

**Západočeská univerzita v Plzni**

**Fakulta pedagogická**

**Bakalářská práce**

**Prohibice ve Spojených státech amerických**

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**Plzeň 2013**

**University of West Bohemia**

**Faculty of Education**

**Undergraduate Thesis**

**Prohibition in the United States of America**

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**Plzeň 2013**

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*V Plzni dne 17. dubna 2013*

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Martin Vacek

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank to my supervisor Mgr. Andrew Tollet, M.Litt., for his help and suggestions. My thanks also belong to everybody who supported me.

## **ABSTRACT**

Vacek, Martin. University of West Bohemia. April 2013. Prohibition in the United States of America. Supervisor: Mgr. Andrew Tollet, M.Litt.

The object of this undergraduate thesis is to foreshadow the development of Prohibition in the United States of America and the negative consequences caused by Prohibition itself. The thesis is divided into seven major parts. The first part describes the alcohol situation and the anti-alcohol movement from the early times of American history to the Progressive Era. The second part deals with the Progressive Era, the period of massive industrial, political and social changes, during which the Eighteenth Amendment, the law enacting Prohibition, was introduced. The next part focuses on Prohibition and all health, social and criminal related problems it brought, describes illegal alcohol establishments and strategies of supplying America with alcohol and gives insight into doubtful Prohibition enforcement. The fourth part is dedicated to organized crime, its rise in the United States and enormous spread during 1920s. The fifth part is based on description of the public's negative view of Prohibition's results; furthermore it deals with organizations favoring Prohibition's repeal and the Twenty-first Amendment which ended Prohibition. The sixth part is focused on today's different approach to alcohol policy in the most of the Nordic countries. The last part tries to demonstrate the results of less radical alcohol solutions in Australia in contrast to American Prohibition.

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## INTRODUCTION

Prohibition, or so called the Noble Experiment, was introduced to the American public in 1920 and lasted almost fourteen years. However, the prohibition movement started long before Prohibition itself. By the end of the eighteenth century people began to realize the negative impacts of alcohol on human health and society. The American medical community warned people about unhealthy consequences of hard liquor consumption and several organizations adopted temperance movement thoughts. The temperance movement gradually developed into a prohibition movement and in 1851 the state of Maine became dry for the next five years. Over time, several organizations were established to support the fight against intemperance. The most influential were: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, consisting of women who were afraid of alcohol's destructive impact on families and society; the Prohibition Party, whose intention was to legislatively ban alcohol production, sale and transportation; and the Anti-Saloon League of America, an organization having many supporters and using non-partisan strategy to gain as many prohibition supporters in Congress as possible.

During the Progressive Era the United States experienced many economic, social and political reforms. The fight for prohibition still continued and was even strengthened by the anti-German atmosphere during World War I. The Anti-Saloon League's supporters reached majority in Congress and their influence was so great that they finally managed to pass the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution through Congress and Prohibition was introduced.

Prohibition had many optimistic goals, in short to basically improve the American life in all its aspects, which it never fulfilled. On the other hand it created a suitable atmosphere for criminal activities and enabled organized crime to control cities. Speakeasies were common places where people enjoyed alcohol beverages, which had to be made in illegal distilleries or smuggled from different countries. The illegal alcohol trade attracted many infamous mafiosos whose actions were not infrequently connected to violence and decent Prohibition enforcement was almost impossible due to corruption and lack of professionalism among Prohibition agents.

After all with all the problems that Prohibition brought in it was the best to end it. The society together with organizations such as the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment or the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, demanded Prohibition repeal. The Eighteenth Amendment was repealed by the Twenty-first



Amendment in 1933, leaving individual states to create their own variations of alcohol laws and restrictions.

Prohibition in the United States is one of the examples how it is possible to encounter alcohol related problems. Nowadays Finland, Sweden and Norway use alcohol monopoly to reduce problems connected to alcohol industry. Worth seeing is also the solution and results of Australian intervention against alcohol problem.

## 1. EARLY TIMES

### America during colonialism

The origins of the prohibition movement started a long time before the actual Eighteenth Amendment, enacting prohibition in 1920. The movement can be divided into three periods: the first period covers the era from Colonial times until the Civil War; the second period was marked with politicalization and prohibition growth and lasted from the Civil War to roughly 1900. The last period, called the Progressive era, started in 1890s and was ended with the adoption of national prohibition in 1920 (Thornton, 1991b).

Drinking alcohol in colonial America was generally considered a normal and natural matter of life. Beer, cider, wine, rum and whiskey were on a daily basis and alcohol was part of every meal. Drinking spirits was also less dangerous than drinking water (Hanson, n.d.d). Few people had the opportunity to drink clear and healthy water from mountain springs, they had only access to water, which was usually muddy, brackish or polluted (Theobald, n.d.).

Although drunkenness was condemned, drinking alcoholic beverages was supported. They were a source of energy, kept people warm, cured fevers, helped the sick. Alcohol was prescribed by doctors and it was the basic ingredient in most medicaments (Theobald, n.d.). It was viewed not only as physically healthy but also as socially beneficial. Drinking was part of harvests, elections, celebrations, debating at the taverns. Hired farm workers received spirits as a part of their pay, stores had barrels of rum or whiskey outside, so customers could have a sip and some schools had their own private brewery. In 1639 Harvard's brewery did not supply enough beer which resulted in the dismissal of the President Nathaniel Eaton. Alcohol was just a great part of people's lives (Gerstein & Moore, 1981).

Many Americans saw alcohol as a gift. On the other hand there were some disagreements in society, which tried to limit and control consumption. The Puritan community was against excessive use of alcohol beverages and created legislation which proposed to limit alcohol and tobacco consumption. However this legislation was ineffective and later abolished. Other legislation aimed to forbid the sale of alcohol to people of lower positions, such as Indians, servants, apprentices and slaves. But this legislation was also found ineffective. These people often ran away from their masters or

drank in shady conditions and prohibition against selling to Indians was mostly ignored, because spirits were an important article in trading with them (Thornton, 1991b).

Alcohol became an extremely important product in both national and international trade. It became the most prosperous and popular business in America. The Boston area produced approximately 4,770,000 liters of rum a year in the early eighteenth century. Rum had a major role in the triangular trade connecting the slave coast of Africa, the West Indies sugar plantations and the American rum producing areas. But intervention of the government had a great impact on alcohol market. Licensing, regulations, taxation and monopoly had effects on prices, amount and quality of products, as well as on the choice of customers and competition of producers (Thornton, 1991b).

In the late 1780s the American national government decided to use the prosperous alcohol industry to solve its own problems. After the Revolutionary War the thirteen states of America were facing debts. The government quickly realized that liquor laws could provide a significant sum of money through the use of license fees, fines and taxes, which would improve the fiscal situation. The result of one of their actions was introducing an excise tax on spirits in 1791. This tax was based on the point of distillation, not on the point of selling, ensuring that collected money would include spirits serving for personal consumption. Also small, family stills were being harmed, because they often had to pay more than twice the amount of tax that larger producers paid (King, 2004).

This government intervention led to the infamous incident called the Whiskey Rebellion. Larger producers in the East did not have problems with paying the tax, but small American distillers west of the Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains on the Nation's frontier stood strongly against the tax. Many producers refused to pay the tax and some, mainly in southwestern Pennsylvania, started to behave violently to tax collectors, whose job was more than dangerous: they were often threatened, beaten up, shot at. So called "whiskey boys" were destroying the property of those who complied with the tax and burning tax collectors' houses. Rebellion quickly spread along the frontier to other states (Theobald, n.d.). In 1794, after consideration, President George Washington finally decided to fight against the rebels. Almost 13,000 soldiers gathered and prepared to march west, headed by Washington, who proclaimed that no small portion of the United States will govern the whole country. In late October 1794, troops entered the western countries and arrested a hundred and fifty men. Many arrested rebels were later released due to lack of evidence and only two were convicted of treason. Congress repealed an excise tax on spirits and other Federal taxes until 1802 (Hoover, 2012).

### **The temperance movement**

In the late eighteenth century, the attitude of the American medical community towards alcohol changed. Benjamin Rush, a physician, published his tract *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind* in 1785, the purpose of which was to change public opinion about hard liquors and appeal to the community to stop believing in their healthy and efficacious properties (Gerstein & Moore, 1981). Born on January 4, 1746 in Byberry, Pennsylvania, Benjamin Rush was a physician, educator, writer, humanitarian, signer of the Declaration of Independence and “father of American psychiatry” (“*Benjamin Rush (1746-1813)*”, n.d.). Rush had nothing against beer or wine, but in his view, hard liquor was not needed to maintain one’s health or stamina. Actually people poisoned their bodies through drinking it. He described alcoholism as a disease, which could be cured only by total abstinence from hard liquor (Gerstein & Moore, 1981). In his essay, his arguments were not only scientific, but also moral, explaining that evil morals such as fraud, theft or murder resulted from consumption of alcohol. The anti-liquor fight, which started with Rush’s tract, continued and in the mid-nineteenth century five million temperance pamphlets were distributed. Each pamphlet was written in a different style or form, but all used two common rhetorical features – logos and pathos. Logos was created by scientific facts coming from trustworthy sources to prove the accuracy of the information. Pathos was aimed at people’s emotions. Rush’s crusade for temperance had little influence on public opinion and the consumption of alcohol even rose. His failure was ascribed to the excessive use of scientific arguments, which he supposed to be evidence of wickedness of alcohol (Berk, 2004).

