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THE ANDREA SYSTEM: DEFENDING BREWING INTERESTS AND CONSOLIDATING GERMAN-
AMERICAN POLITICAL POWER IN THE 1914 IOWA STATE ELECTIONS

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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HIST 3996: Honors Thesis

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Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Introduction 1

Components of the Andrae System and the Role of German-Americans 6

Implementation of the Andrae System in Iowa and German-American Involvement in Iowa’s
1914 Elections 14

Results of the Andrae System and the Decline of the Brewers/ German-American Organizations
..... 22

Conclusion 28

Appendix 31

Bibliography 35

Abstract

Scholars of Iowa history have identified prohibition as one of the state's most significant political issues from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Throughout the 1914 Iowa elections, the Iowa Brewers Association fervently worked to elect anti-prohibition candidates and prevent further "dry" legislation. The brewers, mostly German-Americans, followed a strict campaign plan devised by Percy Andreae, a Cincinnati brewer who successfully combatted prohibitionists in the 1908 Ohio state elections. Under Andreae's leadership, Iowa's German-Americans followed his "system", a campaign blueprint based on his efforts in Ohio. Beer was more than a drink to this immigrant group; it was an integral part of their social customs and a symbol of their culture overall. Using letters from the Iowa Brewers Association, the German American Alliance, Andreae's own letters, articles from Iowa newspapers, as well as supporting secondary material, this paper will examine the campaign strategies employed by the Iowa Brewers Association during the 1914 state elections and the degree of success its anti-prohibition campaign attained. The 1914 campaign is significant because it demonstrates the consolidation and influence of German-American political power on the eve of World War I.

Introduction

“The day is now about to dawn... when the phrase ‘The brewer in politics’ will no longer mean what it means today: a helpless begging for fairness and justice... it will mean... the intelligent marshalling... of sane and sober citizenship, and the legitimate assertion of the rights and privileges of that citizenship, not at the threshold of the political arena, but within it.”

-Percy Andreae, October 3, 1913

On October 3, 1913, Percy Andreae received prolonged applause at the conclusion of his speech to an executive session of the United States Brewers Association at the Shelburne Hotel in Atlantic City, New Jersey.¹ Earlier that day, the newly formed National Association of Commerce and Labor, organized under Andreae’s leadership, launched an ambitious crusade with one purpose: inspire and establish anti-prohibition political movements in states threatened by “dry” forces.² Although closely associated with the United States Brewers Association, a trade organization established in 1862 to further brewers’ interests, the National Association of Commerce and Labor (NACL) combined the financial support of multiple industries and organizations with interests in preventing prohibition.³ The name of the NACL was kept purposefully ambiguous to include its range of constituents which included laborers in the bottle making industry to hop and barley farmers to large distilling companies.⁴ The United States

¹ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary*, 65th Cong. 353-368 (1918-19) (Minutes of Oct. 3, 1913 Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association).

² *Ibid.* 379-399. (Minutes of Oct. 3, 1913 Meeting of the National Association of Commerce and Labor).

³ United States Brewers' Association, *Documentary History of the United States Brewers' Association: With a Sketch of Ancient Brewers' Guilds, Modern Brewers' Associations, Scientific Stations and Schools, Publications, Laws and Statistics Relating to Brewing throughout the World, Brewers in Public Life* (The Association, 1896), loc. 470 of 477, Google Books.

⁴ A ‘United States Department of Commerce and Labor’ existed at the time, and noting the similar names, Andreae declared “If it has a little taste of Governmental authority, why so much the better.” (*Brewing and Liquor Interests*

Brewers Association (USBA), was one of the many groups associated with the NACL and its largest financier.⁵

The USBA's initiative to place Andreae at the head of an anti-prohibition political effort originated after the 1908 Ohio state elections. Percy Andreae first became involved in the Cincinnati brewing industry after emigrating from England in the late nineteenth century. In 1908 he developed a system to secure the elections of candidates opposed to prohibition and led his fellow Ohio brewers in a successful campaign against state "drys".⁶ This feat attracted the attention of the national brewers' trade community. On May 1, 1913, the USBA signed Andreae to a contract guaranteeing five years of his services at \$40,000.⁷ Five months later his motivational speech at the Shelbourne Hotel rallied the brewers who were eager to see Andreae's strategies dismantle prohibition policies.

Andreae and the USBA commenced operations before the formation and financial backing of the NACL. In June of 1913, Iowa brewers sought Andreae's help, desperate to combat overwhelming dry legislation passed by the General Assembly. Powerful groups such as the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) supported this new legislation. By the time Andreae delivered his speech to the brewing executives, his workers had already begun surveying Iowa and compiling detailed reports. These reports would later enable him to adapt his system most effectively to the state. Andreae's system of

and German Propaganda, 395 (Minutes of Oct. 3 1913 Meeting of the National Association of Commerce and Labor); USBA Secretary Hugh Fox later called the unusual naming of the organization "sheer foolishness" (Ibid., 94. (testimony of Hugh F. Fox, secretary of the United States Brewers' Association)).

⁵ Ibid., (September 10, 1915 Executive Committee, National Association of Commerce and Labor Report).

⁶ Kerr, Austin, and Ohio State University Department of History. "'A Glimpse behind the Mask of Prohibition'." Prohibition. <https://prohibition.osu.edu/glimpse-behind-mask-prohibition>.

⁷ "It being the desire of the United States Brewers' Association and the undersigned brewing companies to encourage and support a national organization to oppose prohibition, the undersigned brewing companies of the United States of America hereby employ Mr. Percy Andreae to direct such national organization" (*Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1127 (May 1, 1913 Memorandum of USBA and Percy Andreae)).

strengthening brewers' political interests identified one group in particular as allies and critical to victory: the German-Americans.

Much historical work regarding German-American political involvement focuses primarily on the nineteenth century or on cultural rather than political involvement. Historian Donald A. DeBats, points out that some works emphasize "the distinctly restrained nature of German political participation."⁸ Of publications that do acknowledge a German-American political force, the group's interests are often assigned to mere popular party politics, broadly presenting German-Americans as Democratic Party supporters because of the party's positions, including opposing prohibition. According to Thomas G. Welksopp "German-Americans were just one of the many ethnic groups who shifted their support towards Democratic politicians in large numbers as an act of opposition to Prohibition." Iowa historian Dorothy Schweider's work does not challenge this notion, simply stating "The issue of Prohibition generally pitted Democrats against Republicans..." and that "German-Americans...were among the strongest foes of the dry forces."⁹ Thus, the German-American political role is reduced to mere partisan politics and lost in the wider context of active participation and influence of campaign outcomes. Iowa historian Thomas G. Ryan agrees that partisan loyalties may have been evident in nineteenth century prohibition politics. However, limited analysis of early 1900's state prohibition leaves room to explore how the German-American political role may have evolved in the new century beyond the threshold of the political arena, as stated by Andreae, to within its core.¹⁰

⁸ Donald A. DeBats, "German and Irish Political Engagement: The Politics of Cultural Diversity in an Industrial Age," in *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin, 2004): 173.

⁹ Dorothy Schweider, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Iowa: Iowa State Press, 1996), 212-214.

¹⁰ Thomas G. Ryan, "Supporters and Opponents of Prohibition," *Annals of Iowa* 46, no. 7 (Winter 1983), 513.

Comprehending the context of both German-American cultural presence and political strength in the years prior to 1917 is necessary to fully understand the impact of later events, such as World War I, on the community. Although the Andrae System's non-partisan structure addressed a myriad of prohibition political factors, each aspect of the plan addressed the importance of aligning with German-Americans to some degree. The Iowa Brewers Association's adaptation of the system to the 1914 state elections campaign demonstrated the extensive role taken by German-American leaders to protect the interests of their culture in the political sphere. Later, the methods utilized by the brewers and German-American leaders would be rendered ineffective by factors associated with the outbreak of World War I. In contrast to works referenced by DeBats which de-emphasize German-American political presence, as well as 1800s-centric publications that address the topic, this paper explores direct actions undertaken by German-Americans to preserve their culture within the setting of early twentieth century prohibition politics. It also serves to portray German-American support apart from party agenda, revealing a greater alignment with interest group politics than generally identified by Welksopp and Schweider, thus supporting Ryan's observance of the immigrant groups' changing political roles. The role Iowa German-Americans played in the state's 1914 elections demonstrated their active participation and influence in the campaigns, showing the group's utilization of the Andrae System's strategies to preserve their culture and values in the political arena.

