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Prohibition in Sanford: Local Lives Questioning a National Narrative Presented Through Data, Discourse Analysis and Digital Mapping

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PROHIBITION IN SANFORD: LOCAL LIVES QUESTIONING A NATIONAL NARRATIVE PRESENTED THROUGH DATA, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND DIGITAL MAPPING

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a microhistorical methodology to examine the social impact and lived experience of Prohibition in Sanford, Florida, and the surrounding area – an historically "dry" community. Historiographical claims from state, regional, and national studies are tested through data sampling of Sanford Municipal Court Records; close readings of more than 200 *Sanford Herald* articles; and an oral history with a local museum curator based on family tradition.

This is an evidence-driven thesis. A thirty-percent sampling of 23,000 Sanford Municipal Court Records covering the Prohibition era (1920-1933) enables detailed analysis of alcohol-related arrest and enforcement patterns based on race, gender, and age. The *Sanford Herald* is examined for editorial content classified into three categories: local enforcement reports, opinion pieces, and Prohibition-related news. The oral history is analyzed in connection with municipal records, newspaper articles, and secondary scholarship. Conclusions are presented textually and visually with graphs and an interactive digital map.

An underlying theme of this paper is the comparison of how the events of Prohibition unfolded at the local, regional, and national levels. Recent academic scholarship labels Prohibition as a vehicle for aggressive, targeted enforcement based on racial and economic factors. This work examines how this dynamic transpired in the local community of Sanford and the surrounding area.

Further, this thesis evaluates the methodological value of detailed local study via data, textual, and verbal sources. The municipal court records, while rich in arrest data and demographic detail, are most fruitful when used in combination with other sources. The *Sanford Herald* archive and oral history provide more culturally contextualized source materials to

construct the lived experience. Sanford serves as an example of a small town's experience with Prohibition. This methodological approach is effective in both supporting and raising questions to the current historiography.

To my Dad,

Thank you for telling me stories about Ancient Egypt and the Russian Revolution; the many stories you had, and the many questions I had on the drive to school or at bedtime fostered my love of learning from elementary school on. Thank you for teaching me that real people matter, and they are more interesting than make-believe ones. Thank you for taking me all over the country, to learn firsthand about those who have come before me (and for insisting that we go to all the museums as a family, even if Kelli didn't like that part)! Thank you for always being there, and always supporting my hopes and dreams. I love you.

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INTRODUCTION

This work examines the impact of Prohibition on the Sanford community. Sanford was chosen as the geographic area of study for this work because it has a rich source base, including comprehensive arrest records and a major newspaper publication, the *Sanford Herald*. This ample repository allows the opportunity for discovery and contribution at this micro-scale. Prohibition is the popular reference for the thirteen years in which the Eighteenth Amendment was enacted. The Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is defined as "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importations thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited."[1] This controversial amendment immediately impacted the lives of Americans and American institutions from 1920 to 1933. The American public did not have a unified response to the Amendment, and large groups of the population disregarded the new law. Attempts to enforce the amendment varied significantly, and inconsistencies at the federal, state, and local levels contributed to its long-term impacts.

Prohibition is associated with two dominant narratives: first, the pop culture narrative of fun, flappers, and grand parties which appears in Prom themes, restaurants, and Leonardo DiCaprio films. This overly idealistic view will occasionally be referenced in this thesis. Prohibition has historically been understudied because of its proximity to the Great Depression.[2] Recent scholarship, with an emphasis on inclusive efforts to study the period, has produced a

[1] Constitution of the United States, Amendment Eighteen
[2] John J. Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits: From National Prohibition to Local Option in Florida: 1928-1935." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (1995): 23–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30148787. (accessed March 10, 2024).

broader understanding of the legacy of Prohibition. This legacy is focused on how the efforts of Prohibition enforcement worked to disenfranchise the immigrant and minority populations. Modern scholarship argues that these patterns of social interruption lasted long after the passage of the Twenty-First Amendment nullified Prohibition. Examination of Sanford's extensive primary resources will contribute to the currently limited historiography of Prohibition and Central Florida. Additionally, this work will analyze how effective the Sanford Municipal Court Records and the *Sanford Herald* are as a methodological framework for a micro-historical study. Further, it is a tertiary goal of this thesis to interweave the existing historical narrative to discoveries about the Sanford community from 1920 to 1933.

National History of Prohibition

Alcohol consumption was a common cultural practice among the thirteen original colonies prior to the United States' establishment of independence. Revolutionary War soldiers were issued boots, a rifle, and whiskey. Fifty years later, during the 1820s, liquor was cheaper than tea.[3] Homesteaders cared for apple orchards to produce gallons of cider each year for personal use.[4] Extensive personal consumption of spirits was not limited to rural populations. In the 1830s, Americans were drinking what amounted to 1.7 bottles of 80-proof liquor per person per week.[5] Factories owners complained of "blue Mondays," the days when the loss of productivity was evident because workers were recovering from a weekend binge.[6] That level of consumption had social consequences, which sparked grassroots movements in support of greater regulation. Commonly referred to as the Temperance Movement, it was the culmination

[3] Daniel Okrent *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition,* (New York: Scribner: 2010), 7.
[4] Okrent, 8.
[5] Okrent, 8.
[6] Okrent, 9-10.

of these efforts spanning the 1800s and early 1900s, ultimately resulting in ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The first national anti-alcohol movement formed in Maine in 1861, fifty-nine years before the national ban, known as Prohibition. This first piece of legislation fined the sale of liquor and imprisoned its manufacturer. Soon after the passage of the Maine law, antiliquor supporters in twelve other states swayed their legislatures to pass similar laws. Without strong political support, these laws were all repealed before 1870.[7] Over the next fifty years, the road to Prohibition was primarily championed by Anglo-Saxon, Protestant women settled in small cities in the Midwest and Northeast. Their grassroots strategy consisted of traveling in all female groups from town to town to express public displays of grievances. These groups would stop at stores, hotels, and saloons, falling to their knees to pray, sing, and read from the Bible. These performances were effective in attracting attention. Business owners were unable to stop these public displays; even when business owners closed for the day, locking the doors, the women would stay the course in front of the establishment's closed doors. The initial success of this movement caught the attention of other progressive movements, including the suffrage movement. Over time, these many smaller groups of activists united to form larger parties. These parties had more supporters, which increased their power and effectiveness. However, they now championed several social issues.

The 1870s saw the rise of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Prohibition Party. The latter launched its first national campaign in 1872, taking a unified position on various national issues, including universal suffrage, free education for all, and the

[7] Okrent, 11-13.

removal of the Electoral College.[8] The campaigns of this time effectively decreased the commercial manufacture and consumption of whiskey.[9] This appeared to be a victory for the progressive organizations. However, these campaigns did not effect change at the core of American culture – the household. There was no correlation between less whiskey consumption and less liquor consumption. The American people did not change how much they drank; rather, they changed what they drank. Moonshine. The home-brewed grain alcohol replaced whiskey as the standard alcoholic beverage. In the fifty years from 1840 to 1890 the American publics consumption of moonshine increased by 2275 percent or an estimated 36 million gallons to 855 million gallons.[10] The social consequences of a less regulated, higher alcohol content liquor propelled the antiliquor movement forward.[11]

The Anti-Saloon League and WCTU formed a strong union in 1893.[12] They were organized and mobilized around a single cause: ratification of a constitutional amendment to stop the sale, manufacture, and transport of alcohol. This support was not entirely altruistic. Subgroups of racists, progressives, suffragists, populists, and nativists (who blamed immigrants for American consumption habits) mobilized behind this issue. Spirits became the common enemy, and Prohibition was the cause to stand behind.

Prohibition supporters found more success escalating in the federal theatre than via individual appeals to each state. By 1915, there was tremendous support for a national response to elevated moonshine consumption. Congressman Andrew John Volstead led supportive efforts

[8] Okrent, 19-20.
[9] Lisa McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company: 2016), 36-40.
[10] McGirr, 14-17.
[11] McGirr, 18.
[12] McGirr, 21-24.

in the House of Representatives from 1917 to 1919. He appealed to Congress by associating liquor with social evils, including robbery, rape, and violent crime. In a famous public statement, Herbert Hoover showed his support: "Prohibition is the great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far reaching in purpose." [13] It was from this statement that the "Noble Experiment" was coined as a reference to the Eighteenth Amendment. Beyond politicians, influential businessmen supported the amendment. John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford famously backed the Noble Experiment because of the impact spirits had on the productivity of their workforce.[14]

In 1919, the Eighteenth Amendment was passed with ratification in all states but Rhode Island and Connecticut. On January 17th, 1920, the law became active.[15] Twenty-five of the twenty-seven amendments to the United States Constitution provide protections for what Americans can do. The Eighteenth Amendment was the second, following the Thirteenth Amendment outlawing slavery, to list what an American cannot do. Almost immediately, Prohibition began to fall out of favor. By 1922, 40 percent of Americans wanted to adjust the law to be more lenient, and 20 percent advocated for repeal entirely; this translated to a total of 60 percent of the population expressing dissatisfaction with the Amendment. Four years later, in 1926, 81 percent of Americans favored repealing or modifying the Eighteenth Amendment.[16] Three years later, on October 24th 1929, Black Thursday launched the United States into the Great Depression.[17] The economic strife leading up to 1929 and in the years following advanced

[13] Okrent, 52.
[14] McGirr, 29-31.
[15] Constitution of the United States, Amendment Eighteen
[16] Seminole County Museum, "Prohibition" (exhibit, 2023), complete with artifacts, newspaper articles, court records, and personal diaries (Seminole County Museum, Orlando, Florida), (accessed July 22, 2023).
[17] Robert F. Himmelberg, *The Great Depression and the New Deal* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press: 2001), 7-9.