Benjamin Rush also took part in the temperance movement, alongside Lyman Beecher, Increase Mather and his son Cotton Mather. Reformers began to recognize that the license system was created to support the government, not to control consumption of spirits. Two organizations were established in order to support the fight against intemperance. The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, whose goal was to suppress heavy drinking during the War of 1812, and the American Temperance Society founded in 1826. By 1833, the temperance movement had become so popular that had over a million members, consisting mostly of religious people, belonging to Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. They believed that at that time Jesus was supposed to return, so the world must be prepared for him (Thornton, 1991b).

Another important organization occurring within the temperance movement was The Washingtonians. This voluntary group, which consisted mostly of former drinkers, helped people who wished to abstain from alcohol and provided charity to alcoholics. Despite being modest, the Washingtonians donated more money to the needy than any other temperance organization (Thornton, 1991b).

The temperance movement was slowly growing into a prohibition movement and the changes leading to it can be divided into four stages. In the first stage, reformers used education to inform people about the danger of alcohol consumption. They tried to encourage the community to drink hard liquor moderately. The second stage was the time of establishing the temperance organizations. The aim of reformers became abstinence from hard liquor, also achieved by voluntary means, such as education. An increasing number of people became part of the organizations. The promise of staying sober played one of the most important roles in the temperance movement and people believed that through this pledge they would change the nation (Thornton, 1991b).

The next stage was influenced by radical reformers. Radical reformers wanted the absolute abstinence of all alcohol, including wine and beer. At the beginning they were looked at as a threat to individual liberty, social customs, religious traditions and their strategy was considered unnecessary to achieve the temperance. But as the journey to temperance in society lasted longer, reformers representing voluntary means were losing their patience and started favoring the radical strategy. In the last stage, the government decided to pass from voluntary to radical, forcing strategy and the licensed system was replaced by various restrictions on alcohol consumption. The consequences of this strategy did not fulfill the desired goals and led only to low quality alcohol and increasing drunkenness. With every failure of the rules, a new stricter one was introduced. Rules lacked intended results or were hard to enforce, and the situation finally resulted in prohibition in the state of Maine in 1851 (Thornton, 1991b).

Neal Dow, the mayor of Portland, played a very significant role in the prohibition movement. He was born on March 20, 1804 and nowadays is considered “The Father of Prohibition”. He devoted most of his life to the fight against intemperance and the sale of alcohol (“*Neal Dow*”, n.d.). Dow was the author of the Maine law in 1851, which were basically stricter laws, reducing the conviction requirements, increasing fines and allowing for search, seizure or destruction of confiscated spirits. Many northern states and territories later adopted the law, but this attempt at prohibition did not last long. One of the main

forces disagreeing with the Maine laws were German and Irish immigrants who, together with native drinkers, were frequently breaking the prohibition laws (Thornton, 1991b).

In 1855 Neal Dow was involved in a significant event, called the Portland Rum Riot. He was accused of storing alcohol supplies for medical purposes at City Hall, thus breaking his own law. A crowd of approximately two thousand people gathered in front of the City Hall to protest, demanding the liquor be destroyed. When a few rioters broke into the City Hall, Dow ordered the militia to fire at them, which resulted in one dead and several wounded (Gallant, n.d.). After this incident, in 1856 the Maine law was repealed and Neal Dow's reputation was harmed.

### **Organizations supporting prohibition after 1850**

The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of reforms related to the prohibitionist movement and the official Prohibition in 1920. The woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Prohibition Party, the Anti-Saloon League of America and other professional organizations played indispensable roles in this reform movement (Thornton, 1991b).

In 1873 still more women started to fight for temperance. Alcohol caused many problems in their families and society as a whole and women were afraid of its destructive power. They gathered in churches and after praying they visited the saloon owners, asking them to close their business. Achieving only temporary success, the women decided to organize nationally to strike with full force. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in November of 1874 in Cleveland, Ohio. The organization wanted to achieve total abstinence from spirits through education, raising the banner of "protection of the home" (*Early History*, n.d.). In 1879 the WCTU counted almost 27,000 members and quickly became the largest woman's organization in the United States, supported by more than 168,000 followers by 1900 (Halsall, 1998).

The aims of the WCTU quickly spread and besides the alcohol ban they also promoted tobacco and drug use prohibition, opposed drug traffic, child labor or white slavery. Among other things the organization promoted, supported and helped establish the women's right to vote, protection of women and children at home and work, shelters for abused women and children, stiffer penalties for sexual crimes against girls and women, the eight-hour work day and equal pay for equal work and kindergartens (*Early History*, n.d.).

Another organization supporting the prohibition movement was the Prohibition Party. The party was formed in 1869 as the third oldest party in the United States. Its main concern was to legislatively prohibit the production, sale and transportation of alcohol. Although the party is often considered ineffective, it was the first party that supported a ban of alcoholic beverages, prohibition of gambling and was in favor of an income tax, direct election of senators, free public education, child-labor laws, women's suffrage and prison reforms. In general they helped to draw public attention to social problems and created pressure on the major political parties. The Prohibition Party had its biggest success in states where prohibition of alcohol was first introduced (Thornton, 1991b). It had many supporters among the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and later in the Anti-Saloon League of America. By 1920 the party had subsequently introduced a number of progressive changes, triumphing in 1919 with the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited alcohol beverages in the United States ("*Prohibition Party*", 2005).

The Anti-Saloon League of America was another temperance organization playing an important role in the fight for prohibition. The League was formed in 1895 from two organizations - the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, originally founded in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1893 and the other in Washington, D.C., founded in the same year. The members of the organization believed that people were losing their moral and religious values and this social decline was caused by alcohol. In their opinion, the situation could be solved by enforcing existing laws and introducing new ones. They also had a vision of eliminating taverns, bars and saloons as a primary source and promotion of alcohol beverages ("*Anti-Saloon League of America*", 2005). The League found many supporters among local churches, it is estimated that the League cooperated with 30,000 of the Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches and 60,000 other organizations (Thornton, 1991b).

The Anti-Saloon League of America also involved itself in politics, using non-partisan tactics. This strategy was based on putting all their power and effort into supporting the politician who was willing to promote anti-alcohol thoughts. It did not matter whether a candidate was Republican or Democrat: if he supported the League's cause, they supported him. If both candidates promoted anti-alcohol views, the League did not involve itself in their competition and if both candidates were against prohibition, the Anti-Saloon League tried to find a new candidate who would support their intentions ("*The Saloon Must Go*", n.d.).

To create even more pressure on the public, the League established its own publishing house called The American Issue Publishing Company. The printing presses were working 24 hours a day, producing approximately 250,000,000 book pages per month, printing fliers, newspapers, magazines and books and for distribution around the country and the world (Hanson, n.d.a).

The Anti-Saloon League of America often received criticism of its tactics from the Prohibition Party, church groups, their supporters as well as opponents. Critics did not like the League's political opportunism involving large amounts of money and church members objected to the usage of the pulpit for political purposes. Financial support came from sources such as John D. Rockefeller, the U.S. Steel Corporation, several owners of motor car companies, owners of the Root Beer Company, Coca-Cola or Welch's Grape Juice, which would certainly profited from prohibition (Thornton, 1991b).

After the first fifteen years, when the League was focused on introducing anti-alcohol laws within local communities, they shifted their attention to the nation as a whole. In 1913 Purley Baker, the League's superintendent, introduced an amendment which contained the basic thoughts of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Congress. Putting constant pressure on Congress, they finally reached their long desired goal and the Eighteen Amendment passed by the U.S. Congress. After 1920, the next thirteen years of the Anti-Saloon League of America were disharmonious. Members could not agree on the actual strategy and split in two halves, which dramatically weakened the organization and gave an opportunity to opponents. Anti-temperance supporters managed to introduce the Twenty-First Amendment that ended Prohibition in 1933, which led to the League's collapse ("*Anti-Saloon League of America*", 2005).

## **2. THE PROGRESSIVE ERA**

### **The era of changes**

The Progressive Era, the time period lasting roughly from 1890s to 1920, was an era of massive changes in America, its development and expansion. During these years reformers wanted to make America a better and safer place, the United States went through many important social, economic and political reforms, and it was the birth of modern America (Piott, 2011).



People who participated on reforms during the Progressive Era were called progressives. They fought against the dysfunction in society related to rapid industrial growth, urbanization, immigration and the generally new lifestyle of American citizens. But progressivism was not an organized, national movement. Progressives had different ideas, which usually interlocked, but occasionally their views were unrelated or even contrasting (Jaycox, 2005). Politicians who were definitely involved in the progressive movement and supported many reforms and changes included William Jennings Bryan, Robert M. La Follette, Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson (Nugent, 2010). In 1891 senator Robert M. La Follette was offered a bribe to influence a process in a law case. Since then, La Follette became a passionate supporter of the fight against corruption in party politics (Perry & Smith, 2006).

Progressives fought for the elimination of corruption and cronyism in government; they believed in the increase of government's responsibility for human welfare – better conditions for miners and factory workers, health insurance and the social security system which would cover disability and old age. Progressives also supported the women's right to vote, public education; they wanted to clean cities from social ills such as drunkenness, prostitution, disease and poverty; they disagreed with exploitation of child labor or railroad monopolies (Nugent, 2010). Most progressives held negative views on alcohol and thus favored prohibition. Saloons were seen as a waste of money and time and prohibition would protect society from poverty and violence behavior associated with drinking spirits (Perry & Smith, 2006).

The progressives' ways of introducing reforms were systematical: firstly, they collected data on the problem in which they were interested and then they handed the data over to experts and scientist whose task was to interpret them. The next process was to publish the interpreted data and create pressure on legislators to pass new laws, whose enforcement progressives consequently checked (Perry & Smith, 2006).

