limited the number of saloons to one for each thousand inhabitants — towns with less than 1000 population might have one saloon — even in communities giving consent, except that saloons in operation at the time might be continued or renewed. Another law required that liquor sellers be “electors” and forbade manufacturers or brewers from engaging in the retail liquor business.

It has been said that the problems of a people are revealed by the statutes that are proposed. If this is true, then liquor must have been a prominent topic of discussion in 1911 for no less than twenty-five bills restricting the traffic were introduced that year. By 1913, dry sentiment was strong enough to secure a number of laws further restricting the selling of liquor. One of these was the “five mile bill” which prohibited the renewal

of petitions of consent for saloons — but not including breweries — in cities or towns in which was an institution of higher education supported by the State. This law applied only to Iowa City, where the petition of consent would expire on July 1, 1916. The restriction on the number of saloons was extended to include special charter cities — Davenport and Dubuque at that time being the only cities of that class in which saloons were permitted. Intoxication was made a bar to recovery for work accidents.

The final blow to John Barleycorn, as personified in the Mulct Law, was administered in 1915, when this act was repealed by the legislature, and on January 1, 1916, the old prohibitory law went into effect throughout the State. Nevertheless, an amendment to the State constitution to make prohibition a part of the organic law was defeated at a special election held on October 15, 1917, by a margin of less than eight hundred votes. On January 27, 1919, however, Iowa ratified the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

For eighteen years — long enough to change the personnel of the majority of the present generation — prohibition remained the law of Iowa. Each legislature tinkered with it, added and subtracted. The memory of the swinging doors, the peculiar aroma of the saloon, the pathetic and

bloated "soak", the hunger of the children deprived of bread and milk was blotted out by the audacious law-breaking of the bootlegger. The brewers' "big horses" were forgotten by those who were more familiar with the high-powered car of the booze-runner.

Added to this dissatisfaction was the desire for revenue from a source which was too eager for legal recognition to protest — the liquor industry. Iowans joined those who chanted "we want beer", and in 1933 the State legislature, fulfilling the Democratic party pledge of 1932, amended the prohibitory law to permit the sale of 3.2 beer in Iowa, on the ground that the beverage was not intoxicating, and that it was futile for Iowa to attempt to exclude beer if the neighboring States permitted its sale. Alcoholically speaking, Iowa returned to the status of 1858.

In the meantime Congress had voted to submit an amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, and the Iowa legislature provided for a ratification convention composed of delegates elected on the general-ticket plan, thus in effect authorizing a popular referendum on the question of national prohibition. Since every elector votes for all ninety-nine names on either the wet or the dry list, the convention must be unanimous — wet or dry. Such a convention is not intended to debate

the merits of the new amendment, but simply to record the decision of the majority of the people who vote for delegates. If the Eighteenth Amendment is repealed, the way will be open for Iowa to experiment again with whisky and other "hard liquors".

In the past hundred years Iowa has changed from no regulation to license, from beer to whisky, from whisky to local option, from local option to prohibition, and from prohibition to beer, round and round, apparently getting no farther than a squirrel in a cage. Grocers, hotels, saloons, blind pigs, speak-easies, clubs, bootleggers — all have in turn furnished the coveted means of exhilaration or intoxication. The merry-go-round swings on, not forward, but in a circle, and no one ever got anywhere following a circle — except dizzy.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

George C. Haddock

George C. Haddock inherited his intense hatred of the liquor traffic from his parents who had been appalled by the prevalence of drunkenness in the Mohawk Valley. From the time he entered the ministry until his death he was one of the stoutest and most indefatigable proponents of the temperance cause. He did this work not for himself, his family, or his home, "but for a principle, a cause, a reform". His was no empty faith, for, with a heroism that knew no bounds, he sealed with his own blood the words of his lips. His tragic death was the crowning glory of a life work.

Born at Watertown, New York, on January 23, 1832, George Haddock was the youngest son in a family of six. His father, Samuel Haddock, was a blacksmith with an insatiable desire for learning. Ministers were constantly entertained at the Haddock home and the rugged smith always paid close attention to everything that was said. Books were his constant delight. He gradually acquired a wealth of knowledge and was known throughout the region as "the learned blacksmith". George's mother, Sabrina Barnes, a daughter of "Preacher Barnes" of Little Falls, New York, sprang from a

family that had furnished preachers to the Methodist Church for more than a hundred years.

