

WILLIAM L. DAWSON

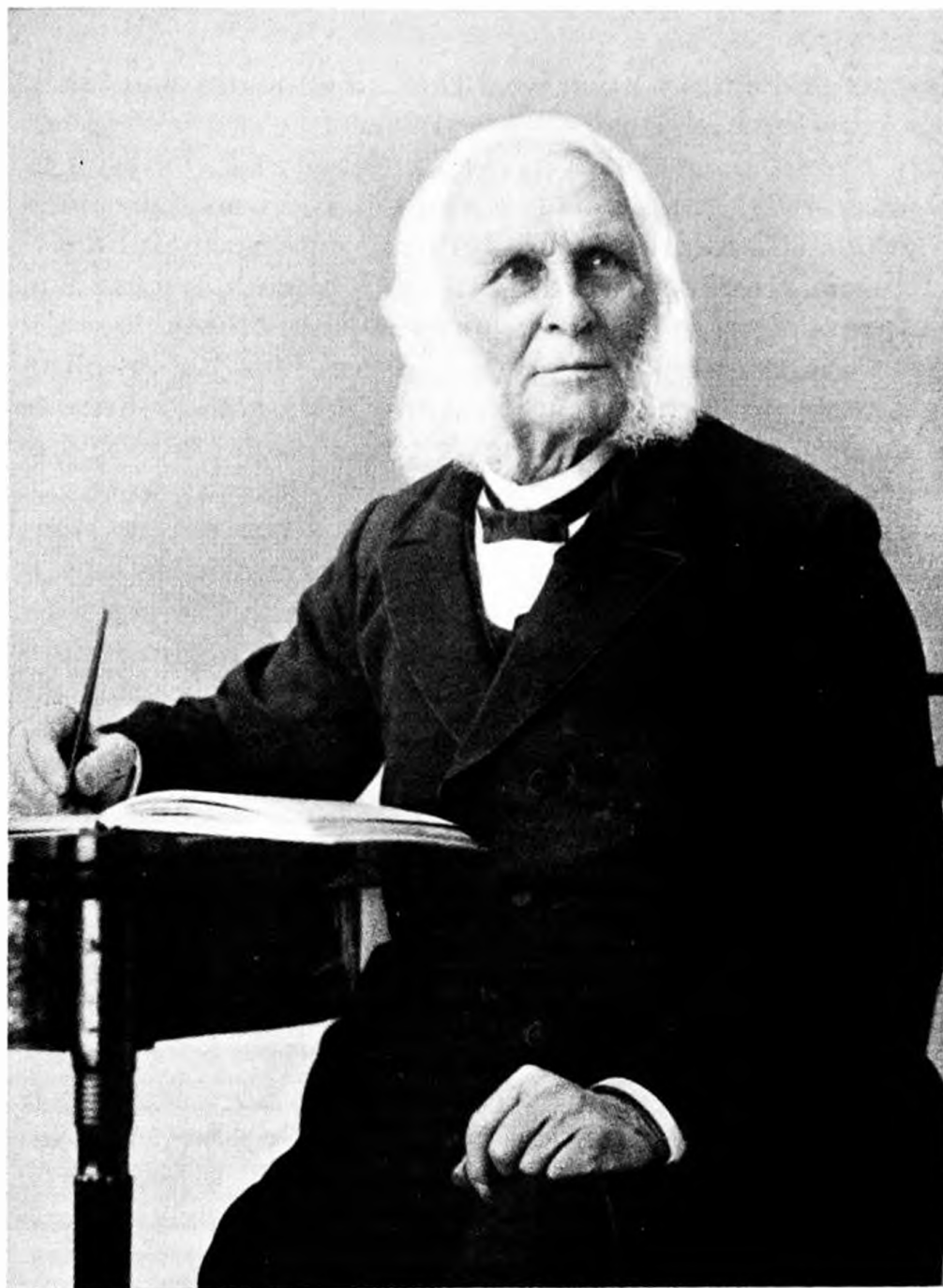
A BIBLIOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE LIFE OF
NEAL DOW, 1804-1897

Bibliographic Essay

The arrival of national prohibition in 1920 would not have been possible without the efforts of the antebellum crusaders who raised the issue of legislative constraints against liquor distribution in the 1840s. The most important of these, a commanding general in the war against ardent spirits, was Maine's Neal Dow. His Maine Law, the country's first prohibition statute, was a prototype for dozens of state laws barring liquor sales throughout the nation. A key figure in Maine's past, Dow left an indelible mark in the history of national reform politics.

Yet little scholarly research has been devoted to his life; indeed a thorough history of his Maine Law has never been written. My hope is that the following will aid and encourage more scholarship about Neal Dow and prohibition in Maine. This study will consist of three parts: a critical discussion of selected sources; an annotated bibliography, including fuller citations of the works mentioned in the critical essay; and finally some suggestions for research.

The student of Neal Dow's life should begin with the historical context — the times in which the great reformer lived. Two books effectively explain nineteenth-century reform and the forces that produced it. John Allen Krout's *The Origins of Prohibition* (1925) is the premier study of prohibition in its early years as a social movement. Thorough and abundant documentation testifies to the extensive research accomplished by the author. Analyzing the evolution of national prohibition, Krout argues that the Eighteenth Amendment was not a sudden whim following World War One. Rather, he contends, it was "the final expression of a fundamental change which had been more than a century in the making" (p. 297). Krout describes Dow as one of several significant "prophets of prohibition" and a leader in the long crusade for temperance, brought to fruition nationally in 1920. As a source for understanding the



Neal Dow
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impact of the times upon Neal Dow, and the impact of Dow upon his times, this work is unsurpassed.

