"'Fountains of Joy': Alcohol Culture and Hospitality in Nineteenth Century Missouri"

Introduction

Alcohol has played numerous roles in civilizations. Certainly, in some ancient civilizations producers hailed the nutritional effects of alcohol. In other societies, it allowed those producing it an alternative means to supplement their economic potential. Certainly, Americans have found alcohol a suitable component of their lives since the colonial period, in large part due to a cultural outlook inherited from Europeans, although Africans, and Native American people and cultures coalesced in the New World (Mäkelä, 1983, p. 24). Early on in United States history in regions along the American border between southern, northern, and western states, it made sense for farmers who grew corn or other grains to allow a portion of their crops to ferment into alcohol, which facilitated easier storing or transportation to marketplaces. Some also believed that alcohol held medicinal qualities. Whether helping a teething infant, helping one shake off a cold, or aiding in curing the flu, a home remedy consisting of a bit of whiskey was a surefire solution, although it is possible the patients were simply inebriated to the point that they did not really care about their ailments. Regardless of era or location alcohol production, distribution, and consumption has played meaningful functions in societies. A meaningful critique of the significant of alcohol in shaping cultural traits of a population is one approach in gaining substantial historical context.

Any thoughtful examination of a topic that has historically solicited responses ranging from haughty celebrations to moral condemnation prompts several questions. The following essay attempts to answer the following questions. First, what social impact did alcohol play in the cultural development of the more rural parts of a community? Next, how has alcohol permitted members of different

economic divisions to interact with each other in a much less formal manner? The essay is organized to address the preceding questions and targets nineteenth-century Missouri, a state that offers a cross section of geographic regions and people who were mobile, diverse politically, economically, and culturally. As such, from the 1850s through the 1880s Missourians cultivated a culture of hospitality, or sociability, around alcohol production, sale, and consumption. In part, this culture grew out of the remoteness of the region, however, with small family businesses and farms populating the state alcohol was a constant at social gatherings among friends and neighbors. As the population grew gatherings at taverns and dram shops during the later years of the century centered around the consumption of alcoholic beverages bringing people of different classes and nationalities together in small towns and cities alike. Furthermore, the sociability around beverages was demonstrated as German immigrants moved to the state bringing with them ideas on production and distribution. As there is a lack of historical research on Missouri's social sensibilities regarding a connection between alcohol and hospitality this study seeks to provide a qualitative study to meet this scholarly gap and in doing so reveals that the presence of alcohol in the state enhanced residents' ability to have a more intimate contact with one another.

The structure of this essay is such that the literature review, methodology, discussion and conclusion offer logical supporting details from materials obtained from state and local archives and digital materials in order to validate Missouri's nineteenth century alcoholic beverage culture was one of hospitality. A review of prior literature on the topic of alcohol production and consumption presents an examination of the methods of analysis in an effort to demonstrate the purpose of the essay within hospitality and beverage scholarship as well as within a historical scholarly framework. The discussion

section of the essay is divided into sections that explore the businesses where alcohol was bought and sold and the celebrations or gatherings where drinks flowed freely and citizens openly engaged with each other as social members of the community. Next, the discussion offers a qualitative analysis of sources that aim to extract what people thought as they socialized through the connections centering around alcohol production, distribution, and consumption. For many Missourians, historically, alcohol was more than about nutrition, supplementing one's income, or curing ailments; it became an integral tool in their lives and a conduit of social interaction between neighbors and cohorts. Finally, the essay explores potential areas for further research on the interrelationship between alcohol and culture.

Literature

Several studies on Missouri have focused on its mid-nineteenth century changes. Whether looking at the region's ethnic, economic, social, or political developments, scholarly arguments have highlighted significant cultural characteristics and efforts by various groups to achieve greater engagement with their neighbors, while others have highlighted the cultural divide over the consumption of alcohol in places such as St. Louis as more Germans immigrated to the city. (Anderson, 2008, p. 34-35; Ritter, 2012, p.25). These works offer an analysis of the cultural distinctions within the state's population, but also emphasize the social interactions and celebrations among Missourians where alcohol was present. As some members of the community became suspicious of their neighbors' social behaviors the research revealed local legislative actions to enforce Protestant views of morality, while attempting to force Catholics to conform to a Protestant method of social interaction. Generally, works written in the early twentieth century about alcoholic spirits aimed to contextualize American prohibition efforts around the ideas of morality and work productivity. An underlying point of these

works is a concept of hospitality and fellowship between neighbors and communities. As people moved to Missouri many times they only knew their immediate family members. For some migrants to the region, alcohol allowed for connections through their churches or with a community with whom they shared nationality and culture. Arguably, the chance to fellowship with people they may not have known personally, over a shared drink and meal, made the transition to America somewhat easier.[1] Early

[1] There have been numerous works written on alcohol production, distribution, and consumption in the United States and while many have sought to advance the subject of prohibition, which culminated with the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment few works have centered on a more qualitative study of alcoholic beverages in Missouri. Some scholarship has explored the social settings of drinking environments, such as bars, taverns, or dram shops, but the focus is more on the physical locations rather than the concept of social bonds established over drinking. Still other works sought to juxtapose the societal consequences of consumption with the emerging middle and upper classes in America. While others have looked more closely at economic factors surrounding alcohol. Scholars examining the emerging continental markets along the interior of North America saw that settlers in the sparsely populated Ohio and Mississippi Valleys capitalized on a thirsty and growing consumer base allowing for larger producers of alcohol to emerge at the same time as a growing wave of Protestant Christian evangelism that viewed consumption of alcohol as sinful in the 1820s. (Cavan 1966, p. 7; Franson, 1977; Rorabaugh, 1979, p.88)