As a lad, young George proved to be a very bright student. Educated at Black River Institute at Watertown, he was allowed to teach a class in Latin and Greek at the age of twelve as a reward for having had the best lesson during part of a term. Soon afterward he earned the title of the "boy orator" but unfortunately his academic career was suddenly terminated and he never secured a college degree. Throughout his life, however, he exhibited the studious habits of his youth.

Although his mother had dedicated him to the Methodist ministry, George as a young man manifested no liking for that profession. Instead, he entered the printing office of his brother at Watertown when he was seventeen. During the next ten years he was an itinerant printer, drifting from place to place as employment was offered. Temptations to drink were daily offered him but, although his associates were rough, he steadfastly resisted. On one occasion, in Milwaukee, he was "invited to drink a glass of beer, but refused; at which 'insult' he was set upon by a small mob and showered with stones". Doubtless such incidents helped to shape his future life.

On February 4, 1852, George Haddock mar-

ried Cornelia B. Herrick, a woman who proved to be a constant source of inspiration to him. The first seven years of their married life were lean, for the young printer proved to be "a wanderer", aimlessly striving to find himself. Early in 1859 he was firmly converted to Methodism and was licensed to "exhort" by the Ohio Conference. In the fall of that year he was given a regular appointment in the little town of Washington, Ohio, but resigned when some members of his congregation criticized his pulpit utterances as unsound. After several months of fruitless travel he returned once more to Milwaukee to engage in printing, though he continued to be active in church work.

In the fall of 1860 he joined the Wisconsin Conference on probation and two years later was received into "full connection" in that group. Reverend Haddock labored for twenty-two years in Wisconsin churches during which time he held some of the most important charges in the conference. He received thirteen appointments, five for one year, seven for two years, and one for three years. Oshkosh, Ripon, Appleton, Fond du Lac, Racine, Milwaukee, Bay View, and Waukesha are some of the more important cities in which he preached the gospel. Throughout his ministry his wife continually encouraged him and willingly shared his burdens. It is said "her steadfastness,

her courage, and her faith were of priceless value to her husband." Often depressed, he was subject to periods of gloom and discouragement, all the more distressing in contrast to his natural joviality.

The character of George C. Haddock was a combination of noble qualities. He endeavored at all times to be a "manly Christian". To him, life was a "growth of the mind as well as the heart, and of every power and attribute" that would contribute to complete self-realization. While he conceived of religion as embodying certain ethical standards of conduct, he did not think it imposed an obligation to be ascetic. He disagreed with his brethren who "thought it a sin to laugh or jest, or indulge in innocent pleasantries, or dress attractively, or to sing any but religious songs, or to have any kind of social gathering in a church, or to engage in any species of recreation or amusement. I have known many ministers who seemed to think there was a kind of merit in groaning and sighing, and who immediately checked themselves if they were betrayed into a laugh. The most of their people have thought, perhaps, that this was a sign of piety, whereas it may have been dyspepsia or rheumatism. Certainly it was not Christianity."

A deep sympathy for his fellow men was an-

other quality of this fiery Methodist minister. In his daily prayers he always remembered "the poor, the distressed, the weak and the afflicted". A hungry man was never turned from his door. On one occasion, when the conference was considering the sufferings and wants of a superannuated preacher, Reverend Haddock sprang up, exclaiming, "Brethren, I've got five dollars' worth of sympathy for this brother", and immediately deposited the money. A liberal donation resulted. His concern was often expressed for the drunkard and not infrequently he would help an intoxicated man home. It was the liquor traffic — not the victim — which called forth his sharpest denunciation.

His sermons were full of humanitarian solicitude. Apropos of economic conditions, he declared that "labor and capital are equally important, and they should share equally in the joint earnings of both. If the manufacturer grows immensely rich, while those of his workingmen who are sober, economical, and industrious, continue to be hopelessly poor, because their wages barely suffice to maintain them, a great robbery is perpetrated." In the same discourse he maintained that "a man has no moral right to defraud a fellow-man simply because he has the power to do so. If he hires a man, he should pay him all his work is

worth in view of all the circumstances. All below that is robbery, no matter what the law says."

Reverend Haddock had the faculty of adapting the teachings of Jesus to contemporary circumstances. He applied his high sense of morality to everyday problems. Alert to current events, he filled his sermons with information of practical affairs. "He handled great thoughts and aimed to preach on great themes. Into all his discourses he carried a vigor, zeal, and healthy spirituality that gave to his words intense heat, and to his thoughts a high elevation. An eloquence often fiery, as often tender and tearful, was therefore a prevailing trait of his pulpit work."

