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A Societal Comparison of the Prohibition in a Large Metropolitan City and a Small Settlement in the United States from 1920 to 1929.

Dissertation in History

Contents

Abstract

In 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment banned the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcohol across the United States. This National Prohibition lasted for 14 years and was repealed in 1933. As a result of societal changes such as urbanisation and immigration, the 1920s was a decade of divisions. The United States was divided between two separate yet competing lifestyles which held entirely different values. The traditional rural Protestant culture held family and community values high, whereas the new pluralistic urban society had moved away from these ideals due to the presence of various religions, ethnicities and ideological beliefs. The issue of the Prohibition was at the heart of the urban-rural divide as it was commonly perceived as a rural attempt to breakdown the urban hybrid culture.

This paper comparatively analyses newspapers with the aim of exploring the societal experiences during the Prohibition in a large metropolitan city (New York City, New York) and a small settlement surrounded by rural hinterland (Jackson, Mississippi) from 1920 to 1929. It furthers the urban-rural dichotomy through the revelation of societal differences in each region whilst offering precisions to common generalisations. The paper shows that urban regions were centres for crime and corruption as it was home to a larger proportion of anti-Prohibitionists, thus alcohol flowed freely. It also reveals the Prohibition was more successful in rural settlements as they embodied evangelical Protestant values and had little cultural influence from anyone who was not a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP), despite the large African-American population residing in these areas.

Glossary

‘Dry’ / ‘drys’ = referring to an individual/ a group of people who support the Prohibition

‘Wet’ / ‘wets’ = referring to an individual/ a group of people who oppose the Prohibition

‘Wettest’ = referring to a place where people drink alcohol considerably more than other regions.

Speakeasies = an illegal drinking establishment that sells liquor.

Introduction

Beginning in 1920 and ending in 1933, the United States (US) Federal Government prohibited the national "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors"[1] under the Eighteenth Amendment. According to Michael Lerner, the Prohibition is key to understanding the cultural conflict over identity which separated Americans throughout the 1920s.[2] America was becoming increasingly pluralistic by the 1920s, with a clear divide between the rural and urban lifestyle. Urban cities flourished as a result of the Industrial Revolution; metropolitan centres offered employment opportunities and a higher standard of living, which instigated mass immigration and brought together a diverse range of religions and ethnicities in one densely populated area. The growth of urban dwellings led to resentment between the old and the new, the city and the small-town as the urban area was shaping a new hybrid culture which was far away from that of the rural Protestant. The new urban mindset was infiltrating the US; those residing in Southern and rural regions that had physical distance between city felt that this urban mindset was the breeding ground of crime and moral corruption. Resultantly, those living in rural areas not only opposed city life but tried to revert the urban mindset back to that of the small-town Protestant. Henceforth, the aim of this dissertation is to explore the experience of life under the Prohibition in a metropolitan urban setting in comparison to a small settlement surrounded by rural hinterland from 1920 to 1929. To achieve this aim, two research questions have been devised: "What were the varying societal characteristics of each region at this time?" and "How did these varying societal characteristics impact the experience of Prohibition within each region?"

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[1] H. D. B., "Is the Mere Possession of Intoxicating Liquor Illegal?" *Virginia Law Review* 9, no.2 (1922): 133.
[2] Michael A. Lerner, *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), xii.

In order to conduct a detailed comparative study, New York City, New York (NYC) and Jackson, Mississippi will represent a metropolitan urban setting and a small settlement respectively. NYC was and still is the largest city in the US, with a total population of 5,620,048.[3] in 1920. It was often referred to as the 'wettest' location in the US because alcohol flowed so freely. Therefore, the study will explore NYC as it embodies the metropolitan stereotype during the Prohibition and offers an abundant amount of source material. Jackson will represent a rural area as it exemplifies the religious, societal and demographic characteristics that a rural region possessed during the 1920s.[4] However, Jackson legally became an urban dwelling in 1920, despite having only 22,817 inhabitants,[5] which is comparatively smaller to NYC's population. Jackson consists of 3 counties: Hinds, Rankin and Madison which all have more than double the number of rural inhabitants than urban inhabitants.[6] Moreover, this study will analyse newspapers; as Jackson newspapers will be distributed to rural regions, they will exemplify rural characteristics, so the urban-rural divide theme is applicable to this dissertation. Additionally, a lack of primary source material was available for a comparative analysis for regions that were rural, thus, to avoid limiting the scope of the study, Jackson will represent a rural settlement. Whilst Jackson is not referred to a rural region throughout this study, it is not referred to as an urban one either and will be applied to the analysis of rural areas as they bear the similar characteristics. Therefore, Jackson is referred to as a small settlement surrounding by rural hinterland. The study will use a limited timeframe

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[3] Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium New York, 1920* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924, 8.
[4] Timothy R. Mahoney, "The Small City in American History," *Indiana Magazine of History* 99, no. 4 (2003): 321.
[5] Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Massachusetts – Montana, 1920*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924, 8.
[6] Ibid, 19, table 5.

ranging from 1920, the year that the Eighteenth Amendment was enacted to 1929, 4 years before repeal. By 1929, the Wall Street Crash had acted as a turning point in terms of public support. After 1929, Americans who previously supported the Prohibition turned towards repeal due to financial necessity. Moreover, nationwide opinion surrounding the Prohibition within news articles tended to sway towards repeal towards the end of the decade,[7] thus a comparison beyond this point is not necessary.

Richardson argues that those who compose news understand who their target audience is and that "the sourcing and construct of the news is intimately linked with the actions and opinions of (usually powerful) social groups."[8] Thus, newspapers reflect the experiences and opinions of localised regions during the selected timeframe. The newspaper articles that this study analyses are acquired online via Newspapers.com (www.newspapers.com). This archive holds newspapers from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century and is "the largest online newspaper archive consisting of 486+ million newspapers."[9] It provides high-quality digitized copies of numerous historical and current US newspapers and allows the user to examine local and national news outlets. The search function permits the user to narrow down a search in terms of date, location, newspaper and keywords in order to find relevant articles. To discover local attitudes and experiences during the Prohibition in an urban and rural region, the study analyses articles from two local Jackson newspapers: the *Jackson Daily News* and the *Clarion-Ledger* and nine local newspapers from NYC:

[7] "Hideaway Galleries," *Clarion-Ledger*, 29 January 1929, 4; "Brimming Bathtubs," *Clarion-Ledger*, 1 May 1929, 4; "N.Y. Speakeasies Keep Supply Ahead of Demand," *Standard Union*, 30 December 1929, 22.
[8] John E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1.
[9] "About Newspapers.com," Newspapers.com, accessed March 4, 2019, https://www.newspapers.com/about/.

the *New York Times*, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, the *New York Herald*, the *Daily News*, the *New-York Tribune*, the *Brooklyn Citizen* the *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, the *Brooklyn Daily Edge* and the *Standard Union*. Both Jackson newspapers make an equal contribution within each chapter of this dissertation, whereas the *New York Times*, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, *the New York Herald*, the *Daily News* and the *New-York Tribune* contributed significantly more out of all the selected NYC newspapers. Chapter 1 and 2 also use population statistics, demographic statistics and the *US Census of Population and Housing* in Mississippi and New York to provide data on the demographic composition of each region.

Several phrases and various slang were searched in relation to each chapter. Usually "liquor" and the subject of the chapter was searched. To improve the specificity of the search, the 'advance' tool allows multiple words to be searched together. This reduced the number of irrelevant sources and made analysing relevant sources more manageable, which was less of a necessity for Jackson newspapers than for NYC due to the sheer volume of NYC press held in the online archive. At times, the keyword search did not recognise the word or mistook the word for another, and the print of some newspapers was illegible due to smudged ink and torn pages, which limited the analysis of relevant articles. The analysis of news articles investigates several sources, which include local and national news reports, opinion pieces, anecdotal entries, church service announcements and advertisements. In order to gain an outside perspective, the study will also conduct an analysis of news articles about NYC in Jackson press and news articles about Jackson in NYC press. The selected method is slightly limited in its true reflection of NYC and Jackson as occurrences that went undetected and unreported are not considered. Nonetheless, it still enables an understanding of local society and culture in both regions.

This comparative study intends to explore the less tangible experiences of life in an urban and rural dwelling within the US. In order to understand the similarities and differences that exist between NYC and Jackson, this dissertation divides into three chapters, each exploring an essential aspect of US society in the 1920s. Through the comparative analysis of statistical data, news reports, opinion sections, church service notices and advertisements, chapter one investigates the religious background of NYC and Jackson and explores how the religious composition of each region had an impact on the attitudes towards and experiences of the Prohibition. Chapter two focuses on the racial demographics and immigrant population of each region and discusses attitudes towards these individuals and their impact on the Prohibition's success or lack thereof. This chapter also uses census data to understand the ethnic composition of each region and comparatively analyses news reports and opinion pieces to gauge regional differences in attitudes and experiences. The final chapter examines crime and corruption in NYC and Jackson through the analysis of news reports documenting the criminal activity associated with alcohol within both regions.

When discussing the Prohibition, this study will always refer to the Prohibition of alcohol in the US that begun in 1920 and ended in 1933.

Literature Review

Partisan essays published during the 1920s rallied support for the repeal movement. After repeal, scholarly interest in the field had diminished as the Prohibition debate had left the public domain. However, an academic revival occurring in the early 1960s brought the topic of Prohibition back into academic discussion.[10] Extensive literature explores the cultural divide between urban and rural America in the twentieth century and the Prohibition as separate entities; however, it is uncommon that they are the mutual primary focus of academia. Instead, the literature focuses on the Prohibition's underlying causes and the extent of its success. Although this field lacks any pioneering academic research that primarily focuses on the Prohibition as a crucial component of the urban-rural conflict in the early twentieth century, literature tends to touch upon this matter within broader fields such as urbanisation, reformism and religious division within US society.