More recent works on alcohol production have emerged as the number of small distilleries, wineries, and brewers has grown over the last twenty-five years, some studies of which have focused

twentieth century Missouri historian Vance Randolph's short study on the language of alcohol, which offers some insight into the cultural views of alcohol and society and by examining the language applied to alcoholic beverages Missourians along the border with Kansas appeared rather casual with spirits, even after national prohibition efforts. Randolph argued that although nearby Kansas had been dry since the late nineteenth century, residents continued to discuss "ordinary liquor" even after the passage of the Volstead Act in 1919, using names for spirits that expressed the cultural characteristics behind alcohol production and consumption, such as donk, mule, or bust-head to describe whiskey. (Randolph,

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more on the addictive properties and harmful consequences of overconsumption of liquor. Authors using scientific quantitative research or arguing that alcohol has long contributed to social problems within communities since the Colonial Era explore humans' past connections to alcoholic dependency by looking primarily at how much drink was consumed. Still other scholars have written on America's social history of drinking, considering it America's first national pastime and arguing that it fueled the country's desires for freedom and liberty while other scholarship has examined the long-standing connection between sports and alcohol, a relationship arguably shaped by notions of masculinity and inhibitions. These insightful works highlight significant pieces of the story of alcohol in the United States, but they neglect the importance of examining how liquor influenced the cultural characteristics of nineteenth century Missouri or how the alcohol industry helped create an environment for greater community engagement and cultural competency to develop. (Fisher, 1989, p. 675, 729, 730; Burns, 2004, p. 5; Cheever, 2015, p. 2; Collins & Vamplew, 2002, p. 1-2; Edwards, 2000, p. viii, 1; Mitenbuler, 2015, p. 4, 7, 12; Sismondo, 2011, p. xiii).

1929, p. 385, 386) Randolph's work sets forth the notion that alcohol was a part of the culture in the region as highlighted by the many creative names used by inhabitants. This ethos included beliefs that uses of alcohol went beyond its inebriating affects. Alcohol supported families, held medicinal purposes, and brought neighbors together. The most influential work on this essay is Mark Lender's and James Martin's work on drinking in America. This social history argued that people in nineteenth-century America drank for any number of social reasons, including when they met with friends or when they parted ways, however, they did so within the sociopolitical concepts of republicanism and democracy. In addition, because of their remote locations, people in the trans-Mississippi region, alcohol factored even more into their social lives. (Lender and Martin, 1987, p. 47, 48) This article seeks to look more critically at how beverages factored socially into lives of Missourians as democratic principles of social and political equity among white men expanded during the nineteenth century.

Methodology

This essay offers a closer examination into the connection between the development of mid-nineteenth century Missouri culture and the production, sale, and consumption of alcohol in smaller communities, St. Louis, mid-Missouri, and southwest Missouri. As the state's population grew these regions experienced a confluence of people coming from southern, eastern, and northern United States who encountered enslaved Americans, Native Americans, and European immigrants during the nineteenth century. Missouri was the border between what was old and known and that which was new and unknown in the United States. The region's culture of hospitality was one that witnessed people from various regions and backgrounds who encountered each other as American ideas of democracy expanded. The demographic changes in population over the century created space for the creation of

greater sociability, through which historical sources provided greater observation. Evidence of these encounters was located through examining records located at local and state archives, libraries, and online archival databases. These records related to the public use and thoughts associated with alcohol made it possible to gain a greater understanding of one of the more contentious eras of nineteenth century America as witnessed by the bitter fights over slavery along the border, an increasingly mobile population along the Missouri River, and by the cultural clashes over the presence of German Americans in St. Louis and that population's movement into the Ozarks region of the state.

The selection of archives, such as business records, personal letters, legal records, and newspapers, made it possible to observe what people thought about alcohol consumption within their communities and how they used beverages for a variety of purposes. Business records of sale in towns along rivers reveal how much alcohol was sold as travelers moved through areas over time. Personal letters or newspaper advertisements offer a look into how businesses advertised liquor, even offering suggested uses for a number of medical remedies. Records also revealed social behaviors of Missourians who congregated at taverns with their neighbors and although at times some of these well-oiled Missourians were combative or downright violent, a deeper analysis of their purchases, uses, and consumption of alcohol in public locales or among neighbors hints at a society that fostered a climate of greater community engagement and a wider degree of class and cultural diversity. Alcohol served as a means that could bring people together or divide them and, in many instances, liquor soothed social class divisions, contributing to an entrepreneurial and political culture of hospitality, while also highlighting a substantial level of cultural and class sophistication in Missouri during the mid-nineteenth century.