During the Progressive Era, the United States not only experienced various economic and political changes, but also met many social changes concerning people's everyday life. Industry, technology, architecture and culture grew rapidly. Cities expanded and industrial growth brought new factories, which offered opportunities to work and higher wages. By 1900, 30% of the American population lived in cities (*"Cities During the Progressive Era"*, n.d.). But cities were not growing only outwards and in 1855 the nation witnessed its first skyscraper in Chicago (Perry & Smith).

The public received new forms of entertainment when film or the so called motion picture was invented. New Orleans became the home of jazz, baseball was the first professional sport, the first automobiles began to appear in the streets of cities and the sky was conquered by the Wright Brothers (Jaycox, 2005).

Women wanted to improve their social position and began to fight not only for the right to vote, but also to gain social, economic and political equality. By the end of the nineteenth century, Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming were the first states where women had the right to vote and in 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment ensured this right to them in the whole United States (*“Women’s Suffrage in the Progressive Era”*, n.d.).

### **The ride to Prohibition**

The never-ending fight for prohibition intensified during the Progressive Era. By 1913, more than half of American citizens and 70% of the area of the United States were affected by some prohibitory legislation and nine states were under state-wide prohibition (Cherrington, 1920). The consistent pressure created on Congress, mainly by the Anti-Saloon League of America, finally resulted in national-wide prohibition in 1920.

Between 1912 and 1916 progressive thinking middle-class Americans brought more strength to the prohibition movement and favored temperance, alcohol control and even prohibition. In 1913 Congress adopted the Webb-Kenyon Act, which prohibited shipment and transportation of alcohol from wet states to dry states, when such shipment or transportation would be used or sold in any manner in violation of the dry state laws (Jaycox, 2005).

The Anti-Saloon League of America, the group with the greatest political power in the prohibition movement, encouraged by public support, continued its journey to the long wished prohibition. But the goal was endangered in 1917 when Congress began to discuss a new bill which would forbid sending liquor advertisements through the mail. The representatives of wet states did not like it and thought that their radical attitude would defeat this new bill. They decided to add an attachment to prohibit ordering, selling or purchasing all alcohol beverages in all dry states. Up until now, existing prohibition laws mainly banned only the manufacture and the sale of alcohol, but it was legal to use alcohol bought through the mail for personal purposes. Because the Anti-Saloon League saw that it was too early for such an extreme step and was afraid that it could threaten its fight for

prohibition, the League did not release any official public comment. However the new bill surprisingly passed Congress (Jaycox, 2005).

Even World War I did not slow down this trend. The war began on July 28, 1914, when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia under the guise of the rejection of Habsburg ultimatum, which was created after the assassination of the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, Franz Ferdinand of Austria. Within a few days, Austria-Hungary stood together with Germany against Russia, France and the United Kingdom. During the war's progress still more nations, not only from Europe, but also Japan, entered the war. The United States of America kept neutral until April 6, 1917, when America declared war on Germany (Ort, 2000).

Entering the war had impact on prohibition development in the United States. In order to maintain military discipline it was necessary to keep soldiers out of reach of alcohol. Also there were many breweries of German origins in America and when Germany became the nation's enemy, their reputation significantly decreased (Jaycox, 2005). In November 1918, Congress passed the Wartime Prohibition Act, which prohibited the use of fruits, grains and other food products to manufacture wine, beer and other intoxicating beverages. The purpose of this law was to save food sources for consumption and not waste them on alcohol. The Wartime Prohibition Act lasted until the Eighteenth Amendment was introduced and was basically the beginning of Prohibition ("*United States v. Standard Brewery, Inc. - 251 U.S. 210 (1920)*", n.d.).

### **The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act**

Amending the U.S. Constitution is not an easy process. It demands support by two-thirds of both houses of Congress, ratification by three-quarters of all the states and also changes included in an amendment must have wide popular support. The Anti-Saloon League was very successful with its non-partisan political strategy and the number of politicians in Congress favoring the League's interests was still increasing. After the elections in 1916, two-thirds of Congress promised to vote for dry reforms. The League decided that it was the right time and on April 4, 1917, just two days before the United States entered the war, the new prohibition amendment, the Eighteenth Amendment, was submitted to Congress (Jaycox, 2005).

The Eighteenth Amendment was very brief and its three sections contained only 111 words. The first section outlawed the manufacture, distribution and sale of intoxicating

liquors in the United States and also prohibited their import and export. The second section secured the enforcement of the previous section by power of appropriate legislation and the third section forbade the amendment to go into effect, if it would not be ratified within seven years by the needed number of states provided in the Constitution (Hanson, n.d.f).

Even though there were some discussions about the loss of tax revenue and the destruction of the alcohol industry, the prohibition amendment passed Congress on December 18, 1917. Mississippi was the first state which ratified the amendment and two years later, on January 16, 1919, the necessary support of three-quarters of all states was achieved when Nebraska became the 36<sup>th</sup> state ratifying the Eighteenth Amendment (Jaycox, 2005, p. 466). The prohibition amendment came into effect one year after its ratification, on January 16, 1920, in the end supported by 46 out of 48 states. It lasted for almost fourteen years, when it was repealed by the Twenty-First Amendment on December 5, 1933 (Hanson, n.d.f).

But the Eighteenth Amendment was very brief and many terms, such as “intoxicating liquors”, needed to be specifically explained so they could be enforced. Nobody knew what the penalty for alcohol manufacture was or whether it could be produced for medical, health or religious purposes (Hanson, n.g.). Also another problem with the prohibition amendment was that it did not forbid the use or possession of alcohol, so before the Eighteenth Amendment came into effect, people were ready to buy as much liquor as they were able to and the stocks were later used for own consumption or served to others (Sinclair, 1962).

All these problems and inconsistencies should have been solved by the Volstead Act. The National Prohibition Act, commonly known as the Volstead Act, passed Congress in October 1919. Unlike the brevity of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act was over 25 pages long. It defined an alcoholic beverage as any containing more than 0.5% of alcohol, and prohibited all its manufacture, sale, barter, transport, import, export or possession, except as authorized by this act (Hanson, n.d.g). The Act was very complicated, hard to interpret and confusing, so the day before Prohibition came into effect, the *New York Daily News* published an interpretation of this act as an advice for the public.

- You may drink intoxicating liquor in your own home or in the home of a friend when you are a bona fide guest.
- You may buy intoxicating liquor on a bona fide medical prescription of a doctor.  
A pint can be bought every ten days.

- You may consider any place you live permanently as your home. If you have more than one home, you may keep a stock of liquor in each.
- You may keep liquor in any storage room or club locker, provided the storage place is for the exclusive use of yourself, family or bona fide guests.
- You may get a permit to move liquor when you change your residence.
- You may manufacture, sell or transport liquor for non-beverage or sacramental purposes provided you obtain a Government permit.
- You cannot carry a hip flask.
- You cannot give away or receive a bottle of liquor as a gift.
- You cannot take liquor to hotels or restaurants and drink it in the public dining room.
- You cannot buy or sell formulas or recipes for homemade liquors.
- You cannot ship liquor for beverage use.
- You cannot store liquor in any place except your own home.
- You cannot manufacture anything above one half of one percent (liquor strength) in your home.
- You cannot display liquor signs or advertisements on your premises.
- You cannot remove reserve stocks from storage. (Behr, 1995)

The Act also banned searches of private homes and allowed alcohol to be used for medical, religious or industrial purposes. But the 0.5% limit of alcohol content in beverages greatly surprised and shocked many people. Some states decided to introduce laws, which would exclude beer and light wine out of the reach of Prohibition, but the Supreme Court quickly rejected this individual behavior. Even President Woodrow Wilson did not agree with the Volstead Act and vetoed it on October 27, 1919, but yet the same day Wilson's veto was overridden by Congress and the National Prohibition Act went into effect at midnight on January 16, 1920 (Jaycox, 2005).

Former President Theodore Roosevelt did not really think that Prohibition was a good idea. Perhaps banning hard liquor was acceptable, but making beer and light wine illegal was going too far. In his opinion, Prohibition such this was going to cause dissatisfaction and unrest. Saloons had to be closed and there was nothing to replace them. They were popular places among ordinary workers, places where they could have a drink with friends and relax. Roosevelt also felt sorry for some well-meaning owners, whose saloons were nice and clean, but had to be closed. He was not sure about the result or the

outcome of Prohibition, but he was convinced about one thing: once Prohibition was a part of the Constitution, it would be extremely hard to repeal it (Towne, 1923).

### 3. PROHIBITION 1920-1933

#### Alcohol during Prohibition

January 17, 1920 was the first day of Prohibition. Alcohol Prohibition, or the so called “Noble Experiment” was supposed to reduce crime and corruption in cities, solve social problems, improve hygiene and health of the society and generally better the life of American citizens. However the effect of Prohibition was the complete opposite and resulted in a great failure. People began to establish their own illegal stills, alcohol was smuggled from other countries for purpose of its consumption in the United States and the whole situation created a suitable atmosphere for the rise of organized crime and corruption (Thornton, 1991a).

The consumption of alcohol was steadily falling in the second decade of the twentieth century and reaching an all-time low in the first year of Prohibition. Since 1922 the consumption began rising and in the following years people drank about two-thirds of what they had in pre-Prohibition times (Thornton,

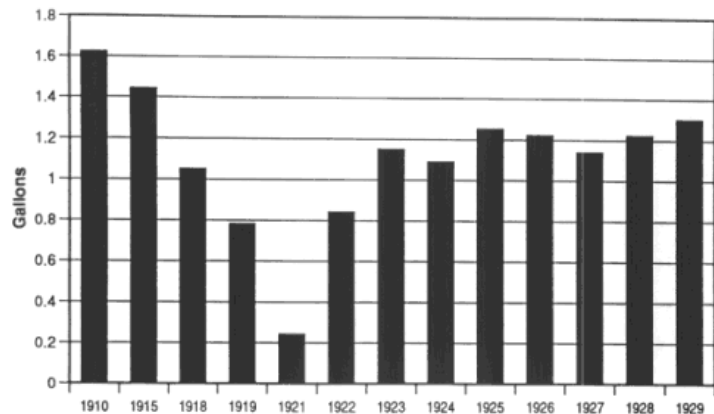


Figure1. Per Capita Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages (Gallons of Pure Alcohol) 1910-1929 (Thornton, 1991a).

