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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE TAVERN IN THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF RURAL NEBRASKA

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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JERRY DEAN GERLACH SR.

Norman, Oklahoma

1974

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE TAVERN IN THE

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF RURAL NEBRASKA

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DEDICATION

To LaNell, who made this study possible.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF TABLES		vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		ix
Chapter		
I.	INTRODUCTION, THE PROBLEM, FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN	1
II.	THE FRONTIER TAVERN 1870-1890	21
III.	THE POST-FRONTIER TAVERN 1890-1910	48
IV.	THE TEMPERANCE TAVERN 1910-1935	74
V.	THE MODERN TAVERN 1935-1972	102
VI.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	140
BIBLIOGRAPHY		151

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Ethnic Composition of Case Study Counties, 1870-1890	26
2.	Number of Taverns in the Counties, 1870-1890.	31
3.	Number of People Per Tavern, 1870-1890	33
4.	Number of Eligible Customers Per Tavern, 1870-1890	35
5.	Number of Taverns in the Post-Frontier, 1890-1910	53
6.	The Size of Towns in the Post-Frontier Era, 1890-1910	57
7.	Number of People Per Tavern, 1890-1910	59
8.	Number of Eligible Tavern Customers Per Tavern, 1890-1910	61
9.	Population and Legal Adults, 1910-1930	78
10.	Number of Taverns in Cuming County, 1910-1935	79
11.	Number of Taverns in Hamilton County, 1910-1935	80
12.	Number of Taverns in Saline County, 1910-1935	81
13.	Number of Taverns in Keith County, 1910-1935.	82
14.	Number of People Per Tavern, 1910-1935	84
15.	Number of Eligible Customers Per Tavern, 1910-1935	85
16.	Population and Adults in the Case Study Counties, 1940-1970	105

Table		Page
17.	Number of Taverns in Cuming County, 1935-1972	107
18.	Number of Taverns in Saline County, 1935-1972	108
19.	Number of Taverns in Hamilton County, 1935-1972	109
20.	Number of Taverns in Keith County, 1935-1972	110
21.	Number of People Per Tavern, 1940-1970	113
22.	Number of Eligible Customers Per Tavern, 1940-1970	115
23.	Population of Case Study Towns in 1970	123
24.	Tavern Features in 1972	129

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Conceptual Model of Tavern Analysis	8
2.	Case Study Counties	11
3.	Towns in the Case Study Counties	27
4.	Tavern Numbers in 1890	55
5.	Tavern Numbers in 1910	56
6.	Tavern Numbers in 1933	95
7.	Tavern Numbers in 1972	124
8.	Seasonal Tavern near Lake McConaughy	126
9.	Front Street Saloon in Ogallala	126
10.	Tavern in the Business District of Beemer.	127
11.	Taverns in the Business District of West Point	127
12.	Taverns in the Business District of Crete .	128
13.	Taverns in the Business District of Friend.	128
14.	The Museum Bar in Paxton	131
15.	Tavern Customers in Beemer	132
16.	Tavern Customers in West Point	132
17.	Tavern Customers in Ogallala	133
18.	Tavern Customers in Western	133
19.	Mixed Tavern Customers in Wilber	134
20.	A Baby in a Tavern in Western	134

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE TAVERN IN THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF RURAL NEBRASKA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, THE PROBLEM, FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Problem and Hypotheses

Although taverns are ubiquitous in the contemporary American landscape, they have been virtually ignored by geographers. Those few studies that do exist have been done, instead, by sociologists.[1] These latter studies, however, have not been concerned with the spatial characteristics of the tavern, and it is hoped that this study will contribute toward remedying this situation.

The purpose of this study is to focus on the role of the tavern as one element in the changing cultural landscape of rural America. More specifically, it is to study the tavern as a changing landscape element in rural Nebraska. The central question posed is whether the tavern represents a morphological and functional expression of different cultural groups in the state. Tangential to this question is a determination of the degree to which the tavern as a cultural

institution has been affected by business, ethnic, and legal factors, and also a determination of the extent to which tavern form and function have varied in space through time.

Two hypotheses were established for the study. These were that the tavern will vary spatially with culture, and that the tavern will vary temporally with culture. The rationale for these hypotheses is developed below.

Rationale

This study falls within the realm of cultural geography, a discipline defined as the application of the concept of culture to geographic problems.[2] The variety of cultural concepts that can be studied in a spatial context is broad. Five themes have been elaborated by Wagner and Mikesell: culture, culture area, cultural landscape, cultural history, and cultural ecology.[3] A spatial study which fits within the context of any of these five themes is geographical. Most studies undertaken in cultural geography are classified as belonging to one or more of these categories and this study falls under the cultural landscape heading. This study also concerns change, an important aspect of cultural geography. Whittlesey, Sauer, and Wagner and Mikesell all agree that cultural groups, their institutions, and their landscapes are dynamic.[4]

As an additional consideration this study fits into Woolridge's and East's general framework. These authors assert that a geographic study is worthwhile if it is philo-

sophically rational or fits within the context of previous studies, and if the results are interesting and useful.[5] The contention here is that this study of the tavern as one expression of regional culture fits within the philosophy of cultural geography and has potentially interesting and useful results. For example, this study could aid in determining a given group's assessment of the tavern, or it could aid in determining cultural landscape variations through time.

The Conceptual Framework

Theories and concepts related to cultural landscapes, cultural groups, and taverns that have been put forth by others may be integrated into a conceptual model of cultural landscape change.

An Evolutionary Approach to Cultural Landscapes

In his early writings Carl Sauer stressed the importance of the evolutionary approach to understanding cultural landscapes and landscape elements. He observed that the present day landscape of any area is the product of man and culture acting through time upon the passive natural environment to create the current cultural landscape.[6] The cultural landscape thus created includes all elements, visible and invisible, that act together to form the total environment that constitutes man's home.

That this evolutionary approach has merit was emphasized by Leighly who noted that cultural landscapes can be

better understood in historical terms rather than in rational ones.[7] He stressed the evolutionary approach to landscape studies because logic, as generally used by scholars, does not always apply to the study of culture. Many facets of culture and the cultural landscape have developed through time to serve perceived and yet perhaps illogical needs of groups. Darby and Whittlesey were also of the opinion that to understand the contemporary landscape, one needs to stress the historical or evolutionary method.[8]

The historical approach is central in several studies which attempted to further understanding of the form and function of given cultural landscapes. For example, Hewes found that Italians who settled in the Ozarks of Arkansas established a unique cultural landscape.[9] Bjorkland, Sauer, Lynch, and Cozzens also found that different cultural groups created different cultural landscapes.[10]

Because elements of the cultural landscape may be examined profitably in an evolutionary manner, tavern form and function are approached historically in the present study.

Elements of the Cultural Landscape

Numerous studies in cultural geography have concentrated on the form and function of various landscape elements. These studies have covered a variety of topics such as saunas, mules, and house types. The major theory developed from these studies is that a cultural group alters the form of the landscape elements to fit its perceived needs.

Kniffen's studies of house types advanced the theory that the origin of the housebuilder and his culture can be determined by an examination of house construction. In a study of house types in Louisiana and Wisconsin Kniffen found that the culture of an area can be traced through houses.[11] The house form was found to be the result of the transfer of culture from one place to another.

Other examples may be offered. Mather and Kaup's study of the Finnish sauna was conducted to determine if one could identify a cultural group by examining a landscape element. They found that as the number of saunas increased so did the number of Finns.[12] Lamb's study of the mule in the South revealed that the use of the mule as a draft animal varied as the culture of the area varied.[13] Durand studied stills in eastern Tennessee and found that they were a part of the total culture of the Scotch-Irish mountaineers of the area.[14] Much of the present emphasis on the still and moonshine in the area is a continuation of traits these people incorporated into their culture long ago. Hewes' study of the Cherokee of the Ozarks emphasized that land use varied with variations in culture. Cherokees and white Americans made different use of similar land. The Cherokee were found to be not as responsive to cultural modification as were their neighbors.[15] Mikesell found a similar situation in northern Morocco.[16] Finally, studies by Jordan and Meinig reveal that various landscape elements are created to serve functions deemed

necessary by the culture.[17]

In theory, one needs to understand the cultural view of a landscape element to comprehend why it becomes a part of a given landscape. Thus, as culture varies so does the form and function of landscape elements.

The Tavern as a Landscape Element

Aspects of the tavern as a landscape element have been studied by nongeographers. For example, Winkler found taverns to be the major recreational center of the American frontier.[18] Efron found taverns to be a part of Bohemian-Polish market places.[19] In Efron's study taverns had special spatial functions. Macrory, Clinard, Gottlieb, and Rupp all noted that taverns were social clubs for distinct socio-economic groups.[20] The theme stressed by these researchers was that taverns had a functional aspect which applies to specific groups.

Certain geographers also have analyzed the tavern, but not as the major focus of their research. For example, Barry and Garrison and Brush studied taverns as they related to central place theory.[21] In their works the tavern was found to be a function of place size, but their studies did not go further and relate the institution to culture. These studies leave us with the notion that a tavern's function is controlled by the size of the service center within which it is located. Thus, they stress the economic nature of the tavern which is unlike the social focus of the sociologists.

A study by Wolpert illustrates the manner in which some people are culturally conditioned to pass judgment on the tavern as a landscape element. He referred to the tavern as a "noxious" facility located where community discretion is low.[22] His study appears to indicate that the function of the tavern is not completely accepted by the community; a value judgment which is common and which may stem from the prohibition movement of the recent past as carried-over to the present.

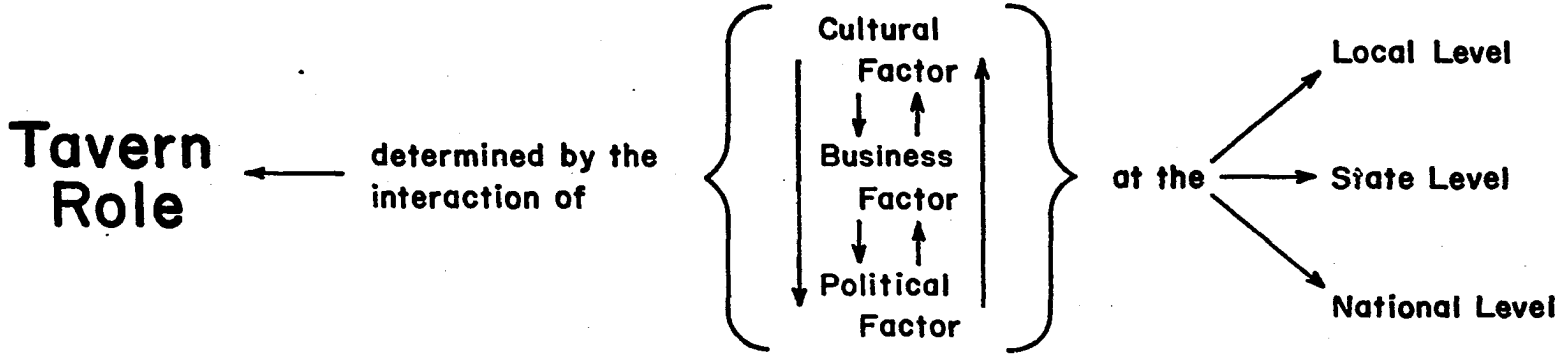
Other studies in which taverns are of peripheral concern associate this feature with specific cultural groups. In these studies the tavern is mentioned as being an important part of the culture of areas occupied by given people. Johnson, Raup, Jordan, Meinig, Ade, and Bruner and Hallenbeck all mention the importance of taverns to Germans.[23] But these studies avoided consideration of the tavern's place as a functional part of given cultural landscapes.

Thus, analysis of the tavern as an element of the cultural landscape fills a void in geographical tavern studies. It also tests Nairn's assertion that the tavern is similar everywhere in the country.[24]

The Research Design

To expedite the analysis of the tavern a conceptual model was created (Fig. 1). The basis for the model's design has been mentioned above. Definitions of the terms used in

Fig. I. CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF TAVERN ANALYSIS



Through the Mediums of Time in Space

the model follow.

Definitions

Taverns are herein defined as any commercial place where beer or liquor is sold for consumption on the premises. Places which were multifunctional, i.e., served food or were game oriented, were classified as taverns when they fit the description of a tavern in fact, if not in designed purpose. This broad definition of taverns was necessary as it was difficult to determine whether a particular establishment was primarily a tavern, restaurant, pool hall, or dance hall.

Culture, business, and legal factors have influenced tavern development and, therefore require definition. Culture is defined as a learned behavior system for a group of people. Culture conditions the method of behavior that people exhibit regarding any action or institution. Some cultural groups regard the tavern as an important part of their way of life while others do not. The importance of taverns to different cultures is of central concern in this study.

Business factors are defined as those which allow the tavern to operate as a viable economic institution in the cultural landscape. The major business factor studied is the demand surface or the number of people necessary to support a tavern. Other business-related factors, such as location and tavern operation methods, are also examined.

Legal factors are defined as those political decisions made by governmental bodies under which taverns operate.

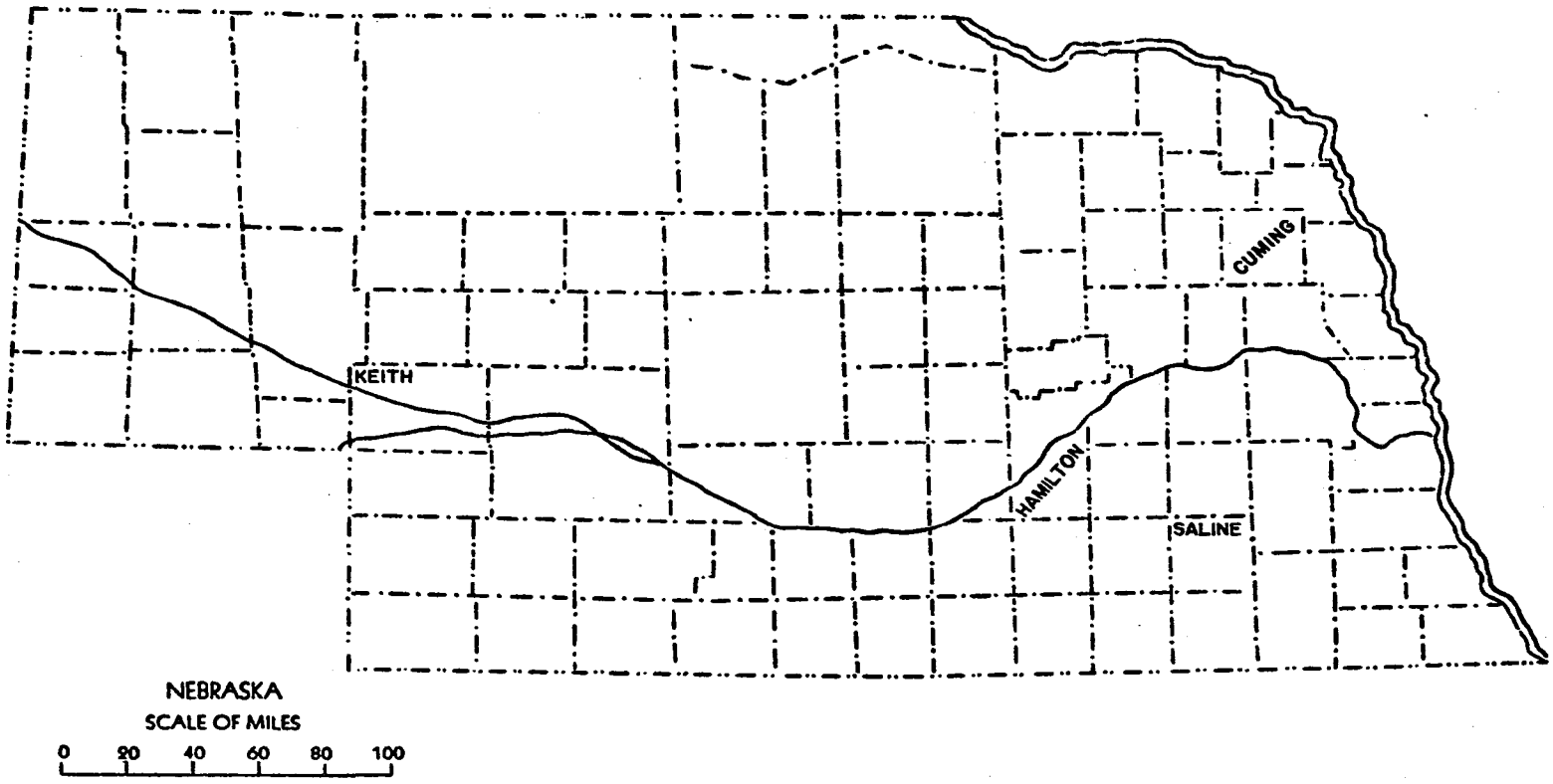
Legislation at the national, state, and local levels was examined to determine its influence in shaping the role of the tavern. National legislation and the enforcement of national laws were only important factors during the prohibition era. In addition, state, county, and local legislation were important throughout the time of the study.

The Study Area

Nebraska was selected to be studied because it contained different cultural groups and forms of livelihood, and because it was primarily rural. Rural areas are less likely to change than are urban areas, and this was judged to be an important criterion.[25] Further, by choosing only one state, the state-level legal system could be held constant.

Cuming, Hamilton, Keith, and Saline counties were selected for detailed analysis (Fig. 2). They were selected for the following reasons: First, they exhibited contemporary and historical differences in culture. The dominant culture of Hamilton and Keith counties was old stock American or Anglo. The majority culture of Cuming was German, and that of Saline was Bohemian. These three groups were the most important ones to settle in the state.[26] Second, these counties were located in different parts of the state. Their locations exposed them to differing cultural movements which should have influenced the rate and nature

Fig. 2 CASE STUDY COUNTIES



of cultural change. Further, their locations affected their economic development as it impinged on the natural environment. Third, these counties were rural and were less apt to have undergone major changes in the cultural makeup of their population than urban counties.

Evolutionary Study of the Tavern

Four historical periods were analyzed in this study, for in the words of Prince, "In attempting to read more into the passage of time, development may be assumed to proceed by stages."[27] These stages were the Frontier, the Post-Frontier, the Temperance (including prohibition), and the Post-Temperance or Modern.

The Frontier era included the initial settlement of the areas and the introduction of the tavern as a feature in the cultural landscape. This era closed, somewhat arbitrarily, when the areas were considered to have been settled. The dates for this era were 1870 to 1890.

The Post-Frontier era began with the establishment of a relatively sedentary society and lasted until temperance became important. This period began in 1890 and lasted until 1910.

The Temperance era began in 1910, when the number of counties where taverns were illegal was about one third of those in the state. From 1910 until 1917, when all taverns finally became illegal, the number of dry counties increased

considerably each year.[28] The tavern did not legally return to Nebraska until 1935 when national prohibition was repealed.[29] The legal tavern was replaced by other institutions during part of this era.

The Post-Temperance or Modern era began with the repeal of prohibition and continued to the present. This era includes an analysis of the 1972 tavern.

Data Sources

The primary data sources for the study were governmental publications, local newspapers, Sanborn maps, and field observations. The government documents included the U.S. Census and state and local government publications. The census was used to determine population size, sex, age, ethnicity, (this was accomplished by noting the country of origin of the white foreign born) and distribution in the areas. State publications were used to determine the name and location of taverns.

Newspapers were used to determine the attitudes of the local people toward the tavern. It was felt that the attitudes of the newspaper editors justified the use of the newspaper facts and interpretations, because editors generally reflected the attitude of the dominant cultural group of the areas and hence were felt to be a reflection of the culture's social value system. Newspapers were also a source of factual material related to the legal status of the tavern.

Sanborn maps were used to determine tavern size, location, and building material employed. These maps were available only for the periods prior to prohibition.

Field work was conducted in the summer of 1972 and observations of tavern form and function were made. These observations revealed the size, location, associated functions (gas, food, or dancing), customer type, and numbers of taverns in the study areas. Interviews were held with tavern operators, local government officials, and tavern customers. Operators were questioned about hours of operation, type of drink sold, other functions of the tavern, origin of customers, and the nature of the government regulations under which they operated. Government officials were queried about regulations concerning licensing and operation of taverns in the areas. Customers were asked about their residence and frequency of visits to the tavern.

Other data sources for the study included journals, theses, personal letters, diaries, and local group publications. Although much of the information gathered from these sources did not focus directly on the tavern, it nevertheless aided in reconstructing various historical and cultural relationships that existed in the study areas.

The Method

The method used by this study was historical and comparative. The historical approach was used to trace the development of the tavern. The comparative nature of the study

allowed for an examination of the place the tavern had in the various areas for their residents. To expedite the study the following attributes of the tavern were analyzed, compared, and described: location, morphology, numbers, ratios, operators, customers and other tavern functions.

The location of taverns was described and analyzed for all areas. Tavern locations were compared for all the groups. The emphasis on location was on city/country and the specific location in a town.

The form of the tavern was measured for all areas by using Sanborn maps, descriptions in journals, and from field observations. The results were compared and developed by the use of qualitative measures.

The number of taverns in each of the four counties was tabulated and compared. Tavern population associations were evaluated by comparing the tabular data to the published works on this topic in the social sciences.

Tavern-population ratios were calculated to help measure the importance of the tavern to the areas. These ratios were calculated by dividing the population and the adult population by the number of taverns in the counties. The results of these divisions were put in tables and compared.

Tavern operators were assessed by measuring the length of time that they were in business and by observing their place in the general social structure of the counties. The length of time operators were in business was carefully noted

and compared. The owner's place in the social system was assessed by analyzing the treatment owners were given by newspapers. Election results were also compared as they related to the tavern and the operator.

Taverns were further measured by analyzing their customers. The customers' age, sex, and residences were compared through time.

The other functions of taverns were noted and compared. These functions included games, drinks, and other services provided by the tavern for each area.

Footnotes

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[9]Leslie Hewes, "Tontitown, Ozark Vineyard Center," Economic Geography, Vol. 29, No. 2, (April, 1953), p. 129.

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[19]Efron, "The Tavern and the Saloon .....," p. 491.

[20]Macrory, "The Tavern and the .....," p. 631; Clinard, "The Public Drinking House .....," p. 98; Gottlieb, "The Neighborhood Tavern .....," p. 560; Rupp, "The Role and Functions of the Tavern ....."