Although there were a few sources selected to demonstrate a longer history of business transactions where alcohol was sold in communities, this study of Missouri's alcohol culture and production is limited to the 1850s through the 1870s. This allowed for a qualitative analysis of regional, ethnic, economic, and political influences of the period. The sources also revealed the cultural influences of more marginalized groups, including smaller farmers, transients, and especially a growing European Catholic immigrant population in the state. Records indicated that as people were also moving through mid-Missouri on their way to the Kansas territory and beyond many stopped at local stores where they purchased supplies including various sorts and quantities of alcohol. Furthermore, the records selected demonstrate that laws regarding alcohol licenses that permitted an assortment of businesses, such as pharmacies and hospitals, to sell and utilized alcohol for medicinal purposes indicated a wider social acceptability of alcoholic beverages. That stated, this study does not purport to be extensive. Selected newspapers, legal cases, and letters were utilized in part because of location and accessibility. Fortunately, more archives are digitizing their sources making records more readily available, however, those listed were by no means comprehensive. Regardless, analysis of those selected archival records offer a revelation of characteristics where a culture of hospitality among family, friends, and community and where alcohol factored substantially in these social relationships.

The cultural ties between alcohol and rural Missouri in particular are an understudied topic, as more attention has been devoted to immigration or beer production in the St. Louis region. (Mazrim, 2013, p.686; "Some St. Louis Homes," 1897, p.38; Stadler, 1965, p. 16-29). A substantial number of Germans who immigrated to Missouri during the mid-1800s played a key role in the development of Missouri's wine culture, and studies on Missouri's wine production have specifically pointed out the

significance of German migration to Missouri and its vineyards (Fusonie, 1996, p.1; Muehl, 1999, p. 42-58; Opfer, 2011, p.3). This essay focuses specifically on the consumption and production of whiskey, beers, and brandy and looks to contribute to the historical literature related to Missouri's cultural development and alcohol consumption beyond the St. Louis story. In acknowledging the limitations of studying Missouri's smaller communities, I must note that records did not fully reveal the amount of spirits consumed or produced nor all of the actual producers in a given location, as many folks simply did not keep records of their alcohol production. Nor did records necessarily reveal all personal gifts given between neighbors and family.

Discussion

Certainly, socio-economic factors in nineteenth century Missouri like race relations and class status shaped the lives of some residents although for many in the state they were quite hospitable towards their neighbors. By 1860, there were nearly 115,000 chattel slaves of African descent in the state, about ten percent of the population, and protecting the rights of slaveholders was of the utmost importance. To ensure control, authorities prohibited grocers and dram shops from selling alcohol to slaves without expressed permission. Licensed sellers of alcohol who violated these statutes faced a hefty $100 fine for each offense, about a $2,700 citation today. ("Groceries and Dram Shops, An Act," 1839, p. 51; Eighth Census, 1860, p. 285) Certainly, there were limits to the levels of neighborly generosity as this law sought to enforce, however, many in the state found that the landscape offered ways around such legal restrictions. Geography factored substantially in Missouri's place as an alcohol cultural conduit, as two of the continent's major waterways came together just north of St. Louis. Large tracks of desirable lands rested along rivers and streams in this region located at the geographic center

of the continental United States. During the nineteenth century, the area served as a launching point for travelers migrating to western territories and states. However, some individuals and families hoping to improve their livelihood found it easier to settle in Missouri and provide goods and services to those moving through the region. This enabled people from across the continent and those migrating from other parts of the Atlantic world to encounter each other, which at times led to heated debates, often accompanied by alcohol consumption, over the direction of the state. (Forbes, 2007, p. 2-3, 66)

One such individual who decided to settle in Missouri was John W. Basye whose family store operated for nearly thirty years. Having arrived in the early-nineteenth century, the Basye family eventually settled in Bowling Green (for which Basye is credited as the pioneering founder) in Pike County, just north of the St. Louis region and about twelve miles from the Mississippi River. 1840 United States census records identified Basye as a carpenter by occupation, but he also operated a family store and stone mill for grinding grain in addition to this trade. ("John C. Basye," 1840 Federal Census) Archives of the business records from the family's store disclosed a number of services and goods offered, such as blacksmithing, clothing, nails, butter, or tobacco, but also revealed that travelers purchased a variety of alcoholic beverages, and in substantial amounts in some instances. Patrons used both cash and in-store credit to purchase hard cider, Irish whiskey and ale, rum, and brandy, and they bought by the barrels, bottles, or pints, suggesting that both transients and locals replenished their supplies. It is unclear where Basye purchased his supplies, but his list of alcohol offers evidence of his store's community significance. Customers like James Carlisle celebrated Christmas with some eggnog. Larkin Luck bought two gallons of whiskey in November 1833 and some Irish whiskey just a few months later (Basye Family Account Book, 1833-1861). James Ramey, who started the store in 1831 but sold it to

Basye in 1833, made extensive use of the Basye's store from late 1833 through early 1834, buying items such as corn, oranges, sugar, and tobacco but also cider, brandy, and whiskey. Of the dozens of customer names listed in Basye's ledger, many only appeared once, and while some never bought any alcohol, the book revealed that many actually purchased substantial quantities of a variety of spirits. What stood out was the significance of alcohol sales to Basye's business. Throughout the existence of the store, alcohol sales never ceased and always remained consistent. This also revealed the importance of the location of the business as migrants moved through the area.

