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Brewing History: How Local Option and Prohibition Altered the Texas Brewing Industry

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BREWING HISTORY: HOW LOCAL OPTION AND PROHIBITION ALTERED
THE TEXAS BREWING INDUSTRY

By

SHELBY DYAN WINTHROP DEWITT, Bachelor of Arts

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
Stephen F. Austin State University
In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements

For the Degree of
Master of Arts

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BREWING HISTORY: HOW LOCAL OPTION AND PROHIBITION ALTERED
THE TEXAS BREWING INDUSTRY

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SHELBY DYAN WINTHROP DEWITT, Bachelor of Arts

APPROVED:

Dr. Perky Beisel, Thesis Director

Dr. Scott Sosebee, Committee Member

Dr. Court Carney, Committee Member

Linda Reynolds, Committee Member

Pauline M. Sampson, Ph.D.
Dean of Research and Graduate Studies

ABSTRACT

The prohibition movement began decades before the Civil War but did not gain considerable support in Texas until the late nineteenth century. While local option elections and calls for statewide prohibition in Texas failed, national prohibition efforts culminated in the instatement of the Eighteenth Amendment in January 1919 and the Volstead Act in October 1919. This thesis details the prohibition issue through an analysis of eight larger, better-funded Texas breweries who used evolving social and political conditions to combat prohibition and grow their companies, laying the foundation for the Texas brewing industry. This thesis and subsequent digital exhibit provide a better understand of prohibition and local option, while also explaining how the argument against prohibition was based upon business decisions rather than a desire to drink.

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Shelby Dyan Winthrop DeWitt

Nacogdoches, Texas

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INTRODUCTION

In America, beer dates back to the days of colonization by European immigrants. And, while the science of creating beer has changed very little, the social and political implications of the golden liquid has evolved almost as much as beer itself.¹ This is certainly true for the brewing industry in Texas. After the Civil War – as the United States experienced a period of considerable economic, industrial, technological, and population growth – Texas breweries thrived. Breweries both large and small opened all over the state. The Texas Brewers License Tax Records of the Internal Revenue Service indicate that in 1875 forty-four breweries were licensed to sell beer.² That number increased to fifty-eight breweries in 1876 with a production of 16,806 barrels annually.³ However, by 1900, the number of breweries in Texas had dwindled to single digits as larger

¹ The basic brewing process can be summarized as a chemical reaction between four ingredients: water, hops, yeast, and a starch, most commonly malted grain. After roasting the desired starch, water is added and acts upon the starch. The starch is converted into a sugar to form “wort.” The wort is boiled for up to two hours, and, in order to manipulate the flavor profile of the mixture, hops are added. More hops leads to a more bitter beer. The principal step is adding yeast. The yeast consumes the sugars in the wort, beginning the fermentation process which lasts up to four days. A more detailed breakdown of the historic brewing process can be found in Wade Stanley Baron’s book, *Brewed in America: The History of Beer and Ale in the United States*, Greg Smith’s article, “Brewing in Colonial America” in *Craft Beer and Brewing Magazine*, or Frank Clark’s article, “A Most Wholesome Liquor” available on the Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library.

² Records of the Texas Direct Tax Commission, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, 1791-1996, Folder 10, Box 4, Record Group 58, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

³ Michael C. Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836 – 1918* (Irving, TX: Ale Publishing Company, 1990), 2; Michael C. Hennech and Trace Etienne-Gray, “Brewing Industry,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified September 16, 2016, accessed March 23, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/dib01>.

breweries absorbed smaller ones and local option and prohibition swept the state.⁴

By analyzing the larger, better-funded breweries established in the late nineteenth century, it is possible to understand how early Texas brewers responded to and overcame societal and political reforms. Eight breweries – the American Brewing Company, the Houston Ice and Brewing Company, the Galveston Brewing Company, the Spoetzkl Brewery, the Lone Star Brewery, the San Antonio Brewing Association, the Dallas Brewing Company, and the Texas Brewing Company – serve as case studies in this capstone project and thesis to illustrate how the Texas brewing industry survived and thus laid the foundation for the fastest growing industry in Texas one hundred years later.⁵

After the Civil War, Texas breweries had to contend with a growing social transformation that placed a considerable focus on the morality of American society through Christian reform. A mission to purify and save the soul of American society and return to a more moral way of life caused an increase in prohibition supporters. Prohibition appealed to Progressive reformers by promising social uplift, the purification of politics, and more orderly human

⁴ Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836 – 1918*, 45.

⁵ There are very few remaining records from smaller breweries of the same time period. The few records that do exist are difficult to gain access to either because of distance or repository access regulations. These eight breweries provide the best case studies because they have the most records available. Very few brewery records exist concerning the creation of the breweries. The majority of brewery records are from after 1900 during the breweries' anti-prohibition efforts.

relations. Prohibition also legitimized the use of state power to rectify what had been considered a private failing and thus embodied the Progressive faith in government action to improve society.⁶ After the Civil War, Christian activists united under the prohibition issue, which they believed was the key to achieving other reforms.⁷ After gaining support of influential leaders – politicians, businessmen, etc. – religious leaders translated their vision into a practical political program aimed at liquor, saloons, and drunkenness. Alcohol came to embody evil and all the ills of the modern world and the salvation was only possible through prohibition.⁸ Prohibition gained considerable support towards the end of the nineteenth century and continued to do so through early twentieth century as Christian activists spread prohibition through local option elections and calls for state-wide prohibition. Brewers across the state needed to face this growing sentiment in order to prevent further restrictions on the brewing industry and to convince members of the public that alcohol was not evil in order to remain in business.

Texas breweries, like those across the rest of the nation, were not immune to the national beer juggernauts – Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, Schlitz, and Blatz –

⁶ Ann-Marie Szymanski, "Beyond: Parochialism: Southern Progressivism, Prohibition, and State-Building," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 69, no. 1 (February 2003): 109. According to Szymanski, Christian reformers sought many reforms – education, child labor, etc. – which split the organization's focus in the late nineteenth century, making it difficult to make much progress.

⁷ Szymanski, "Beyond: Parochialism: Southern Progressivism, Prohibition, and State-Building," 113.

⁸ Joseph Locke, "Conquering Salem: The Triumph of the Christian Vision in Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 115, no. 3 (January 2012): 254.

that arose in the late nineteenth century, some of which monopolized the industry for decades to come. While smaller breweries failed, the aforementioned breweries' size, financial backing by investors, and political influence allowed them to survive numerous local option campaigns between 1887 and 1911. Only the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in January 1919 and the Volstead Act in October 1919 – which instated national prohibition laws – effectively halted these breweries, although several managed to survive in some fashion by changing their business strategies.

The Master of Arts in History with a public history concentration requires the completion of a capstone project to be complimented by a written thesis. The capstone project illustrates the graduate student's ability to use historical research in a written thesis and in a practical application, such as in the creation of a series of oral histories or the processing of an archival collection. This thesis, however, is compiled of research collected from numerous archives in Texas to analyze the operational years of selected Texas breweries immediately before, during, and after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. This analysis is drawn from business correspondence, advertisements, social organization records, and newspaper articles that illustrate the breweries' responses to socioeconomic and political influences. The written portion of the capstone project will conclude with a digital exhibit, which will later be donated to

Humanities Texas for distribution to repositories and organizations throughout Texas.

This project was born out of a desire to create a digital exhibit that focused on a topic important to society today: beer. When President Jimmy Carter legalized homebrewing in 1978, he helped create a new interest in the history and creation of America's preferred drink.⁹ This renewed interest paved the way for the current craft beer revolution.¹⁰

Table 1. Number of Craft and Macro Breweries in the United States, 1980-2010		
**Based off of a study conducted by Oregon State University and the Brewers Association.		
	Number of Breweries	
Year	Macro	Craft
1980	42	2
1985	34	37
1990	29	269
1995	29	997
2000	24	1,469
2005	21	1,609
2010	19	1,756

⁹ Courtney Mifsud, "Why Beer is the World's Most Beloved Drink," *Time Magazine*, October 1, 2018, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://time.com/5407072/why-beer-is-most-popular-drink-world/#:~:text=More%20than%206%20in%20every,wine%20and%2026%25%20for%20liquor>. According to Ms. Mifsud, more than six in every ten American adults drink alcohol, and among those polled, beer was consistently favored over other alcohols.

¹⁰ Craft beer or craft breweries refers to local, smaller breweries that generally sell smaller batches of product locally or statewide. All but two of the historic breweries analyzed in this thesis would have been considered craft breweries by today's standards. Lone Star and Pearl are currently a part of the national chain Pabst Brewing Company. After being sold to three different owners, Pearl merged with Pabst in 1985 and maintained operations under the Pabst name. Pabst purchased Lone Star in 1999.

As indicated Table 1 there is more passion for beer than ever before.¹¹ The number of breweries in the United States has almost tripled from 2,475 in 2012 to nearly 6,500 in 2017. Brew experts expected the number of craft breweries to increase an additional sixteen or seventeen percent in 2018.¹² As public historians, it is paramount that we make histories that are relevant and accessible, while seizing the opportunity to explore complex topics such as historic business management and progressive reforms. A digital exhibit of this nature could easily and effectively bring attention to an archive or museum who can supplement the digital exhibit with related items from its own collection.¹³ It is the goal of this project to help Texas repositories capitalize on the ever-growing interest in beer.

This capstone thesis project contains three chapters regarding the history of Texas breweries. Chapter one details the establishment of the selected breweries during Reconstruction and how they responded to the growing threat of prohibition as it developed in Texas. Chapter one will end with Texas's last

¹¹ Kenneth Elzinga, Carol Horton Tremblay, and Victor J. Tremblay, "Craft Beer in the United States: History, Numbers, and Geography," *Journal of Wine Economics*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2015): 245.

¹² "Statistics: Number of Breweries," Brewers Association, <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/number-of-breweries> (accessed January 15, 2019).

¹³ Museums, archives, and historic sites across the country are reanalyzing the history of beer and its impact on the United States. This analysis is leading to the creation and installation of exhibits related to the history of beer. Repositories making this change include national museums – like the National Museum of American History which just installed a permanent exhibit on brewing history in 2019 – and smaller state operated repositories – like the Institute of Texan Cultures which housed a temporary beer history exhibit in 2018, "Brewing Up Texas." This change is making the history of beer more accessible and beer's relevance to American life today more evident than ever.

local option campaign in 1911. Chapter two discusses the breweries' attempts to stop prohibition following the 1911 local option campaign to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act in 1919. Attention will be given to how the changing national political climate – specifically, the United States' entry into World War I – made national prohibition inevitable despite brewers' best efforts to discourage politicians from passing the amendment. The third chapter illustrates how the various breweries responded to the new amendment, either by altering their business models or by shutting down their businesses all together. The historic narrative concludes the third chapter with an analysis of the final years of the Eighteenth Amendment and how the selected breweries fared following the abolishment of prohibition. The fourth chapter will explain the methodology and rationale utilized in the creation of the digital exhibit based on the best practices of the exhibit design.

This capstone project and thesis represent over a year and a half of hard work and research into the history of Texas breweries, which brings many joy on a regular basis. During that year and a half, I made numerous trips to repositories in Houston, Dallas, Austin, and San Antonio.¹⁴ Through my research, I gained great insight into the establishment and history of an industry that employs nearly

¹⁴ The following repositories proved invaluable to my research: the Austin Public Library, the East Texas Research Center in Nacogdoches, Texas, the Texas State Archives and Library Commission in Austin, Texas, and the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas. The Texas State Archives and Library Commission and the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History have the largest collections of records pertaining to the breweries discussed in this thesis.

2.23 million Americans today and has a national economic impact totaling more than \$350 billion in 2016. In Texas alone, the state with the third most craft breweries in the nation, the brewing industry accounted for \$5.3 billion dollars of the state's economy in 2019.¹⁵ The completion of this project provides historians and the public alike with a microhistory of breweries in Texas in order to pay homage to and provide a better understanding of an industry which survived, despite social and political pressures and laid the foundation for new growth following the end of prohibition.

¹⁵ "Industry Insights: Economic Impact," Beer Institute, <http://www.beerinstitute.org/industryinsights/economic-impact> (accessed January 23, 2019); For more information regarding beer's economic impact on society today, read the Brewers' Association article, "Economic Impact," Brewers' Association, accessed May 24, 2020, <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics-and-data/economic-impact-data/>.

CHAPTER ONE: EXPANSION OF THE TEXAS BREWING INDUSTRY

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION IN TEXAS

Beginning as early as the 1830s, the temperance movement sought to limit alcohol consumption and to educate society on the values of temperance. Supporters of temperance believed alcohol weakened society and led to corruption among men. "Drinking emerged as an individual's moral and political lapse, preventing good [Protestant] Christians from following the ways of Jesus and respectable Americans from the self-restraint required of citizens in a democracy."¹⁶ Temperance efforts focused on individual responsibility and the need for self-discipline rather than complete government-imposed sobriety. Many Texans rejected temperance ideals as religious fanaticism, limiting the effectiveness of the Temperance Movement.¹⁷

¹⁶ Jean H. Baker, *Sisters: The Lives of America's Suffragists* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), 156.

¹⁷ Locke, "Conquering Salem: The Triumph of the Christian Vision in Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol 115, no 3: 235-236. According to Joseph Locke, the new Texas government wanted to keep religion out of politics because, historically, religion's involvement had led to ruin. Lawyers and politicians provided examples such as the fall of Rome, the Dark Ages, and Puritan New England to convince the public to label Christian activists as dangerous religious fanatics. Christian activists spent the next sixty years "Christianizing" Texas history to support their desire to outlaw alcohol and pass other reforms.

However, other Texans embraced the American temperance movement, revealing the Republic's close ties to American society. In the 1840s, Republic of Texas officials, under the advisement of temperance leaders, passed laws limiting the consumption and production of distilled liquors, which was the cause of drunkenness and disorder according to temperance supporters.¹⁸ For instance, in 1843, the Republic of Texas passed what is often considered the nation's first local option law, which allowed counties to pass their own liquor regulations. Later, in 1845, the Texas State Legislature passed a law banning saloons entirely. These laws proved difficult to enforce and the state legislature repealed them by 1856.¹⁹ Dissatisfied with the meager results of temperance laws, more radical members of the temperance movement in Texas focused on a new goal: prohibition or the complete banishment of alcohol. These radicals became known as Prohibitionists and moved for state and national prohibition. Despite the increased interest surrounding the growing prohibition movement, the Civil War resulted in the cessation of alcohol reform nationwide.²⁰

¹⁸ James Paul Sutton, "Ethnic Minorities and Prohibition in Texas, 1887-1919," (Master of Arts Thesis, University of North Texas, 2006), 3.

¹⁹ John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: De Capo Press, 1993), 33-35; Austin K. Kerr, "Prohibition," accessed February 13, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vap01>; Nancy Marion, *Killing Congress: Assassinations, Attempted Assassinations, and Other Violence Against Members of Congress* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield), 34.

²⁰ Willis Lee, *Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform, and Public Life in Middle Florida, 1821-1920* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 68. By 1865, only five states retained statewide prohibition following a peak of thirteen in the 1850s. Reformers in the North worried that national liquor regulation and taxation (intended to raise revenue for the United States) would only legitimize breweries and

Immediately following the end of the Civil War, numerous prohibitionist groups – also known as “Dry” groups – organized to defeat the “Wets” or anti-prohibitionists. Like their temperance predecessors, the Dry groups – mostly compiled of Protestant Christian men and women looking to do God’s will – argued that alcohol encouraged lewd and immoral behavior that endangered the traditional family, alcohol wasted valuable resources – money, grain, etc. – on saloons and alcohol production, and lastly, alcohol lessened the productivity of the American worker, which society considered even more important during the period of industrial growth that followed the Civil War. Prohibition groups began campaigning for local option elections as a means to save the soul of Texas. Local option allowed voters in particular localities to initiate elections in which citizens could vote directly on whether liquor should be permitted. Such “no-license” elections were not ideal for Prohibitionists who wanted state-wide prohibition, but local option was a means to slowly pave the road for more radical state-wide prohibition elections later.²¹

The United Friends of Temperance (UFT) – the first post-war Texas-wide dry organization – formed in 1870 to encourage good, Protestant Christian men to vote for local option in order to protect their families and the Texas’s integrity. Members traveled all over the state holding “celebrations and exhibitions” to

distilleries. American brewers strengthened their political position by forming a national lobby, the United States Brewers Association, in 1860.

²¹ Szymanski, “Beyond Parochialism: Southern Progressivism, Prohibition, and State-Building,” 122.

educate citizens – specifically men – on the benefits of prohibition.²² After years of campaigning, the UFT convinced the Texas Legislature to enact the first local option policy in the 1876 Constitution, giving counties the right to vote on local option. Only three counties went dry – Jasper, Rockwall, and Jones – but the initial adoption of the policy brought the local option issue to the forefront of Texans’ minds – including the brewers.²³

In Texas, two chapters of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) – one for white women and one for African American women – began operating in 1882 under the guidance of the national WCTU leader, Francis Willard. Willard frequently gave passionate speeches to different women’s groups across the state about WCTU’s goal to promote a “sober and pure world” and “protect the home” through the prohibition of alcohol and other mind-altering substances that weakened the family – and by extension the nation.²⁴ Jenny Bland Beauchamp became the Texas WCTU President in 1883 and continued Willard’s work in Texas. Through statewide tours, advertising in newspapers,

²² Vincent Grubbs, *Practical Prohibition* (Greenville, TX: T.C. Johnson & Co., 1887), 98-99; Council meeting minutes book, December 12, 1885 to May 30, 1886, United Friends of Temperance Fairview Council, B-0037, East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.

²³ “Prohibition Elections in Texas,” Texas Almanac, accessed May 15, 2020, <https://texasalmanac.com/elections/prohibition-elections-texas>.

²⁴ Constitution and By-Laws, 1901, Woman’s Christian Temperance Union of Texas, 3L433, Texas WCTU, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas Austin; Archie P. McDonald, “Woman’s Temperance Union,” *Texas Escapes Online Magazine*, November 6, 2006, <http://www.texasescapes.com/AllThingsHistorical/Womans-Christian-Temperance-Union-AM1106.htm>; Adam Chamberlain, Alixandra B. Yanus, and Nicholas Pyeatt, “The Connection Between the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and the Prohibition Party,” *SAGE*, (October – December 2016): 1-8, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/2158244016684373>.

letter writing, teaching of prohibition values in schools, and the creation of prohibition youth groups, the WCTU sparked considerable interest in local option.²⁵ The WCTU and UFT groups campaigned heavily for the 1887 referendum that would have banned the sale, production, or transportation of all alcohol in Texas. This referendum lost by more than 90,000 votes but, by 1895, fifty-three counties were dry under the 1876 Constitution. This showed an increase in the number of local option supporters, spurring on the Prohibitionists and forcing the Anti-prohibitionists to finally begin campaigning as well.

Nationally, Wets opposed prohibition on the grounds that access to alcohol was a basic right under the United States Constitution and alcohol production and consumption increased tax revenue considerably. Wet businessmen in Texas theorized prohibition would cripple the state's economy and commercial value.²⁶ Neither side was willing to compromise on their beliefs, so the Texas Drys and the Wets debated and fought through eight local option and prohibition related propositions between 1887 and 1918 – before national prohibition was instated with the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919.

²⁵ James D. Ivy, "The Lone Star State Surrenders to a Lone Woman," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 102, no. 1 (July 1998), 51.

²⁶ Austin Kerr, "Prohibition," *Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified June 15, 2010, accessed June 23, 2017. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vap01>.

The local option campaigns of 1887 and 1911 posed the greatest threat because, if successful, total prohibition would have spread rapidly throughout Texas.²⁷

ENABLING BREWERY EXPANSION

Along with the reemergence of prohibition efforts, the end of the Civil War brought about a period of prosperity that enabled the Texas brewing industry to expand and thrive. Antebellum Americans believed industrial technology and evolving factory systems would serve as an instrument for republican values, diffusing civic virtue and enlightenment along with material wealth, which was accurate to some extent. “Machines” seemed to product an abundance of new products changing and *improving* the American way of life, but it also led to a rise in poverty, slums, and deplorable working conditions.²⁸ The “New South” enjoyed increased economic benefits and the effects of these benefits – expansion of railroads, mechanization, and immigration – ultimately positively impacted Texas brewing industry. This is evident in the way the brewing business changed in the years after the Civil War. The eight aforementioned breweries utilized the changes of the time period to improve their business.²⁹

²⁷ James W. Endersby, “Prohibition and Repeal: Voting on Statewide Liquor Referenda in Texas,” *The Social Science Journal*, Vol. 49 (2012): 503-505.

