PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF AMMAR THELIDJI- LAGHOUAT
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Prohibition as a Rural Reform Movement in the United States and the Rise of the American Southern Rebellious Spirit

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR MASTER DEGREE IN CIVILIZATION AND LITERATURE

By: Meriem Delassi

Board of Examiners:

. Mr. Ibrahim Aribi ……..... **University of Laghouat, Chairperson**

. Mr Abdelkader Kourdourli ..…… **University of Laghouat, Supervisor**

. Mr. Ahmed Mihoubi ……... **University of Laghouat, Examiner**

Academic Year: 2020-2021

Dedication

This work is wholeheartedly dedicated to the soul of my father, Boubakeur Delassi.

I dedicate this work to my beloved mother, my supportive siblings, and the rest of my loving family.

Acknowledgements

I express my special thanks to my supervisor Mr. Abdelkader Kourdourli for his guidance and persistent patience. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to all my respected teachers for providing an extraordinary educational experience.

Abstract

Early scholarship interpreted Prohibition (1920-1933) as the product of an anxious rural population in an age of modernity. Similarly, popular opinion has stereotyped American Southerners as religious, law-abiding, and abstemious citizens when it comes to Prohibition. This dissertation examines the reliability of Prohibition as a reform movement that is established and supported by rural Americans through the detailed exploration of American Southerners' behaviour towards Prohibition, keeping in mind that the American South was predominantly rural during the 1920s. Following a descriptive analytical approach, this work contends that American Southerners' establishment of an infrastructure for moonshining in the Appalachians in addition to a wide-ranging smuggling market that stretched all over the Gulf Coast proves how they were neither abstemious nor willing to honour Prohibition. This fact, thus, invalidates the notion of Prohibition as a rural reform movement.

Keywords: American Southerners; Eighteenth Amendment; moonshining; Prohibition; smuggling; Urban-Rural Conflict; underground alcohol market; Volstead Act.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

ASL	Anti-Saloon League
ATS	American Temperance Society
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union

General Introduction

One of the major episodes in American history is Prohibition. Beginning in 1920 and ending in 1933, Prohibition was a period when the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors became prohibited under the Eighteenth Amendment. Alcohol has always played an essential part in everyday American life. This staple drink with euphoric characteristics was never a luxury but rather a real necessity for Americans. However, the heavy consumption of alcohol by Americans soon turned America into a nation of dipsomaniacs. The alarming rates of alcohol consumption among Americans prompted temperance advocates to launch a great crusade against alcohol.

The utterly determined attempt of Prohibitionists to challenge American cultural tradition of alcohol consumption by legislating morality has attracted the attention of many scholars. The extensive literature on Prohibition mainly focused on Prohibition's underlying reasons and the extent of its success. Through Prohibition, scholars have found a way to understand the cultural conflict that had erupted in America by the 1900s. In fact, scholars have come to the conclusion that Prohibition itself was a product of this conflict. By 1920, America predominantly transitioned from a rural, agriculture-dependent nation into an industrially powerful urban nation. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, urban centres flourished, offering plentiful employment opportunities and a more sophisticated lifestyle. This occasioned the invasion of American cities by millions of Americans as well as foreigners from Europe. These European immigrants brought together diverse religions and ethnic groups in one place. In contrast, rural regions saw none of this change, and they remained as American and Protestant as they had used to be. While urban dwellers assimilated a hybrid culture, rural dwellers resented this change and preferred holding onto their Protestant values.

The deep divide between the urban and rural lifestyles during the 1920s escalated conflicts. One of the outcomes of this conflict was Prohibition: a reform initiated by rural Americans in hope of reverting America to its previous homogeneous self. The 1920 Census described Southern states as rural, which put Southerners at the forefront of initiating and supporting Prohibition. Thus, Southerners were stereotyped as religious, abstemious, and law-abiding citizens who were most likely to honour Prohibition. Therefore, this dissertation explores the reliability of Prohibition as a reform movement initiated by rural Americans through examining the South's Prohibition-related behaviour during the 1920s.

A number of studies have focused on Prohibition and tried to untangle the underlying reasons behind it. In his book *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.*, historian Richard Hofstadter framed temperance as a product of rural America's fears in an age of urbanization and social diversity. In fact, Hofstadter was credited for establishing the enduring myth of Prohibition being the final desperate stand of rural dwellers to restore their lost status and protect their identity. Following the steps of Hofstadter, Andrew Sinclair also interpreted Prohibition in accordance with the Urban-Rural Conflict. In his book, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess*, Sinclair announced that the failure of Prohibition officially declared the victory of the American urban mindset against that of rural America. In a different manner, Lisa Lindquist Dorr's *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition* constructed a well-documented chronicle of the immense and very profitable traffic in illegal alcohol that Southern coasts witnessed during Prohibition. Dorr explained how Southerners took advantage of their location near Cuba to establish a wide-reaching alcohol smuggling industry. This industry, Dorr added, contributed to exposing the South to a never-seen-before commercial environment.

While the literature on Prohibition is quite considerable, this dissertation approaches the topic from a different angle. This work seeks to explore the impact of Prohibition in the

American South in order to test the reliability of Prohibition as a rural reform movement. In doing so, this work contributes to shifting the focus on the South when it comes to Prohibition, and it gives precisions to common generalizations on the experience of Prohibition in the South. This study centrally seeks to answer the question: Is the notion that rural Americans initiated and supported the Prohibition reform valid? Through carrying out this enquiry, other sub-questions need to be answered. First, how did the Urban-Rural conflict frame rural Americans as the founders of the Prohibition reform? Second, did the high-profit underground market of alcohol during Prohibition lure Southerners to break the law and dishonour Prohibition?

Initially, this study embarks on the hypothesis that Southerners, during Prohibition, were not as abstemious and law-abiding as they were pictured. In doing so, this work directly questions the reliability of the South's support for Prohibition. Moreover, this paper hypothesizes that Southerners' participation in the underground market of alcohol was not limited to alcohol smuggling only, as it is suggested in Dorr's book. This research paper undertakes a descriptive analytical approach. It seeks to descriptively explain Prohibition as a rural reform movement, in addition to the different ways in which the South participated in the illegal alcohol industry. The study also provides an analysis of both variables in order to draw connections and answer its enquiries.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters, each assigned to a particular purpose. The first chapter is concerned with the broader contextualization of the topic. The chapter begins with defining the Urban-Rural Conflict and tracing its origins. Then it moves to explain how America came to endorse Prohibition. By the end, the chapter seeks to draw the connection between Prohibition and the Urban-Rural Conflict. The second chapter gives a historical background of the South's participation in the underground alcohol market. It starts with revisiting the laws enacted to enforce Prohibition (the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act) in order to point their loopholes and explain how the latter facilitated breaking the law. Next,

the chapter moves to explore the different manners in which Southerners defied Prohibition. As for the third chapter, it performs an analysis of the variables explored in chapters one and two, aiming at clarifying how the Southerners' behaviour towards Prohibition invalidates the enduring myth on rural America's initiation to reform American society by dint of Prohibition.

Chapter One

The Contextualization of the Urban-Rural Conflict and Prohibition

Introduction

From its establishment, America had been predominantly rural. Citizens lived in small towns and villages and agriculture was their primary occupation. However, factories, skyscrapers, and large cities gradually replaced the rural landscape in America. In addition to changing geographically, the American population also looked less homogeneous after the arrival of millions of immigrants. Influenced by the city, urban dwellers developed a new identity different from that of their ancestors. Rural dwellers, in turn, resented this change since it turned the city and its inhabitants into something un-American. They expressed this resentment through reform movements, such as Prohibition, in which they tried to revert the city mentality into that of traditional rural America. This chapter discusses the urban-rural atmosphere that characterized America during the late nineteenth century. It further introduces Prohibition and demonstrates how it is related to the urban-rural conflict.

1. The Urban-Rural Conflict

The notion of "urban-rural conflict" can also be referred to as "urban-rural continuum" or "urban-rural dichotomy". It arose as a response to the increasing urbanization, modernization and industrialization that marked the late nineteenth century (Friedman 481; Halfacree 119). The influential study which led to this concept originated in the sociology of the late nineteenth century. In 1887, the German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies proposed in his book *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, translated as *Community and Society*, that *Gemeinschaft* is a community based on family, village, kinship, peace and agriculture. In contrast, *Gesellschaft* is a society of diversity built around industry and trade and characterized by

disruption, noise, and sinfulness (Halfacree 119; Lin and Mele 16). As a result, it became common knowledge that "rural" refers to the peaceful, green, open space that hardly has buildings and where a small population that cherishes family, hospitality and religious values lives. On the other hand, "urban" refers to a densely populated area occupied by numerous buildings where diverse religions, cultures, and ethnic groups exist. As such, Tonnies' *Gemeinschaft* exemplifies a rural community while *Gesellschaft* exemplifies an urban society. It is necessary, then, to explore the history of the conflict between "rural" and "urban".

1.1. Tracing the Origins of the Conflict

From its establishment, America had been a rural nation. In other words, most people lived on farms, small towns or villages. While the rural population continued to grow, the urban population seemed to be growing faster. Decade after decade, rural regions shrank while urban ones grew intensely. More and more Americans moved to cities and their preferences changed as well. They no longer favoured working on farms. Instead, they were lured by the city's industrial jobs. In the late nineteenth century, America witnessed a new era, an era of industrialization and urbanization.

1.1.1. Industrialization

Although the Industrial Revolution in America started around the 1820s, it reached its peak only after the Civil War[1], when economic growth was the nation's only concern. Investing $10 billion in manufacturing increased the value of American products from $2 billion to $13 billion turning America into a leading industrial power. When farm products lost their value to manufactured goods, more Americans migrated to urban cities, altering their agricultural

[1]The Civil War (1861-1865) was fought between American northern and southern states over issues such as slavery, states' rights, and westward expansion.

occupations with economic ones. Before the 1900s, America witnessed important modernization: steel production (an essential contributor to skyscrapers, bridges), automobiles, railroad transportation (facilitated travelling for both people and goods). In addition, inventions like the electric light bulb, the telephone, typewriters, airplanes and steam engines, wireless technology and much more all had a share in industrializing America (Reeves 2-3). The American Industrial Revolution created economic growth and more job opportunities leading to a wave of urbanization.

1.1.2. Urbanization

Urbanization is defined as "the relative concentration of population in urban areas –the towns and cities– of a given territory" (Knox 112). What causes urbanization is the migration of large numbers of the population from their homeland to cities. The industrialization that America witnessed during the last decades of the nineteenth century was accompanied by massive urbanization. The American population grew from 31.4 million in 1860 to 75.9 million in 1900, most of which was concentrated in urban areas, especially in the large cities. For instance, cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago hosted more than one million residents. In addition to migration, immigration to the United States also contributed to increasing city population. Between 1860 and 1900, nearly 14 million people arrived from central, eastern, and southern Europe to the United States. Immigrants targeted cities because of the several industrial and commercial opportunities they offered. This turned cities into centres of diverse religions and ethnicities (Reeves 4-5). In 1920, the U.S Census Bureau officially announced America an urban nation, for the first time, with 51.4 per cent of the population living in urban areas. Based on characteristics such as numbers of people and density of settlement, the Census Bureau defines "urban" as a territory of 2500 or more inhabitants. Any area where the population reaches less than 2500 is treated as rural. According to the census, most of the urban states were those located in the northeast like New York,

Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts; states of the Midwest such as Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan; and states of the west like California and Washington. On the other hand, rural states were predominantly in the south, such as Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas[2]. How did industrialization and urbanization impact America then?