Alcohol, especially beer, played a considerable role in ethnic German culture. To Andrae, states such as Iowa with substantial German-American populations would have represented a potential block of allies in his campaign against prohibition. The 1910 census recorded 360,005 residents born in Germany or whose parents were German-born amongst Iowa's total population

of 2,224,771.¹¹ Of the counties containing the twenty highest German-American* populations, fifteen held legal liquor establishments between 1910-1913 with Scott County accommodating both the largest German-American population and the most saloons in the state. During this period, only one county amongst the twenty lowest German-American populations hosted legalized saloons.¹² However, a more significant example of the relationship between German-American culture and alcohol than the saloon were beer gardens. Central in many German-American communities, beer gardens functioned as a space to enjoy family, community, and tradition. An establishment brought directly from Germany, the “gardens” were social halls which served food and beer, and offered entertainment.¹³ Unlike the male-centered, Anglo-Irish saloons, the beer garden welcomed all members of German families. Rather than at a saloon bar, patrons sat at long tables to socialize in the tradition of the Continental Sunday, or a Sabbath spent in relaxation and recreation as opposed to the restraint imposed by quiet “Puritan Sundays” spent in religious reflection.¹⁴ To some German-Americans beer not only held cultural significance, but economic importance as well. Ethnic Germans dominated the United States’ brewing industry. Percy Andreae himself held German ties, and embraced the ethnic and cultural importance of the brewing industry.¹⁵

¹¹ United States, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, E. Dana Durand, Director, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Bulletin, Population: Iowa, Composition and Characteristics of the Population*, comp. WM C. Hunt (Washington, D.C., 1910): 3.

*German-American in this case includes the census categories “Foreign-Born White: Born in—Germany” and “Native White: Both parents born in—Germany”.

¹² See Figure 2.

¹³ Thomas Welskopp, “Prohibition in the United States: The German-American Experience, 1919-1933,” *Bulletin of the GHI*, no. 53 (Fall 2013): 33.

¹⁴ Schwieder, 96.

¹⁵ “Foe Propaganda Laid To Hexamer,” *The Christian Science Monitor* (Western Bureau), July 15, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Christian Science Monitor.

Facing an increasingly powerful prohibition movement, German-Iowans defended beer as a symbol of their culture in the political sphere.¹⁶ An 1891 Davenport *Morning Star* article described the group's dedication to the issue. "Agreeing with the Republican party in everything else, thousands of German American citizens and voters in Iowa left the party when it adopted prohibition. This single issue has since kept them in the Democratic ranks."¹⁷ Their strength of opposition carried into the twentieth century. In 1908 The Cedar Falls *Gazette* reported the Iowa German-American Alliance writing to Congress in opposition to national prohibition legislation. "As German-American citizens of this country... we are bitterly opposed to the passage of any law that destroys our rights of personal liberty; and for the protection of those rights we stand united as one body."¹⁸

Components of the Andreae System and the Role of German-Americans

Adapting the "Andreae System" to different states required meeting the specific needs of those states and the state brewers' associations implementing the campaigns. However, three basic elements united the system. First, campaigns began with an extensive survey of state counties. The information on political atmosphere gathered in these surveys defined the rest of the campaign through subsequent division of strategy on a community level. Percy Andreae and his organization also composed and disseminated various anti-prohibition media throughout the states. This "educational" aspect of the campaign intended to influence positive perception of the brewing industry through newspaper articles, books, pamphlets, and other mediums. The

¹⁶ According to Schwieder, "Though Germans expressed interest in a wide variety of political issues, they focused their greatest attention on Prohibition." (Schwieder, 95).

¹⁷ "Ohio Germans are in favor..." Davenport *Weekly Tribune*, September 30, 1891.; Clark noted the Republican adoption of prohibition having occurred in 1879. (Dan Elbert Clark, "Recent Liquor Legislation in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 15, no. 1 (January 1917), August 7, 2007: 44).

¹⁸ "Germans Make Protest," *The Cedar Falls Gazette* (Cedar Falls), February 21, 1908, Newspapers.com.

third component of the Andrae System included heavy reliance on the “foreign language element” of citizenship, specifically the German-Americans. Andrae’s National Association of Commerce and Labor’s (NACL) alliance with German-American organizations such as the German-American Alliance (GAA) allowed the brewers to politicize community cultural groups for their cause. This three-pronged approach provided a broad strategic template for each state to follow while allowing for brewers’ flexibility on a local level.

Before Andrae outlined a precise plan of action for state brewers to implement he required comprehensive surveys of both candidates and the county voting populations. According to his organization the surveys were meant to “ascertain actual conditions existing in the State.”¹⁹ Workers sent to potential campaign states conducted the evaluations and noted anything that might be pertinent.

One candidate questionnaire provided detailed background information to determine concordance with the brewers’ cause. The question most relevant to the Andrae campaign’s interests on the twenty-three-item survey was number twelve: “Is candidate known as a liberal or dry man?” This established the candidates’ status as potential ally or adversary on the prohibition issue. Other questions established political party membership, if the candidate possessed previous experience running for political office, if so, where the candidate ran for office, and the results of any previous campaign. While many Republicans tended to support prohibition, the NACL and its associates were prepared to embrace any neutral or supportive candidate over any outright opponent, regardless of party. In some cases, the NACL workers even noted Democratic candidates as prohibition advocates to avoid.²⁰ The surveyor additionally

¹⁹*Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 458 (Nov. 14, 1914 NACL report by Hartley and Gibson to Andrae).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 924-925 (Henry Thuenen’s report on 1914 Iowa primaries to Percy Andrae).

determined the marital status of candidates. While this may seem like an insignificant part of a background profile, the question following marital status on the survey revealed its political purpose: “If married, does wife exercise any undue influence in regard to his business or political affairs?”²¹ The beginning of the twentieth century saw women garnering support for suffrage. The increasingly politicized populace of women typically was staunchly prohibitionist. The group interpreted alcohol as a familial issue within their rights as women to oppose. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union, a progressive reform organization whose mission to protect family life in the private sphere by “[expanding] women’s influence in the public sphere”, began in 1874 and became the most powerful women’s political group in the early twentieth century. The group established state and local chapters to advance reforms for the protection of “family virtue.” The WCTU identified male drunkenness a threat to domestic stability and prohibition as their most imperative reform.²² Andreae’s surveys measured the danger of male candidates giving too much credence to a wife in political opposition to the NACL. Women’s rights and temperance both contributed to the “mosaic of reforms” associated with early 20th century Progressivism in the United States.²³

Question twenty on the NACL surveys recorded the candidate’s religious activity.²⁴ The influence of American Protestantism on the Progressive reform movement connected temperance with Protestant “moral idealism.”²³ Protestant “pietist” denominations “[deemphasized] dogma and ritual” and prioritized daily individual action in society. Pietist church members such as Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Disciples of Christ formed the ranks

²¹ Ibid., 1267-1268 (NACL sample candidate surveys).

²² Lisa MacGirr, *The war on alcohol: prohibition and the rise of the American state* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016): 9.

²³ Sabine N. Meyer, *We are what we drink: the temperance battle in Minnesota* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2018): 125.