²⁸ Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 38.

²⁹ Breweries analyzed in this project include Houston Ice and Brewing Company’s Magnolia Brewery, American Brewing Company, Galveston Brewing Company, Lone Star Brewery, San Antonio Brewing Association, Dallas Brewing Company, Texas Brewing Company, and Spoetzkl Brewery. This is a brief

Beginning in the early 1870s, the Second Industrial Revolution changed the way Texans did business. With the expansion of steel production and the massive amount of unincorporated land in Texas, railroads completely altered the Texas landscape. Cheap, rapid transportation brought all areas of the economy closer; components of production could be combined far more readily than ever before.³⁰ As railroads connected the south Texas to north Texas, the influence of the railroad companies grew. State and local government officials made numerous concessions in favor of railroad companies. In March 1871, Congress made expansion possible by making almost 170 million acres of land available to eighty railroad companies, which led to almost 8,667 miles of railroad being laid in Texas, connecting nearly all Texas cities with 4,000 or more residents and connecting Texas to other states enabling fast interstate trade for the first time.³¹ Other concessions included bonds, such as that given to the Texas & Pacific Railway in 1872 provided by Harrison County voters and grants

description of technological, social, and economic changes that occurred in Gilded Age and Progressive Era. For more information, consult, Gavin Weightman's *The Industrial Revolutionaries: The Making of the Modern World, 1776-1914* or Charles W. Calhoun's collection of essays, *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America*.

³⁰ Samuel P. Hayes, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*, 2nd edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 9. According to Hayes, railroads were more cost and time efficient than shipping by water, which stimulated the economy by creating a national market through their use of labor, capital, and iron.

³¹ Joel Mokyr and Robert H. Strotz, "The Second Industrial Revolution, 1870-1914," April 1998, accessed August 27, 2017, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/769c/a06c2ea1ab122e0e2a37099be00e3c11dd52.pdf>; Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 23; William R. Childs, *Texas Road Commission: Understanding Regulation in America to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 48.

like the Land Grant Law of 1876, which provided railroad companies sixteen sections (10,240 acres) for every mile of main-line track built.³² The Houston and Texas Central Railroad was the first to resume building following the war and gave Texas its first rail connection to St. Louis and the Eastern United States by 1872.³³ The transportation revolution destroyed barriers to distribution and permitted producers to sell to consumers throughout the nation. Manufactures, such as brewers, were no longer excluded from distant markets.³⁴ Prior to this expansion, out-of-state breweries – like Anheuser-Busch – shipped products along water routes to Texas via Galveston.³⁵ From there, local and national breweries alike relied on horse and wagon to deliver product throughout the state, which severely limited distribution. With the spread of railroads, brewers could quickly transport their products further and faster than ever before. Some breweries, like the San Antonio Brewing Association, seized this opportunity and began shipping products to other states.

³² Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (Denton, Tx: University of North Texas, 2012), 305.

³³ Campbell, *Gone to Texas*, 305.

³⁴ Samuel P. Hayes, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*, 10. The expansion of markets also made mass production possible. Previously, there was no incentive for producers to make larger quantities of products, but the unlimited new mass markets encouraged manufacturers to explore and develop mass-production techniques. This occurred in many industries, such as iron, steel, lumber, and meat packing. Samuel P. Hayes, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*, 13.

³⁵ "A Beverage in Universal Demand," *The Galveston Daily News*, July 15, 1885, accessed July 23, 2017, <https://newspaperarchive.com/galveston-daily-news-jul-15-1885-p-5/?tag=american+brewing+company&rtserp=tags/american-brewing-company?&pci=7&psi=94>. At this time, Galveston was a small seaport, so while it was a convenient port to ship products to it was not yet economically advantageous to set up a business there.

By 1890, several other major railroads – the International and Great Northern; Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio; Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe; and Fort Worth and Denver City – combined with existing railroads to enable access to the rest of the United States.³⁶ The railroad expansion inspired some citizens to open new breweries, like James Gannon, who began construction on the Texas City Brewery in March 1891 because of Fort Worth’s proximity to the Texas Central Railway and the various Texas & Pacific Railway systems.³⁷ Before the 1870s, breweries had focused primarily on the local market, but by the turn of the century railroads opened up an entire new range of distribution.

With the proper funding and the adaption of mechanization and new technology Texas breweries could compete at statewide and nationwide levels.³⁸ Mechanization became an integral part of the brewing process enabling brewers to efficiently increase production. For instance, by switching from steam to electricity, the electric rapid gas roaster and hydrometer enabled brewers to brew beer more consistently, allowing brewers to waste less materials due to over

³⁶ Campbell, *Gone to Texas*, 305. “Transformation of the Texas Economy,” The Texas Politics Project at the University of Texas at Austin, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/educational-resources/transformation-texas-economy>. By the 1890s, these monopolies were criticized for setting rates that cut profits for those using their railroads – specifically, ranchers and farmers. This resentment led to the 1890 election of James Stephen Hogg, who promised to regulate railroads. Hogg made the first appointments to the new Texas Railroad Commission in 1891.

³⁷ Paul Hightower and Brian L. Brown, *North Texas & Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond* (Charleston: American Palette, 2014), 25.

³⁸ The expansion of railways helped other industries as well, including the lumber industry based out of East Texas. For more information, see Child’s *Texas Road Commission: Understanding Regulation in America to the Mid-Twentieth Century* or visit the East Texas Research Center which has records from numerous lumber companies based in East Texas.

processing. The most beneficial use of electricity came in the form of automated refrigeration systems on railroad cars and in breweries. Products could be produced and shipped outside of the cold winter months without fear of the beer souring, which was important during hot southern summers.³⁹ However, only the nationally sponsored, and thus well funded, companies – like the Alamo Brewing Company – proved capable of such an aggressive business move.

While some Texas breweries turned to electricity to improve production, others turned to the oil boom that occurred in the early 1900s. The Spindletop oilfield, discovered south of Beaumont in January 1901, marked the birth of the modern petroleum industry.⁴⁰ Due to its proximity to the new oilfield, Houston became a major energy center. Magnolia Brewery, as a result of this development, switched from coal to oil as a power source. The American Brewing Company followed suit a few months later. Both companies utilized 100 to 125 barrels of oil annually from Beaumont to keep their boilers operating at full capacity, increasing production while lowering costs. The brewing industry thrived in the Houston-Galveston area and breweries other large Texas cities quickly took notice and followed suit.

The immigration boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century directly altered the beer Texans drank. Between the 1860s and 1920s,

³⁹ Mike Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918*, 3.

⁴⁰ For more information, visit the Spindletop Gladys City Boomtown museum at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas.

approximately twenty-five million immigrants entered America from Italy, Greece, Russia, Germany, Ireland, and other European countries.⁴¹ After the Civil War, Texas experienced a 272 percent population increase. The population increased to over three million by 1890s due largely to the influx of immigrants.⁴² The new immigrants greatly contributed to the number and quality of breweries in Texas. Specifically, the significant increase in the German population directly impacted Texas breweries.⁴³ After suffering from lack of food, money, and job options in their home countries, German, Czech, and Belgian immigrants saw Texas as “a new Garden of Eden where disheartened people could make a new start. Others saw Texas as an experiment in democracy, a chance for liberty and prosperity.”⁴⁴ Germans arrived in larger numbers than before the war and quickly became the second largest minority after new Mexican immigrants.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 74.

⁴² Campbell, *Gone to Texas*, 304. Robert A. Calvert, Gregg Cantrell, and Arnoldo De Leon, *The History of Texas*, 4th ed. (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 2007), 174-175; “United States Germans to American Index, 1850-1897,” United States Census: Migration and Naturalization, accessed May 15, 2018, https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/results?facetType=ON&query=%2Bresidence_place%3ATexas&birth_place0=5&count=20&collection_id=2110801; “United States Census, 1880,” United States Census: Census & Lists, accessed May 15, 2018, https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/results?count=20&query=%2Bresidence_place%3ATexas&collection_id=1417683.

⁴³ Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918*, 1-3.

⁴⁴ Walter D. Kamphoefner, “The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German Settlements of Eastern Texas,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. CXII, No. 1 (July 2008): 54-55; Glen E. Lich, “Goethe on the Guadalupe,” in *German Culture in Texas*, ed. Glen E. Lich (San Marcos, TX: Texas State University, 1990), 29-32; Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981), 7.

⁴⁵ Campbell, *Gone to Texas*, 304. This is a brief summary of the increase in German immigration during the late nineteenth century. For additional research, see Glen E. Lich’s *German Texans*, Matthew D. Tippens’s *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture*

Prior to the Civil War, brewers in Texas used recipes to brew beer that did not need to be aged or matured – ales, porters, and stouts. Upon their arrival, German, Belgian, and Czech immigrants expressed their desire for dark, bitter beers, such as lagers and pilsners – brewed with bottom-fermenting yeast that used secondary fermentation and aged at a cool temperature for four weeks to nine months.⁴⁶ Arriving in the Gulf coast, German immigrants traveled north along what is called the “German Belt” which coincides with the chronological founding of breweries discussed in this project.⁴⁷ The popularity of darker beers spread quickly and the majority of breweries opened after 1870 brewed at least one lager beer and one pilsner with the assistance of German brew masters. Without the immigration boom that occurred after the Civil War, Texans would have had only a light, unaged beer rather than the diverse assortment of beer that developed following the immigration boom.

in Texas, 1990-1930, and the University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures’ *The German Texans: The Texians and the Texans*.

⁴⁶ Michael C. Hennech and Trace Etienne-Gray, “Brewing Industry,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 12, 2010, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/dib01>.; Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918*, 5-10.

⁴⁷ Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918*, 2.

Table 2. Pre-Prohibition Breweries	
Brewery	Year Opened or Chartered
Alamo Brewery - Lone Star Brewery	1884
San Antonio Brewing Association - Pearl Brewery	1885
Dallas Brewing Company	1885
Texas Brewing Company	1891
Houston Ice and Brewing Company - Magnolia Brewery	1892
American Brewing Company	1893
Galveston Brewing Company	1895
Spoetzl Brewery - Shiner Brewery	1909

THE EVOLUTION OF TEXAS BREWERIES – 1870 to 1911

Michael Hennich said it best in his work, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Prohibition 1836-1918*, that “the period before local option can best be described as a maze of speculation, rumor, and forgotten history.”⁴⁸ The Texas brewing industry before 1870 consisted of home breweries or very small brewing companies that rarely lasted more than a year at a time due to increasing state and national competition and the overall expense of running such a business. It is because of their brevity that few records remain from smaller post-civil war

⁴⁸ This is a well-known quote from the definitive work of Michael Hennich, however, the quote in its current format was drawn from the work of Ronnie Crocker. Mr. Hennich’s book is out of print and difficult to gain regular access to; Ronnie Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History of Brewing in the Bayou City* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 13.

breweries.⁴⁹ The best explanation of the late nineteenth century Texas brewing industry is achieved by analyzing the larger breweries, many of which developed in or near major cities: Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Austin. Often, breweries opened as a result of a community's desire for a local beer rather than the nationally marketed products out of St. Louis, Cincinnati, or Milwaukee.

The Houston Ice and Brewing Company was the first local brewery to successfully challenge the national breweries in the Houston market. Under the leadership of Hugh Hamilton, a manufacturer of ice and ice machines, the Houston Ice and Brewing Company obtained a brewery charter in 1892 and began production in 1893 under the name Magnolia Brewery.⁵⁰ Construction on the new Magnolia Brewery is estimated to have cost around \$200,000 – approximately \$5 million dollars in 2018. With the support of a board of investors, Magnolia Brewery had the capital to purchase technology unaffordable to smaller breweries. When it opened, Magnolia Brewery had 42 fermentation tanks –

⁴⁹ Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918*, 1-6; The most notable early Texas brewery is the Kreische Brewery in La Grange, Texas. Opened in 1860 by Heinrich Ludwig Kreische, a German immigrant and master stonemason, the brewery found great success, but the business fell apart after the unexpected death of Kreische in 1884. While the brewery grounds are preserved, there are few written records of the brewery's business dealings. Monument Hill and Kreische Brewery State Historic Sites have additional information about the brewery and its owner, Heinrich Kreische.

⁵⁰ Morrison and Forney's General Directory of Houston, 1892-1893, Houston Metropolitan Research Center; "One Hundred Years of Brewing," in *The Western Brewer* (Chicago: H.S. Rich & Co., 1903), 528; Louis F. Aulbach and Linda Gorski, "Hugh Hamilton and Magnolia Brewery," Buffalo Bayou, accessed December 15, 2018, <http://www.epperts.com/lfa/BB82.html>.

capable of holding 85 barrels of beer each – and a set of ice machines that could produce nearly 250 tons of ice daily.⁵¹ When Magnolia Brewery opened to the public and began selling product, the owners listed the facility’s capacity at 60,000 barrels a year. For two decades, Magnolia Brewery thrived and expanded to encompass more than twenty acres north and south of the Buffalo Bayou.

By 1913, Magnolia – still under the leadership of Hugh Hamilton – produced high quality brews, such as Southern Select, Richelieu, Magnolia Pale Ale, and Hiawatha, a “near-beer.”⁵² In 1913, Southern Select, created by famed brewmaster, Frantz Brogniez, won the Grand Prix of the Exposition Universelle de Belgique in Ghent, Belgium. In this international competition, Southern Select defeated more than 4,600 other beers and proved that Texans were drinking the best beer in the world.⁵³ Because of Brogniez’s brewing genius, Magnolia Brewery “put Milwaukee out of the running and [left] St. Louis nowhere.”⁵⁴ Brogniez’s family recipe quickly became Magnolia Brewery’s best-kept secret and top selling product. The complex continued to expand and eventually covered four city blocks, which increased its capacity to 175,000 barrels a year.

⁵¹ Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 21.

⁵² Carolina Gonzalez, “Long-Extinct Houston Brewery Won World Prize in 1913,” *Houston Chronicle*, August 13, 2015, accessed January 7, 2018, <https://www.chron.com/chrontv/this-forgotten-day-in-houston/article/Long-extinct-Houston-brewery-won-world-prize-in-6442229.php>.

⁵³ Gonzalez, “Long-Extinct Houston Brewery Won World Prize in 1913.”

⁵⁴ R.H. Brogniez and Ann Gallaway, “Frantz Brogniez, Brewmaster,” *Texas Highways*, July 13, 2012, accessed June 14, 2017, texashighways.com/blog/item/6109-frantz-brogniez-brewmaster.

Magnolia Brewery was now “the largest [brewery] in the South.”⁵⁵ By the time prohibition halted operations, Magnolia Brewery employed almost one hundred workers and encompassed more than twenty acres of land along the Buffalo Bayou, beginning at the corner of Washington and 4th Street, according to the *Houston City Directory*.⁵⁶ Magnolia Brewery had thrived despite considerable competition from the better funded Texas breweries, like the American Brewing Company.

Adolphus Busch – the “King of Beer” and co-owner of one of the largest breweries in history, the Anheuser-Busch Company in St. Louis – established the American Brewing Company in 1893, making it the first nationally sponsored brewery in Texas.⁵⁷ Busch was so confident in his burgeoning brewery, he bragged, “our new brewery, which is the largest in Texas and one of the model breweries in the country, has been completed and in operation [for] over two months. We will not be ready to put our own beer on the market before March 1... But we can assure you that it will be equal in purity and flavor to the best brands of St. Louis or Milwaukee and superior to any made in the South.”⁵⁸ With funding provided by the “King of Beer,” the American Brewing Company could

⁵⁵ Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 37.

⁵⁶ Ferdinand Meyer V, “Houston Ice and Brewing Company – Magnolia Brewery,” *Peachridge Glass*, accessed June 23, 2017, <http://www.peachridgeglass.com/2013/11/houston-ice-and-brewing-co-magnolia-brewery>.

⁵⁷ *Morrison and Forney’s General Directory of Houston, 1892-1893*, Houston Metropolitan Research Center.

⁵⁸ Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 20-21.

improve product as needed, either by purchasing the latest brewing technology or by expanding the size of the brewery to accommodate the production of more product. By 1903, the brewery had the capacity to produce 110,000 barrels of beer yearly and 250 tons of ice daily.⁵⁹

The American Brewing Company and the Magnolia Brewing Company were significant fixtures in Houston and sizable operations. Combing all of their business ventures – ice production, ice cream, bottling works, etc. – the two breweries were listed among “principal railways, manufactories, and industries, etc. of the city” by the *Galveston Daily News* in 1893 in an article titled, “Busier than ever is the good city of Houston and its people.”⁶⁰ The breweries profited from their positions in the growing Houston area and Houston profited from having one of the fastest growing industries in its back yard. For the time being, it was great to be a part of the Houston, Texas brewing industry.

Cities, both founded in the late 1830s, Houston and Galveston complimented each other economically. Houston was the innermost point in the state that could be reached by water year round and Galveston was the largest point of entry into the state. Galveston suffered economically during the Civil War, but quickly recovered and grew to be the largest Texas city by 1880, with a

⁵⁹ Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 16-20; Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918*, 79.

⁶⁰ “Busier than Ever is the good city of Houston and its people,” *The Galveston Daily News*, September 13, 1893, Houston Metropolitan Research Center.

population of over 22,000.⁶¹ With growing commercial success, entrepreneurs looked to grow businesses in the port city, including the brewing industry. When a few local businessmen opened the Galveston Brewing Company in February 1895, the business community and citizens of Galveston welcomed the prosperity provided by the brewery.⁶² The original company was launched with a \$400,000 investment – half of which Adolphus Busch and William J. Lemp raised in an effort to test the market in Galveston, while independent local investors raised the rest – and an annual 50,000-barrel capacity. Businessmen considered the brewery a beneficial investment because of the potential for easy transportation of product. The Santa Fe Railway had just laid a new track on the north side of the property and a local railroad already existed to the west.⁶³ Investors hoped the brewery would be able to transport products by sea to other gulf ports and, Busch hoped, to the West Indies on refrigerated ships.⁶⁴

The Galveston Brewing Company benefitted greatly from the success of the Houston breweries as investors saw the benefits of investing in a top of the line facility. Upon completion, the facility itself was a testament to the investors'

⁶¹ David G. McComb, *Galveston: A History and Guide* (Denton, TX: Texas State Historical Association, 2000), 33.

⁶² *Galveston Daily News*, March 6, 1895, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://newspaperarchive.com/galveston-daily-news-mar-06-1895-p-6/?tag=galveston+brewing+company>.

⁶³ George C. Werner, "Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe Railway," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 13, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/egg25>.

⁶⁴ Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 26.

dreams of grandeur. The facility was a five-story brick, Romanesque-style factory with a state of the art “refrigeration system” that held production machinery – both beer and ice – amassing 250 tons. The facility also had a two-story boiler room hosting three 250-horsepower, coal-fired boilers. The Galveston Brewing Company was upheld as a “model in point of design and convenience” by the *Galveston Daily News*.⁶⁵ Unlike other breweries that had to wait until their beer was properly aged, the Galveston Brewing Company was able to release product in July 1896 that was mechanically aged to “four months old, which [was] considered the proper age for good drinking beer.”⁶⁶ The public praised the Galveston Brewing Company and its brewmasters – who belonged to a long line of brewers from Munich – for their distinctively German beer.

Despite increased support for prohibition it seemed there was little that could stop the thriving breweries in the Houston-Galveston area. However, the Galveston Brewing Company’s business greatly suffered from and barely survived the 1900 “Great Galveston Hurricane.” Although the Galveston Brewing Company went largely unscathed and actively assisted in disaster response efforts by offering ice to all in need, sales suffered. The hurricane had destroyed Galveston. Investors now viewed the Galveston area as a financial liability, so many withdrew their investments and moved to other major cities. This stunted

⁶⁵ *Galveston Daily News*, April 30, 1895, accessed June 22, 2017, <https://newspaperarchive.com/galveston-daily-news-apr-30-1895-p-8/?tag=galveston+brewing+company>

⁶⁶ Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 26.

the Galveston Brewing Company's growth and development, but the brewery continued to limp along and produce beer, including high quality "liquid food" and the aptly named Seawall Bond.⁶⁷

San Antonio was the next major city to embrace the growing desire for beer and quickly became the epicenter of the Texas brewing industry. The Alamo Brewing Company – renamed the Lone Star Brewery when Anheuser-Busch assumed full ownership in 1895 – entered the beer scene in 1884 and immediately seized the local Texas beer market.⁶⁸ Lone Star, or the "National Beer of Texas" as it is commonly known, has had a tumultuous and complicated history because of its numerous owners.