Basye's store supplied locals and travelers with materials to repair or replace items but also offered them the chance to interact with each other and enjoy a pint. Some of these customers bought quantities over a period of several months or even years, showing an especially busy period during the mid-1830s.[2] The number of visitors and their purchases of alcohol from the fall of 1833 through the summer of 1834 indicate that Basye's store was not only profitable but also a regular, if not always reliable, supplier of alcohol. What is also revealed is that purchasers of alcohol did so during holidays.

[2] According to United States Census.gov records, Missouri's population increased from 66,586 in 1820 to 140,455 residents a decade later. By 1830 more than 14,000 resided in St. Louis County, more than 10,000 in Howard County, over 8,000 in Boone County, and more than 3,000 in Wayne County, of which a special state legislative act in 1833 subdivided and formed Greene County in Southwest Missouri. Having been admitted as a state in 1821 Missouri experienced tremendous population growth especially in the Mississippi and Missouri River valley regions of the state and this sustained substantial growth continued through the century. By 1880 the state's population had grown to more than 2 million residents with many of the most densely populated counties still located in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys.

Even after he died in 1845, Basye's children continued to operate the family business, bringing together locals and travelers in a business environment of hospitality where alcohol factored substantially. (Basye Family Account Book; "John C. Basye," 1840 Federal Census).

Located along the Missouri River about 100 miles west of Basye's community was another town that experienced a growth in commerce and agriculture, especially from 1840 to 1850. In 1850, Boonville in Cooper County tallied 2,326 people, and the county's population was 12,950 (Statistical View of the United States, 1850, p. 268; Seventh Census, 1850, p. 657). As the largest town in the county and an important transportation center, local news accounts reveal that Boonville was no stranger to alcohol consumption. The *Boonville Weekly Observer* ran an advertisement in October 1854 from Houck & Thompson that guaranteed a Double Rectified whiskey, which could be distributed to merchants and dealers in any amount they might desire. The distributors promised not only lower prices than their competitors but also significant diversity of product, including whiskey from Ohio and varieties from Ireland and Scotland. Claiming selections of brandy, champagne, and rum from New England and Jamaica, the ad appeared to cover nearly all the thirsty desires of the populace. The variety of spirits advertised by the *Observer* spoke volumes about the types of people passing through the river town as much as it did about the products themselves. As an important hub for those traveling between St. Louis and the Kansas City/Westport area, Cooper County witnessed an influx of travelers from the northern and southern regions of the United States migrating to the Kansas territory as well as immigrants from Germany and Ireland ("Establishing the City," n.d.). Even though some of these travelers fought about politics in Kansas and along the Kansas-Missouri border, businesses in towns like Boonville and nearby Columbia saw a business opportunity among the diverse populations. The *Observer* continued to

advertise Houck & Thompson's products, even after the company sold its supply to DeHaven & Gibbs, who bought their stock and planned to offer "Brandies, Wines, Whiskeys, and all kinds of liquors" at reasonable prices. This transaction between Houck & Thompson and DeHaven & Gibbs allowed them to advertise reasonably priced alcohol to attract both the local populace and the transient population. ("Liquors! Liquors!" 1854; "Liquors!" 1856)

Mid-Missouri was not the only location in the state where merchants sought to sell their alcoholic products. In southwest Missouri, local farmers would travel to nearby Springfield, in Greene County, to conduct business. These trips were infrequent, but they became a way for neighbors, friends, and family to reconnect. Farmers hauled grains such as wheat and corn to area mills to be ground; to attract a larger clientele, some mills had nearby distilleries. In May 1856, J. D. Haden, after having bought a mill and distillery east of the city, advertised in the *Springfield Mirror* that he was ready to provide the "best quality of whiskey" at a rate of forty cents a gallon at his store McGinty & Haden. While it is highly likely that not all farmers who wished to have their grain ground into flour also desired to purchase whiskey by the gallons, the ad underscored an idea of a hospitable community. Stopping by Haden's businesses provided friends and family who may not have seen each other in some time a chance to catch up as they waited for the mill to complete grinding, and perhaps to shop for a barrel of Haden's finest as well. ("Whiskey – By the Barrell," 1856)

The border conflict between Missouri and Kansas during the mid-1850s arguably led up to the first shots of the American Civil War, and with alcohol flowing during this ideological dispute some individuals found an inebriated condition the most effective way to express political beliefs that were infused with the cultural climate along the border. Even some public officials managed to make time for

a drink, although it may have been completely mistimed. Springfield's *Mirror* reprinted a story from territorial Kansas describing Judge Sterling Cato as a "notorious" drunkard who apparently was always ready for a drink and free with his pro-slavery expressions. Allegedly the judge, while in attendance at a party, announced his support of the dissolution of the Union in favor of a pro-southern Confederacy. What is more, the *Mirror* reported that in the middle of the examination of witnesses by attorneys, at times Justice Cato would gather his belongings and head out to visit nearby saloons. In some instances, the judge became so inebriated that he was unable to return to the bench, which led to the suspension of proceedings. Justice Cato's comfort with his consumption of alcohol in public underscored a claim made by *The Border Star Newspaper* that "several persons in Westport and Kansas City will never drink water – if they can get whiskey." Furthermore, in a subsequent edition and report on the continuing conflict brewing between Missouri and Kansas, *The Border Star* reported that "If you are really suffering for a drink, send over your jug and we or one of the M'Gees or Boones, or other rampant proslavery men will kindly fill it for you." These stories provided a glimpse into the intersection of political rhetoric and culture occurring along the border that included how politics, alcohol, and class were a part of the popular discourse. Moreover, the culture along the border was one that saw the consumption of alcohol as part of societal norms. ("Kansas Judiciary," 1857; "People Who Live Without Water," 1859; "Whiskey," 1859.)

