

University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire

Department of History

How the Prohibition Movement Changed the Medical Practice of Dr.
Roy E. Mitchell in Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Senior Thesis

Professor: Dr. Kate Lang

Cooperating Professor: Dr. Oscar Chamberlain

Heather R. Miller

Copyright for this work is owned by the author. This digital version is published by McIntyre Library, University of Wisconsin Eau Claire with the consent of the author.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	3
PART I: THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT	4
The Prohibition Movement in the United States	4
Prohibition in Eau Claire	12
PART II: COCAINE AND PROHIBITION	19
History of Cocaine	19
Dr. Roy Mitchell's Uses	22
The Misuse of Cocaine in America and the Fears Associated with It	25
Conclusion	30
BIBLIOGRAPHY	32

Abstract

This paper discusses the how the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement effected the medical practice of Dr. Roy Mitchell in Eau Claire, Wisconsin. The paper starts by looking into the history of the Prohibition Movement as a national Movement and then looks at the Prohibition Movement specifically in Eau Claire. Next the paper gives a history of the cocaine, and discusses both the medical and personal use of the drug. The Antidrug Movement had many of the same beliefs and fears as the Prohibition Movement. By comparing the two separate movements, it is possible to see the parallels between them. The combination of these two Movements led to the eventual passing of the Harrison Narcotic Act in 1914, which would change the medical practices of numerous physicians, including Dr. Mitchell in Eau Claire, Wisconsin. By using Dr. Mitchell's medical ledger of cocaine prescriptions, we are able to see that his practice was affect by both the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement.

Intro

The science of pharmaceuticals is changing constantly. Physicians and pharmacists are discovering and prescribing new medicines, and new information about pharmaceuticals is emerging continuously. With this knowledge also comes the awareness that drugs when misused can be extremely harmful and may, after some time, be determined by doctors as more harmful than good. A prime example of this happening in history is the once common use and prescription of coca. For a while, physicians saw coca as a miracle drug and would commonly sell it over-the-counter. Even after the government made laws and regulations regarding the medical use of coca, doctors and physicians would commonly prescribe it to cure everything from tuberculosis to morphine addictions to something as simple as the common cough and cold. Dr. Roy Mitchell practiced medicine in Eau Claire from 1913-1948, and because of government regulations, kept detailed records on all prescriptions containing coca. His detailed records give a glimpse into the ways the drugs were administered and what ailments they were supposed to alleviate.

The Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 was the Act that led to the actual requirement of prescriptions containing any amount of coca by physicians. This Act was a direct result of the Prohibition Movement and was another attempt to rid the country of any sort of narcotics. It is because of the Prohibition Movement and the Harrison Narcotic Act that Dr. Mitchell was required to document all prescriptions that involved cocaine or any products containing it. By looking at the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement in the United States and specifically in Eau Claire, it is possible to see how Dr. Mitchell's medical practice was directly affected.

Dr. Mitchell was like any other physician during this time period in the United States. His ledger shows the trend among doctors across the country. Because coca extracts and cocaine had been seen as miracle drugs for several years, the common use of cocaine is apparent in the records he kept. Physicians prescribed coca for almost everything, and while stores no longer sold it over-the-counter doctors still very commonly prescribed coca for treatment. This common practice all changed with the Prohibition Movement and the closely relates Antidrug Movement.

Part I – The Prohibition Movement

The Prohibition Movement in the United States

The Prohibition Movement in the United States was the driving force behind the actual illegalization of cocaine. It was the thoughts and views behind this movement that led to the passing of the Harrison Narcotic Act in 1914 which changed the distribution of cocaine. The Prohibition Movement was a part of the larger Progressive Movement that was taking place in the United States from approximately 1890 to 1920. The Progressive Movement was a response to the rapid changes the country was going through including new technological advancements, new scientific experts, and a new heightened sense of health. The country had transformed from mostly rural populations to large cities and urban areas. The Progressive Movement started in small towns and communities and eventually progressed to a national level. During this time period the country was trying to adjust to the rapid industrialization, urban growth, and increasing racial tensions it was going through by trying to preserve the country's morals and

beliefs.¹ The Progressive Movement was the country's response to numerous diverse pressures and was a period of both social change and political ferment.

There were several different emotions behind the Progressive Movement. Richard Hofstadter writes in his book The Progressive Movement: 1900-1915 that from the end of the Civil War until the turn of the century the country had gone through a great physical and mobile growth, but that their moral growth for the most part had remained inactive. Hofstadter notes that after the turn of the century people started to notice that this material growth had come at the cost of many of the peoples' morals. He writes that the Progressive Movement may have been an attempt to build up the morals in America and build intellectual insight.²

The Prohibition Movement was one of the movements that made up the Progressive Movement. The Progressive Movement was a series of smaller movements, which included the objective of saving the country's morals. The Prohibition Movement had the same feelings about preserving the country's morals as the Progressive Era did. Prohibition sought to remove any substances that would bring down the morality of men as well as destabilize the beliefs of the church and the government. Prohibitionists believed that if they were able to rid the country of the substances which led to undesirable behavior, such as crime or poverty, then they would be putting an end to many of these negative results. While the prohibition of alcohol is most commonly associated with the Prohibition Movement, it also included the eventual regulations of cocaine as well as other drugs which were also seen as problematic.³

