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Walking Straight: Claud McMillan and the Anti-Saloon League

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SIOUTH CITY was so saturated with illegal liquor traffic and prostitution during the early decades of the twentieth century that it achieved the reputation of a “little Chicago.” This exaggerated view belies the constant challenge posed by temperance advocates to the city’s liquor industry. The Anti-Saloon League was among these advocates and would be a powerful force in Iowa politics until the 1933 repeal of national prohibition. In the front lines of the struggle against bootlegging and prostitution were the crusaders sent out by the Anti-Saloon League. And in the front lines of the league crusaders stood Claud N. McMillan.

The Reverend Claud N. McMillan, who ranks as one of Iowa’s most fervent and dynamic temperance crusaders, was superintendent of the Woodbury County league from 1914 to 1922. Founded in Ohio in 1893, the Anti-Saloon League became a powerful single-issue pressure group, able to mobilize a national constituency and capture massive support from the evangelical churches. The league focused its efforts on achieving local and county options (whereby local citizens could vote out open saloons if the state was not dry, or vice versa) and on state and national prohibition amendments. The clergy provided much of the Anti-Saloon League leadership — although it was a leadership that occasionally split over whether to emphasize law enforcement or education. League officials sometimes joined law enforcement agents in raids on illegal establishments and actively supported dry candidates for political office.

During McMillan’s eight-year reign in Woodbury County, he funneled his inexhaustive energies into the 1916 election and law enforcement, as well as into typical league goals of local options and a state prohibition amendment. In each arena, his zealosity
would draw solid support — and marked disdain. At a time when much of the nation neither embraced prohibition nor damned alcohol to the degree that he did, McMillan accepted that his mission would bring him enemies. His highly publicized work serves as one example of Anti-Saloon League activity in Iowa.

Before 1914, Claud McMillan’s strong temperance stand was already well known in church circles. In 1909 he had waged a successful campaign at Gowrie, Iowa, to rid that community of saloons. Such efforts could prove divisive among church and community members. In Gowrie, the young Methodist minister had heard threats that he might encounter an “accident,” and church officers had accompanied McMillan home at the end of each day. Eventually McMillan felt obliged to request reassignment. He subsequently served parishes at Wall Lake, Anthon, and Charter Oak.

McMillan was seeking a new parish when he was approached by Anti-Saloon League officials. As a thirty-eight-year-old pastor intent upon preaching, McMillan was at first repelled by the offer, even though he had been recommended by the district superintendent of the Northwest Iowa Conference of the Methodist Church. A meeting with Anti-Saloon League directors in Sioux City in October 1914, however, assured him of moral support and financial backing, and he accepted the post as superintendent.

Forty-eight saloons, five wholesale liquor houses, and two breweries greeted McMillan upon his arrival in Sioux City in 1914. “There was little law and that was unenforced,” he would later observe. He claimed that “members of the police force had their own women and owned places where these women worked.” McMillan’s perception was that neither the police nor the local courts were friendly to the work of the Anti-Saloon League, and that local judges enforced the law out of fear of being overruled by a state supreme court that was receptive to league work. The temperance forces also garnered support from church-goers and business people who were, in McMillan’s words, “sick of the outlaw liquor traffic and willing to back the work with their money.”

That fall, McMillan’s first task was to aid Sioux City temperance forces in a battle against the local-option saloon-consent petition. If approved, the petition would extend the life of the saloons as provided by the Mulct Law. (The 1894 Mulct Law permitted operation of saloons in cities of over 5,000 with 65 percent voter approval and upon payment of a $600 fee or mulct tax.) The league challenged names on the consent petition, charging that saloon advocates had purloined names from old telephone books, directories, and even the Floyd cemetery. Ready to carry its cause to the Iowa Supreme Court, the league filed suit. McMillan quickly revealed his fund-raising abilities as he won financial support from bankers and merchants.

The case became moot, however, when the Iowa legislature repealed the Mulct Law in February 1915, bringing Iowa into the ranks of the dry states on January 1, 1916. The case was
subsequently dropped, with each side paying part of the expenses. Nevertheless, McMillan's strong leadership, and the resulting renewed vigor of the league, had become visible.