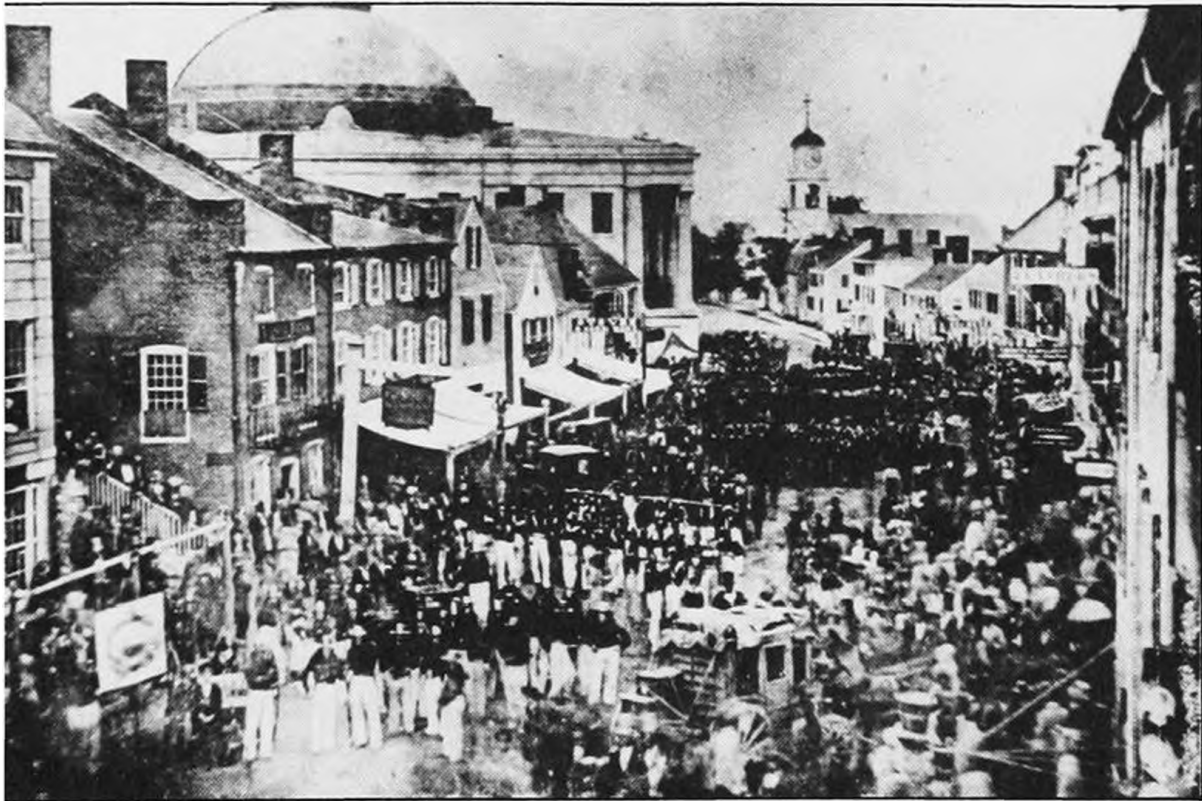
The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum, by J. C. Furnas (1965), supplements Krout's classic work, offering a somewhat different approach. While Krout treats the influence of a social reform tradition upon the Eighteenth Amendment, Furnas analyzes the effect of intemperance in provoking social reform and in shaping American culture. How did drunkenness mold American literature? This question and others are addressed in a style of writing delightful, humorous, and at times moving. Selections from popular American song and poetry appear throughout. The chapter concerning Dow, illuminated with carefully researched facts and quotations, is unique among accounts of the Maine temperance movement.

Although there are no general histories of nineteenth-century Maine politics, the best source for appreciating the state that gave birth to Dow's crusade is *Maine: A History*, in three volumes by Louis Clinton Hatch (1919). Hatch's work includes a reputable and comprehensive political history of the state. His version of Dow's activities is particularly useful because he cites local newspaper articles that are referenced nowhere else. Alcohol reform is just one of the many crusades for social and political improvement that flourished in Maine and the nation during the 1800s. "Maine Crusades and Crusaders, 1830-1850," by Richard P. Mallett (1978), offers a fine overview of these movements in their early years. This article demonstrates the variety of reform efforts in Maine and fits Dow into that larger context. Two monographs likewise show Dow's relationship to the crusades that gained national currency during these formative years. Ronald G. Walters's *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (1978) and Clifford S. Griffin's *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (1960) provide that necessary national perspective. The latter demonstrates clearly that Dow and his reform comrades considered themselves moral guardians for the community, a view that aids in our understanding of Dow's early motivations.

As the researcher becomes more specific in gathering materials, two works will become necessary: Dow's autobiography and the only book-length biography yet to be published. *The Reminiscences of Neal Dow: Recollections of Eighty Years* (1898) is a somewhat self-serving personal account. Much of the manuscript was dictated by Dow in his late seventies and early eighties. (He lived to be ninety-three!) The work was printed posthumously and several writers have alleged that Dow's son, Frederick, whose company printed it, excised many controversial and inflammatory portions from the book, in accordance with his father's wishes. Dow's narrative has been labeled pompous on one hand and as scholarly on the other. Personal slant and conflicting appraisals aside, the book is a boon to the historian; it continues to be the most frequently cited reference in secondary accounts. Many writers, in fact, rely almost exclusively upon this source. (Volunteers from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, incidentally, still sell copies of the book for five dollars at the Dow Memorial in Portland!)

Frank L. Byrne's biography, *Prophet of Prohibition: Neal Dow and His Crusade* (1961), was originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation. This work is well documented and boasts almost forty pages of bibliographic references and an excellent, although dated, essay on sources. The discussion of primary source materials is helpful, but many of the locations cited are no longer current and a number of significant collections of Dow manuscripts are unreported. Nonetheless, Byrne offers a balanced and scholarly review of the Maine Law founder's life. This volume, together with the autobiography, form the most comprehensive coverage of Dow's early years.

After completing school, Dow went to work at his father's tannery, where he determined that the working people of Portland were victims of intemperance. In many occupations alcohol was structured into routine work habits; by common practice, employers provided rum breaks to employees twice daily. Neal Dow's transformation to temperance champion dates from his entrance into his father's business in 1826. Several



Pagentry such as the above volunteer fireman's muster linked fire fighting to local politics. Men like Neal Dow launched their political careers by participating in such events. These firemen have assembled in front of the Merchants' Exchange Building, Middle Street, Portland. The Exchange, a popular meeting place for Portland's merchant classes, was built in 1836 and burned in 1854. Maine Historical Society photo.

sources are indispensable for a study of the crucial years between Dow's first temperance pronouncements and the late 1850s.

George Comer's "A Partial Survey of the Temperance Movement in Maine to 1860" (1954), a University of Maine M.A. thesis, is one of the better general treatments of Dow's rise as a prohibition leader. Dow's political maneuverings, his public denunciations of inebriety, and his efforts to obtain passage of prohibitory legislation are well portrayed. Although Comer's thesis does not reflect the depth of research evident in Byrne's book, as a general overview it is useful. It describes in close detail the phenomenon of drunkenness in antebellum Maine. Often anecdotal, the thesis is interesting reading.

Henry S. Clubb's *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origin, History and Results, Including a Life of Hon. Neal Dow* (1856), was one of the earliest extensive studies of the Maine Law.

Clubb's apparent aim was to secure acclaim for Dow, and adulation runs rampant throughout. The book contains many testimonials, a sixty-page biography of Dow, and a variety of other informative items designed to publicize temperance. Although anything but objective, this source requires consideration as a contemporary partisan impression of the temperance movement and the Maine Law.

The writings of both Neal Dow and his son also contain useful accounts of Maine's adoption and attempted enforcement of the Maine Law during the 1850s. Two reviews by Frederick Dow are especially helpful: "History of Prohibition in Maine" (1929) is a brief article which concentrates on the political history of Maine's liquor legislation. His treatment of his father's lobbying efforts makes good reading. *Prohibition: Why, How, Then, Now* (1931) was written by the younger Dow at the request of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) of Maine. Researchers will appreciate its blend of anecdotes, statistics, and analysis.

An important phase of Neal Dow's life that has received somewhat less consideration in the literature is the Civil War period. Despite his Quaker upbringing, the prohibitionist recruited his own regiment and marched off to war. In addition to Byrne's biography and the autobiography, three sources are helpful in studying Dow's war experiences.