Up until the late 1960s, historians regarded the Prohibition as a failed experiment. In his 1955 book, Richard Hofstadter reveals that the Prohibition was an anti-reform movement "carried about America by the rural-evangelical virus".[11] which opposed the "pleasures and amenities of city life".[12] in a quest to preserve the perceived superior morality of rural America. In 2010, Daniel Orkent develops this discussion by signifying that small-town Protestants were fearful of the social change happening in the urban regions. He uses case studies to depict how controlling the personal

[10] Paul Aaron and David Musto, "Temperance and Prohibition in America: A Historical Overview," in *Alcohol and Public Policy: Beyond the Shadow of Prohibition*, ed. Mark H. Moore and Dean R. Gerstein (Washington: National Academy Press, 1981), 128.
[11] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 288.
[12] Ibid.

behaviour of humans played out into reality.[13] These historians acknowledge an urban pluralistic culture in the 1920s, which will be explored throughout this dissertation. Andrew Sinclair's 1962 book *The Era of Excess* is the first comprehensive and reductionist study of the Prohibition. Prior to this, the Prohibition was presented as a "parenthetical digression"[14] rather than a major aspect of US history. Sinclair presents the Prohibition as the "final assertion of the rural protestant mind against the new urban and polyglot culture."[15] The study overgeneralises on aspects of the Prohibition and its ramifications on US society, hence a gap exists here to explore overgeneralisations and popular conceptions about the Prohibition in urban and rural areas. Norman H. Clark challenges this interpretation of the Prohibition as an urban phenomenon after new research and analysis of several states shows that there were many urbanites that were in favour of the Prohibition.[16] Furthermore, in 1985, Kerr. K. Austin used undiscovered Anti-Saloon League records to argue that the 'drys' spoke of rural righteousness versus urban wickedness, which resulted in historians adopting "this rhetoric [which] was simply a shorthand way of observing religious and ethnic differences within the population that had to be conquered."[17] Therefore, Austin claims that the Prohibition was a rural attempt at reclaiming urban regions by imposing rural values across the US.[18]

In 1963, Joseph R. Gusfield broke the reductionist ground and shifted discussion by

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[13] Daniel Orkent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 16.
[14] Gilman M. Ostrandor, "Prohibition: The Era of Excess. By *Andrew Sinclair*. Preface By *Richard Hofstadter*. And Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States. By *Stanley Baron*.," *The American Historical Review* 68, no. 1 (1962): 160.
[15] Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), ix.
[16] Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976), 74.
[17] Kerr K. Austin*, Organized for* Prohibition*: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League* (New Haven: Yale University Press, *1985*), 415.
[18] Ibid.

analysing the role of the temperance movement throughout US history. He concludes that the Prohibition was a symbolic crusade driven by a desire to defend the lost status of middle-class Americans.[19] In the same year, James H. Timberlake draws a similar conclusion but takes a slightly different approach to Gusfield by analysing the causes of the Prohibition, presenting the Prohibition as a class conflict rather than an urban versus rural struggle.[20] John C. Burnham's 1968 work titled *New Perspectives on the Prohibition 'Experiment' of the 1920's* ignited and pioneered the revisionist argument that the Prohibition was a moderately fruitful reform, which reduced the negative influence of alcohol within the United States.[21] This has recently been supported by W. J. Rorabaugh who stated that the Prohibition was more of an attempt to deal with tangible problems.[22] Moreover, Norman H. Clark's 1976 book *Deliver Us From Evil*, which covers a greater timeframe and geographical region than his earlier 1965 book *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington*, briefly touches upon the division between urban and rural regions through the lens of the Prohibition. Even though Clark heavily associates the saloon lifestyle with urban corruption, rather than discussing the Prohibition as a rural force against the urban lifestyle, Clark acknowledges that the perceived evils of Prohibition are not defined by region by comparing the nuclear family with the counterculture of the saloon.[23] The study aims to explore this argument through a geographical lens.

More recently, historians have studied the Prohibition in various geographical

[19] Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 8.
[20] James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900 – 1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 128.
[21] John C. Burnham, "New Perspectives on the Prohibition" Experiment" of the 1920's," *Journal of Social History* 2, no. 1 (1968): 52.
[22] W. J. Rorabaugh, *Prohibition: A Concise History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 6 -25.
[23] Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 13; 67.

locations within the US in order to overcome generalisations. In 2007 Joseph L. Coker compares the experience of Prohibition in the North and South of the US and suggests that Prohibition looked very different in the South due to the moral desires of Southern evangelicals to uphold the honour of the "New South" and preserve Southern culture. However, Coker focuses on the period between 1880 and 1915.[24] Although Coker provides excellent insight and background to regional differences in the temperance movement, the study explores an earlier time period and focuses on Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. Furthermore, Michael Lerner provides the first full and comprehensive scholarly discussion that places NYC in the framework of the Prohibition. Using a wide range of sources such as newspapers, district attorney scrapbooks and magistrate reports, Lerner discusses NYC as a culturally pluralistic resistant body that opposed the dry movement and threatened the preservation of the 'traditional' American identity. He describes this clash between NYC and the dry movement as a dispute about the competing ideas of American society.[25] Historians who have studied urbanisation in America's small-cities have argued that the "urban history of the United States is, for the most part, metropolitan history"[26] and that "relatively few historians have considered the history of small towns."[27] Therefore, further study into the Prohibition in rural America is essential. Janice Branch Tracy's 2015 book titled *Mississippi Moonshine Politics* looks at Mississippian bootleggers[28] relationship with the law, however, focuses on the time period from 1933 to 1966, when Mississippi enforced state Prohibition.

[24] Joe L. Coker, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 124.
[25] Lerner, *Dry Manhattan*, 6
[26] James J Connolly and E. Bruce Geelhoed, "The Small-City Experience in the Midwest: An Introduction," *Indiana Magazine of History* 99, no. 4 (2003): 307.
[27] Mahoney, "The Small City in American History," 311.
[28] An individual who makes, sells or distributes goods illegally.

There is a lack of comparative research that discusses the Prohibition at the forefront of the urban and rural divide within the US, which provides a gap for academic investigation.

Chapter 1: The Impact of Religion on the Experience of the Prohibition in New York City and Jackson

Although Christianity dominated American religion since the colonial era, "by the turn of the twentieth century, the landscape of US religion included a rich mix of traditions."[29] The First World War, migration, industrialisation and urbanisation ignited a social change "from which arose a confusion of values that could be seen as rural, urban, Western, Eastern, ethnic, Catholic, Protestant, Pietist, or Liturgical."[30] Consequently, conflict developed between different religions, ethnicities and regions as each body was attempting to protect their own values, whilst others struggled to enforce their beliefs and teachings upon the whole nation. As a result, US culture lacked unification and common values.[31] Instead, religious beliefs divided the US and became increasingly linked to the rift between urbanised locations and the smaller settlements, mainly in the rural South. Methodists and Baptists, who were most prominent in the rural and southern regions, tended to advocate for the Prohibition, whereas Catholics, Jews and some Protestant groups such as Lutherans, who were most prominent in the North-western urban regions, tended to oppose the Prohibition due to their cultural heritage.[32] As a result, areas dominated by evangelical Protestants viewed the city as immoral as it allowed the diminishment of traditional Protestant values due to the influence of non-Protestant persuasions. This chapter intends to discuss different religious attitudes towards the Prohibition and how these attitudes influenced the experience of the Prohibition in NYC and Jackson from 1920 to 1929. Focusing on Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism, the contextual

[29] Mark Hulsether, *Religion, Culture, and Politics in the Twentieth-Century United States* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2007), 58.
[30] Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 92.
[31] James Larry Hood, *Freedom in Religion or Freedom from Religion* (Lanham: Hamilton Books, 2010), 2.
[32] David E. Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), 128.

background to religion in the US will be explored before investigating the regional differences of religion and its impact on the experience of the Prohibition.

Undeterred by disestablishment in 1791 which officially declared that the government would no longer be controlled by one church, Protestantism was the most influential religion within the US. Society continued to structure itself in accordance with Protestant teachings; for example, advertisements for non-religious jobs required candidates to be affiliated to the church.[33] The US religious sphere was constantly changing throughout the twentieth century. Catholicism was well established, with over 12 million Catholics residing in the US in 1910.[34] Judaism was rapidly increasing in influence, so much so that by 1917, the Jewish population was over 3 million.[35] Baltzell's "triple melting pot theory" suggests that the three main religious bodies in the US were shifting in influence. He argues that as the twentieth century progressed, WASPs retained their high status and power, whereas Catholic and Jews retained their low status but increased their power.[36] Consequently, Protestantism began losing its influence to other religions and ideologies present in the US. Moreover, biblical authority was being undermined by Darwin's evolution theory, which triggered a less literal understanding of the Bible. Although modern scientific ideas were being brought to the fore in the US, this was not at all a period of secularisation. Religion remained an intrinsic part of people's daily lives in 1920,

[33] "Instructor of Automobiles Principles; State Experience and Church Affiliation," *New York Times,* 23 August 1921, 30.
[34] "The Global Catholic Population," Pew Research Centre, accessed January 5, 2019, https://www.pewforum.org/2013/02/13/the-global-catholic-population/.
[35]American Jewish Committee, "Statistics of Jews," *The American Jewish Year Book* 22, no. 1 (1920): 362, table II.
[36] E. Digby Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy & Caste in America* (Secher & Warburg, London, 1965), 70-71.

with church membership continuing to grow up until the turn of the twenty-first century.[37]

Inspired by the rise of modern liberalism, urbanisation and progressive movements, Americans experimented by behaving outside the laws of their religion. Combined with the increasing influence of other religions, this caused traditional Protestant family and community values to gradually diminish in the urban centres due to the anonymity of city life,[38] which resulted in a struggle to maintain the US's identity as a WASP nation. The concept of the traditional nuclear family and gender roles were central to Protestant values. Women were expected to remain as private and domestic beings and men were expected to operate in the public sphere and provide for the family. These values were increasingly distant from the values of urban populations.[39] The city was understood to be the root cause of corruption and the weakening of WASP values accountable to its new hybrid culture, which tolerated diverse ethnicities and religions. Also applicable to Catholics, Orkent argues that many concerned Americans associated the cultural shifts occurring in urban regions with the presence of Jews as they were commonly portrayed in the media as modern and culturally pluralistic beings.[40] With the hope to reinforce rural Protestant teachings, reform urban areas, decrease the influence of other religions and to rally up support for the Prohibition, the 'drys' and rural media outlets exposed the evils of the new urban lifestyle, which primarily involved the problem of alcohol.

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[37] Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America 1776- 2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1992), 45.
[38] Hood, *Freedom in Religion or Freedom from Religion*, 1-2.
[39] Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955), 154.
[40] Orkent, *Last Call*, 160.

Methodists and Baptists fall under the evangelical umbrella of Protestantism and were heavily dominant in Southern and rural regions. Both churches were central in aiding the enactment and continuation of the Eighteenth Amendment. White Baptists dominated Jackson's religious landscape, followed by black Baptists.[41] A relatively small number of Catholics and Jews inhabited Jackson in comparison to Protestants during the 1920s. Sinclair generalises that one out of five church members in rural areas were Catholic,[42] however, the *Jackson Daily News* frequently listed one Catholic Church in comparison to 10 protestant churches in the Sunday Service Section[43] and the *Clarion-Ledger* only listed one Jewish service.[44] The Catholic presence in Jackson is smaller than what Sinclair suggests the average rural Catholic population is in 1920 because Jackson was located in the highly religious Bible Belt. Subsequently, Jackson in the 1920s was farther away from a pluralistic culture than most rural areas, which amplifies the divide between Jackson and NYC. Furthermore, an estimated 3881 Jews resided in the whole state of Mississippi in 1918, so it can be assumed that Jewish presence in Jackson was low during the 1920s.[45] This indicates that Catholic and Jewish presence in Jackson was scarce or not important to mainstream society. Catholics and Jews for the most part working-class European immigrants[46] and were mainly situated in urbanised areas due to economic opportunity and a higher standard of living. Their 'undesirable' heritage and 'alien' religion made them a target for racism. It has been estimated that the Catholic population in NYC during 1920 was 2,125,000[47] and the Jewish population was

[41] Randy J. Sparks, *Religion in Mississippi* (Mississippi: The University of Mississippi Press, 2001), 289.
[42] Sinclair, *Prohibition*, 83.
[43] "Churches," *Jackson Daily News*, 29 October 1922, 14.
[44] "In Jackson Churches," *Clarion-Ledger,* 29 May 1926, 2.
[45] American Jewish Committee, "Statistics of Jews," 370, table V.
[46] Hulsether, *Religion, Culture, and Politics in the Twentieth-Century United,* 58.
[47]"Catholics," The Encyclopaedia of New York City, accessed 21 March 2019, https://virtualny.ashp.cuny.edu/EncyNYC/catholics.html.

approximately 1,500,000.[48] As NYC's total population was 5,620,048, Protestants and religious 'others' (including non-religious peoples) accounted for approximately 35% of the NYC population. Thus, it can be concluded that the presence of Protestantism in NYC was still significant but proportionally weaker than it was in Jackson during the 1920s.