ON ONE SUCH JOURNEY, in August, McMillan spoke before a small group of community leaders at the Methodist church in Knoxville — and soon demonstrated his ability to attract press and rally support. Reportedly he told the group that Harding was a "second-rate lawyer" who had "no financial standing in Sioux City, could not borrow $25.00 at any bank, could not get credit for a suit of clothes or a grocery bill," and that he "was the associate and defender of the underworld of Sioux City." McMillan also reportedly accused Harding of having "lived at Des Moines with another woman while his wife was in a delicate condition at Sioux City."

Tipped off by a man who had attended the gathering, the editor of the Knoxville Journal charged that McMillan's remarks misrepresented Harding. "After instilling his venom in his hearers," the editor wrote, "McMillan wriggled away on his slimy course like his prototype of the swamps — the deadly copperhead." The Journal announced that it would now abandon its erstwhile neutrality and support the campaign of the maligned Harding. According to the editor, Harding had the support of Sioux City's prominent merchants and businessmen, judges and lawyers, possessed a strong record as a vote-getter, and had been endorsed by Iowa senators Kenyon and Cummins. The Knoxville editor also printed a letter from a Sioux City charity organization, claiming that Harding had widespread local support including that of the press and many prominent church leaders. Unfortunately, "a lot of preachers and other well-meaning men are being induced to accept lies and livery stable gossip as the truth," the Knoxville editor wrote. He found it incredible that the Sioux City Ministerial Association and the state Anti-Saloon League could sanction such unsavory campaign methods.

McMillan wrote the editor that although he had learned to disregard personal attacks, he could not in this instance remain silent and ignore the "vicious methods" of the press. McMillan claimed that he had been invited to Knoxville by a leading church member and had held only a private conversation with a small group of men. He had explained the methods their opponents were using to undermine
Meredith and had suggested that "before the campaign was over certain matters in regard to the personal habits of Mr. Harding would be published." He had informed the group that the Woodbury County league was not paying his expenses and that he had been released from his official duties until after the campaign.

At Knoxville McMillan had read aloud letters from supportive clergy, such as a Sioux City pastor who had written that he was unable to back Harding "in light of his record." The district superintendent of the Northwest Iowa Conference called Harding's record "notoriously opposed to the most modern Christian principles on Temperance." The president of Morningside College lauded McMillan for his "careful and aggressive law administration": "Moral conditions in Sioux City have never been better... largely due to the activities of the Anti-Saloon League."

McMillan continued to gather support. From the Sioux City Ministerial Association he won approval of resolutions declaring Harding unfit for the governorship and endorsing Meredith. Some association members objected, claiming that only eleven of twenty-six members had been present when the resolutions were adopted and that no official notice of the meeting had been sent. One dissenter argued that it would be hypocritical to determine the moral superiority of one candidate over the other and that preachers should not interfere in political contests.

Not everyone viewed prohibition, or Harding's stance on it, as so important to the election. In Harding's hometown, the Sioux City Journal seemed to dismiss the liquor question. Because the local-option mulct law had been repealed in 1915, Iowa was dry in 1916, and the paper noted that there was no clamor for a change. There were no wet advertisements, no one was coming in favor of the saloon, nothing was being spent for wet causes, and the saloons were closed. Although intoxicants were consumed, they could be legally purchased only outside the state. Furthermore, the Journal insisted, Harding had supported all GOP measures concerning the liquor question. There was no evidence that Harding was an opponent of temperance or that he was a drinking man.

Harding defended himself with grace. While acknowledging that he was not as radical on the temperance question as some, regarding it as a practical question requiring a practical solution, Harding insisted that during the past decade of political activity he had "always spoken a word in favor of temperance." Although the liquor question might not yet be settled, he believed that the saloon was "gone and gone to stay."