1.1.3. The Impact of Industrialization and Urbanization

In spite of being momentous trends, both industrialization and urbanization installed a great deal of ugliness in new America. Both trends contributed to the alteration of the existing social order. They widened the gap between the poor and the rich to a point where the annual income of the industrial employee was less than the hourly income of his employer. In addition to being incapable of supporting their families, workers also suffered from terrifying working conditions. Deadly work accidents happened frequently and working shifts were harshly long. Low income pushed both parents, even children sometimes, to work. Consequently, family lost its value in city life. The city itself, in 1900, became "crowded, chaotic, noisy, filthy, ugly, and corrupt". Urban density worsened living conditions. Poor plumbing and electricity, lack of sanitation, and deadly diseases were recurrent phenomena in cities. Crimes and political corruption also intensified in urban America. New America, as it turned out, was unworthy to celebrate (Reeves 10-14).

During the twentieth century, America predominantly transitioned into an urban nation. Urban cities flourished as a result of the Industrial Revolution. These cities with their bright lights, skyscrapers, and plentiful employment opportunities tempted both locals and immigrants to abandon their homeland and find a place in the urban world. As cities became

[2]Bureau of the Census. "Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920". *Census.gov*. Government Printing Office, 1923. Accessed on 10 May. 2021. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1923/dec/abstract.html

densely populated, they turned into melting pots of diverse religions and ethnicities. Thus, urban America developed a hybrid culture.

2. New American Hybrid Culture

When the English first settled on the east coast of America, they transmitted their culture, religion, and values. Thus, Americans were English and Protestant at the core. Even after the War of Independence, Americans embraced the English culture they grew up in. During the first half of the nineteenth century, immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and Scandinavia set foot in America. Although these foreigners were not British, the majority of them were Protestants—only the Irish were Catholics. Their culture, religion, and customs did not differ much from that of America and since they came in small numbers, they were assimilated into the American White Anglo-Saxon Protestant community (WASP). When America became the leading industrial nation by the end of the nineteenth century, a new wave of immigrants arrived. Unlike the first wave, the approximately 22 million foreigners arrived from central, eastern, and southern Europe this time. However, the new immigrants, which chose to settle in the cities, were neither English nor Protestant. They were mainly Russian or Polish Jews and Italian or Slavic Catholics. Yet these foreigners were expected to "adopt not only the customs and the standard of the New World, but also Anglo-Saxon ethics in the social, moral, and even religious fields" (Siegfried 4-10).

Starting from the 1920s, America began to look less homogeneous. The 1920 Census revealed that the number of those born in the United States from American parents barely reached fifty per cent of the population. The heterogeneity of America was further confirmed when World War I erupted: Foreigners proved they are not Americans at heart when they sided with their native nations during the war. American city dwellers gave no concern to this matter. Since cities became extremely diverse, urban Americans adopted a hybrid culture instead of

embracing their ancestors' WASP culture. However, this lack of unification and common values felt like a burden to a certain group among Americans. These Americans resented the immigrants' negligence of the WASP ethics. Thus, they viewed the city as a centre of immorality. US population statistics in 1920 revealed that states in the south were classified as rural and remained homogenous in terms of population. States such as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and the Carolinas remained "truly American and Protestant". Meanwhile, the majority of the population was foreign-born in the urban northern and eastern states such as New York, Illinois, and Massachusetts. Thus, the fear of the horrors of urbanization and immigration was attributed to the rural southern community (Siegfried 11-15).

3. Old Americans versus Urban America

Old Americans, or those who still defended the WASP identity of America, viewed the city as a threat to the rural way of life. When the First World War announced the failure of America's power to assimilate foreigners, rural Americans feared cities could not be recognized as American any more. They viewed the city as "a great incubus sucking the life's blood of the countryside". In addition, they feared that the traditional Protestant family and community values were gradually vanishing in cities since the latter welcomed with open arms millions of foreigners. Thus, the city was labelled as the centre of corruption and sin. City dwellers, in turn, pictured villages as "frostbitten, palsied, full of morbid, bloodless, death-in-life" (qtd in Leuchtenburg 225-226). Moreover, during the 1920s, rural Americans demanded the government to put restricting laws on immigration in an attempt to preserve America's WASP identity. However, this demand was met with opposition from industrialists. The latter wanted immigrants to keep flowing, because they worked for cheaper wages (Leuchtenburg 6-7, 204-205, 225-227).

Convinced that the city was bleeding the nation from its virtue, rural residents sought to preserve their WASP character in order to save the nation. Urban dwellers, on the other hand, proudly embraced a new identity built around personal freedom and urban sophistication. However, the situation worsened during the 1920s when rural residents attempted to revert the urban character into that of Protestant small town; meanwhile, urban dwellers displayed contempt for rural mores. Thus, for the first time, America faced a clash between its rural and urban regions.

During the 1920s, prosperous America witnessed several phenomena that were categorized as disturbing. Immigration restricting laws[3], the Ku Klux Klan[4], and Prohibition were sources of social tension during this period. These events were the result of the urban-rural conflict that America witnessed around the 1920s. Historian Eagles describes these events as "the offensive features of the decade" represent rural America's disapproval of an increasingly urban, immigrant, and religiously diverse nation (26). Prohibition (1920-1933) is one of the most fascinating episodes of American history during that period.

4. Prohibition

Less than three weeks into the year 1920, Americans found themselves deprived of their favourite beverage, alcohol. On January 17, the Eighteenth Amendment to the American Constitution officially announced that manufacturing, selling, and transporting alcoholic beverages are prohibited. Supporters of this new law looked forward to a sober America; opponents, on the other hand, mourned the loss of their beloved companion. The American dry

[3]Immigration restricting laws such as The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and The Immigration Act of 1924 were issued during the 1920s to stop certain foreigners from entering the United States.

[4]Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is a white racist group which committed violent acts against immigrants, Jews and Catholics during the 1920s.

movement, which originates in the seventeenth century, launched a war on alcohol, claiming that it is a mind-altering and destructive substance. Alcohol, they believed, caused addiction, family problems and was a direct reason to commit crimes.

4.1. The Almost Non-Sober Nation

The earliest English immigrants to the New World, founders of the thirteen colonies, loved their alcohol. When they set sail during the first decades of the seventeenth century towards America, they loaded their ships with as much beer and distilled spirits[5] as possible. In Europe, water was declared undrinkable because it was polluted. Consequently, the colonists expected the waters of America to be polluted as well. Thus, they used beer to quench their thirst instead of water. While constructing their new settlements, the colonists were never disturbed by the harsh weather nor the deadly illnesses. Rather, it was the lack of beer that caused them distress. In colonial America, alcohol was never a luxury, but it was "a necessity to be kept close at hand" (Lender and Martin 2).

Although the colonists already drank alcohol heavily, the New World further shaped their drinking habits. In addition to water, the colonists also avoided milk because it perished fast, and tea and coffee were expensive. Consequently, beer and cider[6] were their drink of choice, especially during mealtimes. Alcoholic beverages were equally drunk at work, all social gatherings, and in public houses called taverns. In addition to offering various alcoholic drinks, taverns also frequently held political and social meetings. Thus, they were a favoured heading for the colonists (Slavicek 6-7). Around the 1650s, the colonists discovered rum, a more-concentrated and mind-altering drink. Rum production depended on molasses, a sweet dark

[5]Distilled Spirits (also called liquors): Highly concentrated alcoholic beverages,such as whiskey, rum, and brandy, made through the distillation of fermented fruits, or plant juice.

[6]Cider: Fermented apple juice.

liquid made from sugarcane. Cheap molasses was purchased from the West Indies[7]and then distilled into rum in New England. Moreover, the colonists would often trade their rum in Africa for slaves; then they would exchange the slaves in the West Indies for more molasses. By 1770, New England had 159 rum distilleries, making rum production its most successful industry (Cheever).

In 1783, Britain officially recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies. Post-Independence America knew a great deal of prosperity, mainly because of the Westward Expansion. The latter caused alcohol consumption rates to increase. Expanding westwards granted Americans more lands. Farmers discovered that their crops became plentiful to be all consumed as grain. They also figured that it was cheaper and easier to transport their grain surplus in the form of whiskey. Thus, they started to distil their surplus. Consequently, whiskey became plentiful and less expensive. Americans delightfully seized this chance to drink more; estimates demonstrate that by 1820, alcohol consumption among youths increased from 22 litres to 27.5 litres. As a result, drunkenness rates increased (Slavicek 8-9). Another factor that contributed to the availability of whiskey was the Industrial Revolution. Improvements in the still, the machine used for distillation, sped the whiskey production process, produced large quantities of whiskey, and saved distillers more money because it required less fuel and labourers. As for steamboats, they facilitated transporting whiskey to various markets and for cheaper prices (Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic* 69, 71-72, 83).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, German, Irish, and Italian immigrants flooded America. The newcomers, undoubtedly, influenced the locals in so many ways, including their drinking habits. Historians suggest that these immigrants' drinking habits also

[7]West Indies: A group of islands located on the south eastern side of the United States, bordered by the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.

contributed to higher rates of alcohol consumption in America. The immigrants brought along their beer-, whiskey-, and wine-drinking traditions. The Germans drank beer like no other. Aside from being skilled in drinking beer, they were also professional beer producers and knew how to advertise it properly (Behr). As for the Irish, they contributed to the prosperity of the whiskey industry and equally its consumption. In addition to the Irish, the Scottish and Irish-Scottish immigrants were also large consumers of whiskey. Once they settled in eastern America, they found suitable conditions to start their distilling business. They had two centuries of experience with distillation, and their developed stills produced abundant quantities of high-quality alcohol (Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic* 69).

The higher rates of alcohol consumption among Americans were alarming. Different types of alcoholic beverages were being consumed irrationally, in any place, and at any time. Increased drunkenness and alcohol-related problems drove some Americans to launch a war against alcohol. In their view, alcohol was a sin that would bring America to its downfall.

4.2. Temperance Crusaders

In colonial America, it was a daily habit for citizens to drink large quantities of alcohol. However, since 1640, few colonists thought of controlling alcohol consumption. They issued laws to put excessive alcohol consumption under control, such as defining the opening and closing hours of taverns and fining tavern owners if they served alcohol for “habitual tipplers”. Punishing dipsomaniacs was also common; however, the punishments were ineffective. For example, they were punished with whipping or by wearing a large D for “drunkard”. Men of religion considered intoxication as a moral failure that disrupts the good order of the community. However, they had no medicine for intoxication, so they depended on physical punishments to reduce alcohol-related problems (Cheever). The shift in American drinking habits after the Revolution caught the attention of Dr Benjamin Rush. Rush, a signer of the

Declaration of Independence, worried that drunkenness was more than a mere moral failure; instead, it was a destructive disease. Determined to alert Americans, he published an unprecedented pamphlet in 1784 entitled *An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors upon the Human Body and Their Influence upon the Happiness of Society*. Rush put forward the idea that distilled spirits caused mental and physical dysfunctions, have intense habit-forming abilities, and can cause addiction. In addition, he contradicted the long-held American belief that liquors were a powerful medicine; American doctors used to prescribe liquors "for practically every affliction from painful teething in infancy to the aches of old age" (qtd. in Slavicek 10). Rush also feared that intoxicated politicians and voters could not be depended on to make wise decisions (Slavicek 10-12).