Catholicism and Judaism were underrepresented in Jackson newsprint; both religions were typically mentioned when reporting on special activities or crimes relating to their establishments, with the occasional exert written by a member from either establishment. Hence, Jackson press did not provide Catholics or Jews with an equal platform in the local news and often portrayed both religions as inferior to Protestants.[49] Catholic and Jewish negative opinion of Protestants was rarely represented in Jackson newspapers, however, there are short articles written by American Jews published within certain NYC newspapers,[50] suggesting that the NYC press had a more diverse religious representation amongst its writers and was more pluralistic than Jackson. The anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic sentiment that existed throughout the US was heightened by fears about the preservation of the American identity, which can be seen within Jackson press when a Jewish individual was described as an "unblendable element"[51] and Catholic teachings argued to be "not even of American domicile."[52] An individual was considered American if they fit the WASP criteria, thus American identity was based upon race, heritage and religion in the twentieth century. Moreover, an article published in the *Clarion-Ledger* criticises

[48] American Jewish Committee, "Statistics of Jews," 373, table IX.
[49] "Natchez Bishop at Meridian," *Jackson Daily News*, 24 October 1922, 6.
[50] "Battling Races," *Daily News,* 17 May 1926, 89.
[51] "The Jew," *Clarion-Ledger*, 25 October 1923, 1.
[52] "The Catholic," *Clarion-Ledger*, 25 October 1923, 1.

Catholic churches for interfering in government affairs,[53] even though evangelical Protestants were instrumental in the pursuit of enacting the Eighteenth Amendment. Henceforth, Catholics and Jews were not viewed as equals to Protestants in Jackson and were considered 'un-American'. The xenophobia in the Jackson press is expected as both publications were owned by the Hedermen family, who were conservative members of the Baptist church.[54]

Religion has always shaped attitudes towards the consumption of alcohol in the US. A large majority of evangelical Protestants supported the Prohibition as it was shaped by evangelical teachings; it advocated that the temperance movement was a reformist attempt "to 'Christianize' American life and reorganize its law around Protestant values and morality."[55] The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) combined gender and domesticity with the problem of alcohol consumption and mobilised women by advocating that alcohol was a threat to American family life as the drunk man would inflict domestic violence, financial instability, illness or death upon the innocent and dependent family.[56] Taking advantage of the widespread fear of diminishing traditional Protestant family values allowed the WCTU and other groups to flourish so much so that they were vital in aiding the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment. Through this reform, Protestant Americans saw the revived potential to regain their influence over the federal government by demanding from the government "what the churches, in their disestablishment, could no longer provide – a

[53] "Will Remain in Federal Council Churches of Christ," *Clarion-Ledger*, 22 May 1923, 1.
[54] "Hederman Family," Kathleen Woodruff Wickham, Mississippi Encyclopaedia, accessed March 13, 2019, https://mississippiencyclopedia.org/entries/hederman-family/.
[55] Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 42.
[56] Andrew P. Napolitano, *Theodore and Woodrow: How Two American Presidents Destroyed Constitutional Freedoms* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 204.

source of firm moral authority over the discipline of interpersonal relationships."[57] For Pietistic and evangelical Protestants who dominated Southern rural America, alcohol consumption was more than just illegal; it was immoral and affected the purity of the person who chose to indulge. Although most Protestant churches supported the Prohibition, many Protestants were caught for Prohibition violations, such as a Protestant disguised as a rabbi who was caught ordering sacramental wine in NYC.[58] The religion of a Prohibition violator was typically enclosed within the press if they were a Catholic or a Jew,[59] thus to divert attention away from Protestant's violating the law, the press focused on the Catholic and Jewish perpetrators to improve the perceived morality of Protestants.

Protestant Christians proposed theologies based on Biblical teaching to reason that drinking was sinful. The most popular theory explained that "the Bible's sanction of wine was contextually grounded"[60] and thus not applicable to the modern times which were perceived as corrupt. James A. Sanders contended that Jews and Catholics were always anti-Prohibitionist,[61] however, there were many Catholic individuals[62] and groups such as the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America who advocated for the Prohibition. Nonetheless, Catholics generally opposed the Prohibition campaign as it disregarded the "cultural traditions in ethnic enclaves"[63] and gave the government what should have been the church's responsibility to control

[57] Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil,* 92.
[58] "Gentiles Lose Wine Ordered by Rabbis," *New York Times*, 28 January 1922, 9.
[59] "Murder Cases on High Court Docket," *Clarion-Ledger*, 23 February 1923, 4.
[60] John L. Merrill, "The Bible and the American Temperance Movement: Text, Context, and Pretext," *The Harvard Theological Review* 81, no. 2 (1988): 150.
[61] James A. Sanders, *The Re-Birth of a Born-Again Christian: A Memoir* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2017), 111.
[62] "Dry Catholic," *Clarion-Ledger*, 28 April 1926, 8; "Col. Patrick H. Callahan," *Clarion-Ledger*, 7 February 1929, 11.
[63] James J. Hennesy, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 231.

the morality of the people; an article published by a Bishop describes the Prohibition as "unpardonable."[64] The Catholic faith allowed moderate alcohol consumption in accordance with preserving ancient traditions and respecting the Biblical teaching that alcohol is a "gift from God."[65] Although Jewish and Liturgical Protestants were also generally anti-Prohibition, there were sectors within these religious persuasions that campaigned for Prohibition. Moreover, it was not just people of faith who were campaigning for or against the Prohibition.[66] This attempt at social reform was a reaction against the evils of urbanisation as well as a part of the reaction against Catholics and Jews, who had become associated with the negative connotations of alcohol.[67] Catholics and Jews were often associated with immorality and corruption by Protestants, which was continually reinforced within the press.[68] Therefore, the presence of Catholic and Jewish values within the US was assumed to undermine American democracy and threaten US progress by leaving "an identifiable foreign influence in America."[69]

The Prohibition destabilised the economic well-being of many Jewish-Americans who had turned to the liquor trade to improve their lives and reconnect with their past culture.[70] Alongside Jews, Catholics were affected as the Prohibition hindered the religious rituals of both groups, which encouraged many Jewish and Catholic communities, especially within cities, to carry on drinking. Moreover, Orkent argues

[64] "Prohi Amendment is Unpardonable is Claim of Bishop," *Jackson Daily News*, 7 September 1921, 1.
[65] Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888 – 1896, Volume 2* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 68.
[66] Employers were one key group that supported the Prohibition and were not necessarily religious.
[67] Frances Fitzgerald, *The Evangelicals: The Struggle to Shape America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), 112.
[68] "Work in Czecho-Slovakia Described by Rev. Neill," *Jackson Daily News*, 3 August 1922, 3.
[69] Lerond Curry, *Protestant-Catholic Relations in America* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 2-3.
[70] Davis, *Jews and Booze*, 42.

that the xenophobia produced by nativist Protestants, especially Baptists and Methodists, resulted in Catholic and Jewish desire to rebel against a movement driven by these very intolerant Prohibitionists.[71] Reports of Catholic and Jewish individuals violating the Eighteenth Amendment were confined to NYC. Numerous NYC Jewish men entered into illicit liquor trade and became "waxing rich."[72] Although priests were not as frequently involved in violating the Prohibition law, there was a handful of cases which suggested that some Catholic individuals strayed away from the law, such as a priest who was involved in a million-dollar liquor deal.[73] Moreover, an article in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* urged Catholics involved in the liquor business to "chose a more becoming way of living,"[74] which implies that a substantial number of NYC Catholics continued to drink or entered into illicit liquor deals. Reports of illicit liquor trade associated with religious bodies found in Jackson press always focused on other regions of the US,[75] implicating that the Catholics and Jews of Jackson were law-abiding citizens. This contests Kyvig's argument that Jewish bootleggers were prominent in the rural regions of the US.[76] Nonetheless, the low population of non-Protestant religions present in Jackson meant that even if they did violate the Eighteenth Amendment, they would not have had a noticeable impact on the success of the Prohibition in Jackson. Also, the consumption of alcohol often took place undetected within the home,[77] so it is difficult to understand the full extent of liquor consumption amongst religious groups in Jackson.

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[71] Orkent, *Last Call*, 186.
[72] "Are Agents Derelict," *New York Age*, 12 July 1924, 2.
[73] "Jews Deprives of Passover Wine," *New York Herald*, 23 April 1921, 6; "Yellowly Plays Smooth Trick on Liquor Schemers," *Clarion-Ledger*, 23 March 1923, 1.
[74] "The Catholics and Prohibition," *The Brooklyn Daily Edge*, 18 October 1923, 26.
[75] "Booze Pact Under Fire of Courts," *Clarion-Ledger*, 28 October 1926, 1.
[76] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 7.
[77] Louise Chipley Slavicek, *The Prohibition Era: Temperance in the United States* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2009), 98.

A sacramental exception was fixed into the final constitutional legislation, which provoked nationwide debate;[78] in 1923, a New York rabbi denounced the use of sacramental wine by all faiths.[79] Articles that denounce the Prohibition were used to encourage religious Americans to refrain from consuming sacramental wine out of respect for the law.[80] However, sacramental exceptions became a loophole to illicitly obtaining alcohol.[81] Numerous priests and rabbis were involved with illicit liquor trade by forging liquor applications in NYC. In 1926, 600 rabbis were under investigation for falsifying the number of Jewish people in their congregation in order to claim more alcohol in NYC. In one instance, a rabbi was prosecuted for claiming his congregation was made up of 1900 people when there were only 300 members.[82] The use of sacramental wine amongst the Jewish community posed a greater challenge to NYC law enforcement than the Catholic community. Jewish men were one of the most prominent bootleggers throughout the 1920s.[83] This can be attributed to rabbis individually buying and selling wine to be used at home contrasted with the Catholic churches centralised structure, which allowed law enforcement to keep track of wine sold to priests.[84] The lower likelihood of Catholic's misusing sacramental wine is shown through the lack of news reports on the matter in both Jackson and NYC. No reports of forgery of liquor applications were found in the Jackson local

[78] In 1921, sacramental wine was the legal phrase used to describe any alcohol used for sacramental purposes.
[79] "Urges Abolition of Church Wines," *Jackson Daily News,* 24 December 1921, 1; "Opposes Use of Wine," *Clarion-Ledger*, 25 January 1923, 1; "Ban Church Wine to Aid Liquor Law, Says Rabbi Lyons," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* 16 January 1927, 22.
[80] Davis, *Jews and Booze*, 181.
[81] "Rabbi Feinthal Held for Bootleg Plot in Sacramental Wine," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 20 March 1922, 1; "Dry Raiders Seize Sacramental Wine," *New York Times*, 13 September 1922, 23; "Izzy and Moe Seize Sacramental Wine," *New York Times*, 13 October 1922, 3.
[82] "Great Sacramental Wine Scandal in N.Y. Charged by Prohibition Office*," Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 6 October 1926, 3-4.
[83] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 17.
[84] J. Anne Funderburg, *Bootlegger and Beer Barons of the Prohibition Era* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014), 23.

press; as the Jewish and Catholic population of Jackson was small, it would have been easier to notice if a priest or rabbi was claiming for more alcohol than allowed, which may have prevented such occurrences.