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[26]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population 1910, Vol. III; Population 1920, (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office); The dominance of the cultural groups in the counties can be observed in Table 1, Chapter II.

[27]H.C. Prince, "Progress in Historical Geography," in Trends in Geography, ed. by R.U. Cooke and J.H. Johnson, (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 111.

[28]Anti-Saloon League Yearbook 1910, edited by Ernest H. Cherrington, (Chicago: Anti-Saloon League of America, 1910), p. 33; _____ 1911, p. 64; _____ 1914, p. 163; _____ 1918, p. 242.

[29]From 1933 until 1935 the sale of 3.2 beer in taverns in Nebraska was legal. 3.2 beer was defined as a low-alcohol nonintoxicating beverage and for this reason, the tavern from 1933 to 1935 was classified as being in the Temperance era.

CHAPTER II

THE FRONTIER TAVERN 1870-1890

Introduction

The frontier in the United States represented an area of cultural change. It was changing from an area influenced by Indian culture to one dominated by American cultures. The Nebraska frontier was, thus, a larger scale example of processes and changes that occurred throughout much of the country.

Nebraska was undergoing these transitions between the Civil War and 1890. The period 1870 to 1890 was chosen as the "frontier" stage because these dates represent that time when the state was being settled.[1] Nebraska's population numbered 122,993 in 1870 but rose to 1,058,910 by 1890, and the population has not increased notably since that time.[2]

The population structure of Nebraska's frontier era was different from that of the more settled areas. Initial settlement was by young adult males. Women, children, and older men inhabited the frontier, but the major component of the population was young adult males.[3] In fact the arrival of females was used by Bowman to mark the closing of the frontier.[4]

Not only was the age-sex structure of the frontier unique, but living conditions also contrasted with those of the settled areas of the nation. Whereas in the frontier the primary concern was survival, in the more settled areas this was of relatively less importance. On the frontier the landscape had to be dramatically changed to insure survival, which is something that already had been accomplished in the older portions of the United States.

Theories have been advanced to explain how frontier areas change. For example, Turner theorized that frontier environments caused people to create a unique American landscape. Turner thought the frontier caused people to revert from an advanced culture to a primitive one, and that the primitive culture was then followed by an advanced new American culture. In other words, the European became Americanized on the frontier.[5] The implications of Turner's ideas are important as they contrast with those put forth by students of culture. Turner's ideas indicate that the people who settled in frontiers were influenced by their new environment and created a new culture to cope with problems presented by the frontier. Thus, there was a frontier culture that was similar from region to region. His ideas were apparently the result of the visual similarity of the frontier areas.[6]

Turner's thesis contrasts with a principle stressed by other scholars. In Chapter One a list of geographers who

indicated that European groups in America established unique American landscapes was cited, and the results of these scholars' studies indicate that Europeans who settled in the United States did not forget what they had been taught all their lives. Moreover, the Historian Luebke accounted for superficial visual similarities of American frontiers by noting that initially the frontier prompted people to behave similarly, and Luebke further noted that this behavioral similarity was not to be confused with a structural similarity which took a great deal longer to occur.[7] If Luebke's ideas are correct then this would mean that groups behaved similarly as they settled in the frontier, but they did not possess structural similarities.

Because of the primitive nature of the frontier, institutions were everywhere similar in function. Frontier institutions were multifunctional. The tavern was multifunctional in that it served as a social club, a game room, and a general recreational center. Sorensen, Dick, and Winkler all found the tavern to be a multifunctional recreation center of the American frontier.[8] John and Irma Honigmann also found the tavern to be multifunctional in its role as a modern Canadian frontier institution.[9]

Investigations have found the tavern to be an important part of European-American cultural landscapes. The results of these studies are quite general, but they do establish a basis for further inquiry. Kubicek and Ross found

both taverns and beer to be important to Germans.[10] Raup, Ross, Luebke, and Bruner found the tavern to be important to Germans.[11] The extent of the association, however, has not been well documented. Other studies found no relationship between Anglos and taverns. Anglo culture was so diverse that almost all areas occupied by this group need examination to establish the tavern's place in the cultural landscape.[12]

Before proceeding, one point needs to be emphasized. The initial primitive nature of the frontier may have allowed for similar landscapes in areas before a group's culture established itself as dominant in the landscape creation process.

The frontier thus represented a changing period for the cultural landscape of rural Nebraska. To understand the changes, an examination of the case study areas follows.

Case Study Counties

Location and Economies

The counties selected for detailed analysis are located in three different parts of the state (Fig. 2). Saline and Cuming counties are in the East, Hamilton in the center, and Keith is in the West. These locational variations are important because they have influenced the counties' economic development.

The economies of the counties change from east to west. Cuming, Saline, and Hamilton counties were settled

primarily for agriculture. The population center in Keith County, Ogallala, on the other hand, was settled for shipping cattle to the eastern part of the country.[13] The economy of Keith County was thus initially related to two factors, neither of which was controlled by the local residents: cattle herds and drivers who came to town, and a demand for cattle in the eastern United States. Keith County residents initially settled the county to supply the wants of outsiders, and this settlement reason contrasted with the desire to satisfy internal wants or desires in the other counties.[14]

Population

Ethnic differences were a major facet of the population structure of the areas. Saline and Cuming counties had European ethnic groups large enough to be the majority population (Table 1). In Saline County these people were Bohemians whose core was in the eastern part of the county between Crete and Wilber (Fig. 3).[15] In Cuming County the major ethnic group was German which was concentrated in the area from West Point in the south to Wisner in the northwest (Fig. 3)[16] The other ethnic groups found in these counties were minorities.

On the other hand in Hamilton and Keith counties Anglos were in the majority.[17] Other groups, such as Germans, Scots, and Swedes, were evident but were small in number as compared to the Anglos and were scattered throughout both counties.

TABLE 1

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CASE STUDY COUNTIES, 1870-1890

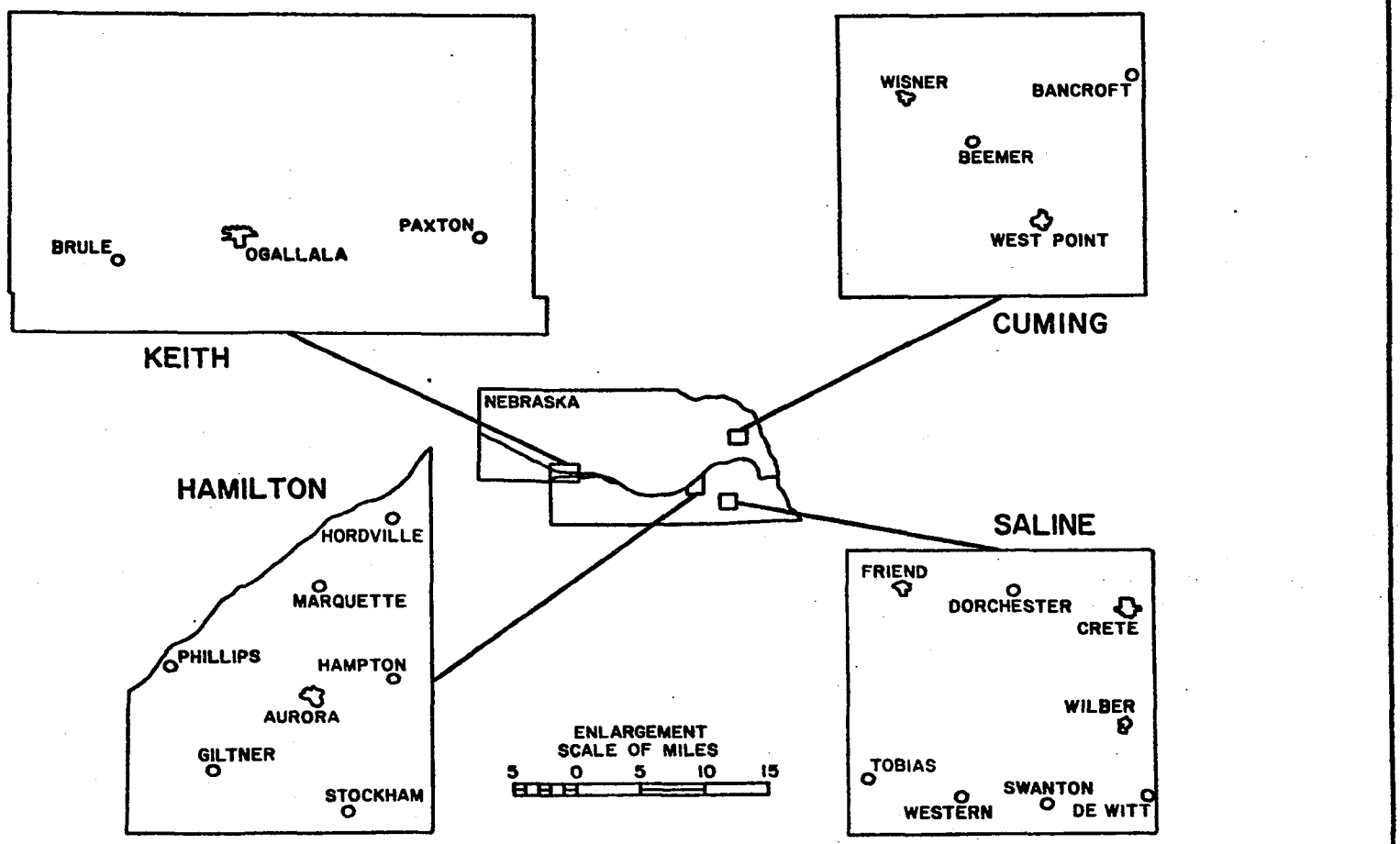
	CUMING	HAMILTON	KEITH	SALINE
1870 POPULATION	2904	130	0	3106
PERCENT FOREIGN[a]	45	27	--	23
NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN	GERMAN	GERMAN SWEDISH ENGLISH	--	BOHEMIAN[b]
1880 POPULATION	5569	8267	194	14,491
PERCENT FOREIGN	39	19	26	26
NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN	GERMAN	GERMAN SWEDISH OTHERS	SCOTTISH	BOHEMIAN GERMAN
1890 POPULATION	12,265	14,096	2566	20,097
PERCENT FOREIGN	77	45	42	52
NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN	GERMAN	GERMAN SWEDISH OTHERS	GERMAN SCOTTISH RUSSIAN OTHERS	BOHEMIAN GERMAN

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1870, 1880, and 1890, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office).

[a]The percent foreign for the population includes only foreign born for 1870 and 1880 and foreign born plus native with foreign parents for 1890.

[b]Prior to 1914 Bohemia was a province in Austria: as a consequence some people listed Austria or Germany as their homeland rather than Bohemia.

Fig. 3 TOWNS IN THE CASE STUDY COUNTIES



The most important aspect of these varying ethnic settlements was that the dominant culture was European in two counties and Anglo in the others. Hewes, Kniffen, Cozzens, Lynch, and Bjorkland indicated that the majority culture of an area is the most important in influencing the establishment of the cultural landscape.[18] It is not surprising then that in the counties where old European cultures dominate one would find European landscapes, while in the Anglo counties the landscapes did not reflect such an influence.

Tavern Analysis

Tavern Establishment and Morphology

The importance of the tavern is evident by its early establishment as a feature in the cultural landscape. Prior studies indicate that groups establish the features they deem necessary first and less important features follow. Johnson found this to be true of German-Americans who established taverns immediately.[19] Lucas, Luebke, and Griffith also observed that immigrant Germans and Bohemians established the tavern soon after they arrived in an area.[20]

In the four counties studied the tavern was among the first institutions established. Several of the first buildings erected in Saline County were taverns. Gregory mentioned that the saloon was already well established in Crete by 1870 only three years after its founding in 1867. Furthermore, Andreas indicates that the first building in Crete was a

saloon.[21] In Keith County the tavern was also the initial institution established. Auftengarten's Saloon in Ogallala was already booming by 1873 two years before the founding of the town.[22] In West Point the T. Lee Saloon was well established by 1871 the year the town was founded.[23] The tavern in the other towns of Cuming County followed shortly after this date.[24] A tavern was in existence in Aurora, Hamilton County, by 1873 the same year the town was founded.[25] It appears then that the tavern was an important function to the frontier group culture in all four counties. This agrees with the conclusions of the Honigmanns and Winkler.[26]

Early taverns were uniform architecturally in the four frontier counties. The building form was somewhat crude. Buildings were made of frame, logs, canvas, or a combination of these materials.[27] Frontier culture and its lower level of technology were mainly responsible for this initial form of taverns. In the frontier region taverns were made of available materials; quality materials were unavailable.

Tavern Location

In the four counties taverns were sited in towns, not in the countryside.[28] Most towns were situated along major transportation routes, mainly railroads. Such locations facilitated the dispensing of goods and services by urban merchants and professionals. The towns also served as congregating points for the peoples from surrounding areas who came to purchase goods and services and also to sell their produce.

Since in the early part of the frontier period, most towns consisted simply of the business districts, taverns were sited in the nucleus of activities.[29]

Tavern Numbers

In the frontier period taverns were most numerous where Germans and Bohemians resided (Table 2). In these areas the number of taverns increased throughout the frontier period. The prevalence of taverns in areas where German and Bohemian culture was found agrees with the results of studies by Meinig, Jordan, Luebke, and Griffith.[30] Germans have a history of tavern patronage while Anglos do not.[31]

The Anglos initially stressed the tavern as a landscape feature but later allowed schools, churches, and Grange Halls to replace it as a recreational feature of their culture. Consequently, taverns did not increase in number as the population grew.[32] Dale has observed that other institutions competed with the tavern toward the end of the frontier period.[33] Dale lends support to the conclusion arrived at by Dick that initially the number of taverns was influenced by frontier culture, and as the frontier spirit subsided tavern numbers became associated with group culture rather than frontier culture.[34] The slower rate of growth in tavern numbers in this study appears to illustrate this tradeoff in perceived utility of activities.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN THE COUNTIES, 1870-1890

	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890
CUMING	2	3	4	10	15
HAMILTON	0	1	2	6	6
KEITH	0	2	3	4	2
SALINE	2	4	15	21	27

Source: N.R. Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," Nebraska History, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Summer, 1947), p. 104; The Nebraska Commonwealth, (Lincoln), Vol. 1-9; Saline County Post, (Crete), Vol. 1-6; The Opposition, (DeWitt), Vol. 1-2; DeWitt Times, Vol. 1-9; Friend Weekly Telegraph, Vol. 1-12; Opposition, (Wilber), Vol. 3-16; Saline County Union, (Crete), Vol. 9-12; The State Vidette, (Crete), Vol. 1-7; Crete Democrat, Vol. 3-16; West Point Republican, Vol. 1-19; The Progress, (West Point), Vol. 6-17; Hamilton County News, (Aurora), Vol. 1-17; Aurora News, Vol. 1-14; Aurora Republican, Vol. 4-17; Aurora Sun, Vol. 2-5; Omaha Republican, Aug. 28, 1877, p. 2; Keith County News, (Ogallala), Vol. 1-5.

Tavern-Population Ratios

The mere number of taverns for an area does not convey the total picture of importance for it disregards the population size of that area. Tavern-population ratios are used to standardize for variations in population. These are presented in Table 3.

The general trend during the frontier period was for the number of people per tavern to decrease. This was to be expected for two reasons. First, more leisure time was available for tavern visits. Second, as the frontier spirit waned, more secondary and tertiary activities came into being. These other activities came into being because the surrounding rural population had become sufficiently affluent to support them.

In Keith County the number of people per tavern increased through the frontier period and, thus, was an exception to the trend in the other counties. The taverns in Keith County were not established primarily for local residents but were created to serve large numbers of transient trail drivers who visited the area. These trail drivers were usually paid at the end of the cattle drive and Ogallala and its taverns were established to capitalize on the wages newly paid to cattle drivers.[35] The trail drivers were not residents of the county and as a consequence were not used in calculating the table. Thus, when permanent settlers arrived the ratio decreased in size.

A still better measure is the number of eligible

TABLE 3

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER TAVERN, 1870-1890[a]

	1870	1880	1890
CUMING	1482	1392	818
HAMILTON	--	4134	2349
KEITH	--	65	1283
SALINE	1553	966	744

[a]Calculated from figures from; the U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States 1870, 1880, and 1890, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); N.R. Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," Nebraska History, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Summer, 1947), p. 104; The Nebraska Commonwealth, (Lincoln), Vol. 1-9; Saline County Post, (Crete), Vol. 1-6; The Opposition, (DeWitt), Vol. 1-2; DeWitt Times, Vol. 1-9; Friend Weekly Telegraph, Vol. 1-12; Opposition, (Wilber), Vol. 3-16; Saline County Union, (Crete), Vol. 9-12; The State Vidette, (Crete), Vol. 1-7; Crete Democrat, Vol. 3-16; West Point Republican, Vol. 1-19; The Progress, (West Point), Vol. 6-17; Hamilton County News, (Aurora), Vol. 1-17; Aurora News, Vol. 1-14; Aurora Republican, Vol. 4-17; Aurora Sun, Vol. 2-5; Omaha Republican, Aug. 28, 1877, p. 2; Keith County News, (Ogallala), Vol. 1-5.

customers per taverns ratio. The frontier tavern was not a feature available to all residents. Prior to the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, women were relegated by custom and law to a legally inferior position as compared to that of men. The lower status of women was even more pronounced in German and Bohemian groups than in Anglo ones because these two groups had a longer history of female subjugation.[36]

Ratios of numbers of males over the age of twenty-one as compared to tavern numbers indicates the importance of the tavern to the area residents (Table 4). The number of adult males necessary to support taverns which remained viable decreased throughout the period in all counties except Keith. The ratios show fewer males in German and Bohemian areas were needed to support a tavern than in the Anglo units. This difference is significant when one considers that in Keith County the number of adult males necessary to support a tavern increased, while in the other areas the necessary number of adult males decreased. Thus, the tavern apparently became less important to the males of Keith County as the frontier period drew to a close. This result agrees with Armknecht's conclusion that when the cattle drives ceased, taverns or saloons lost their importance.[37]

Both types of tavern-population ratios indicate that the importance of the tavern varied spatially and temporally during the frontier era (Tables 3 and 4). Taverns became more important in the German and Bohemian counties and in

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE CUSTOMERS PER TAVERN, 1870-1890[a]

	1870	1880	1890
CUMING	--	357	213
HAMILTON	--	1086	614
KEITH	--	38	247
SALINE	857.5	515	188

[a]Calculated from figures from; the U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States 1870, 1880, and 1890, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); N.R. Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," Nebraska History, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Summer, 1947), p. 104; The Nebraska Commonwealth, (Lincoln), Vol. 1-9; Saline County Post, (Crete), Vol. 1-6; The Opposition, (DeWitt), Vol. 1-2; DeWitt Times, Vol. 1-9; Friend Weekly Telegraph, Vol. 1-12; Opposition, (Wilber), Vol. 3-16; Saline County Union, (Crete), Vol. 9-12; The State Vidette, (Crete), Vol. 1-7; Crete Democrat, Vol. 3-16; West Point Republican, Vol. 1-19; The Progress, (West Point), Vol. 6-17; Hamilton County News, (Aurora), Vol. 1-17; Aurora News, Vol. 1-14; Aurora Republican, Vol. 4-17; Aurora Sun, Vol. 2-5; Omaha Republican, Aug. 28, 1877, p. 2; Keith County News, (Ogallala), Vol. 1-5.

Hamilton County. However in Keith County, also an Anglo area, once the outsiders stopped visiting the importance of the tavern as an element in the cultural landscape declined.

Tavern Operators

Women were restricted by custom from being tavern customers and tavern operators. No female operators were found in the frontier area. In only one case, in Saline County in 1887, did a woman apply for a license, but she was turned down.[38] No reason was given for refusing to issue the woman a license. Based on Luebke's findings, however, it is probable that the refusal to issue this particular woman a license was to insure that the tavern remain a male-oriented institution.[39]

The owners of taverns needed to be successful businessmen if they were going to remain as tavern operators. The frontier had many transients and also a high failure rate in many businesses including the tavern. All counties had a high tavern owner turnover rate.[40] Business competition was most intense in Saline and Cuming counties. It should be stressed that the turnover was in owners and not in establishments.[41] The buildings remained taverns because of the lack of capital available to convert them to other business functions. In the frontier money was not abundant, so once an investment was made it remained.

Advertisements placed in newspapers by operators occurred in all of the counties at the beginning of the frontier

period. Initially, the tavern operator was treated as a legitimate businessman by the newspapers in all areas. Had newspapers frowned on the occupation and the institution, they could have refrained from allowing owners to advertise. Also, they might have published editorial comments condemning the tavern as an inappropriate part of the community.[42] But these things did not happen.

As the frontier era came to a close tavern advertisements were published only in Saline and Cuming counties. The lack of advertisements in Hamilton and Keith counties is an indication that the tavern had either a captured market because of a lack of business competition, or that the residents of these areas frowned upon tavern advertisements. Perhaps both are correct. In the European areas, however, owners needed to advertise because of business competition, and they were allowed to do so.

The status of operators was further examined by measuring the positions to which they rose in their respective social systems. An owner in West Point, Cuming County, was elected mayor in 1880.[43] Another owner was elected county clerk in Saline County in 1876.[44] Instances of tavern owners being elected to positions of public trust were not found in Hamilton or Keith counties. Indeed, in the election of 1889, the vocation of tavern operator was declared illegal in Aurora, the Hamilton County seat.[45] In this case the Anglo residents judged the vocation of tavern operator to be unwanted

in the community.

Other Tavern Measures

The frontier tavern began and ended as a multifunctional unit. The functions of the first taverns, however, were different from those of later taverns. The first taverns were generally combinations of tavern, store, and recreation center.[46] Later other businesses such as stores appeared to replace some tavern functions. The tavern, however, continued to be a male institution. It provided drinks, food, games, and occasionally prostitutes for males.[47] Taverns in all four counties provided these services for their male customers.