Before his death in 1813, Benjamin Rush constantly updated his pamphlet and distributed it to several political and religious leaders throughout America. Rush's hostility to distilled spirits inspired many temperance, anti-alcohol associations, to launch their war on alcohol. The Evangelical Church was among the first to answer the call. Their leading reformer, Reverend Lyman Beecher, thought of intemperance as "a national sin carrying destruction from the centre to every extremity of the Empire" (qtd. in Slavicek 13). Thus, the Evangelicals formed America's first temperance association, the American Temperance Society (ATS). Being the most prominent temperance association, the ATS focused on delivering lectures and sermons, publishing essays, and preaching on health complications caused by distilled spirits. In the beginning, they left light alcohols like beer and wine out of their mission; however, by 1830, they announced all alcoholic beverages evil, and they called for total abstinence. Shortly, the ATS managed to lure several doctors, ministers, and alcohol consumers and abusers to join their cause. When in 1830 Americans consumed nearly 7 gallons of alcohol, historians Mark Lender and James Martin calculated that "[alcohol] consumption estimates fell to slightly more than three gallons by 1840—the largest ten-year drop in American History" (71-72). However,

this success was unfortunately short-lived. When millions of beer-abusing Germans and whiskey-soaked Irish immigrants flooded America, alcohol production and consumption increased. Feeling troubled, the ATS thought of reconsidering their strategies. They recognized that stopping the manufacture and sale of alcohol, to prohibit alcohol, would be more effective. During the 1850s, they persuaded 14 states to adopt state-wide prohibitory laws. However, when the American Civil War erupted, almost all the 14 states dropped their anti-alcohol measures (Slavicek 12-18).The temperance movement was revived in 1873 by the Women's Crusade, a temperance campaign led by American women. Then in 1874, Frances Willard strengthened the campaign when she founded the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The WCTU focused on persuading the government to add mandatory anti-alcohol courses in the elementary school curriculum and pass new prohibitory laws. Willard also worked on encouraging women to vote for the prohibition measure (Slavicek 20-23).

By the end of the nineteenth century, when the temperance campaign was not progressing, Reverend Russell Howard decided to join the fight and formed the Ohio Anti-Saloon League. His efficient approach led other temperance advocates to found similar groups in nine different states. In 1895, these groups merged to form the American Anti-saloon League (ASL), with Russell as their president. At first, the ASL concerned itself with saloons. By that time, America had nearly 300.000 saloons. The saloon was no ordinary place. It was a place where one enjoyed several glasses of alcohol; however, it also served as a social centre. Nevertheless, the ASL depicted the saloon as a dangerous place that destroyed families, and attracted drunkards, criminals, and corrupted politicians. (Slavicek 26-29). Soon after, the ASL widened its goals to include eliminating all breweries, distilleries, and wineries; the ASL wanted to bone-dry America from alcohol. To do so, they worked on persuading more states to pass prohibitory laws. They also wanted to get as many dry, or pro-prohibition, candidates as possible elected. To fund their campaigns, the ASL depended on the Protestant evangelical

churches. The money was also used to print and publish magazines and newspapers to convince citizens that an alcohol-free nation equals a nation without poverty, immoral behaviour, and violence (Slavicek 30-32).

As more states passed prohibitory laws and more Americans joined the temperance campaign, the ASL next aimed for a national prohibition of alcohol. In 1913, the League succeeded in persuading the government to pass the Webb-Kenyon Act, the first nationwide dry law that banned shipping alcohol to dry states. To achieve Prohibition, the ASL drafted the proposal of the 18th Amendment to the American Constitution, which they declared "shall forever prohibit throughout the territory of the United States the manufacture and sale and the importation, exportation and transportation of intoxicating liquor," (qtd. in Slavicek 37). After introducing the proposal to Congress, a two-thirds majority in both houses of the Congress must approve of it; then, three-quarters of the states, 36 states, must ratify it so it can go into effect. Therefore, the ASL dedicated all of its efforts to achieve these requirements. By December 1917, the Prohibition proposal successfully gained the required two-thirds majority of approval. By January 1919, Nebraska was the 36th state to endorse Prohibition, completing the needed votes. Congress announced that the 18th Amendment would be enforced after one year from its ratification, making the 17th of January 1920 the exact date for Prohibition to begin. In October 1919, Congress passed the National Prohibition Act, also called the Volstead Act, to carry out the 18th Amendment. This act defined which alcoholic beverages would be banned, how Prohibition would be enforced, and exclusions regarding the manufacture, distribution, or consumption of alcohol (Slavicek 36-37, 44-49).

4.3. Prohibition and the Urban-Rural Conflict

American journalist and writer Walter Lippman summarizes Prohibition as a reform movement intended to revert the American urban society's mindset into that of rural, small-town America. The driving force behind this reform is first the Protestant Evangelical Church, and second, the rural communities. Lippman also claims that Prohibition represents "[an] expression of the politics, the social outlook, and the religion of the older American village civilization making its last stand against what looks to it like an alien invasion". He concludes that the failure of Prohibition announces the loss of the authority of older Americans (28-31). Historian Hofstadter agrees that Prohibition "was carried about America by the rural-evangelical virus". However, he also reveals that Prohibition was not only the outcome of hatred towards drunkenness; it was also a crusade against Catholicism, urbanism, and immigration (287-288). Thus, through temperance, rural America attempted not only to outlaw alcohol, but also to restore its lost privilege.

4.4. Prohibition as a Means for Restoring Status

From the time of colonial America, landowners and farmers stood at the top of the social hierarchy. The clergy also had a respectable status as the conductors of the moral code. Back then, drinking alcohol was frequent; meanwhile, drunkenness was unacceptable, and almost all the citizens respected this rule. However, when the wave of industrialization and urbanization hit America, this old order collapsed, and the urban city competed with rural America over supremacy. The city disrupted the former social order; power now lay in the hands of financial and economic leaders instead of farmers. In addition, the clergy also lost their status, and their well-established moral code was offended. When rural Americans and the church lost their privilege, the drinking problem developed. Moderate drinking was left behind with old America, and drunkenness became an American daily habit. Thus, rural Americans launched a

war on alcohol intending to retrieve their lost status and re-establish control over the urban city. If Prohibition worked, it was the triumph of the rural, small-town America over urban, industrial, and immigrant America (Gusfield 36-39).

The most crucial element that spurred the temperance movement was the increasing number of immigrants. America was not only becoming extremely heterogeneous, but it also started to develop a new identity highly influenced by immigrants. While the rural, Protestant citizen respected and glorified temperance, the non-Protestant Irish and German immigrant considered it "a tyranny over their ways of life and not a move to uplift society". However, it was not only the Irish and Germans who accepted excessive drinking as a part of their culture; immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were also heavy drinkers. In addition to increasing alcohol consumption among Americans, these immigrants were mostly Catholic. Because of the increase of Catholic immigrants in America, Protestantism was losing its status, a fact which rural American resented. Consequently, old Americans launched the campaign to outlaw alcohol in order to assert their dominance over the newcomers. Persuading the immigrants to commit to abstinence is a step to assimilate them into the American WASP society; then America would become a homogeneous WASP nation again (Gusfield 4, 55, 56-57).

4.5. Prohibition as a Means for Reforming Society

Aside from using temperance as a means of "impressing upon the immigrant the central power and dominance of native American Protestant morality", old Americans also called for abstinence in hope to contribute to the self-improvement of immigrants and solve the problem of urban regions (Gusfield 6, 55). The most alerting problem that cities faced and which turned them into centres of sin was the saloon. Initially, not all saloons were sources of sin. Some decent saloons provided shelter for the poor and the homeless; they substituted an employment

agency; and offered employed citizens a centre to socialize, relieved work stress, and kept people updated about social and political matters. However, as cities expanded and became more crowded, decent saloons became only a memory. Immoral saloons grew in number simultaneously with the arrival of immigrants and the rapid industrialization in cities. With the revolution in machines, the brewing and distilling industries flourished, which increased alcohol production. As production increased, the chances of producers to sell all of their alcohol in saloons decreased; as a result, competition among producers became fierce. To eliminate competition, producers saw it fit to open as many saloons as possible; thus, America was flooded with saloons. Immigrants usually ran these saloons, and as they knew nothing of moderate drinking and cared only about fat profit, consumption of alcohol increased at an alarming rate. Saloonkeepers also competed for customers as alcohol producers pressured them to sell as many products as possible. As a result, saloons kept open every hour of every day; fast-drinking competitions became frequent; and alcohol was served to everyone, including minors and children. Prostitutes and gambling were also used to lure customers into drinking. In addition to turning America into a nation of dipsomaniacs, the saloon business also attracted corrupt politicians as it offered them the chance to bribe immigrants and locals with more drinks in turn for their votes. Moreover, the increased rates of poverty, violence, and crime in cities was attributed to drunkenness since it caused complete loss of physical and moral control (Clark 54-58). Rural Americans considered the saloon as a product of urbanization and immigration. They identified both the saloon and any of its associates as the enemy that needed to be eliminated. A saloon-free America, they believed, would contribute to the self-improvement of individuals and would eradicate problems that resulted from saloons such as intoxication, poverty, violence, and corruption. Thus, driven by moral motives, Prohibition was also a move towards a perfect nation where all citizens were of honourable moral character.

Conclusion

The urban-rural conflict in America was a product of the rapid industrialization and urbanization that the country witnessed by the last decades of the nineteenth century. The city's promise of a more prosperous lifestyle lured Americans and foreigners from Europe to abandon their homeland and move to the city. While city dwellers celebrated prosperous America, rural inhabitants considered it a dangerous threat. While rural Americans viewed their WASP values as the anchors of the American nation, urban Americans perceived them as shackles that stood against freedom and happiness. Thus, old Americans blamed the city and its immigrants for corrupting the American people, in addition to increasing their alcohol consumption rates to an alarming rate. For this reason, old Americans launched a war on alcohol because they were convinced that sobriety would result in a healthier, happier, and more prosperous society. However, Prohibition did not stem only from genuine concern about society, it was also used as a weapon to impose traditional rural values on urban Americans. On January 17, 1920, America was supposed to be ushered in an unprecedented era. However, what the nation witnessed, instead, was an era of more alcohol drinking, as the dry laws caused an illegal alcohol market to boom. What was unanticipated was the American South's substantial contribution to this black market.

Chapter Two

State of Defiance: Southern Behaviour during Prohibition

Introduction

America was thrust upon a new dry era after the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Prohibitionists confidently declared they won the war against "God's Good Creature" after the passage of the Act. Further, they were even more hopeful that southerners would honour Prohibition and fully commit to the sober diet. However, despite their religious and conservative reputation, southerners proved their loyalty to alcohol by significantly contributing to the illegal alcohol market. This chapter first tackles the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act while pointing their loopholes. Then it explores the different manners in which the South defied Prohibition.

1. America Goes Dry

On January 16, 1920, life in America was about to take a new course. Alcohol, which Americans used to refer to as "God's Good Creature", was no longer going to be part of their everyday life. While wets mourned the loss of their beloved companion, drys anticipated the success of Prohibition with so much hope and confidence. Reverend Billy Sunday expressed his joyful thoughts on the soon-to-be dry America saying, "[t]he slums will soon be only a memory. We will turn our prisons into factories and our jails into storehouses and corncribs. Men will walk upright now, women will smile, and the children will laugh. Hell will be forever for rent" (qtd. in Okrent). Prohibitionists imagined a more sober American nation where Protestant values were cherished; money was spent on insurance, education, and savings; and sins like corruption, poverty, and crimes no longer existed. While prohibitionists drafted the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act with so much carefulness in hopes to turn "Dry Utopia"

into a reality, both laws carried many loopholes that provided easy opportunities to break the law.