Edwin Lufkin's *History of the Thirteenth Maine Regiment* (1898) is the only published book-length history of Dow's regiment. The volume, a typical regimental history, contains a complete roster of every man who served with Dow, along with a biographical sketch of the commander. A black-and-white photo of the General, appearing in uniform, is featured on the first page. In addition, Byrne has written two journal articles that address Dow's Civil War activities. The more revealing is "A Terrible Machine: General Neal Dow's Military Government on the Gulf Coast" (1966). Frank analysis in this account tends to tarnish the reformer's reputation. Byrne's evidence clearly demonstrates that greed seized the temperance leader while he was serving as a military governor in the South. Byrne



During the Civil War, Dow spent time in the South as a military governor and a prisoner of war. Dow's wartime records, diary, and reminiscences provide fascinating material for the researcher. Photo courtesy Houghton Library, Harvard University.

explains that Dow was gradually transformed by the authority placed in his hands and began confiscating rebel property with an eye to shipping it back to Portland. Dow was eventually captured by the Confederates and spent some time at the infamous Libby Prison. Byrne's "Libby Prison: a Study in Emotions" (1958), an article in the *Journal of Southern History*, relies on significant research in Dow's papers. It is the only serious account of the difficult days Dow spent in captivity.

Biographers have largely ignored Dow's postwar years. The lack of scholarly attention to the final thirty years of the reformer's life can be explained first by the heavy reliance on Dow's *Reminiscences*, by far the most common reference used by researchers. Too many historians have restricted their investigations to this autobiography. The fact that Dow essentially concluded his narrative with his return from Libby Prison seems to have constructed an artificial demarcation in the published record of his life. A second reason why writers avoid Dow's later career is the fact that most of the politically significant action occurred prior to 1865. The campaign for legislative adoption, the colorful Rum Riot controversy, and Dow's Civil War experiences make for good story telling.

What materials are available for a study of Dow's remaining years? The most comprehensive treatment, found in Byrne's *Prophet of Prohibition*, amounts to only a sketchy twenty pages. During these years, in fact, the champion of temperance made two journeys to Great Britain, one of which lasted for over two years. Dow's correspondence to his wife, written during the latter trip, may be found at the Dow House in Portland. Relatively unresearched, they are a valuable record of the Maine Law missionary's trans-Atlantic toils. During the twenty-five months Dow was in England, he delivered 289 speeches. He penned well over a hundred extant letters to his wife. Unfortunately, Byrne covers this important period in only three paragraphs.

Two periodical articles, however, furnish a more complete picture of the saintly symbol of reform in his final years. Francis Willard's fascinating "Neal Dow at Home" (1888) is the

result of a personal interview with the old man. Asked why he had lived such a long life, Dow explained that he quit smoking and drinking as a young man, only to realize that excising those vices was merely a good start: he eliminated coffee as well! A final glimpse of the elderly crusader may be found in Mrs. Joseph Cook's "Neal Dow as Guest and Host" (1894).

Having surveyed the published literature on Dow, the researcher will want to consult the voluminous primary sources in Maine and nearby states. Neal Dow maintained a prolific correspondence during his ninety-three years. His letters are dispersed widely in manuscript collections across the country and indeed across the Atlantic. As a result, the review of primary materials which follows cannot be considered comprehensive.

The bulk of the most useful Dow reference materials, however, is stored at his former home in Portland, which is maintained as a memorial by the WCTU. Since a fine collection of published material on Dow is also housed at the Dow Memorial, the researcher will do well to begin work there. In addition to the original letters from Dow to his wife mentioned earlier, the Dow House holds a two-volume typed collection of his letters and a typed version of his diaries. (Dow's son was responsible for these reproductions.) The numerous frank passages found in these pages would lead us to believe that authenticity was honored. Unfortunately, the originals, with a few notable exceptions, were not retained. The historian will delight in reading Dow's personal diary from Libby Prison at the Dow House. Dow maintained a collection of scrapbooks throughout his life, and volume 1A of that series, plus an additional volume assembled by his son during the period of national prohibition, are also available. The former contains dozens of extremely helpful newspaper clippings from the 1850s. An index to the entire series is also available. The researcher will find a host of other valuable items at the Dow Memorial, including photographs, business ledgers, account journals, and lithographs.

The most exciting experience a bibliographer can have is to discover either unknown or long-ignored resources. After leaving the Dow Memorial, the student of Dow's life should travel to the Bowdoin College Library, where a collection of over a hundred unresearched Neal Dow letters are housed. One hundred and four of these epistles, dating from 1852 to 1861, are addressed to E. W. Jackson, a Massachusetts temperance worker. As a manuscript record of Dow's early attempts to enforce prohibition in Portland, no better materials exist. Jackson sent Dow information on ships loaded with ardent spirits headed down east from Boston. Dow's emotion leaps from the pages of one letter, dated April 7, 1856: informed that the state legislature had just revised his law, reducing it to a weak license system, he began his missive by simply writing, "It's all over." Although Bowdoin has no record of when these letters were accessioned to the library, it can be reasonably estimated that they arrived in Brunswick sometime around 1970, long after Byrne had completed his work. Bowdoin also has several miscellaneous Dow letters, including two addressed to William Pitt Fessenden. Although the Bowdoin College Library letters do not provide comprehensive coverage of Dow's career, they certainly could yield a fascinating journal article.

After the Dow House and Bowdoin College, Drew University holds the most significant collection of Dow materials. Twenty volumes of Dow's scrapbooks found their way to this Madison, New Jersey, campus. They are a boundless source of newspaper clippings and other souvenirs from a long life. The second and third volumes to the scrapbook index are available there as well. Volume one is missing from the Drew University Collection, but both the Dow Memorial and the Maine Historical Society own copies. (Since the scrapbooks themselves are at Drew, it would be a great service to researchers if a photocopy of the missing volume could be sent to them.) Historians will also appreciate this university's fine collection of rare temperance books and pamphlets.

Harvard University boasts a relatively large sample of Dow manuscripts. Others are located at Boston Public Library, Syracuse University, the American Antiquarian Society, the Essex

Institute, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Hayes Memorial Library, the University of Rochester, the Henry Huntington Library, the Willard Memorial Library, the New York Public and State Libraries, Northwestern University, the Iowa State University Department of History and Archives, Brown University, Colby College, the University of Maine at Orono, and Yale University. In addition, copies of thirty-six of these widely dispersed manuscripts are available at the Maine Historical Society, as are a number of original items.

Annotated Bibliography*

An effort has been made to enhance the value of this bibliographic essay by reporting a wide range of sources pertaining to both Dow's life and his law. The list, however, should not be viewed as comprehensive. The bibliographer would appreciate hearing of any important omissions.

BCL: Bowdoin College
Library
BFL: Belfast Free Library
BPL: Bangor Public Library
DOW: Dow Memorial
DUL: Drew University
Library
HUL: Harvard University
Library
MSL: Maine State Library
PPL: Portland Public
Library

SLL: Maine State Law
Library
UML: University of Maine
School of Law Library
UMO: University of Maine at
Orono Library
URI: University of Rhode
Island Library
USM: University of Southern
Maine Library

*Location citations have been employed throughout, appearing in parentheses immediately following the publication data. The following symbols have been used. Titles may be found in repositories other than those cited.

Annotated Bibliography

1. Abbott, John S.C. *The History of Maine*. 2nd ed. Rev. by Edward H. Elwell. Augusta, Me.: Knowles & Co., 1892. pp. 540-45. (UMO)

Contains a brief history of the Maine Law and Dow's participation in its adoption and later enforcement; reviews the 1855 Portland Rum Riot.