Sacramental allowances were subject to government regulation,[85] which enabled law enforcement to prevent or limit the use of sacramental wine, even if they had little right to do so. For example, the police cut off wine supply for Jews celebrating Passover in NYC.[86] Moreover, in 1929 a rabbi declared that the Prohibition hinders the Passover service as alcohol is restricted,[87] which implies that Jewish citizens were unable to express their religion freely due to constitutional law. Jackson press presented Jackson Jews and Catholics as law-abiding citizens who were supportive of the Prohibition. A 1921 news report suggests that the Jewish population of Jackson were optimistic about the use of "honest-to-goodness" wine instead of alcoholic wine at Jewish Passover.[88] This article shows how Protestant rural Americans were able to influence the practices of other religions based upon their own teachings, which the implicates success of the Prohibition campaign in Jackson. Jewish and Catholic communities in smaller towns have been recognised to abide less strictly to the laws of their religions than communities in cities due to their smaller populations and economic factors.[89] A speaker was urging for the unity of Mississippian Catholics in 1921 as a lack of centralisation meant that they were "only barely keeping up the duties of their religion."[90] Centralisation is intrinsic to Catholicism, thus the absence

[85] Louis Fisher, *Congressional Protection of Religious Liberty* (New York: Novinka Books, 2003), 68.
[86] "Police Cut Off Jewish Wine for Passover," *New-York Tribune*, 22 April 1921, 9.
[87] "Prohibition Hinders Passover Services Rabbi Says on Radio," *Standard Union*, 25 April 1929, 13.
[88] "Using Grape Juice for Passover Feast," *Jackson Daily News*, 20 April 1921, 8.
[89] Lee Shai Weissbach, "Religion and Secularism in America's Small-Town Jewish Communities," *Revue Française D'études Américaines* 4, no. 141 (2014): 104.
[90] "Unity for Catholics is Urged by Speaker," *Jackson Daily News*, 16 December 1921, 6.

of centralisation implies that Jackson Catholics were becoming distant from their faith and as a result 'Americanisation.' Henceforth, it may have been more important for these citizens to assimilate rather than to carry on drinking. According to a 1925 article from the *Clarion-Ledger*, religious conversion was happening at mass, with a large number of Jews converting to Christian Science.[91] It is possible that Jewish citizens tolerated this change in fear of facing anti-Semitism from the overly dominant Protestant faith in the rural South or in an attempt to avoid the social pressure of an abstinent community. Moreover, in 1926, an excerpt expressing the opinion of a dry Catholic is published.[92] It is likely that this article was published to remind Jackson's Catholic of the reasons behind the Prohibition and may explain why there are no reports on Catholics drinking alcohol or being involved in illicit alcohol trade in Jackson. Discrimination towards Catholics and Jews also occurred in urban areas, but these religions had more influence in cities than they did in rural areas due to their size. Therefore, the unity of non-Protestant groups was much stronger in cities, meaning that they were less likely to succumb to the intimidation of Protestants just as non-Protestants did in the rural South. However, later in 1926, wine use is reported at Jewish Passover,[93] which suggests Mississippi loosened its regulations of sacramental allowances towards the end of the century.

To conclude, Catholics, Jews and some Protestant denominations generally opposed the Prohibition due to ethnic heritage, religious teachings, economic necessity and xenophobia propagated by nativists. Non-religious people were generally mixed in their attitude towards the Prohibition. However, most Protestant faiths supported the

[91] "To Prevent the Large Accession," *Clarion-Ledger*, 29 December 1925, 3.
[92] "Dry Catholic," *Clarion-Ledger*, 28 April 1926, 8.
[93] "Jewish Passover Subject of Study," *Clarion-Ledger*, 21 August 1926, 2.

Prohibition, as the Prohibition was an evangelical attempt to reinforce the traditional values which persisted to dominate Southern and rural life but had been lost in the new hybrid urban culture. Jackson was dominated by Baptists and had little Jewish or Catholic presence. The attitude projected in the Jackson local press reveals that Jackson's mainstream society supported the Prohibition. Catholics, Jews and Protestants did not violate the law in Jackson, thus religious affiliation did not appear to have an impact on a Jackson citizen's likeliness to disobey the Eighteenth Amendment. For Jackson's Catholics and Jews, complying with the law was either an attempt to avoid xenophobia and intimidation imposed by the overwhelmingly dominated Jackson Protestants or a pursuit to integrate into the American identity by adopting WASP values. Consequently, Protestants were able to project their teachings onto other religious persuasions in Jackson, which implicates the success of the Prohibition in this small settlement. In NYC, the Catholic population dominated the religious landscape and together with NYC Jews, outnumbered NYC Protestants. Reports of Catholics and Jews violating the law were confined to NYC; Jews especially were frequently involved in large-scale illicit liquor trade. In general, the number of Prohibition violations committed by Catholics and Jews was higher in an urban region compared to a rural setting. Due to their larger population and concentration within metropolitan cities, Catholics and Jews were able to preserve the strength and unity of their religion by developing a community within enclaves where they were free to practice their religion. In turn, this reduced the pressure put upon non-Protestants to assimilate into the mainstream WASP identity which was rampant in the rural US. Therefore, the experience of Prohibition varied between NYC and Jackson due to the different religious composition of each location, which is illustrative of the divide between the urban and rural regions of the US in 1920.

Chapter 2: The Impact of Race and Migration on the Experience of the Prohibition in NYC and Jackson

During the nineteenth century, fears about the purity of the American race began to develop. The want to exclude certain individuals (such as the disabled)[94] and certain religious, ethnic and political groups triggered several federal immigration policies towards the end of the nineteenth century, which for the first time put an end to unrestricted immigration to the US. However, these restrictions had no bearing on the presence of the large quantity of 'undesirable' immigrants who arrived after 1870 and were known as the "new" immigrants. The "new" immigrant mostly located in "tightly knit urban ghettoes such as the Lower East Side of New York City"[95] in search of economic opportunities which were less available in rural regions. Rural Protestants and nativists blamed first generation immigrants for alcohol consumption and corruption within the city. Moreover, the Great Migration, which began in 1916 and lasted for more than 60 years, was the movement of 6 million African-Americans out of the South due to harsh racial persecution and economic opportunities in other regions of the US. From 1910 to 1930, NYC's African-American population more than tripled from 91,709 to 327,708.[96] Despite this, most of the African-American population still resided in the South. By 1920, 2.7 million white Americans had migrated out of their place of birth, with the majority heading for the cities where social and economic opportunity was prevalent.[97] Although white American's were

[94] See Douglas C. Baynton, *Defectives in the Land: Disability and Immigration in the Age of Eugenics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
[95] Robert L. Fleegler, *Ellis Island Nation: Immigration Policy and American Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 5.
[96] Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States – 1910 – State Statistics, New Jersey – Ohio*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913, 635, table V; Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States – 130 – Population, Volume III, Part 2: Montana- Wyoming*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933, 279, table 12a.
[97] James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 12 -13.

frequently caught breaching the Eighteenth Amendment, foreign-born immigrants and African-Americans were commonly stereotyped by xenophobic nativists as the prime violators who refused to comply with the law.[98] Consequently. the Prohibition was used as a way for evangelical Protestants and nativists to limit these behaviours whilst taking control of the lives of foreign-born citizens and African-Americans.[99] The chapter will begin by discussing the American identity in terms of race and ethnicity. It aims to show the differences in the experience of the Prohibition between an urban metropolitan city and a small settlement surrounded by rural hinterland by comparing the demographic changes and racial composition of NYC and Jackson and exploring its impact on both regions from 1920 to 1929.

Americanisation campaigns were implemented across the US[100] to integrate foreign-born citizens into society by teaching immigrants about American life and society and encouraging them to disregard their own language and culture. However, this excluded African-Americans and 'undesirable' immigrants, as it was believed that these individuals could not integrate into the American identity. The WASP identity excluded anyone who was not white, of Northern and European heritage and a Protestant. Southern and Eastern Europeans were considered 'undesirable' and impossible to 'Americanise' due to the fear of radicalism, physical skin colour and the vast cultural gap. Fears that "vermin-bearing immigrants"[101] would influence the purity of the American bloodstock and the WASP identity through miscegenation

[98] Orkent, *Last Call*, 236.
[99] Elizabeth Waggoner and Jesse Brinson, "Prevalence of Substance Abuse Within the African-American Community: Mental Health Implications and Interventions," in *Mental Health Care in the African-American Community,* eds. Sadye Logan, Ramona Denby and Priscilla A. Gibson (New York: Haworth Press, 2007), 116.
[100] "Busy 'Y' Program Arranged for Week," *Jackson Daily News*, 16 May 1921, 6.
[101] "Immigrants Must Be Reasonably Clean," *Clarion-Ledger*, 28 March 1922, 7.

were rife. Nativists also feared that Southern and Eastern European immigrants would weaken the American economy and influence its culture.[102] These worries had legal repercussions as some immigrants were deported for being perceived as 'immoral.'[103]

Fears that the WASP establishment's "privileges and natural right to rule were being increasingly threatened by the massive arrival of largely despised (and feared) beer-swilling, wine-drinking new American immigrants."[104] Most of the "new" immigrants who came to the US were either Catholic or Jewish,[105] thus were generally anti-Prohibition. Resentment towards this constitutional amendment usually provoked anti-Prohibitionists from within these religions to disobey it. Furthermore, Europeans dominated US immigration in the nineteenth century. Alcohol was an integral part of European culture, and so European immigrants who brought this cultural norm were regarded as undomesticated and represented the stereotype of the European immigrant.[106] Behr suggests that different attitudes towards temperance were present because Americans were not exposed to any major issue (apart from the civil war), unlike Europeans who seemed to be in a constant whirlwind of social upheaval, war and persecution. Thus, the lack of major issues that existed within America meant that the matter of temperance became their default problem.[107] However, the concept that there were no major issues is from a white American perspective. Of course, there was a huge problem in race relations, which was massively overlooked until the civil rights era.

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[102] Fleegler, *Ellis Island Nation*, 5.
[103] "Deporting Aliens on Moral Charges," *Clarion-Ledger*, 26 March 1927, 12.
[104] Edward Behr, *The Thirteen Years That Changed America (*New York: Arcade Publishing, 2011), 3.
[105] Fleegler, *Ellis Island Nation*, 5.
[106] Ruth Clifford Engs, *The Progressive Era's Health Reform Movement: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 100.
[107] Behr, *The Thirteen Years That Changed America*, 10.