1.1. The Eighteenth Amendment

The Eighteenth Amendment to the American Constitution included three sections. Section one entailed that after a year from the date of ratification, "the manufacture, sale, or importation of intoxicating liquors" would be prohibited. Section two of the Article gave both Congress and the states the power to enforce the dry laws. As for the third section, it stated that in case the three-quarters majority of the states did not ratify the amendment within 7 years, then it would be inoperative ((Rorabaugh, *Prohibition* 54).

The Eighteenth Amendment was the first law in America that provided a one-year grace period from ratification to implementation. Since the amendment was designed to extinguish the alcohol industry, Congressional wets, and even a few among the drys, wanted to compensate those involved in the industry. Thus, one year was granted to anybody involved in the liquor industry to adjust to the upcoming dry years (Okrent). In addition, the amendment stressed only prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcohol; that is to say, "purchasing" and "drinking" alcoholic beverages remained legal under the law. Information concerning the possession of a stock of alcohol prior to Prohibition was also excluded from the amendment (Rorabaugh, *Prohibition* 55). Moreover, the phrase "intoxicating liquors" left the American public perplexed. Wayne Wheeler, an ASL pioneer, preferred to use this phrase instead of "alcoholic beverages". While "alcoholic" covers every drink that contains either a lower or a higher percentage of alcohol, Wheeler assumed the use of this term would eliminate the amendment's chances to be passed in Congress. Thus, he preferred to use the term "intoxicating liquors" then explain which drinks fall under this category in a later legislation (Okrent).

The second section of the 18th Amendment granted both the federal government and the states the power to enforce Prohibition. Without dual authority, prohibitionists feared that in case a future law repealed federal enforcement of dry laws, the states wishing to remain dry would have no power to impose local anti-alcohol measures. At the same time, dual authority was also used to ensure dry laws were enforced, especially in wet states. For instance, if any of the wet states refused to enforce the law, the federal government would take responsibility instead. However, instead of ensuring enforcement of the law, dual authority only created confusion, problems, and unsuccessful execution of the law (Rorabaugh, *Prohibition* 55-56).

1.2. The Volstead Act

The most crucial part of the Volstead Act was its definition of the phrase "intoxicating liquors". The act set the level of intoxication at 0.5 per cent alcohol; this left only the lightest forms of beer and wine in the market legal (Okrent). The act included a set of exemptions that emerged as a compromise to anti-prohibitionists; without these exclusions, the ASL assumed the Volstead Act would never pass in Congress. The act allowed the use of industrial alcohol, sacramental wine, distilled spirits as medicine only if prescribed by a doctor; and the consumption of homemade wines and cider only in a person's own household. Citizens were allowed to keep a stock of homemade alcoholic beverages in their houses and their pre-Prohibition purchased alcohol. Finally, the act permitted brewers to produce a very light form of beer called near-beer. At the same time, the Volstead Act set penalties for violators of the law. First-time offenders of the law were subject to a fine of $1000 and imprisonment for 30 days or more; second-time and more offenders were subject to a $10000 fine and a prison sentence for a year or longer. In addition, the act declared that the use of any type of properties such as a house, boat, or vehicle to manufacture, transport, or trade in intoxicating liquors is a punishable crime; the properties were to be seized and destroyed (Behr).

With nearly 1500 recruits, the Volstead Act assigned the Prohibition Bureau to enforce Prohibition. The act also charged the Coast Guards with the responsibility to intercept liquors entering the United States (Rorabaugh, *Prohibition* 59). However, the inadequate qualifications upon which recruiting the agents was based on and the cheap salary the job paid contributed to the incompetence and the failure of the Prohibition Bureau (Behr). What was the immediate aftermath of Prohibition?

1.3. The Aftermath of Prohibition

Although many Americans were willing to honour Prohibition and commit to abstinence, the majority were eager to disobey the law and never break themselves of their drinking habits. The many loopholes that the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act carried facilitated the mission of law-breakers. Instead of extinguishing the alcohol industry, Prohibition triggered the emergence of a highly profitable illegal market of alcohol. Americans decided to satisfy their needs by personally making their alcoholic beverages. However, they soon figured that they could turn their small-scale alcohol production into a wide-reaching business after the increasing demand for alcoholic beverages. Trading in illegal alcohol turned out to be very profitable; thus, more Americans started to search for ways to enter this market. Aside from alcohol home-producers, some took advantage of other loopholes in the Volstead Act, such as using industrial alcohol or medicinal alcohol, and others chose to smuggle the alcohol. Resultantly, America witnessed a large and highly profitable illegal alcohol market during the 1920s. The situation intensified when criminals dominated this market; these people tended to use violence to impose their power and achieve maximum profit. Popular conceptions about Prohibition depict southerners as the citizens that are most complying with dry laws. Yet, unlike prescribed norms, the American South experienced its fair share of Prohibition-related law-breaking.

2. Defying the Ban in the South

Once the federal law put restrictions on alcoholic beverages, Americans soon discovered the high profits that trading in illegal alcohol promised. In addition to profit, the constant demand for alcoholic beverages also contributed to creating an illegal alcohol market. Immediately after Prohibition went into effect, a thriving black alcohol market was already running in the South. From the deep hollows of the Appalachian Mountains, moonshine liquor was served; from industrial alcohol, bootleggers provided a highly intoxicating brew; and from over the seas, smugglers flooded markets with a variety of alcoholic beverages (Dorr 4-5).

2.1. Industrial Alcohol

While the Volstead Act legalized the use of industrial alcohol because it was a main ingredient in many products, Southerners and other Americans alike, took advantage of this exemption to trade in alcohol. Many companies were licensed to manufacture industrial alcohol, which was a main ingredient in products like perfumes and hats. However, it was noticed that while the sale of these products remained stable, production of industrial alcohol roughly increased. Although the government required that denaturants be added to industrial alcohol to render it unfit for consumption, many Southerners were willing to reproduce drinkable alcohol. By 1925, the countryside was littered with so-called cleaning factories, where in fact, industrial alcohol was run through a still to remove denaturants before being coloured and flavoured then sold as whiskey. In Kentucky and Tennessee, redistilled industrial alcohol was sold cheaper than the real alcoholic beverages mountaineers made, which started a fierce competition. However, this redistilled product also generated several cases of blindness and paralysis; this was due to the unprofessional and primitive redistilling techniques bootleggers used to filter toxins from industrial alcohol (Moss). By the year 1930, an unusual type of paralysis appeared in American South and Midwest; this illness was diagnosed first by

limping of legs, then complete loss of leg functioning. The primary cause of this paralysis was recognized as Jamaica ginger extract, often known as jake, an old patent medicine that became famous during Prohibition. Jake was usually sold over the counter, and it contained an amount of alcohol that reached 85 per cent, which was a delight to its consumers. Drinking jake was especially popular in Southern states such as Tennessee, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. Only a month after the illness appeared, it was associated with jake, and the paralysis became known as the jake leg (Moss; Morgan and Penovich 530).

2.2. Moonshine

Moonshine is liquor for which no taxes have been paid; in other words, it is an alcoholic beverage that has not been produced in a legal distillery. This drink derives its name from the circumstances under which it was made. Moonshine is used to describe a beverage made at night, under the light of the moon, to evade detection by law authorities and avoid paying taxes on the product. The Irish, the world's most prominent distillers, met their government's decision to impose a tax on whiskey during the seventeenth century with absolute hatred; thus, those who refused to pay the tax were among the world's first moonshiners. When the Scots-Irish immigrants arrived in America during the 1700s, the whiskey-making tradition was first introduced to the New World. However, it appears that Americans mastered not only the craft of distillation from their ancestors but also the art of moonshining. Since the Scots-Irish immigrant settled in areas such as Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas, and Georgia, both distillation and moonshining were attributed to the American South (Maurer; Joyce 8, 13-14).

As a result of the settlement of whiskey-imbibed Northern Europeans around the Appalachian Mountains[8], Americans who inhabited that region grew up around a culture in which various elements of their everyday life centred around distillation and the production and consumption of whiskey. When farmers figured their grain production exceeded the demand for direct consumption, they turned to distilling their grain surplus into whiskey. The equipment used for distillation was easy to obtain and did not cost much; transporting the liquor to markets by boat was faster and equally affordable; in addition, distillers realized they could still make a fortune even if they kept some of their whiskey for personal consumption. Thus, whiskey became the heart of the Southern culture. However, in 1791, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton imposed the first American tax on distilled spirits. The furious rejection of the tax from distillers, who thought it was morally wrong to tax liquor, ended with the latter starting a Whiskey Rebellion. Although the government successfully saved the situation, the Rebellion paved the way for tax evasion and illicit whiskey distillation. It became a Southern tradition; whenever the government imposed a tax on distilled spirits, distillers would turn towards moonshining. Each time the government taxed distilled spirits during the nineteenth century, moonshine production peaked. It was until Prohibition, however, that moonshine witnessed its highest production rates (Maurer).

2.2.1. Moonshining during Prohibition

Before Prohibition, moonshining was a trade skill practised by low-income rural residents who were uneducated and frequently illiterate to provide a better life for their families. It was a family-based business where moonshiners followed a particular traditional

[8]The Appalachian Mountains: Also called the Appalachians, a chain of mountains that runs near the eastern coast of the United States. It runs through states such as, Virginia, West Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

recipe, and the ingredients they used were of superior quality. While moonshiners used to work in a small-scale market, Prohibition forced upon them the burden of serving the whole public. As Americans pledged their allegiance to alcohol, moonshining became a fast profit-making field that many amateurs invaded. Attempting to produce moonshine with zero experience and without the proper equipment led to horrific results. The amateurish attempts often led to severe cases of blindness, paralysis, and even death. Along with increasing production, Prohibition contributed to expanding the moonshine market. Before, moonshiners distilled their own beverage for personal consumption or to be sold to habitual customers. During the 1920s, moonshiners barely had the time to meet the demand; thus, transporting the liquor to wholesalers or bottling it and selling was left to bootleggers. Moreover, as illegal trading in moonshine proved to be very profitable, gangsters rapidly dominated the field. Bloody battles among different gangsters over the control of moonshine markets was a frequent scene in several states. In addition to violence, moonshining also fostered corruption among governmental officials. Part of the profits was dedicated to bribe dishonest prohibition agents to avoid arrest (Maurer).

2.2.2. The Geography of Moonshining during Prohibition

There is a credible explanation of why the moonshine industry prospered in the American South during Prohibition. The southeastern area, in particular, is considered the birthplace of both the legal distilling industry and moonshining. In addition, this area which is limited on the west by the Mississippi River and on the north by the Ohio River, had long treated distillation and moonshining as a deep-rooted everyday life tradition (Maurer). States of the southeast, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, and West Virginia, formed the Moonshine Belt. This term was used to describe the region responsible for the production of most of America's moonshine (Stephenson Jr. and Mulder). It was predictable, thus, that during Prohibition, an entire infrastructure for moonshine was

solidly placed in Appalachia. Production soared to the point that the number of stills seized in 1929 was 12 times the number of stills seized in 1913. Moreover, nip joints and shot houses increasingly appeared in people's homes or farms throughout the South. These were places where lower- and middle-class customers privately quenched their thirst for alcohol. After flooding the South, moonshiners also extended their craft to other states (Joyce 69; Schlimm). For instance, the *New York Times* reported that in the urban state of Washington, "the ancient ways of the Tennessee and Kentucky mountaineers are being imitated in the vast forest lands, where moonshining has become a highly perfected industry" (qtd. in Joyce 70). The southern moonshine infrastructure during the 1920s was often controlled by crime bosses. After hiring moonshiners, the racketeers would establish several large and efficient distilling plants to guarantee maximum profit; and in case a still was seized, a new one would quickly replace it. Drivers were hired to transport the moonshine to different markets. In addition, crime bosses also made contracts with lawyers in case any of their gang members faced the law (Joyce71).