In 1883, John Hermann Kampmann – a German immigrant who had become a well-known architect, contractor, and businessman in San Antonio after his arrival in 1848 – raised \$100,000 and approached Adolphus Busch and Edward Hoppe to raise an additional \$15,000 to create the Lone Star Brewing

⁶⁷ "The Galveston Hurricane of 1900: Remembering the deadliest natural disaster in American history."

⁶⁸ *The Dallas Herald*, January 1, 1884, accessed June 23, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph293495/hits/?q=Lone%Star%20Brewery>.

Association.⁶⁹ Construction on the brewery was completed later that same year.⁷⁰ Construction costs went over budget, but the Lone Star Brewing Association was the most mechanized brewery in Texas at the time.⁷¹

While Kampmann was named president of the company, Busch – who had stock in numerous other breweries in the state and around the country – was more active in Lone Star operations and provided invaluable design and operation expertise to the company. The Lone Star executives hired Otto Koelher to manage operations and to differentiate Lone Star from what was essentially its parent corporation in St. Louis to meet San Antonio’s growing demand for local beer.⁷² Lone Star Brewery managed to outsell other local breweries and provide major competition to national breweries. The young company monopolized the Texas beer industry for three years before the creation of the San Antonio Brewing Association in 1887 spurred additional construction at Lone Star.⁷³ In

⁶⁹ Index to Deeds: Direct L to R, 1842-1893, Travis County Clerk’s Office, Austin, Texas; Jeremy Banas and Travis E. Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint* (Charleston: The American Palette, 2015), 60; “Lone Star Brewery: What Pluck, Enterprise, and United Work Can Do,” *The San Antonio Light*, September 8, 1884, accessed June 23, 2017,

<https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph162959/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22Lone%20Lone%20%Star%20Brewery>; Aragorn Storm Miller, “Kampmann, John Herman,” last modified April 2011, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fka17>.

⁷⁰ Paula Allen, “Lone Star Brewing Co. brought mass-produced beer to San Antonio,” *San Antonio Express News*, Updated January 3, 2018, <https://www.expressnews.com/sa300/article/Lone-Star-Brewing-Co-brought-mass-produced-beer-12399300.php>.

⁷¹ “Lone Star Brewery: What Pluck, Enterprise, and United Work Can Do.”

⁷² Linda C. Flory, “Old Lone Star Brewery, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form,” October 26, 1972, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service; Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 60-61.

⁷³ “Lone Star Brewery: What Pluck, Enterprise, and United Work Can Do.”

1895, Busch bought out Kampmann and Hoppe and invested more money to update the brewery. In addition to constructing new buildings, wood-framed buildings were replaced with brick structures. With these new improvements and expansion, production increased to 65,000 barrels of beer a year.⁷⁴

When the San Antonio Brewery Association (SABA) emerged on the brewing scene, local newspapers called it a “ray of light” and declared that the brewery would bring unknown fortune to the community.⁷⁵ Like Lone Star, SABA has a complex history as it passed between no less than five different owners before 1920. SABA, originally City Brewery, began as a small brewery owned by local businessman, J.B. Belohradsky, in 1885.⁷⁶ Like other breweries, City Brewery began production with some of the most cutting-edge technology available – refrigeration systems, storage facilities that enabled aging, etc. With efficient production, Belohradsky priced his products lower than his competition. The quality and pricing of his beer quickly gained favor over those being imported from St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Jeremy Banas, *Pearl: A History of San Antonio's Iconic Beer* (Charleston: History Press, 2018): 3-5; Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 62.

⁷⁵ “Rays of Light,” *The San Antonio Light*, September 13, 1884, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ar:/67531/metaph162964/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22Lone%20Star%20Brewery>.

⁷⁶ Banas, *Pearl: A History of San Antonio's Iconic Beer*, 10. Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 35-36. Owners renamed SABA Pearl Brewing Company in 1952 to clearly associate the brewery with their most popular product, Pearl Beer.

⁷⁷ “The Daily Light,” *The San Antonio Light*, November 28, 1884, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph163027/hits/?q=Belohradsky>.

City Brewery continued to succeed until investors accused Belohradsky of embezzling from the company. Belohradsky cleared his name, but at a great cost to himself and the brewery. After spending the vast majority of his money on lawyers and legal fees, Belohradsky faced financial ruin and had to sell the brewery.⁷⁸ The new owners – Oscar Bergstrom and Otto Koehler – sold the remaining City Brewery products and even used some of Belohradsky's distribution routes to send pilsners to west Texas and New Mexico. In April 1887, the new owners renamed the brewery the San Antonio Brewing Association after a new charter was officially approved by the state.⁷⁹

As production at SABA increased and it purchased new equipment – like a new ice machine and new boiler – SABA presented a major challenge to Lone Star's monopoly in San Antonio. SABA purchased a new recipe for its famed "Pearl Beer" from the Kaiser-Beck Brewery in Bremen, Germany. This was the first sale of the international name and gave SABA the right to use "Pearl" in association with beer.⁸⁰ SABA debuted City XXX Pearl Beer on July 4, 1887,

⁷⁸ The City Brewery - which was struggling to make payments on the initial loans that allowed it to open – sunk deeper into debt and shareholders, unnerved by the embezzlement allegations, refused to provide more capital to continue production. One of Belohradsky's lawyers, Oscar Bergstrom, saw the opportunity to make a profit and organized a group of men – including Koehler, who still worked for Lone Star – to purchase City Brewery in February 1887 for \$51,910.06, clearing both the brewery's debts and Belohradsky's personal debts.

⁷⁹ Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 39; "San Antonio Siftings," *The Galveston Daily News*, February 2, 1887, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph461145/m1/3/zoom/?q=%22San%20Antonio%20Brewery%Association>; Koehler – who had previously been working at Lone Star as brewmaster – quit his position at Lone Star and became SABA President in 1904.

⁸⁰ Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 36.

presenting a new, crisp beer San Antonians appreciated. The new beer was a major success in San Antonio and, using refrigeration systems already onsite, SABA produced beer year-round as opposed to only brewing in the winter – as many smaller breweries were still forced to do.⁸¹ Advertisements proclaimed, “The New City Beer, just out, and very fine. Try it!” “Have you tried the new brand of City Pearl Beer? The Finest flavored beer in the market! Be sure and try, and you will be convinced!” “Warranted to be the same at all times. Ask for it, drink no other!”⁸² Consistency, under the supervision of brewmaster, Oscar Oswald Schreiber, proved to be SABA’s greatest claim to fame. Few breweries – both national and local – could consistency brew the same beer and SABA’s ability to do so initiated the beginning of Pearl’s domination of the regional market. The increase in demand led to an increase in production, which necessitated upgrades in the brewery. By 1888, SABA increased its office space and added a cooper shop, a washing house, a bottling building, and storage rooms. This was in addition to the existing hop room and beer cellars.⁸³

Production and distribution continued to increase under Koehler’s leadership. To expand distribution, SABA executives built an electric car system

⁸¹ *The Galveston Daily News*, November 18, 1889, accessed June 22, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph468314/m1/3/zoom/?q=%22Pearl%20Beer%22>.

⁸² Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 37. The new board members originally followed Belohradsky’s minimal advertising method and relied on word of mouth. However, with the addition of new products like Pearl Beer in 1889 and Texas Pride in 1904, SABA advertised more heavily, which increased profits.

⁸³ Banas *Pearl: A History of San Antonio’s Iconic Beer*, 23.

for short trip deliveries to local distributors and the Southern Pacific Railroad, which dispensed products and brought supplies for the brewery back on inbound trains. By 1892, SABA produced approximately 60,000 barrels a year, employed more than sixty people, and underwent a \$250,000 renovation. Over the course of four years, the property gained a second bottling house, another washhouse, an ice plant, a new beer vault for aging, a second boiler room, a stockroom, and the cellars were mechanized. The new brewhouse held twenty-nine 250-barrel wooden tanks and eight 600-barrel wooden tanks. By the time construction completed in 1894, the brewery produced 100,000 barrels of beer a year.⁸⁴ Even with considerable cost of the expansion and competition presented by Lone Star, SABA continued to succeed and flourish until the murder of Koehler – the SABA President – in 1914 and a federal tax evasion investigation into several prominent SABA employees – such as SABA Vice President, Corwin T. Priest. Unfortunately, by the time SABA recovered from these trials, the Volstead Act had passed, production had halted, and board members questioned if they should change their business model or shut down entirely.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 41; Banas, *Pearl: A History of San Antonio's Iconic Beer*, 25.

⁸⁵ Banas and Poling, *San Antonio Beer: Alamo City History by the Pint*, 45; Kelsey Bradshaw, "The True Little-Known Story of the Three Emmas of San Antonio's Pearl Brewery," *My San Antonio*, November 3, 2017, accessed January 19, 2018, <https://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/The-true-story-of-San-Antonio-s-Three-Emmas-of-12326609.php>; "Pearl Brewery Company." Otto Koehler was shot and killed by one of his mistresses, Emily Burgemeister, in November 1914 after she discovered he was having second affair with another woman named Emily. After mourning, Koehler's wife, Emily Koehler, assumed presidency of the company and served as such for four years before getting remarried.

Anton Wagenhauser, a German immigrant who had moved to Dallas from St. Louis, obtained a charter for the Wagenhauser Brewing Association in May 1885, which proved to be the first Dallas based brewery capable of competition with national breweries.⁸⁶ Wagenhauser outfitted the steam-powered brewery with some of the most modern equipment capable of producing two hundred barrels of beer a day. *The Dallas Herald* declared the brewery to be “one of the most complete and extensive breweries in the South.” In addition to producing beer, Wagenhauser made additional use of his refrigeration system by manufacturing ice, which proved to be a natural extension of the business as lagers had to be refrigerated to maintain proper fermentation temperatures.⁸⁷

The brewery had a grand opening on June 13, 1885 and welcomed citizens, local business owners, and politicians.⁸⁸ For Wagenhauser’s contribution to the City of Dallas, city officials presented him a “gold-headed cane” to thank Wagenhauser for his tireless efforts and new business.⁸⁹ When advertising, Wagenhauser defended and advertised his product by emphasizing the theory that fresh, local beer was better than national brands because local

⁸⁶ Dallas County Probate Case 2016: Wagenhauser, Anton, April 1883 – December 1898, Dallas Genealogical Society.

⁸⁷ “Dallas Manufacturers,” *The Dallas Herald*, May 1, 1885, June 22, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph287385/m1/2/zoom/?q=Wagenhauser&resolution>.

⁸⁸ Hightower and Brown, *North Texas & Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond*, 37.

⁸⁹ “A Canning,” *The Herald*, January 2, 1885, accessed June 23, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph28767/m1/2/zoom/?q=Wagenhauser&resolution>.

beers did not require the addition of “drugs” – additives brewers used to preserve the beer for long transport. Wagenhauser and local newspapers called his beer “absolutely pure.” *The Dallas Herald* advertised, “Wagenhauser beer is pure, and whenever you spend five cents on beer, you get value received and your money stays home. Patronize your local brewery!” This clever marketing strategy, whether true or not, proved convincing as citizens of Dallas began purchasing Wagenhauser’s product over national brands and helped sales remain steady as the prohibition movement grew. Unfortunately for Wagenhauser, a series of legal issues ruined his brewery and it sold at auction to Frederick Wolf of Chicago. Wolf partnered with James and John Gannon and immediately began making improvements to increase the value of the brewery. By 1886, the new owners obtained a charter renaming the brewery The Dallas Brewing Company.

Wagenhauser and the new Dallas Brewing Company continued to suffer legally and financially. Almost immediately after purchasing brewery, Wolf and the Gannon Brothers were sued by the Butler for unpaid construction fees. The lawsuit immediately went to court and the judge ruled the brewery be sold to repay Butler’s claim of over \$6,000.⁹⁰ The property sold to Griggs in January 1887 for \$8,000.⁹¹ At this point, the brewery was more famous for its lawsuits

⁹⁰ “The Dallas Brewery Muddle,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 7, 1884, accessed June 14, 2017, <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/79194431>.

⁹¹ *The Galveston Daily News*, January 6, 1887, accessed June 15, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph463682/m1/5/zoom/?q=Wagenhauser&resolution:> Hightower and Brown, *North Texas Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and*

than its beer. After almost facing foreclosure for unpaid debts while the “celebrated brewery suit” carried on, Thomas F. Keeley, President of the Keeley Brewing Company purchased the brewery in 1893 and swore to make improvements on the property and usher in a new period of prosperity, which was much needed because of new local competitors.⁹²

While James Gannon fled the Dallas Brewing Company in 1890, he had no intention of leaving the brewing industry. Gannon was well aware that Fort Worth’s access to railways presented an advantage. So, after getting a chemist to testify that the City of Fort Worth had water well suited for brewing beer, Gannon chartered the Texas Brewing Company in September 1890 and began working as the brewery’s president.⁹³ The Texas Brewing Company began an ambitious \$500,000 construction project in March 1891 before selling its first beer.⁹⁴ Within a year, the brewery had 160 employees, a production capacity of 250,000 barrels per year, and an ice manufacturing plant capable of producing

Beyond, 37. Wolf and Gannons filed an injunction – which was denied – and several appeals extensively extending the dispute until 1894 when the Texas Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals ruled the sale to Griggs was vacated and Wolf maintained the liens.

⁹² “The Dallas Brewery Muddle.”

⁹³ Hightower and Brown, *North Texas Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond*, 38.

⁹⁴ “Notes of Progress,” *The Gazette: Fort Worth*, April 18, 1891, accessed June 23, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph109534/m1/4/?q=Texas%20Brewing%20Company&resolution>; “Notes of Progress,” *The Gazette: Fort Worth*, May 10, 1891, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph109556/m1/6/zoom/?q=Texas%20Brewing%20Company&resolution>.

one hundred tons of ice daily.⁹⁵ Under the leadership of Gannon – and later Martin Casey and Zane Cetti – the Texas Brewing Company continued to improve and grow until the prohibition stopped production in 1920.

The Spoetzl Brewery – originally named the Shiner Brewery – in Shiner, Texas is slightly different from the other breweries in this project. While the majority of significant late nineteenth century breweries in Texas were constructed in or near cities with large populations, a thriving economy, and an extensive railroad system, the town of Shiner had none of those desired attributes in the late 1800s. The town did not exist until Henry B. Shiner donated the land for the town in 1887. At this time, Shiner focused on cotton production as its source of revenue and when those in the cotton industry gained access to the railroads, the city transported raw materials around the state, which improved the town's economy.⁹⁶ The growing town attracted a considerable German and Czech community and these immigrants, as in many Texas towns and cities, came with a thirst for good, dark lager.

In response to this new demand, a group of locals – primarily farmers and businessmen with little brewing experience – decided to create the Shiner Brewing Association in 1909. The investors contracted Herman Weiis, a

⁹⁵ Hightower and Brown, *North Texas Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond*, 38.

⁹⁶ "History of Shiner," Shiner Chamber of Commerce, accessed November 11, 2018, <https://www.shinertx.com/history>; Originally known as Half Moon, Texas, Shiner did not begin to prosper until Henry Shiner donated a parcel of land – that was close to the railroad – to the city.

brewmaster in Galveston, to move to Shiner, bring his brewing equipment, and become the brewmaster for the new brewery.⁹⁷ When construction began on the brewery, the contractors struck water at just fifty-five feet and created an artesian well. Brewery officials believed this was a sign that the brewery was blessed by a higher power and the association quickly began production. By July 1909, the Shiner Brewing Association had obtained its charter and was ready to start selling its product. Soon, every saloon in and around Shiner sold Shiner beer. Unfortunately, operations struggled, and consistency problems spoiled the business.⁹⁸ By 1914, the Shiner Brewing Association needed to revamp or sell the brewery.⁹⁹

Kosmos Spoetzl, a German immigrant with considerable brewing experience, learned of the Shiner Brewing Association and co-leased the brewery with Oswald Petzold with an option to buy in 1915. Spoetzl was an experienced brewer and a shrewd businessman when it came to running his operation. He immediately made improvements to the brewery and its brand.

⁹⁷ *Shiner Gazette*, August 11, 1910, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth111843/hits/?q=Shiner%20Brewery>.

⁹⁸ Renfro, *Shiner On: 100 Years of History, Legends, Half-Truths, and Tall Tales about Texas' Most Beloved Little Brewery*, 18. The brewery subjected consumers to sour beer on more than one occasion due to improper fermentation and refrigeration, which brought the brewery dangerously close to bankruptcy on two separate occasions. Officials added an ice and refrigeration plant to the property in March 1910 to help remedy these problems, but the damage could not be repaired.

⁹⁹ *Shiner Gazette*, March 17, 1910, accessed June 15, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/metapth111824.hits/?q=Shiner%20Brewery>; Diana J. Kleiner, "Spoetzl Brewery," *Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified May 6, 2016, accessed June 14, 2017, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/dis01>.

When Spoetzl arrived, he brought a family recipe for a Bavarian beer made from pure malt and hops. He used this recipe to regain the trust of previously lost customers. Within a year of buying the brewery, Spoetzl renamed the operation “Home Brewery,” and began producing beer in wooden kegs and bottles.¹⁰⁰ It is recorded that Spoetzl approached customers around town in the heat of summer, proclaiming “[What is this water you’re drinking?! Water is for washing your feet, beer is for drinking! Here, I’ll get you one!!” and he would sell them a beer out of a keg in the back of his wagon.¹⁰¹ After five years, the brewery completely turned around and made a profit for the first time since its inception and continued to do so until prohibition. Even then, Spoetzl kept the brewery operational by selling ice and near beer. Spoetzl was one of the few breweries able to cope with America’s new reality without alcohol.

Unfortunately, with the beneficial developments – mechanization, spread of railroads, etc. – of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century came the reactionary social movements, such as the prohibition. An increase in the number of local option supporters and counties voting to go dry in the 1890s forced Anti-Prohibitionists, including brewers, to begin actively campaigning against prohibition by holding rallies, advertising in newspapers, and canvassing counties.

¹⁰⁰ Diana J. Kleiner, “Spoetzl Brewery.”

¹⁰¹ Renfro, *Shiner On: 100 Years of History, Legends, Half-Truths, and Tall Tales about Texas’ Most Beloved Little Brewery*, 20.

Table 3. Prohibition Elections Turnout, 1887-1911. Adapted from <i>Texas Almanac Online</i>	
Year	Total Votes Cast
1887	349,897
	For Prohibition: 129,270
	Against: 220,627
1908	286,971
	Submit to Vote: 145,530
	Against: 141,441
1911	468,489
	For Prohibition: 231,096
	Against: 237,393

BREWERS FIGHT PROHIBITION

Brewery grand openings became a favorite method of challenging Prohibitionists. Almost every brewery that opened after 1890 held a well-publicized event to show the community that breweries presented opportunities to spend time with family and friends, while helping the economy. Magnolia Brewery held a grand opening in 1893 and welcomed “all good citizens, even those not friendly to [their] cause, to throw aside little personal prejudices and give [them] the pleasure of their presence at the opening and partake with the us the product of the farm... [which is] useful and beneficial for the use of men,

women, and children.”¹⁰² Brewers used these grand openings to show the benefits breweries brought to the community – tax revenue, new jobs, etc. The perceived impact of these grand openings depended upon the newspaper’s editor’s bias. Newspapers supporting Anti-prohibition praised the grand openings and breweries because of the benefits to the community. Newspapers supporting Prohibitionists, however, called the grand openings drunken orgies that went against the church and state. The controversial treatment of the breweries’ grand openings illustrated the contentious relations between the opposing sides of the Prohibition movement.

According to historic records – including newspaper articles and letters from SABA, the Texas Brewing Company, and Alamo Brewing Company – some breweries, like the Galveston Brewing Company and Magnolia Brewery, appeared to do very little to fight against prohibition. This all changed as Prohibitionists increasingly called for local option elections and more counties went dry. In 1901, brewers united to form the Texas Brewer’s Association. The association included the Dallas Brewery, the Texas Brewing Company, the Galveston Brewing Company, the Houston Ice and Brewing Company, the San Antonio Brewing Association, the American Brewing Association, Lone Star Brewing Company, Anheuser-Busch, William J. Lemp, and Frederick Pabst. A

¹⁰² Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History*, 21.

joint agreement suggested that the association formed strictly to present a united front against labor disputes, which remained their primary goal, but other projects included lobbying against a proposed amendment to the state constitution requiring a poll tax receipt be shown prior to voting.¹⁰³ The breweries were competitors, but, with the threat of local option looming over them all, the brewers were partners and kept in constant communication regarding upcoming elections and anti-prohibitionist efforts.¹⁰⁴ The Texas Brewer's Association became the unofficial head of the Anti-prohibition movement in the state.