Nevertheless Harding's own pastor and the president of Morningside College (a Methodist Episcopal college in Sioux City) supported Meredith. Yet Meredith was not immune to the kind of attacks McMillan had slung at Harding. Opponents endeavored to dampen his status as a dry. In an open letter to Bishop Homer Stuntz in Omaha, a Farm Loan broker in Manson claimed that Meredith had joined friends at the recent Democratic Convention, "himself ordering and drinking apricot brandy and personally paying for one round of the drinks," had attended and imbibed at a beer-drinking session in a business office of the "absolutely dry town of Manson" in 1915; had served cocktails at a 1914 Des Moines banquet; and in 1914 had proclaimed to potential supporters that "I am not a prohibitionist in any sense." Meredith denied these charges and saw them as another attempt by Harding's followers to undermine his personal character.

McMillan and the league's work to defeat Harding proved futile. The disaffection of the traditionally wet and Democratic German vote more than offset the desertion of evangelical Republican Protestants drawn to Meredith because of the liquor question. Thirty thousand Democrats crossed Party lines to vote for Harding, but only fifteen thousand Republicans voted for Meredith. Meredith's crushing loss in November indicated that the temperance and ministerial coalitions had less effect than they had imagined and that temperance had not been the only major campaign issue.

McMillan and other temperance forces immediately tackled another campaign — to write prohibition into the state constitution.
Once this was done, they believed, the liquor issue would be eliminated from politics. Beginning in June 1917, through the auspices of a newly created Allied Temperance Committee of Iowa, an effort was made to unite all state temperance organizations (including the Iowa Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Iowa Constitutional Prohibitory Amendment Association, the Business Men's Temperance Association, the Inter-Collegiate Prohibition Association, and the Prohibition Party of Iowa). McMillan and ninety-nine other men and women were asked to serve on the advisory board. McMillan was appointed financial manager and was expected to raise $40,000.

Prepared to launch an intensive statewide drive, they were somewhat divided on how to proceed. Personal rivalries soon plagued the advisory committee and its board of managers. McMillan believed that the secretary of the Constitutional Amendment Association, A. U. Coates, was attempting to dominate the coalition. John L. Hillman, Anti-Saloon League officer, wrote McMillan that he feared that certain individuals "wanted to be the whole show" and that Coates was attempting to dominate the coalition. McMillan replied that Coates was about as suited for a position of leadership "as a hog is for preaching." The Anti-Saloon League, McMillan argued, was a vital part because they had the "machinery, methods and experience."

Machinery and methods may have had some effect — but not enough. Although the amendment to the state constitution was approved by an overwhelming margin in the Iowa legislature, it lost by 932 votes in the popular referendum on October 15. The Sioux City Journal suggested that Iowans had been alienated by laws making it a crime to ship liquor into the state and the rigid enforcement of blue laws, which kept businesses closed on Sundays.

Temperance forces were stunned by their defeat. J. B. Weede, campaign manager for the Allied Temperance Committee, attributed the failure to "over-confidence on the part of supposed friends of temperance," and wrote McMillan that the state would certainly be "disgraced if Iowa should fail to ratify national prohibition at the first opportunity."

Quick ratification of the national prohibition amendment became the next goal — a goal that McMillan and other temperance forces reached. As a delegate to the National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League, McMillan was in Washington D.C. in December 1917 as Congress debated the Eighteenth Amendment. Watching from the congressional galleries, he was amused by the "comical" efforts of liquor forces to save beer and wine by offering to sacrifice whiskey, and he rejoiced when
Congress nevertheless voted for a dry nation. McMillan reasoned that the world war would further strengthen support for national prohibition. If the war were to be effectively fought, “we must see to it that our men in uniform are free from the curse of alcoholic stimulants,” he wrote, and that the American labor force is “permitted to be at the highest state of efficiency.” “We shall have a bone dry nation in a very few years now,” he wrote his brother, Don. “Then I will be compelled to find a new job.”

Actually McMillan had already found a new job. Although he continued his salaried position as Woodbury County league superintendent, as early as January 1916 Iowa Attorney General George Cosson had appointed him as a special agent “to act in Sioux City.” (Cosson and his successor in 1917, H. M. Havner, were strong temperance and law enforcement advocates who supported McMillan’s work.) McMillan’s unpaid commission as a special agent apparently gave him the power of arrest (a point that would be contested), and he often accompanied police on raids against bootleggers and prostitutes.