Courage was another quality that was continually manifesting itself in his character. Fear formed no part of his constitution. His self-reliance was based on conviction, but he was naturally quick tempered. Once an irate blacksmith threatened to give him a beating for his utterances on drunkards. "The gage of battle was accepted by the minister without hesitancy, and a rough-and-tumble fight ensued in which the blacksmith was badly worsted." This, according to a dispatch from Milwaukee, "chagrined the disciple of Tubal Cain so much that, attributing his adversary's powers to practice of the doctrine which he preached, he too became a total abstainer, and is

now one of the most irreconcilable prohibitionists in his district."

On another occasion he was waylaid at night by three emissaries of the liquor interests following a series of temperance lectures in the Methodist Church at Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin. A terrific blow from behind stunned him momentarily, but despite the fact that he was unarmed he pitched into them fearlessly. After a desperate struggle, in which he was struck down several times with the heavy clubs of his assailants, he was overpowered. When one of the men brandished a gun, he called for help, whereupon the "cowardly villains" fled. Haddock pursued one of the flying miscreants determined to identify him, but the rascal took refuge in a saloon whose entrance was barred by its burly keeper. Panting from his exertion he cried out: "If you fellows who are there will come out and defend yourselves one by one, I will whip every man of you!" It is significant that the challenge was not accepted. When his assailants were brought to trial they were pronounced "Not Guilty" in spite of evidence sufficient beyond a "reasonable doubt" to convict them.

One day Haddock saw a member of his congregation staggering drunkenly homeward. The next Sunday the offending party appeared at the door

of the church and walked straight down the aisle toward his pew before the pulpit. Haddock felt that only by a severe shock could the man be effectively reformed. Accordingly, the irrepressible preacher stopped his sermon in the middle of a sentence and began narrating the incident of the drunken man, describing him so minutely that there could be no question who was meant. All eyes turned upon the accused but the minister never paused, "pouring out rebuke and condemnation, fierce, sustained, merciless, maddening. The victim sat spellbound with downcast eyes and haggard, agony-stricken face". The bitter indictment concluded, Haddock took up the sentence where he had left it and finished his sermon as though nothing had happened. The victim of this merciless attack swore vengeance, but nevertheless reformed and lived to revere the memory of his former pastor.

His method of inculcating right conduct is aptly illustrated in the life of his own children. He was not a "stickler for discipline, but endeavored to lead and inspire rather than coerce and awe. Hence he generally left his children free in many details to act according to their sense of right, which he constantly strove to cultivate." Meeting his son Frank, he remarked, without pausing, "Better finish that smoke, boy, instead of throw-

ing it away". Shortly afterward he "exhausted the entire subject of nicotine in a conversation on the use of tobacco". Once he told his son, "If anybody strikes you without cause, strike back. You'll have to take care of yourself in this world, and it's no one's duty to be imposed upon". Thus, he sought to teach self-reliance, and to base action upon personal judgment and a personal sense of right.

Haddock believed that the worthy Christian ought to be militant, not seeking easy peace with evil. Confident of the righteousness of his own conclusions, he tried to convince others. Thus, he engaged in sharp debates with the spiritualists whom he found had gained a foothold in Appleton. He was utterly lacking in mercy in such debates, believing that spiritualism was a "pernicious error" which he must "crush, mutilate, utterly destroy" if that were possible. On another occasion he challenged the pastor of the Universalist Church at Fond du Lac to a public discussion through the medium of the press. The arguments continued through nearly fifty columns and finally closed with an appeal to the Scripture. And all this time he was steadfastly opposing the liquor interests and preaching in behalf of temperance and prohibition. He viewed all questions in "a moral light" and would "tell it to the world, if

the world had need to hear it." Men everywhere always said of him, "You always know where to find George C. Haddock."

When he came to Iowa in 1882 he inquired, "What is going on here? I will preach about that". Nor was he long in finding out, for Iowa, like Wisconsin, was in the midst of a tumultuous liquor controversy. During that year the legislature and the people both voted for a constitutional amendment making the sale of liquor illegal, only to have the Iowa Supreme Court declare the amendment unconstitutional on a technicality. In the bitter campaign which ensued the liquor interests were again repulsed by the enactment of absolute prohibition, a statute that was further strengthened by the General Assembly in 1886.