Alcohol consumption was present in sparsely populated regions of the state and created its own kinds of difficulties. During the Civil War even more people, now including military personnel, moved throughout the state. In the fall of 1861, Captain George Palmer and his Union company, who needed to move from Palymra, Missouri, to the Mississippi River, found themselves relying upon two inebriated

Germans who rowed them down stream. Palmer sounded more annoyed than anything, as he and his men had to push the boat off bars after getting stuck several times. (Palmer, 1861) Poor decision-making involving alcohol led to individuals facing charges of various offences, such as selling liquor without a license. Soldiers stationed in Missouri looking to ease the physical and psychological trauma of military service made excellent customers, and many times those seeking to sell spirits did so without authorization. In a November 1862 court case, Captain George T. Snelling testified that a man named Overstreet sought to sell whiskey without a license to soldiers near Sand Spring in Greene County. Making matters worse, an intoxicated Overstreet crashed his wagon into a ditch when trying to leave. The record reveals that Overstreet was hauling barrels of whiskey for N. Plumply and Co. and, even though he did not appear to be authorized to sell the liquor he hauled, he saw the soldiers stationed in Greene County as potential patrons who might enjoy a drink. (Overstreet, 1862)

By mid-century, alcohol had long been a part of Missouri's culture. Thousands of immigrants had settled throughout the state, and they brought their cultural views of alcohol with them. This included thousands of Germans who came in waves to the state beginning in the 1830s. German immigrants had a profound impact on Missouri's wine industry; in just twenty years after their arrival they turned Missouri into a top wine producer in the country. German immigrants to Missouri and its border states brought an interesting perspective on Americans' views on alcohol as well, in that some Americans appeared to want to convince themselves and others that they were virtuous citizens in a non-virtuous world. The observations of one Mr. Grissiner, who was visiting America from Germany in late 1858, highlighted Americans' desire to drink but to do so discreetly. Upon one's first visit to a family, the German noticed, only water accompanied every meal. Yet, the longer individuals knew each other,

Grissiner observed, it was not unheard of for members of a household to offer a trusted visitor a nip from hidden stashes of whiskey, brandy, or other fine spirits, so long as those receiving the gift kept it a secret. While at one level this may appear to be hypocrisy, it actually points to the level of bonding and trust that often developed between neighbors and friends. With lowered inhibitions, a shared drink allowed individuals to connect over anything from politics, the economic state of the world, or to various aspects of society, such as the thought that a drink on a cold morning caused no harm. What the visitor to the United States found was that states such as Missouri had a well-established culture of consuming alcohol for a variety of everyday purposes. What appeared to be the most peculiar occurrence was the family's attempted subtle efforts to conceal their consumption from each other while openly offering a drink to their visitor. Although many Missourians were open about drinking alcohol, others found it necessary to give pretenses, as they may have faced ostracization from other residents who believed that alcohol consumption contributed to the degradation of society. ("Teetotalism," 1858)

Not all members of a community were thrilled by the influence of drinking, and the over-consumption of spirits often led to numerous problems such as public drunkenness and violent crime. In October 1869, the *Sedalia Democrat* published a satirical editorial written by Death and Co., which was allegedly composed of "wholesale and retail dealers in spirits, wines, and malt liquors." The editorial thanked the many customers who had allowed the makers of spirits to "continue the trade of making Drunkards, Bankrupts, Beggars, and Maniacs on the most reasonable terms at the shortest notice." The obvious intent of the editorial was to encourage temperance amongst the local population; however, the piece itself painted a picture of a thriving business community based on alcohol consumption.

Sedalia, located in the middle of the state, started as a railroad town in the early 1860s and became a substantial urban area during the Civil War; its growing population included families and an employed middling class of laborers. Thriving businesses included banks and hospitals but also numerous dram shops, beer houses, and "charnel houses" featuring numerous "ladies of the evening" where authorities looked the other way. Although newspapers advertised for businesses that sold French, English, German, and American style clothing, or ads seeking to entice a Sedalia investor to purchase the vacant Schnerr Brewery in St. Louis located in the heart of a large German population the efforts by Sedalia's press to highlight the town's numerous vices of intemperance reflected a recognition of Sedalia's diverse population as well as its businesses, which also emphasized Sedalia's position as a hub for commerce, travel, and city leaders acknowledgment of societal changes. The association of alcohol with vice districts and nefarious activities has largely influenced community views on production and consumption of adult beverages, but even though criminal activities occurred around locations where drinking took place, socialization and cultural exchange still occurred there as well. Although local newspapers called into question the morality of dram shops and brothels these locations offered entertainment and reception for those who visited. (Chalfant in Whites et al; "Death and Co.," 1869, p. 152-153; "Star Clothing Store," *Sedalia Democrat*, 1868; "Brewery for Sale!" *Sedalia Democrat,* 1869.)