Keith County taverns differed in function. They ranged from the general store type to the wild bawdy type commonly depicted in the folklore of the American cowboy period.[48] A good description of the cowboy tavern and its role follows:

> Gold flowed freely across the tables, liquor across the bar, and occasionally blood across the floor as a gun in the hands of a jealous rival or an angered gambler brought an end of the trail for some unfortunate cowhand on the stained boards of 'Tucks' saloon. This was Ogallala during its ten years of fame as the delivery point of cattle driven up the western range from Texas to the northern range.[49]

Keith County's taverns, however, were pacified in the fall after the drives stopped, and also after 1885 when the last herd reached the area.[50]

The Tavern and Government

In the early stages of the frontier governmental influences on the tavern were minimal. Licensing of taverns at this stage was nonexistent until 1880. In that year a Nebraska law was passed requiring all municipalities to license taverns and regulate their activities.[51] This licensing and regulation of taverns began when the state value system deemed more precise rules for taverns were necessary.

One year later the frontier tavern came under still stronger state regulations. In 1881 special interest groups (The Temperance League and Women's Christian Temperance Union) succeeded in pressuring the Nebraska state government to pass the Slocumb or High License Law which required all municipalities under 10,000 in population to charge a minimum $500 annual license fee for taverns.[52] The money from the license fee was to be turned over to the local school district to help defray educational expenses. The effect of this law was to require that a tavern have a minimum profit of $500 to exist in any given year. The taverns in the four counties needed enough support from their customers to pay this sum plus additional monies for operating expenses.

Reactions to the Slocumb Law varied. In Cuming County the newspaper openly opposed the law as it felt the law was opposed to German social habits.[53] Gregory and Luebke found in Saline and Cuming counties respectively, that the people were opposed to a state regulation that governed an important

facet of their culture.[54] No opinions about the law were found in the counties with Anglo residents.

The High License Law gave each town an opportunity to regulate the tavern strictly. In Cuming and Saline counties a $500 license fee for taverns was established by the various town governments.[55] This was the minimum fee a town could charge, and it was done only to keep in accord with state law. The German and Bohemian residents did all they could to allow a necessary part of their culture to survive. In contrast, the license fee for taverns in Hamilton and Keith counties was much higher. In Hamilton County the license fee was set at $1,000.[56] In Keith County the fee was $800.[57] The Anglo residents thus restricted the tavern more than the Europeans.

The restrictions on tavern operating hours were limited. In West Point, Cuming County, an attempt was made to close the taverns between 11:00 P.M. and 5:00 A.M. This hour regulation failed, as on some occasions the taverns remained open during the illegal hours.[58] Later in 1880 the closing hours were formally repealed by the city council.[59] The citizens of West Point deemed it unnecessary for tavern hours to be regulated. Instead, frontier tavern hours were dictated by the work habits of the population. Taverns generally closed early enough so that merchants and farmers would be able to work the next day.

Tavern operating hours in Keith County were different from those in the other counties. When the cattle drives came

to town the taverns were open twenty four hours a day. The drives came only for a six month period each year. After the cattle drives ceased in the fall some taverns closed completely while others were open only part of the time.[60]

Activities Related to the Tavern

Although the tavern was an important part of the total economy in German and Bohemian areas it was not in the Anglo ones. In both Saline and Cuming counties taverns attracted farmers from the surrounding areas. In fact, other businessmen were opposed to temperance ideas as these might harm their businesses.[61] In Hamilton and Keith counties the tavern was not an important part of the total economy.[62] This became true in Keith County after the cattle drives ceased.

Beer was imbibed in sufficient quantities in the European areas to influence the establishment of breweries to supply the local markets. Breweries were found in Cuming County by 1874 and in Saline County by 1878. An additional brewery was built in Saline County in 1883.[63] The areas with Anglo residents contrasted with these areas for they did not generate enough demand for beer to warrant the establishment of breweries.

Summary

Initially the form and function of the tavern did not vary spatially, as a frontier type of culture was found in all areas. This made all institutions appear to function in the

same manner. This frontier period of spirit was shortlived, however, and as time passed the tavern's role as well as its numbers varied spatially depending upon regional cultures. The tavern came to be most important in the European areas. Thus, the frontier came to be an expression of the culture of the various peoples and consequently caused the cultural landscapes of the areas to vary.

Footnotes

[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population of the United States, Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I, p. xv, xvii, and xlv.

[2]James Olson, History of Nebraska, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 154.

[3]Edward E. Dale, Cow Country, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), pp. 216-18; U.S. Department of Commerce, Eleventh Census: 1890, p. lxxv.

[4]Isaiah Bowman, The Pioneer Fringe, (New York: American Geographical Society, 1931), p. 12.

[5]J.A. Burkhart, "The Turner Thesis: A Historian's Controversy," Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol. 31, No. 1, (Sept., 1947), pp. 71-2; Also See: Frederich J. Turner, The Frontier in American History, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948).

[6]Walter P. Webb, The Great Plains, (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1931), pp. 221-23; Carry Abbott, "Cheyenne: The Wild West Sells its Atmosphere," in The Taming of the Frontier, edited by Duncan Aiken, (Freeport, New York: Books For Libraries, Inc., 1925), p. 295; Also See: J.R. Johnson, "Covington, Nebraska's Sinful City," Nebraska History, Vol. 49, No. 3, (Autumn, 1968), p. 271.

[7]Frederich C. Luebke, Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska 1880-1900, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), p. 34; Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, Chapters 5 and 6.

[8]Alfred Sorensen, The Story of Omaha, (Omaha: National Printing Co., 1923), p. 60 and 75; Everett Dick, The Sod House Frontier, 1854-1890, (New York: Appleton Century Croft, 1937), p. 392 and 407; Winkler, "Drinking on the American Frontier." p. 424.

[9]John J. Honigmann and Irma Honigmann, "Drinking in an Indian-White Community," Quarterly Journal of the Study of Alcohol, Vol. 54, No. 4, (March, 1945), pp. 515-619.

[10]Clarence J. Kubicek, The Czechs of Butler County, 1870-1940, (unpublished masters thesis, University of Nebraska, 1958), pp. 141-42; Edward A. Ross, The Old World in the New, (New York: The Century Co., 1914), p. 53.

[11]Raup, "The German Colonization of Anaheim ....," p. 139; Ross, The Old World in the New, p. 53; Luebke, Immigrants and Politics ....., p. 45; Bruner and Hallenbeck, American Society ....., p. 21.

[12]Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1973), pp. 36-64.

[13]Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 194.

[14]Ibid., p. 180.

[15]Annadora F. Gregory, History of Crete, Nebraska, 1870-1888, (Lincoln: State Journal Printing Co., 1937), p. 116.

[16]Johnson, "The Location of German Immigrants ...," p. 57.

[17]Anglos are defined in this study as old stock white Americans.

[18]Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types ....."; Lynch, "Czech Farmers in Oklahoma ....."; Cozzens, "Conservation in German Settlements ....."; Bjorkland, "Ideology and Culture ....."; Hewes, "Tonitown, Ozark Vineyard Center ...."

[19]Johnson, "The Location of German Immigrants ...," p. 12.

[20]Henry Lucas, "The Founding of New Amsterdam in La-Crosse County," Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol. 31, No. 1, (Sept., 1947), p. 57; Luebke, Immigrants and Politics ....., p. 45; Martha E. Griffith, "The Czechs in Cedar Rapids," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. 41, No. 2, (April, 1944), p. 134.

[21]A.T. Andreas, History of the State of Nebraska, (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1882), p. 1341; Mrs. Fitgiller, History of Tobias, 1884, (unpublished manuscript, 1953), p. 2; C.H. Parter, Early Days in Nebraska, (unpublished manuscript, no date), p. 4; A.F. Gregory, A History of Crete, p. 38; The Crete News, Jan. 29, 1967.

[22]Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 194; N.R. Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," Nebraska History, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Summer, 1947), p. 85; John Armknecht, ed., How the West Was Lost: A History of Ogallala and Keith County, (Ogallala: Campbell Printing Co., 1965), p. 46.

[23]West Point Republican, May 12, 1871, p. 2.

[24]Bartlett and O'Sullivan, History of Cuming County, (Fremont: Fremont Tribune, 1884), p. 74 and 170.

[25]Hamilton County News, (Hamilton), April 5, 1873, p. 1, Hamilton's name was later changed to Aurora; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Adams, Clay, Hall, and Hamilton Counties, (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1890).

[26]Winkler, "Drinking on the American .....," pp. 414-18; Honigmann and Honigmann, "Drinking in Indian-White .....," pp. 589-602.

[27]Andreas, History of Nebraska, p. 1341; Bartlett and O'Sullivan, History of Cuming County, pp. 74, 148, 151, 170, and 173; Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," p. 86.

[28]Sanborn-Perris Map Co., New York, Maps of West Point, 1886 and 1889, Crete, 1884 and 1889.

[29]Ibid; Andreas, History of Nebraska, p. 1341; Bartlett and O'Sullivan, pp. 74-173; Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," p. 86.

[30]Jordan, "The Texas Appalachia," p. 425; Meinig, Imperial Texas, p. 103; Luebke, Immigrants and Politics ....., p. 45; Griffith, "The Czechs in Cedar Rapids," p. 124.

[31]Luebke, Immigrants and Politics ....., p. 45; Griffith, "The Czechs in Cedar Rapids," p. 134.

[32]Armknecht, How the West Was Lost ....., p. 46.

[33]Dale, Cow Country, p. 220.

[34]Dick, The Sod House Frontier, pp. 391-402.

[35]Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," p. 94.

[36]Frederich C. Luebke, "The German American Alliance in Nebraska, 1910-1917," Nebraska History, Vol. 49, No. 2, (Summer, 1968), p. 179.

[37]Armknecht, How the West Was Lost ....., p. 46.

[38]Opposition, (Wilber), April 4, 1887, p. 4.

[39]Luebke, "The German American ....," p. 179.

[40]It became apparent to the writer after exhaustive investigation of the available archival data that the counties with the most taverns had the highest turnover rate of tavern owners. Because the source varied from county to county it was not possible to compare the owners for a given year.

[41]Sanborn-Perris Map Co., West Point, Crete .....

[42]Opposition, (DeWitt), March 4, 1877, p. 1; Keith County News, (Ogallala), Feb. 17, 1888, p. 7.

[43]The Progress, (West Point), April 4, 1880, p. 4.

[44]Saline County Union, (Crete), Jan. 1, 1878, p. 1.

[45]Aurora Sun, April 4, 1889, p. 1.

[46]Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," p. 87; Andreas, History of Nebraska, p. 1341.

[47]Opposition, (Wilber), Jan. 22, 1880, p. 12; Saline County Union, (Crete), Jan. 9, 1880, p. 4; Aurora Sun, August 8, 1885, p. 1; The Progress, (West Point), March 29, 1883, p. 3.

[48]Helen K. Jackson, Early Experiences in the North Platte Valley, (unpublished manuscript, no date).

[49]Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," p. 85.

[50]Ibid., p. 97.

[51]The Progress, (West Point), Jan. 8, 1880, p. 3.

[52]Saline County Union, (Crete), May 5, 1881, p. 4.

[53]The Progress, (West Point), August 25, 1881, p. 4.

[54]Gregory, A History of Crete, p. 156; Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, p. 45.

[55]The Progress, (West Point), May 4, 1882, p. 3; Opposition, (Wilber), Sept. 22, 1881, p. 1; Saline County Union, (Crete), May 5, 1881, p. 4.

[56]Aurora Sun, July 9, 1887, p. 5; Aurora Sun, July 23, 1887, p. 4.

[57]Keith County News, Sept. 9, 1885, p. 3.

[58]West Point Republican, March 11, 1875, p. 3.

[59]The Progress, (West Point), Jan. 8, 1880, p. 3.

[60]Armknecht, How the West Was Lost, p. 46; Mahnken, "Ogallala, Nebraska's Cowboy Capitol," p. 85.

[61]Gregory, History of Crete ....., p. 159; Bartlett and O'Sullivan, History of Cuming County, pp. 148-151.

[62]Keith County News, May 13, 1887, p. 1; Aurora Sun, June 6, 1887, p. 4; Aurora Sun, July 23, 1887, p. 4.

[63]Gregory, History of Crete ....., p. 67; Bartlett and O'Sullivan, History of Cuming County, p. 173; Opposition, (Wilber), p. 6.

CHAPTER III

THE POST-FRONTIER TAVERN 1890-1910

Introduction

By 1890 the frontier landscape had passed and Nebraska was relatively settled. Nebraskans had made the state a place for permanent residence. The state's economy became stabilized, and no major political or economic crises occurred between 1890 and 1910. "Good times" were the best way to describe the Post-Frontier era.

Economic stability led to stability of recreational institutions. Competition did exist among varying types of recreational institutions, however. The established church came to be one of the tavern's major competitors in the field of recreation.[1] The recreational importance of the church was enhanced by its function as a family entertainment center. Churches gave many families their first opportunity to become involved in group social activities away from home.

Although the percentage of males in the Post-Frontier population declined, men continued to dominate the political structure. Females did gain some political power during the 1890-1910 era, but it was not until 1916 that women were

enfranchised and became an important political force. With the sexes now almost numerically even, it seems evident that entertainment based solely on male wishes was not as important as it had been in the Frontier period. As the number of married couples increased, the wives probably exerted somewhat more influence on the entertainment pattern of the men. The learned behavior system of European women, however, limited the influence they were willing to exert on their husbands.[2] Still, as Anglo women were becoming politically active during this era, they undoubtedly exerted some influence on the entertainment patterns of their mates.

The relatively wild days of the Frontier era passed, and entertainment became more inhibited in the Post-Frontier era.[3] The tavern had become a highly regulated institution. Such activities as gambling, prostitution, and brawling were neither permitted nor condoned by the more orderly Post-Frontier society and the tavern was no longer associated with these activities. The Post-Frontier value system had evolved into an orderly society.

According to Turner, a Post-Frontier era ought to have been permeated by American ideas and institutions.[4] By the beginning of the Post-Frontier period this had not occurred in the study area. European immigrants had not assimilated, but rather remained as distinct cultural groups, as noted by Bernard.[5] Wenger found the tavern was regarded by many Post-Frontier Nebraskans as a European rather than an American

institution.[6] The first effective settlement of Nebraska by white Americans seems to have been the most important for the development of the cultural landscape.[7] Landscape elements in the case study areas varied as group culture varied.

Three political movements, Populism, Prohibition, and Women's Rights, had their beginnings in the Post-Frontier era. The American Populist Movement originated in Nebraska and the surrounding states. Most Populist programs called for closer regulation of social and economic customs especially as they related to agriculture.

The Prohibition Movement began prior to 1890 in the eastern states, but it was in the latter part of the Post-Frontier era in Nebraska that it became a serious movement. This movement was one of a long series of reform movements that have characterized American society since the early nineteenth century. It was an attempt to regulate society through government legislation. Prohibition was vigorously promoted by the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It ultimately influenced the form and function of the tavern.

Prohibition generally gained the support of Anglo churches which were competing with the tavern as entertainment institutions. The church denominations which specifically opposed the sale of alcohol included the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, United Brethren, and Baptist groups, all of which were identified with Anglo culture.[8]

The Catholic and Lutheran churches typically did not take a stand on the prohibition question. Both of these sects were associated with the European groups found in the study area.

The women's rights movement, which was primarily Anglo in origin and membership, was characterized by the development of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. As women were not enfranchised, it is entirely possible the formulation of the women's rights group had more goals in mind than temperance. The organization worked to include women in the governing of American society. Immigrant women in the United States were not involved in the movement.

The tavern ought to have reflected the widespread prosperity of the Post-Frontier time. Because it had to compete with other entertainment institutions and societal changes, however, its continuing presence in the landscape required a population that judged it a necessary part of the cultural landscape.

Case Study Counties

All four case study counties had agricultural economies during the Post-Frontier era. Towns in the four counties existed primarily as markets for the surrounding agricultural areas. During this period general farming extended as far west as Keith County.

The ethnicity of the county populations was similar in the Post-Frontier to what it had been in the Frontier. In Cuming and Saline counties the population was predominantly of

German and Bohemian extraction, respectively. Keith and Hamilton counties, however, witnessed an increase in the Anglo element of their populations. In 1910 native-born Americans, whose parents were native born, comprised 66 percent of Keith's population, 54 percent of Hamilton's population, 42 percent of Saline's population, and 25 percent of Cuming's population.[9] The majority of the residents were Anglos in Hamilton and Keith counties, while Cuming and Saline counties were German and Bohemian in their ethnic composition.

The relationship between ethnic groups and tavern distribution was well established by the beginning of the Post-Frontier era. The tavern was more important to the German and Bohemian residents than it was to the Anglos. An analysis of the Post-Frontier period follows:

Tavern Analysis

The number of taverns in the four counties stabilized in the Post-Frontier era. Tavern numbers were highest in the areas with German and Bohemian residents (Table 5). Only Saline County lost taverns during the period, a situation apparently related to a population decline from 20,097 in 1890 to 17,866 in 1910.[10] The stabilization of tavern numbers was in part a result of the increasing importance of the family. Family life became more widespread and began to compete with the tavern as a source of recreation for males. Taverns were also restricted in development when the state Sunday and Daylight Closing Law was passed in 1909. The limited period of

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN THE POST FRONTIER ERA, 1890-1910

	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
CUMING	15	17	17	18	16
HAMILTON	6	8	9*	7	8
KEITH	2	1	1	2	4*
SALINE	27	23	23	22	21

Source: DeWitt Times, Vol. 9-29; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 1-17; Western Wave, Vol. 6-26; Crete Democrat, Vol. 16-36; Wilber Republican, Vol. 4-24; Crete News, Vol. 1-3; Aurora Sun, Vol. 4-24; Cuming County Advertiser, (West Point), Vol. 7-27; West Point Republican, Vol. 21-41; Wisner Chronicle, Vol. 1-12; Wisner Free Press, Vol. 1-11; Keith County News, Vol. 5-25.

*Only for part of the year.

operation, of course, influenced the number of taverns, as profits had to be made in a briefer time period.[11]

The number of taverns found in the towns of the counties is shown in Figures 4 and 5. In all counties except Hamilton, the largest number of taverns was found in the county seats which were usually also the largest towns. No town in Hamilton County, however, had a marked concentration of taverns.

Some relationship between tavern numbers and town size or county seat existed in the 1890-1910 era. In Saline County the largest number of taverns was found in Crete, the largest city, and in Wilber, which was the county seat (Table 6 and Figures 4 and 5). The area around Crete and Wilber was a Bohemian culture core area. The town of Friend was slightly larger than Wilber, but it did not have a concentration of taverns since it was located beyond the Bohemian cultural core. In Keith and Cuming counties the number of taverns was also related to town size and county seat function in a positive way. On the other hand, in Hamilton County no apparent relationship could be found between tavern numbers and town size or political function. As each town came into existence in Hamilton County a tavern was established. The negative view toward taverns held by the Anglo residents of Aurora seems to have stimulated the creation of relatively larger numbers of taverns in the minor towns of Hamilton County.[12]