Prohibitionists united under the Texas branch of the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), which arrived in 1907. Modeled after the Ohio branch of the Anti-Saloon league, the ASL is largely awarded the most recognition for the progress made in Texas during this time. However, some scholars argue the ASL would not have succeeded without the help of local anti-liquor policies and organizations – such as the Texas Local Option Association which merged with the ASL in 1907 –

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Gone to Texas*, 330. The association wanted to block this amendment because it would disenfranchise the African American and immigrant voters who had overwhelmingly anti-prohibitionist sentiments and could not afford to pay the tax. The association wanted to take advantage of these new voters and attempted to bribe African American voters to vote wet in the upcoming local option elections. Unfortunately, the association failed to block the amendment and failed to get another much-needed amendment passed that would have instituted a two-year waiting period between elections – which would have eased the constant threat of counties voting to go dry. See also, Brendan J. Payne, “Defending Black Suffrage: Poll Taxes, Preachers, and Anti-Prohibition in Texas, 1887-1916,” *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4 (November 2017): 32-26.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Schamm to brewery officers, 16 August 1909, Texas Brewers' Institute 1909-1976, 1977/035-1, Pearl Brewery, Lone Star Brewery, and San Antonio Brewing Association Correspondence and List of Distributors, 1937-1979, Folder 1, Box 3, University of Texas San Antonio.

better acquainted with the local culture and political atmosphere.¹⁰⁵ The ASL renewed and organized the Prohibitionists' passion for the cause, and increased efforts to bring about prohibition through fundraising, propaganda, and speaking out against the evils of alcohol. A renewed focus was placed on local option elections, which were more accepted by Southern states, like Texas, but had previously been looked down upon by radical dries as distracting and a hindrance to total prohibition.¹⁰⁶ Like the liquor industry, Prohibitionists experienced the most success in local option elections when like-minded political figures – like Morris Sheppard who was a Texas Representative before being elected to the United States Senate in 1913 – were in positions of power. In response to this unification, breweries showed how far they were willing to go to great lengths to win votes.

An examination of San Antonio Brewing Association letters provided one of the best and most aggressive examples of breweries seeking to manipulate the local option elections. In their business correspondence, executives discussed local option and sent representatives to counties where local option

¹⁰⁵ Szymanski, "Beyond Parochialism: Southern Progressives, Prohibition, and State-Building," 120.

¹⁰⁶ Szymanski, "Beyond Parochialism: Southern Progressives, Prohibition, and State-Building," 123. According to Szymanski, studies show that local option proved more effective in the south because southern laws allowed smaller localities – precincts, districts, and municipalities – to carve out dry "oases" in the middle of wet cities or counties. This offered slow stepping stones to statewide prohibition.

elections were taking place.¹⁰⁷ These representatives attempted to gain support for the anti-prohibitionists through motivational speeches and anti-prohibition rallies, where brewers contended that alcohol production provided the state with a considerable tax revenue and the loss of this revenue would eventually cripple the state's economy, which was still recovering from the Civil War.¹⁰⁸

After almost five years of campaigning from both sides, Drys pushed again for statewide prohibition in 1911. The referendum failed as before, but by a smaller margin.¹⁰⁹ The number of dry counties increased. Most of North Texas went dry, while South Texas – where large populations of predominantly Catholic immigrants lived – remained wet or partially wet. Of the major cities, only Dallas and Fort Worth had gone dry.¹¹⁰ The Prohibitionists in Texas did not get another

¹⁰⁷ Otto Wahrmond to B. Adoue of the Galveston Brewing Company, 12 October 1909, Texas Brewers' Institute 1909-1976, 1977/035-1, Pearl Brewery, Lone Star Brewing and San Antonio Brewing Association Correspondence and List of Distributors, 1937-1979, Folder 1, Box 3, University of Texas San Antonio.

¹⁰⁸ "Action Has Begun Contesting Local Option: Number of Votes Declared Illegal," Travis County Local Option Campaign Committee Records, Folder 33A, Austin History Center. S.E. Nicholson, "The Local-Option Movement," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 32, Regulation of Liquor Traffic (November 1908): 472.

¹⁰⁹ The African American and immigrant vote proved crucial to this election and the Anti-prohibitionists focused on gaining African American support. There is evidence African American ministers received modest pay for campaigning on behalf of the Anti-prohibitionists and, rumor spread that some breweries, specifically those which Anheuser-Busch invested in, bought men's votes for their cause with land or money. Cities with large German, Czech, and Belgian immigrants rejected Prohibition efforts because of the central role beer played in their culture. For more information concerning race relations and the prohibition issue, see Brendan Payne's "Defending Black Suffrage: Poll Taxes, Preachers, and Anti-Prohibition in Texas, 1887-1916" or Walter Kamphoefner's "The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German Settlements of Texas."

¹¹⁰ *Home and State*, June 1, 1916, accessed June 23, 2017, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph845450/m1/1/?q=%22Houston%20Ice%20and%20Brewing%20Company%22-1>.

chance to campaign for local option. With the United States entering World War I, the nation was on the precipice of great change, socially and politically. Immigrant populations, who had previously been major supporters of the Anti-Prohibitionist efforts, were looked upon with suspicion and demonized for their otherness or failure to assimilate. Beer, which was ultimately associated with these minorities became un-American as a product of this racism. The federal government increased anti-alcohol laws limiting the production of alcohol in an effort to preserve supplies, such as wheat, for the war effort. These changes culminated in the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, which Texas approved one year later, effectively causing breweries to close down or begin selling alternative products.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FIGHT AGAINST PROHIBITION CONTINUES AND EXPANDS

After the 1911 referendum for statewide prohibition failed, both the Prohibitionists and the Anti-prohibitionists needed to plan their next course of action. Statewide prohibition had failed by a narrow margin, but the number of dry counties continued to increase. Prohibition continued to divide Texans. It remained to be seen which side – the Prohibitionists or the Anti-Prohibitionists – would be victorious.

Anti-Prohibitionists attempted to influence the political process by placing like-minded politicians in seats of power or assure that their current candidates remained in power. The International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of American had implored brewers in Texas to do everything in their power to secure anti-prohibition victories in the primaries prior to 1911 for fear that having prohibitionists gain political power would leave all brewery workers unemployed and destitute.¹¹¹ With requests such as this in mind, the Texas Brewers' Association (TBA) had put forth a huge effort to support Oscar B. Colquitt's run for governor in 1910 and did so again for his re-election in 1912.

¹¹¹ *The Brewers and Texas Politics*, vol. 2 (San Antonio: Passing Show Print Company, 1916): 1465. *The Brewers and Texas Politics*, vol. 1 and vol. 2 the most comprehensive collection of brewer correspondence between 1901 to 1916.

Known for his anti-prohibitionist leanings, Colquitt ran on a campaign of “Political Peace and Legislative Rest.” Colquitt loudly proclaimed that political peace between warring factions and legislative rest for the public was essential to develop the “state’s great resources and the educational and moral upbringing of the people.”¹¹² Colquitt made it clear he did not agree with the prohibitionists and he did not intend to push the prohibition issue and would not seek any prohibition reforms.¹¹³ Instead, he campaigned for state prison, education, and labor reforms. In addition to supporting Colquitt’s campaign for governor, the TBA supported A.B. Davidson for Lieutenant Governor and Turney for State Representative because they also supported anti-prohibition efforts and believed prohibition would actually be detrimental to the Texas economy.¹¹⁴ The TBA collected funds from TBA members and other Texas breweries to support their candidate. As indicated in a letter from Otto Koehler of the San Antonio Brewery, the TBA breweries “assessed themselves sixty cents a barrel on 600,000 barrels,” which totaled to over \$360,000 in campaign funds. In addition to this,

¹¹² *The Houston Post*, August 3, 1910, Houston Post Microfilm, 1901 to 1910, Houston Metropolitan Research Center.

¹¹³ “Oscar B. Colquitt,” The Texas Politics Project, University of Texas, accessed April 11, 2019, <https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/archive/html/exec/governors/11.html>.

¹¹⁴ *The Brewers and Texas Politics*, 1465.

the TBA obtained an “additional \$145,000 from Adolphus Busch, Lemp, Pabst, and Schlitz” to contribute to Colquitt’s 1910 and 1912 campaign.¹¹⁵

Disappointed in the loss of the 1910 governor’s election and Prohibitionists focused on denying Colquitt re-nomination in 1912. They presented their own candidate, Texas Supreme Court Justice William F. Ramsey, who ran on a campaign of personal “vituperation” by attacking Colquitt’s character and political decisions.¹¹⁶ In response to the nomination of a Prohibition candidate and in an attempt to raise campaign funds for the Colquitt’s 1912 re-election, Texas brewers assessed themselves twenty cents per barrel for educational literature and campaigning costs.¹¹⁷ Ramsey failed to defeat Colquitt and Colquitt served an additional two years as governor, much to the Prohibitionists’ chagrin.¹¹⁸

In addition to positioning Anti-prohibitionists in office, the brewers attempted to negate one of Prohibitionists’ main arguments: that saloons are “the enemy of civilization, home, life, and property.”¹¹⁹ Brewers surmised that a

¹¹⁵ “Answer Charges Made by Former Governor Colquitt,” *The Waco News-Tribune*, July 12, 1926, accessed March 23, 2019,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/51096263/?terms=Brewers%2Bsupport%2BColquitt>.

¹¹⁶ “Judge Ramsey in Georgetown: Resented Attitude of The Houston Post and Attacked Both Newspaper and Governor Colquitt,” *The Houston Post*, June 21, 1912, accessed April 4, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/94958833/>, Randolph Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State* (New York: Oxford Press, 2003), 347.

¹¹⁷ *Waco Morning News*, March 14, 1915; *The Brewers and Texas Politics*, 1231.

¹¹⁸ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State*, 345.

¹¹⁹ Travis County Local Option Campaign Committee Letter, November 29, 1916, AR.1994.098, Travis County Local Option Campaign Committee Records, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

respectable saloon would help crush the Prohibitionists. United under the Texas Brewers' Association, brewers strictly enforced liquor laws and permits in order to assure only the most reliable, respectable men or members of the TBA remained in business. The TBA reported any man suspected of cheating permits, selling to minors, encouraging drunken customers, or misrepresenting their business to the authorities and called for their permits to be revoked.¹²⁰ The Texas Brewers' Association monitored liquor licenses so closely that when a Galveston saloonkeeper – previously reported for permit violations by the TBA – attempted to sell his business, the TBA protested to prevent another irresponsible saloonkeeper from taking over.¹²¹ George C. Clough, the attorney for the Texas Brewers' Association, frequently brought charges against wayward saloonkeepers in the name raising the moral fiber of saloons. Although the Anti-Prohibitionists took all of these steps to convince the public that saloons did not endanger families, it is difficult to gauge the success of this venture. Whenever the brewers shut down one saloon, five appeared in its place. Despite the popularity of saloons, the Anti-Saloon League successfully associated saloons with an immoral life, so after the Anti-Saloon League rallied from the 1911 local

¹²⁰ *Austin American-Statesman*, January 28, 1911, accessed March 23, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/366307005/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>.

¹²¹ *The Houston Post*, June 25, 1911, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/94879681/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>.

option election defeat, they successfully took control of the prohibition conversation.

The national 1912 general election presented the Texas Democrats and Prohibitionists with an incredible opportunity to help shape the national debate about prohibition. The Democrats backed Woodrow Wilson, the Governor of New Jersey, who supported progressive causes such as antitrust suits, lowering protective tariffs, and banking reforms. Prohibitionists campaigned for Wilson by raising funds and holding rallies and parades to further his platform. The Texas Democrats supported Wilson throughout his presidential campaign, so when he won the presidency in 1912, Wilson repaid Texans for their support by appointing Albert S. Burlison as postmaster general, David F. Houston as secretary of agriculture, and Thomas W. Gregory as attorney general.¹²² Wilson made little movement towards prohibition in his first two years as president, but politically aware Texans appreciated the creation of a new banking, currency, and credit system and Wilson's selection of Dallas to house a Federal Reserve district bank. Wilson provided the Prohibitionists with an invaluable ally whom they used to further their agenda because, while he did not openly support Prohibition, he did not seek to hinder Prohibition efforts either. Rather, Wilson's reforms during his early presidency included imposing a new federal income tax and

¹²² Evan Anders, "Gregory, Thomas Watt," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, accessed March 29, 2019; Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State*, 347; H.W. Brands, *Woodrow Wilson* (London: MacMillan, 2003), 20-21.

establishing a series of laws that eliminated child labor, shortening work days for railroad workers, and providing government loans to farmers.¹²³ These progressive endeavors aligned with Prohibitionists' ideals to better the American family.

After Wilson took office, Prohibitionists – led by the newly restructured Anti-Saloon League (ASL) – supported like-minded candidates in positions of power, such as Senator Morris Shepherd.¹²⁴ Prohibitionists made significant progress with the adoption of new national legislation. First, was the Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913. First drafted by the ASL in 1911, the act prohibited interstate commerce of intoxicating liquors in any state where the sale of such liquor was illegal. President Taft had vetoed the first rendition of the act because he believed it to be unconstitutional, but Congress passed the law.¹²⁵ This was by no means a complete victory since it did not ban alcohol production or liquor sales, but it urged the ASL and prohibition efforts forward. The Prohibitionists also managed to crush the Anti-prohibitionists' main defense: the tax revenue produced by alcohol manufacturers across the United States. Brewers frequently reminded Texans that liquor manufacturing produced nearly \$880,000 in state

¹²³ Patricia O'Toole, *The Moralists: Woodrow Wilson and the World He Made* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2018), 101-102. According to O'Toole, Wilson's "New Freedom," was a series of progressive reforms he strove to enact in order to help spread the wealth and power that he saw monopolized by upper-class, white Americans.

¹²⁴ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State*, 354.

¹²⁵ Winfred R. Denison, "States' Rights and the Webb-Kenyon Liquor Law," *Columbia Law Review*, vol. 14, no. 4 (April 1914): 321-322.

taxes per year, which the Prohibitionists referred to as “the tax on murderers, thieves, wife beaters, highwaymen, rapists, and all other criminals.”¹²⁶

Prohibitionists and their allies responded by instating the Revenue Act of 1913, which imposed a federal income tax that firmly replaced the levy on liquor. The brewers’ argument evaporated and the left the ASL to continue fighting for national prohibition.

As the number of legislative acts against brewers increased, Texas brewers focused a large portion of their efforts on educating public on the benefits of the brewing industry and beer in general. Brewers across the nation encouraged fellow brewers and distributors to inform the public of the “wholesomeness and superior nutritious properties” of beer rather than allowing the false claims of the Prohibitionists to control public opinion. Members of the Texas Brewers’ Association declared they would eagerly spend more than a million dollars on education efforts.¹²⁷

Figure 1. *Waco Morning News*, March 14, 1915



¹²⁶ *The Galveston Daily News*, May 21, 1911, accessed March 15, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/22900124/?terms=alcohol%2Btax%2Bvenue>.

¹²⁷ *Waco Morning News*, March 14, 1915, accessed April 3, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/48084258/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>.

The TBA requested funds in 1915 from national breweries and alcohol distributors to hire agents to campaign across the state to garner support from women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and German Americans. These agents hoped to convince these previously neglected voters to vote against their counties going dry.¹²⁸ Captain O. Paget acted as an agent for the Texas Brewers' Association and traveled around the state collecting statistics on what percentage of different counties favored local option, how many votes Anti-prohibitionists needed to sway the results and how the liquor business would be affected by each loss. His work and the work of other agents proved invaluable to keeping counties from going dry.¹²⁹ In addition to accepting funds, Texas brewers donated funds to other brewer associations. The United States Brewers' Association proved to be an invaluable ally to the Texas brewers and vice versa. The United States Brewers' Association used donations to protect Anti-Prohibitionists interests before Congress, where they had "the most important bills to defend."¹³⁰ With all of these combined efforts, Texas breweries managed to raise approximately \$1 million to support the anti-prohibitionist cause. This fundraising proved a poor decision that cost them the fight for prohibition.

¹²⁸ *Waco Morning News*, March 11, 1915, accessed April 3, 2019,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/48083776/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>.

¹²⁹ Letter from Otto Wahrmond to Captain O. Paget, August 12, 1911, Texas Breweries Correspondence and Printed Materials, 1909-1973, 1997/035, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

¹³⁰ *Waco Morning News*, March 14, 1915.

Both Anti-prohibitionists and brewers in Texas – many of who were German immigrants themselves – desperately attempted to change the narrative surrounding saloons, hard liquor, and beer. In the midst of the fight for prohibition, Texas Attorney General Looney filed an antitrust suit against all members of the Texas Brewers' Association, which included The San Antonio Brewing Association, The Lone Star Brewing Company, The Houston Ice and Brewing Company, The American Brewing Association, the Galveston Brewing Company, The Dallas Brewery, and The Texas Brewing Company. In his 1915 petition, Attorney General Looney alleged that the TBA violated the anti-trust laws of the state and used their corporate means and assets to manipulate state elections.¹³¹ Attorney General Looney possessed an incredible amount of evidence against the brewers. He had obtained correspondence between brewers that called for more money and detailed how the funds would be spent. Attorney General Looney also had a number of witnesses willing to testify against the brewers.¹³² Numerous men testified to seeing TBA agents make public

¹³¹ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 17, 1915, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/138146097/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>. *Austin American-Statesman*, August 17, 1915, accessed March 30, 2019,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/366316495/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>.

¹³² *Austin American-Statesman*, September 28, 1915, accessed March 30, 2019.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/366294113/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>. *The Houston Post*, August 19, 1917, accessed March 30, 2019,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/94923211/?terms=Texas%2BBrewers%2BAssociation>. A printing company collected the letters, telegrams, and testimonies Looney presented as evidence and printed the *Texas Breweries and Politics, Vol I and Vol II*, which is referenced earlier.

speeches against prohibition, pay poll taxes for voters, and hire African American men to campaign on the TBA's behalf.¹³³

Essentially, Looney had an airtight case. When the trial began in January 1916, six of the breweries – the Texas Brewing Company, the San Antonio Brewery Association, the Lone Star Brewing Company, the American Brewing Association, the Houston Ice and Brewing Company, and the Galveston Brewing Company – pled guilty to the charges and accepted the penalty of fines totaling \$281,000, an additional \$8,000 to cover court costs, and they forfeited their charters.¹³⁴ The lawsuit defeated the Texas Brewers' Association, forcing the brewers to pick up the pieces of their companies and try to survive Prohibition efforts individually. The anti-trust lawsuit commanded the majority of Texas brewers' attention, giving the Prohibitionists a competitive lead in the fight for prohibition.

When the United States entered World War I, Prohibitionists utilized the subsequent patriotic fervor to further their agenda by associating all things alcoholic as un-American. Prohibitionists gained a considerable advantage in the fight for sobriety when the United States entered World War I on April 2, 1917. Texans went to great efforts to support the war both overseas and at home. By the end of the war, 989,600 Texan men registered under national draft laws and

¹³³ "Journal of the Senate of Texas Being the First Called Session of the Thirty-Second Legislature July 31 to August 28, 1911," Texas Library and State Archives, Austin, Texas.

¹³⁴ *The Houston Post*, August 19, 1917.

an additional 198,000 Texans volunteered or were drafted.¹³⁵ Also, 450 Texan women volunteered for the Nurse Corps. Texas became home to numerous training camps, including but not limited to Camp Arthur in Waco, Camp Logan in Houston, Camp Travis and Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, and Camp Bowie in Fort Worth. In Texas, most households participated in “Hooverizing” or the conservation of food by not eating certain items on certain days or abstaining from them entirely. Other households supported the war by donating to the Red Cross, Salvation Army, and other wartime organizations and participated in Liberty Loan campaigns by buying Liberty Bonds, Victory Bonds, and War Saving Stamps.¹³⁶ The war brought prosperity to Texas in the form of industrial expansion. Shipyards and factories produced goods for the war throughout Texas and the new oilfields in Ranger, Desdemona, and Breckinridge brought new income to West-Central Texas.¹³⁷ Despite this period of patriotism and growth, the war also brought about or at least exacerbated prejudices towards minorities and immigrant groups. Prohibitionists used the scrutiny of these

¹³⁵ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 353. Ralph W. Steen, “World War I,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, accessed March 21, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qdw01>.