2. *The American Temperance Magazine*. Ed. by Samuel F. Cary. Two vols. in one. New York: P. F. Sherlock, 1852? (DOW)

Useful for a study of Dow and his law, 1851 and 1852. Contains Dow's controversial "History of a Neighborhood, a True Tale," a biographical sketch of Dow, and an article on an 1852 New York City banquet held in his honor.

3. Appleton, D. F. *The Origin of the Maine Law and of Prohibitory Legislation, with a Brief Memoir of James Appleton*. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1886. (DOW)

D. F. Appleton, son of early Maine temperance leader James Appleton, prepared this brief book to shift credit for the Maine Law to his father. However, since Dow did in fact write the 1851 statute, Appleton can at best be described as the "grandfather of prohibition."

4. Armstrong, Lebbeus. *The Temperance Reformation: Its History, from the Organization of the First Temperance Society to the Adoption of the Liquor Law of Maine, 1851, and the consequent Influence of the Promulgation of that Law on the Political Interest of the State of New York, 1852*. New York: Samuel R. Wells, 1874. (PPL)

Views the Maine Law as a fulfillment of divine prophecy; an excellent example of the nationwide impact of Dow and his law.

5. *Biographical Encyclopedia of Maine of the Nineteenth Century*. Boston: Metropolitan Publishing and Engraving Company, 1885. pp. 268-77. (DOW)

A helpful biographical sketch including a black-and-white plate of Dow.

6. Blair, Henry William. *The Temperance Movement; or, the Conflict Between Man and Alcohol*. Boston: William E. Smythe, 1888. (DOW)

Describes Dow as the Columbus of Prohibition (pp. 436-8; quoted on p. 463). Predominantly an exercise in praise-giving, this book is not as helpful as others.

7. Bungay, George Washington. *Crayon Sketches and Off-Hand Takings of Distinguished American Statesmen*. Boston: Stacy and Richardson, 1852. pp. 43-6. (DOW)

This brief biographical sketch duplicates information contained in better sources. Its only value lies in the fact that it was printed at a time when Dow was just beginning to gain national prominence.

8. Bungay, George Washington. *The Maine Law Museum, and Temperance Anecdotes*. Boston: Stacy and Richardson, 1852. (BFL)

Although containing no reference to Dow, this interesting booklet is a fountain of temperance quotations and stories. It features a number of fine woodcut illustrations.

9. Byrne, Frank L. "Libby Prison: A Study in Emotions." *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (November 1958): pp. 430-44. (UMO)

10. Byrne, Frank L. *Prophet of Prohibition: Neal Dow and His Crusade*. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1961. Reprint: Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1969. (UMO)

11. Byrne, Frank L. "A Terrible Machine: General Neal Dow's Military Government on the Gulf Coast." *Civil War History*, XII (March 1966): pp. 5-22. (UMO)

11A. Byrne, Frank L., ed. "A General Behind Bars: Neal Dow in Libby Prison." *Civil War History*, VIII (1962): pp. 164-69.

Selections from Dow's prison diary, with a short introduction by Byrne. (Originals are kept at the Dow House.)

12. *Centennial Temperance Volume: A Memorial of the International Temperance Conference, Held in Philadelphia,*

June, 1876. New York: National Temperance and Publication House, 1877. (DOW)

A 900-page compendium of conference addresses, essays, papers, and a number of historical articles concerning the worldwide development of temperance. Includes Dow's address, his paper entitled "The Results of Twenty-five Years of Prohibition in Maine," and other references to Dow and Maine. A history of the reform club movement, which gained popularity throughout Maine, begins on page 758.

13. Chapman, J. K. "The Mid-Nineteenth-Century Temperance Movement in New Brunswick and Maine." *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXV (March 1954): pp. 43-60. Reprinted in J. M. Bumstead, ed., *Canadian History Before Confederation: Essays and Interpretations*. Georgetown, Ont.: Irwin-Dorsey, 1972. pp. 444-61. (UMO)

References to Dow throughout. Compares the impact of reform in Maine and New Brunswick. The article's numerous newspaper citations are useful.

14. Chittenden, Elizabeth F. "Neal Dow — Father of Prohibition." *Down East*, XX (May 1974): pp. 58-60, 71. (UMO)

A highly readable account of Dow's doings, with anecdotes concerning his temperance and Civil War involvements. Author relies heavily upon research in Dow's personal letters and offers many quotes from them.

15. *The Christian Mirror*, March 17, 1894. (HUL)

This Portland periodical was the organ of Maine's Congregational Church. Earlier issues often included information concerning Dow. The above issue was devoted exclusively to him.

16. Clark, Charles E. *Maine: A Bicentennial History*. New York: Norton, 1977. pp. 110-31. (UMO)

A well-balanced appraisal of Neal Dow and his place in Maine history. Describes Dow's autobiography as "somewhat pompous" and examines Dow's "alcoholic interpretation of history." Clark seems to have confined his research to Dow's autobiography.

17. Clark, Norman H. *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976. (UMO)

No bibliography of temperance would be complete without this book. Clark discusses Dow in depth and offers a critical evaluation of the reformer's efforts. He argues that Dow, like many of his fellow crusaders, was a fanatical moral steward.

18. Clubb, Henry S. *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origins, History, and Results, Including a Life of Hon. Neal Dow*. New York: Fowler and Wells, 1856. (UMO)

19. *A Cloud of Witnesses: Success of Prohibition in Maine*. Pamphlet. Manchester, Eng.: United Kingdom Alliance, n.d. Reprinted from *Alliance News*, June 22, 1872. (DUL)

This British publication was a propaganda pamphlet intended to defend Dow and the Maine Law in England. It contains quoted testimony from a number of influential Americans as well as a lengthy letter from Dow, dated June 1872, from Portland.

20. Colvin, D. Leigh. *Prohibition in the United States: A History of the Prohibition Party and of the Prohibition Movement*. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926. (URI)

21. Comer, George. "A Partial Survey of the Temperance Movement in Maine to 1860." M. A. Thesis. Orono: University of Maine, 1954. (UMO)

22. Cook, Mrs. Joseph. "Neal Dow as Guest and Host." *Our Day*, XIII (July-Aug. 1894): pp. 315-18. (HUL)

23. Cooper, Thompson. *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries*. 11th ed. London: George Routledge, 1884. p. 351. (DOW)

A paragraph-length biographical sketch which inaccurately reports Dow's birth year as 1803. The copy in Dow's library has the correct year penciled in, presumably by Dow himself.

24. Daveis, Charles Stewart. "The Law of Riot: the Portland Riot." *The Monthly Law Reporter*, VIII (November 1855): pp. 361-86. (SSL)

Discusses the legal justification for Dow's actions during the Portland Rum Riot.

25. "The Death of Neal Dow." *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, XVI (November 1897): p. 532. (UMO)

A brief obituary notice, significant because the *Review of Reviews* considered Dow worthy of notice. (George Pullman's obituary appears on the same page.)

26. *Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. III. Ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone. New York: Scribners, 1930-1931. pp. 411-12. (UMO)

A scholarly summary of Dow's life including a brief bibliography.