¹ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; Harvard University Press, Cambridge; 1963; p 1

² Gould, Lewis L.; *The Progressive Era*; Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1974, p 1-3

³ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 2-3

In his book Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, James H. Timberlake notes that while the Prohibition Movement was a large national movement, it was not the beliefs of everyone in the United States. He argues instead that the movement was mainly among the “old-stock, middle-class section of the American community.”⁴ He states that because this group of people constituted the foundation of the Progressive Movement and had an extremely unequal amount of control in the political area, they were easily able to overcome any opposition from the rest of the country and thus able to instill their own ideals of sobriety on the nation.⁵

Timberlake writes that there were five main arguments behind the country’s Prohibition Movement. The first argument he writes about is the religious argument. Timberlake notes that many religious organizations joined the Prohibition Movement because they believed the church’s main purpose was to save the souls of people. Alcohol would make this very difficult. The Christian church believed that there were several issues with alcohol that would hinder their goal of saving souls, including the idea that alcohol would be detrimental to one’s health, hinder one’s reason, weaken one’s conscience, and would eventually severely lessen one’s fear of God. Many in the religious sector believed that intemperance would lead to a spiritual death as well as a physical death. The churches behind the Prohibition Movement were not only fearful of the salvation of the people who were practicing intemperance, but they also feared the social ramifications. To them, intemperance meant more crime, more diseases, extreme poverty, broken homes, and generally lower moral standards among the public. Many in the religious field saw alcohol and the effects of it as evil and therefore strongly argued against its use. As the

⁴ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 2

⁵ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 2-3

Prohibition Movement gained momentum, the participants saw hope they would succeed in their goal and began to work even harder against alcohol.⁶

The second argument that Timberlake notes is the scientific argument. He starts by talking about how little had previously been known about the effects of alcohol on a person's body. People first used alcohol as a stimulant and often during cold weather because of the warm feeling it produced. Many saw alcohol as a food source and the first scientific information showed that it could be catabolized by the body and used for energy. However, towards the end of the 19th century, when the medical field was making a transition to better research and better medical practices, many new tests were done on the effects of alcohol. Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson proved the myth that alcohol would warm the body false and stated that it actually lowered body temperature. This started a series of different experiments that were done by other researchers. Possibly one of the most important findings that was made by researchers was that alcohol was a depressant, and not the stimulant it had long been believed to be. This new research only helped to fuel the anti-alcohol movement in the United States. Researchers during this time continued to find more flaws with alcohol including that it would paralyze the nerves controlling the muscles and would severely inhibit a person's ability to do physical work. The negative results continued with the realization that alcohol had an extremely negative effect on organs and the body's immune system. It was also believed that parental alcoholism had a large part in the mental capacity of their children, which only led to a higher social concern about the effects of alcohol. With all of the negative results from several medical studies, it is easy to see

⁶ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 4-37

why science has such a big part in the Prohibition Movement. Many of the Temperance Movements would use this information in their propaganda to warn the public.⁷

The scientific results support the next argument behind Prohibition which was the social argument. As this new information became readily available to the public, numerous people in the society began to make changes. One was that many who had been social or moderate drinkers would completely quit drinking, and also led many universities, including Wisconsin, to prohibit their athletes from any drinking during training and during the season. The results of the scientific experiments led many people to consider what affect alcohol was having on the society. Many in society began to link the negative effects of alcohol to crime and poverty in the country. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded in 1895 that one-fourth of all poverty was a direct result of alcohol abuse. The family was always an issue of concern. It was believed that alcohol would lead to broken homes and unhappiness in the family. This social issue was very serious to many because they believed these unhappy families would lead to more vices and crimes. To support this George E. Howard wrote in *The American Journal of Sociology* that, “the criminal was the creature of his environment and was driven to his actions mainly by bad social conditions.”⁸ Many cities which adopted the Temperance Movement and prohibited alcohol showed an improvement in social conditions. This only added to the social argument against alcohol.⁹

Society in America during the Progressive Movement had the belief in the American tradition of self-help and success and that opportunities were endless, but it was up to the person to achieve them. This belief coincides with Timberlake’s fourth argument that economics played

⁷ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 39-51

⁸ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 60

⁹ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 53-66

a large role in the Prohibition Movement. During the Progressive Movement there was a great period of economic development which gave hope to many Americans. Since science had showed that alcohol could negatively affect workers by slowing down their muscles, many employers began to have stricter policies on their workers drinking while at work. Several employers also became more strict for the safety of their workers. Because of the social idea that alcohol would bring a person down, many business men began to completely abstain from consuming any alcohol with the thoughts that by doing so, it would benefit them in business. Many of these businessmen that were in higher positions would show preferential treatment to workers who also abstained and would often promote them before promoting someone who continued to use alcohol. For many, simply the idea that there were endless possibilities and that alcohol could hinder you from reaching the highest goals, was enough for them to start abstaining from alcohol.¹⁰

Many Americans believed in the American dream of endless possibilities, and believed that their economic freedom was the foundation of their social and political democracy. This belief ties into the final argument that Timberlake writes about which is the political argument supporting Prohibition. During the Progressive Movement one thing that many people tried to work against was monopolies and big business. The Progressive Movement wanted to protect economic opportunity of the middle class. Timberlake notes that Progressivism wanted to change the mechanics of the government by taking politics out of the hands of special interests groups and putting it back into the hands of the people and also to limit big business which would take stress off the lower classes in America. The alcohol industry, which many saw as the most powerful big business, was standing in the way of the Progressive Movement