Celebrations that included spirits brought people together for any number of social, political, or economic reasons. In 1860, Greene County's population stood at 13,186, a number that included white, free black, and enslaved populations. According to manufacturing census records, Greene County officially only had one liquor distillery with an annual estimated product valued at $1,500. By comparison, nearby Christian County had five liquor distilleries with an annual product valued at

$11,856, while Gasconade County in mid-Missouri had three liquor and malt producers and an estimated product valued at $10,600. Even though there was only one official alcohol producer in Greene County, that did not prevent Springfield from becoming a market for the producers in Christian County who interacted and conducted business with retailers throughout the southwest Missouri region. Moreover, census records only recorded legal producers of spirits. There was no way of recording those illegally producing a little Missouri "mule," and for certain no one was willing to tell census takers about those who were distilling spirits. ("State of Missouri," Eighth Census 1860s, p. 238; "State of Missouri," Manufactures, 1860s, p. 298; Randolph, 1929, p. 385).

Certainly, houses of ill repute brought together a diverse group of characters who enjoyed alcohol, including members of the less savory sort, such as gamblers, prostitutes, and alcoholics, yet these places created opportunities for a certain frontier entrepreneurial spirit to thrive. The business of alcohol brewing and distilling created an even stronger cultural convergence within Missouri's population, which included immigrants. By 1867, Springfield resident Ewald Poppe, of German descent, who sought to establish a brewing and distilling business, had built a reputation among the staff of a local newspaper as a stellar brewmaster. By all indications, *The Leader's* July 4 celebration that year was quite jovial after Poppe and his partner, one Mr. Junge, also of German origins, "donated a keg of their best beer to 'all hands' of The Leader office." The editorial describing the celebration claimed that after having sipped from the "fountains of bliss – fountains of joy – of love – hope … we never wanted to sip from any other fountain" and proclaimed Poppe and Junge as the "disciples of King Gambrinus," the Patron Saint of Beer. Conducting business throughout southwest Missouri with their beer highlights the

cultural impact German beer makers had in the region and the celebratory purposes alcohol served. Their beer improved an already joyous celebration. (“The City,” July 1867; “The City,” October 1867).

Despite the glowing reviews of their beer from *The Leader,* Poppe and his cohort seemed to have struggled in their brewing efforts, even though they continued to supply the paper with kegs. By early 1869, Poppe faced legal troubles after losing a civil suit to Adolphus Busch and Company. The court ordered Poppe to pay $231.55 or have his brewing and distilling equipment seized. The Greene County sheriff issued the bond February 22 and gave Poppe until July to pay the costs; otherwise he would have his personal property seized, which included malting, fermenting, and mash tubs. Sadly, the records do not indicate what happened to Poppe’s fledgling brew business, and by 1871 it appears that he had left the Springfield area or died, as unclaimed letters for him piled up at the post-office. Regardless, Poppe and his partner’s efforts to conduct a brewing and distilling business in southwest Missouri sought to capitalize on thirsty Missourians’ desires as well as bring people together in a celebratory fashion. Whether they were business partners or coworkers, people enjoyed each other’s company over a fine ale, bourbon, whiskey, malt, or wine (“Aldophus Bush,” 1869; “List of Letters,” 1871).

Poppe was not the only German immigrant who attempted to establish a brewing company in the Springfield area. Unlike Poppe, more is known about Sebastian Dingeldein, who immigrated to the United States in 1867, eventually making his way to southwest Missouri in 1876 by way of St. Louis. Upon arriving in Springfield, the industrious Dingeldein, who had worked in the brewery and malting industry for several years, recognized the potential in the region for the production and distribution of alcohol. By June 1876, Finkenauer’s brewery was making “fountains of great happiness” for fellow Germans and other local residents, advertising a “Centennial Lager Beer” that was so good that

distraught businessmen, mechanics, mothers-in-law, and politicians would all find cheer and comfort in their beer. Just a few short years later, in 1882, Dingeldein purchased a fledgling brewery in Springfield to create the Southwest Brewing Company, which produced 2,100 barrels of alcohol per day ("Centennial Lager Beer," 1876; "Sebastian Dingeldein," 1900 Federal Census; "Sebastian Dingeldein," Foreign Born; "Southwest Brewery," 1876).

Figure 1. Sebastian Dingeldein (1842 – 1904)
With permission from the Greene County Archives & Records Center

That the consumption of alcohol played a role in social gatherings was nothing new. With drinks loosening social inhibitions it was no wonder taverns and horse races were favorites among various groups of people during the nineteenth century. German immigrants, along with American born residents who populated the more remote regions of the interior and mountainous areas of the Eastern ridge of the United States, had long made alcohol a part of their cultures. In bringing their culture with them, their ways partly shaped Missouri. As historian Daniel Pierce stated when referring to the early settlers along the Great Smokey Mountains, "many were of Scots-Irish ancestry, hardy settlers with a long history of distilling grains and fruits into alcohol," and by the mid-nineteenth century the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages was deeply ingrained in the backcountry. This included frontier Missouri, and though geographically distant from Appalachia, scholars, such as Bruce Stewart, have drawn cultural comparisons between individuals from the backcountry populace of the Eastern Ridge and those in the Ozarks. (Pierce, 2013; Stewart, 2008) Yet, by the mid-nineteenth century, cultural differences as they related to alcohol also served as a divisive issue between people living in the state as Germans moved to cities such as St. Louis and, as historian Luke Ritter contends, presented Anglo-Americans with the dilemma of effectively enforcing Sunday legislation, especially the prohibition of Sunday liquor sales. (Ritter, "Sunday Regulation," 26) Some well-established Protestant Missourians were simply unprepared for the rapid influx of Catholic Germans who, like many other residents in the state, saw alcohol as a social conduit between friends and neighbors. Only the Germans drank publicly and on Sundays.