27. Dow, Fred M. "History of Prohibition in Maine." *Americana*, XXIII (April 1929): pp. 182-89. (PPL)

28. Dow, Frederick Neal. *Prohibition: Why, How, Then, Now*. n.p., 1931. (DOW)

29. Dow, Neal. "A History of Prohibition in Maine." In *Temperance in All Nations*. Two vols. Ed. by J. N. Stearns. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1893. pp. 112-16. (DOW)

A good sample of the many such articles Dow prepared as a professional publicist. His one-page "What Prohibition Has Done For Maine" also appeared in *Temperance in All Nations*. These titles were widely circulated as separate imprints.

30. Dow, Neal. "The Maine Law and Its Results." In *One Hundred Years of Temperance, A Memorial Volume of the Centennial Temperance Conference Held in Philadelphia, Pa., September, 1885*. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1886. pp. 165-9. (DOW)

Another of Dow's many essays, written to publicize the benefits of his law.

31. Dow, Neal. *The Reminiscences of Neal Dow: Recollection of Eighty Years*. Portland, Me.: Evening Express Publishing Co., 1898. (DOW)

32. Dow, Neal. "Results of Prohibitory Legislation." *North American Review*, CXXXIV (March 1882): pp. 315-25. (PPL)



A mid-nineteenth-century abstinence pledge card encapsulates the temperance appeal: drink enslaves and degrades humanity, leading to personal as well as social tragedy. Courtesy Dow Memorial.

RESOLVED: That from henceforth
 I _____ by the help of Al-
 mighty God, will abstain from the
USE OR SALE OF
 Intoxicating Beverages furnished at the Public Bar-
room.
 Dated _____

Copyright 1901 by H. H. H. Co., Boston, Mass.

Another Dow publicity composition. His theme here is that the Maine Law not only elevated moral character, it benefited the public welfare. Employing the "Cloud of Witnesses" formula, he presents quoted testimony from leading citizens.

33. *Dow v. Johnson*, 100 U. S., 158-195 (1879). (UML)

34. Eliot, Charles W. "A Study of American Liquor Laws." *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXIX (February 1897): pp. 177-87. (PPL)

Written after Dow's death, this significant article summarizes the results of a nationwide survey of prohibition laws; includes a good discussion of enforcement difficulties in Maine.

35. English, Thomas Dunn. *Prohibition in Maine: A Scathing Exposure of the Result of Thirty Years' Effort*, n.p., n.d. (UMO)

A letter written by English in 1882 to the mayor of Clinton, Iowa, decrying the failure of the Maine Law. References to Dow appear throughout. Mirrors opposition encountered by Dow and represents a critical opinion regarding prohibition's results.

35A. Edmonds, David C. *The Guns of Port Hudson: The Investment, Siege and Reduction*. Lafayette, Lou.: Acadiana Press, 1984.

Scholarly treatment of the battle in which Dow was captured; includes references and a great deal of anecdotal information.

36. Fanshawe, E. L. *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*. London: Cassell and Company, 1893? (DUL)

Written with a fair degree of objectivity; purports to be a nonpartisan inquiry into the effectiveness of American and Canadian liquor laws. The chapter concerning Maine, pp. 100-24, is extremely useful.

37. Fehlandt, August F. *A Century of Drink Reform in the United States*. Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1904. pp. 107-11, 116-17, 126, 396. (DUL)

Of the older histories of nineteenth-century temperance, this is one of the most useful. Features a discussion of the 1853 World Temperance Convention, which devoted much attention to Dow and the Maine Law. Dow was elected president of the convention in tribute to his reform success of 1851.

38. Furnas, J. C. *The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum*. New York: Putnams, 1965. pp. 154, 168-74, 178, 261, 272, 308; quoted on p. 165. (UMO)

39. Gordon, Ernest. *The Maine Law*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1919. (PPL)

Represents the most extensive study of the Maine Law in print; attempts to analyze the law's effects socially, politically, and judicially. Many helpful statistics are provided; however, coverage is too brief to be adequate.

40. Griffin, Clifford S. *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960. pp. 146-51, 223, 232, 252, 264. (UMO)

41. Gusfield, Joseph R. *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1963. pp. 52, 54. (USM)

Fits Dow into a provocative interpretation of the American temperance crusade.

42. Hallett, Richard. "When Prohibition Came to Maine." *Yankee* (February 1961): pp. 38-41. (UMO)

An amusing popularized portrayal of Dow and the Maine Law. Useful only because it includes a number of humorous and anecdotal facts worth gleaning. (Dow's maternal grandfather, for instance, was named Hate-Evil Hall.)

43. Hatch, Louis Clinton. *Maine: A History*. Three vols. New York: 1919. Reprint: Somersworth: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1974. pp. 353, 366 et seq., 378, 384, 517, 537, 561. (UMO)

44. Hebert, Richard A. *Modern Maine: Its Historic Background, People, and Resources*. Four vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1951. Vol. 1, p. 189 et seq. (UMO)

Highlights the political process Dow underwent to secure adoption of prohibition.

45. Heffernan, John Paul. "Neal Dow." *New England Galaxy*, XVI (Summer 1974): pp. 11-19. (URI)

Mostly redundant.

46. Holbrook, Stewart H. *Dreamers of the American Dream*. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1957. pp. 77-84. (UMO)

A nicely written interpretation in characteristic Holbrook style.

47. Kobler, John. *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*. New York: Putnams, 1973. pp. 78-90, 102, 104, 136. (UMO)

One of the best general histories of America's campaign against alcohol. Kobler believes that Maine was perhaps the hardest drinking state in the Union before Dow worked his reforms. This coverage of Dow is necessary reading.

48. Krout, John Allen. *The Origins of Prohibition*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1925. pp. 160, 283-96. (UMO)

49. Lender, Mark Edward. *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography, From Temperance Reform to Alcohol Research, the 1600s to the 1980s*. Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1984. pp. 143-45. (UMO)

This relatively new reference work offers a collection of biographies relating to temperance in a broad sense; includes many of Dow's contemporaries. Bibliographies appear at the end of each entry.

50. Lender, Mark Edward, and Martin, James Kirby. *Drinking in America: A History*. New York: the Free Press, 1982. pp. 42-45, 65, 79, 80, 84, 86, 93, 109. (USM)

This richly illustrated book emphasizes the social history pertinent to prohibition. A number of valuable bibliographies appear in the back of the book.

51. *Life of Hon. Neal Dow, Including the Origin of the Maine Liquor Law*. Manchester, Eng.: United Kingdom Alliance, n.d. (DOW)

52. Lufkin, Edward B. *History of the Thirteenth Maine Regiment*. Bridgton, Me.: Shorey & Son, 1898. (BPL)

53. Maddox, Robert. "The War Against Demon Rum." (Two parts) *American History Illustrated*, XIV (May and June 1979): pp. 4-9, 42-5 (part one), and pp. 10-18 (part two). (PPL)

A highly readable account of prohibition: places Neal Dow into context.