¹⁰ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 67-77

accomplishing these goals. Many in the Temperance Movement believed that the alcohol industry was controlling and corrupting the government. The alcohol industry paid the highest taxes, out of all major industries, to the government, so many people believed that because alcohol gave so much money to the government that it was influencing the decisions made by the government. This argument served well for many participants in the Prohibition Movement; the argument showed that the country's democracy was at risk due to the big business of alcohol. Because saloons were often a social headquarters, many political decisions were made at saloons or at locations which were located directly next to a saloon. Timberlake argues that many saloonkeepers used their positions to enter them into politics. For example, in Milwaukee in 1902, 13 of the 46 members of the city council were saloonkeepers. All of this led numerous Americans to join the Prohibition Movement in order to protect the country's democracy and end big business.¹¹

While there are several connections and shared ideas between the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement, some argue that one did not lead to the other. Norman Clark writes in his book Deliver Us From Evil that the Temperance Movement did not directly evolve into an anti-drug movement, but was rather a separate movement together that shares several ideas in common. Clark notes that the anti-drug movement initially started in San Francisco and was primarily directed towards the Chinese. It started in 1875, when San Francisco banned all opium-smoking dens. This practice was only common among the Chinese and therefore the law only affected the Chinese and all other uses of opium were still acceptable. The racism against

¹¹ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 100-121

the Chinese continued in 1887, when the federal government passed a law that was directed only at the Chinese and made it illegal for any Chinese to import opium.¹²

Clark notes that it was during all of this, that many physicians in the medical field were beginning to change their opinions on the safety and usefulness of opium and other narcotics. The medical field was making giant advances during this time, specifically in terms of bacteriology. Clark states that these advances, as well as others, led many young physicians to see the free and common use of opium and even alcohol as, “a crude and even dangerous custom of their unsophisticated elders.”¹³ These new physicians also formed the belief that using any narcotic could lead to a “complete moral and physical degeneration.”¹⁴

Clark goes on to write that the Antinarcotics Movement in the United States did not have the same pressure or intensity that the Prohibition Movement had. He remarks that when the Harrison Narcotic Act passed in 1914, there was no great dispute and no significant feelings about the law being passed. Clark argues that the Harrison Narcotic Act actually got rid of the legitimate trafficking of the narcotics, and that it did this by making such strict regulations and by prohibiting the sales of any opiates without a physicians prescription. He goes on to contend that when the Supreme Court ruled in 1920, that addictions were not a justifiable reason for receiving a prescription that is when addictions first became illegal in the United States. Clark writes that he believed this Court ruling pushed drugs further into the urban areas and that the formerly upstanding citizens who had developed a sometimes accidental habit now often had no

¹² Clark, Norman H., *Deliver Us From Evil*; W.W. Norton and Company Inc., New York, 1976, p 221

¹³ Clark, Norman H., *Deliver Us From Evil*; p 221

¹⁴ Clark, Norman H., *Deliver Us From Evil*; p 221

choice but to become criminals to maintain their habit. He gives the statistic that “In 1923, as many as 75 percent of the women in federal penitentiaries were Harrison Act prisoners”.¹⁵

The actions behind the Harrison Narcotic Act and the Prohibition Movement initially started in small communities and towns. Eau Claire was experiencing these movements as well. By looking into the Prohibition Movement in Eau Claire, it can be seen how strong the Movement was and also gain insight into how Dr. Mitchell’s medical practice was affected.

Prohibition in Eau Claire

Like many other communities across the United States, Eau Claire had its own Prohibition Movements. William Warren Bartlett, a resident of Eau Claire, was a very strong supporter of the Prohibition Movement in Eau Claire. His papers included a record book from the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire and several notes from club meetings. By looking at this book it is possible to see some of the goals and objectives of the Club as well as a look into who were members of the Club. While the exact time of these papers is unsure, the record book is estimated to be written sometime between 1885 and 1892.

This record book starts with the Preamble and Constitution of the Eau Claire Prohibition Club. The opening paragraph expresses the beliefs behind the acceptance of the constitution of the Prohibition Club. It states:

Believing that the best interests of our country demand the suppression of the public traffic in alcoholic beverages; that a political party, every member of which, is opposed to the traffic, is needed to bring about this great reform; that neither the republican nor the democratic party either will or can enact and enforce such laws as are needed to do this

¹⁵ Clark, Norman H., *Deliver Us From Evil*; p 223

work; and that the prohibition party is the only political organization that can and will do these things, we, the citizens of the City of Eau Claire, county of Eau Claire, State of Wisconsin, in order to secure the blessings of liberty, peace, and good order in society, by the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages do adopt the following constitution...¹⁶