²⁴ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1264. (NACL sample surveys).

of prohibition groups like the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League.²⁵ The ASL was formed in 1893 by Protestant clergymen and advanced their political defense of civic morality through Protestant congregations, capturing the dominant religious culture in the United States.²⁶ A more likely ally to the NACL's cause included "liturgical" denominations which stressed "sacraments and rituals of their faiths" to maintain a relationship with God. This included Roman Catholics, German Lutherans, and Episcopalians.²⁶

In addition to the candidate surveys, county surveys sought to gather similarly pertinent information about the voting populations and communities. Questionnaires asked for straightforward information such as "How many saloons in county?", "What is sentiment in county on liquor question?", "What part has liquor question played in county or city elections for five years last past and what was result?", as well as background information on county party leaders and local newspaper politics. Question twenty on a survey identified the dominating religion within a county. Most of the county questions showed interest in local organizations beyond political parties. Several questions inquired about local fraternal societies and whether they were involved in politics. Andreae viewed the working class as a strong potential ally, considering that saloons were gathering places for laborers. The NACL surveyors additionally investigated the presence of unions or labor organizations throughout the county.²⁷

The "educational" aspect of Andreae's system intended to justify the existence of alcohol industries and project a more favorable anti-prohibitionist image through a range of media outlets, including speeches, books, magazines, newspapers, and even a play.²⁸ The arguments made through this media frequently revolved around a defense of "personal liberty." Personal

²⁵ Schwieder, 215.

²⁶ MacGirr, 10.; Schweider, 215.

²⁷ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1264-1265 (NACL sample county survey).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1075-76 (Minutes of an Oct. 15, 1915 Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association)

liberty, a sentiment associated with the “liberal-minded” since the late nineteenth century, delineated a system in which the government held little power and adopted a laissez faire approach to the everyday lives of citizens.²⁹ Such an approach would allow the continuance of alcohol purchase and consumption at the citizen’s discretion.

In addition to presenting a number of speeches to audiences across the country, Percy Andrae compiled and published a book of those speeches for his organization to disseminate throughout the country’s libraries.³⁰ Speeches such as “A Glimpse Behind the Mask of Prohibition”, “Some Reflections on the Moral Aspects of Prohibition”, “The Brewer and the Retail Liquor Traffic”, “Truth from a Brewer’s Standpoint” “Political and Personal Liberty”, and “Personal Liberty” criticized Protestant religious groups for incurring their beliefs on the personal liberty of their neighbors, especially the brewing industry.³¹ Andrae made a “distinction between the advocacy of temperance and the advocacy of prohibition. Temperance and self-control are convertible terms. Prohibition, or that which it implies, is the direct negation of the term self-control. In order to save the small percentage of men who are too weak to resist their animal desires, it aims to put chains on every man, the weak and the strong alike.”³² Another medium through which he expressed the negative results of “chaining” such personal liberties included a play called “The Passing of Hans Dippel.” “The Passing of Hans Dippel” depicted “the story of a German saloon-keeper of the highest respectability being gradually ruined by the dry movement and his business destroyed without compensation” and ran for two months in eight cities in Ohio and Missouri.³⁰

²⁹ Meyer, 55.

³⁰ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1185 (Minutes of an Oct. 15, 1915 Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association).

³¹ Percy Andrae, *The Prohibition movement in its broader bearings upon our social, commercial and religious liberties: addresses and writings* (Chicago, IL: F. Mendelsohn, 1915).

³² *Ibid.*, 15.

Andreae relied on the news press, particularly the “foreign language” news press, to educate state campaign populations. Question thirty-nine on the county survey inquired after “newspapers in county, their politics and attitude on liquor question.” He cited the “foreign citizen” population, or immigrant communities, as “the best, the strongest, and the staunchest friends our industry possesses in this country.” According to the 1910 United State census, the total “foreign born” population of the United States included 13,515,886 people.³³ Many in the larger immigrant population were likely reject prohibition as alcohol played a role in their daily customs and community celebrations.³⁴ To best cultivate this potential voting core, Andreae joined forces with Louis Hammerling, the President of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers and paid the organization \$2,250 per month for translators, stenographers, and other publishing expenses.³⁵ By the end of the 1914 election cycle, Andreae and his organization were printing articles in 683 newspapers.³⁶ He explained the influence of this media outlet in an October 1915 report to the USBA “The press, especially the foreign language press, is practically in the hands of the leader of the foreign language element where that element exists— priests, rabbis, political and social leaders of these people are the men who control the press and those are the men who are seen, those are the men who lead wherever campaigns are on...”³⁷

While aiming their message at the wider foreign language press, Andreae and his organization were specifically aware of the potential German-American force in campaign states. In 1910, Germans represented the largest immigrant group in the United States, the census

³³ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Country of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population, 1910* (United States, 781 December 2007).

³⁴ MacGirr, 14.

³⁵ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 483 (Nov. 8, 1915 letter from Andreae to Hammerling).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 456 (Nov. 14, 1914 NACL report by Hartley and Gibson to Andreae).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1194 (Minutes of an Oct. 15, 1915 Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association).

recorded 2,501,333 German-born members of the “foreign population.”³⁸ In a March 1914 letter to the President of the National German-American Alliance, Dr. C.J. Hexamer, Andreae identified the German-American press as the “first and foremost in the field.”³⁹ Andreae claimed to be publishing personal liberty articles in over three hundred German newspapers across the country.⁴⁰ The surveys conducted by NACL workers singled out the immigrant group as well. More than any other group, the county survey previously discussed specifically recorded the presence of German-Americans. Questions included “German population?”, “Membership of Turners?”, “Membership of German-American Alliance?”, “Officers of German-American Alliance?”, “Names and addresses of most prominent Germans in county?” Population analysis indicated a potential voting base in the county, while the Turners and the GAA were German-American societies that identified the level of German-American activity and organization within communities. Leaders within the German-American community provided contacts for the campaign organizers.⁴¹

The German-American Alliance played a direct and fundamental role in the implementation of The Andreae System. According to Andreae in a 1915 report to the USBA, the German-American Alliance feature of campaigns “goes hand in hand with the survey and general education work, and if increased will be of exceedingly great value.”⁴² In late 1913 Joseph Keller, vice-president of the National GAA and president of the Indiana branch GAA agreed to partner with Andreae’s organization.⁴³ The resources provided by the GAA for the

³⁸ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Country of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population, 1910* (United States, 784 December 2007). The next largest immigrant group came from Russia and counted at 1,602,782.

³⁹ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 907 (March 14, 1914 letter from Andreae to Hexamer).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1254 (Oct. 9, 1914 Andreae report to the USBA).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1267 (NACL sample surveys).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1255 (Oct. 9, 1914 Andreae report to the USBA).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 839 (October 27, 1913 letter from Andreae to Keller).

state campaigns included workers from the Indianapolis GAA branch. The GAA workers were tasked with strengthening German organization throughout a campaign state, any expenses covered by the NACL. This included, as Andreae stated in a 1915 report to the USBA, “forming new [GAA] branches and [German-American] societies and instilling new life into old branches.”⁴⁴ The GAA representatives established contact with prominent figures in German-American communities during their state tours. Keller emphasized the need to connect specifically with religious leaders, such as priests in German Catholic churches to relay the NACL’s mission to congregants. Keller’s instruction to personally contact local German-American religious leaders fell in line with Andreae’s overall “foreign element” strategy, as “in a great many cases the leaders are the spiritual advisers...”³⁷

The Andreae System concentrated on strengthening allies of the brewers and “enabling them to vote for the man who favors their cause.”⁴⁵ Once the survey data was evaluated, lists of approved candidates were distributed to the allied groups. The foreign language population, specifically German-American groups played an active role in the Andreae System’s campaigns, building up and mobilizing their communities to defend an integral part of their culture. By late 1915 the Andreae System developed “A compilation of the population of the United State of foreign origin or extraction by states and cities, with their actual voting strength, and the location of the foreign language newspapers... ready to be placed in the hands of campaign managers, wherever elections may be called.”⁴⁶ In the height of the Andreae System’s use, leaders of several state brewers’ associations called upon the system and became campaign managers to