Prohibition repeal, which provided Americans an avenue to cope with social and economic hardship.[18]

Florida Prohibition History

The relationship with alcohol in Florida communities was relatively limited and weak. During Florida's time as a territory, local leaders and religious groups successfully discouraged the consumption of alcohol. Florida became a state on March 3rd, 1845.[19] The temperance movement was well formed in Florida after the Civil War. This is evident by the many dry counties and strict liquor license requirements. These licensing requirements even resulted in the closure of the socialization hot spots frequented by African- Americans and poor whites.[20] The 1885 Florida Constitution allowed counties to choose a wet or dry status. The term "wet" denotes the community support of alcohol consumption with little regulation. In contrast, "dry" references support for limiting the consumption of alcohol. In the mid-late 1800s, dry communities often permitted the manufacture, consumption, and sale of alcohol after proper permits were obtained. Over time, the term dry evolved to denote the progressive anti-liquor movements in the early 1900s. Drys as it relates to Prohibition, references the supporters of an entirely alcohol-free community. More than 50 percent of Florida counties were dry by 1905.[21] The WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League had large chapters in Florida. The Florida governor

[18] McGirr, 161, 187, 232-233.
[19] Bob Knotts, *Florida History* (Chicago, IL: Heinemann Library: 2003,) 24.
[20] Lee L. Willis III, *The Road to Prohibition: Religion and Political Culture in Middle Florida, 1821–1920*, (Florida State University, 2006), 18-21. https://www.proquest.com/docview/305332084/abstract/1F5DAA2F05364A70PQ/1?accountid=35793&sourcetype=Dissertations%20&%20Theses (accessed March 10, 2024)
[21] Seminole County Museum, "Prohibition" (exhibit, 2023), complete with artifacts, newspaper articles, court records, and personal diaries (Seminole County Museum, Orlando, Florida), (accessed July 22, 2023).

elected in 1916, Sidney J. Catts, was a member of the Prohibition Party.[22] On November 27th, 1918, 61 percent of Florida residents voted in favor of ratifying the Eighteenth Amendment.[23]

Although most Florida voters supported Prohibition enforcement, the state significantly contributed to Prohibition violations during the thirteen years the amendment was in effect.[24] The scraggly coastline, well-established roads, and frequent tourist travel made Florida an excellent place to smuggle contraband into the United States.[25] This study focuses on the impact of Prohibition in one community in Central Florida.

Sanford Prohibition History

Sanford was founded as a dry city by its namesake, Henry Sanford, in 1870.[26] The municipality is located in Central Florida, roughly 20 miles northwest of Orlando.[27] From 1845 to 1913 Sanford was located in Orange County. Seminole County was established in 1913 placing Sanford within its boundaries.[28] Henry Sanford invested in the city because he believed it would become a hub for transportation to South Florida.[29] The South Florida Railroad finished construction on a railway station by 1884. This connection to Jacksonville resulted in population growth. Shortly after the railway connection, Sanford became a thriving community with grocery stores, bakeries, a fire department, and enough traveling business to support a large hotel.[30] The

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[22] Willis, 26, 31-35.
[23] Seminole County Museum, "Prohibition" (exhibit, 2023), complete with artifacts, newspaper articles, court records, and personal diaries (Seminole County Museum, Orlando, Florida), (accessed July 22, 2023).
[24] Ballotpedia. "Florida Prohibition, Amendment 2 (1918)" https://ballotpedia.org/Florida_Prohibition,_Amendment_2_(1918) (accessed March 10, 2024)
[25] Lisa Lindquist Dorr, *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from to the South During Prohibition* (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill: NC: 2018), 115-133
[26] Seminole County Museum, "History and Historic Preservation," City of Sanford. (accessed June 2nd, 2023)
[27] Sanford, FL, to Orlando, FL, is approximately 20 miles, according to Google Maps," Google Maps. (accessed September 18th, 2023)
[28] Altermese Smith Bentley, *Seminole County*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2000), 32-34.
[29] Seminole County Museum, "History and Historic Preservation," City of Sanford. (accessed June 2nd, 2023)
[30] Seminole County Museum, "History and Historic Preservation," City of Sanford. (accessed June 2nd, 2023)

railway was used to export citrus and vegetables. From its inception to Prohibition, Sanford retained its dry status. This dry classification referred to the requirement to obtain a permit before engaging in the manufacture and sale of spirits. After the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, Sanford residents could no longer manufacture or sell spirits; however, some continued to do so.[31] The Sanford community referenced in this work expands beyond Sanford's city limits into Seminole County. The Sanford Sheriff's Office enforced the law in the surrounding areas; those enforcement efforts are referenced in the Sanford Municipal Court Records and in the newspaper articles.

Why Microhistory?

Microhistories are an accessible form of historical scholarship "close-up and on the small scale, with emphasis on a singular space, careful delineation of particulars and details, and a degree of enclosure…dependent on many points of view".[32] The scope and resource base of this work qualifies it as a microhistory. Microhistories have long been a tool of the historian. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montailllou: The Promised Land of Error* was impactful beyond academic audiences because of the scale of its study. Close examination of a period allows the individuals to become "subjects not objects" of history, the reader experiences a different degree of intimacy with these subjects.[33] Ladurie likens the importance of "small" history to a drop of water. He argues that one drop of water may initially seem indistinguishable from the rest, appearing no more or less significant, but when placed under a microscope - one single drop has much detail, interest, and life. "The microbes, bacteria, and viruses" revealed make that one drop

[31] Seminole County Museum, "History and Historic Preservation," City of Sanford. (accessed June 2nd, 2023)
[32] John Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life*" The Journal of the Social History Society*, (2010), 87-92.
[33] Brewer, 94.

worth the look.[34] Now, that unnoticed, indistinguishable drop has made a noteworthy contribution. This is true for a drop of water. The convenient feature of water is that it is found in every river, stream, and lake. Extensive historical records for small towns during a unique thirteen years in American history are not so conveniently located. Not all topics of historical interest have available resources that can be examined in a way that adds meaning to their events and people. The municipal court records, *Sanford Herald* and recorded oral history are available resources illuminating the "small" history of a still active community.

Terminology

Many common English words are used in specific contexts in this paper. The terminology list below contains specific definitions for clarity of various term usage throughout this work.

Table 1 Terminology

Term	**Definition**
3.2 beer	A low alcohol content beer, containing 3.2% alcohol, the first beverage alongside light wines to be legalized after Prohibition.
busts	Common term used in the early 20th century both in speech and writing to report law enforcement locating illegal alcohol distillerys or contraband typically in associaion with a moonshine or whisky.
Sanford community or the community	Geographic area surrounding Sanford and Seminole County, where the Sanford Police enforced the law, including Prohibition-related regulations. Specific townships include, but are not limited to, Longwood, Chuluota, Altamonte Springs, Apopka, and Deltona.
dry	Reference to an individual or community that does not consume alcohol and/or is in favor of anti-liquor laws. Opposite of wet.
dry municipaliy, dry town or dry county	Municipal area where alcohol is not permitted or is accompanied by strict laws with the intent to limit consumption.

[34] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (New York: Vintage Books: 1979), 3-5.

organized crime or organized crime syndicates or crime syndicates	Referring to networks, often large, organized around law-breaking activity, specifically in distilling, selling, and transporting intoxicating beverages. Often including violence and in violation of many laws.
Prohibition	The Federal Amendment outlawing the sale, manufacture, and transportation of alcoholic beverages. This law did not outlaw the possession or consumption of alcohol. States, cities, counties, and other municipalities added additional, more restrictive laws that specifically criminalized the consumption and possession of alcoholic beverages. Also referred to as the Eighteenth Amendment and the Noble Experiment.
Seminole County dry	Seminole County was dry before Prohibition was ratified, but it did allow the consumption, production, and distribution of alcohol. The proper permits had to be obtained before the manufacture or sale of alcohol.
shine	Reference to moonshine, the home-brewed grain alcohol which was commonly distilled during Prohibition.
stills	As in distillery, this is the common early 20th century term for whisky or moonshine-producing structures built illegally to produce liquor sold in violation of the Eighteenth Amendment.
the hypocrite	A modern term used to describe the group of individuals who publically supported Prohibition by privately consuming intoxicating beverages and/or patronizing businesses which sold intoxicating beverages.
wet constituency	Modern term for the group of professionals employed in the legal and judicial community in the state of Florida, who supported repeal.
wets	Reference to an individual or community that consumes alcohol and/or is in favor of pro-liquor laws. Opposite of dry.

Table 2 Terminology

Historiography

The historiography of Prohibition is important to the structure of this thesis; existing scholarship details how Prohibition played out at the state, regional, and national levels, contextualizing the events in Sanford. Patterns detected through original research are structured

within the framework of existing scholarship. Historians who were previously focused on other parts of the nation, particularly New York and Chicago, made great strides in Prohibition's bottom-up methodology, placing exceptional emphasis on the themes of race, gender, and law enforcement.[35] These themes likewise surface in original research on the Sanford community. Therefore, the lived experience in Sanford will be in conversation with existing state, regional, and national historiography.

Prohibition ended in 1933. The first wave of academic historiography was published in the 1950s and 1960s. This first wave of literature on Prohibition examined it nationally, not locally or regionally. Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform* and Andrew Sinclair's *The Era of Excess* stand out as influential works that were continuously cited in academic publications throughout the twentieth century.[36] Richard Hofstadter examined many progressive reforms arguing this period experienced "struggle over organization" in which the political machine conflicted against corporations resulting in the publics frustration with both, policy and market. Prohibition is one example of this system at work. Andrew Sinclair supports the critical view presented by Hofstadter but also develops a more specific narrative. This narrative is that Prohibition was a failure because the strict morality supporting the amendment took such a stark position that it did not allow for flexibility in enforcement, nor was there reasonable compromise in either state or federal law enforcement. Americans were not willing to abide by such strict

[35] McGirr, 78; Okrent, 48-52.
[36] Publications that reference both Andrew Sinclair and Richard Hofstadter include: David Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press: 1979); John J. Guthrie Jr. *Keepers of the Spirits: The Judicial Response to Prohibition enforcement in Florida 1885-1935* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1998); Allan S. Everest, *Rum Across the Border* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press: 1978); Norman Clark *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company: 1976); Lisa Lindquist Door *A Thousand Thirsty Beaches: Smuggling Alcohol from Cuba to the South during Prohibition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press: 2018); and Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Scribner: 2010).

enforcement, therefore responding by producing organized crime syndicates, which increased many types of illegal violations, including violent crime. Prohibition violators, Sinclair argued, lessened the real evils of alcohol, and after the passage of the Twenty-First Amendment those evils resurfaced at a greater capacity because large networks of corrupt power and connection were well established. This first wave of historiography, which was closest in time to the events of Prohibition, was highly critical. Both authors criticized Prohibition, trivializing it as a "women's movement" and the unfortunate result of religious radicals.[37] During this time, the label "women's movement" was a derogatory term intended to minimize any legitimate benefits of the amendment.