This preamble shows the thoughts and feelings behind the members of Prohibition Clubs both in Eau Claire and throughout the country. The preamble states their will to “secure the blessing of liberty, peace, and good order in society,” which is the same feeling that was shared by others across the country and was one of the strongest beliefs of the Prohibition Movement. As already discussed, the idea that alcohol would lead to a myriad of different problems was a common fear among many in the Prohibition Movement, and the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire was no exception. According to the preamble, they believed that alcohol would challenge their way of life by weakening the order in society. Members of the Eau Claire Prohibition Club believed that it was in “the best interests of our county” that all alcohol be prohibited.¹⁷

One thing the preamble touched on was the belief that there should be one political party that would fully support the Prohibition Movement. The answer to this problem is also given in the preamble with the mentioning of the Prohibition Party. According to the preamble, the only party that had the ability to make the necessary laws and to make sure these laws were carried out, was the Prohibition Party. The preamble noted that “neither the republican nor the democratic party either will or can enact and enforce such laws as are needed to do this work.” The Prohibition Club hoped to bring more support to the Prohibition Party by stating that it was

¹⁶ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

¹⁷ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

the only party that would be completely successfully in achieving the goals of the Prohibition Movement.¹⁸

The objectives of the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire were written in Article II of the constitution, which states:

The objectives of this club are the suppression of, and the prevention of all the evils resulting from, the liquor traffic, by

1. The distribution of temperance literature;
2. The thorough organization of the friends of prohibition;
3. The advocacy of the principles of prohibition;
4. The building of the Prohibition Party.¹⁹

Even in the writing of the goals it is obvious to see the fears and negative views of alcohol. The goal is to prevent the “evils” that result from alcohol use and/or abuse. This again shows the serious fear that the misuse of alcohol would lead to several different problems in society, and supports Timberlake’s argument that the religion was largely behind the Prohibition Movement.²⁰

Article II clearly lays out the objectives, one of which is the building of the Prohibition Party. This objective goes along with the preamble that stated that the Prohibition Party was the only political party that would enact and enforce necessary laws needed to stop the evils of alcohol. The Prohibition Party was using the different Prohibition Clubs, including the Eau Claire Prohibition Club, to gain support for their political party. By including the Prohibition

¹⁸ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

¹⁹ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

²⁰ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 4-37

Party in nearly every aspect of the Prohibition Clubs, the Party was gaining support by uniting people over one common cause.²¹

The remaining articles dealt with issues such as how the officers will be elected (Article IV), when the meetings will be held (Article V), how the funds will be distributed (Article VI), and when the annual reports are to be turned into the State Central Committee (Article VII).

Article III states that anyone over the age of 18 was eligible to become a member of the Prohibition Club. It was decided that the meetings of the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire would be held on the third Friday of every month.²²

Along with the William Warren Bartlett documents there was a small collection of minutes and notes that were taken from meeting of the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire. The notes covered April 1886 through August 1886. Because they were simply notes, it is difficult to know exactly what was discussed at each meeting. One thing that was noted was whenever anyone would want to join the Club. They would make a motion and then vote for the entry of a new member. Another vote that was seen in the notes was the election of the President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. The Club would have these elections every six months. The notes for the month of August showed who the newly elected officers were. All of months took a collection at the end of every meeting. Article VI stated that, "The funds of this club shall be used exclusively for the accomplishment of the objectives mentioned in Article II."²³ The notes also reflected that the Club had to pay \$1.25 to rent the room, in which they held their meetings. The remainder of the notes would discuss different motions that were made and whether they

²¹ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

²² William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

²³ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

passed or not. Many of these motions were to form committees that would report at later meeting about different projects or programs the Club was currently undertaking.²⁴ Because of the lack of notes available, it is also unknown exactly what projects the club was working on at the time.

The record book for the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire listed the names of all the members, their political affiliation, their address, and their nationality. The record shows that the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire had 143 members at some unknown point between 1885 and 1892. The exact year that this record is from is unknown as well as whether the Club continued to grow after the year 1892. It is also unknown the number of members the Club had at its peak.

Although the information in the record book is limited there is still a lot of information that can be learned from looking at it. One thing that can easily be seen from the record book is which political party the members associated themselves with at the time. The record book shows that approximately two-thirds of the members associated themselves with the Republican Party.²⁵ The Table 1 below shows the distribution of the political affiliations of the members of the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire.

Table 1

Political Association	Republican Party	Democratic Party	Prohibition Party	No Party Marked
Number of Members	95	27	10	11

²⁴ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

²⁵ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Another record that was taken in the book was the nationality of the members of the Club. There were several different nationalities listed as members in the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire including: American, Scandinavian (Scand.), German, Irish, French, Canadian, and Scottish. The record book shows that just over half of the member of the Club identified themselves as American.²⁶ The following table shows the numbers of members associated with each nationality.

Table 2

Nationality	American	Scand.	German	Irish	French	Canadian	Scottish	None Marked
Number of Members	79	29	4	4	2	9	3	13

This statistical information demonstrates the make-up of the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire. The Progressive Movement and the Prohibition Movement was made mainly by Americans in an attempt to deal with several of the rapid changes the country was making during this era. It is not surprising that over half of the members of the Eau Claire Club identified themselves as Americans. As noted previously, the Progressive Movement was one that started in smaller communities and then spread across the country, Eau Claire was no exception to this. The members of this Club were doing what they believed was necessary to protect different morals of the country.