Fluctuations in the number of taverns was greatest in

Fig. 4 TAVERN NUMBERS IN 1890

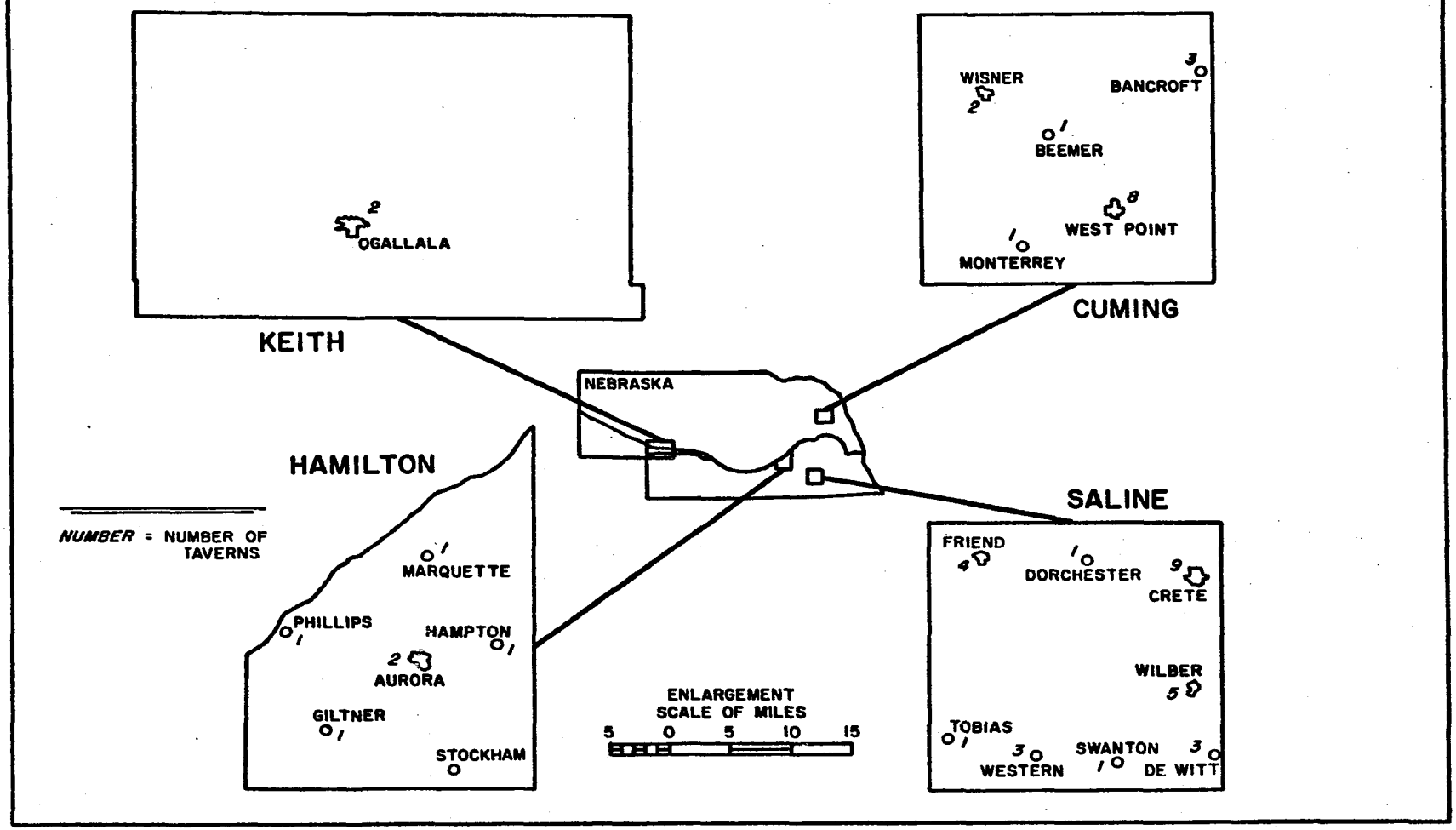


Fig. 5 TAVERN NUMBERS IN 1910

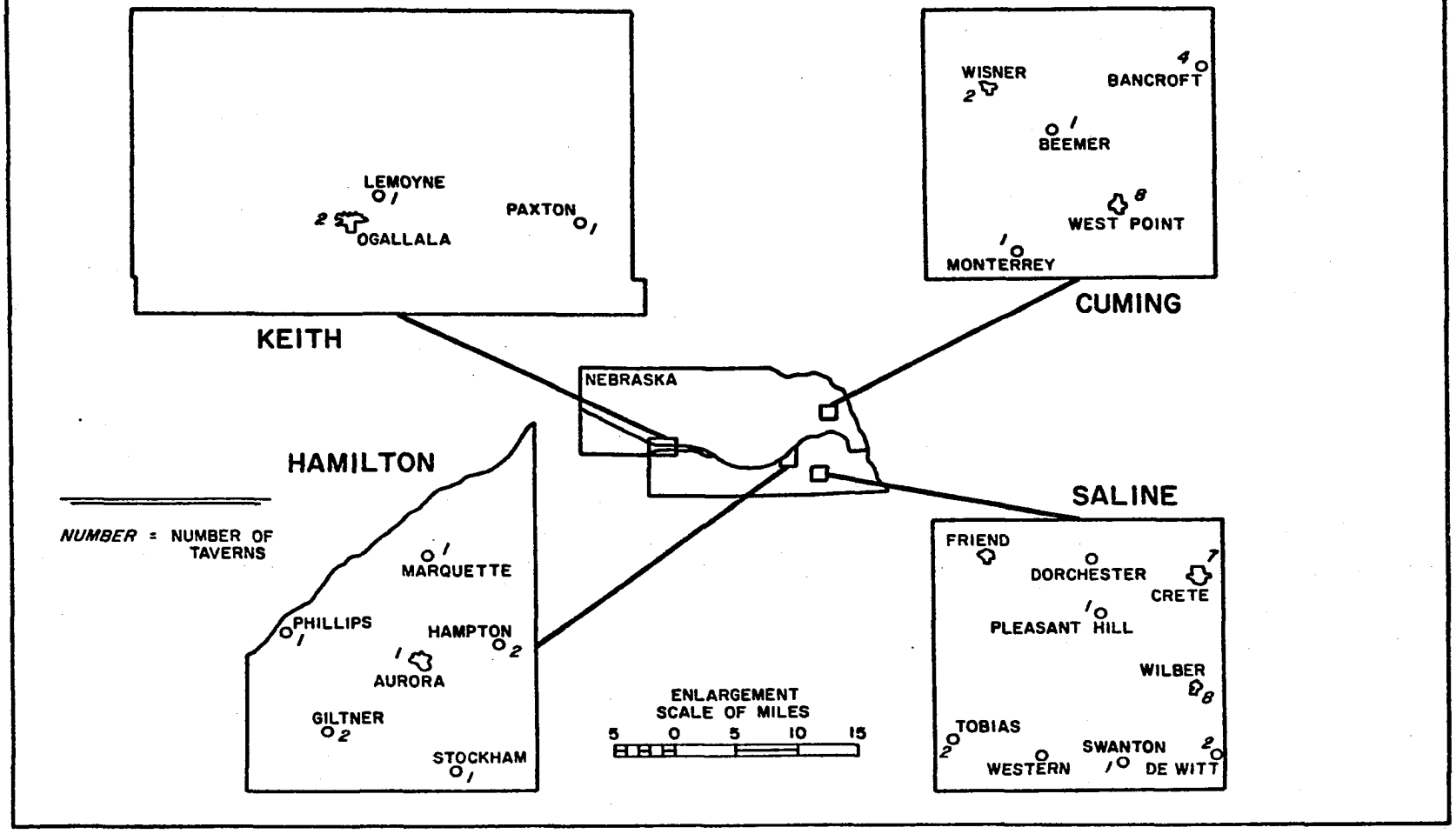


TABLE 6

THE SIZE OF TOWNS IN THE POST-FRONTIER ERA, 1890-1910

		1890	1900	1910
CUMING COUNTY TOWNS	Bancroft	344	733	742
	Beemer	350	455	494
	West Point	1842	1890	1776
	Wisner	610	963	1081
HAMILTON COUNTY TOWNS	Aurora	1862	1921	2630
	Stockham	211	169	189
	Marquette	261	210	290
	Giltner	195	282	410
	Hampton	430	367	383
	Phillips	--	186	274
SALINE COUNTY TOWNS	Crete	2310	2199	2404
	DeWitt	751	662	675
	Dorchester	540	521	610
	Friend	1347	1200	1261
	Tobias	539	672	445
	Western	397	412	499
	Swanton	184	266	285
	Wilber	1226	1054	1219
KEITH COUNTY TOWNS	Ogallala	494	355	643
	Paxton	--	--	179

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Population of the United States, 1890, 1900, and 1910, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

the Saline County towns. It was here that business competition was greatest throughout the Post-Frontier era. Saline County had an approximately fixed number of people who visited taverns, so the resulting competition led the number of taverns to fluctuate from year to year and from town to town.

Tavern Ratios

The number of people per tavern is a useful measure of tavern density in the Post-Frontier era. An examination of the ratios indicates that the tavern was a more common landscape feature in the European areas than it was in the Anglo regions (Table 7).

The tavern-population ratios fluctuated in all areas through this period. Taverns were more common in Saline and Cuming counties at the beginning of this era than they were at the end. In contrast, the ratios indicate taverns had become more common by the end of the period in the Anglo areas. At times the tavern-population ratios fluctuated considerably as a result of local referendums. In both Anglo dominated counties taverns at one point were eliminated by popular balloting.[13] They were voted back later, however.[14] The tavern-population ratios were also influenced by competition and changes in the Sunday and nighttime closing hours.

The Post-Frontier era tavern appealed almost exclusively to adult males, just as its Frontier era predecessor had. The tavern was a peoples' club and was open to all who

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER TAVERN, 1890-1910

	1890	1900	1910
CUMING	818	858	861
HAMILTON	2349	1481*	1682
KEITH	1283	1951	923*
SALINE	744	780	850

Source: Calculated from figures from; the U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Population of the United States, 1890, 1900, and 1910, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office); DeWitt Times, Vol. 9-29; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 1-17; Western Wave, Vol. 6-26; Crete Democrat, Vol. 16-36; Wilber Republican, Vol. 4-24; Crete News, Vol. 1-3; Aurora Sun, Vol. 4-24; Cuming County Advertiser, (West Point), Vol. 7-27; West Point Republican, Vol. 21-41; Wisner Chronicle, Vol. 1-12; Wisner Free Press, Vol. 1-11; Keith County News, Vol. 5-25.

*Only for part of the year.

chose to visit it.[15]

The adult male customers in the case study areas came from both the towns and the countryside. Taverns in some towns in Hamilton and Keith counties were so popular they attracted customers from other towns in their respective counties. When Ogallala voted in prohibition in 1908 a tavern was established in nearby Paxton. One reason for its location in Paxton was apparently to attract the former Ogallala tavern customers.[16] A similar situation occurred in Lemoyne in 1910 when Ogallala again voted in prohibition.[17] The establishment of taverns in towns near Aurora also occurred as a result of Aurora's prohibition votes.[18] In both Anglo counties, then, tavern customers were drawn to wet towns from towns where taverns had been abolished. In the European counties there was no indication that tavern seekers went from the major towns to the minor towns, as the major towns retained their taverns throughout the era.

Another way of assessing the importance of the tavern in the study areas is to analyze the number of eligible customers per tavern. The number of adult males per tavern varied historically and spatially in the Post-Frontier era (Table 8). In all of the counties except Hamilton the ratios were larger at the beginning of the Post-Frontier era than they were at the end of the period. In Hamilton County the ratio was larger at the end of the era. One plausible explanation for the anomalous pattern exhibited by Hamilton County appears

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE TAVERN CUSTOMERS PER TAVERN, 1890-1910

	1890	1900	1910
CUMING	213	217	228
HAMILTON[a]	614	387	484
KEITH[b]	247	588	286
SALINE	188	208	235

Source: Calculated from figures from; the U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Population of the United States, 1890, 1900, and 1910, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office): DeWitt Times, Vol. 9-29; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 1-17; Western Wave, Vol. 6-26; Crete Democrat, Vol. 16-36; Wilber Republican, Vol. 4-24; Crete News, Vol. 1-3; Aurora Sun, Vol. 4-24; Cuming County Advertiser, (West Point), Vol. 7-27; West Point Republican, Vol. 21-41; Wisner Chronicle, Vol. 1-12; Wisner Free Press, Vol. 1-11; Keith County News, Vol. 5-25.

[a]After the closing of the 2 taverns in Aurora in 1900 the ratio was one tavern for every 497.

[b]After the closing of the 2 taverns in Ogallala in 1910 the ratio was one tavern for every 572.

to be that there were fewer adult males at the end of the era than there were at the beginning.[19] Also taverns were added to the smaller towns and this increased the size of the ratio (Figures 4 and 5).

Table 8 indicates that it took twice as many Anglo males to support a tavern during the 1890-1910 period as it did German and Bohemian males. Thus the density of taverns was greatest in areas of European culture.

The tavern-population ratios indicate that the Europeans did not change in their acceptance of the tavern while the Anglos did. These differing attitudes are one indication that Turner's "melting pot" concept may be more myth than reality.

Tavern Location

Taverns were nearly all located within the towns of the study area, as the true rural tavern had not yet come into existence. Although many settlements were no more than hamlets, they did represent market centers of a sort.

Tavern location did not vary during this period. In all the settlements taverns were located within the business district.[20] This pattern of location was the result of both business and historical legacy. The taverns needed to attract customers, and a centralized location was an efficient means of doing it.

Tavern Morphology

Tavern structures were generally similar to the other buildings in business districts. Taverns were of brick or wood frame construction or some combination of the two. Generally they were elongated with the short building axis facing the street.[21] This elongation of the structure was well suited for the placing of a long bar in the tavern. The long bar of the tavern became an important aspect of the institution that still remains in the surviving structure. The tavern form was relatively stable in the Post-Frontier time.

Tavern Owners

The turnover rate for tavern owners was high in the Post-Frontier era.[22] In Hamilton and Keith counties the tavern owner occupation was sometimes eliminated by local option for a year or so during the 1890-1910 period. One town in Hamilton County voted for prohibition, while in two of the other county towns the same owners were present through most of the era. The most successful operators in Hamilton County seem to have been those in the small towns near Aurora where there was a lack of competition. The turnover rate was highest in Saline and Cuming counties where competition was greatest. In the European cultural areas the idea caught on that taverns would be a good business, as it was generally recognized that Germans and Bohemians drank large quantities of alcoholic beverages.[23] Because Europeans drank a lot, many individuals were attracted to become proprietors, and the

increased competition tended to raise the turnover rate.

The volume of tavern advertising in newspapers differed in the study counties. Tavern advertisements were common in the German and Bohemian counties but infrequent in the Anglo ones. Tavern advertising was considered necessary in Saline and Cuming counties because of business competition. Advertisements were not found in the Anglo areas where there was little competition and the residents were not openly fond of the tavern as an institution.

Community acceptance of tavern owners varied during this period. In the Anglo areas no owners were elected to political office or attained otherwise prestigious positions or obvious community respect. In contrast a tavern owner in Saline County was given a glowing obituary report, with the writer noting the many contributions the deceased had made to the community.[24] In Cuming County a tavern owner's birthday party was reported on the front page of the newspaper.[25] In the European counties, tavern owners were sometimes elected to local political offices.[26] Newspaper reports make it clear that tavern operators were respected members of the social and political systems in the German and Bohemian areas, lending support to the idea that taverns were an important part of the continental European cultures.

The prohibition referendums that were mentioned earlier had an important impact on tavern operators. In Ogallala the tavern operator vocation was declared illegal after the

election in 1908.[27] However, the occupation was again legitimatized in 1909.[28] In Aurora the tavern was likewise voted out and then voted back in.[29] Thus, the tavern owner's position was highly questionable in these places. In the European core areas, on the other hand, the residents never eliminated the occupation of tavern operator under local option.

Other Tavern Functions

The Post-Frontier era taverns were multifunctional. In addition to dispensing beverages, the other services most commonly associated with them were providing games and food. The customers entertained themselves by use of these services while they drank and socialized. During this period taverns were also associated with illegitimate activities such as prostitution and gambling; these activities were not generally condoned.[30]

The Tavern and Government

The license fee for taverns in Cuming and Saline counties was only $500 or the state minimum. The fee remained constant throughout the period 1890-1910 for all towns in the counties except for Wilber, in Saline County, where it was raised to $950 in 1909.[31] The increase in the license fee did not serve to limit the number of taverns. Its purpose was to provide the local school districts with needed revenue. The license fee increase for Wilber came after the passage of the state law that limited tavern operation to daylight hours

and week days.[32] Wilber residents demonstrated that taverns in at least one Bohemian area could be taxed above the state minimum without noticeable effect. A still larger increase in the license fee might have reduced the number of taverns as it did in the Anglo counties. In the case of Wilber, however, more revenue was needed and it was obtained without disturbing a basic part of the local cultural landscape.

License fees in the Anglo counties fluctuated both historically and geographically. In Aurora prior to 1894, the license fee was $1500. In 1894 it was lowered to $1000.[33] The tavern might have ceased to exist had the fee not been lowered.[34] In Ogallala the license fee had been $1000 prior to 1907. In that year the effective license fee was increased by an additional $500 occupation tax.[35] This governmental regulation was imposed to limit the number of taverns to their existing level. The local government found that with operating permits totaling $1500 only one tavern could afford to remain in operation in the town. With the higher level fee the city lost money, as the tax increase drove one of the two taverns out of business. Consequently, the city lowered the license fee to $500 but kept the occupation tax of $500.[36] This action allowed a second tavern to be re-established. In Ogallala the legislation just mentioned cost the local school district $1000, but added $1000 to the city treasury. Overly strict regulation of taverns was felt by many citizens to be undesirable if such regulations meant that the city was to

lose tax revenue.

Anglo residents further restricted taverns by voting them out of existence on occasion. In Hamilton County Aurora citizens voted for tavern elimination on several occasions. When prohibition was in effect in Aurora, however, alcoholic consumption did not cease. As a consequence, Aurora businessmen and the local newspaper publisher openly advocated the return of the tavern in order to keep Aurora men and their money in town.[37] In this case Anglos were opposed to the tavern because of its social implications, but economic pressure caused the town to alter its ban. In 1909 Aurora citizens again voted to close the tavern and related recreational activities.[38] This vote clearly represented a condemnation of the tavern and the activities associated with it. Anglo males of Ogallala were also indecisive about taverns, voting the institution out of existence in 1907 and again in 1910.[39] Taverns were reinstated in 1908, however, after the people of the community recognized that the men who frequented Ogallala taverns simply shifted their patronage to taverns in the neighboring towns.[40] Thus, in both Ogallala and Aurora, on several occasions the tavern's position as a landscape element was changed dramatically by popular vote. Thus the social legitimacy of taverns was questioned in these Anglo areas, while it had not been in either German or Bohemian areas.

Regulations governing tavern hours were not strict during most of the Post-Frontier era. In West Point, for

example, there was an attempt in 1899 to close taverns on Sundays, but the attempt failed.[41] The Germans of West Point were not willing to accept such a limitation on an institution they felt was a necessary part of their cultural life. The state closing law of 1909 affected all areas, however, and limited tavern hours to the daylight period.[42]

Tavern Related Activities

The tavern was found to be an important economic institution in all of the case study counties. Those areas with German and Bohemian residents retained the tavern in part as a business attraction as they had in the preceding Frontier era. The Anglo businessmen also found during the Post-Frontier era that the tavern was an institution that helped keep money in the local community. Consequently, these men applied business pressure to restore the tavern to operation after they had been declared unwanted by the voters.

In the Post-Frontier era, breweries were found only in Cuming and Saline counties. West Point's brewery was considered by the local newspaper to be an important element in the business community. In fact, the presence of the brewery was mentioned as one of the key reasons why the state saloon keepers held their annual convention in West Point in 1900.[43] In Saline County both Crete and Wilber maintained breweries throughout the period. Indeed, if the Crete residents had frowned on the brewery they would surely not have allowed its rebuilding after the original brewery burned in 1907.[44] The

Germans and Bohemians remained beer drinkers as they had in the Frontier era. In contrast, the Anglos did not consume enough beer to create an adequate market for breweries in their areas.

Summary

By the end of the Post-Frontier era the importance of the tavern in the landscape varied as the culture of the areas varied. The tavern was a common and important feature in areas with a predominance of Germans or Bohemians, yet it had become rare and restricted in the Anglo areas. In the predominantly Anglo counties the tavern's role was questioned, and the feature was judged on occasion to be unwanted. By the end of the era, many Nebraska Anglos were joining national cultural movements that opposed the tavern, while the Germans and Bohemians remained outside this national trend.

Tavern numbers and tavern-population ratios fluctuated in all of the study areas. The tavern as an institution thus was not stable in the period of general Post-Frontier stability. The fluctuations in referendum patterns in the Anglo counties gave the illusion that taverns were scarcely needed or wanted in the larger towns of the county. This marked the beginning of hypocritical attitudes toward the tavern in the Anglo counties of Nebraska. Overall, the experience of the tavern in the Post-Frontier era supported the original research hypotheses of the study in that the tavern as an

institution varied in time and space, and its degree of acceptance was an expression of the local culture.

Footnotes

[1]Dale, Cow Country, p. 220.

[2]Luebke, "The German-American Alliance ....," p. 179.

[3]Armknecht, How The West Was Lost ...., p. 46.

[4]Turner, The Frontier in American History, p. 3.

[5]William Bernard, "The Integration of Immigrants in the United States," International Migration Review, Vol. 55, No. 2, (Spring, 1967), pp. 22-3.

[6]Robert E. Wenger, "The Anti-Saloon League in Nebraska Politics, 1898-1910," Nebraska History, Vol. 52, No. 3, (Fall, 1971), p. 273.

[7]Zelinsky, Cultural Geography of ...., p. 13-14.

[8]Anti-Saloon League Yearbook, 1909, Cherrington ed., pp. 212-15.

[9]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the Population, 1910, Vol. III, Table 1.

[10]Ibid; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the Population, 1890, Census of Population, Table 5.

[11]Wilber Republican, April 4, 1909, p. 1.

[12]Kubichek, The Czechs of Butler County ...., p. 141; Wenger, "The Anti-Saloon League ....," p. 269.

[13]Aurora Sun, April 7, 1900, p. 5; Keith County News, April 7, 1910, p. 1.

[14]Keith County News, April 9, 1908, p. 1; _____, April 8, 1909, p. 1; Aurora Sun, April 1, 1904, p. 1.

[15]Yearbook of the United States Brewers Association, (New York: U.S. Brewers Association, 1910), p. 261.

[16]Keith County News, April 9, 1908, p. 1.

[17]Keith County News, April 7, 1910, p. 1.

[18]Their establishment was most noticeable in Giltner and Hampton where their number increased after Aurora voted dry.

[19]U.S. Department of Commerce, Census of Population, 1890, Table 19; Census of Population, 1910, Table 1.

[20]Sanborn-Perris Map Co., New York; Bancroft, 1900, 1904; West Point, 1897, 1904, 1909; Wisner, 1893, 1899, 1904, 1910; Aurora, 1892, 1899, 1909; Crete, 1897, 1902, 1909; DeWitt, 1892, 1899, 1909; Friend, 1897, 1902, 1909; Wilber, 1892, 1899, 1909; Ogallala, 1893, 1899, 1909.

[21]Ibid.

[22]An exhaustive examination of the available historical data revealed that the turnover of tavern owners was quite high.

[23]Wenger, Anti-Saloon League ...., p. 273 and 276.

[24]Wilber Republican, November 6, 1903, p. 3.

[25]West Point Republican, February 8, 1907, p. 1.

[26]West Point Republican, April 5, 1907, p. 1.

[27]Keith County News, April 9, 1908, p. 1.

[28]Keith County News, April 8, 1909, p. 1.

[29]Aurora Sun, April 11, 1896, p. 5; _____, April 9, 1898, p. 5.

[30]West Point Republican, November 22, 1895, p. 1; _____, December 18, 1896, p. 1.

[31]Wilber Republican, May 7, 1909, p. 5.

[32]Wilber Republican, April 4, 1909, p. 1.

[33]Aurora Sun, April 11, 1894, p. 5.

[34]Aurora Sun, April 7, 1900, p. 5.

[35]Keith County News, May 5, 1907, p. 4.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Aurora Sun, April 9, 1909, p. 1.

[38]Aurora Sun, March 23, 1901, p. 1.

[39]Keith County News, April 9, 1908, p. 1; _____, April 7, 1910, p. 1.

[40]Keith County News, April 8, 1909, p. 1.

[41]West Point Republican, May 5, 1899, p. 1; _____, March 9, 1900, p. 1.

[42]Wilber Republican, April 4, 1909, p. 1.

[43]West Point Republican, June 1, 1900, p. 1.