1991a). Prohibition destroyed the alcohol industry: in 1916 there were 1300 breweries producing beer in the United States; in the next ten years, there were none. Also the number of distilleries was reduced by 85% and most of the distilleries which left focused their attention on production of industrial alcohol. The number of legal liquor wholesalers and retailers decreased to less than 10%. This extensive decline in the alcohol industry had a great effect on the economy, because federal tax revenues from distilled spirits dropped from \$365 million in 1919 to less than \$13 million in 1929, and tax from fermented liquors dropped from \$117 million to basically zero (Blocker, 2006).

During Prohibition illegal alcohol, accessible mainly in speakeasies, cost from twice up to ten times more compared to pre-Prohibition era. Eric Burns wrote that: “The booze did not come cheaply. People made jokes about taking out a loan to take on a load” (Burns, 2004, p. 199). Prices depended on the quantity of alcohol available at that time and how difficult it was for businesses to obtain it. Weaker and bulkier beverages, such as beer, were more difficult to supply than stronger and compact products, such as whiskey, which caused even more rapid increase of beer price. Before Prohibition people spent approximately the same amount money on beer and spirits; however, during Prohibition most of the costs were spent on consumption of spirits. Also the potency of alcohol products rose during Prohibition and beer, wine or whiskey contained a higher percentage of alcohol by volume, usually the potency of products was 150% higher than the potency of products before and after Prohibition (Thornton, 1991a).

Some people started to replace the lack of alcohol with its legal forms, such as patent medicines or medicinal alcohol. Between 1923 and 1931 the amount of liquors containing alcohol sold by physicians and hospitals doubled and the amount of sold medical alcohol, which contained 95% of pure alcohol, rose four times (Thornton, 1991a). A popular activity of some bootleggers was cutting alcoholic beverages to increase their profits even more. All they needed was water to increase the quantity of beverages, some flavorings to somehow maintain the original taste and something which would keep drinks strong - industrial alcohol. Industrial alcohol was never supposed to be drunk. Alcohol used in factories and other workplaces was denatured, which made it disgusting or even toxic. Bootleggers did not mind the toxicity of their beverages, they were stealing shipments of industrial alcohol or falsifying permits to buy it “legally”, knowing that the consequences would be deadly, but in their view this was a problem of consumers (Burns, 2004). Jamaica Ginger was a high-proof legally prescribed medicament, but extremely bitter and difficult to drink because of its ginger solids. Bootleggers replaced the ginger solids, which created the better taste, but at the same time the drink became deleterious. Adulterated Jamaica Ginger was responsible for partially paralyzing up to 50,000 citizens of the United States (Leitzel, 2008). Adulterated alcohol left thousands blind and caused many deaths during Prohibition era: although the total number is hard to estimate, it is reported that in New York alone almost 1500 people died in years 1925 and 1926 in consequence of consumption of adulterated alcohol (Burns, 2004).

Supporters of Prohibition also believed that, thanks to Prohibition, the United States of America would experience a great decrease of crime and drunkenness and that prisons would become almost empty. But they were wrong and during the Noble Experiment America witnessed the increase of all sorts of crimes (Towne, 1923).

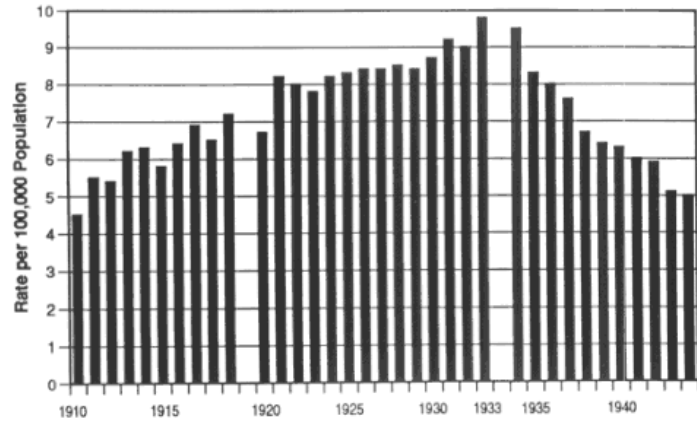


Figure 2. Homicide rate between 1910 and 1944 (Thornton, 1991a).

In the first year of Prohibition, compared to 1920, the number of crimes increased by 24%. Total arrests for drunkenness and disorderly behavior rose by 41% and arrests of drunk drivers by 81%. Crimes associated with thefts and burglaries increased by 9%, while incidents of assault and homicide rose by 13%. The increase in crime was caused by the fact that Prohibition destroyed legal jobs, created a violent black market and significantly raised the prices of alcohol (Thornton, 1991a).

Supporters thought that Prohibition would empty prisons, but instead it provided an excessive number of new convicts. In 1914 there had been 4,000 federal convicts and less than 3,000 of them had been placed in federal prisons. By 1932 the number of federal convicts was 26,589, which was an increase of 561%, and the population in federal prisons rose by 366%. Between 1925 and 1930 the number of people sentenced of violation against Prohibition laws increased by 1,000% and half of the population of prisons received in 1930 was convicted of crimes related to such matters. Even though the expenses on penal institution and new prison space rose between 1915 and 1932 by more than 1,000%, prisons were still overflowing with inmates (Thornton, 1991a).

Generally, throughout Prohibition the number of crimes against persons and property and violations of Prohibition laws continued to increase, but after the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 there was a dramatic decrease in number of burglaries, robberies, assaults and murders, which clearly supports the relationship between crime and Prohibition (Thornton, 1991a).



## Speakeasies and bootleggers

Speakeasies and bootlegging belonged to the most profitable businesses during Prohibition. Speakeasies were secret, illegal places for people who did not make their own alcohol or who enjoyed drinking outside of their homes (Burns, 2004). Cities were literally full of them. At the height of the Prohibition era, there were more than 5,000 speakeasies only in Manhattan and approximately 10,000 in Brooklyn. The total number of illegal speakeasies in New York was estimated at 35,000, which was more than twice as many as the number of legal drinking establishments before Prohibition (Lerner, 2007). The situation was the same in Chicago, Detroit, Denver or Los Angeles. The name Speakeasy was most likely derived from the “speak-softly shops”, the name of English shops during the nineteenth century which were cheaply selling smuggled and untaxed liquor. However the term Speakeasy was very appropriate through Prohibition era, because bartenders especially in smaller towns often asked their customers to keep their voice down - the less attention speakeasies attracted, the less likely was the danger that police officer in the streets would decide to investigate the establishment (Burns, 2004).

Speakeasies could be easily hidden in ramshackle places from the streets, resembling anything from a bicycle repair shop to a tailor’s shop, from a drugstore to a hardware store, from an apartment to a synagogue. Some of the places were logically former saloons, which had to be closed after Prohibition was introduced. The interior was often elegant and luxury, furnished with solid oak bar with brass fittings, thick carpets on the floors, crystal chandeliers on the frescoed ceilings, beautiful original paintings or their quality reproductions were hanging on the walls and all finished with gilt-edged mirrors and a small sculpture or bust of famous statesmen or warriors. The style of some speakeasies was indeed remarkable. People could feel as if they were transformed in time or they had the opportunity to play a miniature golf course (Lerner, 2007). Some speakeasies also had kitchens where famous chefs cooked meals and stylishly dressed waiters served customers, other offered singers, dancers or musicians who took care of live entertainment. Famous New York restaurants, such as the Stork Club or Twenty-One, started their existence in the times of Prohibition (Burns, 2004).

These luxury speakeasies where gentlemen were often required to wear a tuxedo and ladies an evening gown attracted not only wealthy citizens, but also celebrities, athletes, artists, movie stars or musicians, who stepped out of their fancy cars and disappeared in a speakeasy to enjoy a few glasses of their favorite drink (Sismondo, 2011).

Even politicians were not an exception and New York's mayor, Jimmy Walker, was a frequent visitor of illegal liquor establishments. As Burns states: "Walker was a perfect symbol for the era: too sophisticated to obey the law and too brash to hide his disobedience." (Burns, 2004, p. 198-199). On the other hand, there were low-end speakeasies lacking any style or charm, modestly equipped for their only purpose - dispensing alcohol until they would be discovered by the law. Their served alcohol was of far inferior quality and drinks were often cut with industrial alcohol, nevertheless these speakeasies as well as the high-end ones successfully contributed to alcohol consumption during Prohibition (Lerner, 2007).

The first thing people needed to know when they wanted to visit a speakeasy was its location. After they knocked on the door they waited for a peephole to open. When it did, the potential customer was judged by the eye appearing in the peephole. If the customer was known to the eye or if he or she mentioned the name of a regular customer as a password, the door opened and the customer was welcomed. But if the customer was not approved by the eye in the peephole, they were told they had come to the wrong door. For many people this process was a nuisance, an unnecessary risk. While waiting by the door they were exposed to the danger of a passing police officer or a suspicious supporter of Prohibition. Customers were also afraid of not being let in, which would harm their reputation. But to some customers the eye in the peephole was a comforting sight and the approval by the gatekeeper demonstrated one's status to other people (Burns, 2004).