McMillan soon won the praise of the Sioux City Journal for having a “more precise understanding of vice conditions than any other man here.” His special status quickly made him a known figure among unsavory elements whom he called “the half-world.” His efforts against liquor violators and prostitutes led to much verbal and physical abuse. Threats were common, and three times he was subjected to brutal physical attacks. The first occurred in November 1917, when McMillan was assaulted near 5th and Virginia streets in Sioux City by mobster Red Burzett. Apparently McMillan had arrested Burzett’s Sioux City girlfriend. As McMillan passed under a streetlight, the mobster struck him from behind with a leather hilly club, and then went off to boast that he had killed McMillan. McMillan recalled, “I did not know anything until I found myself at my office cleaning up the blood off my face.” With a black eye and a badly bruised jaw, he remained in bed for a week. (Several days later Burzett and several gang members were killed in a shootout with Sioux City detectives at a west-side bar.)

The election in March 1918 of liberal mayor Wallace M. Short and his administration put temperance forces on guard. McMillan soon had a serious run-in with newly elected commissioner of public safety W. R. “Bull” Hamilton, whose brief tenure of duty would be so filled with corruption that it would attract the attention of Attorney General Havner — no doubt with McMillan’s help.

Bull Hamilton was “selling protection which he could not deliver,” McMillan charged, “as I was breaking in on his people all the time.” McMillan informed Havner that Hamilton was “reaching out to get control of conditions here so that he may force vice, and do his bidding.” Bull Hamilton insisted that McMillan was a
“pest” who created “spirited discord” among law enforcement units in Sioux City. In April 1918 Hamilton apparently requested that Havner withdraw McMillan’s credentials. Havner refused.

In the summer of 1918 the collapse of the Ruff Building, a large downtown department store, brought the crisis to a head. A witness later testified that during the chaos and tragedy Bull Hamilton was “three sheets to the wind.” McMillan confirmed that widespread drinking followed the tragedy and that whiskey was passed among the crowd “in almost every kind of bottle including nursing bottles.” Partly due to this controversy, and other incidents of corruption, Hamilton was removed from office in September.

McMILLAN RAIDED forty to fifty establishments during a five-month period in 1918. In early September he participated in a massive dragnet resulting in the arrest of hundreds of liquor violators and prostitutes. (The Anti-Saloon League’s interest in enforcement extended to prostitution, which was often intertwined with liquor violations.) Claiming that he had more authority “than even the sheriff in the county,” he toured the city in a Ford coupe sniffing out wild parties, wearing his nickel-plated badge inscribed “Special Agent, Department of Justice, Iowa.” He apparently had knowledge of the intimate workings of Sioux City, and a friend proclaimed that “McMillan could raise hell and put a brick under it, if he would.”

Opponents constantly challenged McMillan’s status as special agent. Even supporters occasionally admitted that the vice crusader demonstrated excessive zeal. McMillan insisted that law violators were liable for prosecution regardless of their status in the community. When he uncovered a party of adolescents from solid Morningside families and placed a sixteen-year-old girl in the lockup, charging her with prostitution, he incurred the wrath of the accused and her parents.

There were constant attempts to embarrass the Anti-Saloon League leader. The Sioux City Journal printed an allegation that McMillan

HAMILTON TO ASK M’MILLAN RECALL

After a conference between C. N. McMillan, superintendent of the Woodbury County Anti-Saloon league, and W. R. Hamilton, commissioner of public safety, Mr. Hamilton stated yesterday that he will request Attorney General Havner to revoke Mr. McMillan’s appointment as a special agent. Mr. McMillan had received unsolicited donations and support.

ATTORNEY GENERAL REFUSES W. R. HAMILTON’S REQUEST.

May 4, 1918

UNFAIRNESS CHARGE MADE


ATTACK ON M’MILLAN WINS DONATIONS.