The civil rights movements of the 1960s impacted the discipline of history, popularizing cultural history in the 1970s and 1980s. There was an explosion of work on Progressive reforms during these decades. Much of the new scholarship took the form of journal-length publications.[38] Journals are shorter and faster to publication than full-length books, which allowed an evolution of the academic climate of Prohibition to become more accessible, therefore expressing a larger number of voices with a greater variety of subjects. This space examined new topics within Prohibition, including smuggling, and began studying the period in specific geographic regions.[39] Additional methodologies enter the historiographic conversation including perspectives of legal history and expansion upon women's history.[40] By 1973, alcohol

[37] Andrew Sinclair, *The Era of Excess (*London, UK: Faber & Faber: 1962), 51.
[38] One example of a Prohibition related journal entry is Eileen L. McDonagh, and H. Douglas Price. "Woman Suffrage in the Progressive Era: Patterns of Opposition and Support in Referenda Voting, 1910-1918." *The American Political Science Review* 79, no. 2 (1985): 415-35. This work examined demographic segments of the population including specification of nation of origin and denomination of Christianity.
[39] Robert Smith Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas: A History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas: 1986); James A Carter, "Florida and Rumrunning during National Prohibition." *The Florida Historical Quarterly 48, no.* 1 (1969): 47–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30145748; Allan S. Everest, *Rum Across the Border* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press: 1978).
[40] Kenneth M. Murchison "Prohibition and the Fourth Amendment: A New Look at some Old Cases." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 73, No. 2* (Summer, 1982): 471-532; William F. Swindler "A Dubious

consumption among the American population had returned to pre-Prohibition levels.[41] This influenced a less reactionary view of the amendment than was seen in the 1950s and the 1960s. Scholarship emerged that studied the positive results of Prohibition with some scholars defining it as a success; highlighting stories of the plight of alcoholism on the family unit and examining the more significant consequences of alcohol on society.[42] Beyond labels of failure or success this second wave of historiography attempts to understand motivations behind the anti-liquor movement.[43] This time in the historiography deepened the understanding of Prohibition as opposed to placing judgments on it.

Historiographic approaches continued to expand in the 1990s and 2000s with a new range of topics, including public health, enforcement inconsistencies, further work on women's history, and more expansive local studies. Publications were heavily focused on study via a bottom-up approach. This scholarship aimed to illuminate the lived experience of individuals and marginalized groups. This wave of historiography argues that these groups most often felt the consequences of the Eighteenth Amendment. Lisa McGirr highlights that increased regulation produced an undesirable by-product of abuse and inconsistent enforcement. This further prompted civilian enforcers to launch warfare on poorer and racially marginalized segments of

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Constitutional Experiment" *In Law, Alcohol and Order: Perspectives on Nation Prohibition* ed. David E. Kybig (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 56-78.

[41] McGirr, 249.

[42] Norman Clark. *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company 1976); Beth L Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat Courtship in Twentieth Century America,* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press: 1989); J. C. Burnham, "New Perspectives on the Prohibition "Experiment" of the 1920's." *Journal of Social History 2, no. 1* (1968): 51-68.

[43] Jack S Blocker. Jr. *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* Woodbridge (CT: Twayne Publishers: 1988).

the population.[44] McGirr argues that wealthy whites and large stilling operations were affected minimally.[45]

Historiographic work on the experience of women during Prohibition increases dramatically during this time. Prohibition impacted women's lived experiences in different ways than it impacted men's. McGirr and Dorr agree that Prohibition had two universal benefits for women in the domestic sphere.[46] There was a decrease in domestic abuse from alcoholic husbands and an increase in economic security from the absence of the ability to lose large percentages of household income on now illegal spirits.[47] Beyond the domestic sphere, there is evidence that a portion of the female population was involved in distilling, running, selling, and consuming illegal moonshine. Further, sexual permissiveness was exaggerated by less regulation in saloons, clubs and social gatherings. This aspect of Prohibition dominates the pop culture narrative of extravagant parties and flappers.

Analysis at the community level often appears in the historiography through the lens of enforcement. John Guthrie is a leading historian of the Prohibition experience in Florida. His analysis of enforcement in many areas of Florida shows the contradictory nature of severe enforcement on the "little guy" while simultaneously allowing large operations to run free.[48] Guthrie illuminates the issues of selective enforcement among state vs federal forces whom often cherry picked their arrestee. Lisa Lindquist Dorr, another leading voice in Prohibition historiography in the American South expands upon the concerns of enforcement. Officers were

[44] McGirr, 78.
[45] McGirr, 14-35.
[46] McGirr, 62-64.
[47] Okrent, 102.
[48] John J. Guthrie, "Hard Times, Hard Liquor, and Hard Luck: Selective Enforcement of Prohibition in North Florida, 1928-1933." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (1994): 435-52.

not well paid or well trained; frequently, were overworked and responsible for an area too large to regulate effectively. [49] These obstacles meant law enforcement was often ineffective at broadly enforcing Prohibition, even alongside increases in funding and expansion in officer personnel. Lisa McGirr offers a powerful narrative that segments of the population defined by race and socioeconomic status were targeted by increasingly large local, state, and federal law enforcement as well as by white, conservative, religious citizen enforcers. Even with an increase in regulation and enforcement America was losing the war on alcohol. McGirr claims that selective and harmful enforcement patterns established during Prohibition carry on to the present day because of the events that occurred while the Eighteenth Amendment was in effect.[50] The last wave of historiography argues that ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment nullified Prohibition but did not reverse its tendencies of stricter laws, increased arrests, and larger prison populations. Ultimately, the recent scholarship claims that Prohibition left a legacy of racism, mass incarceration, and severe social disruption enforced by a complex system of punishment and enforcement patterns aimed at specific population segments.[51]

This work follows a similar bottom-up methodology as the two most recent historiographic waves. The microhistorical element, focusing on a limited geographical area is the defining feature of this work. This project includes two traditional M.A. thesis chapters and an interactive digital map. The lived experience in Sanford is determined by a rich source base, including thirteen years of municipal court records, analysis of the *Sanford Herald* and an oral history from a Sanford community member. These local materials are mined to examine a series of questions, establish a narrative of the lived experience in Sanford and test claims made by

[49] Dorr, 72-78.
[50] McGirr, 36-37.
[51] McGirr, 34-38.

previous historians working at the regional and national level. The following chapters will, at times, support the historiography and, at other times, raise questions to it based on evidence found in the local source base.

UCF Special Collections houses the nine-volume original collection of Sanford Municipal Court Records.[52] Each record contains the name of the individual arrested and the charge. In total, there are over 23,000 court records from 1920 to 1933. For the purpose of identifying patterns, only a sample size was reviewed. Details on the sampling methodology are presented in Chapter One. Data was transposed into Microsoft Excel, analyzed, and finally transformed into digestible data analytic models. This type of analysis falls within the craft of quantitative history, which was originally established in the 1940s.[53] By the turn of the century, quantitative history was addressed by Joyce Appleby, President of the American Historical Association as having "immediate, substantive, conceptual and ideological effects." The method applied, in this work, of pulling conclusions from numerical evidence and presenting that research alongside historical details and author analysis is a well-established academic practice. This is true even within the small space of Progressive Era literature. In the *Social Science Quarterly*, Jac Heckelman and John Dinan presented an article on the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment examining state-level election results using specific data points. Ultimately, the authors were able to isolate urban vs rural trends. Their data analysis led to the discovery of a lack of immigrant and non-Catholic support for Prohibition, which disproved the previous national narrative. [54] Eileen McDonagh and H. Douglas Price's *Women Suffrage in the*

[52] Sanford Municipal Court Records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida.
[53] William G. Thomas, "Computing and the Historical Imagination." In *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, 56–68. Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004.
[54] Dinan and Heckelman, 636-51.

Progressive Era: Patterns of Opposition and Support in Referenda Voting, 1910-1918, was based entirely on examining a large data set. This article poses questions and then uses data visualizations to make its argument and present conclusions.[55] This thesis follows the same model.

The Sanford Municipal Court Records provide great insight into the details of which Prohibition-related crimes are prosecuted in Sanford. This data is particularly useful when compared to other types of crime to understand how pervasive alcohol-related crimes were in the community. Comparison of the various types of crimes committed frames the impact of the Eighteenth Amendment. Further, the municipal court records provide some detail on the demographics of the prosecuted population. Finally, the court records provide officer information. The consistent number of law enforcement officers and the relative stability of their names over time demonstrate the impact of Prohibition on the police force in terms of the total number of personnel and officer turnover. These details allow for comparison and a contrasting lived experience to other municipalities and sections of the nation as described by the secondary literature. The court records also contain limitations, which are continuously highlighted as the chapters progress. The court records were contain human errors, including sporadically missing information. Further, the type of information recorded varies from year to year. The first two years, 1920 to 1921, do not include any police officer information. Race and gender are only noted consistently from 1930 to 1933.

The *Sanford Herald* is referred to throughout this work as the *Sanford Herald* and the *Herald*. This newspaper is the second primary resource used to construct the lived experience in

[55] McDonagh and Price, 415-35.

Sanford. The *Sanford Herald* was first printed in August of 1908, making it one of the oldest newspapers in Florida.[56] The first editions contained small print below the paper's heading, which read "In Sanford: Life is Worth Living". The *Herald* editions from 1908 to 2005 have been digitized, processed through optical character recognition (OCR), and are now accessible through RICHES.[57] The *Herald* is still in active circulation today.[58] For the purpose of this project, the *Herald* adds tremendous value in providing a great number of perspectives from the community, reports on local activity, and national Prohibition-related events. This rich detail provided the opportunity to analyze which Prohibition topics were of interest to the community as well as piece together a timeframe of how those interests evolved over time. The *Herald*, as with all newspapers, is limited by bias. Newspapers are inherently businesses with the goal of selling their products. They are intended for a specific audience and are not peer-reviewed, which skews their credibility and accuracy. However, this project is looking to highlight bias found within the *Sanford Herald* for the purpose of reconstructing the cultural climate of the community.

The oral history is a primary source that adds context to both the court records and newspaper analysis. Historical content within the oral history is validated by existing evidence found in the *Herald*. The oral history contributes to the reconstruction of the lived experience in Sanford by providing details about the cultural values and racial dynamics of the community. These nuances are more blatant in an oral history than they are in official municipal documents or published newspapers. These details greatly contribute to the intangible elements of the human experience, which this work is attempting to shed light on. The inclusion of both the oral

[56]"About Us," *Sanford Herald*, https://www.mysanfordherald.com/content/about-us (accessed March 10, 2024)
[57] RICHES of Central Florida https://riches.cah.ucf.edu/?page_id=2163 (accessed February 2, 2023)
[58]"About Us," *Sanford Herald*, https://www.mysanfordherald.com/content/about-us (accessed March 10, 2024)

history and digital map makes this work overall more compelling and entertaining. The oral history is story-like, and the digital map is interactive. These mediums can be more engaging than traditional academic writing. This value add is less tangibly measured than new historical discoveries or contributions to the historiography; however, added value does exist. The oral history is transcribed and included in the Appendix.