Because speakeasies were under the constant threat of police raids or thieves who would like to steal their stocks, they began to install complicated safety measures. Besides peepholes, passwords, membership cards and hidden entrances, owners began to buy surrounding buildings as a place for alcohol stores. Police officers usually had permission to search only the address of the speakeasy, so alcohol stashed in neighboring buildings was safe (Lerner, 2007). An example of sophisticated security was New York speakeasy Twenty-One, which had four alarm buttons placed at various points in the vestibule, so that if an intruder prevented one button from being pushed, the gatekeeper could use another. Twenty-One had also five different liquor stashes, which could be entered only through secret doors, whose complicated electric circuits were immediately short-circuited any time an alarm button was pressed (Burns, 2004). Other speakeasies used a special system of slides, which could empty a bar of evidence by dropping bottles on a hard floor of a basement, breaking them to let the alcohol flow off into the sewers. Even though police raids were extensive and they were able to search twenty, forty or up to seventy

establishments in only 24 hours, their effort was almost useless. The raids resulted in minor alcohol seizures, arrest of waiters, bartenders and occasional owners. They represented no menace to consumers, because it was still technically legal to drink alcohol during Prohibition. Once during a raid in New York police arrested 150 visitors of a speakeasy, but they were quickly released and police officers were reminded that holding a glass with an alcohol beverage is not a crime. Raids did not have a significant impact on the speakeasy business: if alcohol was seized an owner promptly bought new supplies and many speakeasies reopened within a few days (Lerner, 2007).

Speakeasies created a new openness about women's public behavior and when the Nineteenth Amendment came into effect, a predominantly younger generation of women with a glass of liquor held in one hand and cigarette in another symbolized the change of women's role in society (Sismondo, 2011).

Prohibition also created an interesting paradox: by forcing people to drink liquor in comfort of their home or in luxury speakeasies, alcohol beverages gained respectability, which they never had before in pre-Prohibition era (Burns, 2004).

Alcohol establishments needed to be supplied with their goods and the people who provided this service were bootleggers. Bootleggers' job was to sell alcohol to speakeasies and individuals longing to have their own alcohol stock in their homes. In small towns they gained the same respect as local doctors or lawyers and in big cities they were invited to all the best parties. American citizens quickly realized that bootlegging was very profitable and it is estimated that by the mid-1920s half a million Americans were more or less involved in alcohol trade, making the total profit of more than \$1,000,000,000 a year. But behind the great profit there was a danger of being caught by the law and facing strict penalties (Burns, 2004). Bootleggers mainly focused on distribution of distilled spirits, because the profit from them was much higher than the profit from beer (Peck, 2009).

There were three ways of getting alcohol into the United States: a bootlegger could make it himself in distillers which operated openly, presuming that local police was bribable; he could make his own alcohol in distillers, which functioned as legal businesses; or he could transport it from other countries. George Remus, one of the best known bootleggers, chose the first two ways and began to flood America with liquor (Burns, 2004). Remus was a Chicago lawyer and a former druggist and he based his plan on finding loopholes in the Volstead Act and finally came up with a sophisticated idea. He headed to Cincinnati, Ohio, and bought fourteen distillers within three hundred miles from the city, whose warehouses contained in total 80% of all bounded American whiskey.

After that he purchased a pharmacy in Covington, Kentucky, and began to withdraw the whiskey for distribution in the medical market, which was all perfectly legal. But what was not completely legal was when pharmacy's trucks were hijacked at Remus's bidding by his own employees. Trucks which were carrying "stolen" cargo of whiskey were accompanied by well-armed guards and by secure routes they delivered the cargo to Remus's secret place called Death Valley Farm. From the farm he supplied most of the eastern half of the United States, delivering liquor to speakeasies in Manhattan, Boston, Philadelphia or Pittsburgh, making a profit of \$25 million a year (the equivalent of \$322 million in 2010), employing hundreds of warehouses workers, drivers, guards, salesmen and officer employment, plus giving money to the lawyers, Prohibition agents, police officers, politicians, which was necessary for the success of his criminal operations (Okrent, 2010). But this could not last forever and Remus was eventually caught by Prohibition enforcers and sentenced to several years in prison. After his return he shot his wife, who had been having an affair with the federal agent who had sent him to prison (Burns, 2004).

Besides the production of illegal alcohol, which came from inside the United States, there was also alcohol imported from other countries. Alcohol was mainly smuggled either through the three-thousand-mile undefended border with Canada or by ships, using the Rum Row area, from the Caribbean, Mexico or Canada. Especially Detroit had a great geographical position and having a Canadian distillery just across the river earned illegal alcohol a second place among the most lucrative Detroit industries, surpassed by automobile manufacture and sale (Peck, 2009).

"Rum Row" was a term used to describe a line of ships loaded with various liquor, not only rum, anchored outside the three-mile limit in the international waters alongside the shore from the Gulf of Maine to the tip of Florida, along the Gulf of Mexico and from top to bottom of the Pacific shore. They waited for speedboats, which delivered alcohol stocks to the secret points on the land usually at night (Peck, 2009). Alcohol buyers were invited on the ships where they tasted the alcohol and made the deals. It is estimated that 80% of alcohol produced in Canada ended up on American ships. Rum Row was from the beginning under the threat of hijackers, who would have liked to steal their precious cargo, but smuggling ships were prepared for this type of visit and they were equipped by machine guns on the deck. The United States Coast Guard tried to chase the speedboats heading with the cargo to the shore, but most of the time they were unsuccessful. The Coast Guard had in its fleet available only 25 destroyers, 33 cruisers and 243 patrol boats supposed to cover more than fifteen-thousand-mile shore, making it almost an impossible

task (Burns, 2004). Bootleggers' boats did not make it easier for the Coast Guard and they were equipped by high-performance engines and bulletproof gas tanks (Okrent, 2010). Some bootleggers took their job even further and developed airborne version of the Rum Row – two planes with extra 100-gallon tanks that flew above American ground and transferred alcohol from tank to tank through fueling hoses (Burns, 2004).

Bootlegging also gave rise to a new sport – stock car racing. Bootleggers who produced alcohol in their own distillers then had to transport their product to market. This journey was sometimes dangerous and smugglers were chased by police. In consequence bootleggers began to modify their cars for speed and handling and learned to drive in the most difficult conditions, which occasionally meant at night with the lights off. From time to time bootleggers met and race each other for fun, which later provided the inspiration for NASCAR, the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (Peck, 2009).

On the other hand, there must have been some force which was fighting against smugglers and defending the prohibition laws. Enforcement of the National Prohibition Act was provided by the Bureau of Prohibition, the United States Coast Guard and U.S. Customs. In 1920 Congress earmarked slightly more than \$2,000,000 for purposes of the fight against alcohol. Wayne Wheeler, the Anti-Saloon League's general counsel, was very happy about the sum and even thought that in the end Prohibition might be profitable and money collected in fines and confiscated alcohol would more than cover the costs of enforcement. But he was wrong and the sum could not provide even a little effective enforcement. The next year the sum spent on Prohibition enforcement increased almost three times to \$6,350,000. This trend continued through whole 1920s and in 1930 the total cost of enforcement was more than \$12,000,000, but it was estimated that at least \$300,000,000 would be necessary to dry the United States (Burns, 2004).

The Bureau of Prohibition was meant to be the leader of crime investigation committed against the Volstead Act and referring them to the United States Attorney for prosecution. Their task was to: license the manufacturing, storage and distribution of industrial alcohol; regulate the supply of medical alcohol; control dispensation of sacramental wine; made arrests and raids for alcohol sale; and police the nation's borders for illegal smuggling (Lerner, 2007). In 1920 there were only 1,500 agents, which meant one agent was supposed to cover an area of 2,327 square miles, one for approximately 69,500 Americans, while New York counted only 129 agents. Although the total number of hired agents increased during Prohibition, it never exceeded 3,000. The salary in the first year of service was \$1,680 and through the career it rarely rose over \$3,800 a year (in

today's terms the range was from \$15,450 to \$35,000 a year). Even though it was necessary that federal agents were tireless, courageous, clever and honest, most of them did not fulfill these attributes. Anyone who had some connections even to a lower standing politician was able to obtain the job. This changed in 1927 when legislation requiring potential agents to be inspected by Civil Service was passed (Burns, 2004).

The unprofessionalism of the majority of employees of Prohibition enforcement created, especially in the early years of Prohibition, chaos when federal agents abused the power which came with a gun and a badge. During raids agents were destroying speakeasies, planted evidence and completely ignored public safety, while they fired their guns haphazardly or engaged in high-speed chases in the city streets. Also they were not afraid of showing their affection for alcohol and often visited speakeasies, not minding if anyone would see them (Lerner, 2007).

Another counter-productive influence on the Prohibition Bureau was corruption. Congressman Fiorello La Guardia said: "It would take 250,000 agents to impose Prohibition on New York City alone ... and another 250,000 to police the police." More or less every agent who wanted to help the illegal alcohol industry could. Agents were generously rewarded for overriding illegal stills, protecting the designated route of liquor transport, not inspecting the loads of some trucks, allowing beer to be transported in the guise of cereal beverages or warning speakeasies before raids. Speakeasies owners and alcohol dealers offered Bureau agents from \$50 to \$500 to leave them alone or to warn them in advance of raids. Agents happily cooperated, thus their income increased several times (Burns, 2004). Some agents were able to earn up to \$200,000 a year and when they were asked how they obtained such an amount of money, they simply answered that they were lucky at poker and craps, became rich raising "thoroughbred dogs", "building bird cages for the retail trade" or some other ridiculous story (Okrent, 2010). In the first six years of the Prohibition Bureau more than 10,000 new agents had to be hired to fill its 2,200 positions and many dismissed agents quickly went over to the other side of the law. The American Police was not much better than federal agents and Chicago Chief of Police claimed that 60% of his employees were involved in the bootleg business and the situation was similar in other cities (Burns, 2004).