In 1935, the rural state of Virginia witnessed an interesting moonshine-related case. Known as *The Moonshine Conspiracy Trial*, this case provided an insight into the large illegal distilling business that arose in the American South during Prohibition. After the Wickersham Commission's report of 1931, which brought to attention the booming moonshine trade of Franklin County, Virginia, the US Treasury Department's Alcohol Tax Unit launched in 1934 a 14-month undercover investigation to uncover the truth. Thomas Bailey, the investigator who held the case, reported that Franklin County between 1928 and 1934 was home to a conspiracy ring highlighted by moonshine liquor, tax evasion, and widespread political corruption. Bailey uncovered that in the fall of 1928, the Commonwealth's Attorney for Franklin County, Charles Carter Lee, and Sheriff Pete Hodges arranged a meeting with the County's deputy sheriffs to propose dividing the County into districts and charging illicit distillers and bootleggers a monthly fee for the privilege of operating under the protection of County officers. Through the

10-months trial, the court untangled the Franklin County mystery. It was revealed that between 1928 and 1935, massive quantities of certain products entered the County. It was easy to determine that these products, such as 20 million pounds of sugar, were used for moonshine production. Testimonies from several moonshiners and bootleggers exposed how deputy sheriffs would refuse them passage only if they paid a bribe, sometimes with money and other times with liquor. Testimonies from moonshine transporters were also shocking; one transporter revealed that between 1927 and 1933, he alone moved 130,000 gallons of moonshine out of the County. Even Franklin County's own farmers, gas station owners, store clerks, and delivery-men testified how they were obliged to buy raw material from appointed sources and pay protection money to Lee and his ring. Finally, in February 1935, the court accused 34 individuals, including Charles Carter Lee and one company, of plotting to defraud the US government of tax revenue from the sale of illegal liquor. However, when the trial ended in July 1935, only 20 accused were found guilty and the architect of the liquor ring, Charles Carter Lee, escaped conviction (Joyce 75-82, 87).

Another Southern state that was classified as a leading moonshine producer during Prohibition was North Carolina. Ironically, North Carolina was among the states that wholeheartedly supported sobriety, yet, the *Winston-Salem Journal* pointed in 1921 how "… [m]oonshine plants fairly blossom in this State" (qtd. in Pierce 133). For North Carolinians, it was not only the promise of high income that pushed them towards illegal distillation but also the harsh economic opportunities their state faced. For them, Prohibition provided a nationwide market to trade their moonshine. In addition, North Carolina moonshiners were experts at what they do; thus, they were confident that their high-quality product would boom in the markets. Consequently, as early as 1920, reports demonstrated the alarming rate moonshine production reached in North Carolina. In 1922, the state prohibition director reported recovering 1 million

gallons of moonshine, nearly $100,000 worth of penalties paid, the seizure of 132 automobiles, and the imprisonment of more than 300 persons (Pierce 130-131, 140).

A significant change in North Carolina's moonshine business during Prohibition was its concentration in a fewer circle. Kingpins, or those who dominated a large share of the moonshine production and distribution in the state, were either working-class citizens who had luck on their side, or wealthy businessmen seeking a profitable investment. Often, kingpins operated from afar by providing supplies, funding, and attorneys in case any of their agents faced the law; thus, they were safe from incrimination, unlike distillers and moonshine transporters. The rise of moonshine kingpins also ushered in the concentration of moonshine manufacturing in specific parts of the state. While moonshine came from every part of North Carolina, two counties, in particular, earned the title of *"moonshine capitals"*. The first moonshine capital, Wilkes County, had a history with moonshine longer before Prohibition. Its geographical location highlighted by isolated mountain hollows allowed moonshiners to hide their stills. In Addition, the County was ideal for moonshiners to access North Carolina markets and those expanding in other parts of America. The second moonshine capital was located in the swamps of Dare County. During Prohibition, the swamps became a frequented place for moonshine production as they provided a safe place to hide distilling plants. Repairs in the rivers and canals and the arrival of railroads enhanced mobility in the County. Thus, transporters effortlessly carried moonshine to Virginia, which performed as a portal to the commercially successful East Coast market (Pierce 149-150, 154-155). These illegal activities during Prohibition resulted in important smuggling.

3. Smuggling

Illegal distillation, or what locals call moonshining, was not the only source of illicit alcohol in the American South during Prohibition. The three thousand mile coastline that

stretches from Texas to Virginia also provided a portal to flood America with alcohol (Moss). When some Americans expressed their displeasure with local-made illegal alcohol, rumrunners took the responsibility of supplying the eager customers with a variety of alcoholic drinks, this time the "real stuff" (Sanders 96-97).

3.1. Liquor Smuggling along the Gulf Coast

Rum-running, the illegal smuggling of alcohol into America, was as competitive and profitable as moonshining was during Prohibition. In the South, the Gulf Coast[9] provided a haven for those who operated in illegal smuggling. Rum-running was often accomplished through two stages. First, large vessels that could easily cruise open seas and carry plenty of liquor cargos brought from neighbouring islands anchored near the legal limit of American waters in the shipping lanes of coastal town such as Tampa, Florida; Mobile, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Galveston, Texas. The line of ships anchored just beyond the three-mile limit soon came to be known as Rum Row. In the second stage, the mission was left to smaller boats to deliver the liquor ashore. After arriving at Rum Row, smaller boats are loaded with as many cargos of liquor as they can carry. After paying the bill, the boats would sail back towards the American shores. To avoid detection by the Coast Guards, delivering the liquor was done at night. Residents of the Gulf Coast and beyond seemed to be in love with the imported liquor. One survey labelled New Orleans as the wettest city in the South, with widespread disrespect for the liquor laws. According to another poll, southern Louisiana remained 90 per cent wet; meanwhile, 75 per cent of Florida never enforced the dry law. Moreover, some Gulf Coast state authorities also violated the law. When asked, the governor of Louisiana said he would not be doing anything to enforce Prohibition. From neighbouring

[9]The Gulf Coast: a geographical region in the extreme southern United States that runs along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico. Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida have a shoreline on the Coast.

Florida, a state senator was believed to own a rum-running vessel. As for Alabama's state governor, he was caught while carrying a suitcase filled with bottles of liquor (Sanders 94, 97-98).

The Coast Guards, the force assigned by the government to intercept illegal liquor entering the United States, presented a minimal threat to smugglers. Not only was the number of their boats so little to cover patrolling all of the spacious Gulf Coast, but the boats were also too slow to outrun smugglers. In addition, if any of the smugglers were busted, they would quickly toss their liquor loads over the side and escape conviction. Nevertheless, the Coast Guards frequently ran operations on the southern coasts. For instance, through an undercover operation, they untangled a large smuggling ring based in New Orleans. When the trial closed, the jury criminated 34 bootleggers and several corrupt public officials. However, as chasing smugglers became a rough mission, Coast Guards began taking extreme measures such as using firearms. For instance, after two smugglers from Galveston paid no attention to warning shots, Coast Guards started a gunfight in which they killed one smuggler and injured the other. On another occasion, they destroyed a three-masted rum-running ship after a chase that lasted two days. Despite the intense efforts of the Coast Guards to bring rum-running to a stop, the activity was unstoppable. In 1926, the federal prohibition chief revealed that his forces seized hardly 5 per cent of the illicit liquor; this prediction estimates that nearly ten million gallons of smuggled liquor entered America each year. (Sanders 95-99, 100-104).

As for the smugglers, in case they were not worrying about Coast Guards, they faced great danger from their competitors. To deceive their rivals, rumrunners usually informed the Coast Guards about the whereabouts of other smuggler's illicit-shipment pickup. While the law enforcement would be distracted by chasing the other rumrunners, the informers would safely deliver their cargos ashore. Moreover, the high-profit liquor smuggling lured rum pirates, the most horrific danger rumrunners faced. The pirates not only robbed both the liquor and the

money of the smugglers, but they also often left the crew tied up on a non-functioning boat with neither food nor water. Sometimes, boats would arrive ashore with neither sign of the liquor nor the crew. In reaction to these dangers, rumrunners began arming themselves to defend their business against the pirates or the Coast Guards (Sanders 99).

3.2. The Liquor Market

During Prohibition, the wide-reaching liquor market in the South contradicted the region's reputation for abstinence. Although many states supported Prohibition and adopted statewide dry laws before 1920, the South was less devoted to Prohibition than it appeared. Many southerners were hesitant to go bone dry and were more than willing to continue consuming alcoholic beverages. While most of the South was characterized by a rural and agricultural landscape, a commercial environment was already developing in several cities, small towns, and even the countryside. As a result, the illegal alcohol industry flourished in the South during the 1920s. From wet cities like New Orleans and Miami to smaller towns like Mobile, Alabama, and even the more isolated regions, the southern liquor traffic was organized, relentless, and far-reaching (Dorr160-161, 167).

The South's coastal geography and its closeness to liquor-soaked Caribbean isles turned it into a favourable destination to smuggle alcohol into America. Alcohol smugglers from Miami, Mobile, and New Orleans participated in a trade that stretched from foreign ports like Havana, Cuba, to the expanding towns and cities of the South. Once on southern beaches, a large quantity of the liquor was transported by automobiles or trains to urban markets such as St. Louis, Chicago, and New York. Southern cities such as Tampa, Florida, and New Orleans were not only centres where plenty of liquor was served, but they also housed large smuggling rings that stretched to the Northeast and the Midwest. Cuba was an essential island for smuggling alcohol; rumrunners based in Cuba supplied a nationwide illegal alcohol market.

Liquor imported from Cuba managed to stock ships at Rum Row near the Gulf Coast and even that on the Northeast Coast. The smuggling industry lured even European distillers to participate; thus, they used Havana as a transhipment site from which their liquor would reach the United States. It was estimated that the smuggling operation out of Cuba provided American southern and eastern markets with a worth of $80 million of liquor each year. Further, bootleggers in America would dilute, colour, and flavour the smuggled liquor to secure more profits. In a 1927 report, Henry Kime, an undercover agent in Havana, reported that at least forty-five ships regularly transported liquor from Havana to the United States. With the capacity to transport up to 10.000 cargos per voyage, ships from Havana alone smuggled 500.000 cases of liquor each month to America (Dorr 20-26).

As a result of the smuggling business, several southern states developed tight and wide-reaching illegal networks. With its 1000 miles of coastline that provides many hiding coves and its proximity to Cuba and the Bahamas, Florida was awash in alcohol early in 1920. The expanding transportation system in Florida facilitated transporting liquor to urban markets and turned the state into a favourite tourism site where alcoholic beverages were frequently served. In Alabama, a curious case exposed one organization's corruption and illegal financial operations. Operating in Mobile, the ring dominated the city's illegal alcohol market, and it regularly supplied Chicago markets with alcohol. In exchange for protection, the organization paid corrupt officials $5 per alcohol case. Each of the ring's alcohol shipments bought from Cuba or the Bahamas was considerable, ranging in value from $10.000 to $20.000. As for Louisiana, liquor was easily accessible and drunk freely on the streets of New Orleans, which turned the city into a centre of a vast liquor network. Located on the Gulf Coast, New Orleans received steady alcohol supplies from the different Caribbean isles, which reputed it as the "wettest spot in America". Liquor rings shipped some of the alcohol north; however, the majority of it was consumed locally. The desperate wet situation of New Orleans pushed

prohibition agents from neighbouring Mississippi and Alabama to bring liquor organizations to a stop (Dorr 47-48,165, 169-170).