Chapter One presents the history of the Sanford Municipal Court Records and outlines the data sampling process. Then, it details population characteristics in Florida and Seminole County in the early 1900s. The most significant contribution of chapter one is the illumination of trends identified from the Sanford Municipal Court Records and accompanying data visualization models. The purpose of this chapter is to visualize the realities of Prohibition enforcement in Sanford to the point that the records provide. The research presented is interwoven with relevant historical and historiographic scholarship on Prohibition. Further, commentary is offered throughout the chapter identifying the value of the contributions and analyzing the limitations of the Sanford Municipal Court Records. The events in Sanford are compared to other Florida cities for additional exposition. Finally, conclusions are presented in conversation with claims made in the most recent wave of historiography.

Chapter Two provides conclusions from the close reading of over 200 *Sanford Herald* articles for insight into the community's responses to Prohibitions' ratification, its violators over time, and the road to repeal. "Community" is defined as residents of Sanford and the surrounding areas, including Longwood, Chuluota, Altamonte, etc. This chapter also includes the oral history. The oral history focuses on the community of Chuluota, which is located outside the Sanford city center. Both the oral history and newspaper records include discussion of specific individuals, other uses of alcohol beyond intoxication, the dangerous attempts to create alcohol, and the

consequences of consuming unsafe alcohol. This chapter highlights the complicated relationship between law enforcement and bootleggers. There are stories of peaceful and non-peaceful "busts" in Sanford. Further, there is discussion of various judicial opinions published while the amendment was active. Finally, this chapter includes the history of alcohol in Sanford before Prohibition and concludes with the road to the demise of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Chapter Three is the interactive digital map. The reader will be able to explore over 25 locations in Central Florida using the ArcGIS tool Story Map. Locations are marked by a pin, which includes a brief description of events mentioned in the Sanford newspaper or the oral history. Many points on the map expand outside Sanford as far west as Apopka, north as Deltona, and east as Chuluota. Digital mapping is a subset of digital history, a more recent form of historical scholarship that incorporates technology in the research and presentation process.[59] There are many benefits to digital history, including expanding access to the modern audience and clarity in detecting patterns.[60] The interactive map in this work primarily acts as a geographical reference displaying events discussed in the chapters. Further, it is a medium for including details on Prohibition-related events recorded in the *Sanford Herald*, but not significant enough to advance the argument of this thesis. This map produces value by further detailing the lived experience of Prohibition, including visualizing the geographic distance which the Sanford Sheriff's Office was responsible to police.

[59] Sheila A. Brennan, "Digital History," *The Inclusive Historian's Handbook*, June 4, 2019, https://inclusivehistorian.com/digital-history/ (accessed March 10, 2024).
[60] Brennan, https://inclusivehistorian.com/digital-history (accessed March 10, 2024).

CHAPTER ONE: FROM DOCKET TO DATA VISUALIZATION

Sanford restricted the manufacture and sale of alcohol for fifty years before ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. From 1870 on, Sanford retained its status as a dry town, defined more liberally than drys in the Prohibition movement. In the years immediately preceding 1920, residents could legally consume alcohol in their homes and serve alcohol to guests.[61] This made Sanford's transition into Prohibition easier than some other wet cities because day-to-day changes were not as dramatic. The historiography examines the reality of alcohol addiction in pre-Prohibition cities. The habitual drunkard was responsible for disruption in their community, which contributed to an unforgiving public perception of mind-altering substances.[62] Lillian Wald, the founder of a Chicago settlement house, proudly declared that during the years Prohibition was active, gone were "the tragic Monday mornings when in the factory workshop, tearful women came to beg for an advance on their husband's wages."[63] Understanding the perspective of the damage of alcohol to society is essential in understanding the impact of Prohibition itself. Sanford's stricter regulations before Prohibition would have made the lived experience different. Outlawing a substance or act does not prevent its use. There is evidence of alcohol-related crimes before Prohibition in the municipal court records, the *Sanford Herald*, and confirmed in the oral history. However, it is reasonable to conclude that because alcohol was more regulated in Sanford, the burden and impacts of addiction were not experienced as intensely, throughout the community, as in other parts of the United States before the liquor ban.

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[61] "Orange County is Dry," *Sanford Herald*, October 31, 1919.
[62] "Florida Wasn't Wet and Wild, for a Time," *The Orlando Sentinel*, July 31, 2021. https://www.orlandosentinel.com/1995/05/07/florida-wasnt-wet-and-wild-for-a-time (accessed April 9, 2023).
[63] McGirr, 47-48.

As referenced in the Introduction, recent scholarship has seen an evolution in the methodology used to examine Prohibition. Introducing new methodologies allows an event to be examined from various lenses, ultimately increasing our understanding of the period. Early historians published national studies with broad conclusions, heavily focused on morality and less individual examination. Prohibition supporters advocated for and believed in a forced requirement of strict morality.[64] These progressives understood that this was not a zero-tolerance policy that would immediately end the nation's relationship with alcohol.[65] Prohibition immediately made illegal an activity that many citizens of the United States were actively engaging in. Prohibition's results were socially complex because it outlawed the manufacture, transport, and sale of alcohol but not the consumption of alcohol. This created a challenging dynamic in which it was not explicitly illegal to consume or possess alcohol, but all other avenues of engagement were illegal. One notable exception was the legal manufacture of alcohol for medical, scientific, or mechanical purposes.[66] Prohibition was a severe position that allowed little room for flexibility in enforcement and little compromise in the judicial system.[67]

Supporters of Prohibition believed that prevention of the creation and disbursement of alcohol over time would result in a complete absence of all alcohol from American society. In the days after ratification, Americans had no shortage of spirits available for consumption. Contraband emerged primarily in five different ways: liquor imported from other nations, dangerous industrial alcohol that was not suitable for human consumption, moonshine, home-

[64] Sinclair, 37.
[65] Okrent, 54.
[66] Guthrie, 23–39.
[67] Richard Hofstadter. *The Age of Reform* (New York, NY: Vintage Publishers: 1955), 22, 36-41.

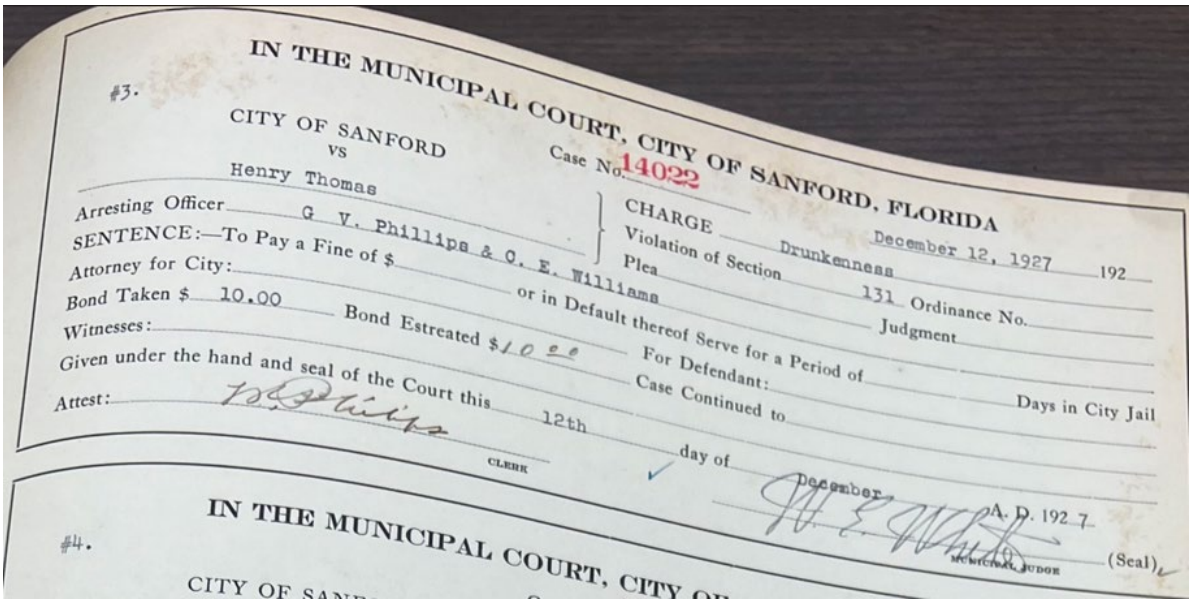
brewed beer and home-brewed wine. [68] This chapter is working to reconstruct an image of the lived experience in Sanford, as it relates to the complications of Prohibition.

There are three purposes to this chapter. First, to present how arrests for alcohol-related crimes impacted the Sanford community. This is accomplished by presenting U.S. Census data to construct an image of the demographic layout of Sanford in context with the state of Florida and Seminole County. To further understand the issues within the community of Sanford, this chapter asks questions about the dynamics of enforcement at the micro-level. Further, this chapter also rresents data findings from the Sanford Municipal Court Records alongside analysis of who was arrested based on race, gender, age, and how those arrests changed in number and sentencing over time. Secondly, to understand how law enforcement evolved and illuminate issues associated with the enforcement in as much detail as the Sanford Municipal Court Records allow. Third, to simultaneously perform a source analysis of the Sanford Municipal Court Records. This will all be done in a framework that raises conclusions from the sources to the historiographic literature in an effort to supplement our understanding of Prohibition.

The Sanford Municipal Court Records span from 1920 to 1972. Once retired from active use, these large and heavy volumes were donated to the Sanford Museum. The Sanford Museum later donated all 60 volumes to UCF Special Collections.[69] UCF Special Collections houses these volumes at the John C. Hitt Library. Special Collections administration has been transparent that digitizing this collection to increase accessibility has been added to the queue of upcoming projects. For the purposes of this chapter, 23,000 records spanning 1920-1933, housed in nine volumes, were examined. Over thirteen years, both the format and level of detail evolved. At a

[68] Sinclair, 197-209.
[69] UCF Libraries Special Collections and University Archives, University of Central Florida. https://scua.library.ucf.edu/repositories/4/resources/205. (accessed November 14, 2022).

minimum, each record contains the year of arrest, name of arrestee, charge, verdict, and sentence. The most detailed records included the year of arrest, name of arrestee, charge, verdict, sentence, arresting officers name, number of arresting officers, gender, age, and race.[70] Gender and race analysis will be addressed in this chapter although it is important to note the limitations of those records. Race is included sporadically from 1930 to 1933, appearing in a total of 20.4 percent of all records reviewed. Gender follows a similar patterns only appearing after 1929, in 20.5 percent of records. Each record's corresponding data points were entered into an Excel spreadsheet where statistical analysis was performed on data to detect patterns and trends. An example record is displayed below.


IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT, CITY OF SANFORD, FLORIDA

#3.