54. Mallet, Richard. "Maine Crusades and Crusaders, 1830-1850." *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, XVII (Spring 1978): pp. 183-211. (UMO)

55. Marsh, John. *The Napoleon of Temperance: Sketches of the Life and Character of the Hon. Neal Dow ... Author of the Maine Liquor Law*. New York: American Temperance Union, 1852. (BCL)

Basically adulation.

56. Marsh, John. "Hon. Neal Dow." In Anonymous. *The Family Fire-Side Book: or, Monuments of Temperance ...* Philadelphia: Leary & Getz, 1853. pp. 51-72. (UMO)

57. Martin, Lucy. "The Prohibitionist." *Maine Times*, XI (November 10, 1978): pp. 12-15. (UMO)

A well illustrated newspaper article summarizing the Neal Dow story.

58. *McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography*. Vol. 3, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973. pp. 427-28. (UMO)

The fact that Dow is included in this set indicates the measure of influence he has had upon world history.

59. Miner, A. A. "Neal Dow and His Life Work." *New England Magazine*, I (June 1894): pp. 397-412. (UMO)

This worshipful article was written by one of Dow's fellow temperance workers. Although the abundant illustrations are of some value, little new information is provided.

60. Niss, Bob. *Faces of Maine*. Portland, Me.: Gannett Books, 1981, pp. 162-64. (UMO)

Brief biographical sketch containing mostly redundant information.

61. Organ, Thomas. *Biographical Sketch of General Neal Dow*. New York: National Executive Committee of the Prohibition Reform Party, 1880. (UMO)

Written as a presidential campaign tract, this sketch is of limited usefulness.

62. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Portland to Investigate the Causes and*

Consequences of the Riot, on the Evening of June 2, 1855. Portland, Me.: Benjamin D. Peck, 1855. (DOW)

Pro-Dow in its conclusions. The fifty-page report is a significant source of information concerning one of the most troublesome episodes in Dow's career. (DOW)

63. *Representative Men of Maine.* Portland, Me.: Lakeside Press, 1893. pp. 92-93. (DOW)

A one-page biographical sketch with one black and white plate.

64. Rowntree, Joseph. *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.* 7th ed., rev. and enl. New York: Truslove Hanson and Comba, 1900. pp. 130, 157, 192, 214, 225-26, 284. (UMO)

Highlights Dow's later years; reports candid remarks made by him while testifying before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893. At one point he comments that he "does not know anything good about Bangor." This work is well documented and worth examining.

65. Shaw, Rev. James. *History of the Great Temperance Reforms of the Nineteenth Century: Exhibiting the Evils of Intemperance ...* Cincinnati, Ohio: Walden & Stowe, 1875. p. 156 et seq. (DUL)

Shaw discusses Dow briefly and prints extended testimony from several leading Maine politicians concerning the success of Maine's liquor legislation (e.g. Hannibal Hamlin, Lot Morrill).

66. *Speech of Hon. James H. Lane, in the Cooper Institute, N.Y. and General Neal Dow, in New City Hall, Portland ... March 24, 1861 on His Return From Captivity in a Rebel Prison.* Washington, D.C.: W. H. Moore, 1864. (HUL)

This sixteen-page imprint, although reporting the date of Dow's speech incorrectly, does furnish a copy of a very moving piece of Dow oratory. (The actual date should be 1864.) The speech was also reprinted in Portland's newspapers.

67. Stebbins, J. E. *Fifty Years History of the Temperance Cause.* Hartford, CT.: L. Stebbins, 1874. pp. 286-87, 291-92. (UMO)

An interesting volume of great value to the student of temperance history. References to Dow, however, are cursory and redundant.

68. Storms, Roger C. *Partisan Prophets: A History of the Prohibition Party, 1854-1972*. Denver, Col.: National Prohibition Foundation, 1972. pp. 1, 2, 9. (PPL)

Contains a brief but useful overview of Dow's party, including some sketchy but significant facts regarding Dow's own run for the presidency in 1880. Argues that Dow asked his supporters to swing their votes to the Republican James A. Garfield, a contention that has been hotly contested for many years.

69. *Temperance Shot and Shell, Eight Hundred Cartridges for the Temperance Army*. New York: The National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1892. pp. 60, 62, 64, 65, 72. (DUL)

Five memorable Dow quotations can be found in this fascinating cornucopia of temperance wisdom.

70. Tyler, Alice Felt. *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War*. New York: Harper & Row, 1944. pp. 346-47, 450. (UMO)

One of the best overviews of the many antebellum reform movements. Includes one chapter on temperance.

71. Tyrrell, Ian R. *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America: 1800-1860*. Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1979. pp. 130, 252-53, 254-55, 257, 261, 273-74, 281, 295-96. (BCL)

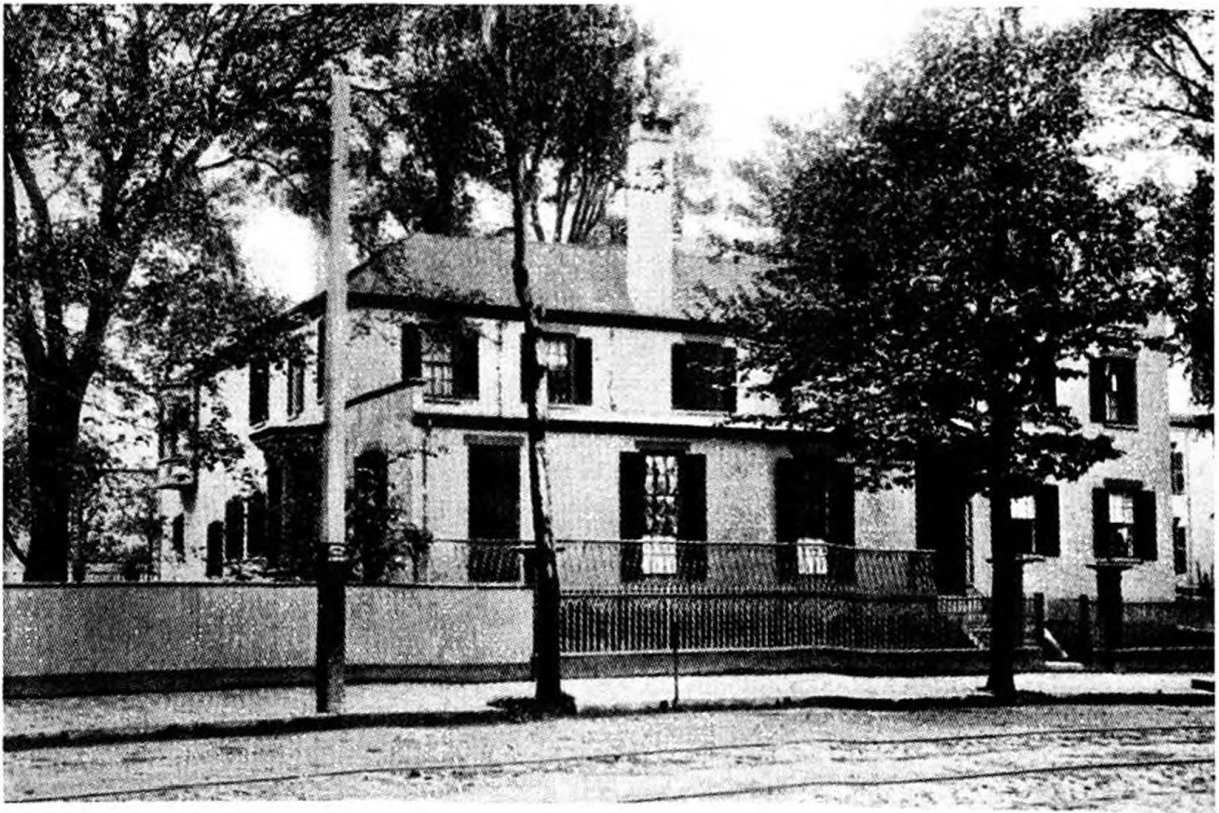
A more recent study of American temperance during its formative years. His treatment of Dow should not be ignored.