Conclusion

Despite the South's conservative, law-abiding stereotype, not all southerners shared the Prohibitionists' enthusiasm to dry. Taking advantage of the many loopholes that the prohibitory laws carried, many southerners profited from the liquor traffic. Prohibition intensified the preexisting southern cultural attitude of illegal distillation and moonshining. Thus, the South produced more moonshine than all of the other states combined. Smuggling liquor, on the other hand, was also very profitable in the South. The proximity of the South's Gulf Coast to the Caribbean isles created an immense liquor smuggling network. Millions of liquor cargos were delivered on a daily basis to southern shores in Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama. Moreover, plenty of the liquor continued to make its way towards the northeast and the Midwest, contributing to flooding urban markets with high quality imported alcohol. The attitude that the Southerners cultivated towards Prohibition indicates that they were not as conservative as they seemed to be. Their widespread participation in the illegal alcohol market conclusively proves that they did not share the Prohibitionists' burning enthusiasm to go dry. As a result, rural Americans' immense enthusiasm about reforming American society by means of Prohibition is called into question.

Chapter Three

How Prohibition Broke the Stereotype about the South

Introduction

From the moment America passed Prohibition, it unintentionally developed an illegal market of alcohol. As rural Americans were credited for wanting to reform society through Prohibition, they were the most expected to honour Prohibition. Seeing that South was predominantly rural, the region was also expected to commit to abstinence. Nonetheless, as the 1920s moved on, Southerners displayed their growing willingness to break the law, calling into question their stereotypical dry picture. This chapter synthesises information from Chapters one and two in order to explain how the South gained its dry reputation; and equally, how this stereotype is fallible.

1. Stereotyping the South

Compared to the lifestyle American Southerners had grown up in, life in twentieth-century America looked very strange and unfamiliar. America had been predominantly rural for several centuries. Rural areas were distinguished by having less density, fewer buildings, and open green spaces. Characterized by immense green space, rural areas were most suitable for agricultural crafts. Most importantly, it is widely perceived that rural regions have a set of defined values. For instance, the Church has vital importance as it serves as a centre for spiritual nourishment and social interactions. Family is also cherished in rural regions as it provides help and support in hard times. The little density in rural regions indicates that rural habitats are familiar with one another, and rural people would quickly notice if any newcomers entered their space. However, this atmosphere completely changed during the twentieth century. America was no longer the rural, homogeneous, agriculture-dependent nation it once was.

Instead, it evolved into an ethnically diverse urban country with a highly competitive economic market. Several factors are responsible for this abrupt transition. Indeed, it was this sudden transition that caused rural Americans to experience extreme distress over the future of the nation.

1.1. The Economic Factor

The latter half of the nineteenth century ushered in an unprecedented era in America. This era was characterized by accelerating industrial and urban trends. The Industrial Revolution shifted the nation's focus towards economic growth, which pushed cities and metropolitan centres into the spotlight. Cities became littered with different factories, which stimulated mass production. In Additiont, the revolution in steel, automobiles, and technology industries all contributed to crowning America as the world's leading industrial power. With its bright lights, sophisticated architecture, personal freedom, and the promise of a better life, the urban side started to look more appealing to many Americans than the rural one. Moreover, millions of foreigners from different European nations also immigrated to American cities in order to seek freedom and better living conditions. Life in the city became focused on working. The more lavishing life was in cities, the more expensive it became. Many families struggled while making a living. Workers, including men, women, and even children, suffered from long working hours, improper work conditions, and minimum wages. When outside of the workplace, many families came to a small apartment with no aeration and poor sanitation. Overcrowding in cities generated sprawling slums. In such places, people suffered from the worst living condition, such as the lack of sanitation, pollution, and deadly diseases, such as tuberculosis. The slums were also centres of drunkenness, prostitution, and crimes.

1.2. The Social Factor

The rapid industrialization in America spurred exponential growth in urban population. As cities grew, their population rose. The urbanization rate that America witnessed by the twentieth century was unprecedented. The 1920 census announced America as an urban nation, with urban centres concentrated in the northeast and the Midwest. Southern states, on the other hand, remained predominantly rural. By the 1900s, the dissimilarities between urban and rural America became very apparent. Since industrialization was concentrated on the northeast and the eastern coast, states such as New York and Pennsylvania witnessed intense urbanization. In addition, the millions of Europeans who immigrated to America also settled in urban areas, as they provided better job opportunities. During the twentieth century, urban America deserved to be nicknamed a "Melting Pot".[10] By the end of the nineteenth century, 22 million immigrants, arriving mainly from central, eastern, and southern Europe, sat foot in America. America had not used to host such a large number of immigrants. The first waves of immigrants to America came from northern and western Europe. These immigrants were few in number, spoke English, and the majority of them were Protestants; thus, they did not cause any change in American society. However, immigrants from central, eastern, and southern Europe neither spoke English nor were Protestants. Thus, the city became a centre of diverse religions and ethnicities. The foreigners' identity, religion, and traditions were not even close to that of America. As they were numerous, they slowly started to transmit some of their cultures to urban Americans.

[10] The "Melting Pot" is a phrase that has been used to describe the United States, because it is a country in which people from many different races and cultures are "melted" together, i.e. mixed, to form the US people. The British writer Israel Zangwill (1864-1926) wrote a play called The Melting Pot (1903) about Jewish immigrants in America.

1.3. Responsibility for Reform

For America, this was a never-seen-before phenomenon. Before industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, America was a homogenous unity. The majority of the country was still predominantly rural, and the dominating religion and language were Protestantism and English. While power was predominantly assumed by rural Americans, all the focus, suddenly, shifted to cities. Urban dwellers welcomed the change with open hands. They saw in urban, industrial, and highly diverse America a powerful nation. In contrast, rural dwellers approached new America with hesitant steps, as they were not used to such alien phenomena. They viewed the city as the enemy that was turning their fellow urban Americans from their WASP heritage. As for immigrants, they were considered a great danger that would bring the nation to its downfall. Seeing that the city was prominently featured by poverty, crime, pollution, drunkenness, and many other forms of vice, rural dwellers blamed the three trends for transforming America into a nation full of sins and immorality. The heterogeneity of America caused rural dwellers much distress and anxiety. Even more frightening was how their younger generations were willing to let go of the tradition and migrate to the city. Thus, instead of embracing the new trends, they sought to reform the American urban society in the hope that it would become once again a homogeneous nation.

2. The Alcohol Issue and Prohibition as a Means of Reform

One of the means by which rural Americans sought to reform American society was Prohibition. Alcohol was considered as the direct cause of many problems in urban centres. Rural dwellers reckoned that drunkenness, as it caused severe physical and mental impairments, was the reason for increasing the rates of poverty, violence, and crimes. They classified the saloon as their number one enemy. As cities became densely populated, the number of saloons also doubled. Saloons were a frequent heading for city dwellers. The methods used by saloon owners to sell their products and achieve maximum profit also

contributed to more citizens drinking and more people getting extremely drunk. Moreover, rural dwellers considered the saloon as a product of urbanization and immigration. They identified both the saloon and any of its associates as the enemy that needed to be eliminated. A saloon-free America, they believed, would contribute to the self-improvement of individuals and would eradicate problems that resulted from saloons such as drunkenness, poverty, violence, and corruption. In addition, they believed that the Industrial Revolution led to boosting alcohol availability as it introduced improved alcohol production equipment. As for the immigrants, they were held responsible for worsening the American drinking problem. As excessive drinking was acceptable in their cultures, they prompted Americans not to consider moderate alcohol drinking.

As a consequence, rural Americans figured that the most effective way to bring drunkenness to an end was by extinguishing the alcohol industry. Alcohol consumption rates among Americans were already high; however, with the coming of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, the rates became alarming. Thus, rural Americans embarked on a journey to convince as many Americans as possible of the evils of alcohol. Eventually, they reached the conclusion that the most effective way to stop alcohol's destructive effects was through a constitutional legislation, the 18th Amendment to the American constitution.

Rural Americans were placed at the forefront of initiating the Prohibition crusade as a means to reform American society. More precisely, the 1920 census detected that the majority of the rural states were mainly those of the South, such as Alabama, the Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana. Thus, the call to prohibit alcohol and legislate morality was conceived as a reform movement initiated by the Southern community. Consequently, as Southerners were credited for launching Prohibition, they were considered the most likely to honour Prohibition and commit to abstinence. This idea formed the image of a religious, abstemious, law-abiding, alcohol-loathing South at the time of Prohibition.

However, when America officially went dry, the South's Prohibition-related behaviour did not match these prescribed norms.

3. Breaking the Stereotype

When the sober, bitter days of Prohibition started, Southerners proved that they were not ready to surrender by continuing to embrace the drinking culture. Americans in the South resisted giving up alcohol consumption in the same way that urban residents of New York or Chicago did. They were highly involved in the large and very profitable illegal alcohol market by satisfying the ongoing demand for alcoholic beverages. In addition, they heartily drank anything they got their hands on, even the poisonous, recklessly made drinks (Dorr 17).

3.1. Distillation and Moonshining: A Southern Heritage

Long before Prohibition, distilling had been a craft deeply integrated into the Southern folk culture. Because of the influence of the Irish who settled in Appalachia, Southerners grew up around a culture based upon distillation and whiskey consumption. Distillation was a craft adopted by many Southerners as their way to make a living. Once the product was sold, they would definitely leave some for their own and their families' pleasure. For this reason, when the government put a tax on liquor for the first time in 1791, the tax was met with hatred. Farmers and distillers felt offended as they viewed the tax as an unfair decision. They felt as if they were robbed of their own right. The deeply-rooted status of distilling among Southerners indicated that the latter would stand on the opposite side of temperance advocates. Southerners loathed any form of excise on liquors, let alone Prohibition, which cut alcohol definitely from the market.

When subsided, the Whiskey Rebellion proved two facts. First, farmers and distillers were willing to defend their craft, even if it meant going to war against their own country. Second, the Rebellion paved the way for the concept of tax evasion and the industry of moonshine to rise. Moonshine is the equal of liquor; only, it is made in a secret place instead

of a certified still. To Americans, moonshine is simply a drink that gained popularity during Prohibition. In contrast, for Southerners, especially those residing in and around the Appalachian Mountains, moonshine is a deeply woven tradition. For Southerners, moonshining was a strategy to make a living. The production and sale of liquors were passed on from one generation to the other. The selectivity of the raw materials to distil moonshine and the continued insistence on following a strict recipe proves how southerners are devoted to their craft. Once sold to neighbours and trusted members of the community, moonshiners used to leave some of the product for their own and their families' pleasure. Since Southerners were familiar with moonshining strategies, when Prohibition started, they came to the battlefield already equipped.

When Americans figured the high profit made through the illegal alcohol market, the majority of them took part in the market. Southerners, too, were eager to participate in the market. While Southern moonshiners used to operate on a limited scale, Prohibition graced them with a market that ran nationally. The high demand for moonshine contributed to creating an organized outfit to run the business. The organization depended on many participants. First, the outfit owner would hire moonshiners to manufacture the liquor. Then other members would transport the product to either a wholesaler or sell it straight to customers. Attorneys were also hired to defend any of the outfit members in case the latter faced the law. Southern states that make up the Moonshine Belt, such as Virginia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas, are reportedly the most moonshine producing states. The craft was also passed on to other states which were unfamiliar with moonshining until the 1920s.