C. N. McMillan, superintendent of the Woodbury County Anti-Saloon league, yesterday voiced his thanks for the attack made on him by W. R. Hamilton, labor candidate for public safety commissioner. Mr. Hamilton called him a “pest.”

“The next day,” said Mr. McMillan, “the league received two $100 contributions from business firms which never had before contributed. Hamilton’s attack was responsible.”
BOOZE TAKES FLIGHT.

McMillan Knew It Was There an Hour Before Raid.

Earl Morgan, police captain, and C. N. McMillan, superintendent of the Woodbury County Anti-Saloon League, seized 628 half pints and forty-seven quarts of whisky concealed in an automobile in a garage at OZZE. The anti-prohibitionists had peeked over the transom of a hotel room while an alleged prostitute was dressing. Nor was it unusual for young women charged with immoral behavior to insist that the minister had made improper advances. In the summer of 1921, a Sioux City waitress accused McMillan of kidnapping her in Grandview Park while she was in the car of a gentleman friend. Given the choice by McMillan of being taken home or to the police station, she chose home, and then claimed that McMillan tried to do awful things to me and he talked terribly." The vice crusader was saved from arrest only through a timely phone call to Police Commissioner J.B. Mann.

The episode captured the headlines in the local papers and led to an inquiry concerning McMillan's status as a law enforcement agent. Sioux City's commissioner of public safety, the police captain, and Mayor Short denied that McMillan represented the city as a special agent. Iowa Attorney General Ben Gibson reported that McMillan had lacked status as a special agent of the state since January 1921. It was insinuated that McMillan might face prosecution on the charges of impersonating an officer. McMillan insisted that his status as special agent was valid because it was renewed annually. Arrest warrants, McMillan stated, had always been served by an accompanying police officer. Nothing came of the inquiry.

Threats on McMillan's life became so common that he carried a weapon. He later revealed, "I am glad I never shot anyone. I had plenty of occasion, but I never shot anyone." But he was not beyond bluffing. McMillan recalled that a young woman whom he had arrested for jumping bond announced that if he didn't release her, a friend in Omaha would come and "bump [McMillan] off." McMillan drew back his coat revealing a forty-one colt and informed the woman, "I can hit a dime at ten paces anytime I want to draw. If you want your friend cared for just send him along, for if any man ever tries to draw on me, I will kill him before he can draw." The word that he was a crack shot, McMillan believed, quickly penetrated the underworld.

W HILE UNWILLING to surrender to fear, McMillan realized that the constant verbal and physical abuse created enormous stress for his family. Consequently, McMillan resigned as superintendent of the Woodbury County Anti-Saloon League in early 1922. He soon took a job as a Methodist college fund raiser. Anti-Saloon League forces, however, urged him to return to temperance work. By mid-year he was appointed general prohibition agent with district headquarters in Minneapolis.

McMillan soon found that his assignments took him as far as Philadelphia. Tiring of the travel, McMillan resigned and returned to Iowa as the general secretary of the state Anti-Saloon League. Again, constant travel coupled with increasing disillusionment over law enforcement efforts became major factors in McMillan's decision in 1928 to leave temperance work and to return to the ministry.

Despite McMillan's years of service in tem-
perance campaigns at considerable personal sacrifice, the Methodist Church appeared unenthusiastic about his return to the ministry. The fifty-two-year-old former vice crusader was told that he had been too long removed from active service, that he would no doubt be preaching temperance sermons constantly, that he would be unable to work with young people, and that he had undoubtedly developed poor study habits that would affect his ability to construct theologically sound sermons. Eventually he was given an appointment, at Pocahontas, Iowa. There for three years, he steadily increased membership. He held subsequent parishes at Paullina (1931–1934), Britt (1934–1939), and Primghar (1939–1945). Although he rarely preached temperance sermons from the pulpit, McMillan retained interest in the temperance movement and attended national conventions as an Iowa delegate.