[44]Crete Democrat, July 3, 1902, p. 3.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEMPERANCE TAVERN 1910-1935

Introduction

The Temperance era began in 1910. Although legal statewide prohibition and the consequent total removal of the tavern did not commence in Nebraska until May 1, 1917, the prohibition movement had become a very strong force in the state by 1910.[1] In 1910 Nebraska had 23 dry counties. This figure increased to 28 in 1911, and to 31 in 1912. Thus, although statewide prohibition did not officially begin until 1917, local prohibition had already been instituted in over one-third of Nebraska's counties.[2] National prohibition and the subsequent federal ban on taverns became effective in 1919 and ended in 1935.[3]

Prohibition had a direct impact on the tavern. Not all people in Nebraska were in favor of prohibition, however, and some of them failed to enforce strictly the prohibition law. Germans and Bohemians had brought to Nebraska a pattern of beer drinking and tavern visitation as an integral part of their culture, and they attempted to retain this behavior pattern even though it was illegal.[4]

Opposition to taverns existed for several reasons. Many Americans felt that taverns were an alien element that was debasing American culture. Germans, Bohemians, and others were accused of bringing an increase in taverns and drinking to the United States.[5] At the beginning of the Temperance era Europe was at war, and many Nebraskans opposed America's involvement in this war. Taverns, as manifestations of European culture, were thus also classified as undesirable cultural institutions. New value systems in Nebraska called for a rejection of foreign cultural elements.[6] Nebraskans were attempting to create a more moral society, and the tavern was considered to be immoral.

Other national and international events coincided with the Temperance era. These events, like the war, had some effect on the tavern. One such event was legislative approval of female suffrage. Women were given voting and other rights shortly after the passage of national prohibition. The exclusion of women from taverns was perhaps a partial reason for their long fight against taverns. Women may have reasoned that if they could not frequent taverns, then taverns should be eliminated, and they were.

The increasing use of motor vehicles during the Temperance era became an important force affecting taverns. By the middle of the 1920s Nebraskans were relatively mobile.[7] The automobile allowed customers to frequent taverns located in remote places, and it also enabled tavern owners to acquire

illegitimate liquor.

The Great Depression was still another event which influenced taverns by helping to bring prohibition to an end. Tax money was needed to get the national economy moving in the 1930s. The demand for beer and liquor was inelastic; that is, similar amounts were consumed in economically good or bad times as well as in "wet" and "dry" times. As a consequence, the repeal of prohibition was good for the economy. It reactivated taverns, stimulated the opening of new breweries, and added jobs and revenue in the country.

The unique position of taverns in the Temperance era seemed to the writer to call for analysis in three stages: 1910 to 1917, 1917 to 1933, and 1933 to 1935.

Case Study Counties

Population and cultural patterns that had developed in the Frontier era, and that were reinforced in the Post-Frontier era, continued throughout the Temperance era. Cuming and Saline counties retained their German and Bohemian elements whereas Keith and Hamilton counties remained basically Anglo. The total population and the ethnicity of these counties remained essentially unaltered during this era. European immigration to Saline and Cuming counties essentially stopped after World War I, however, and the populations of all four study counties gradually became more native-born. These counties continued to be rural, retained much of their cultural identity, and maintained a status quo in population

numbers through substantial outmigration of the young (Table 9).[8]

Total populations changed only slightly, but the number of adults changed noticeably (Table 9). In 1910 only males were legal adults, but by 1920 all people over the age of 21 were so designated. The variance in the number of adults was significant because it meant the potential number of tavern customers increased.

The Early Prohibition Tavern, 1910-1917

Between 1910 and 1917 taverns were most numerous in the German and Bohemian counties (Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13). In Saline County the total number of taverns did not change (Table 12). There was change in the number of taverns in several county towns, however, and three towns on the northern and eastern edges of the Bohemian culture area did eliminate their taverns. New taverns were added in Crete and Wilber to compensate for those lost in the other towns. The decline in the number of taverns in Cuming County was attributed to the elimination of taverns in Bancroft (Table 10). Bancroft was located outside the core of German culture. The number of taverns in the other towns remained stable except in Wisner where it increased.

In both Anglo counties the total number of taverns declined (Tables 11 and 13). In Hamilton County Aurora voted for local prohibition in 1910 and was followed by Giltner in 1916.[9] The residents of Aurora, who represented the county's

TABLE 9

POPULATION AND LEGAL ADULTS, 1910-1930

	1910 Pop. - Adults[a]	1920 Pop. - Adults	1930 Pop. - Adults
CUMING	13,782 - 3,644	13,769 - 6,509	14,327 - 8,329
HAMILTON	13,459 - 3,870	13,237 - 7,393	12,159 - 7,212
KEITH	3,692 - 1,142	5,294 - 2,852	6,271 - 3,411
SALINE	17,866 - 5,029	16,514 - 9,649	16,356 - 10,547

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1910, 1920, and 1930, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

[a]The figure for 1910 includes adult males only.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN CUMING COUNTY, 1910-1935

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1933	1934	1935
WEST POINT	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	6	6	8
WISNER	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
BANCROFT	4	4	4	4	0[a]	0	0	0	5	4	4
BEEMER	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	4
MONTERREY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ALLOYS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
TOTALS	16	18	18	18	14	14	14	14	21	20	22

Source: Wisner Free Press, Vol. 23-28; Wisner News-Chronicle, Vol. 35-40; West Point Republican, Vol. 40-65.

[a]Bancroft voted dry in 1914.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN HAMILTON COUNTY, 1910-1935

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1933	1934	1935
AURORA	0[a]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
HORDVILLE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
MARQUETTE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
HAMPTON	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
PHILLIPS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
GILTNER	2	2	2	2	2	2	0[a]	0	1	1	1
STOCKHAM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTALS	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	5	9	10	11

Source: Aurora Sun, Vol. 24-33; Hamilton County Register, (Aurora), Vol. 28-36; Hamilton County Republican-Register, (Aurora), Vol. 1-7.

[a]The town voted dry.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN SALINE COUNTY, 1910-1935

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1933	1934	1935
CRETE	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	11	8	7
WILBER	8	8	9	8	6	8	8	8	6	6	7
DEWITT	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
DORCHESTER	0[a]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
FRIEND	0[a]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
PLEASANT HILL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
SWANTON	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
TOBIAS	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
WESTERN	0[a]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
RURAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3
TOTALS	21	21	22	22	20	22	22	22	31	28	29

Source: DeWitt Times, Vol. 29-56; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 13-38; Western Wave, Vol. 24-49; Crete Democrat, Vol. 3-9; Crete News, Vol. 9-28; Wilber Republican, Vol. 24-48.

[a]The town voted dry in 1910.

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN KEITH COUNTY, 1910-1935

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1933	1934	1935
OGALLALA	0[a]	2	2	2	0[a]	0	0	0	6	6	5
PAXTON	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ROSCOE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BRULE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
LEMOYNE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
RURAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
TOTALS	2	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	9	10	9

Source: Keith County News, Vol. 25-50.

[a]The town voted dry.

cultural core, took a dim view of the tavern. Thus, the county's dry attitudes seemingly spread from Aurora to the surrounding towns. One reason why these surrounding towns retained taverns after Aurora went dry was to help supply thirsty Aurora males with drinks.[10] In Keith, the other Anglo county, the number of taverns decreased, increased, and then decreased. These fluctuations correlated with the number of taverns in Ogallala. Taverns in nearby Lemoyne and Paxton served the population of Ogallala during the latter's "dry" periods. Interestingly, in the Anglo areas the cultural core was kept "dry" while the margins were "wet", which was just the opposite of what happened in the European areas.

Tavern Ratios

The number of people per tavern varied considerably during this time period. Taverns continued to be less common in the Anglo counties than in the European counties (Table 14). The fact that there were more people per tavern in the Anglo counties is interpreted to mean that the Anglos did not value the tavern as greatly as did the Europeans.

The number of eligible tavern customers between 1910-1917 was identical to what it had been in the Post-Frontier era when only adult males were allowed to visit taverns. Just before prohibition it took more than twice as many Anglo males to support a tavern as it did European males (Table 15).

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER TAVERN, 1910-1935[a]

	1910	1914	1917	1933	1934	1935
CUMING	861	984	984	682	716	651
HAMILTON	1923	1923	2692	1351	1216	1105
KEITH	1846	1846	1846	697	627	697
SALINE	850	893	812	528	584	564

Source: Calculated from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1910, 1920, and 1930, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); Keith County News, Vol. 25-50; Wisner Free Press, Vol. 23-28; Wisner News-Chronicle, Vol. 35-40; West Point Republican, Vol. 40-65; Aurora Sun, Vol. 24-33; Hamilton County Register, (Aurora), Vol. 28-36; Hamilton County Republican-Register, (Aurora), Vol. 1-7; DeWitt Times, Vol. 29-56; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 13-38; Western Wave, Vol. 24-49; Crete Democrat, Vol. 3-9; Crete News, Vol. 9-28; Wilber Republican, Vol. 24-48.

[a]The population figures for 1910, 1914, and 1917 were the 1910 population of the county. The population figures for 1933, 1934, and 1935 were the 1930 population of the county.

TABLE 15

NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE CUSTOMERS PER TAVERN, 1910-1935[a]

	1910	1914	1917	1933	1934	1935
CUMING	228	260	260	397	416	379
HAMILTON	553	553	774	801	721	655
KEITH	571	571	571	379	341	379
SALINE	239	251	238	340	377	364

Source: Calculated from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1910, 1920, and 1930, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); Keith County News, Vol. 25-50; Wisner Free Press, Vol. 23-28; Wisner News-Chronicle, Vol. 35-40; West Point Republican, Vol. 40-65; Aurora Sun, Vol. 24-33; Hamilton County Register, (Aurora), Vol. 28-36; Hamilton County Republican-Register, (Aurora), Vol. 1-7; DeWitt Times, Vol. 29-56; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 13-38; Western Wave, Vol. 24-49; Crete Democrat, Vol. 3-9; Crete News, Vol. 9-28; Wilber Republican, Vol. 24-48.

[a]The population figures for 1910, 1914, and 1917 were the 1910 population of male adults in the county. The population figures for 1933, 1934, and 1935 were the 1930 adult population of the county.

Tavern Operators

Opinions concerning tavern operators held by newspapers varied in the four counties. Operators in Saline and Cuming counties were given quite glowing treatment by local editors in souvenir editions.[11] In the two Anglo counties, on the other hand, no newspaper mention of tavern owners could be discovered. Elections provide another measure of local opinion concerning taverns and are analyzed below.

Tavern and Government

Community elections placed tremendous restrictions on taverns during this era. In the Anglo counties at the onset of the Temperance era, elections were held which eliminated taverns in the major towns. In both Ogallala and Aurora the citizens voted for prohibition in 1910.[12] These votes put the question of tavern legitimacy to a test, and from the results it is obvious that the majority of voters wished to outlaw the institution.

People in the core areas of the different cultures responded differently from those in peripheries in tavern-oriented elections. The German and Bohemian cores retained beverage sales throughout this sub-period. In the fringe areas of German and Bohemian culture, however, voters eliminated taverns, and thus followed national and statewide trends.[13]

The most important state vote held concerning taverns took place in 1916 on the question of statewide prohibition.

As expected, the residents of the Anglo counties voted for the state prohibition amendment while the European-Americans of the other counties voted against the proposed law.[14] Because of the 1916 vote taverns ceased to exist in all Nebraska counties after May 1, 1917.

Other Tavern Associations

The sale of drinks and the use of games that had been a part of the Post-Frontier era tavern continued to be important in the early Temperance era. Taverns sold beer, liquor, and food; and games, particularly billiards, were important for entertainment. Breweries remained in operation only in the German and Bohemian counties.[15]

Tavern Replacement, 1917-1933

Introduction

On May 1, 1917, as noted, Nebraska taverns were outlawed. The illegal status of taverns required that they become transparent to the law if they were to continue to exist. A number of taverns went "underground."

A somewhat different method was needed to analyze the illegal tavern. The one used here is similar to those used by Durand and Merlin. In their respective works, arrests of those who violated laws, and empirical logic were used in lieu of other data.[16] If a great number of alcohol-related arrests occurred in an area, then there were either a large number of

tavern related activities, or the population required that the law be strictly enforced. If there were few arrests, just the opposite was true. The tavern was thus analyzed by using data on arrests, and by interpreting local group attitudes of the period concerning the illicit institution.

Various other entertainment forms, some new and some old, apparently replaced the prohibition tavern. Autos, movies, and the radio were the new entertainment forms, and dances and sporting events were the older ones. Each of these except the automobile was used by people of all ages and of both sexes, resulting in no adult-only entertainment forms.

Tavern Customers

The number of adults or potential tavern customers in 1920 was double that of 1910 as a consequence of women's suffrage (Table 9). This doubling occurred without a major increase in the total population.[17] The inclusion of women as legal adults increased the legal adult population of the counties to the point where it was the largest group in the total population. Many may have thought it desirable that most entertainment types were family-oriented during prohibition, but this was a change from previous patterns. Therefore it is probable that adults felt the need for a recreation form of their own. Thus the illegal tavern became for some the new adult recreation institution.

Tavern Form

The illicit tavern's structure was varied. Taverns were sometimes houses or barns. They were sometimes cars or trucks and, thus, had the advantage of being mobile. Tavern locations varied considerably during this time period for obvious reasons.

Operators

It was risky to be a tavern operator during this era. Profits were high enough, however, to insure that individuals would enter the business. Operator and bootlegger were often synonymous. Their task was to supply people with illegal drinks and a place to consume them. Not all alcohol sold was consumed in taverns.

Tavern and Culture

Drinking patterns that were evident among the cultural groups prior to the Temperance period did not change just because of prohibition. Liquor consumption was most visible among the Anglos, as it had been during the Post-Frontier period. Liquor was more compact than beer and was more easily concealed when being transported, which may have been a reason why it was preferred over beer by Anglos.

On the other hand, the Germans and Bohemians had established a definite pattern of beer consumption and this pattern seems to have persisted during prohibition. In the German and Bohemian counties, newspapers advertised malt, bottles,

and bottle caps.[18] These items may have been used for something other than beer making, but that is unlikely. The advertisements for them lend support to the idea that beer consumption existed during dry times. The Germans and Bohemians consumed liquor also, but this was not condoned. It is interesting that no arrests for the illegal possession or making of beer were recorded during this era in the European-American areas.

Tavern and Government

The enforcement of prohibition laws varied considerably during this period. Only one still was discovered in Cuming County, and that was in 1920; its owner was never found.[19] This appears unusual, but if the local people approved of alcoholic consumption, then such weak enforcement of the law is understandable. In both Hamilton and Keith counties, however, numerous stills were found and destroyed by law enforcement officials. Also, in these Anglo areas the owners were found and prosecuted.[20] Residents in these latter counties must have approved of the strict enforcement of the prohibition law.

Enforcement of the sales or possession aspects of the prohibition law was weak in counties with a predominance of Germans or Bohemians. In Cuming County, although there were arrests for illegal possession and bootlegging, those arrested were primarily individuals from other towns. A Sioux City man who was caught bootlegging, and a Beemer man who was found in

a drunk and disorderly condition at a West Point school, were two examples.[21] Local individuals were not prosecuted unless they were clearly out of line. In Saline County enforcement of prohibition laws was similar to that in Cuming County. Arrests were mainly of outsiders and locals who were particularly deviant in their social behavior.[22] The Europeans thus allowed drinking to continue as long as it was done in an orderly fashion.

Anglos, on the other hand, mostly favored strict enforcement of the prohibition law. Suppliers and those in possession of alcohol were prosecuted vigorously. In Hamilton County local residents as well as outsiders were arrested for possession and sale of alcoholic beverages.[23] The fines administered here were quite severe if the possession charge was bootlegging. The county even took possession of a bootlegger's automobile if bootlegging occurred in one.[24] In Keith County police officers and judges enforced the prohibition law with a vigor equal to that displayed by those in Hamilton County. Keith County's law officers were avid enough believers in the prohibition cause to help raid a mobile tavern in an adjoining county.[25] Penalties for operating taverns varied from a minimum fifty dollar fine to a maximum one hundred dollar fine, the loss of one's automobile, and sixty days in jail.[26]

In the years after 1917 most public officials became aware that the prohibition law was almost unenforceable. If a large enough minority or an actual majority did not agree

with the prohibition principle, then an attempt to change it was needed. The law was modified in 1932. Because prohibition was codified by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, a law enacted at the national level was needed if alcoholic consumption were to be legalized prior to the amendment's repeal. There was some pressure for change during this time of depression, for many government officials felt that the return of beer, which could be taxed, would be good for the country's economy.[27] Also, beer would increase employment in such occupations as brewing, wholesaling, and tavern operation. And so Congressmen decided that beer which was less than 3.2 percent alcohol by volume was "non-intoxicating," and, hence, its manufacture did not violate the prohibition amendment. This federal beer law of 1932 allowed the states to determine their own beer sale and consumption laws while the nation waited for the repeal of prohibition.[28]

The Nebraska legislature acted on the 3.2 percent beer bill with unprecedented speed, and decreed that the manufacture and consumption of 3.2 percent beer would become legal in the state on August 10, 1933.[29] Not all people were in favor of the return of even a "non-intoxicating" beer. Hamilton County's state senator voted against the beer bill.[30] Cuming County's senator voted for it, however.[31] Both senators reflected the cultural attitudes of their constituents.

The 3.2 Percent Tavern, 1933-1935

Thus, in 1933 the legal tavern returned to the Nebraska

landscape after a sixteen year absence. This new tavern was allowed to sell only the 3.2 percent beer which was, however incorrectly, defined as "non-intoxicating." The state law governing the 3.2 percent beer tavern stated that tavern licenses now were to be granted by the city, village, or county boards where the facilities were to be located.[32]

Tavern Numbers

When they became legal, taverns returned to all four counties, but their numbers were greatest in Saline and Cuming counties (Tables 10 and 12). Major towns again had the greatest number of taverns.

Tavern Ratios

The number of people per tavern varied in the study counties (Table 14). These ratios show that taverns were more common in the European areas in 1933-1935 than they had been in 1910-1917. In Anglo-dominated Keith County the number of people per tavern was now similar to that in the European counties. However, in Hamilton County taverns were less common.

The number of customers per tavern was greater between 1933-1935 than it was from 1910-1917 (Table 15). The number of patrons increased because females were included in the calculation, for the first time, in the 1933-1935 period. The increase in the number of patrons per tavern indicates that not many females immediately became tavern patrons as they

were eligible to do.

The number of adults per tavern varied spatially. More than twice as many adults were needed to support a tavern in Hamilton County as were needed in the others. In Keith County values seemed to change and Anglos appeared to accept the 3.2 percent taverns in a fashion similar to the Europeans. The Anglos of Keith County were probably viewing the tavern as an economic institution which could attract money to the area.[33]

Tavern Form and Location

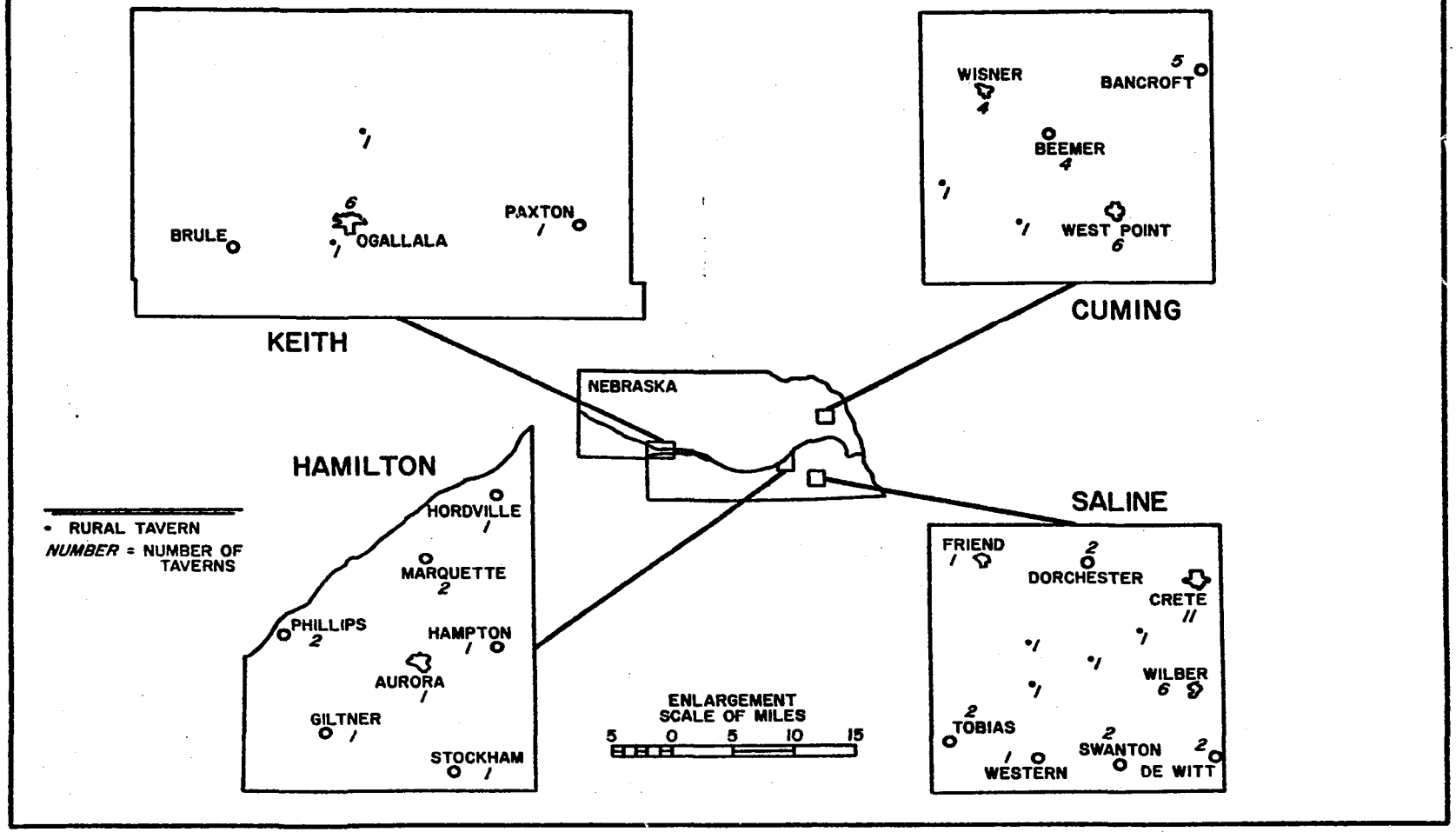
The physical plan of taverns was required to change by the new state law governing taverns. Seats were now required in all taverns, as standing to drink was made illegal. Taverns had to be located more than thirty feet from the nearest church or school. Taverns had to serve food. Taverns also had to have a window in the front so that the interior of the business was visible from the outside.[34]

The regional location of taverns differed from the pre-prohibition pattern. Although most taverns were still located in the business districts of incorporated units, there were now rural taverns as well (Fig. 6). Rural taverns were established in all counties except Hamilton.