72. Wakeman, Rev. Joel. *The Maine Law Triumphant; or, the Mysterious Parchment and Satanic License, Showing the Necessity of Total Abstinence ...* Boston: Albert Crosby & Co., 1859. (UMO)

Although Wakeman makes no mention of Dow, his book is helpful for demonstrating the religious fervor which was so much a part of Dow's crusade.



Historians have neglected Neal Dow's later years. Although his major achievement, the Maine Law, was enacted in the pre-Civil War years, Dow remained active until his death in 1897, pushing for legislation to enforce his law and taking his message abroad. Above: Dow at home in 1897 at age 93; below: Dow's Portland residence, now the Dow Memorial. Courtesy Dow Memorial.



73. Walters, Ronald G. *American Reformers, 1815-1860*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1978. pp. 136 et seq. (URI)

74. Ware, Joseph Ashur. *Review of the Testimony Taken Before the Second Inquest on the Body of John Robbins Who Was Shot at Portland, June 2, 1855, Together with Remarks on the Report of the Investigating Committee Appointed by Mayor Dow and the Aldermen, June 9, 1855*. Portland, 1855. (UMO)

Ware's report was one of at least two studies of the Rum Riot that reached unflattering conclusions concerning Dow's involvement in Robbins's death.

75. Warner, Ezra J. *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders*. Louisiana State University Press, 1964. pp. 130-31. (UMO)

Warner supplies a concise discussion of Dow's military career.

76. White, Charles T. *Lincoln and Prohibition*. New York: Abingdon, 1921. pp. 21-23. (MSL)

Analyzes Abraham Lincoln's temperance beliefs and includes several mentions of Dow as well as a copy of his law.

77. Willard, Frances E. "Neal Dow at Home." *Chautauquan*, VIII (April 1888): pp. 448-90. (UMO)

78. Winskill, P. F. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers, a Record of Social, Moral, Religious, and Political Progress*. London: Blackie & Son, 1892. Four vols. in one. II: pp. 268 et seq., III: pp. 93, 104, IV: pp. 131, 133. (DUL)

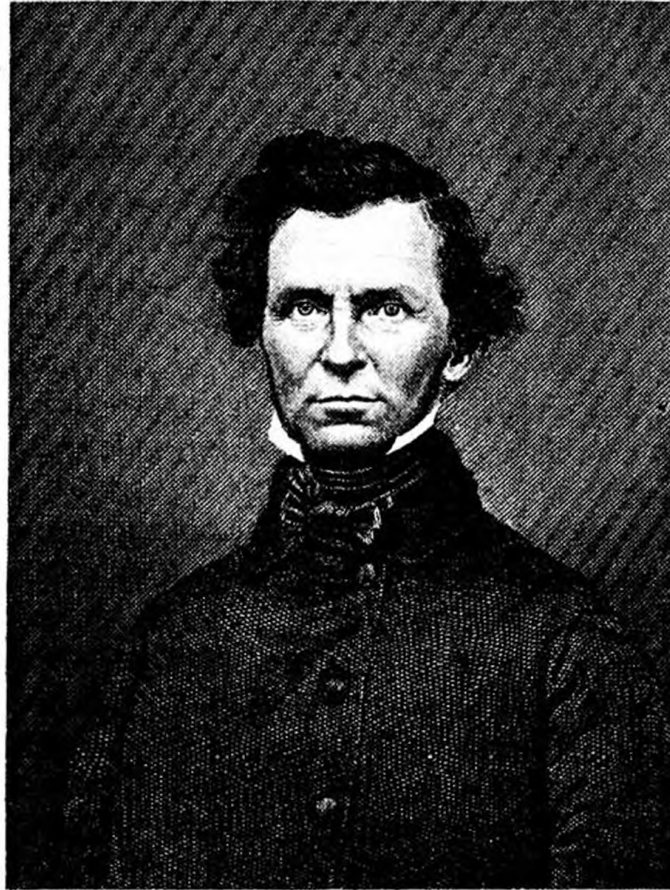
See particularly the sections on Dow and the movement in Britain and the discussion, "does prohibition prohibit(?)." Lengthy Dow quotations appear throughout.

79. Woodbury, N. F. *Prohibition in Maine: Its Origin, History, Results and Present Condition, 1833-1883*. Auburn, Me.: n.p., 1920. (UMO)

References to Dow and to General James Appleton occur throughout this sixteen-page account. The presentation is well-balanced, offering occasional criticism and highlighting the importance of politics.

80. Yorke, Dane. "The Progenitor of Prohibition." *American Mercury*, XXIII (July 1931): pp. 350-58. (UMO)

A frank but unfortunately undocumented appraisal of Dow's prohibition career and military experiences. Argues that the father of prohibition was greedy and power hungry.



Engraving by Daniel Bowen 1855

Very Respectfully yours
Neal Dow

Suggestions for Research

In his ninety-three years Neal Dow traveled a path sufficiently complicated for several lives. He was a successful businessman, a bank director, the chief engineer of a fire department, a civic leader, a moral reformer, a political lobbyist, a law writer, a city mayor, a state legislator, a president of the Portland Gas Light Company, a Civil War general, a prisoner of war, a plaintiff to a U. S. Supreme Court appeal, an extensive traveler and campaigner on behalf of temperance, a professional publicist for prohibition, a candidate for president of the United States, and a husband and father. The variety of Dow's involvements suggests that no single study of his life could possibly provide adequate coverage. That Dow's only scholarly biography numbers a mere 127 pages of text testifies to the need for more detailed analysis of this important and complex figure.

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the Maine Law founder's life is his personality and character. What motivated this moral crusader? Are the allegations of vanity and greed in the literature legitimate? These haunting questions provide intriguing grounds for research. The useful methodologies of psycho-biographers such as Erik Erikson and Fawn Brodie could be fruitfully applied to the raw material of Neal Dow's life.

In addition to Dow's character, several aspects of his career demand greater attention. Few attempts have been made to view Dow as the premier political lobbyist he was. Lobbying techniques matured significantly in this country during Dow's lifetime, and the temperance and prohibition movements were instrumental in the development. Norman H. Clark has analyzed the efforts of the national Anti-Saloon League and its national lobbyist, Wayne B. Wheeler. As a successful lobbyist, Wheeler actually helped write prohibition into national law by drafting much of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Dow, on the other hand, has received far too little credit for having developed similar techniques in Maine. Emphasis is

usually placed on the results of Dow's efforts — the law — rather than the process. An examination of the means by which Dow wrote Maine's liquor statute, worked for its adoption, and applied pressure year after year to keep it on the books in the face of much popular opposition, could tell us a great deal about the historical evolution of lobbying in the United States.