3.1.1. The Cases of Virginia and North Carolina

In North Carolina, moonshining provided a way to overcome the harsh economic conditions that most habitats faced. North Carolinians were moonshine experts; thus, they were remarkably confident that their product would bring them high profits. In addition, North

Carolina was home to two counties that were nicknamed Moonshine Capitals, Wilkes County and Dare County. Both counties had a rich moonshine history. Their perfect geographical location classified them as suitable spots to establish moonshine business. They were filled with hollows and caves, which facilitated hiding moonshine stills and warehouses. In addition, they worked as portals to distribute moonshine in North Carolina and the states on the east coast. The Moonshine Conspiracy Trial of 1935 that took place in Virginia gave a clear example of how large moonshine rings ran in the south. The ring was founded by a public official, the Commonwealth's Attorney for Franklin County Charles Carter Lee. Lee formed a tight organization with the police forces to profit from the moonshine business running in Franklin County. Lee and the County's officials harassed moonshiners to pay protection fees and bribes to allow them access to transport their product throughout the County and outside it. After an undercover federal investigation and a trial that lasted for ten months, twenty persons were convicted, although Lee was not one of them. The court revealed that the Franklin County operation had cost the government a worth of $5.5 million in whiskey excise tax.

The examples presented above prove the influential role that Southerners had in the build-up of the illegal alcohol industry. As exemplified in North Carolina, all it took Southerners was finding a perfect hiding spot to start their business in moonshine. Undoubtedly, states in the Moonshine Belt must have several hidden places in the hollows of the Appalachian Mountains. As for the Franklin County trial in Virginia, this case revealed how even public officials were willing to take part in the illegal alcohol industry as it promised fast and high profit. Thus, the high status of moonshining and distillation in the South dismisses the fact that rural Americans, especially Southerners are those who called for alcohol reform. If Southerners immensely depended on distillation and moonshining as means to make a living, why would they start a reform that would complicate their situation?

3.2. Southern Thirsty Beaches

The most heinous offence in the South during the 1920s was alcohol smuggling. Southerners' thirst for alcoholic beverages transformed the three-thousand-mile US southern coast into a busy alcohol deposit point. The region benefitted from its geographical proximity to Cuba and the Caribbean Isles where alcohol was perfectly legal. This contributed to the success of the smuggling business, in addition to the persistent demand for alcoholic beverages not just from Southerners but also from citizens all over America. Moreover, smuggled alcohol was the "real stuff", i.e., the drinks were factory-made with the proper ingredients and equipment and in the best conditions. Smuggled alcohol brought back the taste of the old days when America still legalized alcohol.

Similar to the moonshine business, the smuggling of alcohol also became a highly organized operation during Prohibition. The Volstead Act stated that no liquor-loaded ship is allowed to trespass the three-mile limit. Nevertheless, smugglers proved that this law was also breakable. As early as 1920, there was already a long line of ships, loaded with cargos of alcoholic beverages, anchored just beyond the three-mile limit. The line came to be known as Rum Row. Ships at Rum Row worked as wholesalers of alcoholic beverages. These ships usually bought their product from foreign markets, such as Cuba or the Bahamas. Then, they waited at Rum Row for the smaller and faster boats, which would buy the alcohol and transport it back to American shores. Coastal points such as Tampa, New Orleans, and Mobile, Alabama frequently received large alcohol quantities through smuggler boats. Despite the difficulties smugglers faced at sea, they still managed to flood America with approximately ten million gallons of alcohol each year.

The liquor market that appeared in the South during Prohibition thrust the region into an immense commercial environment. Having several states that eagerly participated in the smuggling industry, the South managed to meet the demand for alcohol of the Southerners and

ship large quantities of the product to urban markets in the north and the Midwest. Smuggling in the South developed a thriving market that stretched from international ports of different Caribbean Isles to the rural Southern states until reaching urban states such as New York and Illinois. In Florida, the large smuggling organization that ran in the states turned it into a favourable touristic site, as alcoholic drinks were served at the ready. As for Mobile, Alabama, a federal operation exposed a corrupt liquor ring that ran in the town. The organization supplied both Mobile and Alabama with alcohol; in addition, it transported large quantities of the alcohol to Chicago markets. The investigation also revealed how the local police cooperated with the liquor ring. Corrupt officers were paid a specific sum of money as a protection fee. The Gulf Coast was an attractive smuggling site as it was the nearest to international alcohol markets. Caribbean Isles provided a warehouse of alcohol for Americans. As for Cuba, it lured even European alcohol producers to ship their products to Havana for the purpose of smuggling them to American shores. Havana by itself contributed to smuggling nearly half a million cases of alcohol to America each month during Prohibition.

The examples shown above provide a clear view of how Southerners were as eager to drink and trade in alcohol as were the rest of the American citizens. The smuggling business in the South presented an image of a misbehaving, alcohol-soaked South. Again, this raises suspicions concerning the fact that rural Americans, including Southerners, are the first to initiate Prohibition. Although usual stereotypes confirm the image of rural Americans in general and Southerners in particular as profoundly conservative and law abiding citizens, an in-depth look into the alcohol-related illegal activities in the South invalidate the conception of American southerners as religious, abstemious, and law abiding conservatives.

4. The Legacy of Prohibition in the South

The well-established illegal liquor market in the South during Prohibition paved the way for two more illicit markets, one for immigrants and another for narcotics. Earlier in 1921,

reports on a growing immigrant smuggling industry filled the first page of several southern newspapers. Immigration restricting laws, enacted during the 1920s simultaneously with Prohibition, engendered an illicit human trafficking market. While smuggling immigrants to America was already frequent, the restricting laws made the business more profitable. Wanting to start a new life in America, foreigners put themselves in the market as profitable commodities. Smugglers, of course, happily met this offer as they were always in search for making extra profit. Smuggling immigrants to America exploited the southern coast of the United States and its close proximity to the Caribbean Isles extensively. Immigrants wishing to enter America usually went to Cuba first, then liquor smugglers took the responsibility of delivering them to the American shores. According to Cuban immigration records, the 1924 American restriction laws against immigrants boosted the number of foreigners arriving in Cuba. Undoubtedly, Cuba was used as a transhipment point from which foreigners would immigrate to America. The already-existing liquor smuggling in the South facilitated smuggling immigrants. Smugglers frequently used the same liquor boats to transport the immigrants and followed the same smuggling routes. Undocumented immigrants from China, the Middle East, Europe, and many more places accompanied the several liquor cargos smuggled to southern coasts of the United States. Likewise, America's laws to put restrictions on narcotics also gave rise to an illegal market of drugs. Liquor smugglers frequently carried cargos of narcotics along with their liquor shipments to smuggle both products to America. Drugs usually made their way from either China or Europe. Then they passed through Cuba and Mexico, where they would be smuggled to their final destination, American shores (Dorr 127-133, 147).

The potential of the Gulf Coast as a strategic smuggling point exposed the South to an ideal economic environment, though illegal. Similarly to Prohibition which enabled the flow of illicit alcohol, restrictions on immigrants and narcotics allowed for the enormous expansion

market of these contrabands in the region. Thus, the South became entangled in a considerable profit-making market, one that tied it to the neighbouring urban market of America, and equally, to those markets outside of the United States.

Conclusion

The far-reaching effects that resulted from industrialization, urbanization, and immigration were directly perceived in urban areas. Rural America appeared entirely unaffected by these phenomena at first, because it initially and traditionally seemed to stand against change and modernization. Therefore, rural Americans were thought to remain fiercely loyal to their diehard conservatism as they truly desired to reform American society through Prohibition. However, the close examination of the South's attitude towards Prohibition puts this fact into suspicion. The South, a predominantly rural region, had its fair share of Prohibition-related offences. Thus, the Southerners' illegal business and smuggling shatter the stereotypical image about them as being abstemious and law-abiding. This, ultimately, invalidates the notion that rural Americans initiated the Prohibition reform.

General Conclusion

The topic of Prohibition has for long attracted the attention of scholars. On a superficial level, Prohibition was a nationwide constitutional ban on the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages. On a deeper level, however, the thorough analysis of the atmosphere that surrounded America by the end of the nineteenth century drove early scholarships to interpret Prohibition as the product of an anxious rural society. Rural dwellers, whose majority were concentrated in southern states, resented the urban, populous, and ethnically diverse identities America began to embrace. In their view, urban centres were breeding grounds of immorality. This immorality, rural dwellers believed, occurred and spread as a result of the excessive consumption of alcohol. Thus, driven by the spirit to reform, rural Americans launched a war on alcohol, aspiring to save the American nation from its eventual downfall. This study has attempted to investigate the reliability of Prohibition as a rural reform movement through the careful examination of Southerners' behaviour towards Prohibition.

This research began by exploring the Urban-Rural Conflict and how it is related to Prohibition. As clarified in the first chapter, industrialization and urbanization led to the growth of the American city. In addition, both phenomena turned the city into a centre of diverse religions and ethnicities. Influenced by this diversity, American city-dwellers shaped a new identity that was very different from that of rural Americans. Rural dwellers resented everything that was related to the city. They considered the city as the centre of immorality and blamed immigrants for influencing Americans to excessively consume alcoholic beverages. Therefore, they were spurred by the spirit to reform American cities. In order to achieve this purpose,, rural Americans launched a crusade against alcohol. This crusade ended with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the American Constitution, which banned the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages.

Through the second chapter, this study examined the behaviour of Southerners towards Prohibition during the 1920s. The chapter started first by listing the loopholes of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Taking advantage of these loopholes, Americans, especially Southerners, contributed to establishing an underground market of alcohol. The second part of the chapter illustrated how Southerners took part in flooding America with contraband alcohol. The already existing fascination with moonshining in Appalachia increased because of Prohibition. As this illegal business proved to be very profitable, Southerners established wide-ranging moonshining rings in different states. Considering the cases of Virginia and North Carolina, this chapter demonstrated how moonshining rings operated and how they lured even police officers to break the law. In addition to that, this chapter revealed how Southerners took advantage of their location on the Gulf Coast to establish alcohol smuggling routes that stretched to the Caribbean Isles. Millions of liquor cargos were delivered on a daily basis to Southern shores in Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama. Moreover, much of the liquor was shipped to the urban markets of the northeast and the Midwest.

As for the third chapter, it analysed the variables from both of the previous chapters in order to prove the inaccuracy of Prohibition as a rural reform movement. Southern states were classified by the 1920 Census as rural states. Therefore, they were considered to be the most likely to initiate and support Prohibition. However, Southerners' eagerness to participate and profit from the underground market of alcohol invalidates this fact. Southerners have always been stereotyped as religious, abstemious, and law-abiding citizens. Nonetheless, their behaviour during Prohibition clearly confirms that they departed from conservative norms, and by the same token directly challenges the usual stereotypes of Southern Americans referred to earlier.

Following a descriptive analytical approach, this work concluded that Southerners' participation in the underground illegal alcohol market during the 1920s proves the inaccuracy

of Prohibition as a reform movement initiated and supported by rural Americans. While fulfilling its objectives, this study shifted the focus on the impact of Prohibition on the South, which is something often neglected in the literature on Prohibition.

Appendix A

The 18th Amendment to the American Constitution (1919)

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless itshall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Appendix B

Selected Sections from the Text of the Volstead Act (1919)

TITLE I

To Provide for the Enforcement of War Prohibition.