The ethnic composition of Jackson and NYC differed significantly in 1920. White Americans dominated Jackson, accounting for 55% of its total population, followed by Africa-Americans who accounted for 43.5%.[108] 80% of the African-American population still resided in the South in 1920, most of whom were unable to migrate as they were trapped under coercive conditions.[109] Furthermore, out of 18,000,000 foreign-born immigrants, only 603 resided in Mississippi in 1921,[110] accounting for approximately 1% of Jackson's population. 61.2% of NYC was dominated by white Americans, thus a slightly larger proportion of white citizens resided in NYC than in Jackson. Foreign-born citizens accounted for 35% and African-Americans accounted for 2.75% of NYC's population.[111] Therefore, NYC's immigrant population was proportionally higher in NYC than Jackson, and the African-American population was proportionally higher in Jackson than in NYC. Immigrants were concentrated within metropolitan cities due to economic opportunities. Ethnic enclaves existed within the urban regions of the US as immigrants and African-American's pursued comfort from those who spoke their language or shared their cultural values.[112] NYC's Lower East Side was home two dozen different ethnic enclaves, including African, Chinese, Jewish and European settlements.[113] Although nativists viewed these settlements as "degraded slums,"[114] the NYC press often celebrated these clashes of cultures.[115]

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[108] Housing Education and Economic Development, *Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice in Jackson, Mississippi,* 1387, Report, Jackson: 2014. https://www.jacksonms.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1387.
[109] Mark Robert Schneider, *African Americans in the Jazz Age: Decade of Struggle and Promise* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 4.
[110] "Our Foreign Born," *Jackson Daily News,* 12 July 1921, 4.
[111] Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 43, table 10.
[112] Jo Danna, *The Sicilian Project: When Ancient Ways Collide with the Modern World* (Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2011), 46.
[113] Tyler Anbinder, *City of Dreams: The 400-Year Epic History of Immigrant New York* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 354.
[114] Jo Danna, *The Sicilian Project,* 46.
[115] "Our Lost Minorities," *New York Times*, 17 March 1929, 4.

The NYC and Jackson local press associated foreign-born citizens with violations of the Eighteenth Amendment.[116] Immigrants committed 90% of Prohibition violations in NYC in 1923,[117] which is accountable to Italian, Polish and Jewish men dominating US bootlegging.[118] Southern Europeans who came to the US had lower employment opportunities than American citizens and Northern Europeans, so were more likely to choose illegal means to make their fortunes. In NYC, Italians were frequently involved in illicit liquor trade throughout the 1920s[119] and were allegedly very rich individuals.[120] Furthermore, sophisticated Italian bootleg rings operated throughout the city and often became involved with violence and corruption.[121] Italian-Americans were so influential within NYC bootlegging that the Italian-American quarter became the source of supply for much of the city's bootleg liquor.[122] This bootleg liquor supplied speakeasies as well as anyone who required it; Italians often supplied their own speakeasies within the city, which were common throughout the 1920s.[123] News reports towards the end of the 1920s tend to report on Italian bootleggers as an element of US society and not a vice that needs eradicating, which implies the societal tolerance of bootleggers in NYC as the Prohibition progressed. Although Italian bootleggers' presence was strong within NYC, not all Italian-Americans acted against the Prohibition; an Italian squad regularly aided the local police and federal Prohibition agents to catch law violators.[124] Moreover, NYC

[116] "Bill Would Clean Country of Alien Liquor Violators," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 25 January 1925, 7.
[117] "Dry Facts Versus Wet Claims," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 29 January 1923, 24.
[118] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 17.
[119] "Get Whisky Worth $25,000 in Raid on Wholesale House," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 October 1920, 5; "Oscar Waters Receives Indeterminate Sentence for 3rd Degree Forgery," *New York Age*, 18 May 1929, 1.
[120] "Are Agents Derelict," *New York Age*, 12 July 1924, 2.
[121] "Another Marked for Death in Bootleg Feud," *Daily News,* 25 July 1921, 2; "Seventeenth Slaying Comes to Italian Liquor "Curb"," *Daily News*, 10 August 1921, 4.
[122] "14 Raids for Rum Stir Asbury Park," *New York Times*, 25 August 1922, 5.
[123] "Speakeasy Owner Deported to Italy," *Daily News*, 24 July 1929, 436.
[124] "$250,000 Drugs Seized in Raids," *New-York Tribune*, 23 June 1920, 1.

celebrated German culture; German saloons were thriving in the cities before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment. However, German presence in US liquor trade in the first half of the 1920s in NYC appeared non-existent. Customers of the local NYC theatre voiced the concern that the theatre was less enjoyable as there was no German saloon to visit before the show.[125] This is accountable to wartime anti-German sentiment and the tight immigration restrictions opposed upon Germans in the 1920s.[126] However, by 1927, the German saloon was thriving "in the heart of the city."[127] Thus, German presence within the industry had reappeared as post-war nativism died down. German immigrants were involved other breaches of the Prohibition, such as illicit liquor distribution in NYC; a German man was caught with $5,000,000 cargo of liquor in New York harbour in 1926.[128] Although there was much liquor consumption, trade, distribution and manufacture amongst immigrants within NYC, a large majority of US immigrants had no involvement.

Southerners had a tendency to believe that immigrants were the cause of corruption in the cities because they brought a deep drinking culture to a puritan culture that was centred around agriculture, family and the church.[129] Americans mocked the "foreigners' thirst" for alcohol and made clear that they were unable to obtain it within the US.[130] The Jackson press published articles which held negative attitudes towards foreign-born citizens, for example, one article argues that the flow of immigration should be stopped as approximately half of the immigrants are not useful

[125] "More of Little Old New York," *Standard Union*, 31 May 1925, 10.
[126] Tomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest, 1850 – 1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 30.
[127] "I Was Thinking," *Brooklyn Citizen*, 18 September 1927, 15.
[128] "Big Liquor Seizure," *Clarion-Ledger*, 24 November 1926, 1.
[129] Behr, *The Thirteen Years That Changed America,* 63.
[130] "Immigrants Given Flasks Resembling Liquor, but Containing Disinfectants," *New-York Tribune*, 9 March 1921, 22.

to the US economy.[131] Although there was only one report of a drinking establishment in the whole of Mississippi in 1927,[132] the Mississippi Anti-Saloon League believed that "there is great need of extra activity" within the state.[133] Therefore, either drinking occurred privately or the press may have purposely avoiding reporting on public drinking establishments with the intention of compelling the local population to have confidence in the success of the Prohibition with the intent to encourage further compliance. However, due to the low population of immigrants in Jackson, it can be assumed that very few, if any were involved in violating illicit trade and manufacture. Although there were no news reports on liquor violations from the foreign-born population in Jackson, drinking often went undetected in private and was not reported on.

The media was instrumental in facilitating a stereotype of an African-American as an "alcohol crazed criminal" who was a danger to society.[134] To aid the Prohibition campaign in the South, dry campaigners associated alcohol with African-American hypersexuality towards white women.[135] Southern whites took it upon themselves to stop drinking in order to prevent African-American's access to liquor, even if they disagreed with the Prohibition.[136] As a result, the Prohibition became an ideological reform to protect the white women's innocence from the saloon and the African-American men who drank in it.[137] Although there were multiple reports of African-

[131] "Our Foreign Born," *Jackson Daily News,* 12 July 1921, 4.
[132] "Plenty Investigation," *Clarion-Ledger*, 6 March 1927, 9.
[133] "Anti-Saloon League Names New Directors," *Jackson Daily News*, 9 December 1920, 6.
[134] "The South," *Clarion-Ledger*, 27 March 1923, 3; "Negro Shoots Town Officers Near Raymond," *Clarion-Ledger*, 6 July 1924, 5; "Negro Refused Liquor Shoots Restaurant Man," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 4 July 1926, 5; "Drink Crazed Youth Stabbed 2 in Street," *New York Times,* 25 April 1927, 25;
[135] Mary Beth Swetnam Mathews*, Doctrine and Race: African American Evangelicals and Fundamentalism Between the Wars* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017), 116 – 117.
[136]Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 17.
[137] Hanes Walton, "Blacks and the Southern Prohibition Movement," *Phylon* 32, no. 3 (1971): 248.

American violence against white females in NYC press,[138] articles clearly state whether the accusation had been proven true or not, for example, the *Daily News* writes about "an alleged attack on a white girl by a negro."[139] On the other hand, Jackson's local press frequently presented accusations as fact.[140] The *Clarion-Ledger* and the *Jackson Daily News* were historically racist publications; in 1922, the *Jackson Daily News* published an article condemning the use of an African-American man to represent Mississippi in the Senate,[141] which indicates why Jackson press was more likely to present African-Americans as drunk, hypersexual and dangerous individuals. It must be noted that African-Americans were often framed for sexual assault against white women in order to justify lynching in the rural South.[142] Consequently, African-Americans in rural areas, especially in the South, were the focus for Prohibition law enforcement, which meant they had a different experience of the Prohibition to white Southerners. No articles have been found from NYC or Jackson that report on cases of assault on a white woman by a black man as a result of intoxication in either region.

Despite rural attempts to eradicate alcohol consumption amongst African-Americans, there were frequent reports of the arrests of Jackson's black population for being drunk and disorderly,[143] thus alcohol was used amongst African-Americans in Jackson. Furthermore, African-Americans were involved in illicit liquor trade such as

[138] "Girl, 7, Found Slain in Negro's Cellar," *New York Times*, 12 June 1921, 3.
[139] "175 Slain in Tulsa Race Riots," *Daily News*, 2 June 1921, 2.
[140] "Negro is Held For Attempted Assault," *Jackson Daily News*, 30 April 1921, 6.
[141] "Lesser of Evils," *Jackson Daily News*, 17 June 1922, 4.
[142] Joy James, "Searching for a Tradition: African-American Women Writers, Activists and International Rape Cases," in *Black Women in America*, ed. Kim Marie Vaz (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1995), 134.
[143] "One Negro Drunk," *Clarion-Ledger*, 23 March 1923, 8; "Other Sentences Named," *Clarion-Ledger*, 14 November 1929, 10.

bootlegging,[144] but mostly supplied liquor to other African-Americans and operated on a smaller scale in comparison to white Jackson bootleggers. In Jackson, African-American's were reported to be involved in manufacturing, however, due to harsh discrimination, widespread poverty and a strong WASP establishment, they did not often have the resources to conduct illicit liquor manufacture, so were coerced into working for middle-class white citizens. The *Daily News* reports on one case of plantation owners who ran a "feudal horror island" to manufacture liquor in Mississippi. Two important African-American witnesses who worked for the plantation owners failed to appear in court to stand against them,[145] which reduced the likeliness that the two workers would be subject to racial attack for operating outside of the southern racial hierarchy.

Nonetheless, the Prohibition was very important to most black Methodists and Baptists[146] as well as many other conservative African-Americans. Frendreis and Tatalovich argue that African-American Protestants, although slightly more liberal in terms of economy, are very conservative in terms of family roles and traditions.[147] A letter written to the editor of the *Clarion-Ledger* claims that very few African-Americans voted 'wet' in Jackson and the surrounding areas.[148] Therefore, as Jackson became the host for black Baptists, many African-American's in Jackson in favour of the Prohibition. Furthermore, NYC press published multiple articles on black Prohibition agents raiding establishments and arresting violators of the law.[149] These

[144] "Negro Shoots Town Officers Near Raymond," *Clarion-Ledger*, 6 July 1924, 5.
[145] "Horror Isle Peons Fail to Appear," *Daily News*, 25 August 1928, 10.
[146] Mathews, *Doctrine and Race,* 116.
[147] John Frendreis and Raymond Tatalovich, "A Hundred Miles of Dry": Religion and the Persistence of Prohibition in the U.S.," *State Politics and Policy* 10, no. 3 (2010): 304 – 305.
[148] "Voice of the People," *Clarion-Ledger*, 12 July 1929, 13.
[149] "Broadway Oases Face Shut-Down," *New York Times*, 15 December 1921, 10.

news articles show that African-Americans were just as committed or uncommitted to the Prohibition as white Americans, thus, the narrative that alcohol abuse was a "negro problem" was born from white Southern fears that African-Americans were increasingly able to refute their inferior status,[150] so it was an attempt to control the black population.[151] However, Walton depicts the Prohibition as a racial problem, by showing that African-Americans in Mississippi voted against the Eighteenth Amendment.[152] Orkent challenges this by arguing that African-Americans were kept out of the public sphere based on the assumption that they would vote against the Prohibition due to their 'primitive' characteristics.[153] This resulted in an image being used of "a black man with a bottle of whiskey in one hand and a ballot in the other,"[154] to encourage many rural Southern states, including Mississippi, to disenfranchise black voters and exclude them from mainstream society.