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1252 (Oct. 9, 1914 Andreae report to the USBA).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 355 (Minutes of Oct. 3, 1913 Executive Session of the United States Brewers' Association)

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1185 (Oct. 9, 1914 Andreae report to the USBA).

defend their industry against, as Iowa brewers feared, “complete annihilation” by prohibition politics.⁴⁷

Implementation of the Andreae System in Iowa and German-American Involvement in Iowa’s 1914 Elections

Following the Iowa brewers’ June 1913 request seeking Percy Andreae’s aid in the upcoming 1914 elections, Andreae sent his survey men into the state to gather data on the nuances of Iowa prohibition politics and relevant county/candidate information. The previous five years of state legislation enforced increasingly restrictive laws on Iowa liquor traffic. In 1917, Iowa historian Dan Elbert Clark described the state liquor interests as being “crowded to the wall” in the years leading up to 1913.⁴⁸ The survey men sent by Andreae recorded perception of the “Mulct law”, Iowa’s prevailing prohibition law. Iowa had technically been dry since 1884 after the General Assembly passed a state-wide prohibition law. However, an 1894 loophole commonly called “the Mulct Law” allowed for the legal violation of the 1884 prohibition law “upon the consent of a certain percent of the people of a given community and the payment of a certain sum of money.”⁴⁹ Between 1910-1913, at least thirty of Iowa’s ninety-nine counties allowed alcohol sales under the Mulct Law in certain communities.⁵⁰ The Andreae

⁴⁷ Ibid., 458 (Nov. 14, 1914 NACL report by Hartley and Gibson to Andreae).

⁴⁸ Dan Elbert Clark, "Recent Liquor Legislation in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 15, no. 1 (January 1917), August 7, 2007: 56.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 46; Additionally, “the legalized saloon was prohibited from selling liquor to minors and drunkards, and from selling liquor on Sundays and holidays.” (George Cosson, "The Cosson Laws," *The Annals of Iowa* 30, no. 3 (Winter 1950): 160); Schweider refers to the Mulct Law as “one of the strangest laws in Iowa history.” (Schweider, 216).

⁵⁰ Ernest Hurst Cherrington, *The Anti-saloon League yearbook* (Westerville, OH: The Anti-Saloon League of America, 1910), 50.; Ernest Hurst Cherrington, *The Anti-saloon League yearbook* (Westerville, OH: The Anti-Saloon League of America, 1910), 96-97.

System's survey recorded "Vote On Prohibition in County. Yes__ No__", providing an account of "wet" and "dry" communities.⁴¹

County/candidate surveys also provided a record of opposing prohibitionists and their actions throughout the state.⁵¹ Iowa prohibitionists such as George Cosson, a politician elected to the Audubon-Guthrie-Dallas senatorial district seat in 1909, desired not only stricter enforcement of the Mulct Law, but a more absolute prohibition.⁵² Cosson described Iowa as "dry, but dry in name only and in the sense that there the Mulct law was not in operation."⁵³ Strong prohibition forces existed in the state including the ASL and the WCTU. The WCTU operated over two hundred and fifty local chapters across all ninety-nine Iowa counties by the 1910s.⁵⁴ With the backing of these forces, Cosson and other dry politicians introduced a frenzy of prohibition legislation to the General Assembly. In 1909 alone, at least five of the prohibition laws passed were introduced by Cosson himself and later dubbed the "Cosson Laws".⁵⁵ Generally, these new laws resulted in harsher enforcement of the Mulct Law. Some further restricted legal liquor businesses. One of such laws barred alcohol manufacturers, like brewers, from holding any form of ownership in saloons or other retail liquor ventures.⁵⁶ This dry fervor only continued; in the following two years, twenty additional bills were introduced by the next General Assembly.⁵⁷

⁵¹ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1256-1269. (NACL sample surveys).

⁵² George Cosson, "The Cosson Laws," *The Annals of Iowa* 30, no. 3 (Winter 1950):165-166.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁵⁴ Ida Belle Wise Smith and Etta B. Hurford, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa Annual Convention Proceedings, 1911-1914, 1913, MS IWA0751, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa records, University of Iowa Women's Archives. 135-163.

⁵⁵ Cosson., 166-168.

⁵⁶ Another piece of legislation, the "Moon Law, confined saloon authorization to one saloon for every thousand city residents. This greatly reduced the legal saloons in river cities such as Dubuque and Davenport. (Clark, 48-49); In comparison, Lewis cites a national figure of one saloon for every 300 city dwellers. (Michael Lewis, "Access to Saloons, Wet Voter Turnout, and Statewide Prohibition Referenda, 1907-1919," *Social Science History* 32, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 377); Following this drive Governor Carroll declared in 1911 that "the liquor laws of the state are better enforced today than they have been at any time in recent years." (Clark, 50).

⁵⁷ Clark, 53.

Under these conditions, Iowa brewers feared “annihilation” following the 1914 elections and agreed to follow precisely each aspect of the system Andreae presented. The regional Iowa Brewers Association especially embraced the role of the German-American Alliance throughout the entire campaign, a role which became quite extensive. As Andreae anticipated, leaders of the German-American communities played an integral role in mobilizing the ethnic German population of Iowa to vote for preferred candidates in the 1914 general elections.

The Iowa Brewers Association recognized the strength of the state’s ethnic German population in relation to their anti-prohibition cause and considered them essential allies in the 1914 campaign. The Iowa Brewers Association itself was headquartered in the Scott County city of Davenport.⁵⁸ Davenport had a history of its German-Americans opposing state prohibition politics. In 1907, 2,000 German-American Alliance members, and allied societies, protested an “attempt to put the Davenport saloons under the Iowa mulct law.” Repeated stances included “Sane laws we will uphold, but insane restrictions we will fight” and “Davenport is not the place for tyrannical Sunday laws.”⁵⁹ Even before the 1914 general election campaigns, the IBA contributed \$3,000-\$4,000 annually to the Iowa German-American Alliance.⁶⁰ In January 1914, Henry Thuenen, General Counsel and campaign manager for the IBA, requested Andreae implement the German-American aspect of his system at the close of the state survey process. “It is getting high time for a start to be made with the German-American Alliance in this state...” Thuenen laid out the initial role of the GAA. “All that would be necessary at this time, would be to perfect [German] organizations, and to urge upon each organization the necessity of unity of

⁵⁸ *The Year Book of the United States Brewers' Association* (New York, NY: The United States Brewers' Association, 1913), March 19, 2010. 267.

⁵⁹ "Anti-Mulct Parade," *Evening Times-Republican* (Marshalltown), August 16, 1907, Newspapers.com.

⁶⁰ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 842 (February 6, 1914 letter from Keller to Andreae).

action so that when we get word to them as to who should have support on the different tickets for the nomination, we can wield some influence in favor of our candidate.”⁶¹

By January 1914, Andreae was already in contact with Joseph Keller of the Indiana and National GAA, mapping out an Iowa campaign for the German-Americans.⁶² According to two of Andreae’s NACL workers, this campaign would “awaken the Germans to a realization of the detriments that state-wide prohibition would bring to Iowa.”⁶³ Keller emphasized the essentiality of involving the Iowa GAA in this plan. In a February 1914 letter to Andreae he stated, “it is absolutely necessary that I have the help and good will of the Iowa organization, if our work should prove a success.” Early that February, the national GAA formally contacted the Iowa GAA President, Dr. E.L. Durand, and brought the organization into the operation. Keller assured Durand the Iowa GAA would be financially “taken care of” by the NACL.⁶⁴ Throughout the course of the 1914 campaign, Andreae’s organization supplied the Iowa GAA \$5,100 and contributed \$35,633.41 to the national GAA.⁶⁴

With the backing of the brewers and the NACL, the German-American Alliance worked to fulfill its role within the Andreae System of unifying German-American communities in Iowa to vote against prohibitionist candidates in the upcoming elections. Many German-American societies existed throughout Iowa. German-Iowan communities started building cultural organizations during first major waves of immigration in the mid-1800s. Popular organizations including Turnvereins, or Turners societies, hosted social events and gymnastics exhibitions.⁶⁵

By 1903 Iowa branches of the German-American Alliance, sometimes called the German-

⁶¹ Ibid., 911 (January 27, 1914 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).