In September 1944 his wife, Lydia, died suddenly. The next year McMillan had a second heart attack (the first had been in May 1939). Doctors gave him only a few months to live. He retired from his pastorate, disposed of his library, and moved to California, where two sons resided. There he continued to write and publish the genealogy of the McMillan family. His active retirement consistently defied the doctors’ predictions by another fifteen years. In 1960 he died in Long Beach, at the age of eighty-four.

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VER A HALF CENTURY after his Sioux City prohibition work, McMillan may appear to us as a character drawn to extremes. A rural Methodist pastor, a man with strong evangelical fervor, McMillan had developed an obsession concerning the
evils wrought by the consumption of alcohol and the power of the liquor industry. Politically, he remained a staunch Republican, extolling free enterprise and castigating the union movement. During the Great Depression he expressed little sympathy for the Farm Holiday and argued that farmers had contributed to their own economic plight through excessive land purchases, buying new cars they could have gotten along without, and indulging in high living. Although he sympathized with Judge C. C. Bradley as a victim of Farm Holiday mob justice (in April 1933 a few Le Mars area farmers attempted to hang the judge), he also considered Bradley a “weakling, a policy man, a politician drifting with the political winds.”

Herbert Hoover, Senator Robert Taft, and Dwight Eisenhower drew his admiration; Truman and Roosevelt, his scorn. FDR's advocacy of the repeal of national prohibition (and the marital problems of the Roosevelt family) incurred his wrath. He was convinced that FDR would be remembered for the “inestimable damage he did” by restoring the liquor traffic.

McMillan, who participated in more than 350 raids against law violators during his career as special agent, demonstrated little compassion for the alcoholic. The enemy was to be arrested, driven out of town, prosecuted in the courts — but not counseled. For him, single-issue politics discolored all other areas of reform.

Still, McMillan was not as narrow-minded as his opponents portrayed him. Despite the temperance stand of the Ku Klux Klan, McMillan disdained the Klan as one of the deep stains on the nation’s history and hoped that “its very name be forgotten.” He enthusiastically endorsed the selection of a black pastor as the presiding officer of the Methodist Conference in his California district. His theological stance was essentially ecumenical. He numbered Catholic priests among his friends and corresponded with Mormon members of his family as he engaged in genealogical research.

A man who appreciated classical music and who amassed a quality library, he was far from wealthy. Neither the Methodist Church nor the temperance organizations for whom he labored paid handsomely. The McMillans lost their house in Des Moines during the depression, and pension for a retired pastor was barely adequate.

A devoted family man, he watched with anguish as one of his eight children died of tuberculosis, another suffered from chronic illness after years in a Japanese prison camp, and other children and grandchildren struggled with job and marital problems. He deeply mourned his wife’s death in 1944. Through his own experiences and through his ministry, McMillan had known suffering. He wrote a friend, “I have thanked God for death. After seeing physical suffering that was unendurable, and for which there was no relief or release, I have thanked God for the marvelous provision He has made for we humans, after all.”

Claud McMillan’s unbridled zeal and single-issue politics aroused criticism, but no one could deny his fearlessness and devotion to the cause he regarded as superior to all others. In Sioux City and Woodbury County, he performed the work of the Anti-Saloon League with fierce dedication. Despite frequent opposition to his prohibition work, he honestly believed that he could walk the streets of Sioux City and “look everyone squarely in the face, The City, The Courts, The Police and everybody, and I know I have their respect if not approval.”

NOTE ON SOURCES

Major sources for this article included the Claud McMillan Papers (State Historical Society of Iowa); McMillan’s unpublished “Memories, Incidents & Experiences, of Fifty Years as a Methodist Minister” (housed at Iowa Wesleyan College); and the Harding Papers in the Sioux City Museum. Others include the Sioux City Journal and other Iowa newspapers; Nancy Derr, Iowans During World War I: A Study of Change Under Stress (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1979); Austin Kerr, Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League (New Haven, 1985); Scott Sorensen and B. Paul Chicoine, Sioux City: A Pictorial History (Norfolk, Va., 1982); John T. Schou, “The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1916-1920” (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1960); and the proceedings of several national conventions of the Anti-Saloon League of America.