Reverend Haddock entered into the temperance crusade at Burlington but some of his flock disagreed with him and he was transferred to Fort Dodge the following year. For two years he labored in Fort Dodge, never hesitating to strike a blow for the temperance cause. At the end of that time he was appointed to the Sioux City charge which proved to be his last.

Reverend Haddock did not immediately engage in the liquor fight at Sioux City. His wife was perfectly aware of his intense desire to align himself with the temperance forces, but she was also

aware of threats freely made that "if the saloons were closed, every church in the city would go up in flames." One night as they sat reading in the parsonage she looked up calmly from her Bible and said: "George, I've settled it. It is your duty. Go on." And he entered "the last narrow road left to him in life".

His decision to fight had been influenced in no small degree by the fact that women were signing petitions to force injunction suits against the bootleggers because the men were not willing to do it. "I do not like the idea of hiding behind petticoats", Haddock declared. "It is a disgrace to Sioux City that men cannot be found to sign these petitions." He therefore asked Attorney D. W. Woods, who was prosecuting the cases, to prepare twenty-five complaints for his signature with instructions that the first case brought up for hearing should be one of these. As he was about to sign the first petition Attorney Woods remarked: "Mr. Haddock, you are signing your death-warrant." To which the minister laconically replied, "I am aware of that." A brother pastor received the following note penned on July 19, 1886. "I have signed twenty-five complaints, and I believe I take my life in hand by so doing. *But somebody has to do so.* I believe we will win eventually, though the fight will be long and desperate."

Dark rumors and threats to "do up Haddock", to "kill him", and to "cut his throat" followed his entrance into the battle. One day a burly saloon keeper standing on the opposite side of the street with an axe in his hand shouted over to him: "You come over here, and I'll cut off that head of yours." Haddock promptly crossed the street and walked deliberately by the man but without an assault.

Once his mind was made up, Reverend Haddock entered into the temperance battle with heart and soul. Nothing could deter him. His speeches fairly burned with passion as he brought the weight of over twenty years' experience against the liquor interests of Sioux City. "No one contends", he thundered, "that the sale of alcoholic beverages is for the general good. All know that it is forbidden by law. Yet the law is openly violated in Sioux City every day of the year. And I say that this is not the good of the many. It is not the welfare of the majority, but the passion of the few. It is not the voice of the law, listened to and obeyed, but the wild clamor of the mob, with brains poisoned with drink, and hearts set on fire by the flames of hell."

A sharp reply was always ready for those who advocated the license system. For years he had argued that such a system was simply a "league

with hell and a covenant with the devil. It legalizes drunkard-making, places the business under the protection of law, and makes every citizen of the State a silent partner of the saloon-keeper in his soul-destroying work. For every man killed, for every boy ruined, for every family desolated, for every mind robbed of reason, for every criminal sent to prison, for every pauper sent to the county poor-house by liquor, the State is responsible. . . . I would as soon favor the licensing of murder, robbery, prostitution, gambling, or prize-fighting as to favor licensing liquor-selling, because all these evils follow in the train of strong drink, and to advocate license is indirectly to license them all. Alcohol murders men and makes murderers of men. Alcohol leads to robbery and all other crimes. I can favor no such atrocious monster."

Haddock firmly believed that prohibition had been successful in Maine, if the opinions of such men as James G. Blaine and many other noted citizens of that State counted for anything. The results of license laws in the other States, he asserted, was clearly demonstrated by the conditions within those States. "Some three thousand drunkard factories in the United States. Some eight millions of habitual liquor-drinkers who are gradually being transformed from men into beasts.

Some fifty thousand graves dug for drunkards every year. About one billion of dollars annually spent for poisonous beverages by thousands of drunkards whose homes are being robbed all over the country. Insane asylums, poor-houses, jails, and prisons crowded by the victims of alcohol. All this the direct, legitimate fruit of license. Why, in view of all these facts, do men clamor for license? Is it because they really expect that license will put any restraint upon the business, or lessen the evils that flow from it?"

Almost every day Reverend Haddock read of some "atrocious murder", of "gigantic robberies or defalcations by bank officials, and mobs and riots", resulting in the loss of life and destruction of property. "We seem to be in the midst of a carnival of crime", he declared. To combat these trends he believed right-thinking people should "support and encourage all enterprises and institutions that tend to develop the intellectual and moral strength of the people, such as churches, schools, colleges, Sunday-schools, and public libraries".