Tavern Operators

After repeal tavern operators came to be viewed as legitimate members of the community in most areas. Tavern advertisements were found in newspapers in all counties except

Fig. 6 TAVERN NUMBERS IN 1933



Hamilton. The editor of the Ogallala paper was in favor of legalizing taverns and referred to the opening of taverns as "Brew Years Eve."[35]

Tavern and Government

Practices in licensing taverns in Saline, Keith, and Cuming counties were similar. In these counties the license fees ranged from 5 to 100 dollars.[36] Licenses were granted to all who applied for them.[37] It should be noted that the license fees were significantly lower than in the pre-prohibition eras. They were kept low to insure that competition would exist and monopolies and unfair prices would not occur.

Tavern licensing in Hamilton County, on the other hand was more complex. Although the license fee was no higher here than in the others, licenses were not simply issued upon request. The Women's Christian Temperance Union attempted to stop the Aurora city council from issuing tavern licenses.[38] Licenses were issued over the W.C.T.U. protests, however, as the city noted that it was trying to stop the sale of an intoxicating beverage, and 3.2 percent beer was, by definition, not intoxicating.[39] Also, local businessmen were well aware that a dry town surrounded by wet ones could lose business.

Other Associations

Taverns were economically important to the merchants of all towns. The tavern was a place for people from the surrounding area to congregate when they came to town. Its

presence was even considered necessary for the overall economic health of the towns.

The return of legal beer also meant that breweries could become re-established. One brewery was founded in Saline County in 1934.[40] The potentially large Bohemian beer drinking market was recognized, and a brewery was built to capitalize on this feature. Breweries were not built in the other counties, however, as large regional breweries were proving to be more economical.

Return to Normal

The 3.2 percent era existed only temporarily while federal and state representatives worked to repeal the prohibition amendment. Prohibition was repealed by vote in Nebraska in 1934. The Germans of Cuming County and the Bohemians of Saline County were solidly for repeal, while the Anglos of Keith County favored repeal and those in Hamilton County voted to maintain prohibition.[41] This vote reaffirmed that alcohol and the perceived desirability of taverns were viewed by voters in light of their culture.

Repeal was generally approved by a state-wide vote. However, it took the Nebraska legislature until May of 1935 to pass a law that would regulate the operation of the pre 1910 tavern.[42] Thus, the "real" tavern returned as a landscape feature in July of 1935.

Summary

The two working hypotheses of this study were validated by events regarding the Temperance tavern. Taverns varied in form and function through time and space. They began as a male-oriented institution located in towns everywhere. From the start they were more accepted by Europeans than by Anglos. As time progressed, they were made illegal, and thus a rather mobile part of the cultural landscape. When the tavern returned in 1933 it was as an institution legally open to all adults in all areas. Location changed as the rural tavern became a reality after 1933. Tavern density after 1933 varied between European and Anglo areas and also between the two Anglo areas. The values of one of the Anglo areas seemed to change and it accepted the tavern as a landscape feature.

The aim of this study was to determine whether the tavern is a representative facet of an area's cultural landscape. The Temperance tavern answered this question in the affirmative. Residents of the four areas had the opportunity to vote on the question of the tavern's role in the landscape twice during this era. In both votes the European cultural groups favored tavern retention. The Anglo areas voted against having taverns in 1916. However, by 1934 the two Anglo areas had diverged in their feelings about the tavern as a part of their culture. The population of one county continued its opposition to the tavern, while that in the other county wanted the tavern to become a part of its culture. An explanation of the reasons for the change in Keith County follows in Chapter V.

Footnotes

[1]Anti-Saloon League Yearbook, 1920, p. 43.

[2]Anti-Saloon League Yearbook, 1910, p. 73; _____,1911, p. 64; _____,1912, p. 179.

[3]Keith County News, January 30, 1919, p. 1.

[4]Luebke, "The German-American Alliance ....," p. 184; Kubicek, The Czechs of Butler County ...., p. 142.

[5]Ross, The Old World in the New, p. 228.

[6]Luebke, "The German-American Alliance ....," p. 184; Luebke, Immigrants in Politics ...., p. 6.

[7]Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 278.

[8]See Martin T. Katzman, "Ethnic Geography and Regional Economies," Economic Geography, Vol. 45, No. 1, (Jan., 1969), pp. 45-52.

[9]Aurora Sun, March 30, 1916, p. 4.

[10]Aurora Sun, November 11, 1910, p. 1.

[11]West Point Republican, October 3, 1913; Wilber Republican, September 28, 1913.

[12]Keith County News, April 7, 1910, p. 1.

[13]Wilber Republican, April 8, 1910, p. 3; West Point Republican, April 17, 1914, p. 3.

[14]Keith County News, November 30, 1916, p. 2.

[15]West Point Republican, October 3, 1913; Wilber Republican, September 28, 1913.

[16]Durand, "Mountain Moonshining ....." pp. 168-170; Mark David Merlin, Man and Marijuana: Some Aspects of Their Ancient Relationships, (New York: A.S. Burnes and Co. Inc., 1972).

[17]Wilber Republican, April 27, 1917, p. 1.

[18]Wilber Republican, June 24, 1929, p. 5: West Point Republican, August 11, 1932, p. 5.

[19]West Point Republican, August 13, 1920, p. 1.

[20]Hamilton County Register, December 1, 1922, p. 1; August 21, 1925, p. 1; Hamilton County Republican-Register, March 3, 1933, p. 1; Keith County News, February 19, 1931, p. 1; March 26, 1931, p. 1.

[21]West Point Republican, December 13, 1923, p. 1; July 11, 1929, p. 1.

[22]Wilber Republican, March 3, 1918, p. 2; November 21, 1930, p. 1.

[23]Hamilton County Register, September 1, 1922, p. 1; September 8, 1922, p. 1; April 27, 1923, p. 1.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Keith County News, July 24, 1920, p. 1.

[26]Keith County News, February 2, 1917, p. 1; June 17, 1924, p. 1; June 20, 1927, p. 1; June 20, 1931, p. 1.

[27]Olson, History of Nebraska, Chapters 23 and 24.

[28]Wilber Republican, January 13, 1933, p. 4.

[29]Keith County News, April 20, 1933, p. 1.

[30]Hamilton County Republican-Register, May 12, 1933, p. 1.

[31]West Point Republican, April 20, 1933, p. 1.

[32]Crete News, April 20, 1933, p. 4.

[33]A more complete explanation of the reasons for the Anglo changes in tavern acceptance is given in Chapter V.

[34]Crete News, July 20, 1933, p. 4.

[35]Keith County News, August 10, 1933, p. 1.

[36]Wilber Republican, July 14, 1933, p. 1; Crete News, July 20, 1933, p. 4; Beemer Times, July 7, 1933, p. 3; West Point Republican, July 20, 1933, p. 7; Keith County News, July 20, 1933, p. 8.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Republican-Register, (Aurora), July 14, 1933, p. 1.

[39]Republican-Register, (Aurora), August 4, 1933, p. 1.

[40]Crete News, November 26, 1933, p. 1.

[41]Wilber Republican, November 9, 1934, p. 1; Republican Register (Aurora), November 9, 1934, p. 1; Keith County News, November 3, 1934, p. 8.

[42]West Point Republican, July 4, 1935, p. 1.

CHAPTER V

THE MODERN TAVERN 1935-1972

Introduction

The year 1935 marked the return of the "real" tavern as a legitimate feature in the Nebraskan cultural landscape. The new state law governing taverns had a few regulations that all areas were required to accept. There were to be no sales of beer or liquor after 1:00 A.M. or before 6:00 A.M. any day of the week. Beer was to be legal anywhere the tavern was licensed. Liquor by the drink, however, was to be legal only when area residents voted for its introduction. Actual licensing was to be decided upon by the appropriate county, village, or city government.[1]

All other regulations governing taverns were left to local governments. Thus, people at a local level had some opportunity to express their value systems. All cultural groups were now allowed to reintroduce taverns and beer sales in forms that would be characteristic expressions of their culture.[2]

An example of taverns as an expression of culture may be found in Wisconsin. Macrory found that Wisconsin had more

than its share of taverns which in that state are social clubs. He noted that Wisconsin in 1950 had 2.3 percent of the United States population and 8.5 percent of the country's taverns, and concluded that the tavern was more important in Wisconsin than in most states.[3] However, Macrory failed to stress that the ethnic make-up of the population of Wisconsin was heavily European, and that this was the likely explanation for the tavern's importance there. In parts of rural Nebraska, tavern importance also correlated with culture.

The Modern era witnessed several changes that directly affected the tavern. The first change was the greater mobility of the population caused by the ubiquitous automobile. In this era all segments of the adult population came to rely on the auto for transportation. The auto increased personal mobility and opened previously inaccessible areas to development.

The second change was the migration of Nebraskans from small towns and farms to larger towns. All areas in the state observed declines in rural farm population. One cause of this migration was increased mechanization and improved agricultural techniques which permitted the average farm size to increase. The outmigration of the rural young tended to keep the areas culturally conservative.[4]

Nebraskan society was further changed in this era by a rapidly increasing standard of living. The mechanical devices used in agriculture are one example of a higher standard

of living. In most areas the higher standard of living was associated with increasing amounts of leisure time. The way in which people chose to use their leisure time was important, and the tavern was one recreational possibility.

Large scale development of recreational industries was coincidental with the increased standard of living. Many of these industries were related to the auto. The auto moved people to and from new recreational outlets. During this era considerable development of lakes and rivers for flood control, irrigation, and recreation use took place. Recreation facilities were developed near these water areas, and taverns accompanied such developments.

The Modern era was thus quite different from the previous ones and, as one might expect, the modern tavern was also different from that of previous eras.

Case Study Counties

The populations of all the study counties exhibited similar trends. All counties experienced decreases in population from 1940 to 1960 (Table 16). From 1960 to 1970 Hamilton and Cuming county populations decreased still further while those of Saline and Keith increased slightly. The rural population of each county decreased in this era while the urban numbers increased slightly.[5]

The number of adults in all the counties comprised approximately two-thirds of the total population (Table 16). Thus, of course, taverns were legally open to the majority of

TABLE 16

POPULATION AND ADULTS IN THE CASE STUDY COUNTIES, 1940-1970

	CUMING	HAMILTON	KEITH	SALINE
1940 Population	13,562	9,982	8,333	15,010
Adults	8,321	6,336	4,990	10,126
1950 Population	12,994	8,778	7,449	14,046
Adults	8,165	5,731	4,596	9,620
1960 Population	12,435	8,714	7,958	12,542
Adults	7,516	5,293	4,726	8,428
1970 Population	12,034	8,867	8,478	12,809
Adults	7,359	5,454	5,233	8,716

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940; Census of Population 1950; 1960 Census of Population; 1970 Census of Population, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

the county's population.

The ethnicity of the population for each county remained as it had been for the other periods. All counties had cultural profiles which were similar to those in earlier periods.

Tavern Analysis

Tavern Numbers

The number of taverns in the case study counties varied only slightly (Tables 17, 18, 19, and 20). Apparently tavern numbers did not respond to population changes. Although counties lost in population, the tavern numbers did not decrease.

In Cuming County the number of taverns decreased from 1935 to 1945. Since 1945 the number has increased. In this county the increase occurred even while the population continued to decrease (Tables 16 and 17). One possible explanation is that the tavern is in the process of becoming a more important feature in this German area. Although Cuming County residents had developed a pattern of tavern use and beer consumption prior to this era, the fact that the number of taverns has not responded to population losses adds further support to the conclusion that the actual number of tavern users has increased while the total population has decreased. In this county it is probable that the inclusion of women among the tavern customers has made the institution more viable.

TABLE 17

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN CUMING COUNTY, 1935-1972

	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1972
WEST POINT	8	10	8	8	10	10	10	9
WISNER	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	8
BANCROFT	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	5
BEEMER	4	3	2	3	3	3	3	3
RURAL	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
TOTALS	22	21	20	21	23	23	25	27

Source: West Point Republican, Vol. 65 to Vol. 102; Cuming County Democrat, (West Point), 1935-1972; Bancroft Blade, Vol. 50 to Vol. 87; Wisner News-Chronicle, Vol. 49 to Vol. 84.

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN SALINE COUNTY, 1935-1972

	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1972
CRETE	7	11	9	9	9	9	10	11
WILBER	7	8	6	6	6	6	6	7
DEWITT	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
DORCHESTER	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
FRIEND	1	1	2	3	3	2	2	2
SWANTON	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
TOBIAS	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
WESTERN	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
RURAL	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6
TOTALS	29	34	31	32	32	31	31	35

Source: DeWitt Times, Vol. 56 to Vol. 92; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 38 to Vol. 74; Western Wave, Vol. 52 to Vol. 89; Crete News, Vol. 28 to Vol. 65; Wilber Republican, Vol. 48 to Vol. 85.

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN HAMILTON COUNTY, 1935-1972

	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1972
AURORA	3	3	2	3	3	4	3	2
HORDVILLE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
MARQUETTE	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
HAMPTON	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
PHILLIPS	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
GILTNER	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
STOCKHAM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
TOTALS	11	10	9	10	10	11	10	8

Source: Republican Register, (Aurora), Vol. 7 to Vol. 44.

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN KEITH COUNTY, 1935-1972

	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1972
OGALLALA	5	5	5	5	6	7	9	11
PAXTON	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
ROSCOE	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
BRULE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
RURAL	2	2	2	2	3	7	8	8
TOTALS	9	9	9	9	12	17	21	23

Source: Keith County News, (Ogallala), Vol. 50 to Vol. 87.

The number of taverns in Saline County has also shown a net increase since 1935 (Table 18). Based on the increased number of taverns and the smaller population, it appears that the tavern became a more important cultural feature in this county as well. In Saline, as in Cuming County, women became tavern patrons and, hence, enlarged the number of tavern customers.

In Hamilton County tavern numbers fluctuated in a manner similar to the total population (Tables 16 and 19). The number of taverns there was the same in 1960 as it had been in 1935. After 1960 the number decreased. However, this decrease is masked by an increase in "private clubs" or pseudo-taverns. When the number of pseudo-taverns is added to that of the de jure taverns it becomes apparent that the tavern numbers remained constant as population decreased. This is interpreted to mean that the tavern has become more important among Anglos.

Tavern numbers in Keith County remained fairly stable until 1955 when they increased dramatically (Table 20). Two changes in Keith County were apparently responsible for the large increase after 1955. First, there were more vacationers crossing the area. Keith County is located on the old Oregon Trail route that leads to an easy grade through the central Rocky Mountains. Many people pass through Ogallala in automobiles, and many choose to spend the night there. Ogallala has been a major stopping point on the route to the mountains

since the early 1930's, and its importance has increased further since the mid-1960's when the interstate system brought increased traffic through the county.

The second factor was the damming of the North Platte River a few miles north of Ogallala. Lake McConaughy, the largest reservoir in the central Great Plains region, was created.[6] Commercial development of the lake has taken place since 1950. This lake attracts visitors from all parts of Nebraska and also from surrounding states. People come to fish, swim, and boat, and Keith County has become a tourist center. Business activities, such as taverns, have developed to take advantage of the tourists, causing the number of taverns in the Anglo area to increase from economic pressure.

Tavern/Population Ratios

On a per capita basis one can observe that the tavern has become more important in all of the counties except Hamilton (Table 21). The importance of the tavern in Saline and Cuming counties has already been mentioned, but the increased popularity of the tavern in Keith County as well is apparent in Table 21. It may be concluded that when a potential profit is involved the Anglos of this county have been quick to respond to the challenge. Any moral qualms were overlooked. Indeed, taverns have apparently become more popular in this Anglo county than in the European areas.

Initially, the modern tavern appealed to men, even though it was legally open to all adults. As time passed,

TABLE 21

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER TAVERN, 1940-1970

	1940	1950	1960	1970
CUMING	646	619	541	463
HAMILTON	998	878	792	1108
KEITH	926	828	468	369
SALINE	441	439	401	388

Source: Calculated from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940; Census of Population 1950; 1960 Census of Population; 1970 Census of Population, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); Republican Register, (Aurora), Vol. 7 to Vol. 44; Keith County News, (Ogallala), Vol. 50 to Vol. 87; West Point Republican, Vol. 65 to Vol. 102; Cuming County Democrat, (West Point), 1935-1972; Bancroft Blade, Vol. 50 to Vol. 87; Wisner News-Chronicle, Vol. 49 to Vol. 84; DeWitt Times, Vol. 56 to Vol. 92; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 38 to Vol. 74; Western Wave, Vol. 52 to Vol. 89; Crete News, Vol. 28 to Vol. 65; Wilber Republican, Vol. 48 to Vol. 85.

women too became tavern customers. The inclusion of women as customers has been a slow process, and they still are less important than men.[7]

The origin of tavern customers changed during the Modern era. At the beginning of this period it appeared that most of the tavern customers were local residents either from the town or the nearby rural area. Then development of recreation and tourism in Keith County attracted more distant customers. Saline County has also attracted non-resident customers on Sundays.[8]

The number of resident adults per tavern has decreased in Cuming and Saline counties (Table 22). In these counties it now takes fewer adults to support a tavern than it did thirty years ago.

The tavern/population ratios for Hamilton County represent the greatest change for all areas. The ratio here seems to indicate that the tavern is now more important to the predominantly Anglo Keith County adults than it is to European ones. The ratio for Keith County, however, is somewhat misleading as much tavern support comes from people who do not reside in the county and thus are not included in the tavern/population ratio calculation. Therefore, the actual number of people necessary to support a tavern in Keith county is not known, but it would probably be greater than the figures for the European counties as the perceived desirability of the tavern has not developed through time as it has in the

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE CUSTOMERS PER TAVERN, 1940-1970

	1940	1950	1960	1970
CUMING	396	389	327	283
HAMILTON	633	573	481	671
KEITH	554	511	278	228
SALINE	298	301	272	264

Source: Calculated from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940; Census of Population 1950; 1960 Census of Population; 1970 Census of Population, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); Republican Register (Aurora), Vol. 7 to Vol. 44; Keith County News, (Ogallala), Vol. 50 to Vol. 87; West Point Republican, Vol. 65 to Vol. 102; Cuming County Democrat, (West Point), 1935-1972; Bancroft Blade, Vol. 50 to Vol. 87; Wisner News-Chronicle, Vol. 49 to Vol. 84; DeWitt Times, Vol. 56 to Vol. 92; Friend Sentinel, Vol. 38 to Vol. 74; Western Wave, Vol. 52 to Vol. 89; Crete News, Vol. 28 to Vol. 65: Wilber Republican, Vol. 48 to Vol. 85.

European areas.

Tavern Operators

The turnover rate of tavern operators varied within and between case study counties.[9] The turnover rate of operators in Hamilton County was lower than in the other three counties. The turnover rate of operators was highest where the tavern was considered by people to be an important part of their culture. There are several reasons for this apparent paradox. First, as the tavern in these counties is more accepted by the residents, competition is greater. The acceptance of the tavern induces more individuals to enter the business. Only the better businessmen can exist where competition is strong. Secondly, many individuals who operate a tavern become disillusioned when they discover that the customers do not consume as much beer and liquor as they had anticipated. Lastly, many of the people who enter this business become disappointed when they discover that the tavern is not an easy business to operate. For a tavern to be profitable, the operator has to worry about long hours, employee honesty, and keeping customers happy.[10] It appears that few individuals have the necessary traits to be successful tavern operators in highly competitive areas.

Tavern owners were generally more successful in the small towns than they were in the larger ones. The smaller towns lacked competition; hence operators remained in business for longer periods of time.

During the Modern era the tavern as a business venture became socially acceptable for women. Women were quick to react to this new opportunity, and they appeared as tavern operators in all the counties during this era.[11] There were never more women than men operators during this era, but the number of women who were operators did increase after 1935.

Tavern Location

Tavern location in the towns in the Modern era was similar to what it had been earlier. Taverns were located in business districts of towns in all counties. This locational pattern continued until recently. In the smallest towns taverns often are the heart of the business district. In the larger Cuming County communities of West Point, Wisner, and Bancroft, the law requires that taverns be located within the business district.[12]

Recent changes in tavern location have developed. In Beemer, Cuming County, a tavern is found on the edge of town where it is associated with a golf course. In Crete and Wilber, taverns are located on the edges of the towns and are associated with gas stations. In Crete, Aurora, and Ogallala, residents built golf courses on the edges of their towns, and taverns are associated with them.[13] Finally, in Ogallala, taverns were located outside the business district on the access roads of the interstate highway system. The non-business district tavern was the result of economic factors. Taverns located where there were potential customers.

The rural tavern that began during the 3.2 percent stage has persisted into the Modern era. The rural tavern did not exist prior to prohibition. After 1933, however, the new law and the automobile encouraged this change. The law allowed taverns to be located outside incorporated municipalities, while the auto added the necessary mobility. Originally, rural taverns were associated with unincorporated hamlets. This pattern has not changed in Cuming County.

True rural taverns were established first in Saline County and later in Keith County. These taverns are located in the countryside and are not associated with other settlement phenomena. Rural taverns of this nature have been created to function as recreation centers. The residents of Keith and Saline counties have permitted the establishment of the rural tavern. By Nebraska law the rural tavern is licensed by the county board.[14] The only county where the majority of people have disapproved of rural taverns is Hamilton.

The number of rural taverns in both Keith and Saline counties has increased. Those in Keith County are located near Lake McConaughy and serve people who visit the lake. In Saline County four of the rural taverns are dance-oriented. One rural tavern in Saline County is a combination resort, dance hall, and general recreation center on the Big Blue River. Residents of these counties allowed rural taverns to develop if they served perceived needs.

Tavern Associations

The principle drink sold in all taverns in this era has been beer. The German and Bohemian Americans have had a long history of beer drinking. Although the Anglos have not had a similar history of beer drinking, they are now developing this consumption pattern. Thus, in the Modern era the Anglo culture has accepted the tavern providing, of course, that liquor sales are not involved.