¹³⁶ Rupert N. Richardson, Adrian Anderson, and Ernest Wallace, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Simon and Schuster Company, 1993), 345-346; Steen, Helen Zoe Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: 2013), 20.

¹³⁷ Richardson, Anderson, Wallace, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, 346.

minorities – perceived by Prohibitionists as Anti-Prohibitionists or supporters of anti-prohibition efforts – to further the prohibition agenda.¹³⁸

The war presented new challenges for all Texans, but African Americans, German Americans, and Mexican Americans experienced more hardships as a result of the war more than whites. African American soldiers expected equal treatment to white soldiers because of their military status. White citizens living near military training camps did not agree.¹³⁹ The Houston Riot of August 23, 1917 resulted in 110 men guilty of mutiny and rioting, hangings, life sentences in prison, and dishonorable discharges.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, events such as this were not uncommon for African Americans throughout the war.

Nor were German Americans spared discrimination. In fact, they became the focus of a feverish fear of all things German. Texas newspapers warned German citizens that speaking ill of the United States or its government “whose hospitality they enjoy must expect unpleasant treatment.”¹⁴¹ Deemed “hyphenated Americans,” German Americans became targets because they

¹³⁸ Lewis L. Gould, “Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democratic Politics, 1911-1921,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (July 1971): 8.

¹³⁹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State*, 354.

¹⁴⁰ James Jeffrey, “Remembering the black soldiers executed after Houston’s 1917 race riot,” PRI.org, February 1, 2018, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-02-01/remembering-black-soldiers-executed-after-houstons-1917-race-riot>. “1917 Houston Riots/Camp Logan Mutiny,” Texas Institute for the Preservation of History and Culture, accessed March 29, 2019, <http://www.pvamu.edu/tiphc/research-projects/the-1917-houston-riotscamp-logan-mutiny>.

¹⁴¹ Matthew Tappan, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and the Survival of the German Culture in Texas, 1900-1913* (Berlin: Kleingarten Press, January 14, 2010), 87.

retained their own traditions and celebrated their culture openly. President Wilson enflamed suspicion of Germans by admonishing “any man who carries a hyphen about him, carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this Republic when he gets ready” endangering the production and consumption of beer.¹⁴² In June 1917, in response to the growing anti-German anxiety and paranoia, Congress passed the Espionage Act making it a crime to criticize the United States government, its officials, the flag, or soldiers, or in any way impede the war effort.¹⁴³ German heritage clubs, or *Verein*, closed. Many German Texans stopped speaking German in public and changed their names. German Texans canceled major events and celebrations associated with the German culture. Citizens boycotted and encouraged neighbors to boycott German-owned businesses. All throughout Texas, German-Texans suffered beatings, whippings, and, on occasion, murder by vigilantes who accused their victims of not supporting the war. “At best, German Texans were seen as unsupportive of the war effort; at worst, they were saboteurs and agents of Imperial Germany working for the Kaiser in the United States.”¹⁴⁴ Anti-German hysteria even

¹⁴² John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 197-199.

¹⁴³ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State*, 354. According to Matthew Tippens, in the fall of 1917, Wilson also required all German male immigrants fourteen or older to register with the police and forbade them from moving without permission. Failure to register or moving without permission could lead to internment. This new regulation extended to German female immigrants in 1918.

¹⁴⁴ Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and the Survival of the German Culture in Texas, 1900-1913*, 89-91. Texas officials used the Espionage Act as inspiration to investigate and persecute any person, business, or club with German-influence. Governor William P.

affected Governor Ferguson, who had received German Texan support – including from the National German-American Alliance – in the 1914 and 1916 elections, that later played a part in his July 1917 impeachment.¹⁴⁵ When Ferguson attempted to run for governor again in 1918 newspapers revealed he had alliances with German-dominated breweries and accusations arose that he had received a \$156,000 bribe from the German Kaiser himself, the re-election failed.¹⁴⁶ Ferguson was just one of many to fall victim to the German hysteria.

German Texans and African Americans faced daily persecution, but they were not alone in suffering because of the war. Following the Zimmerman Note scandal of 1917, Americans persecuted those with Hispanic heritage due to a hysterical fear of German-Mexican collusion. Due to their proximity to the US-Mexico border, Tejanos got caught in a frenzy of fear and panic. With US-Mexico relations already strained and conflicts occurring at the border, which officials described as “a hot-bed of German spies and German propaganda,” citizens and

Hobby signed House Bill 304 in March 1919. This bill forbade the teaching of the German language in any school, college, or university, effectively shutting down the German department at the University of Texas. House Bill No 304, 36th Legislature, 1919, Texas Legislature Bills, 2-8/878, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas. State councils worked alongside federal authorities to enforce the Espionage Act and House Bill No. 304 statewide. The Texas State Council of Defense performed such duties.

¹⁴⁵ Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and the Survival of the German Culture in Texas, 1900-1913*, 98-99. Governor Ferguson also faced impeachment because he vetoed almost \$1.6 billion in University of Texas appropriation monies because the Board of Regents did not fire faculty members he objected to and the board failed to abolish the Greek system on campus. It was also discovered Governor Ferguson misused public funds and received bribes from individuals. Following his removal from office, Governor William Hobby became governor.

¹⁴⁶ Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and the Survival of the German Culture in Texas, 1900-1913*, 99.

public officials felt vindicated in being critical of Tejano allegiance.¹⁴⁷ Response to this critique varied between each Tejano community. While some Mexican Texans answered the call of duty, others Mexican Texans decided that the unfair labor conditions coupled with the increased surveillance meant they should flee the nation. *The Austin American* theorized that anywhere between 6,000 and 8,000 Mexicans had fled by the end of July 1917, just two months after the Selective Service Act and three months after the US entered World War I. This mass exodus detrimental to Texas – specifically the railroad and agriculture industries – as it caused a considerable labor shortage, which later had to be addressed by industry leaders and politicians.¹⁴⁸ As soon as officials understood the threat against Texas industries, government and military officials declared the perceived threat against Mexican citizens was a product of German propaganda and “[Mexicans] would not be molested in Texas.”¹⁴⁹ The government thus blamed firmly the Germans and those associated with Germany. This benefitted

¹⁴⁷ Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and the Survival of the German Culture in Texas, 1900-1913*, 121-122. U.S. soldiers killed several individuals suspected of being spies for Germany along the border. Fear of German-Mexican spies reached such a level that an American investigator recommended that all telephone connections between the United States and Mexico be severed.

¹⁴⁸ *El Paso Herald*, October 27, 1917, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/49218401/?terms=El%2BPaso%2BHerald>. *The Austin American*, June 25, 1917, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/384474079/?terms=Mexican%2BExodus>.

¹⁴⁹ *Austin American-Statesman*, September 10, 1918, accessed April 11, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/364874256/?terms=Mexican%2BExodus>.

Mexican Texans but increased the distrust and dislike of German Texans and, consequently, many breweries.

Prohibitionists exploited the growing fear of minority groups to advance their prohibition goals. Under the leadership of Reverend Barton and legal advisor, Wayne Wheeler, the ASL pushed a campaign associating the fight against alcohol with the fight against Germany itself. John Strange, a dry Wisconsin summarized the ASL's strategy against German Americans when he said, "We have German enemies across the water. We have enemies in this country, too. And the worst of all our German enemies, the most treacherous, the most menacing are Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz, and Miller," which were all German – both native and descendant - owned breweries. To Americans, prohibition became a patriotic cause to conserve food, protect the troops, and injure the German-dominated brewing industry. Some states declared speaking German in public unlawful, all German music was banned in public spaces, and sauerkraut became known as "liberty cabbage."¹⁵⁰ The ASL easily convinced American citizens that to drink beer, a beloved drink of Germans, was unpatriotic as well.

In 1917, the ASL continued to gain support by extolling the moral and unpatriotic implications of drinking. Building off of American food conservation efforts, the Prohibition groups bombarded the Food Administration with letters

¹⁵⁰ Daniel Okrent, "Wayne B. Wheeler: The Man Who Turned Off the Taps," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 2010, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/wayne-b-wheeler-the-man-who-turned-off-the-taps-14783512>.

pointing out American brewers used enough grain, sugar, and hops to feed seven million people. Prohibitionists declared that drinking beer and alcohol production negated conservation efforts and took food away from the men fighting in the war. In response to the complaints and concerns, Congress passed the Lever Act in August 1917, outlawing the production of wheat-based hard alcohol. President Wilson did not extend this law to halt the production of beer and wine, which outraged Prohibitionists because the “alcoholic German-American traitors” could continue to waste good grain by making alcohol.¹⁵¹ The ASL also claimed that alcohol made men neglect their families and preached that alcohol made military men lazy and complacent and could lead to strong military men abandoning the war. In order to prevent drunken behavior from enlisted men, state and federal governments began instating more restrictive liquor laws. In 1918, for fear of their military men becoming “drunken fools,” Texas legislature banned the sale of alcohol within ten miles of a military base.¹⁵² These laws illustrated prohibitions growing support in the name of freedom and democracy, Prohibitionists to pursue national prohibition.

After the Texas Brewers’ Association disbanded in 1916, the brewers joined efforts with local individual anti-prohibition groups to encourage voters to once again vote against prohibition. The Anti-prohibitionist groups mailed out

¹⁵¹ Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century*, 21.

¹⁵² Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State*, 355.

flyers and letters reminding citizens that alcohol manufacturers still brought in money for the state, which was especially important now with the war. Antis surmised that another local option or prohibition election would “saddle upon taxpayers the election expense of more than \$1,000,” which would much more useful as a donation to the American Red Cross or for the purchase of Liberty Loans.¹⁵³ These efforts proved to be too little too late to fight against the Prohibitionists’ patriotic fervor. American citizens officially condemned brewers – both German and American – with disloyalty to the United States. Americans described brewing as “a vicious interest” and brewers as “unpatriotic” supporters of Germany.¹⁵⁴

The fight over prohibition ended swiftly in the midst of World War I. Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment on December 18, 1917. States began ratifying the amendment immediately. Texas ratified the amendment on March 4, 1918. The Eighteenth Amendment went into effect in January 1919, but Texan Prohibitionists eagerly pushed for a third statewide prohibition referendum to assure Texas dried up immediately. Texans voted for the immediate ratification of the national prohibition amendment May 13, 1919. The referendum

¹⁵³ “A Few Reasons Why Travis County Should Not Adopt Local Option,” AR. 1994.098, Travis County Local Option Campaign Committee Records, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

¹⁵⁴ “Brewing and Liquor interests and German and Bolshevik propaganda: Report and Hearings of the subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Submitted pursuant to S. Res. 307 and 439, Sixty-fifth Congress, relating to charges made against the United States Brewers’ Association and allied interests,” Hathi Trust Digital Library, University of California, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.aa0008393670&view=1up&seq=9>.

passed with a difference of only 20,000 votes in favor of ratification.¹⁵⁵ The death blow to the breweries arrived with the Volstead Act enacted October 28, 1919, which enforced the Eighteenth Amendment by declaring no person could manufacture, sell, barter, transport, import, export, deliver, furnish, or possess any intoxicating liquor unless it met one of the very few exceptions.¹⁵⁶ This new legislation forced businesses to change their business models or shut down all together.

Table 4. Prohibition Elections Turnout, 1919-1935. Adapted from <i>Texas Almanac Online</i>	
Year	Total Votes Cast
1919	297,889
National prohibition ratified January 1919	For state prohibition: 158,982
	Against: 138,907
1933	496,662
National prohibition repealed 1933	Repeal of federal prohibition: 304,696
	Against: 191,966
1935	548,543
	Repeal of state prohibition: 297,597
	Against: 250,946

¹⁵⁵ "Prohibition Elections Turnout," Texas Almanac, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://texasalmanac.com/sites/default/files/images/almanac-feature/prohibition.pdf>. Exceptions included the use of alcohol for sacramental purposes, flavoring extracts, medical purposes, vinegar, and cider.

¹⁵⁶ Edward Behr, *Prohibition: Thirteen Years that Changed America* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), 78. While Wilson approved of wartime prohibition on certain products, he attempted to veto the Volstead Act on the grounds that it was unnecessary with the end of the war. Wilson suggested allowing the sale and distribution of wine and beer, but the Senate ultimately overruled his veto.

CHAPTER THREE

SURVIVAL AND RECOVERY

Following the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, brewers and Prohibitionists alike remained unsure of how to respond to their respective loss and victory. While Prohibitionists questioned how to convince Americans to adhere to the Volstead Act and abstain from liquor, wine, and beer, Texas brewers needed to figure out a way to continue business or face closing down completely. Brewers ultimately chose between two paths – close down or sell alternative products such as ice, near beer, or soda until the end of prohibition. The early 1920s proved to be a time of great uncertainty for the two groups and the rest of the nation.

Historians refer to the 1920s as the “prosperity decade.”¹⁵⁷ Urbanization spread across the United States and a consumer driven industrial growth developed – typified by mass production and mass consumption.¹⁵⁸ Urbanization in Texas mimicked that of the country. Major cities in Texas expanded as more

¹⁵⁷ Randolph Campbell, *Gone to Texas: History of the Lone Star State* (New York: Oxford Press, 2003), 360.

¹⁵⁸ Ben Proctor, “Texas from Depression through World War II, 1929-1945,” *The Texas Heritage*, ed. Ben Proctor and Archie P. McDonald (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2003), 163. Norman D. Brown, “Texas in the 1920s,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 11, 2019, last modified May 20, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/npt01>.

citizens left rural areas in favor of cities. Houston became the largest city in the state with over 290,000 residents by 1925. Dallas followed with almost 260,500 residents.¹⁵⁹ By 1930, the Texas had experienced a 24.9 percent increase in population with over 5.8 million residents.¹⁶⁰ Production of consumer goods – such as cars, radios, and synthetic clothing materials – exploded and altered the lives of American citizens. Goods were designed to be more attractive to consumers and the growth of consumerism was aided by changes in American spending habits: the practice of credit rose and the use of the installment plan accelerated.¹⁶¹ Traditional values – religion, morality, and traditional entertainment – changed. Consumerism led to a rise in the “roaring twenties” and “flapper” image. Overall, Texans looked forward to a return to “normalcy,” meaning that while controversies occurred, the eagerness for social and economic reform faded.¹⁶² Despite this desire for normalcy, Texans took advantage of the cultural changes. Automobiles gained popularity in Texas at this time and made transportation across the state possible for the growing middle

¹⁵⁹ David G. McComb, “Urbanization,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 1, 2019, last modified July 27, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hyunw>.

¹⁶⁰ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 364. A considerable increase in immigration accounts for a large portion of the population growth in Texas during this time. African Americans and Mexican Americans moved to towns and cities in increasing numbers but could only find work in low-paying jobs, such as janitors and day laborers. There remained little opportunity for minorities to advance economically. A small urban middle class existed, but primarily consisted of white Americans.

¹⁶¹ Timothy D. Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 12.

¹⁶² Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 325.

class. Automobiles enabled owners and families the ability to explore the state, which brought a new source of income to cities. Cities large enough to support automobile production and increased tourism desired better streets. As street improvements increased, counties surveyed land, removed brush, and flattened uneven land in order to support new roadways.¹⁶³ The use of the automobile also increased the desire for a connected highway system to transport goods, aid tourism, and support the national highway system. During the 1920s, the national Bankhead Highway alone connected over 850 miles in Texas, including major Texas cities – such as Dallas and Fort Worth – to the east and west coasts of the United States.¹⁶⁴ The mass production of automobiles and expansion of roads also helped the economy by allowing businesses – such as breweries – to deliver more product faster and further than ever before. Larger operations – such as SABA – shipped to other states through the use of the expanded roads.

The expansion of roadways contributed greatly to the creation of suburbs and suburban life. Architects and construction companies purchased large plots of land and developed communities with rigid building codes, large lots, buried

¹⁶³ David G. McComb, *The City in Texas: A History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 209-210.

¹⁶⁴ “Bankhead Highway: The Broadway of America,” Historic Texas Highways Brochure, accessed July 2, 2020, <https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/publications/bankhead-highway-brochure.pdf>. Bankhead Highway is one of the nation’s earliest transcontinental highways. Beginning in 1916 with the establishment of the Bankhead Highway Association, the highway went from Washington, D.C. to San Diego, California. The Bankhead Highway created highway tourism and is heavily associated with road-related resources such as auto repair garages, gas stations, diners and cafes, tourists camps, motels and hotels, road markers and commercial signs, bridges, and culverts.

utility lines, and curved streets. Suburban areas presented members of the middle class the opportunity to own their own land and live in close proximity to major cities, while wealthier families could purchase large, elegant homes away from the increasingly congested cities and members of the lower class.¹⁶⁵ Radios made news, programs, and music widely available to Texans day and night free of charge and advertised the latest fashion or merchandise to an expanding urban audience, while introducing a new culture to rural Texans.¹⁶⁶ The increased use of radios also provided new advertisement opportunities for businesses. Two such businesses included SABA and the Houston Ice and Brewing Company, which began running occasional high priced advertisements for their non-alcoholic products in 1925.¹⁶⁷ Texas breweries took advantage of the increase in consumerism to expand business but continued to struggle to continue operations as their most lucrative product – beer – remained illegal.

Industry and manufacturing proved to be the focus of the 1920s, so less attention was given to Progressive reforms. This caused considerable conflict for those who fought so hard for prohibition and the morality of the American family. Although the Eighteenth Amendment (January 1919) and the Volstead Act (October 1919) firmly outlawed the production, sale, and consumption of alcohol,

¹⁶⁵ McComb, *The City in Texas: A History*, 213. Minorities were excluded from these types of opportunities due to racial discrimination of the period.

¹⁶⁶ McComb, *The City in Texas: A History*, 202.

¹⁶⁷ Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture*, 15-18.

Prohibitionists still struggled to convince Americans to adhere to the new laws. Prohibitionists liked to believe that minorities caused the widespread prohibition violations, but that proved to be incorrect. Thousands of Texans of all classes – from elite country club members to poor white tenant farmers to minorities in urban ghettos – refused to obey the Volstead Act and Dean Law.¹⁶⁸ Wealthy men and women considered themselves completely immune to prohibition enforcement by virtue of well-placed connections, good lawyers, and other convenient assets, which enraged Prohibition supporters.¹⁶⁹ Wealthier citizens saw Prohibition as a class distinction, with Prohibition designed for “lesser beings.” Some members of the upper-class support Prohibition in public and enjoyed their liquor in private.¹⁷⁰ As Prohibition continued, more and more men and women joined the underground liquor industry and more speakeasies and clubs opened. As in the rest of the country, illegal distilleries opened in homes. The Texas-Mexico border also provided opportunity to smuggle booze across the border. Providing illicit booze to the masses proved to be a profitable business

¹⁶⁸ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 366. The mass production of the automobile assisted bootleggers and moonshiners in smuggling booze across the borders and they could move large quantities of alcohol quickly. In order to enforce the Volstead Act and clarify what was considered alcohol, Congress issued the Dean Law in October 1919, outlawing the manufacture or sale of alcohol except for scientific, medical, industrial, or religious uses. The alcohol produced following these criteria also could not exceed 3% alcohol. Similar to the Volstead Act, the Dean Law differed in that the law defined alcohol less strictly as those with one percent or more alcohol content and violation of the Dean Law was a felony.

¹⁶⁹ Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 192.

¹⁷⁰ Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, 291.

and an odd respectability developed between smugglers, mobsters, and bootleggers due to their success in the business and mutual hatred of dry vigilantes seeking to enforce Prohibition.¹⁷¹ Bootleggers made a small fortune and the Eighteenth Amendment made the alcohol industry more valuable than ever.¹⁷²

Prohibition violations began almost immediately and throughout the 1920s as Texans became increasingly disillusioned with national and statewide prohibition.¹⁷³ Texas's cities – Austin, San Antonio, Houston, and Dallas – and surrounding suburbs all became “hotbeds for illicit liquor with law enforcement straining to crack down on the practice.”¹⁷⁴ On November 26, 1919, a state inspection of alcohol samples in Galveston showed much higher alcohol levels than those allowed under the Dean Law.¹⁷⁵ In January 1920, Houston authorities confiscated gallons of red wine in the city, arrested the maker on a \$1,000 bond,

¹⁷¹ Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, 274. Some mobsters and bootleggers – such as Al Capone, Lucky Luciano, and Longy Zwillman – achieved a type of celebrity status because of their carefully designed public image. In private, these men provided alcohol to the thirsty upper-class. In public, however, these men dated movie stars, attended charities, and joined men's social organizations. These carefully crafted public images made mobsters and bootleggers practically untouchable to law enforcement. According to Okrent, “if you separated the customer service aspect of the bootlegging business from the other pastimes of engaged mobsters, they could seem about as criminal as a group of jaywalkers,” 274.