Another area that the Eau Claire Club can be compared to the rest of the country was the political make-up of the Club. Timberlake noted that the main supporters of the Prohibition

²⁶ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Movement were “old-stock and middle-class Americans”.²⁷ Over two-thirds of the Eau Claire Club associated themselves with the Republican Party. This is not surprising since it was mainly Republicans and members of the new Prohibition Party who most strongly supported the Prohibition Movement.

The Prohibition Club of Eau Claire was not the only club of its type in the area. The record book listed 12 other Prohibition Clubs in the surrounding area. While most of these clubs simply listed the names of the members, they are still useful in seeing the extent of the Prohibition Movement in the area around Eau Claire.

One club that was mentioned in the record book was called the Non-Partisan Prohibitionist Club which consisted of 15 members. Another club that was listed was the Porterville Club. The Porterville Club had approximately 80 members and was almost exclusively made up of Republicans and Scandinavians. Several other clubs were written in the book including: two separate Dells Mills Clubs, the Thompson Valley Club, the Union Club, the Washington Club, the Scotts Valley Club, the Fairchild Club, the Ludington Club, the Hadleyville Club, and the Pleasant Valley Club. With the exception of the Eau Claire Club and the Porterville Club, these clubs were considerably smaller and consisted of only 11-40 members. Even though these clubs were smaller than the Eau Claire and the Porterville Clubs, they are still important in showing the trend in the area. While there may not have been a lot of members, there were still quite a few clubs in the area all of which were united with the single goal of ending the trafficking of alcohol.²⁸

²⁷ Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; p 2

²⁸ William Warren Bartlett Documents; 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Many of the views of the national Prohibition Movement and the Prohibition Club of Eau Claire were very similar to the views of the antidrug movement. There are several commonalities between the views about alcohol and the views about cocaine. Both the Anti-alcohol Movement and the Antidrug Movement shared the same ideals. And, at one point, both alcohol and cocaine were seen as positive and helpful substances, but with each of their Movements, these views changed and regulations were made to reflect these new viewpoints.

Part II – Cocaine and Prohibition

History of Cocaine

Cocaine is a derivative of the coca plant, which has been used by indigenous peoples in South America for thousands of years. Many travelers to South America would note that the people living there would chew the leaves of the coca plant to get an energy boost and to reduce feeling tired, by creating a numbing sensation. Many of the locals would chew the coca with an alkali, which would bring out the most active ingredients in the coca leaf. The use by South American natives was so common that they coined the term ‘cocada’ which described the length of time, in hours, the effects lasted or the distance a person could walk without feeling tired due to the effects of chewing the leaves. Coca also has a lot of nutritional value and chewing just 100 grams of coca leaves will completely fulfill the Recommended Dietary Allowance for

calcium, iron, phosphorus, and vitamins A, B, and E. Because of this, cocaine was often used to treat malnutrition among the indigenous people.²⁹

It was also in South America that the first actual medical uses of coca appeared. People used coca for several different purposes including to aid in digestion, to relieve side pains, and to heal ulcers. Simple mountain sickness was another ailment the ancient South Americans used coca leaves to heal. And like the United States would use coca for much later, many of the indigenous people used coca leaves to treat colds, throat problems, and headaches.³⁰

South Americans were also the first to use the coca leaf as an anesthetic. By looking at the graves of some Peruvian people, it could be seen that a mixture of spit and coca leaves was often used by the indigenous as a local pain-killer in trephining operations.³¹ These operations were used to alleviate several different ailments including skull fractures and mental illness. The operations were very common and some of the skulls examined had more than one hole. Indigenous South Americans most likely used Coca leaves in the majority of their operations as an anesthetic.³²

The United States first used cocaine in 1884 after a European doctor discovered it had anesthetic properties. This new discovery led to several advancements in the surgical field. The *Medical Record* first published an article about the discovery of cocaine's numbing properties in

²⁹ Brian, Paul F. and Coward, Gary A.; "A Review of the History, Actions, and Legitimate Uses of Cocaine"; *Journal of Substance Abuse*, Vol. 1, 1989; p 433

³⁰ Brian, Paul F. and Coward, Gary A.; "A Review of the History, Actions, and Legitimate Uses of Cocaine"; *Journal of Substance Abuse*, Vol. 1, 1989; p 433

³¹ *The Living Webster Encyclopedia Dictionary of the English Language*; The English-Language Institute of America, Chicago; Trephining operations were done by opening a hole in the skull and were thought to cure several different illnesses or ailments.

³² Brian, Paul F. and Coward, Gary A.; "A Review of the History, Actions, and Legitimate Uses of Cocaine"; *Journal of Substance Abuse*, Vol. 1, 1989; p 433

the fall of 1884. An American ophthalmologist who had been visiting Vienna wrote in this article that he had witnessed an Austrian physician numb the surface of an eye with cocaine. Because cocaine was so successful in the surgical field, it led other physicians to try and see what other medicinal benefits it could have in general medicine. From this point on, cocaine was going to be seen by the medical field as a new and promising therapeutic drug. The medical field was undergoing a huge change at this time that included more extensive research and a generally better understanding of medicine. The new discovery of cocaine and its properties fit perfectly into this new style. Physicians had been encouraging others to do research in labs to learn more, and cocaine was widely researched in the lab, which helped bring cocaine to the front of the pharmaceutical advancements.³³