⁶² Ibid., 840-841 (January 2, 1914 letter from Keller to Andreae).

⁶³ Ibid., 459 (Nov. 14, 1914 NACL report by Hartley and Gibson to Andreae).

⁶⁴ Ibid., 870 (NACL Resume for the year 1914).

Ibid., 932 (NACL Receipts and disbursements from date of organization to 30 June 1915).

⁶⁵ Schweider 94-95.

American League, emerged throughout the state and became a more political outlet for German cultural concerns.⁶⁶ According to the Marshalltown *Evening Times-Republican*, the Iowa GAA boasted over 80,000 members across the state.⁶⁷ Smaller local German-American groups existed as well, including religious congregations. Durand's strategy to bring the members of German-Iowan organizations together was to "perfect a district or congressional organization, putting one man in each district..." Keller agreed with this plan and employed GAA member P.J. Barth to monitor this process and personally contact German-American communities throughout Iowa.⁶⁸ In 1914, Barth made at least three trips across Iowa, visiting over 35 towns.

In accordance with Keller and Andreae's strategy, Barth recruited German religious leaders to support the anti-prohibition cause. Barth wrote to Keller from Burlington, his first stop, reporting that he "[spoke] with German Catholics, and told them of my work and desires so that I am convinced that through a bit of small work the German Cath. element will stand well in the in the affair referred to. I will sometime give you the officers of the various Catholic societies in a complete list."⁶⁸ As described by one NACL report, Barth's connections with Iowa's German religious leaders "[resulted] in the enlistment of the liberal clergy throughout the State in an aggressive campaign against the fanatical dry element..."⁶³ Indeed, many of the religious leaders Barth spoke with agreed to urge their congregations to vote for "wet" candidates in the general elections that November. Following a visit to Gilbertsville, Barth reported to Keller that Father J. Nemers of a local congregation would "exhort his people energetically." Father Gerlemann, Father Bies, and Father J. Dupont, German Catholic priests of Granville, Bellevue, and Haverhill respectively, also supported the cause and promised Barth to

⁶⁶ Charles Thomas. Johnson, *Culture at twilight: the National German-American alliance, 1901-1918*, vol. 20, New German-American Studies (New York, NY: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 1999): 18-19.

⁶⁷ "Fort Dodge," *Evening Times-Republican* (Marshalltown), February 24, 1914, Newspapers.com.

⁶⁸ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1292 (February 8, 1914 letter from Barth to Keller).

encourage their people to vote.⁶⁹ As predicted by Keller, these leaders could have extensive influence over local communities. A 1910 account of a Jackson County resident estimated Fr. Bies' congregation to about 1,200 members.⁷⁰ His work on Jackson County cites Bellevue's total population to have been 1,686 in 1905.⁷¹ Such influence would be necessary for the GAA to fulfill their position in the Andreae System.

Many 1914 gatherings of the Iowa GAA became platforms to advocate anti-prohibition and unify state Germans-Americans for the cause. On his first circuit of Iowa in February, Barth attended a state Iowa GAA meeting in Fort Dodge, Iowa with Durand. The Marshalltown *Times-Republican* reported that "One hundred fifty delegates, representing various German alliances of the state, attended the three day session of the German State Alliance of Iowa..."⁶⁷ Here Barth presented the brewers' and GAA's campaign goals.⁷² Keller gained a similar opportunity in late March at an executive session of the Iowa GAA in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He outlined the results of the campaign work up to that point and observed that "every man understands the gravity of the situation, and will do his utmost in his district to line up his men for the coming election."⁷³ Outside of the campaign workers, the republican mayor of Davenport, Alfred C. Mueller, denounced prohibition at a May German-American Alliance festival by exhorting, "I will refuse to vote for any prohibitionist, no matter if he is on the republican ticket. More than that I will not work for anybody of prohibition principles."⁷⁴ Mueller was not the only political figure to speak at German events. Maurice Connolly, the candidate supported by the brewers and GAA for U.S. Senator, was invited to speak at the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 1298 (October 18, 1914 letter from Barth to Keller).

⁷⁰ James Whitcomb Ellis, *History of Jackson County, Iowa*, vol. 2 (IA: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1910). 37.

⁷¹ Ibid., vol.1, 66.

⁷² *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*. 1293-1294 (February 22, 1914 letter from Barth to Keller).

⁷³ Ibid., 844 (March 27, 1914 letter from Keller to Andreae).

⁷⁴ "Fort Dodge," *Marble Rock Journal* (Marble Rock), May 13, 1914, Newspapers.com.

September Cedar Rapids Saengerfest, where he “referred briefly to the political situation and praised the Germans.” Dr. Durand followed Connolly’s address, “[responding] on the behalf of the visiting societies.”⁷⁵ Amidst cultural celebration the Iowa GAA also promoted political protection of culture through the 1914 campaign.

The contacts forged by the GAA in Iowa proved useful in multiple aspects of the Andreae System campaign. Keller and Durand busied themselves with “education work.” Once the Iowa GAA was brought into the campaign, Keller sent “literature to every city, town and hamlet in Iowa.” After attending the Iowa GAA conference in Cedar Rapids, Keller used his contacts to “call on five of the most prominent German Newspapers... and will from time to time write articles for them.” Durand, too, involved himself in the German language press work, editing German articles for an Iowa GAA newspaper. However, the candidate lists procured from data collected in county surveys were perhaps most important to achieving the system’s goal of “enabling [allies] to vote for the man who favors their cause.”⁴⁵ The IBA and Iowa GAA worked in tandem to compile a complete list by May 18, in time for the state primaries on the first of June. Thuenen reported to Andreae, “I am enclosing herewith lists of candidates which are to be supported by the German-American Alliance. These lists were agreed upon by Dr. Durand and Mr. Miller (of Waterloo) over a week ago... It was understood that I was to send them to you and then you would in turn send them to Mr. Keller.”⁷⁶ Circulars with the candidate names supported by the Iowa GAA were disseminated throughout the state. Such pamphlets read, “ATTENTION: The German-American League of Iowa, after careful investigation,

⁷⁵ “Host of Singers Welcomed Here for Saengerfest,” Cedar Rapids *Evening Gazette*, September 10, 1914, Newspapers.com.

⁷⁶ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, 914 (May 18, 1914 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).

indorses and recommends the following Candidates for State Officers.”⁷⁷ Through this work, the IBA and the GAA utilized all three aspects of the Andreae System.

Efforts made to rally German-Americans to the anti-prohibitionist cause did not go unnoticed by Iowa prohibitionists. Following the release of the candidate-support circulars, a prohibitionist article appeared in the Marshalltown *Evening Times-Republican*. The article accused the Iowa GAA of “not fairly represent[ing] the German-Americans of the state. It is the organization of the saloons and breweries... and hides itself with a respectable name. The [circular] shows how thoroughly this gang goes into politics...”⁷⁸ The Iowa WCTU saw opportunity for their own cause amongst ethnic Germans. In 1914 the group launched their first organized effort to “sow broad and deep the seed of Temperance and Christian Citizenship among our foreign-speaking people...” According to the Iowa WCTU’s forty-second annual report, the organization recruited religious leaders in non-English churches to “distribute literature among those of their language...”, the same strategy as employed by Barth. When met with members of foreign-language communities “known to be intemperate”, the WCTU sent them literature anonymously.⁷⁹

The 1914 application of the Andrea System in Iowa by the NACL and IBA required partnership with the national GAA and the Iowa GAA. The GAA organizations became essential in recruiting ethnic German community leaders, particularly religious leaders, to promote the anti-prohibition cause to their congregations. At GAA meetings and through disseminated official GAA media, anti-prohibitionist candidates were promoted by the

⁷⁷ See Image 3.