The sale of liquor in all of the counties was not reinstated immediately after prohibition was repealed. Liquor sales, however, were eventually authorized in all areas. In the German and Bohemian counties liquor sales were allowed quite early. Beemer allowed liquor sales in taverns in 1937, Wilber in 1940, and the other towns somewhat later.[15] By 1972 only the village of DeWitt in Saline County lacked liquor sales in taverns. The one "beer only" tavern here is evidence that at least some Europeans have not completely accepted liquor sales. Because European-derived Americans had no established pattern of liquor consumption, it is understandable that the change from beer to liquor would be slow. Two referenda concerning liquor sales by taverns were conducted in Crete and Wisner before the proposition was approved.[16] Liquor sale by taverns is now legal in these towns, but the major alcoholic beverage is still beer.

In Keith County liquor sales by taverns were not permitted until 1946. Liquor sales were authorized first in

Paxton, which remained the only town in the county to sell liquor until tourism developed in the area.[17] People there were opposed to liquor sales, but business pressure was used to change these attitudes. The Anglos of Keith County changed a cultural pattern for financial gain.[18]

The pattern of liquor sales by taverns in Hamilton County has varied considerably from those of the other counties. In Hamilton County there has been an almost total prohibition of tavern liquor sales. Only the town of Hampton, located well away from the center of the county, permits tavern liquor sales. Anglos of Hamilton County have opposed liquor sales and have successfully fought the change from beer to liquor in all of the county's towns except one.

Other tavern services, aside from beer and liquor sales, expanded during this era. Along with food and games, tavern related activities now included dancing. Dancing is a tavern feature that appeals to mixed crowds, and is found in all of the counties except Hamilton. This is interpreted to mean that people of Hamilton County have not changed their attitudes sufficiently to allow taverns to provide people with activities other than consumption of beer, food, and games (pool, shuffleboard, cards, and various electronic machines).

The 1972 Tavern

For a more careful examination of the contemporary tavern, a separate section on the tavern as it was found in 1972 is presented. By 1972 changes in the labor force in the

rural areas of Nebraska had occurred. Nonagribusiness workers now outnumbered agribusiness ones. With the increase of services came an increase in social class differences. During this era all the major towns had a professional class that may not have been native to the respective areas. These professionals - doctors, lawyers, teachers, dentists - may have developed a tavern usage pattern differing from the one native to the area. Professionals have been found by Mulford and Miller to drink more than the average individual and also to emphasize liquor rather than beer.[19] For this reason, and the possibility that the professional class may have wanted a tavern available only to their own kind, pseudo-taverns developed. Pseudo-taverns are those designed to function as taverns, but which are not technically open to the public.

In the study area the pseudo-tavern has developed only in Hamilton County. The citizens of Aurora have not allowed the tavern to develop as freely as they have other businesses. The city has not allowed liquor by the drink for any of its citizens. The majority of the professional people of Hamilton County reside in Aurora, and these people like to consume alcohol. Therefore, when the majority culture restricted the tavern, the "private" club came into being.

Tavern Numbers

An interesting relationship between towns and taverns has developed in Nebraska. The number of taverns for each

small town has remained about stable, while the population has declined (Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, and 23). Field work disclosed that the tavern appeared to be the last business enterprise left in several towns. The church was observed to be the last social institution left. In many towns the tavern has even outlived the school. Thus, in rural Nebraska the tavern was one of the first institutions to be established and, with the decline of farm population, is one of the last to be removed from the cultural landscape.

Taverns in 1972 still tended to be most common in the European areas (Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22). The tabular information suggests that the tavern was as common in the Anglo county of Keith as it was in the German and Bohemian counties of Saline and Cuming, but such a conclusion is misleading. All of the measures of tavern intensity are not totally accurate as they are computed on the population of the county. There is an implicit assumption that county residents are the county tavern users, but such an assumption is not entirely true in Keith County.

Tavern location in Keith County indicates that the tavern has developed to capitalize on travelers and sportsmen (Fig. 7). Many Keith County taverns are located near either Lake McConaughy or the Interstate Highway access roads. These taverns were located to attract non-resident customers. Two additional indications of this non-resident business orientation are that the taverns around the lake are open only during

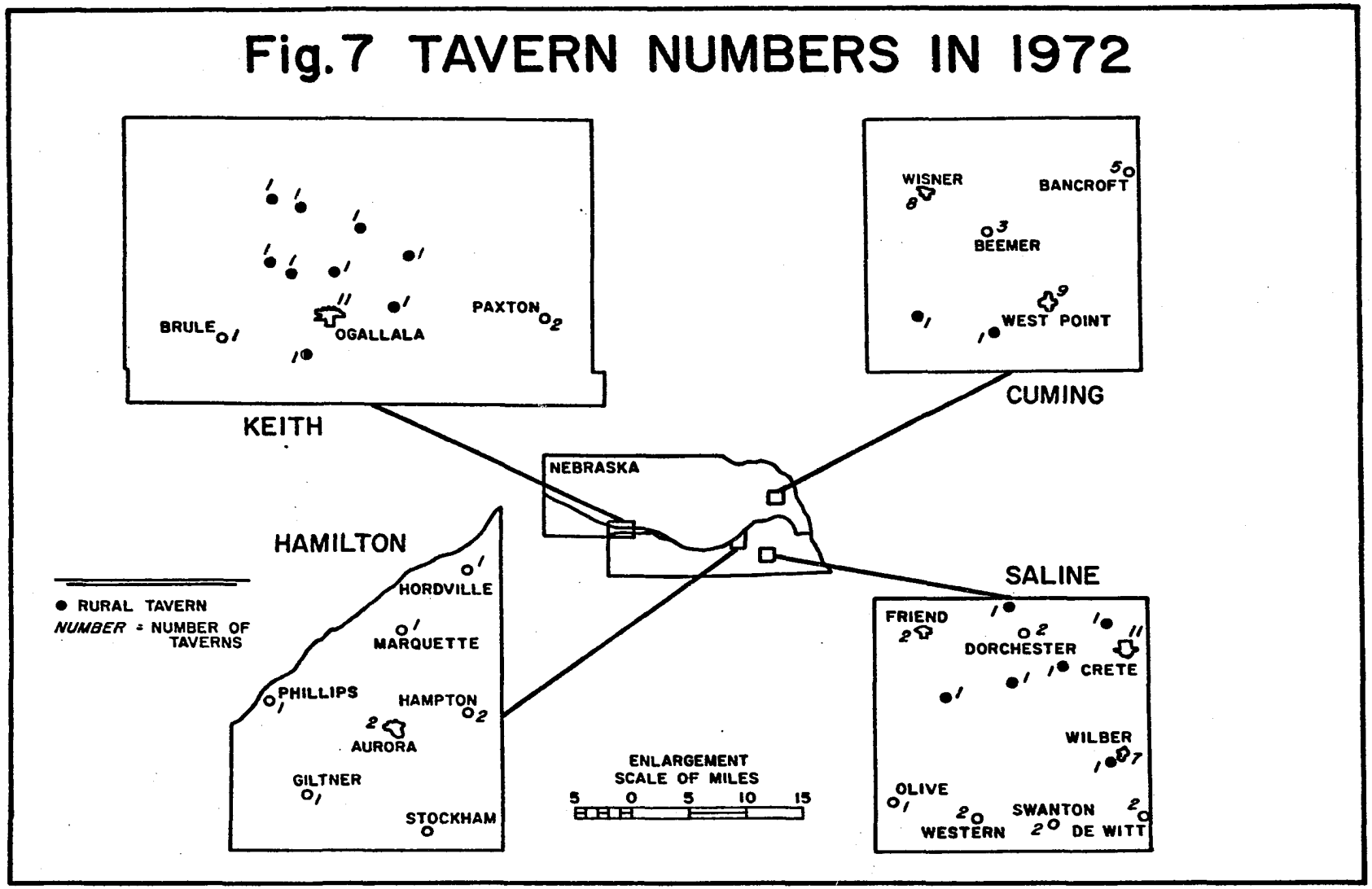
TABLE 23

POPULATION OF CASE STUDY TOWNS IN 1970

COUNTY	TOWN	POPULATION
CUMING	Bancroft	545
	Beemer	699
	West Point	3,385
	Wisner	1,315
HAMILTON	Aurora	3,180
	Giltner	408
	Hampton	387
	Hordville	147
	Marquette	239
	Phillips	341
	Stockham	65
KEITH	Brule	423
	Ogallala	4,976
	Paxton	503
SALINE	Crete	4,444
	DeWitt	651
	Dorchester	492
	Friend	1,126
	Swanton	160
	Tobias	124
	Western	344
	Wilber	1,483

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Number of Inhabitants, Nebraska, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

Fig. 7 TAVERN NUMBERS IN 1972



the warmer half year (Fig. 8). One Ogallala tavern, the Front Street Saloon (Fig. 9), is open for only three months of the year. Thus, the Anglos of Keith County seem to consider taverns as economic rather than as cultural institutions.

Location and Form

In 1972 most of the taverns were located in or near the urban cores of the counties, except in Hamilton County where the residents of Aurora questioned the social-moral validity of taverns (Fig. 7). In Saline County both Crete and Wilber are located near larger cities, i.e., Lincoln and Beatrice, that have taverns closed on Sundays. Thus, Crete and Wilber were found to attract out-of-county customers on one day of the week.

The 1972 locations of taverns were primarily within the business districts of the respective towns (Figs. 10, 11, 12, and 13). One can also note from these figures that the form of the taverns varied little from place to place.

Taverns located outside of the business district and in the countryside were to be found in all of the counties except Hamilton. Gas stations, golf clubs, and resort or tourist taverns are representative types of nonbusiness district taverns.

Tavern Associations

The most common features associated with the 1972 tavern were food, games, and music (Table 24). This association

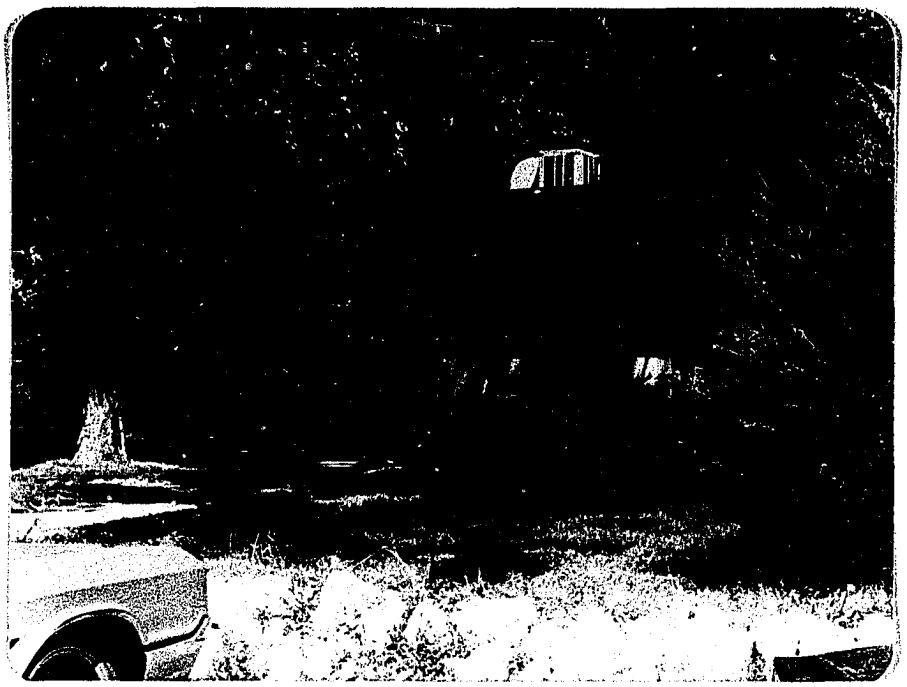


Fig. 8--Seasonal Tavern near Lake McConaughy

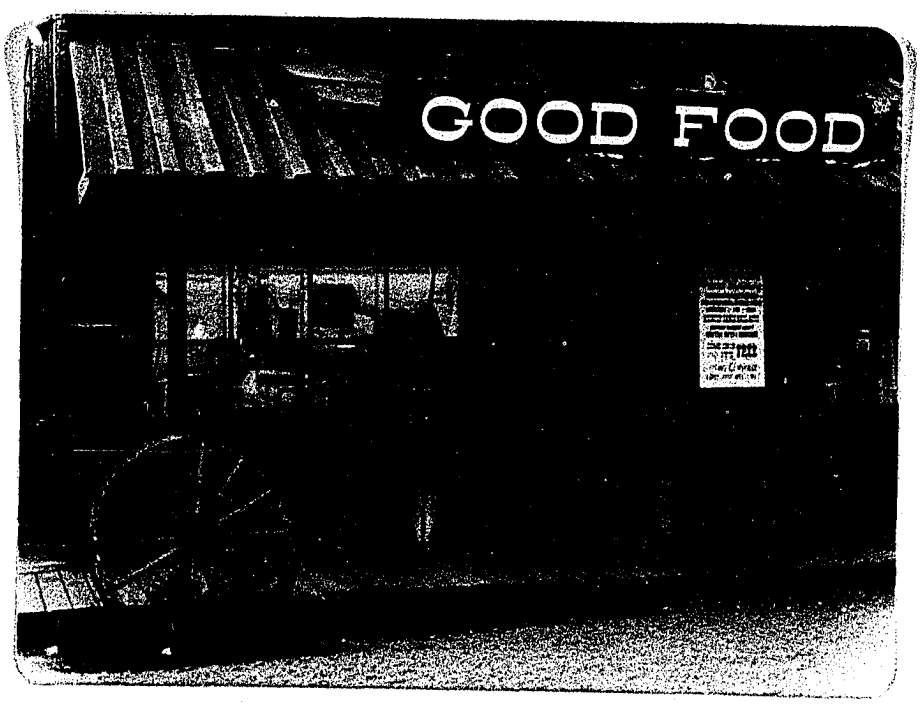


Fig. 9.--Front Street Saloon in Ogallala

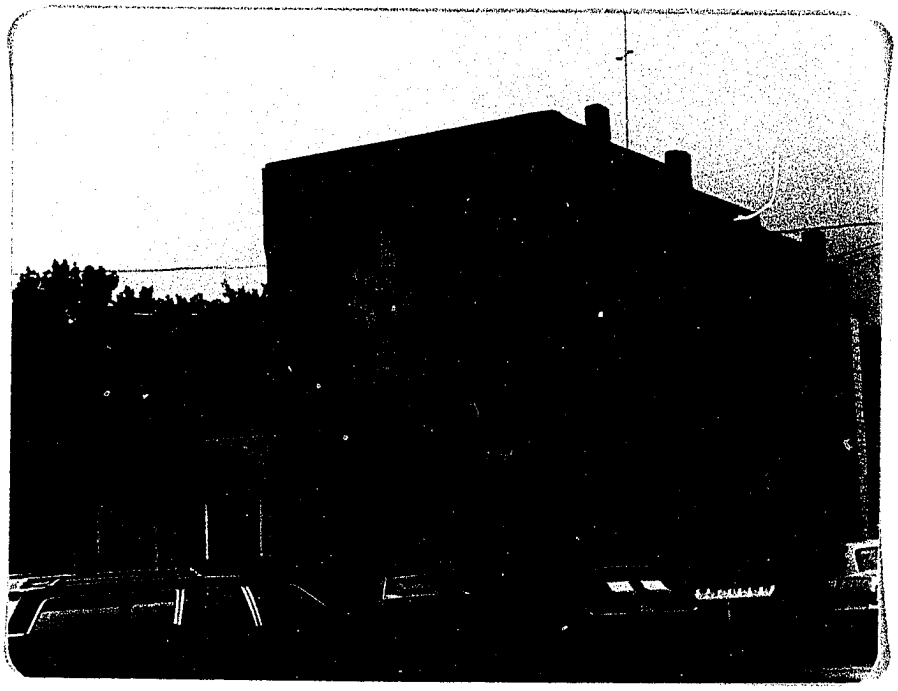


Fig. 10--Tavern in the Business District of Beemer



Fig. 11.--Taverns in the Business District of West Point

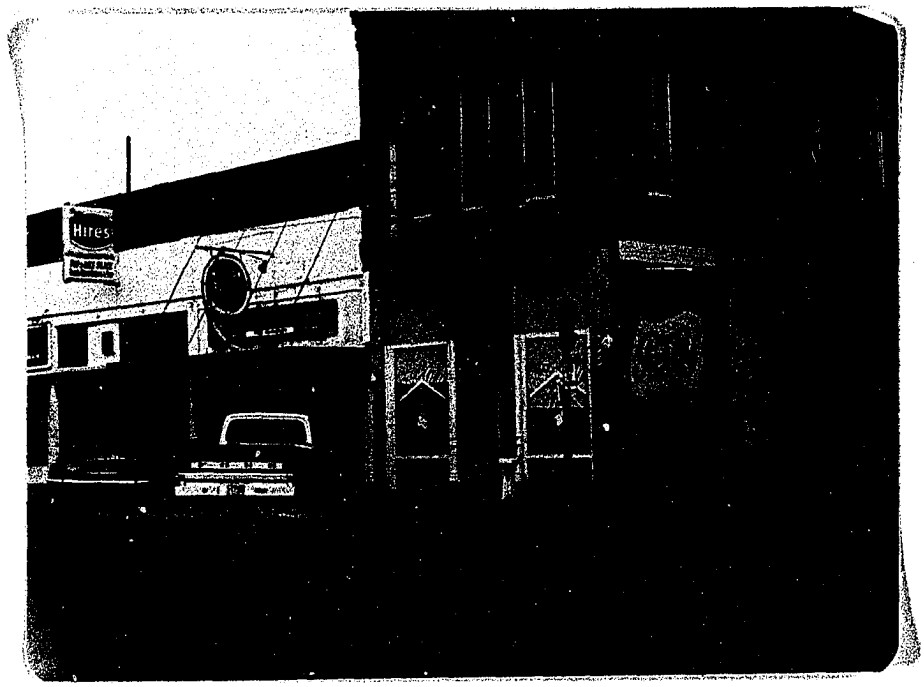


Fig. 12.--Taverns in the Business District of Crete

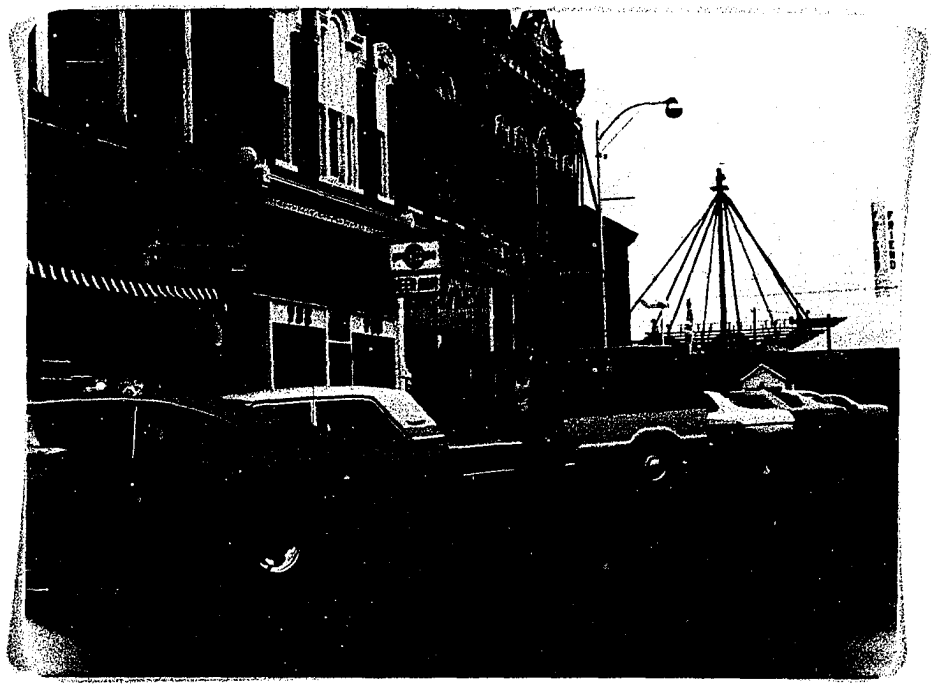


Fig. 13.--Taverns in the Business District of Friend

TABLE 24

TAVERN FEATURES IN 1972

	SALINE	KEITH	CUMING	HAMILTON
Food	20	15	18	6
Music	19	14	15	6
Dancing	9	5	4	0
Games	18	12	17	6
Groceries	2	3	0	0
40 or more seats	33	19	23	4
39 or less seats	2	4	4	4
Gas Station	3	3	0	1
Gambling	1	1	1	0
Motel	0	4	0	0
Museum	0	1	0	0
Golf	1	1	1	0[a]
Total Taverns	35	23	27	8

Source: Field observations obtained in the summer of 1972.

[a]This county has a tavern at the Aurora Country Club, but it is open only to members and their guests. Hence it would be a pseudo-tavern, as it is not open to the public.

was found in almost all areas. The presence of motel taverns in Keith County indicates the importance of tourism. The "Saloon" on Front Street, a reconstruction of the trail drive town, and the museum bar in Paxton stress tourist related activities (Figs. 9 and 14).

The presence or lack of dancing in taverns illustrates cultural differences in the case study counties. One-fourth of the taverns in Saline, one-fifth in Keith, one-seventh in Cuming, and none in Hamilton are associated with dancing. Those areas with tavern dancing are expanding their tavern customer base to include recreational activities desired by women.

The customers observed during the field study period in all the counties were primarily adult men (Figs. 15, 16, 17, and 18). In Cuming, Keith, and Saline counties instances were found where women, (even some with babies) had become tavern customers (Figs. 19 and 20).