¹⁷² Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 366.

¹⁷³ O. Theodore Dinkins, Jr., “The “Open Saloon” Prohibition: A Constitutional Dilemma for the Texas Courts,” *Texas Law Review* 46 (1968): 1-5.

¹⁷⁴ Matthew T. Berndt, “Prohibition, women, and the Klan in 1920s Southeast Texas,” (PHD diss., Lamar University, 2013), 12.

¹⁷⁵ Casey E. Greene, “More Than a Thimbleful: Prohibition in Galveston, 1919-1933,” *The Houston Review*, accessed June 29, 2019, <https://houstonhistorymagazine.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/more-than-a-thimbleful-HR-11.1.pdf>.

and threw the wine in the Houston Bayou.¹⁷⁶ In April 1920, authorities seized twenty gallons of whiskey, six cases of beer, and nine cases of brandy in Beaumont.¹⁷⁷ From 1923 to 1931, twenty-two percent of all arrests in Texas were violations of prohibition.¹⁷⁸ Stories of law enforcement raids on suspected speakeasies and underground liquor distributors spread through the state, but as time went on, bootleggers became more proficient at smuggling booze and law enforcement proved to be vastly outnumbered and struggled to fight the booze smuggling epidemic. To protect the smuggling business, bootleggers invested heavily in guns. By 1929, Texas led the nation in Prohibition related killings in 1929, with 114 of 1,380 nationwide. These killings included the murder of Prohibition agents. Such was the case when Prohibition Agent Charles Stevens was shot and killed by Lynn Stevens in San Antonio on September 25, 1929. Stephens fled San Antonio and eluded capture for twenty-one years before being arrested, tried, and convicted of murder in 1950.¹⁷⁹ In some cities, moonshiners

¹⁷⁶ "600 Gallons Wine Given to Fish in Houston Bayou," *The Marshall News Messenger*, January 9, 1920, accessed July 14, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/319949649/?terms=wine%2Bbayou>.

¹⁷⁷ Berndt, "Prohibition, women, and the Klan in 1920s Southeast Texas," 12.

¹⁷⁸ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 366. See also Cody Stanley, *Albert Thomas: Space in the Bayou*, Masters thesis, Stephen F. Austin State University, 2016.

¹⁷⁹ Paul Stephen, "S.A. in Prohibition: Guns, Gangsters, and Gazillion Gallons of Ill-Gotten Hooch," *San Antonio Express-News*, November 25, 2017, accessed March 3, 2020, <https://www.expressnews.com/sa300/article/S-A-in-Prohibition-Guns-gangsters-and-12375850.php#photo-14587498>. "Bexar Hills Searched For Suspect in Ambush," *Fort Worth Record-Telegram*, September 28, 1929, accessed March 3, 2020, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/635102375/?terms=Lynn%2BStephens>. "Convicted in Slaying 21 Years Ago," *El Paso Times*, April 22, 1950, accessed March 3, 2020, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/433324152/?terms=Lynn%2BStephens>.

became folk heroes who beat meddlesome government agents with guile and gall to make a profit in hard times. During the Great Depression, some Texans turned to moonshining as a lucrative alternative to the humiliation of standing in employment lines, taking low-paying manual labor positions, or relying on government relief programs.¹⁸⁰

The men and women who sought Prohibition did so because they believed alcohol was immoral and corrupted families. Despite the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, many Progressives still sought to reform society in the name of moral righteousness but struggled to find direction on how to continue their mission.¹⁸¹ Protestant citizens continued to campaign and extol the evil effect alcohol had on the American family. Women's groups – including the Women's Christian Temperance Union - continued to preach caution against immigrants and minorities – who Prohibitionists perceived as enemies of Prohibition – who might lure a good Christian down the wrong path.¹⁸² They also condemned the growing film industry for its low morals and

¹⁸⁰ Bill O'Neil, "Moonshining," *Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified June 15, 2010, accessed August 1, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jbm01>. In some instances, moonshiners escaped arrest because of merciful law enforcers or law enforcers that could be bribed. See also Lisa Bentley, *Shine On: Moonshine in the Memory of Texans*, Masters thesis, Stephen F. Austin State University, 2011.

¹⁸¹ Berndt, "Prohibition, Women, and the Klan in 1920s Southeast Texas," 72-77. Rupert N. Richardson, Adrian Anderson, and Ernest Wallace, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall), 349.

¹⁸² White elitists looked down upon African Americans and Mexican Americans because of their lifestyles and cultures. Prohibition groups perceived the clubs, music, and literature of these groups as a threat to social order in the United States.

glorification of an immoral lifestyle. The number of groups who sought to encourage morality increased during this time. Many existing groups experienced a considerable increase in membership. One such group was the Klu Klux Klan (KKK).¹⁸³

In the 1910s, the KKK operated as a secret order who incited race riots and violence across the state and nation. The KKK expanded in the early 1920s by using the desire for moral purity to reinvigorate their public image and present themselves as a fraternal lodge for white, Protestant America looking to reform politics, enforce prohibition, and champion traditional morality.¹⁸⁴ Racism and nativism still existed within the organization, but officially, the KKK's mission became more focused on being an instrument to restore law and order and Victorian moralities in communities, towns, and cities of the region.¹⁸⁵ A national leader, Hiram Evans, closely monitored groups and placed strict regulations on them to reinforce the Klan's claims of being a moral organization. The KKK's systematic attacks moved beyond African Americans and expanded to bootleggers, gamblers, drunks, and others deemed sinners.¹⁸⁶ Evans's efforts

¹⁸³ Kenneth D. Rose, *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 64-65.

¹⁸⁴ Women's KKK groups did exist as well and promoted the same focused messages of obtaining a morally pure America. Membership reached nearly 5,000 in the 1920s.

¹⁸⁵ Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1965), 56-60.

¹⁸⁶ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German Settlements of Eastern Texas," *Southwestern Quarterly*, vol. 112, no. 1 (July 2008): 65-66. Attacks included physical attacks, but also legislative attacks after numerous Klan members obtained

and progressive mission statement regarding restoring law and order drew members from all sectors of society, including civic leaders, politicians, and law-enforcement officials and downplayed the violent and racist earlier KKK image. By the early 1920s, KKK membership had grown to approximately 100,000 in Texas.¹⁸⁷ Membership concentrated in smaller towns, but eventually spread to the major cities. The new image appeared to be working, but many citizens remained unconvinced the organization had evolved as much as it claimed. By 1922, numerous organizations and public leaders spoke out against the KKK and encouraged Texans to condemn the organization.¹⁸⁸

While the KKK and other dry organizations – including the Anti-Saloon League and Women’s Christian Temperance Union – sought to enforce Prohibition, other groups arose to bring an end to Prohibition. One such group was the Women’s Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR), which called prohibition “one of a class of gross usurpations upon the liberty of private life... the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.”¹⁸⁹

political offices. One such law included the Jones Law or “Five and Dime Law,” which instated a five-year sentence, a \$10,000 fine, or both for first-time violators of the Volstead Act.

¹⁸⁷ Christopher Long, “Ku Klux Klan,” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified May 1, 2019, accessed July 15, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vek02>.

¹⁸⁸ “Texas in the 1920s.” Organizations that denounced the KKK included, but were not limited to the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the State Bar of Texas, Chambers of Commerce, and various Mason groups.

¹⁸⁹ Rose, *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition*, 69.

Founded in 1929, WONPR conceded that special restrictions should be put on those convicted of violence to others, but denying every American the right to drink infringed upon personal liberty. Deemed “a little group of wine-drinking society women who are uncomfortable under Prohibition” by Clarence True Wilson, the head of the Methodist Board of Temperance, WONPR gained considerable acclaim due to the women placed in leadership positions within other social and political organizations. WONPR leaders were women of impeccable community standing who had been active in local public affairs in order to combat claims that WONPR consisted only of hysterical women, fallen women, or barflies.¹⁹⁰ WONPR also filled these positions with women of all socioeconomic levels in order to appeal to a large audience. The inclusive nature of WONPR made the organization more marketable and attracted more members to their cause. WONPR wrote politicians, surveying who supported prohibition and why. Those who favored prohibition received detailed letters stating the various ways prohibition hurt not only Americans, but also the economy as a whole. In order to appeal to those who remained unconvinced that prohibition should be done away with entirely, WONPR endorsed state laws that enacted certain Prohibitionist actions, such as forbidding the return of the saloon

¹⁹⁰ Rose, *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition*, 79. Olivia B. Waxman, “The Surprisingly Complex Link Between Prohibition and Women’s Rights,” *Time Magazine*, January 18, 2019, <https://time.com/5501680/prohibition-history-feminism-suffrage-metoo/>.

and speakeasies.¹⁹¹ WONPR gained considerable support by endorsing the same programs that had been used against Antis from the very beginning: protection of families and the elimination of saloons and speakeasies.¹⁹²

While some Texans fought for the end of prohibition, brewers who wanted to survive prohibition needed to find another legal business or figure out how to produce beer without getting caught by the authorities. Diversifying business operations proved to be the key for breweries to survive. Immediately, brewers sought business options that could easily run out of existing brewery buildings and structures. For most breweries, ice production was a natural business to pursue. Many breweries – such as the Galveston Brewing Company and the Houston Ice and Brewing Company – turned to ice production to remain in business. The Texas Brewing Company prepared for the new endeavor by investing nearly \$300,000 in the construction of additional cold storage space. The Texas Brewing Company became the Texas Beverage and Cold Storage Company.¹⁹³ Other breweries – like the Pearl Brewing Company – sold or rented property to locals to be used for small businesses such as dry cleaners, cold storage, dye plants, and car repair shops. Some breweries – such as Pearl, the Galveston Brewing Company, the Houston Ice and Brewing Company, and

¹⁹¹ Rose, *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition*, 85.

¹⁹² Rose, *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition*, 95.

¹⁹³ Paul Hightower and Brian L. Brown, *North Texas Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond* (Charleston: The American Palette, 2014), 67.

Shiner – managed to stay in business by diversifying their operations, but others – like the Texas Brewing Company – fell prey to the Great Depression and closed their doors within a few years.

In addition to ice production and storage, other breweries – such as the Dallas Brewery, the American Brewing Company, and the San Antonio Brewing Association – produced sodas and “near beer” or beer with low enough alcohol content that it met Dean Law regulations. The breweries that produced non-alcoholic beer advertised their products as “wholesome, invigorating, and delightful” to appeal to those who sought prohibition for moral reasons.¹⁹⁴ Numerous breweries tried and failed to stay in business by relying on sodas and near beers. Lone Star in San Antonio, for instance, briefly attempted to sell a soda product called Tango, but the product failed and Lone Star closed down in 1921 until 1933.¹⁹⁵ Property owners sold the brewery to be used as a cotton mill.¹⁹⁶ The Dallas Brewery became the Grain Juice Company and made a “pure cereal and hop beverage” called Graino. A malt-extract product, Graino claimed

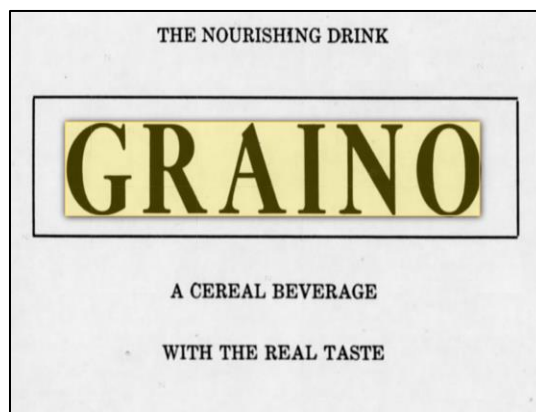
¹⁹⁴ “La Perla: The Drink that Satisfies,” *The Houston Post*, November 17, 1917, accessed July 1, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/94947974/?terms=La%2BPerla%2BAlamo%2BFood%2BCompany>.

¹⁹⁵ “San Antonio Brewery is Changed to Cotton Mill,” *The Galveston Daily News*, July 19, 1921, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/22145378/?terms=Lone%2BStar%2BBrewery%2BCloses>. The Lone Star Cotton Mill, formerly the Lone Star Brewery operated under the leadership of August A. Busch, President of Anheuser-Busch, and Henning Brunn, former President of the Lone Star Brewery. The original Lone Star property sold several times following the closure of the brewery on Lone Star Boulevard. Production eventually moved to Fort Worth, where Lone Star is produced by Pabst Brewing Company.

¹⁹⁶ “Factories Double in Number During Last Five Years,” *San Antonio Evening News*, August 7, 1920, accessed July 2, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/39272552/?terms=Lone%2BStar%2BBrewery%2BCloses>.

to have the “strengthening and tonic properties of health-giving hops,” but failed to gain enough support to keep the company in production. The Dallas Brewery succumbed to Prohibition and closed in 1922.¹⁹⁷

Figure 2. *The Jewish Monitor*, November 26, 1921.



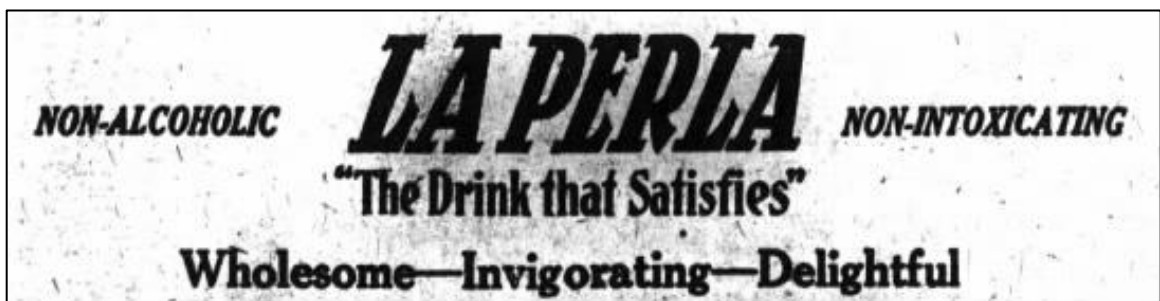
Some breweries that attempted to produce near beer and soda, however, faced accusations that their near beer had too much alcohol and was thus a prohibition violation.¹⁹⁸ Testimonies from Shiner residents asserted that Shiner’s near beer “was nearer to beer than near beer,” meaning it was in fact above the legal limit

¹⁹⁷ Hightower and Brown, *North Texas Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond*, 67.

¹⁹⁸ “Supreme Court Ends Hope of Wet Nation: Backs Volstead Act,” *El Paso Herald*, January 5, 1920, accessed July 2, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/43383499/?terms=Texas%2BBrewing%2BCompany>.

allowed under prohibition laws.¹⁹⁹ The San Antonio Brewing Association – renamed Alamo Foods Company – supposedly continued to bottle real beer for close friends and sale on the black market.²⁰⁰ Very few breweries survived the early 1920s. Only those with the most diverse portfolios survived both prohibition and the Great Depression.

Figure 3. *The Houston Post*, November 17, 1920.



Mass production and industry growth characterized the early 1920s in the United States. However, by the end of the decade the United States entered the Great Depression. The Great Depression officially began on October 29, 1929 – “Black Tuesday” – when stock market crashed following eighteen months of

¹⁹⁹ “A Toast for Brewery’s Unlikely 100th Birthday,” *San Antonio Express News*, July 4, 2009, Brewery Records – Shiner, San Antonio Conservation Society.

²⁰⁰ It is interesting to note that these two breweries proved to be the most financially stable following the end of Prohibition.

frenzied buying and selling of stocks. The combination of the stock market crash, a weak banking system, the struggling agriculture industry, and the overproduction of industrial goods produced the worst economic downturn in United States history. More than one third of the nation's banks failed in the three years following 1929. Many men, women, and families lost their savings. Farmers, who had grown accustomed to hardships due to falling agriculture prices, faced even more trials as dust storms decimated much needed crops.²⁰¹ Unemployment soared during the Great Depression and steadily increased until 1933. In 1930, there were 4.3 million unemployed. By 1933, unemployment reached almost twenty-five percent as 13 million Americans were left without work.²⁰² Those fortunate enough to have jobs worked for less than half of what their occupations would have paid pre-depression. Americans filled breadlines and soup kitchens. When those services ran out of food, many turned to begging or selling goods in the streets. As Americans faced increasing hardships, the public heavily criticized the Hoover administration for its failure to provide adequate aid following the start of the Great Depression.

²⁰¹ Thomas E. Hall and David J. Ferguson, *The Great Depression: An International Disaster of Perverse Economic Policies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 106. African Americans who worked farms as sharecroppers suffered more than their white counterparts. African Americans often received less for their crops or work and struggled to find new work due to widespread racism.

²⁰² Hall and Ferguson, *The Great Depression: An International Disaster of Perverse Economic Policies*, 122.

Hoover believed in Americanism or minimal government interference and that the depression would not last long. Because of these beliefs, the Hoover administration provided very little assistance to the public in the early years of the depression for fear that it would make Americans lazy and overly dependent on government handouts.²⁰³ During this time Hoover essentially encouraged Americans to keep working, eliminate non-essential spending, and remain patient because the depression would end soon. Small endeavors to increase national revenue included Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930 which raised the average price of tariff rates approximately sixty percent, causing America's international trading partners to raise rates on American-made goods.²⁰⁴ This caused international trade to decrease significantly, further injuring the American economy. By 1932, the Hoover administration could not withhold assistance any longer and established the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). The RFC loaned \$2 billion to banks, railroads, and other industries. In July 1932, the RFC appropriated \$300 million in government funds for national relief efforts and public works projects, but the public considered this too little too late.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Charles Scaliger, "The Great Depression," *The New American* (June 23, 2008), accessed July 3, 2020, 36-37. Robert F. Himmelberg, *The Great Depression and the New Deal* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 30.

²⁰⁴ Hall and Ferguson, *The Great Depression: An International Disaster of Perverse Economic Policies*, 124.

²⁰⁵ Robert F. Himmelberg, *The Great Depression and the New Deal*, 35-36.

In the early years of the Great Depression, many Texans supported Hoover's morale crusade encouraging Americans to stay strong. The state government followed the Hoover administration's example. Under Governor Sterling's leadership, officials kept state expenditures to a minimum. Sterling considered the depression to be an issue of faith rather than an issue of the economy, so he refrained from helping individuals directly. Texans believed the state economy was diverse enough that should one industry fail, another would take its place and the depression would never truly reach Texas because it really only impacted those stock market gamblers.²⁰⁶ The oil and gas industry provided the most income for the state, but Texas also had substantial cotton, lumber, and livestock industries that provided support to the economy as well. Community leaders and news outlets portrayed the stock market crash as "Wall Street's Headache" and pointed to the increased construction, railroad traffic, oil production, and livestock sales as stabilizing influences on not only the state economy, but the national economy as well.²⁰⁷ From October 1929 to the summer of 1930, Texans remained optimistic that the depression would not affect them. News outlets bombarded the public with local news and local

²⁰⁶ Ben H. Proctor, "Great Depression," *Handbook of Texas Online*, July 31, 2017, accessed July 12, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/npg01>.

²⁰⁷ "Wall Street's Headache," *El Paso Evening Post*, October 26, 1929, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/53426714/?terms=Stock%2BMarket%2Bcrash>. Proctor, "Great Depression."

business to distract Texans from troubles across the country, but slowly more news stories appeared drawing attention to the growing unemployment rate in cities.²⁰⁸ When newspapers did mention the stock market, it made claims that the depression was only temporary and Texans would persevere. Stories of the East Texas oil boom and cotton industry kept Texans distracted until the summer of 1931 when construction decreased and the price of various commodities – agriculture, lumber, oil, etc. – continued to drop.²⁰⁹ With unemployment rising in cities and low prices destroying farms, Texans really felt the depression or “panic” for the first time as people struggled to find work or make money.²¹⁰ Those fortunate enough to have work faced trouble cashing paychecks as the state and banks were far overdrawn. Banks would not or were unable to cash paychecks at face value, so workers had to take at least a ten percent discount each month, severely impacting the income of men, women, and families.²¹¹

In order to adhere to their minimal government beliefs, the Hoover administration and state government – under the leadership of Governor Sterling

²⁰⁸ Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 377.