CITY OF SANFORD
vs
Henry Thomas

Case No. 14022

Arresting Officer G. V. Phillips & O. E. Williams
SENTENCE:—To Pay a Fine of $
Attorney for City:
Bond Taken $ 10.00 Bond Estreated $10.00
Witnesses:
Given under the hand and seal of the Court this 12th day of December A. D. 192 7
Attest: CLERK

CHARGE Drunkenness December 12, 1927 192
Violation of Section 131 Ordinance No.
Plea Judgment
or in Default thereof Serve for a Period of Days in City Jail
For Defendant:
Case Continued to

MUNICIPAL JUDGE (Seal)

IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT, CITY OF

#4.

CITY OF SAN

Figure 1 Image of Sanford Municipal Record for December 12, 1927

Imagine the subject of Prohibition (in its entirety) is physically represented as New York City. One man takes the elevator 1,250 feet above the ground to the observation deck.[71] The man

[70] Race, age, and gender information were not available in Records before 1930, when these three categories were added to the format. Sporadically, information is missing from all records.
[71] Empire State Building, "Empire State Building Fact Sheet," https://www.esbnyc.com/sites/default/files/esb_fact_sheet_4_9_14_4.pdf (accessed September 10, 2023).

wants to understand the city. What is in each building? What is the purpose of those buildings? Are the crosswalks placed in useful locations? What is life like here? The landscape is too large to understand. There are too many buildings, and he is too far away to read their labels. The man enters a quarter into the cold, metal telescope bolted to the ground to look into one building. He can see the architecture details, the desks pushed up against the wall, office décor, plants, people working, and others having a meeting. The man now understands a piece of the lived experience in New York City. There is now meaning where before there was none. In this thesis, Prohibition is the great landscape; the nine Sanford volumes are the building details, the people, and the experiences seen through the telescope. Statistical analysis of these volumes is the telescope, allowing the viewer to recognize meaning. Honing focus onto one small piece of an entire landscape makes it interesting and allows it to make sense. "Small subjects make good books." [72] Utilizing an available portion of a primary resource to contribute to the understanding of a broader topic is a traditional historical research method. That is the process employed here with the addition of a small amount of statistical sampling.

Historical references are increasingly digitized, and new historical evidence is born in the digital age; historians must adapt and embrace new tools at our disposal. The use of big data concepts and methodological practices to produce digital scholarship within the discipline of history is increasing.[73] This is especially true for bottom-up analysis of large sources. Big data tools and methods can complete mass amounts of research quickly, and the practice has been evolving since the mid-20th century.[74] Currently, the resources are not available to complete this

[72] Le Roy Ladurie, 1-2.
[73] Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart. *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian's Macroscope*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2015. https://www.ianmilligan.ca/publication/macroscope/ (accessed March 10, 2024).
[74] Shawn, Milligan, and Weingart, https://www.ianmilligan.ca/publication/macroscope/ (accessed March 10, 2024).

exhaustive of a review on the Sanford Municipal Court Records. Analysis of a sample size of these texts was the feasible option because conclusive historical analysis of the entire collection without data tools could only be completed with a massive amount of time or number of resources.

There are several benefits to using court dockets to conduct micro-historical research. Municipal records primarily have consistency in formatting and base information, for example date, name, verdict and sentence. The dockets are drafted by an employee of the state who can be classified as a reliable source. Records contain relatively unambiguous information, allowing the reviewers to limit their exposure to bias. There are examples of clerical errors and variations in handwriting clarity that require a small amount of interpretation. This comprehensive Sanford Municipal Court Records collection lists all arrests in the Sanford area, including arrests in the rural areas outside of the city limits. Analysis of these records provides details on how often arrests are associated with alcohol-related crimes. A collection this large provides a great opportunity. However, there are limitations to these records and obstacles to interpreting them. Each record provides only a small amount of information surrounding each incident of arrest. Reviewing the municipal court records does not contribute to our understanding of the human action taken before the record is created, was the arrestee charged with an appropriate crime in comparison to their actions? Did treatment among arrestees vary for the same crime? These undetectable biases of variation in treatment and severity of charge applied are significant. Each individual record does not contain enough information to provide a narrative. One record or a

small handful of records would not be sufficient to draw a meaningful conclusion. Trends become detectable only by working with many records gathered over time.[75]

The scope of this singular thesis chapter does not require the support of 23,000 court records. Instead, 30 percent of the records were examined to form a sample population. Sample sizes vary depending on the type of study performed and often rely on a formula to determine the accuracy variance. Psychological experiments consider 30 percent to be a fair representation of the population, which is why this method was applied in this study.[76] The logistics of reviewing an appropriate 30 percent were calculated with care and consistency. Each volume in the collection had numbered pages, which allowed precisely 30 percent of the records to be studied. Across all nine volumes, the 30 percent sample size that was studied translated to roughly 7,600 cases, all of which were individually reviewed. Alcohol-related cases were then recorded in an Excel spreadsheet. For example, Volume VII had a total of 1,353 records; 30 percent translates to 406 records. Each of those 406 records were individually reviewed, and all alcohol-related crimes were then entered into the spreadsheet. After reviewing all 7,600 records, a total of 1,069 records were alcohol-related offenses. Statistical analysis and data modeling were performed on these 1,069 records.

Many crimes are not the subject of this review but are notable for contributing to the overall image of 1920s Sanford. Analysis of the 1,069 records related to Prohibition reveals patterns that can be reviewed against the historiography. Beyond that, the patterns allow conjecture about the sources themselves. This method of analysis does have limitations. The

[75] Sampling methodology is addressed in additional detail further into the chapter.
[76] Samantha F. Anderson, Ken Kelley, and Scott E. Maxwell, "Sample-Size Planning for More Accurate Statistical Power: A Method Adjusting Sample Effect Sizes for Publication Bias and Uncertainty." *Psychological Science* 28.11 (2017): 1547–1562.

municipal court record examination is not complete enough to examine the actual limitations and impacts of Prohibition. A complete examination of enforcement is not a goal of this thesis, as that would require a separate and more detailed study.

To further understand how enforcement dynamics play out at the micro-level, this chapter asks guiding questions. What did the Sanford population look like? Who was arrested for alcohol-related crimes? Are there patterns in race, gender, or age of the arrestee? What was criminalized under Prohibition? What were the impacts on those arrested? How did Sanford's law enforcement evolve from 1920 to 1933? Ultimately, this chapter will focus on which patterns can be detected or disproven in the Sanford community.

Florida Population

The Florida population grew consistently in the early twentieth century. The following pages display population growth from 1920 to 1930 in Florida, Seminole County, and Sanford. Seminole County is the county where Sanford is located; prior to 1913, Sanford was located in Orange County. The Sanford Sheriff's office policed the entire county, crimes listed in the municipal court records would have had arrest sites in Seminole County. The municipal court records do not detail the location of the arrest. However, the *Sanford Herald* reports many arrests throughout the county. Sanford is recorded in both the 1920 and 1930 censuses as East Sanford and West Sanford; this data has been combined for presentation below. Demographic information was provided from the U.S. Census.[77] The U.S. Census collected many data points beyond basic identifying information of name, address, gender, and race, including employment, status of

[77] United States Census Bureau. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*: 1920 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921) [183-200]; United States Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1930 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931) 393-451.

citizenship, literacy, mother tongue and occupation.[78] The data presented will review the total population growth and highlight rates of race and gender growth. Establishing the demographic breakdown of race and gender population allows for a more fruitful analysis of the racial and gender dynamics of enforcement. Racial groups will be analyzed using a two-factor framework: white vs non-white.

Florida Population Growth

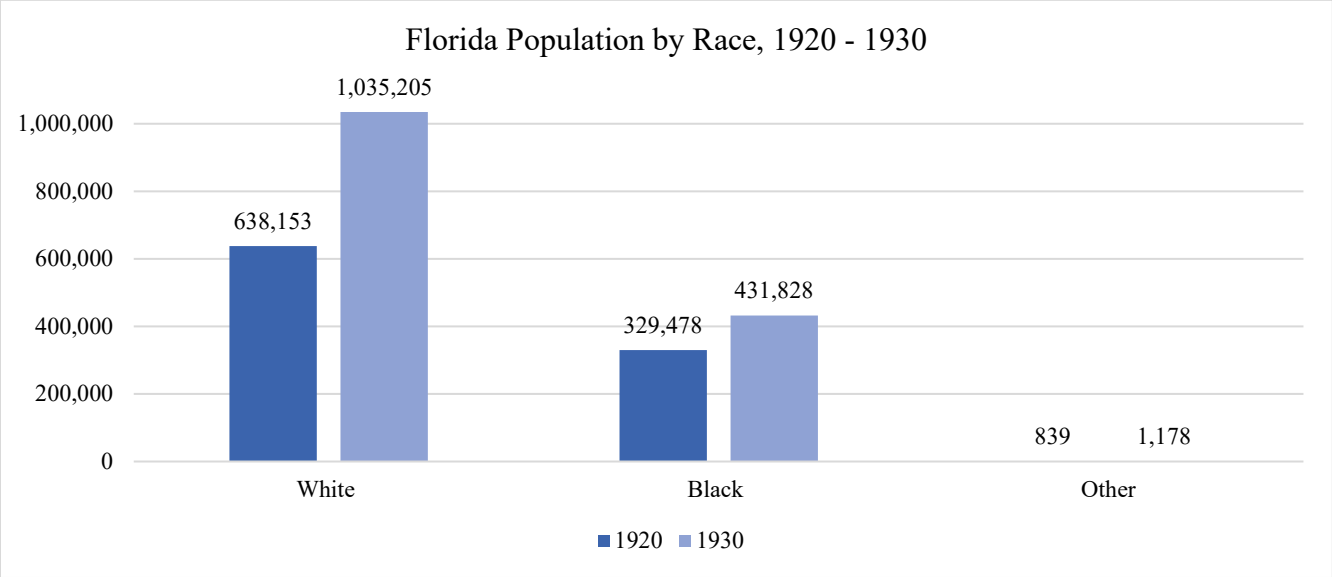


Figure 2 Florida Population by Race, 1920 - 1930

The Florida population grew consistently throughout the twentieth century. Rapid population growth began early on. From 1920 to 1930 the population increased by 35 percent, from 968,470 total residents to 1,466,211 total residents in ten years. The details of that population is visualized above. The growth of the white population outpaced the growth of the non-white population. From 1920 to 1930, the white population experienced a 62 percent

[78] "Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses From 1790 to 2000," US Census Bureau, September 2002. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/2002/dec/pol_02-ma.pdf (accessed March 10, 2024).

increase, in comparison 31 percent increase in non-white residents. Florida gender population growth follows a similar pattern and is visualized below.