The use of African-Americans in authoritative positions reveals that race relations were improving in NYC, however, African-Americans were still subject to harsh discrimination and racial attacks; black Prohibition agents were often attacked for arresting white citizens in NYC.[155] Besides this, African-American's experience of the Prohibition was closer to the experience of white Americans in urban areas than between those African-Americans and white Americans in rural Southern areas.[156] NYC's new liberal culture was more tolerant of African-Americans than Southern rural regions such as Jackson. The Harlem renaissance provided African-Americans

[150] Walton, "Blacks and the Southern Prohibition Movement," 248.
[151] Coker, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause*, 169.
[152] Walton, "Blacks and the Southern Prohibition Movement," 255.
[153] "Up "Harlem" Way," *New York Times*, 3 March 1929, 1.
[154] Orkent, *Last Call*, 236.
[155] "Crowd Beats Cop After Dry Arrest," *New York Herald*, 15 May 1921, 18; "Mob Beats Negro Detective Who Hunts Liquor in Saloon," *New-York Tribune*, 15 May 1921, 12; "Negro Dry Agent Missing; May Have Been Kidnapped," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 August 1924, 1.
[156] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939,* 17.

with the opportunity to produce their own cultural works, with many articles describing the development of the "new negro" who was educated and culturally sophisticated, thus respected by white elites.[157] Moreover, segregation was declining due to the integration of urban neighbourhoods in the twentieth century,[158] which indicates why cities were more racially pluralistic than small settlements and why urban African-Americans had a similar experience of the Prohibition to urban whites.

In NYC, African-American's oversaw their own drinking establishments. An article in the *New York Times* describes what it is like inside an African-American drinking establishment in Little Africa.[159] There was only one report of a public drinking establishment in Jackson, however, it did not enclose who it was run by.[160] It can be assumed that it was not owned by an African-American or an immigrant as it is likely their ethnicity would have been enclosed to reinforce the perception of immorality amongst these groups. Social drinking did occur privately amongst some groups within Jackson, such as a large group of African-Americans having a picnic.[161] In NYC, whites and blacks were socially integrated within drinking establishments.[162] The Catagonia Club and Club Ebony were few of the Black-and-Tans which popped up around NYC in the 1920s. Described as "America's most democratic institution" by the *Messenger,*[163] they were drinking establishments where social and racial boundaries were blurred. Black-and-Tans in NYC changed social norms due to the

[157] "Negro City in Harlem is a Race Capital: Community of 175,000, Now largely in Negroes' Hands, Has Become a Cultural Centre," *New York Times*, 1 March 1925, 6.
[158] Douglas S Massey, Jonathon Rothwell and Thurston Domina, "The Changing Bases of Segregation in the United States," *Ann Am Acad Pol Soc Sci* 626, no. 1 (2009): 74.
[159] "In the Negro Cabarets," *New York Times*, 5 September 1922, 36.
[160] "Plenty Investigation," *Clarion-Ledger*, 6 March 1927, 9.
[161] "Negro Shoots Town Officers Near Raymond," *Clarion-Ledger,* 6 July 1924, 5.
[162] "From Cotton Field and Levee to the Streets of Harlem," *New York Times,* 20 December 1925, 19; "Harlem's Lively Mirth Provokers," *Daily News*, 30 October 1929, 281.
[163] Andrew F. Smith, *Savoring Gotham: A Food Lover's Companion to New York City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 556.

racial integration of cabarets and nightclubs, usually in the black neighbourhoods as black and whites danced freely together, which contributed to the improvement of race relations.[164] Many white New Yorkers enjoyed drinking in African-American establishments. In 1922, 29 white women and 54 white men found in an African-American cabaret were jailed for being disorderly.[165] Moreover, NYC immigrants were also involved in the slight racial integration within the public sphere through mixing at local drinking establishments.[166] Nevertheless, many NYC drinking establishments were also known to exclude races. For example, The Cotton Club was a NYC nightclub that only allowed African-Americans in as entertainment or as staff to mirror the slave master and slave narrative.[167] Furthermore, racially integrated parties were not allowed at Connie's Club, however, 'coloured' parties were allowed for a fee, which was described as "lonesome."[168] This defies the common conception of Harlem, where Connie's Club was located, as a vibrant city for African-Americans.[169] NYC press tended to discuss these integrated establishments more descriptively, whereas Jackson press tended to criticise NYC's loss of morality.[170] The integration of races in drinking establishments in NYC did not go uncontested; by the mid-1920s organisations had given up preventing different races from socially integrating into NYC drinking establishments, despite their condemnation of it.[171] Jackson press did not report on the integration of races in drinking establishments in

[164] Ibid.
[165] "29 White Women Found in Negro Cabaret Jailed," *New-York Tribune*, 4 December 1922, 22.
[166] Elizabeth Clement, "From Sociability to Spectacle: Interracial Sexuality and the Ideological Uses of Space in New York City, 1900 – 1930," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): 28.
[167] "Harlem's Lively Mirth Provokers," *Daily News*, 30 October 1929, 281.
[168] "Social Registerites Mix in Harlem Coloured Club," *Daily News*, 1 November 1929, 4.
[169] Lerner, *Dry Manhattan*, 199.
[170] "Wet's Presume Presentation of Their Case," *Clarion-Ledger,* 14 April 1926, 1.
[171] Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885 – 1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 199.

Jackson which is expected due to the established hierarchy and racial and legal that existed in the South in the form of Jim Crow law.[172]

To conclude, the American identity excluded African-Americans and 'undesirable' immigrants and was inclusive of WASPs who were of Northern or Western European heritage. Immigrants and African-Americans became associated with the negative connotations of alcohol and were blamed for the liquor violations, even though many American-born citizens also violated the Eighteenth Amendment. Although Jackson and NYC were both dominated by white Americans, both regions experienced the Prohibition differently. A higher proportion of immigrants resided in urban regions such as NYC compared to Jackson and a higher proportion of African-Americans resided in rural settlements and small settlements such as Jackson compared to NYC. Most bootlegging crimes and liquor trade committed in NYC were by Southern and Eastern European immigrants, whereas immigrants in Jackson did not violate any element of the Eighteenth Amendment, which challenges Davis' argument that there were immigrant bootleggers in the rural regions of the US.[173] It may be the case that these foreign-born migrants went undetected or because Jackson was highly dominated by evangelical Protestants, intimidation encouraged compliance with the Prohibition. Therefore, rural immigrants were more likely to obey the law, despite the belief that immigrant groups were responsible for violating the Prohibition and corrupting the cities. Foreign-born immigrants became influential within NYC and were widely considered as integrated into metropolitan society, probably because they were supplying alcohol for the 'wets.' African-Americans were involved in alcohol

[172] Separate but equal in public
[173] Davis, *Jews and Booze*, 7.

consumption, trade and manufacture in NYC and Jackson, but the experiences of urban and rural African-American's differed. Many southern African-Americans were Baptists, so they abided by the Prohibition. Despite this, African-Americans were involved in bootlegging in Jackson, operating alone on a small-scale and only supplying other African-Americans. Whereas in NYC, racial boundaries were beginning to crumble through the integration of some drinking establishments in the new urban hybrid culture. Although there was a larger proportion of African-Americans residing in Jackson than in NYC, there was no racial integration and mixing of cultures. Drinking in public was not reported and if did occur, it was confined and separated by race. White rural Southerners were generally able to reduce alcohol consumption amongst African-Americans accountable to African-American poverty.[174] Although racial discrimination was still extremely prevalent in the cities, the urban environment allowed African-Americans to take authoritative positions and gain financial independence through ownership of drinking establishments unlike the majority of rural America. Therefore, in the small settlements and the surrounding rural areas xenophobic feeling toward ethnic 'others' and the dominant WASP establishment caused a different experience of the Prohibition to urban regions, which were more tolerant of ethnic integration. Thus, African-Americans and immigrants were essential in the development of the liberal urban culture and were intrinsic to the 'lawless' metropolitan experience of the Prohibition.

[174] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 17 – 18.

Chapter 3: Crime and Corruption in New York City and Jackson

It is widely disputed whether the Prohibition did more harm than good. Although national consumption rates of alcohol decreased throughout the 1920s,[175] overall crime rates rose, with the number of homicides having the most dramatic increase across the US.[176] The Prohibition turned well-respected citizens into criminals overnight. It robbed brewers, distillers and saloon-keepers of their legitimate incomes and placed it in the hands of lawbreakers.[177] The US in the 1920s has often been referred to as "the lawless decade"[178] in which illicit liquor trade was carried out by bootleggers, rumrunners[179] and organised criminal networks. "Police, politicians, judges, lawyers, and ostensibly legitimate businessmen"[180] assisted these criminals by ensuring the continuation of prohibited activities.[181] Corruption was common amongst Prohibition agents; "during the first four years of Prohibition, 141 agents were jailed" and out of 17,816 agents employed during the first 10 years of the Prohibition, 11,926 were "separated from the service without prejudice,"[182] which often referred to corruption. The press portrayed corruption as rife and collusion as common between authoritative individuals and criminals, especially in metropolitan cities. Alcohol was either smuggled into the US or distilled illegally for sale or distribution. Moonshine[183] was made for both personal consumption and sale and

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[175] Okrent, *Last Call,* 249.
[176] Mark Thornton, "Alcohol Prohibition Was a Failure," *Cato Institute Policy Analysis No. 157* (1991), https://object.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa157.pdf.
[177] Michael Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption: Prohibition in the United States 1900 – 1987* (London: Pinter Publishers Limited, 1988), 6.
[178] See Paul Sann, *The Lawless Decade: Bullets, Broads and Bathtub Gin* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2010); Karen Blumenthal, *Bootleg: Murder, Moonshine, and the Lawless Years of Prohibition* (New York: Roaring Brook Press, 2011).
[179] An individual or ship of people who are involved in bringing prohibited liquor into a territory.
[180] Michael Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2001), 227.
[181] Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption,* 1.
[182] Ibid, 14.
[183] Distilled alcohol that has been manufactured illicitly.

became increasingly dangerous when alcohol manufacturing became illegal. Many cases of reported deaths from the consumption of moonshine were present in the press.[184] This chapter aims to compare crime and law enforcement in NYC and Jackson by conducting a comparative analysis of news reports in the local press. This will gauge the varying regional attitudes towards crime as well as the scale to which crime occurred in each region, furthering the understanding of the divide between urban and rural regions during the Prohibition. The chapter will explore on Prohibition violators, illegal drinking establishments, criminal gangs, violent crime associated with alcohol and corrupt law enforcement in NYC and Jackson.