²⁰⁹ Bruce A. Glasrud, Light Townsend Cummins, and Cary D. Wintz, ed. *Discovering Texas History* (Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 265-267. Texans called upon the oil industry to save the economy and it succeeded as more oilfields opened across the state. These oilfields, which stretched from East Texas to South Texas, created employment, raised the value of land, and increased refinery construction.

²¹⁰ Dr. William T. Chambers, interview by Bobby H. Johnson, SFA Oral History Program, July 24, 1974, audio, 10:32, <https://digital.sfasu.edu/digital/collection/OH/id/348>.

²¹¹ Dr. Chambers, interview. Unemployment among minorities far exceeded that of white citizens. The few employment opportunities paying marginally well often went to white people, leaving only the lowest paying opportunities for African Americans and Mexican Americans.

– relied heavily on private charities to help the poor and disenfranchised. When these charities exhausted their own funds, city officials and community leaders stepped in to help. Some groups, like the Retail Merchants Association and the San Antonio School Board issued scrip ranging from twenty-five cents to one dollar. Other city officials, like those in Dallas and Fort Worth, sponsored gardens by finding individuals to contribute land and seed or encouraging people to plant vegetables to be used by community members in need. Cities – such as Austin, Dallas, and Houston – sponsored plays and musicals to fund soup kitchens, breadlines, and shelter for the homeless. Local businesses pledged to hire part-time workers in need and refrain from not hiring transients.²¹² These were small steps each city took to try to wait out the depression, but as prices continued to plummet and droughts destroyed much needed crops, there was little relief to be found.²¹³ Soon businesses and farms closed at an alarming rate, worsening the growing depression. By the summer of 1932, state and local governments struggled to find solutions to widespread economic suffering.²¹⁴

Hoover received heavy criticism for his apparent failure to help suffering Americans, so it came as little surprise when Democratic candidate, Franklin D.

²¹² The various ordinances that discouraged the hiring of transients exacerbated the growing unemployment issue and led to the establishment of “Hooverilles,” or camps occupied by transients that could not find work. Americans referred to these shantytowns as “Hooverilles” to taunt Hoover and his lack of action during the Great Depression.

²¹³ James Villanueva, *Remembering Slaton, Texas: Centennial Stories, 1911-2011* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011), 122.

²¹⁴ “Great Depression.”

Roosevelt, won the presidency by a large margin in 1932.²¹⁵ Texans across the state agreed action needed to be taken and Roosevelt was the man to lead the country through the Depression.²¹⁶ More than anything, Texans wanted economic recovery for the nation and the state. Roosevelt immediately began instating a series of New Deal programs and projects to restore hope and prosperity in America.²¹⁷ The first wave of Roosevelt's New Deal included the beginning of the end to Prohibition, which Roosevelt deemed of "the highest importance."²¹⁸ Roosevelt began the process with the Beer-Wine Revenue Act on March 22, 1933, which legalized the sale of beer and wine and taxed alcohol sales, raising federal revenue. Roosevelt announced the full repeal of Prohibition with the Twenty-First Amendment on December 5, 1933.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Paul F. Boller, Jr, *Presidential Campaigns: From George Washington to George W. Bush* (New York: Oxford Press, 2004), 232. Roosevelt received eighty-eight percent of the electoral vote and over fifty-seven percent of the popular vote. In Texas, Roosevelt received over eighty percent of the state's votes.

²¹⁶ Henry H. Burns, interview by Bobby H. Johnson, SFA Oral History Program, July 25, 1974, <https://digital.sfasu.edu/digital/collection/OH/id/345>.

²¹⁷ David G. McComb, *Texas: A Modern History* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1994), 140-141. The New Deal was a three-wave program between 1933 and 1939 that Roosevelt instituted in order to provide relief to businesses, industries, and Americans. Programs ranged from the Emergency Banking Act in 1933, which helped revitalize banks, to the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1937, which established the U.S. minimum wage. For more information regarding the New Deal programs and measures, see Robert F. Himmelberg's *The Great Depression and the New Deal* or William E. Leuchtenburg's *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal: 1932-1940*.

²¹⁸ "Letter from Roosevelt to Congress, dated March 13, 1933," Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, accessed July 14, 2019, <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/daybyday/resource/march-1933-6/>.

²¹⁹ "Presidential Proclamation 2065 of December 5, 1933," National Archive and Records Administration, accessed August 1, 2019, <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=1205>.

Following the Beer-Wine Revenue Act in March 1933, the end of prohibition was in sight. Old and new Texas breweries began production almost immediately. The San Antonio Brewery and Shiner Brewery – two of the few breweries to survive the dry years fully intact – began brewing in mid-1933 with special government permission and had one hundred trucks and twenty-five boxcars filled with real beer ready for sale the day after the repeal of Prohibition.²²⁰ Lone Star Brewery had men at work by the summer of 1933 preparing the long-neglected plant for production.²²¹ Breweries such as these allowed members of “wet” communities complete access to beer by the time prohibition officially ended in December 1933. State Prohibition laws still hindered Texas and Texas breweries until August 24, 1935 when the Texas Legislature modified Article XVI, Section 20 of the Texas Constitution and the definition of liquors “capable of producing intoxication.”²²² This amendment permitted the sale of beer and wine if their alcoholic content was less than 3.2 percent by volume, effectively putting Texas breweries back in business.²²³

²²⁰ “1885 Brewery was First,” *The Sunday Express News*, March 10, 1985, Brewery Records, San Antonio Conservation Society.

²²¹ “Four Breweries for San Antonio,” *The Paris News*, September 3, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/14780187/?terms=Lone%2BStar%2BBrewery%2BCloses>. In addition to the San Antonio Brewing Association and Lone Star Brewery, two new breweries opened in the San Antonio area: the Sabinas Brewery and San Luis Potosi Brewery. “A Toast for Brewery’s Unlikely 100th Birthday.”

²²² Dinkins, “The “Open Saloon” Prohibition: A Constitutional Dilemma for the Texas Courts,” 3.

²²³ Dinkins, “The “Open Saloon” Prohibition: A Constitutional Dilemma for the Texas Courts,” 3.

Some breweries did not recover after the end of prohibition. Due to a lack of funds, the Galveston Brewing Company had been sold at public auction in August 1933. The new owners of the Galveston Brewing Company were also unable to begin production, so they merged with the equally suffering Houston Ice and Brewery and reopened as the Galveston-Houston Brewery under the leadership of Robert Autrey, former president of Magnolia Brewery.²²⁴ The Dallas Brewery never reopened because new investors lacked the capital to update the brewery.²²⁵ The Texas Brewing Company also lacked the capital to begin production, so investors sold the brewery in the summer of 1933.²²⁶ While some of the major pre-prohibition breweries never reopened, numerous smaller, specialty breweries opened in their places.

Some Texas counties remained dry under state laws, but in the wet counties there was no shortage of beer and the public eagerly consumed the golden liquid. In 1940, Texans consumed almost 7.5 gallons of malt beverages, including beer, per person.²²⁷ For the first few years following prohibition, it appeared that several of the aforementioned breweries would survive.

²²⁴ Ronnie Crocker, *Houston Beer: A Heady History of Brewing in the Bayou City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2012), 48.

²²⁵ Paul Hightower and Brian L. Brown, *North Texas Beer: A Full-Bodied History of Brewing in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Beyond* (Charleston, SC: American Palate, 2014), 71.

²²⁶ The Superior Brewing Company of Fort Worth opened in place of the Texas Brewing Company following the sale of the land in the summer of 1933.

²²⁷ Michael C. Hennech and Trace Etienne-Gray, "Brewing Industry," *Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified September 26, 2016, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/dib01>.

Unfortunately, as the number of beer drinkers increased in Texas, so did the number of larger, national chains – such as Anheuser-Busch and Miller – opening branches in Texas. With these new, financially stable breweries entering the Texas market, smaller Texas-owned breweries could not compete and either shut down permanently or were absorbed by a larger brewery chain. The only Texas-owned breweries to survive Prohibition and the Great Depression were Shiner, Lone Star Brewery, and the San Antonio Brewing Association – which operated under the name Pearl Brewery. These three breweries were all that remained of the pre-Prohibition Texan-owned breweries. All three of these breweries are in production over one hundred years later – two under larger, national chains and one as an independent entity.²²⁸

²²⁸ Shiner continues to operate as a Texas-owned brewery under the Gambrinus Company founded by Kosmos Spoetzl. Pabst Brewing Company purchase Lone Star and Pearl in 1999 and 2000 respectively and outsourced production of both products to the Miller Brewing Company in Fort Worth, Texas.

CHAPTER FOUR:

DEVELOPMENT AND DESIGN OF A DIGITAL EXHIBIT

Curators and museologists began producing digital exhibits in the mid 1990s and, as technology evolved, so did the digital exhibits available to the public. Digital exhibits present three main benefits unavailable to physical exhibits: lower production cost, increased accessibility, and adaptability. These benefits make digital exhibits an effective alternative for smaller institutions with limited resources. In order to produce a successful exhibit and take full advantage of these benefits, it is necessary to consider the best practices and proper procedures before making any major decisions. Public history experts have described at length the best practices to effectively communicate with an audience and, while methods and procedures are constantly evolving, this chapter will detail the development, completion, and donation of this final digital exhibit according to the current best practices. Decisions detailed in this chapter include style, format, text, and media selection in order to explain how the exhibit will be an effective interpretation of the historic context and primary sources discussed in this project and an enlightening experience for the exhibit's audience.

In order to understand the procedures followed in the creation of this exhibit, it is important to understand public history. Public history emerged after World War II as affluent Americans developed an interest in learning more about history as a “way of grappling with profound questions about how to live.”²²⁹ Out of this interest historic sites and national parks gained popularity across the United States, which public historians described as a “vibrant [example] of public ‘remembrances’ and the absence of historical reflection.”²³⁰ Meaning, historic sites and national parks did not include interpretation by a facility’s staff. Since then, at these sites and parks, public historians have brought the past alive to make the present more enjoyable and the future more meaningful.²³¹

Commonly referred to as “history beyond the walls of the traditional classroom,” public history is loosely defined as “the employment of historians and historical method outside of academia.”²³² Public history describes the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world in coordination with the

²²⁹ Thomas Cauvin, *Public History: A Textbook of Practice* (London: Routledge, 2016), 15. Denise D. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 132.

²³⁰ Cauvin, *Public History: A Textbook of Practice*, 15. In 1931, the Park Service employed 2,044 individuals. By 1941, the National Park Service employed over 17,000 workers in order to maintain and operate the fifty-three parks, fifty-seven battlefields, and thirty-five historic house museums. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks*, 131.

²³¹ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill, NC: 2008), 26.

²³² Cherstin M. Lyon, Elizabeth M. Nix, and Rebecca K. Schrum, *Introduction to Public History: Interpreting the Past, Engaging Audiences* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 1-3. “How Do We Define Public History,” The National Council on Public History, accessed October 1, 2019, <https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field>.

public.²³³ Public history is the cooperation and the collaboration between historians and the public to interpret oral histories, popular culture, and physical representations of history as sources of information, unlike in an academic setting where historians usually interpret and analyze these materials independently or with little outside input. Rather than being confined to a classroom setting, public history can be found in museums, non-profit organizations, government agencies, local historical societies, historic homes and sites, or walking history tours working directly with the public to interpret history.²³⁴ In addition to traditional monographs and journal articles, public historians utilize “free-choice learning” methods by also creating documentaries, historical markers, oral histories, and digital media to make history more accessible to a different audience than academia.²³⁵ The free-choice learning or non-compulsory education environments that interpreters build allow two types of interpretation: personal interpretation and nonpersonal interpretation. Personal interpretation – person-to-person discussions of materials – and nonpersonal interpretation – the use of signage, self-guided tours, and interactive programs –

²³³ “How Do We Define Public History,” National Council on Public History, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/>.

²³⁴ Larry Beck and Ted Cable, *Interpretation for the 21st Century: Fifteen Guiding Principles for Interpreting Nature and Culture* (Champaign, IL: Sagamore Publishing, 2002), 6.

²³⁵ Lyon, Nix, Schrum, *Introduction to Public History: Interpreting the Past, Engaging Audiences*, 3. Also see Lisa Brochu and Tim Merriman’s *Personal Interpretation: Connecting Your Audience to Heritage Resources*. Christine M. Van Winkle, “The Effect of Tour Type on Visitors’ Perceived Cognitive Load and Learning,” *Journal of Interpretation Research*, vol. 17, no. 1 (June 1, 2012): 46-47.

are both possible at historic sites and allow for a better understanding and interpretation of site or learning location.²³⁶ These settings allow guests to interpret and understand history according to their own personal context – including personal motivations, expectations, prior knowledge, experience, interest, choice and control.²³⁷ Public historians communicate a sense of place or a sense of historic meaning in a personal, individualized manner and provide members of the public with a better understanding of their place in history.²³⁸

There are five major fields within public history: historic preservation, archives, museums, cultural resource management, and oral histories. This project will focus specifically on the museum field as the digital exhibit is designed and developed. Museums combine different aspects of other public history fields – including archives and preservation – under one institution and present educational entertainment to their guests and patrons. This exhibit details prohibition, a well-known period of history, through a new lens – the Texas breweries of the prohibition era. Prohibition is a complex topic, but by focusing on the Texas breweries, this exhibit will be able to explain the wet

²³⁶ Beck and Cable, *Interpretation for the 21st Century*, 6.

²³⁷ Van Winkle, “The Effect of Tour Type on Visitors’ Perceived Cognitive Load and Learning,” 47.

²³⁸ Beck and Cable, *Interpretation for the 21st Century*, 2. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks*, 135. David Dean, *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 24.

argument was based upon business decisions rather than simply a desire to drink.²³⁹

The museum field has standards and procedures for exhibit development. These include accessibility, accuracy, use of original and real artifacts, environmental considerations, funding guidelines, market appeal, regional relevancy, and novelty. In order to properly employ to these standards and procedures, large museum exhibits are usually designed using a team approach.²⁴⁰ However, smaller exhibits and digital exhibits are more manageable for local historic institutions with limited resources and staff. Curators design these exhibits using the same methods and procedures but can create an exhibit that accounts for the institution's production budget and resources without sacrificing quality.

Curators must ultimately decide what format to use – physical or digital – before proceeding with an exhibit design. Physical exhibits are beneficial to museums and repositories with the space and finances for production.²⁴¹ Digital

²³⁹ Jason Lantzer, *Interpreting the Prohibition Era at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 69.

²⁴⁰ Barbara Abramoff Levy, Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, and Susan Porter Schreiber, *Great Tours! Thematic Tours and Guide Training for Historic Sites* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: 2001), 37-47. *Great Tours!* Provides an extensive workshop-style planning guideline for building a tour.

²⁴¹ Space is one of the biggest challenges to exhibit design. Curators determine where the exhibit will be located in the museum, how much space will be used, and where to store items and artifacts both in the exhibit and in storage. Space also applies to the height at which panels, images, and artifacts will be displayed to encourage visibility, access, and interpretation. Display choice must be made in order to emphasize and not hinder the exhibit in terms of accessibility and flow. Technical needs must also be considered if parts of the exhibit need computers, TVs, or microphones. These are just a few elements that need to be considered before deciding what kind of exhibit works best for the institution.

exhibits provide a reasonable alternative for smaller museums looking to change and develop their facility while adjusting to space, financial limitations, or in times of limited access, such as a pandemic. Developing a physical exhibit can be costly, difficult to update, and spatially limiting. Digital exhibits present the opportunity to provide revolving exhibits that are compact, mobile, easily updated, accessible, and informative. Digital exhibits also provide the opportunity to update or alter the exhibit to relate to new physical artifacts or collections.²⁴² Digital exhibits are loosely defined as a collection of images, sound files, text documents, and other historical data accessed through an electric medium. A digital exhibit draws on the characteristics of a physical museum exhibit in order to share, complement, enhance, or augment the museum experience through personalization, interactivity, and richness of content. One of the most essential parts of a digital exhibit is accessibility.²⁴³ Digital exhibits are flexible and dynamic. Institutions can use digital exhibits to increase their audience and visitor retention – which can be crucial to remain operational – and individuals can experience history via the internet from the comfort of their own homes.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Kyle Mathers, "Gone Digital: Creating Space-Saving Museum Exhibitions," American Alliance of Museums, October 8, 2018, accessed January 2, 2020, <https://www.aam-us.org/2018/10/08/gone-digital-creating-space-saving-museum-exhibitions/>.

²⁴³ Elin Ivarsson, "Definition and Prospects of the Virtual Museum," June 2009, accessed December 29, 2019, http://www.elinivarsson.com/docs/virtual_museums.pdf<http://mars.gmu.edu/handle/1920/6089>

²⁴⁴ Penny L. Richards, "Online Museums, Exhibits, and Archives of American Disability History," *The Public Historian*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 91-100. Paul F. Marty, "Museum Websites and Museum Visitors: Digital Museum Resources and their Use," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, vol 23, issue 1 (2008): 86. Unfortunately, while digital exhibits can allow museums to increase outreach, it can be

When designing a digital exhibit, it is important to consider what platform or software is most beneficial to the project. Again, this depends entirely on the museum or repository designing the exhibit. For a museum maintaining a physical collection or designing exhibits regularly, it may be beneficial to invest in a collections management focused software program with exhibit capabilities – such as Past Perfect, ReDiscovery, Veevart, ContentDM, or Axiell Collections – that can be downloaded and maintained on-site.²⁴⁵ For smaller, one-time exhibits, it is often more fiscally responsible to use an open-source, web publishing platform designed for museum exhibits. Platforms available include, but are not limited to Omeka, Collective Access, CollectionSpace, and Viewshare.²⁴⁶ The open-source platform is more practical for this specific project, so that is what will be used to design and publish the exhibit.

difficult to differentiate a reliable, complete, and informative exhibit from a misinformed and ill-prepared exhibit. Search engines do not differentiate between exhibits and offer little guidelines as to quality, motivation, or reliability.

²⁴⁵ “PastPerfect Museum Software,” PastPerfect, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://museumsoftware.com/>.

“Company,” ReDiscovery, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://rediscoverysoftware.com/company/>. “Veevart,” Veevart, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://veevart.com/>. “Build, showcase, and preserve your digital collections,” ContentDM, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.oclc.org/en/contentdm.html>. “Online Collections Management,” Axiell Collections, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.axiell.com/solutions/product/axiell-collections/>.

²⁴⁶ “Omeka,” Omeka, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.omeka.net/>. “Welcome,” Collective Access, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.collectiveaccess.org/>. “CollectionSpace,” CollectionSpace, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.collectionspace.org/>. “About Viewshare,” Viewshare, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://viewshare.uservoice.com/knowledgebase/articles/242995-about-viewshare>.

There are pros and cons to all of the aforementioned platforms. Developed by the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, Omeka is a free publishing system, which focuses on the production of websites and online exhibitions – as opposed to collection management. Users can build websites and exhibits using templates and page layouts provided on the website or design their own layouts customizable coding options. Omeka also allows for hosted, web-based version or downloadable applications hosted on-site by a library or museum, the recommended users of this program. There is a limit to the number of records (1,000) that can be uploaded to an exhibit and it is not possible to edit or manipulate a record once uploaded. While inconvenient for larger projects, this is not really an issue for smaller projects. Overall, Omeka is user-friendly and allows fast and easy exhibit design.²⁴⁷ Collective Access is similar to Omeka in that it is a free, open source cataloging tool and web-based application for museums. However, Collective Access is focused on catalog and collection management rather than exhibit design. Collective Access also differs in that the application must be downloaded and hosted by the user. There is not a web-based host available, which may be

²⁴⁷ Elizabeth Pepper, "Omeka," *The American Archivist* Review Portal, May 5, 2013, accessed October 2, 2019, <https://reviews.americanarchivist.org/2016/07/02/omeka/>. For users desiring more space or templates, there are add-on plans available for purchase, which may make the application more usable for larger projects. Dan Cohen, "Introducing Omeka," George Mason Archival Repository Service, February 20, 2008, accessed January 1, 2020, <http://mars.gmu.edu/handle/1920/6089>.

preferred by those creating smaller, individual exhibits.²⁴⁸ CollectionSpace is also a free, open-source collections management application. What differentiates this program from Omeka and Collective Access is that it is administered by the Museum of the Moving Image, the Information Services and Technology department at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Centre for Applied Research and Educational Technologies at the University of Cambridge. This program is excellent for managing collections but does not allow users to create their own exhibits. Because Omeka is cost effective, web-hosted, and provides templates, which will greatly aid the design of the exhibit, it will be used to create the digital exhibit for this project.