In 1885 the Hay Fever Association recommended cocaine be used for head colds and catarrh.³⁴ Because of recommendations such as this one, the pharmaceutical business of manufacturing cocaine became a very lucrative career. The Parke-Davis Company was one of the leading manufacturers of cocaine products after the initial discovery of cocaine's medical purposes. One of the eight products they produced were coca cigarettes which were prescribed to treat throat infections. Pharmaceutical products were not the only products which benefitted from the medicinal properties of cocaine. In 1886 the medicine producer Pemberton created a tonic that contained coca leaves and caffeine in a sugary carbonated drink, which was known as Coca-Cola. Coca-Cola was advertised and sold as a tonic that claimed it could cure headaches

³³ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2000, p 7

³⁴ *The Living Webster Encyclopedia Dictionary of the English Language*; The English-Language Institute of America, Chicago; Catarrh is an older term that was used in the medical field to describe inflammation of the throat and nose and the hyper secretion of mucous.

and was an energy booster. The success of this new tonic led to many other copycats and very quickly cocaine became extremely mainstream in America.³⁵

Another of the extremely common uses of cocaine in the medical field was to use it to combat opium addiction. Because cocaine has the opposite effect that opium does, many physicians were giving cocaine to their patients to try and break them of their opium addiction. While most physicians used cocaine sparingly, fighting opium addiction was the one area where they would often prescribe large and frequent doses, of a much more potent strain, to their patients making the treatment of opium addiction one of the least restricted areas of medical cocaine usage.³⁶

Dr. Roy Mitchell's papers give a glimpse into how the average physician would use cocaine in their everyday practice. For many physicians, cocaine was a common prescription and was the answer to several different ailments. Dr. Mitchell's papers reflect this as well.

Dr. Roy Mitchell's Uses

Dr. Roy E. Mitchell started his practice in 1913. Around the turn of the century the medical field underwent some very extensive changes. These changes included how science was researched and how medicine was taught. Before this, the United States had seriously lagged behind much of Europe in the medical field and in different medical practices.³⁷ Dr. Mitchell was a member of one of the first groups of doctors in America who had experienced this new

³⁵ Brian, Paul F. and Coward, Gary A.; "A Review of the History, Actions, and Legitimate Uses of Cocaine", p 436-437

³⁶ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 8

³⁷ Barry John M.; *The Great Influenza*, Penguin Books, New York, 2005, p 9-35

change in the medical field. The medical field had completely changed how they looked at medicine and Dr. Mitchell was one of the first physicians to go through this new teaching experience and use the new information in his practice. His papers are detailed records of the patients he saw each day from 1913-1947, a coca and opium register from 1915-1921, as well as a few other miscellaneous papers. These papers are all very useful in understanding how he ran his practice.

Dr. Mitchell took careful records of all the coca prescriptions he made from 1915 to 1921. The ledger in which he kept these detailed records was a federally issued ledger, which included the laws and regulations in the first couple pages. It was the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 that made it a requirement for doctors to record their opium and coca prescriptions. The Act also required anyone prescribing either of these to pay a small tax.³⁸ In 1915, the U.S. government changed the laws so that opium and coca could now only be obtained with a doctor's prescription; before this, both could commonly be found and sold over-the-counter in several forms. The Act also had several other requirements including that all prescriptions be signed and dated by the prescribing physician. Another requirement was that all records of

³⁸Dr. Roy E. Mitchell Documents, 1913-1947; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin; "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that on and after the first day of March, nineteen hundred and fifteen, every person who produces, imports, manufactures, compounds, deals in, dispenses, distributes, or gives away opium or coca leaves or any compound, manufacture, salt, derivative, or preparation thereof, shall register with the collector of internal revenue of the district, his name or style, place of business, and place or places where such business is to be carried on...At the time of such registry and on or before the first of July annually thereafter, every person who produces, imports, manufactures, compounds, deals in, dispenses, distributes, or gives away any of the aforesaid drugs shall pay to the said collector a special tax at the rate of \$1 per annum..."

prescriptions had to be kept for two years after the prescription was given, and it had to be readily accessible for inspection by any member of the Treasury Department.³⁹

Dr. Mitchell would prescribe several different forms and strengths of cocaine to alleviate several different ailments. He often prescribed tablets, mixtures, or mists to his patients. The form would depend on what exactly symptoms he was trying to lessen. In his ledger he lists a variety of different disorders or illnesses that he was prescribing cocaine to alleviate. These illnesses varied greatly among the patients. Pulmonary tuberculosis and bronchitis were illnesses that were often listed in the register, in which cocaine was prescribed. Coca was commonly prescribed by Dr. Mitchell to treat the common cough and cold, and was useful for clearing the sinuses, so it became a very common prescription. There were a few examples of cocaine being used to treat ailments that were not common and only appeared sporadically in Dr. Mitchell's ledger. One of the rare ailments listed was infant cholera, and while a few different forms of cholera would show up in the ledger, including acid and sun cholera, infant cholera was a rare illness treated by Dr. Mitchell.

Dr. Mitchell would use coca as a treatment quite frequently. Although the government had made regulations on cocaine and people could no longer buy it over-the-counter, it was still commonly prescribed. Dr. Mitchell had several days listed in his register in which he would prescribe some form of coca more than five times in one day. The number of prescriptions he would make would obviously depend on the patients he had seen each day and their ailments.