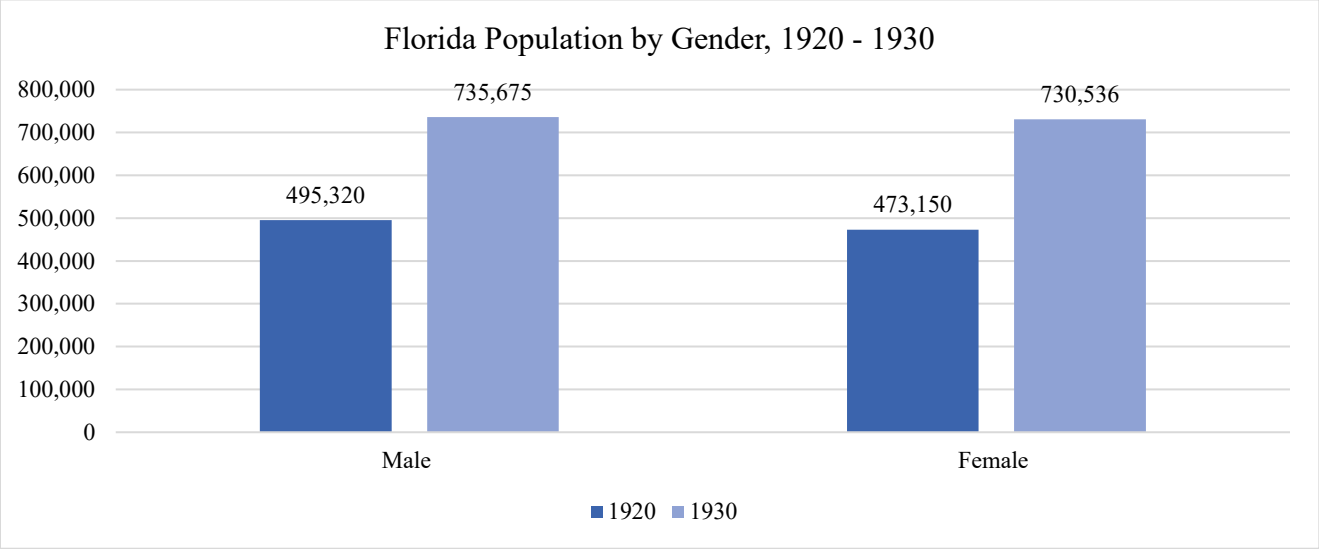


Figure 3 Florida Population by Gender, 1920 - 1930

Gender divisions remained nearly identical as the overall population grew. The male population increased by 49 percent and the female population increased by 54 percent. Both Florida's rural and urban populations were increasing in size. Florida had many rural communities and small municipalities. The largest urban areas were Miami, Tampa, Jacksonville and Orlando.[79] Seminole County was a rural county with the small municipality of Sanford.

Seminole County Population Growth

The population growth and evolving demographics in Seminole County are significant because of Sanford's location in Seminole County and Seminole County was under the purview of the Sanford Sheriff's Office. The municipal records include arrests from the entire county.

[79] United States Census Bureau. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*: 1920 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921) [183-200]; United States Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1930 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931) 393-451.

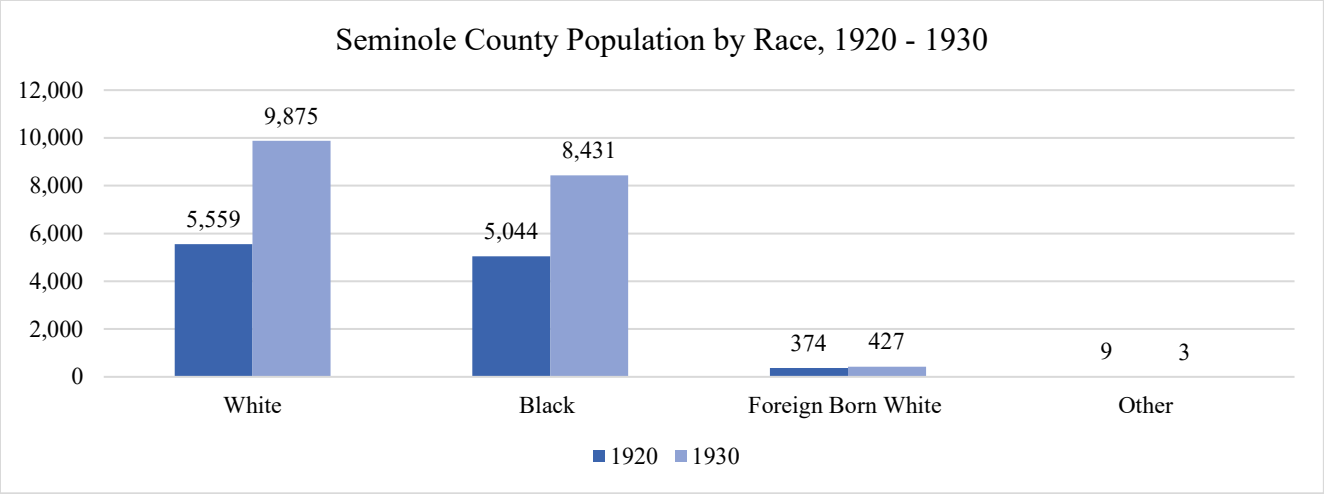


Figure 4 Seminole County Population by Race, 1920 - 1930

Seminole County's population grew 71 percent from 1920 to 1930, more than double the population growth rate experienced by the state. Seminole County was in the early stages of evolving from a rural to an urban center. The total population in 1920 was 10,986. Only ten years later that number had increased to 18,735. Population growth by race follows the pattern of white growth outpacing non-white growth, with a 78 percent increase in white residents and a 63 percent increase in non-white residents.

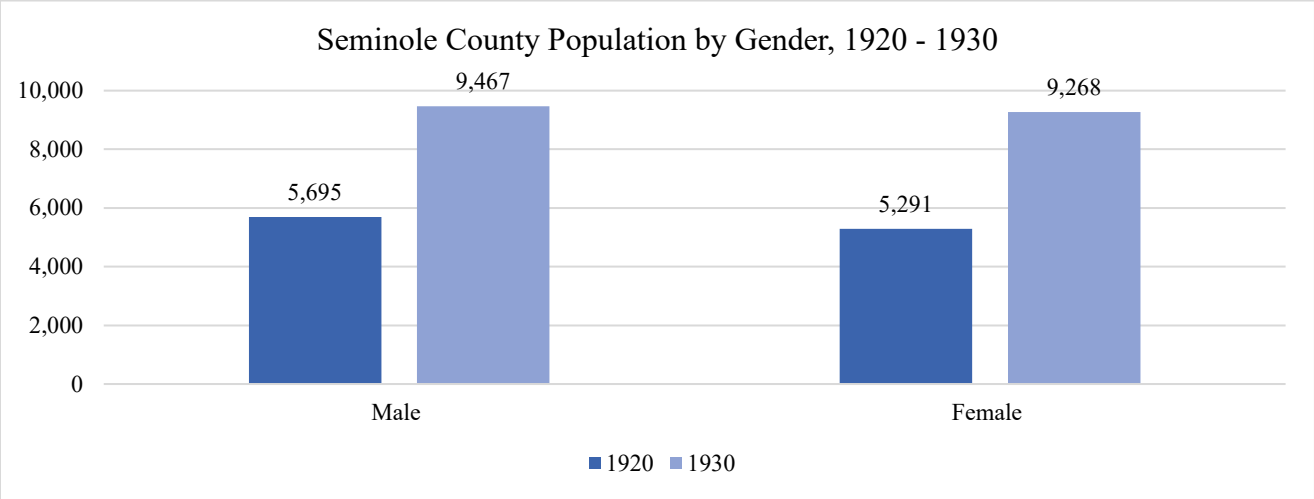


Figure 5 Seminole County Population by Gender, 1920 - 1930

Seminole County experienced a much larger female growth rate than the state. The male population grew by 66 percent and the female population grew by 75 percent. Resulting in an almost even male to female spilt by 1930. The greater presence of women and historiographic evidence that anti-liquor laws were broken consistently across race, gender and socioeconomic classes would suggest the municipal records should produce similar patterns of arrest. This does not occur. The urban population within the city Sanford follows a pattern similar to Seminole County.

Sanford Population Growth

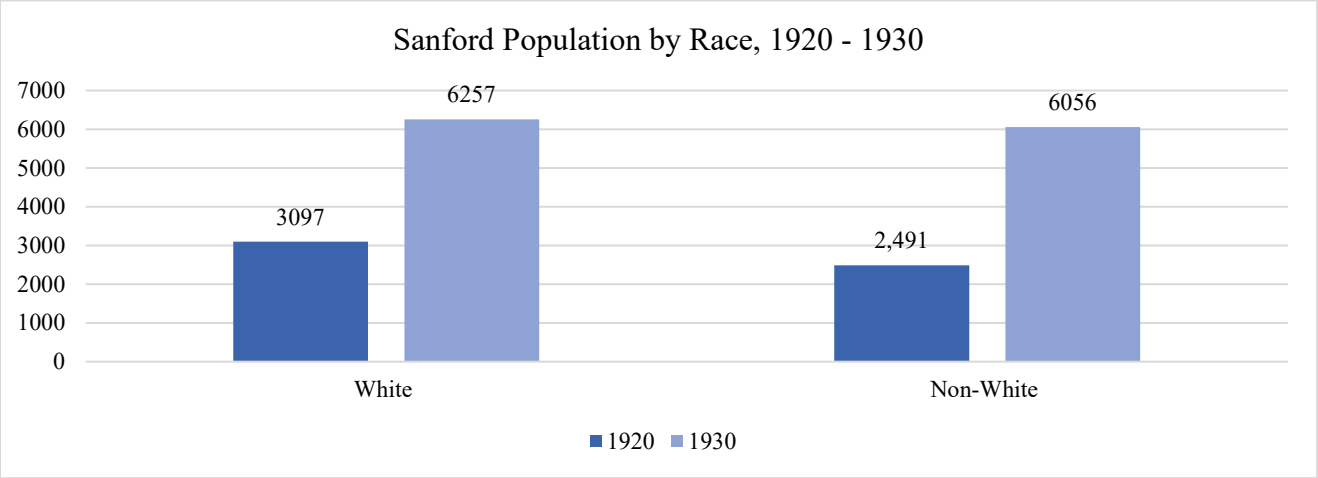


Figure 6 Sanford Population by Race, 1920 - 1930

Sanford grew at a more expeditious rate than Seminole County. From 1920 to 1930 Sanford experienced a population explosion of 120 percent, from a population of 5,588 to 12,313. Sanford was more diverse than the state of Florida as a whole. Florida had a 2.4:1 ratio of white to non-white population, Seminole County had a narrower ratio of 1.1:1 white to non-white population and Sanford had 1:1 white to non-white population ratio.