⁷⁸ "That German League," *Evening Times-Republican* (Marshalltown), October 3, 1914, Newspapers.com

⁷⁹ Ida Belle Wise Smith and Etta B. Hurford, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa Annual Convention Proceedings, 1911-1914, 1914, MS IWA0751, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa records, Iowa Women's Archives, The University of Iowa Libraries. 136.

organization. In the face of rapidly expanding prohibition law, the Iowa brewers relied on the state's ethnic German population to turn the tide at the 1914 general elections.

Results of the Andreae System and the Decline of the Brewers/ German-American Organizations

At first the Iowa brewers believed the outcome the 1914 general elections were favorable to their cause. However, in the few years that followed the campaign, Iowa brewers and German-Americans alike experienced decline in political power. Unfavorable legislation financially impaired brewery owners, while World War I split the attention of German-Americans in defending their culture. War time anti-German sentiment in Iowa saw destruction of methods used by Andreae System to consolidate German-American political influence. Additionally, the link between brewers and German culture led to suspicion by proximity and ultimate denunciation of the campaign efforts in 1914.

The 1914 results of the June 1 primaries and the November 3 Iowa general elections were initially interpreted as a success by campaign workers. Following the primaries, Henry Thuenen summed the outcomes to Andreae: "This being the first time that the so-called Andreae system of organization was put into practice in Iowa, I feel that you are to be congratulated upon the results obtained in this state."⁸⁰ Most of the favored candidates for "big state" offices won their party nominations, including U.S. Senator Connolly, and the only "great disappointment" for the general assembly nominations from Polk county.⁸¹ According to the end-of-year NACL report, "the result of the primary election in Iowa is said to have been equaled in the general election

⁸⁰ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, 924-925 (June 8, 1914 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 924-925 (June 8, 1914 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).; *Ibid.*, 997-999 (June 5, 1914 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).

held in that State November 3rd.” The same report asserted “The German-American Alliance made a strong and effective ally in the [Iowa] fight.”⁸²

Although the thirty-sixth General Assembly, convened in January 1915, at first blocked new prohibition legislation, Iowa “drys” continued their strong offensive throughout the session. Dan Elbert Clark cited that at least thirty-six “liquor bills” were brought to the Senate and seven in the House.⁸² Despite the work of the brewers and the GAA, most of the Mulct Law was repealed by the time the General Assembly adjourned in April. All breweries, distilleries, and saloons were scheduled to close by January 1, 1916. According to Thuenen in a letter to Andreae “the “drys” seemed to have had a taste of blood”. Thuenen attributed the failure to betrayal by several holdover members in the Senate, who had not been up for re-election, as well as disloyalty from two senators who the Andreae System supported in 1914.⁸³

Following the Mulct Law’s repeal, anti-prohibitionist forces in Iowa attempted to continue their drive to protect liquor interests in the state. Thuenen immediately formed a reactionary plan which he proposed to August A. Busch, President of Anheuser-Busch in St. Louis. His plan required continued financial support from the Anheuser Busch organization as well as other executive members of the USBA. Thuenen’s strategy involved blocking two proposed amendments to Iowa’s state constitution. An amendment allowing women’s suffrage was set to appear on the June 1916 primary ballots. Thuenen also anticipated prohibitionists pushing an amendment which would add the complete state-wide prohibition to the constitution. Thuenen proposed that if a campaign opposing women’s votes could successfully block suffrage in 1916, anti-prohibitionists would have the opportunity to additionally block constitutional

⁸² Clark., 57.

⁸³ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, 1013 (April 9, 1915 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).

prohibition, allowing future legislatures to “at any session repeal the prohibitory law...”⁸⁴

Thuenen himself continued his support of the Andreae System, writing “In [the IBA’s] opinion the Andreae organization could be, and would be, the most effective in this work.”⁸⁵

German-American leaders also expressed readiness to continue their work in defending German culture in politics. Durand continued reporting to Keller his work in building up the Iowa GAA and promoting anti-prohibition.⁸⁶ A Lutheran pastor, Otto Wappler, wrote to Keller in December 1915 on behalf of the Wartburg Pastoral Conference declaring, “Until now our activity as reformers has been limited to the quiet precincts of the Church and the small circle of the congregation. From now on we desire to help in carrying the light of German truthfulness, the German sense of honor, and German faithfulness into the wide masses of the people, in so far as we can accomplish this...”⁸⁷ In July 1915, Anthony Heeb, president of the IBA and treasurer and secretary of Iowa’s largest brewery at the time, the Dubuque Brewing and Malting Company, wrote his own appeal for the USBA to continue the fight in Iowa.⁸⁸ Heeb’s father immigrated from Hesse-Nassau, Prussia during the nineteenth century, and Heeb recalled his heritage while writing to the USBA secretary, Hugh Fox, “I have been engaged in the business for so many years (ever since my childhood) and my father before me, I still feel an intense interest in the principle involved, and entertain a hope that the United States Brewers Association may see its way clear to interest itself in the Iowa situation.”⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Ibid., 1015-1016 (June 20, 1915 report by Thuenen to the Interstate Conference Committee of the United States Brewers' Association).

⁸⁵ Ibid., 1014-1015 (April 16, 1915 letter from Thuenen to Andreae).

⁸⁶ Ibid., 1287 (June 22, 1915 letter from Durand to Keller).

⁸⁷ Ibid., 890 (December 1, 1915 letter from Wappler to Keller).

⁸⁸ Franklin T. Oldt and Patrick Joseph Quigley, *History of Dubuque County, Iowa: being a general survey of Dubuque County history, including a history of the city of Dubuque and special account of districts throughout the county, from the earliest settlement to the present time* (Chicago, IL: Goodspeed Historical Association, 1911) State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa: 611.; *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, 1020 (April 9, 1915 letter from Heeb to Fox).

However, despite the women's suffrage amendment failing to become law in 1916 and rejection of the state constitutional prohibition amendment at the October 1917 polls, a campaign on the same scale as the Andrae System was not launched to repeal the state prohibition laws.⁸⁹ Shortly after the 1917 vote, Anthony Heeb gave a statement, published in several Iowa newspapers, revealing that although the amendment failed to pass, Iowa brewers would "make no organized effort to have the next state legislature repeal [prohibition] laws." He explained that most of the brewery business had been "sold or dismantled" in the two years since the state enforced prohibition. Heeb additionally cited World War I's influence on political atmosphere as a cause for giving up brewing. According to him, "The war is the big reason, it has caused the imposition of heavy liquor taxes and may cause the government to prohibit the manufacture of beer and wines in the interest of food conservation, Brewery men would be foolish to start up again." In the midst of WWI's influence on Iowa, brewers were unable to make efforts to reclaim their lost businesses.

The United States' entry into World War I in April 1917 caused negative impact on the German-American community as well. Instances of anti-German sentiment in Iowa throughout the war have been well recorded by state historians. According to historian Leola Allen, such actions included "the splashing of yellow paint [on German-American properties], appearances of "offenders" before extra-legal courts, and threats to those who did not vocally and financially support the war effort..."⁹⁰ Historian Stephen J. Frese quotes a statement made by the State

⁸⁹ Iowa men voted on October 15, 1917 to reject the state prohibition amendment, "213,747 (49.9 percent) voting for it, 214,636 (50.1 percent) casting negative ballots." (Ryan, 512); Even without large-scale campaigning, German-Americans showed up to the polls. In his assessment of the 1917 prohibition amendment vote, Ryan observed "the vote in the 1917 referendum corresponded more closely with the proportion of residents who were either first- or second-generation German-Americans than with any other variable..." (Ibid., 515.) See Ibid., 516 for "Table 2, Matrix of Simple Correlations: Selected County Variables Analyzed in Connections with 1917 Prohibition Referendum in Iowa."

⁹⁰ Leola Allen, "Anti-German Sentiment in Iowa During World War I," *Annals of Iowa* 42, no. 6 (Fall 1974): 421.