Scandals and corruption significantly destroyed Bureau agents' reputation, agents were not longer regarded as credible witnesses and their arrests failed to hold out in court (Lerner, 2007). But investing money into prohibition enforcement was not a complete waste. In the first years of Prohibition enforcement forces managed to confiscated 700,000

illegal stills, although it was one-tenth of total estimated number. Among the most successful Bureau's agents belonged Al Capone's arch-enemy Eliot Ness or Isidor Einstein (Okrent, 2010).

Isidor "Izzy" Einstein, the most famous Prohibition agent, was five feet, five inches tall and weighed 225 pounds. Einstein worked as a clerk in a New York's Lower East Side post office. He was not an educated man, but he had talent for languages. Simply just by walking in the Lower East Side neighborhood, which had one of the most diverse population density of all United States' neighborhoods, he learned German, Hungarian and Polish fluently; Russian, French, Italian and Yiddish passively; and a few words of Chinese. He enjoyed entertaining his friends with his dialects and improvised dialogues (Hanson, n.d.b).

But Izzy hated his monotonous and badly paid job in the post office and he read in newspapers that Bureau of Prohibition were getting \$5 a week more than he did. Also the idea of a job providing various activities pleased him. But it was not easy to obtain the job, mainly because his inimitable manner, which showed during the job interview. He was rejected by the chief agent of the Federal Prohibition Bureau, Southern New York Division for the reason of not looking like a detective. When Einstein responded that it could be an advantageous feature, because he would be able to fool people easily, he convinced the chief agent and was accepted. In deed he fooled many criminals (Burns, 2004).

Every time he stepped in some drinking establishment he never looked or sounded the same. Once he was pretending to be a Polish count, other time he was a Hungarian violinist, Yiddish gravedigger, Italian vendor, Russian fishermen, Chinese laundryman or whatever struck his mind; one time he even fooled an alcohol salesclerk in guise of an African American. He developed his own ingenious method for gathering evidence. He sewed a funnel into his breast pocket, which was connected by a rubber tube to a hidden flask. Then he just came to a bartender, ordered a drink and handed him a bill to change. As the bartender went to the cash desk, Izzy poured the drink into the funnel and when the bartender returned with his money, he announced the bartender that he had some sad news - that he was under arrest (Okrent, 2010).

Einstein usually worked with his partner Moe Smith and they quickly became the fear of bartenders and bootleggers. In the first two years in his new job he and Smith stood behind 20% of all arrests related to of Prohibition. By the fifth year they arrested 4,932 various violators of Prohibition of which nine of every ten was convicted; no other agents were able to achieve such numbers (Quinn, 2011). These two men confiscated 5 million

bottles of beer, wine or liquor to the total cost of \$15,000,000. And what was furthermore admirable during his career he or Smith had never used a gun, Izzy even did not carry one with him. Einstein become popular among the society and even other Prohibition administrators invited him to their cities for a little help. But the more Einstein's fame rose, the more the resentment of other agents increased. One part of Prohibition agents was offended, because they were trying as hard as Einstein and Smith, but never obtained such credit and the other part, the corrupted one, was offended, because Einstein and his partner were arresting people who generously paid agents in order not to be arrested. They were both warned about their overzealousness, but they refused to yield and continued to sneak about their businesses. Eventually everything came to the end in 1925 and, because there was no other choice, Izzy and Smith had to be dismissed (Burns, 2004).

#### **4. ORGANIZED CRIME**

##### **Organized crime and its rise in the United States**

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines organized crime as:

...any group having some manner of a formalized structure and whose primary objective is to obtain money through illegal activities. Such groups maintain their position through the use of actual or threatened violence, corrupt public officials, graft, or extortion, and generally have a significant impact on the people in their locales, region, or the country as a whole (*“Organized Crime: Glossary of Terms”*, n.d.).

Regardless of differences in origin and culture of individual organized criminal groups, they all share a few fundamental characteristics, among those are included: lack of ideology – organized crime groups are not motivated by social doctrines, political beliefs or ideological concerns, their main goals are money and power, whose achievement is not limited by moral or legal concerns; structure – groups have hierarchy of at least three permanent ranks, each with authority over lower level; continuity – group existence is not dependant on participation or life of any particular member; restricted membership – criteria may include ethnic background, race, kinship or criminal records; violence – the use



of violence and the threat of violence belong to basic means of how groups reach their objectives; profit – criminal groups involve themselves in both illegal and legal businesses; and corruption – criminal groups influence public officials and political processes and use bribes to avoid investigation, arrest and conviction (Finckenauer, 2007).

There are three main fields of illicit behavior which occur in organized criminal groups: the provision of illicit services, such as gambling, prostitution and loan-sharking; the provision of illicit goods, such as narcotics or stolen property; and the infiltration of legitimate business, such as labor racketeering or the takeover of waste disposal companies (Albanese, 2007).

The rise of organized crime in the United States began in 1890s and was closely connected to increasing immigration of Europe population. The greatest numbers came from Italy, especially from very poor Sicilia. By 1920 more than 4 million Italians immigrated to the United States. With another significant numbers contributed inhabitants of Eastern and Southeastern Europe (Jaycox, 2005).

American gangs were originally created by politicians who needed them during elections and their task was to threaten other voters than theirs. Over time, gangs became independent and earned their living by robbing, stealing, extortion and let themselves for hire on various illegal actions. Most of the new immigrants belonged to the lowest class of American society, the class from which gangs had the greatest representation. American Newspapers were full of crimes committed by Irish or Jewish gangs. It was no wonder that new gangs started to appear among Sicilian incomers, who still had fresh memories of Mafia in their homeland (Polkehn & Szeponik, 1975).

Italian immigrants were easy targets of their criminal fellow countrymen. The Black Hand (La Mano Nera) was a group formed by criminals operating in Italian neighborhoods. Extortionists were sending letters demanding money of their victims and if the requirement was not satisfied, they threatened to harm them or their property. The name was created by newspapermen, because letters were originally signed by a black imprint of a palm. And even here, on the other side of the Atlantic, witnesses, victims or gang members knew that they had to respect the most sacred rule of mafia – Omertà – whoever reveals any information about the organization will die (Critchley, 2009).

The first Black Hand organization was supposed to be established by Matrigo brothers in New Orleans around 1890. They were owners of a fruit delivering company and the New Orleans's harbor was under their influence. They would not unload a single ship with fruit until they saw money from shopkeepers. The Chief of New Orleans' Police,

David Hennessy, decided to investigate this situation on his own. In several weeks he managed to gather enough evidence, but a day before he was supposed to deliver the case to the court he was shot on his way home. Before his death he had told helping policemen that it was Italians. Even though New Orleans had the reputation of being the most corrupt city in the United States, it was obvious that this act by the Black Hand crossed the line. In following days nineteen Sicilian immigrants were arrested, but the Black Hand did everything to affect the lawsuit and spent considerable money on lawyers. The effort was successful and only three of the accused were sentenced. But New Orleans' citizens were furious and started to protest. The demonstration ended in killing two sentenced Sicilians and nine members of the Black Hand. (Polkehn & Szeponik, 1975)

La Mano Nera also spread to New York and Chicago and everything indicated that Chicago would take over the reputation of the most corrupted American city (Polkehn & Szeponik, 1975).

### **Organized crime during Prohibition**

When Prohibition was introduced, many gangsters left their career of extortionists and dedicated themselves to the more lucrative business of operating with illegal alcohol, its manufacturing and import (Lunde, 2009).

In 1875 Chicago had only about 30,000 inhabitants, but it grew rapidly and fifteen years later the number rose to over 1,000,000. It became one of the most important American trade centers and many new factories and businesses were established. This situation crated a great background for criminality. Soon after the beginning of the twentieth century the first signs started to appear that one day Chicago would be the main location of criminal activities. And indeed later it became the homeland of the most successful and at the same time the most dangerous criminals (Polkehn & Szeponik, 1975).

One of the first Chicago Prohibition bosses was Giovanni "Papa Johnny" Torrio. Torrio was born on January 20, 1882, in Orsara, Italy, and two years later he moved with his family to New York. They lived in the Lower East Side where John was leader of his own gang and quickly gained the reputation as a bad boy. In 1915 Torrio moved to Chicago and became a business partner to Giacomo "Big Jim" Colisimo, the leader of La Mano Nera. Soon "Papa Johnny" controlled a thousand of establishments operating in three fields – alcohol, gambling and prostitution ("*John Torrio*", n.d.).

With the introduction of Prohibition, Giovanni decided to make the best of it. However he realized that it would be necessary to make agreements with rival criminal groups on territories, which would each group supply with alcohol, otherwise it would lead to chaos. In the same year Jim Colisimo was murdered and Torrio took the lead of his empire. Immediately he started to organize the most powerful gangs in Chicago, he defined their territories and created so called Torrio Syndicate – the North Side belonged to Dion O'Banion, the South Side to John Torrio and the West Side was split between Torrio and business partners Terry Druggan and Frankie Lake (Lunde, 2009).

In 1921 the already prospering Torrio invited a young man to Chicago to join his Syndicate, a man by the name of Al Capone. Alphonse (Al) "Scarface" Capone was born on January 17, 1899, in Brooklyn, New York, and he was of Neapolitan origin. He gained his nickname "Scarface" after a fight which left three deep scars on his left cheek. Capone had known Johnny Torrio since he was fourteen and after he arrived to Chicago in 1921 he began to work in Torrio's organization. Although Capone started to work on the lowest position, he soon worked his way up and became Torrio's partner with an annual salary of \$25,000 (Luciano, 2003).