The U.S. Census had limited race options, but the Sanford Municipal Court Records had many options for race, including black, brown, dark brown, dark ginger, ginger, light ginger, mulatto, yellow and white. The label ginger and its variations were used in the American South from 1855 into the 1940s.[80] The Sanford Municipal Court Records use abbreviations including "Gin," "DK G" and "Ginger C" for the term "Ginger Cake". This label "Ginger Cake" is historically seen as a descriptor in runaway slave newspaper snippets. The description of an individual's physical characteristics in 1920s Sanford using the lexicon of slavery demonstrates a degree verbal bias.[81] There are eight total options to describe non-white race but only one option to describe white skin. This suggests that cultural perceptions and social status vary based on race. Access to only the list of categorizations does not detail how the treatment of these arrestees varied; this is a limitation of the court records as a source. A further limitation of the source is the lack of illumination of how severe the legal violation was in comparison to how the individual was charged, layered across the race spectrum. This type of overview would require extensive civilian statements reviewed against the court records.

[80] Christine Kinlaw-Best. "1930's 'City of Sanford, Florida' Arrest Records." 2017.
[81] Kinlaw-Best.

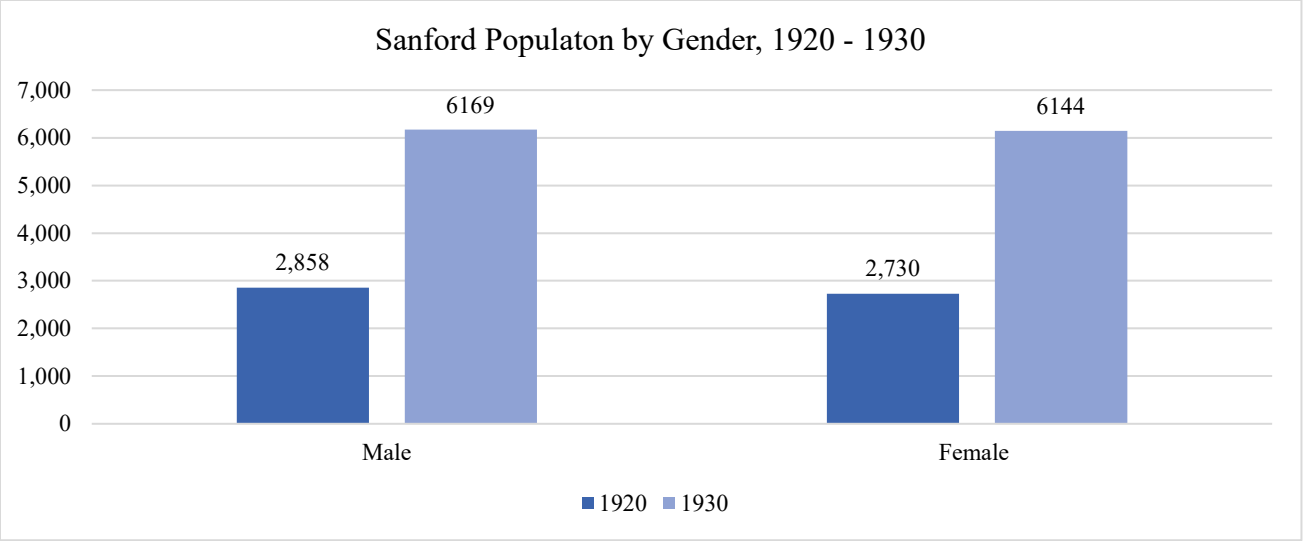


Figure 7 Sanford Population by Gender, 1920 - 1930

The male population in Sanford grew by 116 percent from 1920 to 1930. The female population similarly grew by 125 percent. In total, there is nearly an exact split between men and women in the Sanford community. The female population in Sanford was closer to the male population in comparison to the rest of the state. This pattern is not reflected in the percentage of arrest for Prohibition-related violations.

Who Was Arrested for Alcohol-Related Crimes?

One narrative consistent in all of Prohibition historiography, which resurfaces amongst a variety of scholarship and historians agree upon, is that all communities had members who drank alcohol. Adults and adolescents across all economic classes, and of all races and genders engaged with alcohol in some capacity. Okrent argues that race, class, and gender did not increase or decrease the frequency of consuming alcohol. During Prohibtion, the police chief of Boise, Idaho publically stated “Drinking is done almost everywhere, by almost

everybody."[82] There is little variation in populations who broke the law; however, there is much variation in who was punished by the law.

Race, gender, and age are reviewed classes that provide insight into which populations were targeted for enforcement. The data shows the majority of arrestees were 20 to 40 years of age. The Sanford Municipal Court Records only provided race data for the years 1930 to 1933. The records do not provide details of the treatment of an arrestee after he/she was taken into custody; this is an additional limitation of the court records. The graph below displays the number of arrests for the white and non-white population. The data is inclusive of 100 percent of arrests in the sample size, for the years race data was available.

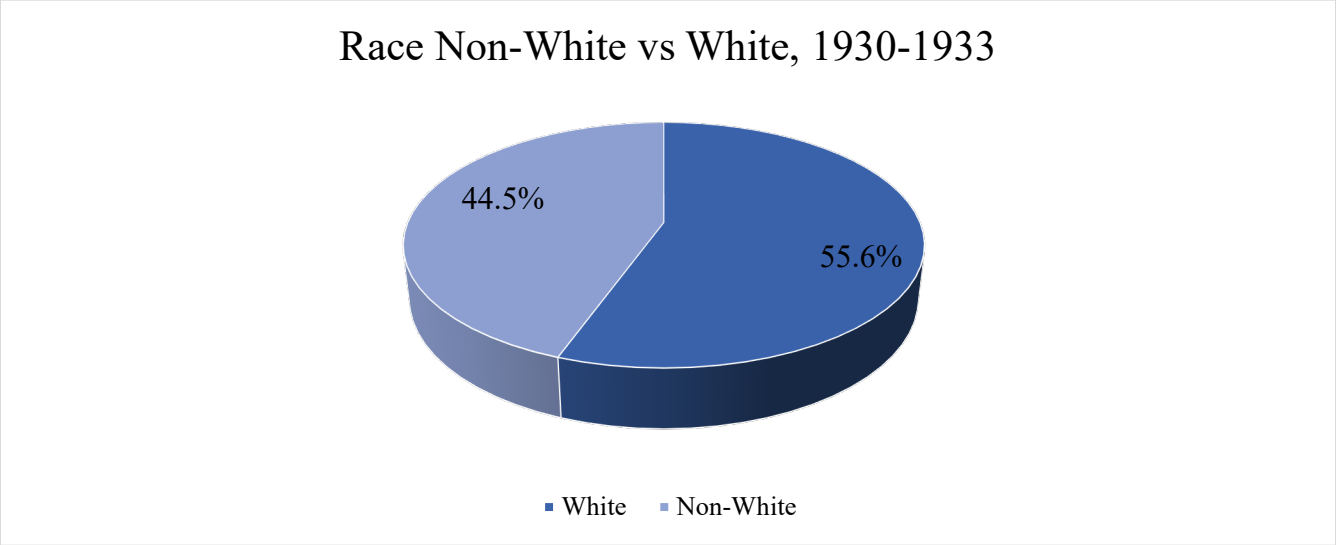


Figure 8 Race Non-White vs White, 1930-1933

White arrests for Prohibition-related crimes are 44.5 percent of the population compared to 55.6 percent of non-white arrests. The white vs non-white population did have a close ratio in Seminole County of 1.1:1. Expressed as a percentage this a split of 53 percent white and 47 percent non-white. Historically, the race of an individual does not influence the likelihood of

[82] Okrent, 223.

alcohol involvement during Prohibition, as such the arrest records should reflect the population variance. The graph proves disproportionate arrests for members of the non-white community.

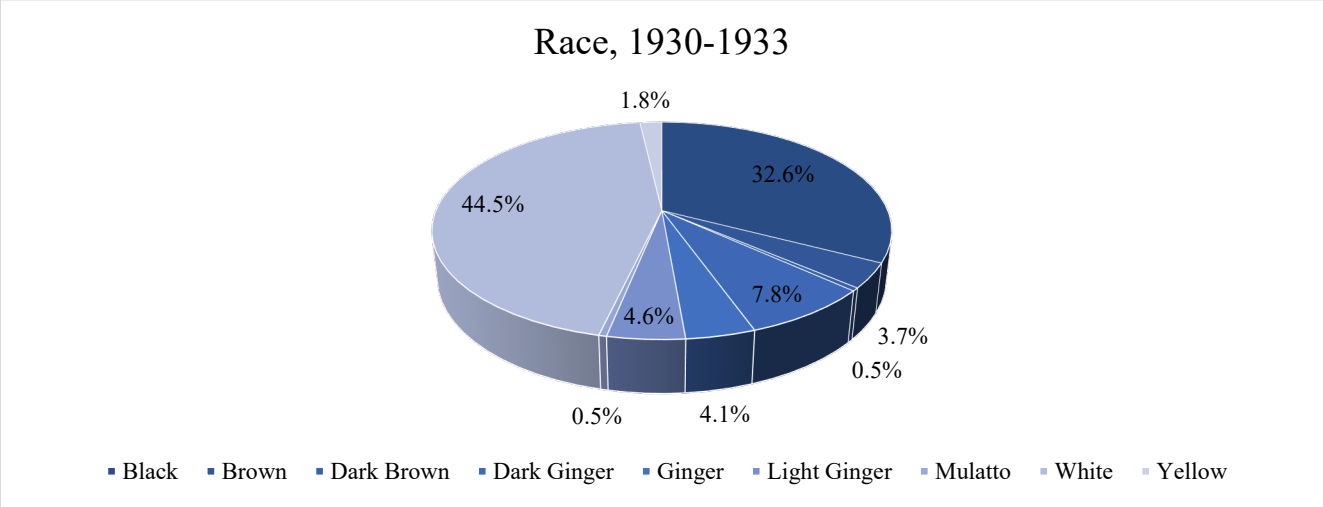


Figure 9 Arrests for Alcohol-related Crimes by Race, 1930-1933

For further understanding of stastics for alcohol-related arrests by race in Seminole County the graph above displays alcohol-related arrests in detail according to the race categories used in the municipal court records. Nationally, we see evidence of racist supporters advocating for Prohibition. Many of the evils of substance abuse were blamed on the African-American community. Attitudes did not evolve once the amendment was active. One antiliquor sympathizer compared the "presence of eight million" African-Americans to be "the largest sociological problem any people ever had."[83]

In addition to race, the other classes of Prohibition-related arrests are analyzed through gender and age. The patterns detected here are displayed below.