The term "War Prohibition Act" used in this Act shall mean the provisions of any Act or Acts prohibiting the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States. The words "beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquors" in the War Prohibition Act shall be hereafter construed to mean any such beverages which contain one-half of 1 per centum or more of alcohol by volume: Provided, That the foregoing definition shall not extend to dealcoholized wine nor to any beverage or liquid produced by the process by which beer, ale, porter or wine is produced, if it contains less than one-half of 1 per centum of alcohol by volume, and is made as prescribed in section 37 of Title II of this Act, and is otherwise denominated than as beer, ale, or porter, and is contained and sold in, or from, such sealed and labelled bottles, casks, or containers as the commissioner may by regulation prescribe.

TITLE II

Prohibition of Intoxicating Beverages

Sec. 3. No person shall on or after the date when the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States goes into effect, manufacture, sell, barter, transport, import, export, deliver, furnish or possess any intoxicating liquor except as authorized in this Act, and all the provisions of this Act shall be liberally construed to the end that the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage may be prevented. Liquor for non-beverage purposes and wine for sacramental purposes may be manufactured, purchased, sold, bartered, transported, imported, exported, delivered, furnished and possessed, but only as herein provided…

Sec. 18. It shall be unlawful to advertise, manufacture, sell, or possess for sale any utensil, contrivance, machine, preparation, compound, tablet, substance, formula direction, or recipe advertised, designed, or intended for use in the unlawful manufacture of intoxicating liquor.

Sec. 21. Any room, house, building, boat, vehicle, structure, or place where intoxicating liquor is manufactured, sold, kept, or bartered in violation of this title, and all intoxicating liquor and property kept and used in maintaining the same, is hereby declared to be a common nuisance, and any person who maintains such a common nuisance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than $1,000 or be imprisoned for not more than one year, or both…

Sec. 29. Any person who manufactures or sells liquor in violation of this title shall for a first offense be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, and for a second or subsequent offense shall be fined not less than $200 nor more than $2,000 and be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than five years.

Any person violating the provisions of any permit, or who makes any false record, report, or affidavit required by this title, or violates any of the provisions of this title, for which offense a special penalty is not prescribed, shall be fined for a first offense not more than $500; for a second offense not less than $100 nor more than $1,000, or be imprisoned not more than ninety days; for any subsequent offense he shall be fined not less than $500 and be imprisoned not less than three months nor more than two years…

Appendix C

Photos Documenting Moonshining and Smuggling of Alcohol in the South

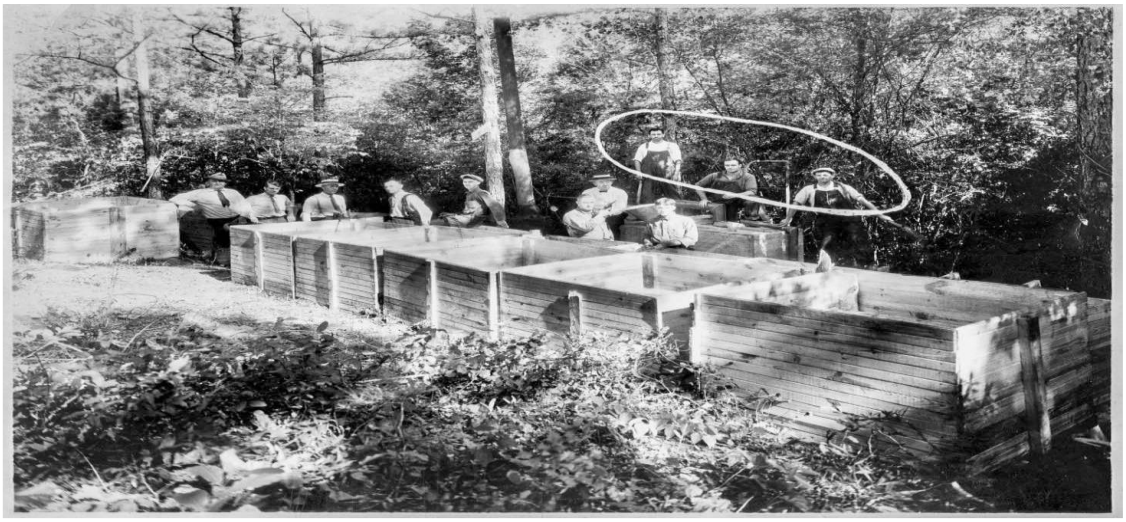
Map of the Gulf Coast (Dorr, *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition*, p. 2).

Suspected rum runner being trailed by the 125-foot patrol boat *Pulaski*, 1930 (Dorr, *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition*, p. 65).

Truck under guard loaded with seized liquor, Mobile, Alabama (Dorr, *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition*, p. 173).

Police destroying confiscated liquor in Miami, 1925 (Dorr, *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition*, p. 177).

Madison County sheriff Jesse James Bailey next to a mountain of busted stills (Pierce, *Tar Heel Lightnin': How Secret Stills and Fast Cars Made North Carolina the Moonshine Capital of the World*, p. 141).



Huge steamer-still moonshine operation. Such large plants became more common as national prohibition caused moonshine prices, and profits, to soar (Pierce, *Tar Heel Lightnin': How Secret Stills and Fast Cars Made North Carolina the Moonshine Capital of the World*, p. 134).

Works Cited

Behr, Edward. *Prohibition: Thirteen Years that Changed America*. Arcade Publishing, 2011.

Cheever, Susan. *Drinking in America: Our Secret History*. Twelve, 2015.

Clark, Norman. *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition*. Norton, 1976.

Dorr, Lisa Lindquist. *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition*. The U of North Carolina P, 2018.

Eagles, Charles W. "Urban-Rural Conflict in the 1920s: A Historiographical Assessment." *The Historian*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1986, pp. 26-48, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6563.1986.tb02006.x

Friedman, Robert S. "The Urban-Rural Conflict Revisited." *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1961, pp. 481-495, https://doi.org/10.1177/106591296101400208

Gusfield, Joseph. R. *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. U of Illinois P, 1966.

Halfacree, K. H. "Urban-Rural Continuum." *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Elsevier, 2009, pp. 119-124.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* Knopf, 1955.

Joyce, Jaime. *Moonshine: A Cultural History of America's Infamous Liquor*. Zenith Press, 2014.

Knox, P. "Urbanization." *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Elsevier, 2009, pp. 112-118.

Lender, Mark Edward, and James Kirby Martin. *Drinking in America: A History*. The Free Press, 1987.

Leuchtenburg, William, Edward. *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932*. U of Chicago P, 1993.

Lin, Jan, and Christopher Mele, editors. *The Urban Sociology Reader*. Routledge, 2005.

Lippman, Walter. *Men of Destiny*. Macmillan, 1927.

Maurer, David W. *Kentucky Moonshine*. U P of Kentucky, 2003.

Morgan, John P. and Patricia Penovich. "Jamaica Ginger Paralysis: Forty-Seven-Year Follow Up." *Archives of Neurology*, vol. 35, 1978, pp. 530-532, doi:10.1001/archneur.1978.00500320050011

Moss, Robert F. *Southern Spirits: Four Hundred Years of Drinking in the American South, with Recipes*. Ten Speed Press, 2016.

Okrent, Daniel. *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*. Scribner, 2010.

Pierce, Daniel S. *Tar Heel Lightnin': How Secret Stills and Fast Cars Made North Carolina the Moonshine Capital of the World*. The U of North Carolina P, 2019.

Reeves, Thomas C. *Twentieth Century America: A Brief History*. Oxford U P, 2000.

Rorabaugh, W.J. *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition*. O P, 1979.

——. *Prohibition: A Concise History*. Oxford U P, 2018.

Sanders, Randy. "Delivering Demon Rum: Prohibition Era Rumrunning in the Gulf of Mexico." *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, vol. 12, no. 1, Fall 1996, pp. 93-113.

Schlimm, John. *Moonshine: A Celebration of America's Original Rebel Spirit*. Citadel Press, 2018.

Siegfried, André. *America Comes of Age*, translated by H. H. Hemming and Doris Hemming. Brace and Co., 1929.

Slavicek, Louise Chipley. *The Prohibition Era: Temperance in the United States*. Chelsea House, 2009.

Stephenson, Frank Jr., and Mulder Nichols, Barbara. *North Carolina Moonshine: An Illicit History*. American Palate, 2017.

Résumé

L'érudition antérieure interprétait la Prohibition (1920-1933) comme le produit d'une population rurale anxieuse dans une ère moderne. L'opinion publique a, similairement, stéréotypé les Sudistes américains comme des citoyens religieux, respectueux de la loi, et sobres quand il s'agit de la Prohibition. Ce mémoire étudie la fiabilité de la Prohibition comme mouvement de réforme qui est établi et soutenu par les Américains ruraux à travers une recherche méticuleuse du comportement des Sudistes envers la Prohibition, en gardant à l'esprit que le Sud américain était majoritairement rural pendant les années 1920. Suivant une approche descriptive analytique, cette étude soutient que l'établissement par les Sudistes américains d'une infrastructure pour l'alcool illicitement distillé dans les Appalaches outre un vaste marché de contrebande qui s'étendait le long de la côte du golfe du Mexique démontre comment les Sudistes américains n'étaient ni sobres ni disposés à honorer la Prohibition. Ce fait, par conséquent, infirme l'hypothèse de la Prohibition comme un mouvement rural de réforme.

Mots-clés: Sudistes américains; Dix-huitième Amendement; distillation illicite d'alcool; Prohibition; conflit urbain-rural; marché clandestin d'alcool; loi Volstead.

ملخص

فسر البحث العلمي الأولي قرار حظر الكحول في الولايات المتحدة الممتد من 1920 الى 1933 كرد فعل نابع عن مخاوف سكان الريف الامريكي من عصر التوسع الحضري. بشكل مماثل، شكل الرأي العام صورة نمطية حول أبناء الجنوب الأمريكي كمتدينين، ملتزمين بالقانون، ومواطنين ممتنعين عن شرب الكحول عندما يتعلق الأمر بقرار حضر الكحول. تتفحص هذه الدراسة مدى صحة فرضية أن قرار حظر الكحول في الولايات المتحدة هو في الأصل حركة إصلاح مؤسسة ومدعمة من طرف المزارعين الأمريكيين، وذلك عن طريق استكشاف مفصل لسلوك أبناء الجنوب الأمريكي أثناء حقبة حظر الكحول، هذا مع الأخذ بعين الاعتبار أن الجنوب الأمريكي كان يغلب عليه الطابع الريفي خلال عشرينيات القرن العشرين. من خلال اتباع نهج وصفي ثم اخر تحليلي، تدعي هذه الدراسة أن تأسيس أبناء الجنوب الأمريكي لبنية تحتية من أجل صناعة الكحول بطريقة غير شرعية في منطقة جبال الأبلاتشي بالإضافة إلى انشاء سوق واسعة المدى لتهريب الكحول ممتدة على طول ساحل خليج المكسيك الأمريكي يؤكدان أن أبناء الجنوب الأمريكي لم يمتنعوا عن شرب الكحول ولم يبدوا استعدادهم لاحترام قرار حظر الكحول. بالتالي تبطل هذه الحقائق فرضية ان قرار حظر الكحول هو حركة إصلاحية مدعومة من طرف المزارعين الامريكيين.

كلمات دالة: أبناء الجنوب الأمريكي؛ التعديل الثامن العشر؛ صناعة كحول غير قانوني؛ حظر الكحول؛ تهريب؛ صراع حضري-ريفي؛ سوق الكحول السري؛ قانون فولستد.