Just like any illegal activity, the alcohol consumption rates during the Prohibition have always been difficult to determine.[185] Jackson's local press presented Mississippi as a state that was free from illicit liquor and its trade[186] even though liquor consumption by local citizens was frequently reported.[187] By November 1920, there were 80 indictments surrounding the use of moonshine.[188] Moreover, Jackson press portrayed NYC as one of the cities hindering the success of the Prohibition, as liquor was seen as "easy to get in any quantity."[189] In 1929, the Mayor of Berlin visited NYC and asked: "when does the Prohibition law go into effect?"[190] Lerner uses this anecdote to show how 'wet' NYC was and how ineffective the Prohibition

[184] "Fiancé Held When Girl Dies After 2 Wedding Eve Drinks," *New-York Tribune*, 22 April 1921, 1; "Action by Senate on Official Rum Poisoning Looms," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 29 December 1926, 1; "1 Bottle, 25 Drinks; 25 Drinks, 1 Coffin," *Clarion-Ledger*, 5 January 1927, 1.
[185] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 18.
[186] "Investigations Disclose Washington Wettest City, Declares Mrs. Poindexter," *Clarion-Ledger,* 30 March 1924, 19.
[187] "Star Witness is Under Fire in Narcotic Case; Liquor Traffic is Hit," *Clarion-Ledger*, 13 November 1929, 11.
[188] "Judge Holmes Will Find Big Batch Awaiting Him Monday," *Jackson Daily News,* 7 November 1920, 8.
[189] "Bootleg Business is Cloud on Prohibition," *Jackson Daily News,* 3 April 1921, 12; "Government Seizes Wine," *Jackson Daily News*, 25 July 1922, 2.
[190] Lerner, *Dry Manhattan*, x.

was metropolitan regions. Urban America was perceived as forcing "the country back into the drink evils from which it was trying to escape."[191] This strengthened the urban-rural dichotomy, which painted Southern and rural Americans as moral, law-abiding citizens and urban Americans as corrupt and lacking American values.

In the early stages of the Prohibition, the local Jackson press depicted Mississippi as free from "bootleg problems of many other states."[192] Despite this portrayal, bootleggers operated in Jackson, but on a small scale.[193] By August 1920, there had been 221 moonshine stills raided and destroyed in Mississippi.[194] Additionally, within a few months of 1922, the Mayor of Jackson announced that 44 people had been arrested for bootlegging.[195] There were irregular reports of successful raids on bootleggers such as Fatherree, Garner W. Smith and John Moore, who were described as "notorious" by local Jackson police.[196] Jackson press vaguely reported on the activity of other bootleggers later into the 1920s by summing up their names and liquor charges within one article intermittently.[197] This suggests that crime associated with the Prohibition declined in Jackson towards the end of the 1920s. Kyvig contends that bootlegging was concentrated in the bigger cities due to the presence of an immigrant population that was ready to disregard the law.[198] This reasoning suggests that immigrants were responsible for bootlegging, however, the immigrant population was not responsible for bootlegging in Jackson.

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[191] Sinclair, *Prohibition*, 97.
[192] "Death Overtakes Revenue Officers," *Jackson Daily News,* 3 April 1921, 12.
[193] "Big Profits are in Bootlegging," *Jackson Daily News*, 14 November 1921, 1,
[194] "Raiders Busy with Moonshine Stills," *Jackson Daily News,* 1 August 1920, 3.
[195] "A Death Knell Sounded for Bootlegging Traffic," *Jackson Daily News,* 17 June 1922, 6.
[196] "Local Police Raid Alleged Bootleggers," *Jackson Daily News*, 25 March 1922, 6.
[197] "One Death Sentence on Appeal Docket Twenty Liquor Cases," *Clarion-Ledger*, 20 October 1923, 3.
[198] Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920 – 1939*, 17.

NYC press had countless reports published of bootlegging operations in the city from 1920 to 1929. Bootleg rings were prominent within NYC and were described as immediately prosperous.[199] These networks were often the subject of federal investigation; for example, one international bootleg ring located in NYC were put before the Federal Grand Jury.[200] Therefore, bootlegging operations in NYC was of a much larger scale than Jackson bootlegging. As a result, tackling bootlegging within NYC and other urban regions required a substantial amount of federal resources, which the government failed to provide.[201] A New York representative estimated that 250,000 officials were needed to enforce the Prohibition in New York and 250,000 were required to police the police.[202] Police census records show that there were at least 32,000 speakeasies operating in the NYC in 1929.[203] The *Clarion-Ledger* reported there being "more "speakeasies" in NYC than there were licensed saloons in the whole state before Prohibition."[204] Trial and punishment before Judge Holmes were presented as simple and efficient in Jackson,[205] which implies that crime in Jackson was relatively low level and did not require thorough investigation. Moreover, by restricting citizens personal rights, many Americans who had never drunk before wanted to drink.[206] Mainly in the cities, women began drinking in the public sphere, which they had previously been excluded from. Urban women who frequented drinking establishments were known as the "new woman" and had moved far away from the traditional idea of a woman, who was domestic and subservient. The South still had this idea of the correct roles of a woman, thus believed that urban

[199] Herbert Asbury, *The Great Illusion* (Mineloa: Dover Publications, Inc., 2018), 269.
[200] "Bribes of $100,000 Offered Dry Agents," *New York Herald,* 1 November 1922, 1.
[201] Claudine Bunnett, *Prohibition Madness: Life and Death in and Around Long Beach* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2013), 30.
[202] Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption*, 18.
[203] "Speakeasy Census Shows Brisk Trade," *New York Times,* 14 April 1929, 143.
[204] "More Speakeasies than Saloons," *Clarion-Ledger*, 22 June 1926, 1.
[205] "Other Sentences Named," *Clarion-Ledger*, 14 November 1929, 10.
[206] Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 144.

regions were corrupting women.[207] Therefore, drinking establishments became more popular and widespread after the enactment of Prohibition in NYC. Apart from one report of a tavern in Mississippi,[208] there is a lack of evidence that suggests there were drinking establishments in Jackson, which can be accredited to the fact that more people were sympathetic to the law in the South.[209]

Gangsters and their networks were in competition with one another to supply the demand for alcohol, especially to speakeasies.[210] Organised criminal gangs operated throughout urban US and were supported by various law enforcement agencies.[211] It is evident from Jackson newspapers that there was a lack of sophisticated and organised gang networks and criminal enterprises that existed within the small settlement. Reports surrounding gang activity within Jackson primarily documented the criminal activity in larger cities.[212] As late as 1929, a sighting of a notorious gangster passing through Jackson on his way to trial in Illinois was reported,[213] implying that the presence of a gangster was not a common occurrence in Jackson. Although sophisticated organised crime networks were not present in Jackson, leading bootleggers tended to conduct their business in an organised fashion, such as Fatherree who used a house to store illicit liquor.[214] This is comparable to the NYC press which has a surplus of gang-related reports. When searched, over 50,000 results were found in the selected NYC newspapers from 1920 to 1929. NYC Gang related

[207] Slavicek, *The Prohibition Era*, 87.
[208] "Plenty Investigation," *Clarion-Ledger*, 6 March 1927, 9.
[209] See chapter 1
[210] Martin Gitlin, *The Prohibition Era* (Edina: ABDO Publishing Company, 2011), 55.
[211] Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption*, 14.
[212]"New Gang War in New York," *Clarion-Ledger*, 9 May 1926, 15; "Gang Fuel Battles in South Illinois Cause Many Deaths," *Clarion-Ledger*, 26 February 1927, 3; "Execution in Chicago Still Dark Mystery," *Clarion-Ledger*, 16 February 1929, 1.
[213] "Gangster Seen Here," *Clarion-Ledger*, 24 October 1929, 1.
[214] "Fatherree Brother's Captured by Officers," *Jackson Daily News,* 15 April 1922, 6.

reports commonly are associated with violence or illicit trade, especially liquor. Gang-wars are heavily reported in the Jackson press; in 1926, the *Clarion-Ledger* reported that 11 members of the rival gangs Little Augie and Kid Dropper were killed on the East side.[215] Reminding its readership of the corruption continuing in the cities acts as propaganda to reinforce the evils associated with consuming alcohol with the aim of enforcing the Prohibition, whilst further strengthening the urban versus rural dichotomy.[216] NYC press also reported on gang-wars which took place within the city. There were regular reports on shootings between gangs, such as the shootout which resulted in gang members Frankie Yale and Mike Petrone dead in Brooklyn.[217] Moreover, Vannie Higgins gang, who was heavily involved in illicit alcohol trade, were also involved in a shootout in a quiet Brooklyn neighbourhood,[218] which shows that gangsterism reached every corner of NYC.

Bootlegging often led to violence, which triggered many young men to run away from the industry.[219] There are a handful of cases that embody the perception of the violent American bootlegger in the local Jackson press. Grady Fatherree and his brother were bootleggers who operated in Jackson and were constantly in and out of prison for illicit liquor trade and violent crimes. Fatherree was involved in shootings[220] and was murdered in 1926 in a shootout after a quarrel with another man.[221] "Red Todd," who

[215] "New Gang 'War' in New York Now," *Clarion-Ledger*, 9 May 1926, 15; "Imported Gunmen Aid Rival Gangs," *Clarion-Ledger*, 28 January 1927, 3.
[216] Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820 – 1920*, 212.
[217] "Another Shot to Death in Brooklyn Battle," *Daily News*, 28 August 1929, 162.
[218] "Gangland Invades the District of Quiet Homes," *Daily News*, 31 March 1929, 370.
[219] Mark H. Haller, "Bootlegging: The Business of Politics and Violence," in *Violence in America: The History of Crime*, ed. Ted Robert Gurr (Newsbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc., 1989) 149.
[220] "Notable Cases were Not Called Monday," *Jackson Daily News,* 3 August 1920, 8; "City News," *Clarion-Ledger*, 15 April 1922, 6.
[221] "Fatheree Succums to Wounds Tuesday," *Clarion-Ledger*, 24 March 1926, 1.

assaulted "Will Hill, the negro porter,"[222] was one of the few violent Jackson criminals, which managed to grasp local media attention. Violent crime against officials occurred infrequently in Jackson, such as the murder of US Commissioner Mr Moody Price followed by Prohibition officer Jasper Boykin receiving a threatening letter that declared: "your time is next."[223] It is expected that less crime occurred in Jackson compared to NYC due to its comparatively smaller population.[224] Furthermore, those involved in illicit liquor trading within Jackson were found to be reputable and prominent citizens, with those who owned the most expensive cars being among the most guilty.[225] E. E. Girault was one of these respectable Jackson men in charge of a wholesale liquor business.[226] The gangsters of New York were as diverse as the city was, with Italian, Jewish and Irish gangsters dominating the bootlegging sphere.[227] The majority of foreign-born and second-generation immigrant bootleggers were working-class individuals who were capitalising on a profitable opportunity. However, American born gangsters were also prominent in NYC, such as Monk Eastman who was described as "New York's most notorious and feared gang leader."[228] Therefore, the Prohibition was regionally divided on the status and class of bootleggers. Interestingly, NYC and Jackson differed in their portrayal of criminals in its local press. Jackson press tended to present criminals as undesirable. For example, upon the arrest of Jackson bootlegger Garner W. Smith, the *Jackson Daily News* published an article stating that bootleggers such as Smith only made a