Council of National Defense at the time, "Sauer Kraut is a drug on the Iowa market.... Folks won't buy the food. They think it is of German origin.... The food used to be a big seller. It still would be if it wasn't for the suspicious name."⁹¹ German culture, including food, became subject to persecution.

Anti-German sentiment in WWI Iowa dismantled each method utilized by the Andreae System to unite the German-American community against prohibition. The 1918 Babel Proclamation issued by Governor Harding, a candidate previously endorsed by German-Americans, banned all languages but English in public. German religious leaders were forced to preach in English, cutting them off from members of their congregations who exclusively spoke German. Ministers of German churches were also under heavy suspicion by Iowans hunting for "pro-Germans", and their preaching was heavily scrutinized. In Lowden, Iowa, local officials arrested a German preacher for suggesting his congregates maintain their German culture and traditions despite the war.⁹² Federal courts convicted Reverend William Schumann of Pomeroy, Iowa of violating the June 15 Espionage Act after he gave a sermon criticizing America's involvement in a war to save England.⁹³ The German-American Alliance organization reflected the experiences of its constituents. Despite declaring itself entirely in support of the United States, President Wilson revoked the GAA's charter in 1918. By then the organization had already collapsed due to internal and external conflicts caused by the war.⁹⁴ Many German-Iowan individuals attempted to shield themselves from persecution by creating distance from

⁹¹ Stephen J. Frese, "Divided by a Common Language: The Babel Proclamation and its Influence in Iowa History," *The History Teacher* 39, no. 1 (November 2005): 61.

⁹² Nancy Derr, "Lowden," *The Annals of Iowa* 50, no. 1 (Summer 1989): 8-9.

⁹³ Allen, 426-427.

⁹⁴ Johnson, 157-158.

their heritage, changing their surnames and business names to more acceptable Anglicized identities.⁹¹

The connection between alcohol and German culture was identified by zealously patriotic Americans, and liquor interests too experienced anti-German sentiment. Some Iowans accused the liquor industry of being un-American and disloyal. Under a section titled “Topics of the Times”, the Marshalltown *Evening Times-Republican* printed the statement, “The farther the investigation goes into that German-American alliance the greater is the conviction that the Kaiser and the liquor interests made one hand wash the other.”⁹⁵ The “investigation” referred to the United States Senate hearings launched to investigate whether the National GAA was in violation of its charter and the lawful continuance of the organization. The connection between the GAA and the USBA was brought to light during these hearings.⁹⁶ In late 1918, a U.S. Senate subcommittee, led by Senator Lee S. Overman, undertook a second round of hearings regarding this connection. Witnesses, including Andreae, as well as subpoenaed letters and documents, which when necessary were translated from German to English by military intelligence, outlined the campaigns undertaken by the USBA, the NACL, and the GAA. Through the hearings, the Senate aimed to prove that the three organizations had illegally interfered in United States political matters, including the Iowa general elections.⁹⁷ These proceedings were publicized across the country. The Marshalltown *Evening Times-Republican* declared, “As the Overman sub-committee of the United States senate delves further into the activities of the brewers, the German-American alliance and their many ratifications, the part played by them in Iowa and among Iowans... are brought to the surface.” The article named Durand and Thuenen,

⁹⁵ “Topics of the Times”, *Evening Times-Republican* (Marshalltown), March 20, 1918, Newspapers.com.

⁹⁶ Johnson, 148-153.

⁹⁷ Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda

describing their 1914 activities with and Andreae and the USBA.⁹⁸ Despite the Iowa brewers' belief in the Andreae System and strong support from German-American organizations, its calculated efforts to elect candidates sympathetic to their cause proved insufficient to overcome other factors in the time period surrounding WWI.

Conclusion

When faced with increasing prohibitionist legislation in the early nineteenth century, the United States Brewers Association and several state brewers organizations turned to Percy Andreae for assistance. Utilizing Andreae's successful system from the 1908 Ohio elections as a blueprint, brewers gathered essential campaign data, disseminated media in favor of their cause, and formed alliances with German-American organizations. Alcoholic drinks, most importantly beer, were a part of the culture brought by the immigrant group from Germany and played a major role in their socialization. Many brewers in the United States were of German heritage and continued traditions through their businesses.

During the 1914 general election campaign, the Iowa Brewers Association viewed the state's German American Alliance as a crucial in their application of the Andreae System and readily financed the organization's participation. The GAA took an active role in recruiting German community leaders, such as religious ministers, to the anti-prohibition cause. Iowa GAA events became political platforms for the campaign to encourage anti-dry fervor amongst the state population. As part of the educational aspect of the campaign, lists of candidates to support were published by German-American organizations. Through their coalition with the

⁹⁸ "Brewers Butted in Iowa Politics", *Evening Times-Republican* (Marshalltown), November 25, 1918, Newspapers.com.

brewers, German-Iowans politically organized themselves to defend interests specific to their culture.

While the system resulted in electing many candidates it sought to place in office, long-term outcomes achieved mixed results. In the years leading up to WWI, similar campaigns were halted by factors beyond the brewer's and German-American's control. The combination of state-wide prohibition and the influence of WWI dismantled the strategies previously utilized by the Andreae System to elect anti-prohibition candidates. The campaign undertaken by the brewers in 1914 eventually proved to damage their image rather than advance it. Brewer association alliances with German-American organizations and their campaign work uncovered in Overman's Senate sub-committee investigation resulted in widespread negative publicity. Throughout late 1918, Iowa newspapers published and criticized details of the coalition's work in the state.

In January 1919, Iowa ratified the eighteenth amendment to the United States Constitution, which would enact a national prohibition for thirteen years.⁹⁹ German Iowans and brewers such as Anthony Heeb were forced to accept, for the time being, not only the loss of tradition but also the active political role they undertook as a group in the 1914 general elections.

The Andreae System provided Iowa brewers with a strategy for electing anti-prohibition supporters to the Iowa legislature in the 1914 elections. With the financial backing of the National Association of Commerce and Labor and the grass roots support of Iowa's German American Alliance, Andreae's 1913 vision of bringing brewers across the threshold to actively participate in the political arena proved successful in electing anti-prohibition candidates. Iowa's

⁹⁹ Robert A. Brady, *The Constitution of the United States of America as amended: unratified amendments, analytical index* (Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 2007): 20.

German population was thrust into a new era of political involvement. What Andreae could not envision, however, was how the advent of WWI would negatively affect American attitudes toward things associated with Germany including the brewery culture, German American Alliances and the anti-prohibition politics of the newly organized NACL. Almost as soon as it started gaining success, the System came under attack from growing anti-German sentiment. The momentum Iowa brewers gained through implementation of the Andreae System was lost as the nation cast dispersion on German heritage and turned its attention to defeating the Germans abroad.