Tavern and Government

The cost of tavern licenses in the Modern era contrasts with those of pre-prohibition times. Prior to prohibition, taverns were most heavily taxed in the counties where they were the least accepted. The opposite pattern has developed for the 1972 tavern. License costs are lowest today in the Anglo county of Hamilton where the cost is $200 in all towns except Hampton, where it is $250.[20] In the Anglo county

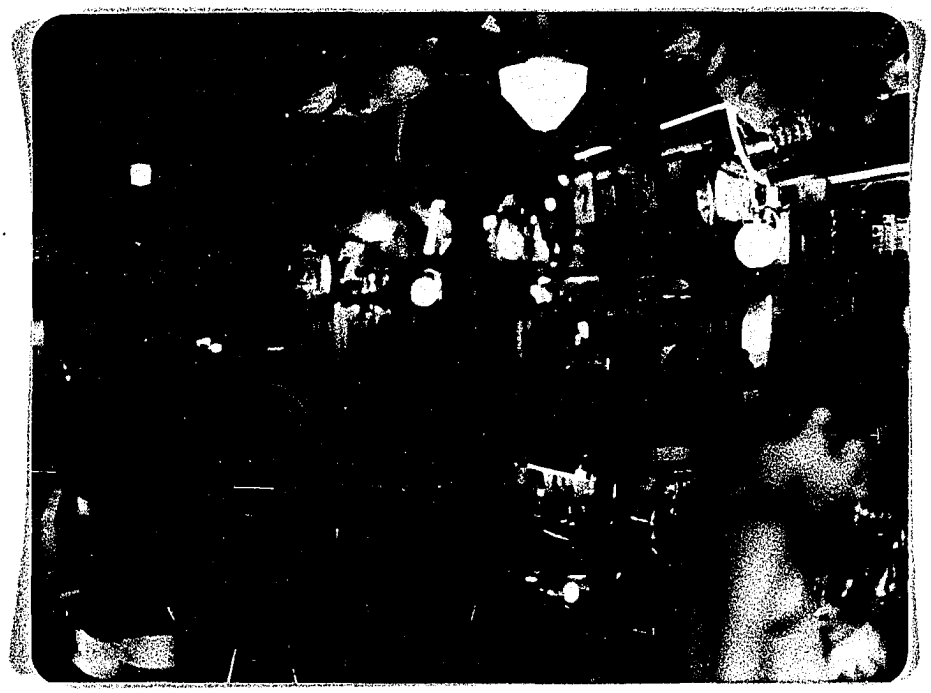


Fig. 14.--The Museum Bar in Paxton



Fig. 15.--Tavern Customers in Beemer



Fig. 16.--Tavern Customers in West Point



Fig. 17.--Tavern Customers in Ogallala

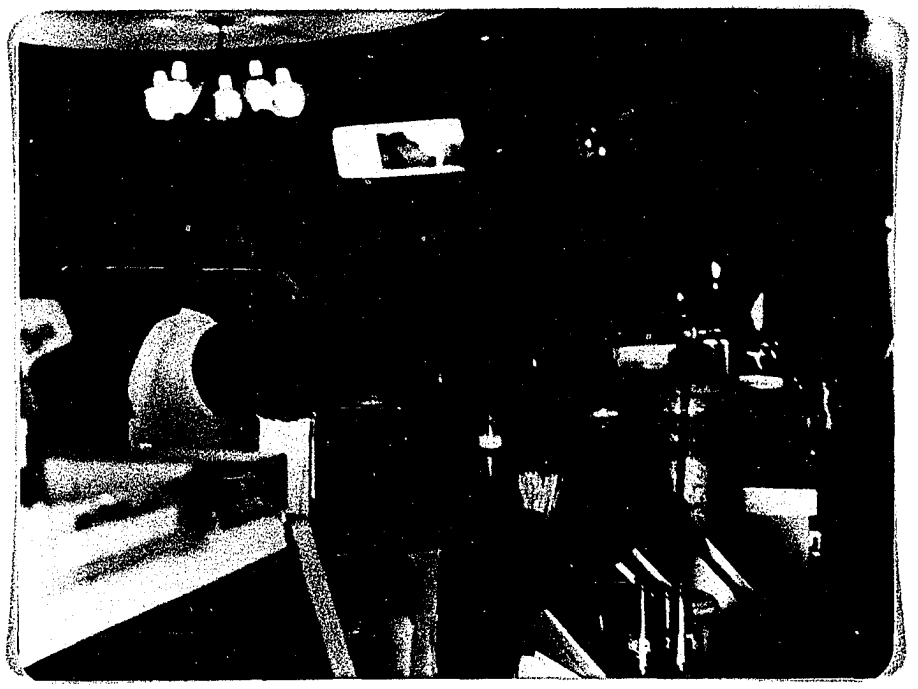


Fig. 18.--Tavern Customers in Western



Fig. 19.--Mixed Tavern Customers in Wilber

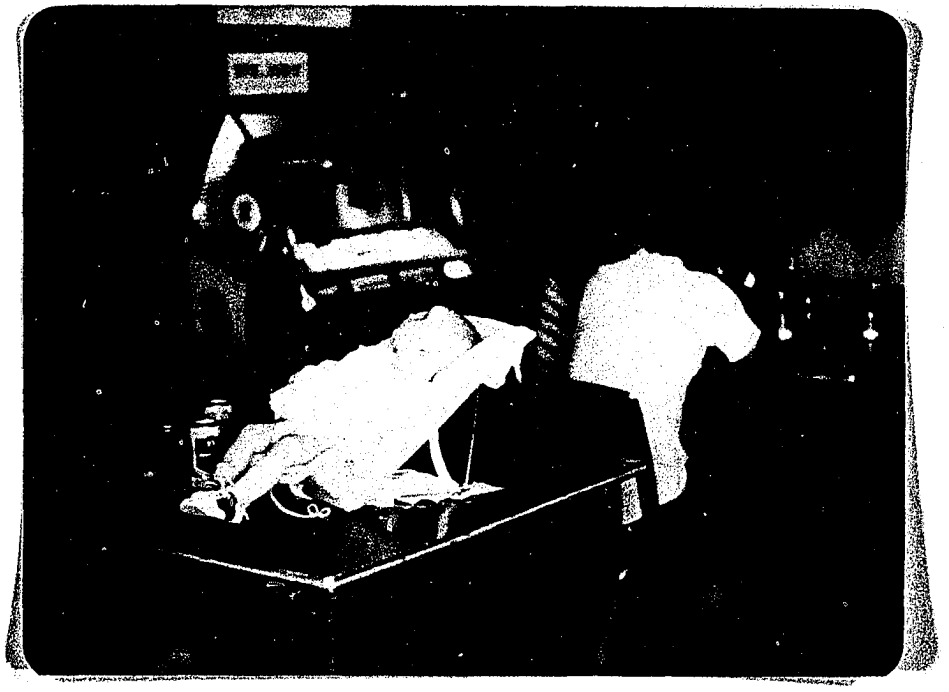


Fig. 20.--A Baby in a Tavern in Western

of Keith the license costs $207 for beer only, and $750 for beer and liquor.[21] In the German county of Cuming the license costs are $50 for beer only in rural areas, $400 for beer only in Wisner and West Point, $550 for beer and liquor in Beemer and Bancroft, and $800 for beer and liquor in West Point and Wisner.[22] In the Bohemian county of Saline the costs vary from $120 for beer only in DeWitt to $370 in all the other places except Crete and Wilber where the cost is $550.[23] The license costs noted above appear to be inversely related to community acceptance of the tavern. In the counties where the tavern is most accepted the license costs are highest. The tavern is apparently viewed as a good source of revenue by local governments. The license costs, however, are not high enough to restrict these taverns. The 1972 tavern is not nearly as restricted by license fees as was the pre-prohibition tavern.

The operating hours of the modern tavern vary in the Anglo areas. In Hamilton County taverns are open from 6:00 or 7:00 A.M. to midnight, Monday through Saturday, also on Sunday afternoons in Aurora and Giltner, and all day Sunday in Hampton. They are closed on Sunday in all the other towns.[24] Anglo residents have thus restricted Sunday operating hours in all the county towns except one. In contrast, the taverns in the Anglo county of Keith must be closed one day a week. The day of closing, however, is not designated by statute, so the taverns generally close on a slow business day early in the

week. Keith County taverns may be open from 6:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M.[25] One other aspect of operating times indicates the seasonal nature of some tavern operations. One tavern in Ogallala, and those along the shore of Lake McConaughy in Keith County, are open only during the warmer part of the year. These taverns are open only when tourists come to the area.

Tavern operations in the German and Bohemian counties are less restricted than they are in the Anglo areas. In the German area of Cuming County the taverns may be open from 6:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M. every day, except in Wisner where they must stop selling drinks at 10:00 P.M. on Sunday.[26] In Saline County the Bohemians allow taverns to be open from 6:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M. seven days a week.[27] The Germans and Bohemians have thus not legally restricted tavern hours as much as have Anglos.

Summary

The modern tavern varied in the case study areas. In the counties of Cuming, Keith, and Saline, the tavern has become more important as a landscape element with the passage of time. In all these counties the tavern has proliferated in numbers, in associated features, in distribution density, and in numbers of potential customers. These counties contrast with Hamilton County where the tavern is not as important. The modern tavern in Cuming, Keith, and Saline counties has changed considerably during the Modern period. Dancing has been added as a feature to attract women, thus changing

the sex pattern of customers. Further, the tavern has become viewed as a business that can attract people and money to areas. In conclusion, the modern tavern is an expression of each area's culture.

Footnotes

[1]Crete News, June 27, 1935, p. 2.

[2]Nairn, "The American Landscape," p. 225.

[3]Macrory, "The Tavern and the Community," pp. 609 and 631.

[4]Olson, History of Nebraska, Chapter 5; Bruner and Hallenbeck, American Society ...., pp. 185-92; Kelley, "Acadian South Louisiana," pp. 83-85.

[5]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Number of Inhabitants, Nebraska.

[6]Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 317.

[7]The role of women as customers was obtained from field work.

[8]A more detailed examination of non-resident customers will be noted under the 1972 tavern.

[9]This conclusion was arrived at by an exhaustive examination of license holders.

[10]Interviews with operators in the following areas helped to establish the generalizations arrived at in this paragraph; M. Ellison, Interview held in Aurora, Nebraska, July 26, 1972; D. Jameson, Interview held in Hampton, Nebraska, July 26, 1972; F.M. Brooks, Interview held in Ogallala, Nebraska, July 24, 1972; M.W. Horst, Interview held in Beemer, Nebraska, July 27, 1972; R.C. Ortmeier, Interview held in West Point, Nebraska, July 27, 1972; H. Raasch, Interview held in Bancroft, Nebraska, July 28, 1972; H. Koopmann, Interview held in Wisner, Nebraska, July 28, 1972; H. Wells, Interview held in Crete, Nebraska, July 3, 1972; L. Pomajzl, Interview held in Wilber, Nebraska, July 5, 1972; L.A. Wagner, Interview held in Dorchester, Nebraska, July 7, 1972.

[11]Cuming County Democrat, July 7, 1935, p. 4; West Point Republican, April 4, 1940, p. 3; Republican Register, (Aurora), March 27, 1936, p. 8; Crete News, August 1, 1935, p. 2; Keith County News, March 25, 1937, p. 6.

[12]West Point Republican, August 1, 1935, p. 2.

[13]The tavern in Aurora is a pseudo-tavern, or a private club.

[14]Crete News, June 27, 1935, p. 2.

[15]Beemer Times, March 25, 1937, p. 6; Wilber Republican, April 12, 1940, p. 6.

[16]West Point Republican, April 9, 1953, p. 1; Wells, Interview, July 3, 1972.

[17]Keith County News, April 4, 1946, p. 1.

[18]Brooks, Interview, July 24, 1972.

[19]Harold A. Mulford and Donald E. Miller, "Drinking in Iowa: I. Socio-cultural Distribution of Drinkers," Quarterly Journal of the Study of Alcohol, Vol. 20, No. 4, (Dec., 1959), p. 717.

[20]Ellison, Interview, July 26, 1972; Jameson, Interview, July 26, 1972.

[21]Brooks, Interview, July 24, 1972.

[22]Horst, Interview, July 27, 1972; Ortmeier, Interview, July 27, 1972; Raasch, Interview, July 28, 1972; Koopmann, Interview, July 28, 1972.

[23]Wells, Interview, July 3, 1972; Pomajzl, Interview, July 5, 1972; Wagner, Interview, July 7, 1972.

[24]Ellison, Interview, July 26, 1972; Jameson, Interview, July 26, 1972.

[25]Brooks, Interview, July 24, 1972.

[26]Ortmeier, Interview, July 27, 1972; Koopmann, Interview, July 28, 1972.

[27]Wells, Interview, July 3, 1972; Pomajzl, Interview, July 5, 1972; M. Stohs, Interview held in Western, Nebraska, July 7, 1972.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study concerns the tavern's role as a cultural element in rural Nebraska over the last century. The central question of this investigation was to determine if the tavern represented an areal expression of culture. This study has demonstrated that the tavern is and has been a landscape feature that has varied in its presence and character with differences in culture.

Had taverns not been an expression of culture, they would have been a function of economic variables. Central Place Theory and postulates concerning minimum threshold values do not completely explain tavern distributions as they ignore the role of culture in determining such variations. Although tavern patterns are partially related to per capita purchasing power, they are also the result of variations in cultural value systems.

Summary of Findings

Tavern Numbers

The total number of taverns differed in the four

counties studied. This was expected as the total population of the counties varied. The number of taverns did illustrate cultural differences among the counties through time, however. In European Saline and Cuming counties, numbers of taverns were relatively high for all time periods. Anglo Hamilton County had a relatively low number of taverns in all time periods, on the other hand.

The greatest change in tavern numbers was in Anglo Keith County. Originally taverns were common here; they then became restricted in numbers as the Temperance Movement gained supporters. After prohibition Keith County's view of the tavern changed dramatically and the tavern numbers grew. Taverns were helpful in attracting outsiders, it was found.

Tavern/Population Ratios

The number of people per tavern indexes indicate that taverns were common in the German and Bohemian areas. The ratios for these two areas reflect the increasing importance of the tavern through each decade, except during prohibition.

The number of eligible customers per tavern indexes further stress the importance of the tavern in the German and Bohemian areas. The number of people necessary to support a tavern decreased through time. The ratio in these areas was largest prior to prohibition when only men were customers. The ratio, however, was smaller after prohibition when women were allowed to become customers. It has since increased in

each decade to the point where in 1970 it almost equaled the pre-prohibition figure. These ratios indicate that the tavern has intensified its importance among both men and women. Thus, processes of cultural change have worked to make this landscape element more frequent.

The tavern/population ratios for the Anglo counties differed both from each other and from those of the European counties. In Keith County from 1875 to 1884 the ratio indicated that the tavern was a common landscape element. At this time the county did not possess a permanent population of tavern users, but rather relied heavily on transient cowboys for support. After 1884 the ratio grew smaller until prohibition started, and since then it has been on the upswing again. In Hamilton County the tavern was never a common landscape element prior to prohibition. The ratios for Hamilton County continued to diverge from those of Keith County even after 1933. While the Anglo residents of Keith County came to accept the tavern, the people of Hamilton County did not to the same extent. As population numbers increased or decreased in Hamilton County, taverns increased or decreased proportionately, and this was the only county wherein tavern numbers varied with population changes.

The tavern/population ratios for all four counties demonstrate that some cultural values do change. For example, Keith County residents changed their view of the tavern. Change was also demonstrated in Keith, Saline, and Cuming

counties when women were allowed to frequent taverns. These ratios also show that other cultural values are more stable. For example, Cuming, Saline, and Hamilton county residents have maintained a similar tavern view through time.

Tavern Customers

The tavern was primarily a male oriented institution at its inception. Only after prohibition did women become legally classified as adults and become potential tavern patrons. Yet custom was not changed as easily as was the law, and women remain a minority among the customers in Cuming, Keith, and Saline counties. In Hamilton County women are still a very insignificant minority of tavern patrons.

The place of residence of tavern customers changed considerably in time and space. For most of the study period tavern customers were residents primarily of the counties in which the taverns were located. Keith County was an exception, as its taverns drew customers from outside the county prior to 1885, when taverns served non-resident cowboys, and since 1955, when taverns served tourists. Keith County taverns began operation, at least in part, to capitalize on outsiders, and they are doing so again. Saline County taverns also capitalize on non-resident customers, but just on Sundays.

Tavern Operation Times

The time periods that taverns were open for business is a measure of group acceptance of the tavern. It was

postulated that shorter hours would suggest mild rejection of the tavern, whereas longer hours would suggest acceptance. In Saline and Cuming counties (areas of high acceptance), the hours, days, and seasons that taverns have been open have generally been the maximum allowed by state law.

The two Anglo counties have differed from each other and from the other pair of counties in the time taverns have been operated. In Keith County taverns were open for business seasonally in both the Frontier and Modern eras. In both periods the taverns were designed to capitalize on the influx of outsiders (cowboys and tourists). In Hamilton and Keith counties, restrictions on periods of operation have been stronger than state law required, the restrictions being greatest in Hamilton County where the acceptance of the tavern by residents has been least. Thus, operation times indicate that the tavern was less important to the Anglos than to the Europeans.

Tavern Location

Taverns have been located primarily within the business districts of towns in all counties. This was found to be the result of several phenomena. First, when taverns were established in a town they were often the first economic institution to be founded, and other businesses located near them. Hence, taverns were often the core of the business district. Second, when licensing was instituted in Nebraska taverns were required to be located in towns, and town location

meant business district location. Lastly, as towns have decayed taverns have been among the last businesses, if not the very last, to leave the town.

The rural tavern came into being after prohibition. State laws governing taverns after prohibition allowed county and town governments to establish their own laws about tavern location. The residents of Keith, Saline, and Cuming counties changed their laws and permitted taverns to be located in rural areas. The conservative Anglos in Hamilton County did not allow rural taverns to come into being there.

In the Modern era an additional change in tavern location has occurred. In the counties where the rural tavern is allowed, nonbusiness district taverns are found. These counties have taverns located in association with highway gas stations, motels, and golf courses. These three counties have allowed taverns to be located in different places at different times. But in Hamilton County taverns are still found only in the business district.

Tavern and Government

The cost of the tavern license fee was found to be a good measure of the degree of local cultural acceptance of the tavern. Initially, the higher license fees were found in the Anglo counties. License fees were set high to limit the numbers of taverns. The European counties at this time had minimum license fees which did not restrict tavern numbers.

In the Modern era an inverse relationship between tavern acceptance and license fees appeared. Today license costs are lowest in Hamilton County where the tavern is otherwise the most restricted. In the other three counties license costs are higher, yet the tavern is more accepted. This apparent paradox results from license fees in the three counties being regarded now mainly as a source of revenue; there license fees are not intended to limit tavern numbers.

Citizens of all the towns had the opportunity on several occasions to vote on the question of permitting taverns to operate. In the European counties, prior to statewide prohibition, elections eliminated the tavern in towns away from the county's primary center. In the Anglo counties the opposite situation occurred prior to prohibition: the county seat towns eliminated taverns while the fringe areas retained them. In all counties, the main cultural center could not dominate the value system of the entire county.

The state-wide prohibition election of 1916 allowed county residents to express their view of the tavern. In the study area, Anglos voted to eliminate taverns while the Europeans voted to retain them.

Residents were again permitted to vote on the question of the tavern in 1934. In this election only Hamilton County residents voted against the return of the tavern. The Europeans reasserted their favorable view of taverns, but the Anglos were now split in their views, for Hamilton's people

still did not want taverns while those in Keith County did.

After the tavern was legalized in 1935 local option was permitted on the type of drink that could be served. In all of the counties except Hamilton, most of the towns voted to include liquor sales as well as beer sales as tavern functions. Only one town now has liquor sales in Hamilton County. This indicates the continuing lack of tavern acceptance in this county.

Tavern Associations

Taverns have been closely associated with food serving and game playing. These associations developed in the Frontier era and have carried over to the Modern era. In present-day Hamilton County towns, food and games are still the important activities found in connection with the tavern.

In the Modern era tavern-associated activities have expanded in three of the counties. Taverns here are now associated with dancing, motels, lodges, and gas stations. These ancillary activities have been added to aid in attracting customers. They suggest an increased acceptance of taverns. Businessmen, however, in all counties have judged the tavern as useful in drawing customers to town in all time periods.

Another activity related to the tavern has been brewing. Anglos never generated enough beer consumption in their respective counties to warrant the establishment of breweries. On the other hand, breweries were found in both European

counties.

Tavern Operators

The status of tavern owners is one measure of community acceptance of the tavern. In the German and Bohemian counties owners were elected to political office. They also were held in esteem by citizens and businessmen in their communities. In the Anglo counties owners were not found to be held in similar esteem by fellow citizens.

The turnover rate of operators is one reflection of community acceptance of the tavern as a cultural institution. The turnover rate has been high everywhere, but it was highest in the areas which had the greatest number of taverns. Thus, where the taverns are the most accepted, operators remain in business for shorter periods of time than they do where the tavern is least accepted, an apparent paradox previously explained in Chapter V.

Conclusions

Seven conclusions can be made concerning the role of the tavern as a feature in the cultural landscape.

(1) The tavern was found to be an expression of culture. As culture varied so did the tavern as a cultural element. Thus, the tavern proved to be a landscape feature that measured value systems.

(2) The architecture of taverns was not found to vary among the groups at the time of the field work. The taverns

were so similar in both Anglo and European areas that it was impossible to distinguish one from the other.

(3) Although cultural values have changed, the Europeans and the Anglos of Hamilton County have maintained similar attitudes toward the tavern through the last century in Nebraska. The Anglos of Keith County, on the other hand, have changed their view of the tavern and have followed national trends on two separate occasions.

(4) After prohibition the introduction of the rural taverns in all counties except Hamilton indicated that the tavern is no longer solely a town feature. The increased use of the automobile seems to be an important factor in this development.

(5) In the study counties tavern numbers were found to correlate positively with European descent groups and with those Anglo groups that emphasize the tavern as a means of attracting outside capital.

(6) The Anglos of Keith County, because of tourist income motives, rejected a bias shared with the Anglos of Hamilton County, and have sided with the people of European descent in accepting the tavern.

(7) In three counties the tavern has changed in the type of activities that are associated with it. All of these activities have widened the potential patron base.

The results of this study may be used as a springboard for further inquiry into the tavern's role for various

groups of people in the country. As only four counties in Nebraska were used in this study, the sample size is such that sweeping generalizations are not in order. However, as taverns were found to vary in accordance with cultural differences, it would seem fruitful to expand tavern studies with larger samples to other areas.

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