Alphonse's great challenge was to take control of Chicago and his opportunity occurred in 1924 during the elections of the new Mayor. The elections took place on April 1, 1924 and Capone decided to use the power of the organization for the support of the Republican candidate Joseph Z. Klenh, who fought against the Democrat Rudolph Hurt. Two hundred of Capone's men were placed in polling rooms and by the use of force forbade voters to support the Democrat candidate or they emptied the ballot-boxes and filled them with Klenh's ballots. Thanks to Capone's intervention Joseph Z. Klenh won the elections, which helped Alphonse to become the most influential and powerful man in Chicago for the following six years. After the elections Capone moved his headquarters to the Chicago industrial suburb of Cicero. In Cicero alone Al Capone ran 161 speakeasies, 150 gambling establishments and 22 brothels. His annual income rose to \$105,000,000 and from it he spent \$30,000,000 a year only on police bribes (Lunde, 2009).

But problems for Torrio-Capone's organization appeared when Dion O'Bannion started to hijack trucks loaded with alcohol of other Chicago gangs. Torrio tried to explain to him that he could not hijack trucks of other Syndicate partners, but O'Bannion did not listen to him. In 1924 O'Bannion had announced his retirement from criminal activities and offered to sell his share in the Sieben Brewery to Torrio for \$500,000. Capone and Torrio did not hesitate and agreed on buying, because without O'Bannion the North Side

would be all theirs. O'Bannion suggested meeting in the brewery while he would be loading his last delivery of beer. But the whole meeting was a set up and O'Bannion informed the police and everybody in the brewery was arrested. After Torrio paid the bail he decided that O'Bannion had to disappear and later in 1924 Torrio had him murdered (Luciano, 2003). Nevertheless O'Bannion's position was replaced by Earl Weiss and the North Side gang was determined to maintain its territory and revenge O'Bannion's death. First he and his partner George Morano shot at Capone's car, but unsuccessfully, and a few days later they shot at Torrio, who was hit into neck and chest and while he was lying on the ground they shot him two more times. Torrio was transported to the hospital and discharged after four weeks (Deitche, 2009).

After this incident, Torrio decided to leave Chicago mafia life and henceforth functioned only as an adviser to his mafioso friends and Al Capone took the lead of the organization. During his career he developed organized extortion, so called "racketeering". He used the experience of La Mano Nera and his gang began to visit hundreds of Chicago laundries and announced to them they would be collecting a "fee for protection" (Polkehn & Szeponik, 1975).

Capone's enemies were still around and in 1926 the North Side gang shot more than a thousand of bullets at the restaurant where Capone was having lunch, but he escaped unhurt. Two weeks later Weiss was shot by a killer hired by Capone (Luciano, 2003).

In 1927 the Supreme Court of the United States introduced an unusual law. Since then all profits from illegal alcohol sale had to be taxed. This law proved itself to be a strong instrument in the fight against criminals - now they could be imprisoned for not filling out the tax return and if they filled it out, they confessed to participation in illegal business (Lunde, 2009).

The gang from the North Side, now headed by George Morano, was still making trouble for Capone and his friends and Al Capone decided that the gang had to be finally destroyed. This resulted in the infamous Saint Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929. Before the incident Capone left for Florida to provide himself with a perfect alibi and let his old friend Jack McGurn to take care of it. McGurn arranged that one Detroit alcohol smuggler offered to sell whiskey to Morano. Morano agreed and told the smuggler to come to SMC Cartage warehouse in 10:30 pm on February 14. Six of Morano's men were already waiting in the warehouse when three men in police uniforms and two men in plainclothes got out of the car. In conviction they followed "policemen's" orders and lined by a wall

facing it. “Policemen” drew out their weapons and left nobody alive. Morano avoided this accident only because he was late for the meeting (Rosenberg, n.d.).

The massacre shocked all Chicago and even if Capone had an alibi everybody knew he was behind it. The most influential men of organized crime met at the Atlantic City Conference in Atlantic City, New Jersey, which began on May 13, 1929. During the three-day discussion they talked about the future of United States organized crime, introducing certain steps which should limit Capone’s empire and power. They finally decided it would be for the best if Capone spent some time in prison. They arranged his arrest in Philadelphia on the bases of illegal possession of a gun. Two police officers both obtained \$10,000 to arrest Al Capone, incriminate and sentence him as fast as possible. After sixteen hours Al Capone was condemned to one year in Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia. In fact Capone was glad to be imprisoned, after one year the whole situation would calm down and meanwhile his brother Ralph would run the business (Lunde, 2009).

Capone returned from prison in 1930 and immediately took the lead of his organization, ignoring the steps created during the Atlantic City Conference. Capone was going through the most successful period of his life. It was estimated that income from extortion and prostitution was over \$6,000,000 a week. But in the eye of the public he was a “public enemy”. When the Chicago Crime Commission published the list of the most prominent criminals, Al Capone was in first place. He tried to fight his reputation by helping people in hard times of the Great Depression. He was giving away free soup in the winter season and on the Thanksgiving Day he fed five thousand people. This generous gesture satisfied ordinary people but not the Federal Government (Luciano, 2003).

Agents of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) began to investigate Capone’s earnings and discovered they were greater than Capone admitted. Agents figured out that he owned \$215,080.48 in taxes. Al Capone offered to pay the tax, but his proposal was rejected. On June 5, 1931 Alphonse Capone was accused of tax evasion and on October 7, 1931 he was sentenced to eleven years in prison. He spent first years of imprisonment in Atlanta U.S. Penitentiary and in 1934 was transported to Alcatraz (Hoffman, 1993). In 1939, his health rapidly worsened because of syphilis and Al was moved to Federal Correctional Institution in Terminal Island, California, from where he was released to home care yet the same year. Al Capone died in his home in Miami on January 1947 of heart attack (Deitche, 2009).

Even though corrupt agents and politicians helped Capone run his illegal business, there was one agent honest and brave enough to stand up to him. Eliot Ness, Capone’s

arch-enemy, was born on April 19, 1903 in Chicago. In 1928 joined the Bureau of Prohibition and soon the destruction of Al Capone's organization became his main goal (Hoffman, 1993). The Chicago Police Department was greatly corrupted so Ness chose only a few men and created a small team of honest agents who were resistant to Capone's bribe attempts. Newspapers called them "The Untouchables". In the beginning the team consisted only of nine men, nevertheless during raids of Capone's six breweries and five warehouses they managed to seize 25 trucks and confiscate beer with value of \$9,000,000. After Capone's arrest Ness continued to work in the police sphere, he headed a campaign to clean out police corruption and fought against organized crime (Lunde, 2009).

But Capone's imprisonment did not mean the end of his organization or organized crime. He managed to create something which would outlive its own creator. Jack Gruzik, Johnny Roselli, Paul Ricca and Murray Llewellyn Humphreys, headed by Joseph Accardo became new leaders of Chicago. Their organization had a simple name – "The Outfit". The Outfit introduced several new rules – it refused to wear extravagant clothes in "gangster style" and members wore high quality, but simple tuxedos; drug trade was prohibited and anyone who broke this rule was killed; members' families were not informed about the actions of the organization and widows of organization members obtained money regularly (Deitche, 2009).

Chicago was not the only city which witnessed the Mafia and its thirst for money and power. New York experienced the most violent influence of Mafia during the Castellammarese War. The Castellammarese War was a bloody struggle between two Italian-American mafiosos Giuseppe "Joe the Boss" Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano during 1929-1931 when both bosses wanted to take control of the city (Polkehn & Szeponik, 1975).

Masseria's organization prided itself on names such as Salvatore Luciano, later known as Charles "Lucky" Luciano, Albert Anastasia, Frank Costello, Joe Adonis or Vito Genovese, but Maranzano's influence in the city was growing which did not satisfy Masseria. The situation peaked in 1929 when Masseria's men started killing Maranzano's and vice versa. Soon members of both organizations realized that the fight for power between their bosses was counterproductive and harmed their earnings, so they began to secretly meet under the lead of Luciano. Immediately both groups found out they had much more in common than they had with their bosses and Luciano decided to kill his own boss Masseria. Luciano invited Masseria in a Coney Island restaurant and after they finished their meal Luciano left to the bathroom. Four men – Ben Siegel, Albert Anastasia,

Joe Adonis and Vito Genovese, all from Masseria's organization, walked into the restaurant and shot Masseria. Luciano took over the lead of the Masseria's organization, made peace with Maranzano and became his partner (Lunde, 2009).

After this Maranzano held a conference where he announced that New York would be divided among five families, he would be the "boss of the bosses" and the new organization would be called "La Cosa Nostra" ("Our Thing"). However Maranzano lasted in this position only for four months when, on September 10, 1931, he was killed by Luciano's order. Luciano learned that Maranzano had created a list of persons who had to be killed. Except for Frank Costello and Vito Genovese he was also on the list. Maranzano was the last supporter of the traditional Sicilian Mafia and his killing meant the end of it ("*Charles Luciano*", n.d.).

Now the New York five families cooperated and in 1931 together with the Chicago Outfit created a new governing body of American Mafia called "The Commission" (Deitche, 2009).

## **5. ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING REPEAL AND THE TWENTY-FIRST AMENDMENT**

By mid-1920s an increasing number of people began to realize that Prohibition was a bad idea and it harmed much more than it helped. Newspapers were full of articles about criminal violations, police raids, and murders, which caused disquiet in the society. Between 1920 and 1930 in Chicago alone, 550 gangsters died during gang wars, another few hundreds were killed by police and in New York over one thousand people were killed. Even John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a lifelong abstainer and one of the greatest supports of Anti-Saloon League admitted his support for repeal (Vance, 2001).