Appendix

*Image 1- Percy Andreae and Signature*³¹

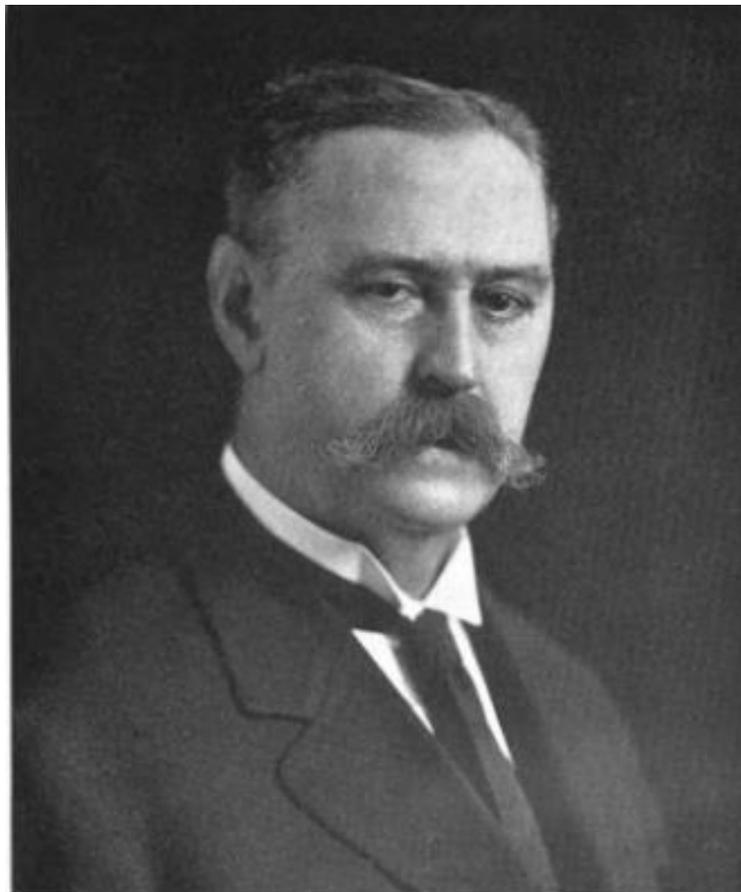


PHOTO BY MATSENE, CHICAGO

Percy Andreae

Image 2: Anti-Saloon League "Wet" and "Dry Map of the United States (1910)⁵⁰

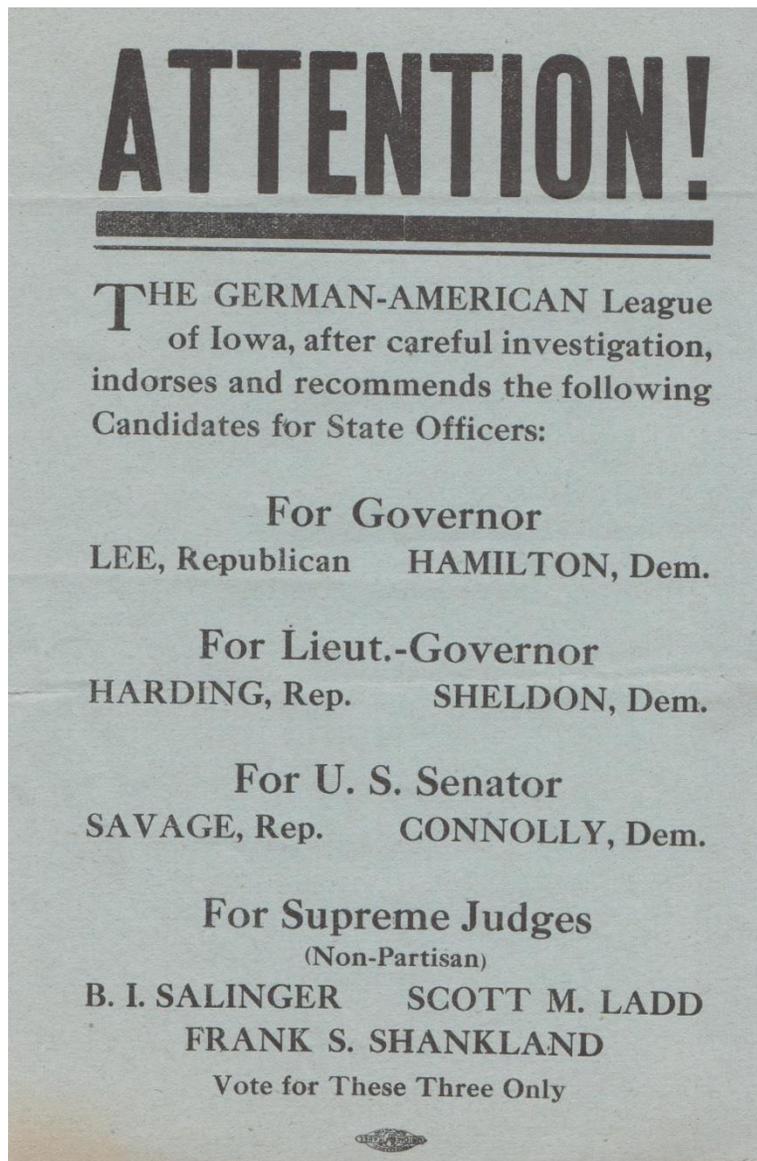


Image 3: Anti-Saloon League "Wet" and "Dry Map of the United States (1913)⁵⁰



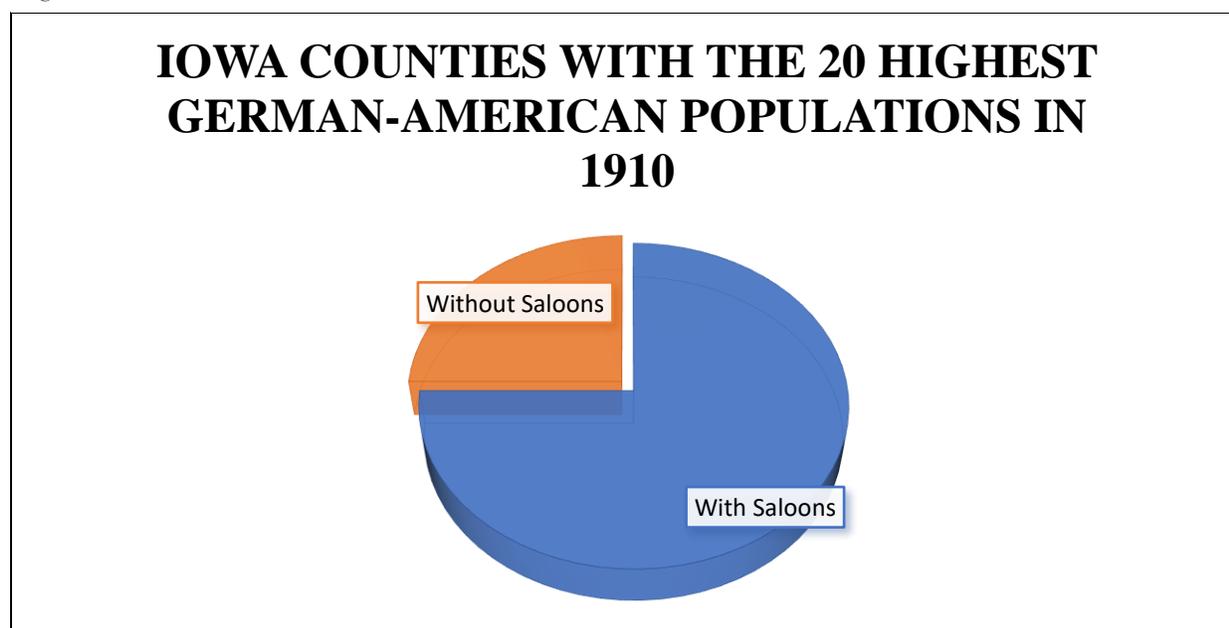
Image 2: 1914 German-American League Circular

100



¹⁰⁰ [German-American League Circular] [George W. Clark Papers], Special Collections, The University of Iowa Libraries.

Figure 1



	Counties	Total German-American Population ¹⁰¹	Saloons ⁵⁰
1	Scott	19,371	Yes
2	Dubuque	13,733	Yes
3	Clinton	10,873	Yes
4	Adair	9,153	No
5	Des Moines	7,393	Yes
6	Pottawattamie	6,729	Yes
7	Crawford	6,705	Yes
8	Carroll	6,364	Yes
9	Plymouth	6,036	Yes
10	Clayton	5,834	Yes
11	Muscatine	5,752	No
12	Woodbury	5,695	Yes
13	Black Hawk	5,335	Yes
14	Lee	5,221	Yes
15	Kossuth	5,062	No
16	Bremer	4,904	Yes
17	Polk	4,723	Yes
18	Jackson	4,710	Yes
19	Butler	4,530	No
20	Grundy	4,358	No

¹⁰¹ United States, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, E. Dana Durand, Director, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Bulletin, Population: Iowa, Composition and Characteristics of the Population*, comp. WM C. Hunt (Washington, D.C., 1910).

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