A related aspect of Neal Dow's temperance work is his function as publicist. Evidence of his far-flung labors as a missionary of abstinence appears in a variety of places. The inside covers of many of his scrapbooks are plastered with railroad tickets, programs from his speaking engagements, and other souvenirs which attest to his publicity peregrinations. Photograph albums at the Dow House and the Maine Historical Society contain pictorial records of his journeys on behalf of the cause. The voluminous correspondence maintained by Dow is further indication of his promulgation activities. How was Dow greeted as he carried his reform flag to such diverse places as the Midwest, the South, Great Britain, and Canada? How did he handle the hostile crowds which certainly must have met him in less than friendly environs? What were the tangible results of his many tours? How durable were those results? Was Dow an effective propagandist? What techniques did he employ?

Altogether, Dow made three trips to Great Britain. The numerous British newspaper clippings documenting his crusade there are largely unresearched. Moreover, it is possible that the hundreds of letters he wrote to British friends are still extant in that country. The research potential concerning the reformer's campaigns in England is considerable: Dow's role as an on-the-road publicist for temperance deserves deeper exploration.

A third substantially uninvestigated portion of Dow's life is his career as a businessman. We know few details pertaining to his tannery business, his banking involvements, his timber investments, or any of the other money-raising affairs to which he connected himself. Byrne's research leads us to believe that Dow was an extremely acquisitive man. Did that personality

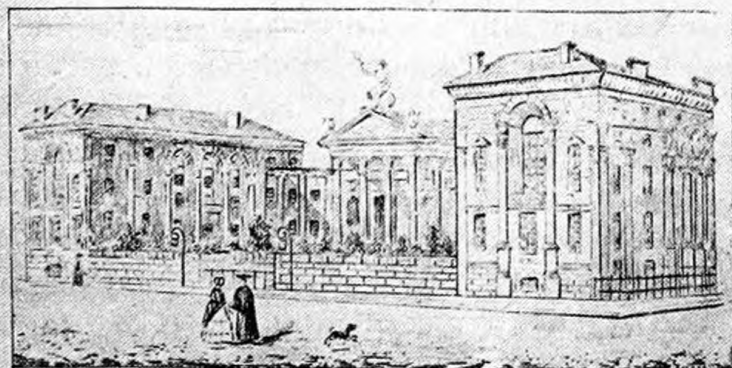
Neal Dow
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A guidebook used by Dow in England. Research on Dow's several foreign speaking tours is wanting, although much of Dow's correspondence regarding these campaigns is easily accessible. Courtesy Dow Memorial.

trait conflict with or complement the moral reform efforts that played so large a part of his life? Who were his business allies? Were they equally devoted to abstinence? These questions and others concerning Dow's business life could balance our knowledge of the reformer. His account and ledger books, stored at the Dow House, provide a good starting place for such research.

In addition, the long-term impact of Dow's law demands more scholarly study. The controversy concerning the Maine Law can be reduced to a problem of political philosophy, as crucial today as when the law was passed: Is it ever practical, or right, to legislate morality? Interestingly enough, Dow's contemporary, John Stuart Mill, published *On Liberty* during the same decade in which the Maine Law was passed. Drawing out the logical implications of restraints on civil liberty, Mill concluded that a citizen's "own good either moral or physical is not sufficient warrant" for passage of a law. Does Mill's premise apply to liquor prohibition? Was Dow attempting to force his own idea of morality upon Maine's citizens? Was Dow's statute a practical instrument of legislation? Was it enforceable? Were consistent efforts to enforce the law applied statewide? Were enforcement policies the same for all social and economic levels of Maine's people? These questions were asked repeatedly throughout the years of the Maine Law. The value of providing answers that draw upon scholarly enquiry is obvious.

These questions cannot be answered until a comprehensive and modern history of the Maine Law is written. Such a gap in the historical record seems extraordinary, inasmuch as the people of Maine lived under prohibition for over eighty years. Indeed, it was entirely possible for a Mainer to live a full life without purchasing a legal drink. Despite the economic, political, judicial, and social consequences of the law, few of the general histories of Maine give it significant coverage. Perhaps this unfortunate lacuna reflects the difficulties at hand. The sources described in this essay are scattered, and thorough study of the Maine Law would require researching voluminous court records, newspaper accounts, diaries, personal correspondence, census records, town records, and other

sources. A focus that was less comprehensive would undoubtedly be more manageable, and with that in mind I would suggest an approach that followed one of the following four categories.

An economic analysis of the Maine Law would involve a number of inquiries. How did the loss of liquor sales and manufacturing affect the state's economy? What were the financial benefits of prohibition? Did elimination of the "grog break" increase worker productivity and manufacturing profitability? Did anyone profit monetarily as a result of the law? Census records, business ledgers, and other sources provide answers to these questions.

The political aspects of the Maine Law have received some attention in the literature. However, a variety of questions still merit attention. What patterns in voting emerged as the Maine Law was enacted, repealed, reinstated, and finally made a part of the state constitution? Were supporters and enemies of the law aligned to any particular political, social, or economic group? How contentious was the relationship between Bangor and Portland as a result of temperance legislation? Did Bangor's unruly lumber industry and its workers resent the moral dictates of Portland's more cultivated citizens? What political pressures were brought to bear in order to weaken or strengthen Maine's liquor legislation? Responses to these political queries could illuminate the history of prohibition in Maine.

How close did Maine actually come to banishing booze from its boundaries? One way of ascertaining the success or failure of the Maine Law is to analyze its judicial history. The voluminous court history of Maine's liquor regulations could tell us a great deal concerning the day-to-day operation of the prohibition laws. Arrest, trial, and sentencing records for the sixteen county superior and the various district courts could indicate the extent of enforcement statewide. Did administration of prohibition vary geographically? Were certain groups of people arrested more often? Did they receive stiffer sentences? A judicial history of the Maine Law could tell us much about the behavior of Maine people during the nineteenth century.

The social history of Neal Dow's law is the most intriguing lens through which to view Maine's prohibition period. How did the law change social patterns? Did this political reform realize social improvement? Were violators of the law unfairly associated with particular social groups (immigrants, for instance)? How did the law change drinking habits? Answers to these questions could improve our knowledge of how Mainers lived under the restrictions of prohibition.

The history of Neal Dow and his law remains one of the most complex and controversial events in Maine's political history. Always fascinating on his own terms, Neal Dow offers students a medium for understanding nineteenth-century attitudes toward politics, social reform, nonnormative behavior, work and working people, religion, and rum. This bibliographic study has had three goals: to promote more research on Neal Dow and the Maine Law; to suggest some possible directions for that research; and to furnish an initial bibliographic guide for historians. In time, it is hoped, we will better understand this complex Maine figure and the world in which he lived.

Mr. Dawson received a B.A. in history with highest distinction from the University of Maine at Orono and an MLS from the University of Rhode Island. He has published in the UMO HISTORY REVIEW and CURRENT STUDIES IN LIBRARIANSHIP. He lives in Windham and works at the Donald L. Garbrecht Law Library at the University of Maine School of Law.