His terrific indictment of the saloon men and the license law gave little comfort to his Sioux City enemies. With biting sarcasm he declared: "Note what good men liquor-sellers are required to be. The liquor-seller must be a good moral man; he

must give bonds that he will behave himself and keep a good place for the manufacture of drunkards, in a nice, pleasant, respectable manner; all mischief must be done according to law; the devil must be slicked up and made to appear very gentlemanly and agreeable, so that if people will keep his company they may not be offended by the sight of his horns and hoofs and the smell of sulphur; if people will take the downward track, let them go as easily as possible in a palace-car."

Nor was the fiery crusader alone in his opinion, for on January 14, 1886, Governor William Larabee branded the saloon as "the educational institution which takes no vacation or recess and where the lowest and most pernicious political doctrines are taught. Its thousands of graduates may be found in all positions of wretchedness and disgrace, and are the most successful candidates for our poorhouses and penitentiaries. It is the bank where money, time, strength, manliness, self-control and happiness are deposited to be lost, where drafts are drawn on the widows and orphans, and where dividends are paid only to his Satanic Majesty. Let it perish."

But his Master had decreed that George Haddock must first perish before the saloon would pass away in Sioux City. Had he not said to his wife, "When God's arm is removed, my work will

be done"? It was this sublime faith which formed the bulwark of that courage at which men marvelled.

On the night of August 3rd, he drove with Reverend C. C. Turner to a neighboring village to secure evidence against the liquor interests. On his return he had insisted upon taking Reverend Turner home first before putting up the horse at the livery stable. Observing a group of men on the street, he reëntered the stable and inquired if any one had asked for him. He was told that he had been wanted. Unarmed and unafraid, he went out into the street saying, "Well, I can take care of myself and them, too." The next moment a pistol shot rang out. Reverend Haddock was found dying in the gutter. He spoke no word, for before any one could reach him his lips were sealed by death.

Though ten men were eventually apprehended, the ringleader escaped conviction. Only a friendless henchman was sent to the penitentiary for being implicated in the "most dastardly and indefensible crime" ever committed in Sioux City.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

Comment by the Editor

HISTORY UNAPPLIED

Everybody has a tendency to think his own experience is typical. Circumstances are judged according to personal knowledge, for that is the main avenue of opinion. The blind see best by their own sense of touch, not by the vision of others. One who has never felt an earthquake is compelled to imagine the sensation in terms of the tremors caused by heavy trucks. If intoxication were a universal practice, there would be less disagreement about the liquor business.

As individuals must learn for themselves, so each generation determines the character of its own education. Past events are viewed in the light of present experience, and immediate needs constitute the motive for future action. To the extent that public policy reflects the composite attitude of a heterogeneous community, it is likely to be as vacillating as the diversity of local experience. Thus the cycle of reform appears to be a natural process. Such a perennial problem as liquor regulation runs the full gamut from anarchy to prohibition approximately three times in a century. Every generation seems to be obliged to learn the lessons of temperance directly.

There is no necessity for such an ordeal. If people were willing to accept the social and political contributions of their ancestors as readily as the achievements of scientific progress, they would not need to perform the experiment in person. History provides an inexhaustible reservoir of human experience which, truthfully recorded and widely disseminated, may be utilized as a valuable guide for future conduct. But the historian who would guide the thought and conduct of a community must present the facts in terms that people will believe, and reconcile the objects of public policy with the popular opinion of general welfare.

The whirligig of liquor regulation in Iowa demonstrates the difficulty of basing social control upon opinion that is founded on prejudice and limited observation. Such support is seldom firm and never enduring. Constant, aggressive, and honest instruction relating to conditions under various forms of liquor control might crystallize legislation in a more permanent form.

The facts are simple. Inebriety is individually and socially undesirable. To prevent the intemperate use of alcohol is to protect both the addict and the community. But such protection inevitably restricts the manufacture, sale, and distribution of liquor. Since some people make money

from the liquor traffic, they resist the curtailment of their business. Thus the problem is resolved into the familiar conflict between private profits and social welfare. The liquor interests, including bootleggers and racketeers, constitute the only faction that perpetually resists control, resorting to sophistry, deceit, and even violence in the fanaticism of their opposition. It is significant that regulation has been applied only to the traffic and not to the consumption of liquor. No form of regulation can satisfy all elements of the liquor interests, and anarchy is intolerable to society. If social welfare is to be the aim of liquor control, then the history of social endeavor is a better guide than the tentative judgment of the present generation.

J. E. B.

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