While many physicians, including Dr. Mitchell, would commonly use cocaine in their medical practices, some of the nation's viewpoints on cocaine were changing. It is because of

³⁹ Dr. Roy E. Mitchell Documents, 1913-1947; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

these changes in views that the Antidrug Movement was started and would eventually lead to passing of the Harrison Narcotic Act.

The Misuse of Cocaine in America and the Fears Associated with It

There are several different factors that led up to the Harrison Narcotic Act. One of these factors is the change in the use of cocaine. Initially, when cocaine was introduced to the United States physicians saw it as a wonder drug and nearly everyone in the medical field used it. While the medical field still found that commonly using cocaine was their best option, the opinions of some in the public began to change. In 1898 a physician published the first article that warned of the severe dangers of the overuse of cocaine. The article was titled “The Abuse and Dangers of Cocaine” and it noted that the majority of cocaine addictions came from a poorly chosen prescription given by the doctor. The article noted that there had been a major increase in the level of cocaine intake in America in the recent years which was due mainly to the nonmedical uses of the drug. It stated that many people no longer saw cocaine as only a medical drug or as a brain tonic for the upper class whites, but rather as a very common drug of choice for blue collar workers, youth, minorities, and parts of the urban society. The article ended by stating the medical community should not entirely stop using cocaine in medicine, but rather that it should be used in a smarter fashion and with a more cautious approach.⁴⁰

While the coca leaf had been used for centuries in South America as a stimulant to be used during intensive physical labor, it was quickly becoming a very common aide among labor workers in the United States. It was first very apparent in New Orleans and along the

⁴⁰ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p91

Mississippi River. The port workers in New Orleans began to use cocaine regularly as a stimulant to assist them through their labor intensive days. These workers were the lowest ranking workers in the shipping industry and therefore had the hardest jobs in terms of physical labor. Cocaine appealed to these workers for several reasons. Cocaine had the ability to numb pain as well as giving them a boost of energy. Cocaine in the powder form also appealed to many of these workers, because it allowed the workers to carry the cocaine on their person at all time and use it quickly, while still being extremely potent.⁴¹

Because of cocaine's stimulus effect, many employers had no problem with several of their workers taking cocaine. They believed that it would increase production rates and keep their workers working harder and longer. Numerous employers would actually provide their workers with cocaine to ensure their quickened pace.⁴²

The shipping docks in New Orleans were not the only place that one could see the common use of cocaine in the hard laborers. The West saw a high use of cocaine in its mine workers. The Northeastern part of the country frequently saw the usage of cocaine in the textile mills. Again in many of these cases, the employers were often providing cocaine to increase the production rates.⁴³ Because many of the workers frequently using cocaine were the lowest in society and were often black, many people around the country began to associate cocaine with the black community. This was especially problematic in the South, where there were already several racial stereotypes against blacks.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 92

⁴² Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 92

⁴³ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 93

⁴⁴ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 91

This association of cocaine with blacks often quickly led to the idea that cocaine overuse was only seen in the less-than-reputable parts of cities. This was another problem that appeared in New Orleans. Franklin Street in New Orleans was a place that was known for its rampant cocaine use in the dancehalls and bars. This came from the port workers who frequently used cocaine at work and who would spend their free time on Franklin Street. Franklin Street quickly became an area of the city that was looked down upon and associated with drugs and violence, all linking back, in the eyes of upper or middle class whites, to the black port workers and to the “immoral and lower classes.” From Franklin Street the misuse of cocaine quickly spread to the New Orleans’ red light district, and because the use was linked to these different groups it eventually led the city of New Orleans to pass laws prohibiting the sale of cocaine.⁴⁵

The association of cocaine to the blacks in New Orleans and other southern cities heightened racial tensions that were already present. The drug was associated with young blacks and whites often believed the drug turned these men into violent and law breaking delinquents. The drug once often misused by whites was now being solely associated with the lower income black communities. This was encouraged by the employers who would supply cocaine to their workers, who were mostly black and were therefore seen as the problem.⁴⁶

Other movements took place in the South that would often lead blacks to use cocaine. City officials had put through several anti-alcohol laws that would prohibit the sale of alcohol and they were especially strict against the blacks. Because of this, it was often easier and cheaper for blacks to obtain cocaine. This did not help the view of the urban districts in the cities, where many blacks resided. These urban districts seemed to be present in every major city

⁴⁵ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 93-94

⁴⁶ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 95

in the United States by the early 1900s. There were reports of problems in New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, among other cities in America that were having problems with cocaine abuse in the vice areas of each city. Many of these vice areas were again commonly associated with the black community and more specifically the young blacks within these communities.⁴⁷

The youth became another area of concern with regard to the misuse and overuse of cocaine in the United States. Many of the youth were attracted to cocaine because of the feelings they received from it. Many youth reported experiencing a feeling of “strength and power” that came from using cocaine. Again, the readily accessibility cocaine made it extremely easy for the youth of the country to try and use cocaine. The cocaine movement among youth quickly became the focus of many city officials. Many cities started campaigns warning of the dangers and urging the end of selling cocaine to harmless and helpless children. While the campaigns would show young children being sold to, it was usually the teenage boys who were experimenting with the use of cocaine. The threat of cocaine use among the young boys of the United States and their fall into the vices of the lower class and less-than-reputable was one of the leading forces behind the better control of the sale and use of cocaine.⁴⁸