[222] "Notable Cases were Not Called Monday," *Jackson Daily News,* 3 August 1920, 8; "Expect Decision Monday," *Jackson Daily News*, 3 December 1922, 1.
[223] "Threatening Letter for Jasper Boykin," *Jackson Daily News,* 21 January 1921, 6.
[224] See Edward L. Glaeser and Bruce Sacerdote, "Why Is There More Crime in Cities?" *Journal of Political Economy* 107, no. 6 (1999): 225 – 258.
[225] "A Death Knell Sounded for Bootlegging Traffic," *Jackson Daily News,* 17 June 1922, 6.
[226] "Judge W.H Potter gave Stinging Rebuke to Jury," *Jackson Daily News,* 22 November 1922, 8.
[227] Marc Mappen, *Prohibition Gangsters: The Rise and Fall of a Bad Generation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 32.
[228] "Monk" Eastman, Gang Leader and War Hero, Slain by Rival Gunmen," *New-York Tribune*, 27 December 1920, 1.

small fortune from their illegal activity, were unsuccessful and "robbed by those associated with him in the traffic."[229] Whereas in the NYC press, gangsters and mobsters are often portrayed as heroic figures, such as William J. Lovett, who murdered the boss of the gang Brooklyn Waterfront. Lovett was buried with full military honours and known as "one of the most ruthless bad men of gang warfare in New York City."[230]

Law and order was regularly reported in Jackson's local press, which gave the readership the impression that criminal activity was dealt with efficiently and that Jackson was different to those corrupt larger cities; one article reported that Jackson "has a hundred per cent record in capturing murderers."[231] Due to the smaller number of arrests in a rural area, each was amplified within Jackson society due to the unfamiliarity of such events happening in an evangelical Protestant dominated region. Despite the reportedly successful raids[232] conducted by both federal agents and local police, alcohol discovered in Jackson raids was extremely small-scale. Although alcohol was found at numerous locations, the quantity of alcohol was minor and does not represent a systematic and sophisticated illicit liquor business. For example, "several bottles of liquor were found in the house and jugs, containing nine gallons discovered under a pile of trash in a barn."[233] The geographical location of Jackson influences its ability to operate as an urbanised region could. Although technically a city by 1920, Jackson had overwhelmingly rural characteristics and possessed the small-town mentality. As Jackson's population was approximately 20,000, there was

[229] "Noted Bootleggers Ask for Mercy," *Jackson Daily News,* 24 June 1922, 6.
[230] "Gangster Lovett Buried with Full Military Honors," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 5 November 1923, 1.
[231] "Hinds County Has Highly Efficient County," *Clarion-Ledger*, 13 January 1929, 6.
[232] "Smith and Fatherree Charged After Raids," *Jackson Daily News,* 1 February 1922, 8.
[233] "Local Police Raid Alleged Bootleggers," *Jackson Daily News*, 25 March 1922, 6.

no large market to supply alcohol. Moreover, rural Southern infrastructure made it hard to operate any large-scale interstate illicit activity. Therefore, metropolitan cities which had developed smuggling infrastructures tended to meet liquor demands in the rural markets.[234] Whereas in NYC, illicit liquor deals were often conducted on large scales. John T. Vanatta, who was chief of Brooklyn's bootleggers in 1922 was arrested for attempting to violate the Volstead Act, which if successful would have made him $500,000.[235] Moreover, raids occurred regularly in NYC, and Prohibition agents tended to uncover huge amounts of alcohol and discover organised criminal networks. In 1926, there were raids on 32 nightclubs and speakeasies, which led to the discovery of a bar with a customer list of 15,000 at another bar,[236] which shows how large-scale illicit alcohol trafficking was in NYC during the 1920s.

Tackling the evils of alcohol and its effect on Jackson society was a communal problem that was lessened by the joint effort of federal and local officers.[237] Thornton argues that corruption amongst law enforcement reached every area of the US,[238] but there was no evidence of corrupt officials operating in Jackson. Mississippi's chief Prohibition officer Jasper Boykin was arrested in Jackson for being drunk and disorderly, but this charge was dropped as friends of Boykin's accused "Red Todd" and Grady Fatherree for drugging and framing the officer[239] which they denied.[240] Local Jackson newspaper reports in the late 1920s reveal that Boykin was back on duty which suggests that he may have been innocent of his earlier charge; however,

[234] Chuck Cecil, *Prohibition in South Dakota: Astride the White Mule* (Charleston: History Press, 2016), 60.
[235] "Bootlegger Arrested in Big Liquor Deal," *New York Herald*, 21 January 1922, 3.
[236] "New York Raids Unearth Liquors," *Clarion-Ledger*, 16 April 1926, 2.
[237] "A Death Knell Sounded for Bootlegging Traffic," *Jackson Daily News,* 17 June 1922, 6.
[238] Thornton, "Alcohol Prohibition Was a Failure."
[239] "Revenue Man Arrested," *Jackson Daily News,* 2 August 1920, 1.
[240] "Grady Fatherree is Asking Some Questions," *Jackson Daily News,* 3 August 1920, 2.

this cannot be definite as officials had the power to pick and choose who were criminals based on connections and personal agendas.[241] In 1921, 25 Prohibition agents policed over 5 and a half million New Yorkers,[242] so avoiding punishment on the count of liquor violations was easier than in smaller settlements such as Jackson. NYC officials were slandered within the NYC press, often being described as "crooked" and lacking cooperation with the local police.[243] NYC press frequently reported upon corrupt officials within the city, such as the 3 agents who were dismissed on suspicion of attempting to extort a bribe from a man who was under arrest for violating the Prohibition law.[244] Metropolitan cities "hardly took the trouble to pretend to enforce the vice laws. Ruling politicians tended to appoint judges, prosecutors and police chiefs who posed no threat."[245] The Special Intelligence Unit of Internal Revenue Bureau investigated and reprimanded high-profile violators of the Prohibition; they arrested NYC Prohibition agents who had accepted bribes and worked with wholesale liquor dealers to withdraw whisky with forged permits.[246] The NYPD were amongst the most disinterested group of Prohibition law enforcers. Many members were sympathetic towards violators and some became violators themselves, which allowed NYC's nightlife to continue flourish without much interference.[247] The NYPD and federal Prohibition agents were paid very little, so they were susceptible to large bribes.[248] The typical annual salary for a local policeman was less than $4000, but many had bank balances varying

[241] Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption*, 18.
[242] "Ross Attacks Dry Bureaus," *New York Times,* 14 Jan 1921, 2.
[243] Ibid; "A Breeder of Corruption," *New York Times,* 7 April 1926, 22.
[244] "Dry Agents Unfit, Grand Jury Finds," *New York Times,* 2 April 1921, 9.
[245] Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption*, 36.
[246] "4 Agents, 3 Others Held in Rum Plot," *New York Times,* 14 January 1921, 2.
[247] Kristofer Allerfeldt, *Organized Crime in the US, 1865 – 1941* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2018), 82.
[248] Gitlin, *The Prohibition Era*, 56.

from $40,412 to $193,553.[249] However, not all Prohibition agents were corrupt, such as Isidor Einstein and partner Moe Smith who were inventive New York Prohibition agents who successfully caught many law violators by using uncanny disguises to gain entry to New York drinking establishments.[250]

To conclude, there were proportionately fewer Jackson citizens who violated the Volstead Act than NYC citizens. Public drinking establishments went virtually unreported in Jackson's local press, whereas NYC had an abundance of drinking establishments. In Jackson, bootleggers operated alone or in small groups and were involved in small-scale liquor supply and distribution, whereas, NYC bootleggers often worked in large criminal organisations and were involved with the sophisticated large-scale liquor trade. As competition for liquor business was rife in large cities, bootleggers were more successful if they worked within an organisation which could monopolise over other bootleggers and organised gang networks. Moreover, Jackson and NYC press differed on its views of gangsters, with Jackson press presenting them as immoral and NYC press presenting some gangsters as heroes, which indicate the differences in societal values between an urban and rural region during the 1920s. Prohibition agents were more susceptible to bribes in NYC than Jackson, however, the "areas where Prohibition was most strongly supported were those in which the law was most obeyed,"[251] so it is expected that there was less corruption in Jackson and other rural settlements than in NYC and other urban regions. However, Jackson did experience crime and corruption associated with alcohol, which demonstrates that

[249] Woodiwiss, *Crime, Crusades and Corruption,* 16.
[250] Lisa McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2015), 149.
[251] Josh Dressler, *Encyclopaedia of Crime and Justice* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), 48.

lawlessness during the Prohibition was not confined to urban US and that the urban-rural divide dichotomy is not as clear cut as it is commonly presented.

Conclusion

Overall, this dissertation has found that the experience of the Prohibition differed in Jackson, a small settlement surrounded by rural hinterland compared to NYC, a metropolitan region from 1920 to 1929. These different experiences are accountable to the varying demographic composition of each region, including population size and ethnic and religious make-up. Jackson possessed the small-town mentality that many rural regions embodied as it was dominated by evangelical Protestants who propagated and sustained the Prohibition, and thus a high proportion of Jackson's citizens and law enforcement abided by and supported the Prohibition. Immigrants, who tended to be of Catholic or Jewish persuasion, did not violate the Eighteenth Amendment in Jackson due to the overwhelming population of temperate Protestants within these regions.[252] The experience of the Prohibition was not communally shared by the different religions and ethnicities of Jackson, as racist and xenophobic sentiment separated the public and private lives of its citizens. Moreover, white Southern desire to prevent African-Americans from accessing alcohol in the rural South led to alcohol consumption declining amongst all Jackson citizens. The WASP establishment controlled the public and much of the private sphere in rural areas of the US. As a result, the lives of rural citizens were controlled to a higher degree than the lives of urban Americans which meant that crime and non-compliance to the law was lower. Like all rural settlements, alcohol consumption, trade, manufacture and distribution did occur in Jackson. However, illicit alcohol trade was small-scale and

[252] Sinclair, *Prohibition*, 83

usually carried out by a white or African-American 'lone wolf.'[253] Nevertheless, this proves Clark's argument that the evils of Prohibition were not defined by region.[254] Like other urban centres, NYC consisted of a mix of different cultures, ethnicities and religions, so the WASP identity which had once prevailed across the whole of the US was losing traction in the metropolitan cities. Generally, there was less support for the Prohibition in urban settlements due to the large clusters of 'wet' immigrants, religious persuasions and non-religious people, which naturally meant that there was a higher number of 'wet' law enforcers. This led to a higher volume of crime within these regions; larger and stronger communities enabled the cultural and economic independence of various ethnicities and religions and thus the ability to operate within the illicit alcohol trade. Although Xenophobia was still prevalent across the whole of the US, race relations began to improve in the metropolitan cities. Integrated drinking establishments within the city encouraged the development of the new pluralistic culture which relaxed the strict racial segregation that persisted in the rural South and broke down gender roles. Furthermore, illicit liquor activity was able to flourish in the city due to the presence of opportunistic crime and the absence of adequate law enforcement as law-abiding citizens were tempted to partake in criminal activity. In turn, the widespread knowledge that it was possible to disobey the Eighteenth Amendment without repercussion encouraged even more citizens to partake in criminal activity in these metropolitan areas. Crime was organised and large-scale, which is accountable to urban infrastructure and a readily available large market. Although there are clear regional differences between urban and rural America, the study has shown that the urban versus rural dichotomy is susceptible to

253 Funderburg, *Bootlegger and Beer Barons of the Prohibition Era*, 40.
254 Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 67.

generalisations and ignores certain elements of urban and rural society such as the strength of the Prohibitionist sentiment in the cities[255] and the frequent crime occurring in rural regions. Therefore, further research into the experience of the Prohibition in other geographical locations within the US is required to overcome generalisations.

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[255] Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America*, 1820 – 1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 212.

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