The first organization fighting against the idea of Prohibition and prohibitionists was the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA) founded by lawyer and businessman William H. Stayton already in 1920. The association was open to everybody except for people involved in alcohol trade. In the first years of its existence the AAPA showed almost no progress, but as Prohibition lasted longer the association got stronger and by 1926 it had 726,000 supporters. They were determined to make a difference and used effective the tactics of their enemies – The Anti-Saloon League of America. They supported all wet candidates regardless of their party or personal morality (Kyvig, 2000).

Furthermore they used information from their research and published them to show the failure of Prohibition. By 1931, the AAPA distributed 1,100,000 pamphlets referring to problems such as cost of enforcement, loss of \$936,000,000 in alcohol tax revenues or inability of enforcement, claiming that American customs agents recovered only 5% to 10% of all imported alcohol (Burns, 2004).

By late 1920s new organizations supporting repeal of Prohibition started to appear. One of them was the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR) established by Pauline Sabin in 1929. Sabin wrote articles and made speeches criticizing Prohibition for causing more drinking, corrupting officials, endangering youth and scorning the law and the Constitution. The WONRP met with great support and within one year it gained 100,000 members. The number was still growing and in 1932 it surpassed 1,100,000 members and by the time of repeal in December 1933 WONRP had 1,500,000 supporters, who worked together to achieve their goal – repeal of Prohibition (Kyvig, 2000).

In the 1932 elections the Democratic Party led the anti-Prohibition campaign and presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt was promising repeal. Roosevelt became the U.S. President and the elections significantly increased the number of wets in Congress. A majority of votes in Congress were achieved and on December 5, 1933, Utah became the thirty-sixth state ratifying the Twenty-first Amendment, an hour and half later President Roosevelt signed the Proclamation and Prohibition was over (Vance, 2001).

The Twenty-first Amendment contains two short sections – the first states that the Eighteenth Amendment is repealed, which meant that the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcohol is legal again (in fact, the Eighteenth Amendment remains to this day the only one ever to be repealed); and the other ensures that individual states have authority for regulating alcoholic beverages. Almost two-thirds of all American states adopted some local option of alcohol restriction and some states kept prohibition at the state level. Mississippi was the last state repealing prohibition in 1966 (Hanson, n.d.e).

## **6. ALCOHOL POLICIES NOWADAYS**

In the twentieth century, the United States chose prohibition as a solution to its alcohol problems. Today individual countries use different approaches to alcohol and alcohol laws in order to eliminate negative consequences which are closely connected to



alcohol consumption. For example, an alcohol monopoly exists in all Nordic countries, except for Denmark. An alcohol monopoly is a government monopoly on manufacture and sale of alcohol beverages. It helps to reduce problems related to alcohol, because alcohol is not sold in the presence of a profit motive. It also ensures that the selection of products is made objectively and customers will receive a high standard of service (*“Our alcohol policy role”*, n.d.).

An alcohol company owned by the Finish government is called Alko. Alko was founded in 1932 and today has a distribution network of 348 stores and 111 agent stores. It has the exclusive right to distribute and sell alcohol beverages with alcohol content higher than 4.7 percent. In Finland it is allowed to advertise only those alcohol beverages that contain less than 22 percent of alcohol volume. Person older eighteen years is allowed to buy alcohol beverages with maximum 22 percent of alcohol volume, stronger beverages can be purchased only by persons older twenty years. Also persons younger than eighteen years are forbidden to enter Alko stores unless they are accompanied by an adult. Stores are opened from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m. Monday to Friday and from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Saturday, local restaurants and bars have permission serve alcohol from 9 a.m. to 1:30 a.m (*“Domestic Alcohol Policy – Finland – ALKO”*, n.d.).

Systembolaget is a Swedish government chain of alcohol stores having monopoly. The company was established in 1955 and since then it has grown into a retail network of 421 stores and over 500 agents serving smaller communities. These stores are the only ones which can legally distribute and sell beverages containing more than 3.5 percent of alcohol volume. Alcohol beverages with content of more than 15 percent by volume are not allowed to be advertised. Systembolaget stores sell alcohol only to persons older twenty years. Stores are open between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. Monday to Friday and between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. on Saturday. Swedish licensed restaurants and bars are allowed to sell alcohol beverages from 11 a.m. to 1 a.m. (Holder, 2008).

An alcohol monopoly in Norway is held by the government-owned company Vinmonopolet since 1939. Only Vinmonopolet is allowed to distribute and sell beverages containing alcohol content higher than 4.75 percent. Today the company has 242 stores covering all country. Norway marketing strictly bans any advertising on beverages that contains more than 2.5 percent of alcohol volume. The age limit to purchase and consume alcohol beverages weaker than 22 percent is eighteen years, stronger beverages are legal for persons older twenty years. Vinmonopolet stores are opened between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Monday to Wednesday, between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. Thursday and Friday and

between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Saturday. Restaurants and bars are allowed to serve beverages containing more than 22 percent of alcohol between 1 p.m. and midnight, weaker beverages are sold from 8 a.m. to 1 a.m. (*“Domestic Alcohol Policy – Norway – Vinmonopolet”*, n.d.).

The alcohol policy in the United States is more complicated and each state has his own form of alcohol laws. Basically, it is possible to divide the states into two groups: the first group of so called “control” states contains 18 states which have monopoly on wholesaling and retailing of alcohol beverages; the rest of 32 states belongs to the other group called “license” states which does not participate in any alcohol monopoly, but regulate alcohol trade through licenses to industry members (*“Alcohol Beverage Control Boards — United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico”*, 2013). The legal drinking age in the United States is twenty-one years, although there are various exceptions to this limit. Some states allow under twenty-one years old persons to drink in case of religious, medical or educational purposes; when a family member consents, is present or both; or when alcohol is consumed on private property (Hanson, n.d.c)

## **7. ALCOHOL PROHIBITION VERSUS ALCOHOL RESTRICTIONS**

Basically the only positive outcome of Prohibition in America was the decreased level of drinking, in every other aspect it failed. Maybe a different strategy, less radical, would really have brought the intended results and helped to solve both health and social problems. The United States were not the only country having alcohol related problems, but they decided to fight against them through banning alcohol, unlike for example Australia.

In the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century Australia was experiencing similar alcohol problems as the United States of America. Alcohol beverages were mostly abused by men, they were causing increasing mortality from liver cirrhosis, public drunkenness, crimes associated with alcohol and drunken driving (Levine & Reinerman, 2004). In the early twentieth century the Australian Government decided to introduce several alcohol regulations in order to deal with these still more disturbing problems. The legal drinking age in was raised to eighteen years, in South Australia even up to twenty-one years, public houses’ closing hours were set to 6 p.m., penalties for breaking alcohol laws became stricter and sale was controlled by license system, although

alcohol remained legal. These regulatory policies significantly reduced alcohol consumption and alcohol related health and social problems without causing the negative consequences which met America (Room, 1988). The main difference between Australian and American approach to alcohol policy was that Australia decided to introduce only restrictions and America chose prohibition.

## CONCLUSION

The Prohibition movement was supported mainly by religious people and women. Together they fought for the elimination of alcohol from American society and after many years their goal was finally achieved and Prohibition went into effect on January 17, 1920. Even though their intentions were meant to be good and should have helped to solve alcohol problems they led to more than poor results.

Since Prohibition was introduced the United States witnessed a dramatic increase in drunkenness, crimes associated with alcohol, burglaries and murders; the overall number of alcohol selling establishments rose twice compared to pre-Prohibition era and the public was flooded with illegal and sometimes life threatening alcohol. An illegal alcohol trade attracted infamous criminals such as Giovanni Torrio, Al Capone, Dian O'Bannion or Charles Luciano. They not only spread alcohol, gambling and prostitution, but also heavily contributed to violence and corruption of police departments and politicians.

Still more people began to be concerned about the actual situation and newly established organizations demanded repeal of prohibition laws. On December 5, 1933, the Twenty-first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution passed Congress and Prohibition ended. Australia met with similar alcohol related problems and managed to reduce them without any negative consequences, because it used a different approach. The main problem seems to be that alcohol prohibition is too strict and not that well accepted by the public, unlike alcohol restrictions which do not completely ban alcohol. After the repeal of Prohibition, individual American states introduced their own alcohol laws and restrictions and, most importantly, criminal activities of all sorts significantly decreased which supports the connection between prohibition and crime.

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## SUMMARY IN CZECH

Předmětem bakalářské práce je nastínění vývoje prohibice ve Spojených státech amerických a neblahých následků, které sama prohibice přivodila. Práce je rozdělena do sedmi hlavních částí. První část popisuje pozici alkoholu a protialkoholní hnutí od raných let americké historie po tzv. Progresivní éru. Druhá část se zabývá Progresivní érou, obdobím masivních průmyslových, politických a sociálních změn, během kterých byl Osmnáctý dodatek, zákon ustanovující prohibici, uveden. Následující část je zaměřena na prohibici a veškeré zdravotní, sociální a kriminální problémy, které přinesla. Dále popisuje podniky prodávající alkohol a způsoby zásobování Spojených států alkoholem a přináší vhled do pochybného vynucení prohibice zákonnými prostředky. Čtvrtá část je vyhrazena organizovanému zločinu, jeho růstu ve Spojených státech a obrovskému rozšíření během dvacátých let devatenáctého století. Pátá část je založena na popisu negativního pohledu veřejnosti na důsledky prohibice a dále se zabývá organizacemi podporujícími odvolání prohibice a Dvacátým prvním dodatkem, který prohibici ukončil. Šestá část je zaměřena na odlišný přístup k alkoholové problematice v dnešní době ve většině severských států. Poslední část se snaží ukázat výsledky méně radikálního řešení problémů spojených s alkoholem v Austrálii jako kontrast k americké prohibici.