Some Americans subscribed to the idea that alcohol cured medical ailments; some, for example, thought that a sip of whiskey might help them shake off a cold or the flu. Nineteenth-century Missourians accepted many of these social understandings of alcohol's usefulness. The historical record certainly illustrates their realization of the economic and medicinal usefulness of alcoholic beverages. An 1873 advertisement for Dr. Maas' Drug Store in Neosho, Missouri, promoted everything from drugs and medicines to wines and liquors. ("When you want," 1873). Literary figure Mark Twain, in describing the many suggestions he received on how to cure a cold, specifically mentioned remedies such as gin and onions, which gave him "breath like a buzzard's," or drinking a quart of whiskey every twenty-four hours to help him shake off an illness. Local stores also made it their business to offer alcohol as remedies. Ulllman & Maas Drug Store in Neosho promoted their constantly good stock of medicines while mentioning their "pure wines and liquors, for medicinal purposes." Their competitor, Armstrong & Einstein's Old Drug Store, proclaimed a similar message ("Curing a Cold," 1867; "Pure Wines and Liquors," 1876; "Ullman and Maas," 1870). The *Springfield Leader* promoted Niagara Star Bitters as a "sure cure for neuralgia and dyspepsia" and ran an ad endorsing Warner's Vinum Vitise as the Wine of Life and for use by male, female, young or old. In fact, this "life preserver" had made such an impression that both druggists and saloons, or at least, "all respectable saloons," sold the product. ("Weekly Leader," 1870; "Wine of Life," 1870). Newspapers ran ads promoting the wide distribution of alcohol in towns in the state. Additionally, some of these promotions aimed to sell people on popular uses of spirits as curing illnesses. The use of alcohol was pervasive through Missouri culture as groups such as Germans immigrants, Missourians along the Missouri River, and those in the southwestern parts of the state drank for medical or social purposes. Moreover, during the 1870s, the use of alcohol in Missouri

hospitals appeared to increase as influential businesses and individuals sought to improve their monetary gains. This took place in spite of efforts to limit the place of alcohol in society. What also appears to be illustrative of alcohol uses for medicinal purposes is the belief that providers were being cordial towards those with ailments and in need.

The nation's overall alcohol consumption and production levels gradually dropped because of a well-organized temperance movement that grew from the religious revivals of the early-nineteenth century. In Missouri, larger distillers and producers had become more powerful, but the state legislature began to issue laws that regulated the distribution of alcohol throughout the state. In May 1877, Missouri's General Assembly passed an act to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors by dealers in drugs and medicines. Prior to this legislation, pharmaceutical stores sold various quantities of alcohol without classification as a saloon or dram shop. The new act forced sellers to obtain a license if they sold less than a gallon of alcohol for non-medicinal purposes. {"An Act to Regulate," 1877, p. 342; Missouri Sessions, 1824-Present) Consequently, the personal neighborly aspect that was so much a part of socializing over a drink – or five – was vanishing. Legislative and corporate efforts to control alcohol production for safety and profit also stripped much of the cultural factors associated with alcohol.

Regardless of the legislative changes taking place, influential Missourians, such as Louis Benecke, used his influence and ties to the alcohol industry to ensure distribution, especially to medical facilities in the state. Benecke, a mid-Missouri lawyer who emigrated from Prussia in the 1850s and served in the Union Army during the Civil War, was an avid wine grape grower and, by at least one account, had fine taste in his beverage choices. Benecke was also involved in the distribution of alcohol in Missouri in the 1870s. On August 3, 1877, W. A. Raymold wrote to Benecke thanking him for his gift of

some St. Louis-based Charles Hoppe & Son Malting Company's finest, which Raymold apparently enjoyed. The connoisseur Benecke also purchased alcohol from producers both within and outside of Missouri. An M. Durner of M. Durner & Co. Wholesale Dealers in Wines and Liquors from Ohio thanked Benecke for his $102.25 purchase of "Pure Kentucky Whiskies," which was the company's specialty and even served as a tag line. Although he bought over $100 in liquor from Durner, it appeared that Benecke sought to use spirits for purposes other than social consumption, as he also worked to distribute liquor to hospitals and druggists. ("Letter," W.A. Raymold to Louis Benecke, 1877). Correspondence between Benecke and the U. S. Internal Revenue Service in August 1877 revealed that he authorized the division and distribution of barrels and packages between several hospitals, with the whiskey to be used to aid illnesses such as the flu. Benecke continued his role in helping hospitals in Missouri secure whiskey well into the twentieth century. In 1918, he secured the transportation of whiskey on the Wabash Railway, the rail line that shipped alcohol to mid-Missouri hospitals and pharmacists. Indeed, alcohol was so much a part of Missouri's culture that hospitals used it consistently, even in the face of efforts to restrict its production, distribution, and sale. ("Letter," R.T. (IRS) to Louis Benecke, 1877)