Prostitutes were another target of the movement against cocaine by city officials across the country. There were several factors about cocaine use and prostitution that worried officials. One was the idea that cocaine use would lead young women to fall into prostitution. Many believed that cunning men would trap young women who were under their control to start using cocaine and eventually use it on a regular basis. The idea of prostitutes frequently using cocaine worried many for reasons other than the prostitutes own health. Many believed that if the

⁴⁷ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 95-96

⁴⁸ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 97-98

prostitutes generally used cocaine that it would then spread to the men who would visit these girls. There were often reports of men who had started habitually using cocaine because they had first started using cocaine with their regular, and sometimes weekly, visits to their prostitutes. It was the fault of the prostitutes that others were becoming addicted to cocaine and if the drug could be stop at the prostitute level then others would not fall into the lures of cocaine usage.⁴⁹

The overuse and misuse of cocaine was quickly becoming a major concern for many people in the United State by the 1890s. This fear led to several movements and actions by cities in an attempt to try and protect their city from the problems associated with cocaine addiction. While the banning of sales of cocaine would start as city movements, it would eventually progress to a nationwide movement to ban the sale of cocaine without a written prescription from a physician. The movement against cocaine would become a focal point of the Prohibition Movement in the United States.

All of these factors led to the Harrison Narcotic Act and the requirement of prescriptions for any medicine containing cocaine. Like the Prohibition Movement, the Antidrug Movement shared many beliefs and fears, and the idea that a more strict control of each substance would be better for the country.

⁴⁹ Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, p 96-98

Conclusion

There are several different parallels between the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement in the United States. Each of these Movements feared that both substances were evil and would eventually lead to more problems, both for the people who consumed them and for the society. The Prohibition Movement had several arguments behind it that were supporting the prohibition of alcohol including: a religious argument, a scientific argument, a social argument, an economic argument, and a political argument. And although there is some debate over whether the Antidrug Movement actually was a direct result of the Prohibition Movement or a completely separate movement, it is easy to see that both movements shared many of the same arguments and beliefs. Both alcohol and cocaine were firstly seen as positive substances that were supposed to help people, but as time passed and science evolved, serious flaws were found to be associated with the misuse of both substances. Many people in the United States believed that alcohol and cocaine would lead to more social problems such as crime, vices, and broken homes. In an attempt to limit these social problems, the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement sought to eliminate the substances believed to be causing the problems.

While it is unknown if there was a major Antidrug Movement in Eau Claire, it is possible to see the Prohibition Movement was present. There were not only several Prohibition Clubs in the area, but two of the clubs had numbers of 80 or greater. These Clubs are useful for showing how extensive the Prohibition Movement was in Eau Claire. Eau Claire was not unlike many other communities across the United States during this time period. The city is also the same with the make-up of the members who supported the Prohibition Movement. The Movement was made of mainly conservatives and people who were trying to secure the future of America.

Eau Claire shows these same results with the majority of members identifying themselves as Republican and Americans.

Whether it was one movement that led to another or two completely separate movements, the result was a change in the medical practice of Dr. Mitchell in Eau Claire. Before these movements led to the passing of the Harrison Narcotic Act, Dr. Mitchell was not required to write actual prescriptions for any cocaine-containing medications and many of his patients could actually purchase these medicines over-the-counter at the local drugstore. After the Harrison Narcotic Act was passed, which was a direct result of the Prohibition Movement and the Antidrug Movement, Dr. Mitchell had to change how he handled these prescriptions, which changed his medical practice. Dr. Mitchell is an example of how a nationwide movement can affect the everyday practice of a physician in Eau Claire.

Bibliography

Primary Source

Dr. Roy E. Mitchell Documents, 1913-1947; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

William Warren Bartlett Documents, 1824-1931; Special Collections & Archives. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Secondary Sources

Barry John M.; *The Great Influenza*; Penguin Books, New York; 2005

Brian, Paul F. and Coward, Gary A.; "A Review of the History, Actions, and Legitimate Uses of Cocaine" *Journal of Substance Abuse*, Vol. 1, 1989, pp436-437

Clark, Norman H.; *Deliver Us From Evil*; W.W. Norton and Company Inc., New York; 1976

Crellin, John K.; *A Social History of Medicines in the Twentieth Century*; Pharmaceutical Products Press, New York; 2004

Greenbaum, Fred; *Progressives in America*; Krieger Publishing Company, Malabar, Florida, 2005

Gould, Lewis L.; *The Progressive Era*; Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1974

Hofstadter, Richard; *The Progressive Movement: 1900-1915*; Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1963

The Living Webster Encyclopedia Dictionary of the English Language; The English-Language Institute of America, Chicago

Resek, Carl; *The Progressives*; The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis and New York, 1967

Schmeckebier, Laurence F.; *The Bureau of Prohibition*; The Brookings Institution, Washington; 1974

Sinclair, Andrew; *Prohibition: The Era of Excess*; Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston; 1962

Spillane, Joseph F.; *Cocaine*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2000,

Timberlake, James H.; *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*; Harvard University Press, Cambridge; 1963;