This exhibit will be a thematic exhibit, meaning it will revolve around a theme rather than a specific object or collection. To develop a thematic exhibit and/or tour, one must establish the storyline or “big idea” of the exhibit and brainstorm what primary materials will support the theme and how they will be utilized.²⁴⁹ This exhibit’s “big idea” is that eight major breweries in Texas used evolving political and social conditions to grow their companies and survive Prohibition.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Elizabeth Surles, “Exploring Collective Access at the American Alpine Club Library,” *Practical Technology for Archives*, accessed October 2, 2019, https://practicaltechnologyforarchives.org/issue5_surles.

²⁴⁹ Levy, Lloyd, and Schreiber, *Great Tours! Thematic Tours and Guide Training for Historic Sites*, 37-47. Beck and Cable, *Interpretation for the 21st Century*, 7-8.

²⁵⁰ Beverly Serrell, *Exhibit Labels* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 2.

The content of this exhibit will focus on the breweries as a group and individually. The first section of the exhibit will begin with an overall introduction to the topic, with a brief sub-section on the history of the brewing process. There will be shorter introductions for each section in order to provide context to the information, but breweries will be the main focus of the exhibit. The second section will focus on the prohibition debate and founding of each brewery up until the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment – so the first section of the exhibit will range from 1875 to 1919. The third section of the exhibit page will revolve around the “dry” years of prohibition (1919-1933) and how each brewery coped with this challenge.²⁵¹ The fourth section will detail the breweries’ recoveries or failures following the end of Prohibition in Texas until 1935. The final section will be the conclusion, which will explain what happened to the eight breweries and how these breweries shaped the current Texas brewing industry. The conclusion will also include a list of libraries and archives used for research in this project. Images and photos will be incorporated throughout the aforementioned exhibit pages showing influential people, important places, advertisements, and newspaper articles related to the breweries and the prohibition movement in Texas. The final exhibit page will include a series of personal anecdotes and

²⁵¹ This section will include a brief description of the events surrounding World War I and the impact it had on American society. Teresa Bergman’s *Exhibiting Patriotism: Creating and Contesting Interpretation of American Historic Sites* provides useful insights to reevaluating and interpreting controversial events in American history. Also reference Julia Rose’s *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*.

images will reflect the brewing business, local option, and/or Prohibition. This will humanize the exhibit by allowing guests a deeper understanding of an individual's experience during Prohibition, which aligns with Freeman Tilden's belief that "the visitor's chief interest is in whatever touches his personality, his experience, and his ideals."²⁵²

This exhibit will be intended and designed specifically for an audience between the ages of twelve and sixty-five. Visitors to the exhibit are expected to be families with older children, early- to middle-aged couples, and retired adults.²⁵³ Alan Leftridge contends that it is a common misconception is that all text has be written at an eighth-grade reading level, but in this situation – where there is a wide audience age range – this proves to be accurate. The text for this exhibit will be written at an eighth to ninth grade reading level to assure every guest can easily and quickly understand the concepts.²⁵⁴

Museums and historic institutions exist to inform and collaborate with members of the public and should make every effort to afford visitors a comfortable, rewarding experience. This means that one of the most important decisions a historian needs to make regarding any exhibit – physical or digital –

²⁵² Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 12.

²⁵³ Lizette Reisma, "Empathic Negotiations Through Material Culture: Co-Designing and Making Digital Exhibits," *Digital Creativity*, vol. 25, issue 3, (2014), accessed January 12, 2020, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14626268.2014.904367>.

²⁵⁴ Alan Leftridge, *Interpretive Writing* (Fort Collins, CO: The National Association for Interpretation, 2008), 101-102.

is determining the exhibit's audience. Specialists in exhibit design have noted a "clear shift away from static exhibits that are expert-oriented...to programs that are more complex and open-ended, that actively respond to audiences' needs and varying learning styles and are more akin to two-way conversations with the visitor. Interpretive components...are integral parts of the total exhibition experience designed to encourage choice, participation, and personal movement."²⁵⁵ In order to create a successful exhibit, awareness of community attitudes, expectations, demographics, educational levels, and economic means should be taken into consideration throughout the process.²⁵⁶

When writing the texts, this project will follow the direction of Beverly Serrell's *Exhibit Labels* with slight alterations being made to use the recommendations in a digital exhibit. There will be four levels of text: titles, subtitles, main texts, and captions. Each page will follow the same design, which will make the exhibit more cohesive overall. According to Serrell "size, typeface, color, graphic design, length, placement, and content will all be cues for what the label's purpose is. Multiple cues should be employed to ensure that visitors will easily follow the logic of the exhibition designer's intent and message."²⁵⁷ Font

²⁵⁵ Tessa Bridal, *Effective Exhibit Interpretation and Design* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2013), 2.

²⁵⁶ David Dean, *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2002), 19-20. Barbara J. Soren, "Museum Experiences That Change Visitors," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, vol 24, issue 3 (2009), 240.

²⁵⁷ Serrell, *Exhibit Labels*, 45. Hugh A.D. Spencer, "Exhibition Text Guidelines," *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions*, ed. Barry Lord and Gail Dexter Lord (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 398.

can be a defining factor in legibility. Simple fonts are preferred for their “clean” and “modern” appearance.²⁵⁸ For this exhibit, Arial – which is available with the basic Omeka package - will be used for its clarity. To follow Serrell’s guidelines, the main title of the exhibit is bolded in a blue, size twenty-two font at the top of each exhibit page. Each exhibit page’s title is also bolded in blue but is a size sixteen font. Subtitles on each page will be bolded in black and a size fourteen with twelve-point text in order to guide the reader’s gaze.²⁵⁹ These are the standard options presented with the basic Omeka package. Slight changes can be made to enlarge, bold, or italicize when needed, however, the standard options are similar to the best practices for physical exhibits to encourage readability regardless of presentation choice – via TV screens, projector, printouts, or computer screen – which is why these options were selected. Comparisons were also made between other digital exhibits – including exhibits made with Omeka – to assure this exhibit’s readability. Exhibits with text in complicated fonts and in seemingly random sizes was difficult to read and often detracted from the information provided and the intended purpose of the exhibits. Exhibits using the same methods similar to those explained by Serrell - simple font, descending text size, etc. – were less distracting and more impactful in

²⁵⁸ Serrell, *Exhibit Labels*, 269-271. The option to alter the font of an exhibit is available on Omeka through one of the expansion packages.

²⁵⁹ Serrell, *Exhibit Labels*, 273-275. Font size for image descriptions will be set at twelve points but are subject to change depending on the length of the description.

delivering the intended message.²⁶⁰ By referencing other commendable exhibits and Serrell's *Exhibit Labels*, this exhibit was designed with clarity and functionality in mind.

In addition to font and size, text length is also an important factor in readability and visitor understanding. There are three basic museum visitors: those who briefly scan labels and move quickly through the exhibit, those who show genuine interest in the exhibit, but spend little time reading the labels, and those who read the labels completely and examine the exhibit with more attention.²⁶¹ This may change slightly with the use of a digital exhibit, but Serrell's guidelines should be still be followed to avoid bombarding guests with too much information. According to Serrell, the average reading speed for adult visitors is about 250 words per minutes. To avoid overwhelming guests, text length should be short, but not so short that the message becomes unclear and historical accuracy is sacrificed. Serrell advises keeping introductory labels between 25 and 125 words, which should be the longest label in the exhibit. All other labels should be between twenty and seventy-five words.²⁶² In order to accommodate

²⁶⁰ Exhibits compared and referenced for their clarity, flow, historic context, and narrative include, but are not limited to the Children & Youth in History exhibit created by the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, the Civil Rights Movement Archive created by the Queens College Department of Special Collections and Archives, and the Clinton Digital Library created by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum.

²⁶¹ Dean, *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*, 25-26.

²⁶² Serrell, *Exhibit Labels*, 43. Serrell provides sixteen guidelines to determining the appropriate reading levels, word count, and audience for an institution's exhibit.

the various learning types of audience members, it may be beneficial to consider adding audio elements to the exhibit. Studies show that while audio components add a secondary task to audience members – the first being visual comprehension – audio elements allow audience members to interpret the material presented according to their personal learning style. Introducing a recorded reading of the material or oral histories to an exhibit can increase the comprehension level of some audience members.²⁶³

In order to further increase an audience's interaction with and comprehension of an exhibit, curators need to interpret the information provided in new and interesting ways. Tilden explained that information is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. Interpretation is art, which combines many arts, which to some degree are teachable.²⁶⁴ While the exhibit will be comprehensive and able to stand on its own, there are some additional interpretive measures that can improve the visitor's experience and understanding of the subject. It might be beneficial for an institution hosting this exhibit to invite a guest speaker to provide more insight on a particular brewery or the history of brewing. There are historians specializing in beer history who can provide additional information on the subject or can interpret materials at a host site to connect the site to the exhibit. There are also members of the public

²⁶³ Van Winkle, "The Effect of Tour Type on Visitors' Perceived Cognitive Load and Learning," 48.

²⁶⁴ Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 4th ed. 9.

that would also be valuable additions to the exhibit experience: brewers. Breweries and microbreweries are extremely popular and garner a lot of public interest. Teaming with a local brewery or brewer for an event – such as a workshop, seminar, or demonstration – would provide a museum or historic site with a unique opportunity to increase its audience and outreach. If available, an institution could pair the exhibit with existing pieces of their collection and create a “object cart” to create a more tactile experience.²⁶⁵ All of these additions allow host sites to appeal to wider audiences, personalize the exhibit, and add new programmatic elements to an existing collection to maintain exhibit accuracy.²⁶⁶

The final product of this project will be donated to Humanities Texas, a nonprofit, educational organization that rents exhibits – on topics ranging from the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence to the Dust Bowl – to venues of varying size.²⁶⁷ A digital exhibit would be more prudent so that a museum can determine how to best incorporate it in its facility or connect it to its own website. Previous professional interactions with Humanities Texas while working with the Nacogdoches Historic Sites Department led to the selection of this organization. The Humanities Texas staff responded to questions, comments, and concerns promptly and professionally, making the interaction

²⁶⁵ Bridal, *Effective Exhibit Interpretation and Design*, 30-42.

²⁶⁶ Soren, “Museum Experiences that Change Visitors.”

²⁶⁷ Humanities Texas agreed to review the materials and exhibit associated with this project. Final determination of if they will accept the donation is to be determined upon the completion of the project.

pleasant and memorable, leading one with the desire to work with them again.

Also, the Humanities Texas location in Austin, Texas houses brewery records directly related to this project and Humanities Texas is associated with several museums, libraries, and archives that also provided material for this project.²⁶⁸

Humanities Texas is the best option to receive donation of this exhibit because of its solid record of exhibit curation and established exhibit rental program.

In order to determine the effectiveness of the exhibit, the exhibit will be evaluated. Essentially, there are three types of evaluation: front-end evaluation, formative evaluation, and summative evaluation. A front-end evaluation is conducted before the project gets underway. Developers determine how successful a project may be based on what visitors know and what their expectations are. A formative evaluation is conducted during exhibit development and is used to fine-tune the project in order to present the most complete project to the audience. A summative evaluation is conducted once an exhibit is presented to the public and evaluates the exhibit as a whole in relation to what aspects of the project are successful and what needs to be changed.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ "Exhibitions," Humanities Texas, accessed October 3, 2019, <https://www.humanitiestexas.org/exhibitions>. "About," Humanities Texas, accessed December 13, 2019, <https://www.humanitiestexas.org/about>. A nonprofit organization supported by federal and state appropriations, foundations, corporations, and individuals, Humanities Texas is one of fifty-six state and jurisdictional humanities councils in the United States. Humanities Texas works to improve the quality of classroom teaching, support libraries and museums, create opportunities for learning, and advance education throughout Texas.

²⁶⁹ Serrell, *Exhibit Labels*, 247

This exhibit will undergo a formative evaluation during the defense of this project by a committee of professors and field experts. The project will also be submitted to guest evaluators, such as the professional staff of the Nacogdoches Historic Sites Department and other graduate students in the public history program. Changes and corrections will be made based upon their feedback. This would be a formative evaluation because changes and improvements will be made prior to presenting the project to the public in order to present the best exhibit possible.²⁷⁰

Exhibit specialists reconsider and alter the best practices and theories for digital exhibits as technology changes, but the advantages presented by a digital exhibit's lower production cost, ability to increase audience reach, and adaptability make it the perfect tool for small institutions to continue to appeal to public interest in history. It is the purpose of this exhibit to provide a deeper understanding of prohibition by detailing the experiences of eight prohibition era Texas breweries and the business decisions made to survive the prohibition movement. In order to entertain and inform an audience, this exhibit was designed with the best practices and procedures in mind to effectively interpret the historic context and primary sources of this project.

²⁷⁰ Humanities Texas received a preliminary proposal concerning this project. Now that there is more information and context to provide, it would be responsible to provide them with the current exhibit so they can provide feedback and present any concerns regarding the final product.

CONCLUSION

This completed project is significant for many reasons. First, the three breweries that survived prohibition – Lone Star Brewery, Pearl Brewery, and Shiner Brewery – are still in production and laid the foundation of the Texas brewing industry today. These breweries also form a significant portion of the Texan identity and are referenced frequently in popular culture.²⁷¹ Second, this project is also significant because several of these breweries' structures can still be seen and used as social gathering spaces. The Magnolia Ballroom is a social and corporate event venue in one of the original Magnolia Brewery buildings.²⁷² The original site of Pearl Brewery houses Hotel Emma, the Pearl Farmers Market, shops, restaurants, an amphitheater, and part of the Culinary Institute of America's San Antonio campus.²⁷³ Following a \$7.2 million renovation, the original Lone Star Brewery is home to the San Antonio Museum of Art (SAMA).

²⁷¹ Lone Star is the unofficial official Texas beer and has frequently been referenced in association to Texas in popular culture. Beginning in the 1970s, Lone Star has been referenced in songs by Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings, and Red Steagall. Lone Star has also been included in television shows and films such as *Dallas*, *True Detective*, *Urban Cowboys*, *Bernie*, and *Everybody Wants Some!!* The current slogan for Lone Star is "The National Beer of Texas." Shiner is now considered a "specialty brew" and for decades could only be found in southern states. This exclusivity increased its popularity among Texans. Patrick Earvolino, "Beer Necessities," *Texas Monthly*, November 1996, accessed July 3, 2020, <https://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/beer-necessities/>.

²⁷² "History," Houston's Historic Magnolia Ballroom, accessed July 3, 2020, <http://magnoliaballroom.com/index.html>.

²⁷³ "Local Flavor Since 1883," Pearl Brewery, accessed July 3, 2020, <https://atpearl.com/about>.

Shiner still operates in its original building and guests can take a tour of the historic brewery. These brewery structures are now not only being honored for their own history but are further enriching the region's history through their reuse in modern ways. These breweries provide an excellent example of how history and modernity can be combined.²⁷⁴ Lastly, this project is significant because it explains how the Texas brewing industry began and grew into the colossus it is today. Between 2011 and 2018, over two hundred craft breweries opened.²⁷⁵ Today, there are 341 breweries in Texas, ranking it third in the nation for most craft breweries.²⁷⁶ The Texas craft beer industry contributed \$4.5 billion to the Texas economy in 2016 and over \$5.3 billion to the Texas economy in 2019 and helped lower the Texas unemployment rate.²⁷⁷ The economic impact of this industry cannot be ignored and this project allows researchers to better understand Texans' appreciation beer.

This thesis explored how eight breweries responded to and overcame societal and political challenges during the late nineteenth and early twentieth

²⁷⁴ All of these facilities have signage and informational plaques detailing the original use of the buildings and the history of the breweries, making the history of these breweries accessible.

²⁷⁵ A craft brewery is defined as a small, independent brewery that produces 6 million barrels of beer or less a year and is owned primarily by the craft brewer, not a board or stockholders.

²⁷⁶ Both statistics are from a study conducted by the Brewers' Association. "Texas Craft Beer Sales and Production Statistics, 2019," accessed July 1, 2020, <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics-and-data/state-craft-beer-stats/?state=TX>.

²⁷⁷ "Texas Craft Brewing Industry Has \$4.5 Billion Impact on Texas Economy," Texas Craft Brewers' Guild, accessed July 4, 2020, <https://texascraftbrewersguild.org/item/texas-craft-brewing-industry-has-45-billion-impact-on-texas-economy#:~:text=ARTICLE,state's%20craft%20beer%20industry%20nationwide>. "Industry Insights: Economic Impact," Beer Institute, accessed July 3, 2020, <https://www.beerinstitute.org/industryinsights/economic-impact/>

centuries. Chapter one introduced the breweries and explained the evolution of the prohibition issue as it developed in Texas through the last local option campaign in 1911. Chapter two discussed the breweries' attempts to stop prohibition and prevent Texans from voting in favor of local option, ending with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead Act in 1919. Chapter three explained how Texans and brewers responded to prohibition. The historic narrative concluded with an analysis of the final years of the Eighteenth Amendment and how selected breweries fared following the abolishment of prohibition. The fourth chapter explained the methodology and rationale used while creating the digital exhibit.²⁷⁸

This completed project and the accompanying digital exhibit can be used by researchers and institutions in many ways. Researchers can use this project to gain a better understanding of prohibition efforts in Texas and how the Texas brewing industry evolved. Researchers could also use this project as a means to track the growing national prohibition movement. Many of the organizations mentioned in this project – such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union – were a part of national organizations or cooperated with national organizations and can be used to track efforts to obtain nation-wide prohibition. Institutions – such as museums or archives – can use

this exhibit to draw awareness their collections' holdings about breweries or the history of alcohol in Texas. By combining this exhibit with an existing collection or event, an institution could expand its audience to include members of the public who may not have been interested in the site before.

This capstone project will be used for research, to educate, and to entertain once it is made available to Humanities Texas. However, before its publication, this capstone project has taught me invaluable skills as a public historian. I gained great insight into the importance of paying attention to cultural history around you and using that to appeal to the public. This project takes a subject Texans love – beer – and makes the public aware of how the beer they drink today is influenced by the beer produced over 100 years ago. I also learned the importance of collaborating with the public. Countless times discussing this project with members of the public led to long conversations on new breweries and suggestions on possible sources. This did not always lead to viable resources, but the interest people showed in the topic validated my research and effort to create an exhibit that appealed to a large audience. It also gave me insight into what members of the public wanted to see and learn from an exhibit such as this. Also, maintaining proper communication with the public is key to gaining the public's trust and corporation for future projects and endeavors in which a public historian may need financial donations, artifacts, or oral histories. This project also taught me the importance of proper research and how to

combine my theoretical knowledge with my practical knowledge. The history of Texas beer is filled with untraceable photographs and unverified information. I needed to use my understanding of public history's best practices as I selected sources for the project, chose images for the exhibit, and determined what information to include on the exhibit panels. I learned that without following proper procedures, a project can easily become unreliable and misleading. The public history field is constantly changing and evolving. And while it is important for historians to maintain best practices when producing exhibits and documenting sources, public historians need to communicate with the public and respond with materials that will generate interest in history. This continuity of communication will assure the future of the public history field.

While the history of Texas brewing was once described as “a maze of speculation, rumor, and forgotten history,” this project provides a more complete picture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Texas breweries that combatted prohibition and local option.²⁷⁹ Through the completion of this project and its subsequent donation to Humanities Texas, institutions and researchers throughout the state can access a history of the Texas brewing industry. This project provides a better understanding of how breweries survived the “dry” years and which breweries ultimately laid the foundation for the industry today.

²⁷⁹ Michael Hennich, *The Encyclopedia of Texas Breweries: Pre-Prohibition 1836-1918* (Irving, TX: Ale Publishing Company, 1990), 2.

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VITA

Shelby Winthrop DeWitt is a 2010 graduate of Nacogdoches High School in Nacogdoches, Texas. Shelby graduated from Stephen F. Austin State University in 2014 with a Bachelor of Arts in History. After taking a year off from school to get married, Shelby returned to Stephen F. Austin State University in 2015 as a Public History track graduate student. During her graduate career, she gained practical knowledge in her field by working as a Museum Assistant with the Nacogdoches Historic Sites Department, a Graduate Assistant with the East Texas Research Center, and an Intern with the William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum. Shelby also completed a National Register nomination and worked at the Arkansas Department of Environmental Quality processing Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. Shelby Winthrop DeWitt graduated with a Master of Arts in History in August 2020.

Permanent Address: P.O. Box 631955
Nacogdoches, Texas 75963

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This thesis was typed by Shelby Winthrop DeWitt