Nineteenth-century Missourians produced, distributed, and drank a variety of alcohol for a number of reasons and in the process, spirits became a part of the state's culture. Arguably from the 1820s until 1870s the state experienced its most dynamic growth when migrants from across the United States and world found their way to the region and in doing so they brought their ideas of alcohol as a social conduit and a means to share time with neighbors and acquaintances. They enjoyed whiskies, wines, beers, and ciders as much as any group of people anywhere, and they did so in the privacy of their own homes, in saloons and taverns, at parties, or just out in the company of friends. Furthermore,

the sale of alcohol for medical purposes at drugstores and uses at hospitals highlight Missourians' belief in common uses of spirits. Alcohol was very much a part of Missouri's culture, and it was something that people used to bridge residents together. People such as John Basye operated general stores that sold alcohol to customers, many of whom were traveling along the Mississippi River on their way to St. Louis or some would enjoy some eggnog during the holidays. Not only was his family store profitable, it allowed local residents to encounter people traveling through the state. In central Missouri towns like Boonville, druggists sold several types of alcohol, and people traveling through along the Missouri River could buy a quart of whiskey with ease. A few miles away in Sedalia, we found that respectable locals who socialized with prostitutes or social undesirables were undeterred by the local paper condemning their liquor-induced actions as spirits lubricated the interactions between classes. Research also found that physicians and druggists advocated the use of alcohol for medicinal purposes, much to the chagrin of people like Mark Twain. Finally, numerous German immigrants to Missouri, like Ewald Poppe, Sebastian Dingeldein, and Louis Benecke, influenced the production and distribution of alcohol in the state through innovations, popularity, or simply their business connections with producers. Even though they were not always successful in their business ventures, their influence upon the culture was evident, if only for a short time, as newspapers lauded their products. Perhaps more importantly, these producers and distributers of alcohol viewed drinking liquor as a social activity between friends, family, and neighbors. As Missouri grew during the middle of the century, the population became more diverse and influenced the types of alcohol produced and sold in the state. As a result of these changes, people in Missouri engaged with each other more frequently; whether in stores or taverns or among friends

and families, Missourians produced, consumed, bought, and sold various alcoholic beverages in public and private venues as liquor became a part of the state's culture.

Conclusion

During the mid and late-nineteenth century Missourians, because of its mix of small towns, larger communities along major transportation routes along the western border and growingly diverse population established a culture of hospitality. What was significant about their sociability with neighbors and communities was that alcoholic beverages factored greatly into their interactions. Households kept stashed of alcohol for visitors whom they welcomed with a drink. Stores advertised not simply to sell their products, but to invite friends and welcome travelers alike to enjoy their beverages. Catering to a more diverse population that included European immigrants and American travelers alike, advertisements sought to speak to an individual's drinking preferences. Dram shops offered patrons the chance to drink a variety of alcohol and meet with friends and neighbors is a casual setting. In addition, they also allowed people of different standings within a community interact with each other, regardless of their economic status. Others gifted alcohol to friends and family.

Even though research indicates that the production, distribution, and consumption of alcohol played a role in Missouri's cultural development during its first fifty years as a state there are numerous questions about the relationship between spirits and hospitality, which offers several avenues for future research on Missouri's social connections to alcohol. By looking deeper into Missourians' relationship with spirits it may be possible to find a more profound link to Missouri's cultural, political, and economic shifts during the nineteenth century. For example, more research is needed to explore the intersection

of race and alcohol production, sales, and consumption and how this shaped the African American communities in the state during the nineteenth century. Were there any African American producers and did they faced any racial restrictions? If they did face any barriers how did these obstacles influence the hospitality sector in urban and rural parts of the state among that population? Furthermore, going beyond Missouri, there also appears to be room for studies on the relationship between alcohol and hospitality and African American communities in other regions of the United States during the nineteenth century, especially during the post-emancipation years.

Also, further studies are needed to explore the politics of war and alcohol by examining the nature of the hospitality industry and alcohol during the Civil War. During the volatile years between 1861 and 1865 the state experienced both conventional military campaigns and guerilla fighting. As these groups moved throughout the state did they look for hospitality and sympathizers and to what level was alcohol involved? Beyond hospitality, how did alcohol production, distribution, and use figure into the medical profession during the Civil War?

Although this current article explored aspects of rural and urban alcohol production and consumption there still remains a need to examine the relationship between alcohol, hospitality, and culture among the rural producers where there were minimal regulations and distribution was mostly between neighbors and family. Individuals and families producing moonshine in the Ozarks or Bootheel of Missouri did not always leave behind recipes or transaction receipts, nor did they leave much by way of diary or journal entries detailing their efforts. Yet, such a study might provide insight into how rural families in supplemented their incomes during difficult economic periods, which could also extend beyond a study of Missouri.

There are an untold number of directions that future research on the association between alcohol, hospitality, and culture in the United States might deem significant for any number of fields, such as history, psychology, sociology, or hospitality. However, in nineteenth-century Missouri what can be determined is that residents in the state had developed their own ideas of alcohol, which had multiple uses, yet they also saw it as conduit that brought people together as they built and solidified their communities.