[83] McGirr, 71-72.

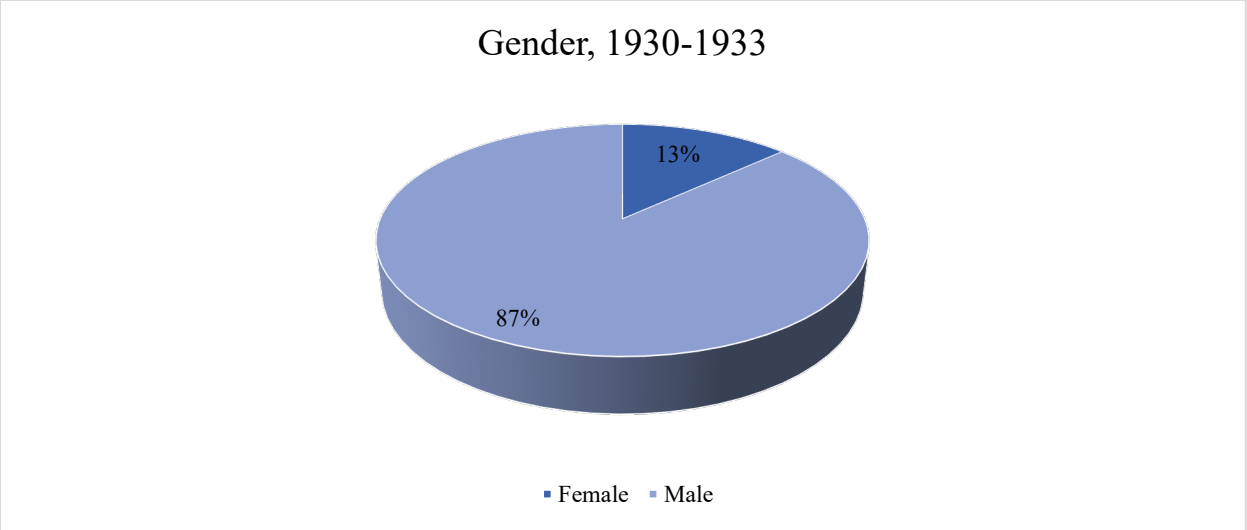


Figure 10 Arrests for Alcohol-related Crimes by Gender, 1930-1933

Women are arrested less frequently than men for alcohol-related crimes, even with a population division nearly equal between the genders. Women did consume alcohol during Prohibition. The way women consumed alcohol evolved during Prohibition. Spirits could no longer be purchased and consumed in the privacy of the home. Domestic drinking was no longer hidden to the degree it was previously.[84] Forcing men and women out of their homes to locations where illegal alcohol could be purchased leveled the playing field for social classes; everyone was thirsty, and alcohol was a social uniter.[85] This type of cultural and sexual integration began in New York; which is commonly referenced in historiography as the cultural center of Prohibition violations. In fact, in New York, immediately after the Eighteenth Amendment passed, "Sex barriers have been burned away" as men and women left their homes to meet in social clubs devoid of legal and social regulation. [86] The dark side of this reality, which is left out

[84] Okrent, 211.
[85] Okrent, 211.
[86] Okrent, 212.

of pop culture renderings, is the sexual exploitation, particularly of women in the lower classes, which was a by-product of less regulation. Less regulation created a new world of social norms where increased risky behavior was paired with consistent lawbreaking. Men and women, wealthy and poor, immigrant and native, white and non-white experience prohibition differently.

Women are well-documented as being involved in the distilling and bootlegging process. One estimate claims that "75 percent of the liquor being sold is handled by women".[87] Distilling liquor became another task and a potential opportunity for the housewife. Selling liquor was a profitable way to increase the family's income without sacrificing domestic duties. It was also an alternative to taking in boarders, which was previously one of the few ways women could add to the household income.[88] The *Sanford Herald* announced several women the Sheriff's office caught distilling in their homes, including Susie Keele, Mrs. Mayfair, and Mrs. Richardson.[89] Unfortunately, these names did not appear in the sample review of court records. Guthrie's work in Northern Florida reports a similar scenario of a Mrs. Lena Severance who was arrested for selling beer, cheese and crackers. She did so because her husband was ill and unable to work, she reported to have no other means of income.[90] Women in Sanford did break the liquor laws yet, they are not prosecuted in the same manner as men. Finally, the category of age is reviewed below.

[87] McGirr, 96.
[88] McGirr, 94-95.
[89] "Police Raid Mayfair Home, Catching Owner In Act of Selling Whiskey," *Sanford Herald*, August 6, 1932.;"Negress Is Jailed For Possession Of Moonshine Whisky," *Sanford Herald*, May 15, 1926.; "Sheriff Gets Fifth Still In Three Weeks," *Sanford Herald*, August 11, 1925.
[90] Guthrie, 435–52.

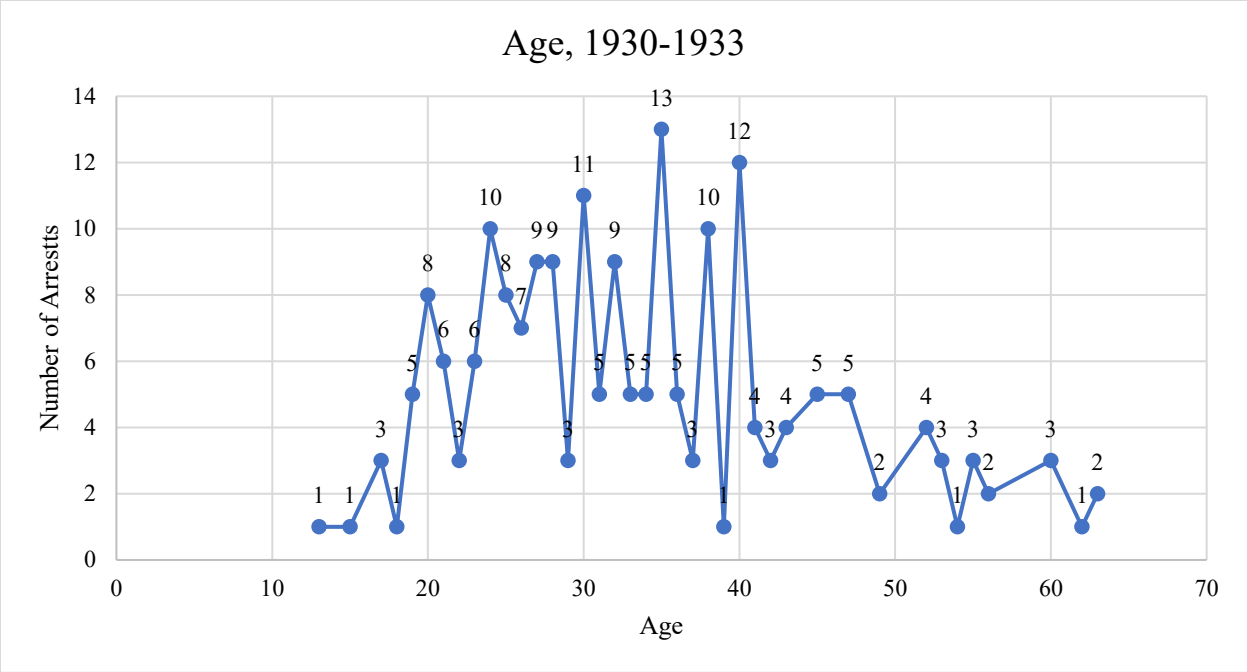


Figure 11 Arrests for Alcohol-related Crimes by Age, 1930 to 1933

The graph above depicts the age of individuals at the time of the arrest. Age follows the same data pattern availability as race and gender; it is only available in the final three years of Prohibition. Offenders were of various ages, from as young as 13 to as old as 63. Most arrestees were in their mid-20s to late 30s. Nationally, children were not arrested or prosecuted for having possession of alcohol. Outside of Sanford, there are documented occurrences of Prohibition busts where law enforcement would pour out illegal spirits into the street. Parents would send their small children carrying buckets to scoop up the liquor running through gutters.[91] Neither parents nor children would see repercussions for this behavior.

[91] Clark, 56-59.

What Was Criminalized Under Prohibition?

The Eighteenth Amendment was intended to ban "the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcoholic beverages."[92] From 1920 to 1933 the Sanford Municipal Court Records contain a total of twelve alcohol-related charges listed below.

Table 3 Alcohol-related crimes recorded in Sanford Municipal Records, 1920 to 1933 [93]

Carrying Concealed Weapons, Drunk & Disorderly
Drunk
Drunk & Disorderly
Drunk & Disorderly Fighting
Drunk & Gambling
Drunkenness
Giving away spirituous, vinous or malt liquor
Operating car while under the influence of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor
Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor
Selling spirituous, vinous or malt liquor
Transporting intoxicating liquor
Unlawful possession of intoxicating liquor

These alcohol-related crimes are a combination of violations of the Eighteenth Amendment and crimes that were traditionally enforced before the war on alcohol. This work examines the impact to the community through the lens of enforcement. This opens the scope of study to include enforcement of all alcohol-related crimes.

Not all crimes were tried in the Sanford court system. The municipal court records and the *Sanford Herald* include examples of arrests for more serious offenses, typically violent

[92] Constitution of the United States, Amendment Eighteen

[93] The court records contain 21 variations of these 12 alcohol related crimes; however, the variance is the result of changes in word order for examples, driving while drunk vs drunk driving.

crimes that were transferred to the county courthouse.[94] Below are some examples of non-alcohol-related crimes found from 1920 to 1933 in the municipal records. [95]

Table 4 List of non-alcohol-related crimes committed in Sanford, 1920 to 1933

Attempted Murder
Allowing chickens at large in city
Allowing vicious dogs at large
Assault
Beating hotel bill
Driving over a red flag
Gambling
Inmate at a disorderly house
Insanity
Keeping a disorderly house
Not providing means of flushing toilet
Riding a bike on sidewalk
Runaway boy
Runaway girl
Selling groceries on Sunday
Suspicious character
Violation of sanitary laws

The previously referenced alcohol-related charges have three that are statistically most common: drunkenness, possession of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquor; and drunk and disorderly. All twelve crimes can be grouped into three categories: in possession, in possession and intent to pass around, and consuming alcohol. The graph below displays all three categories.

[94] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[95] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.

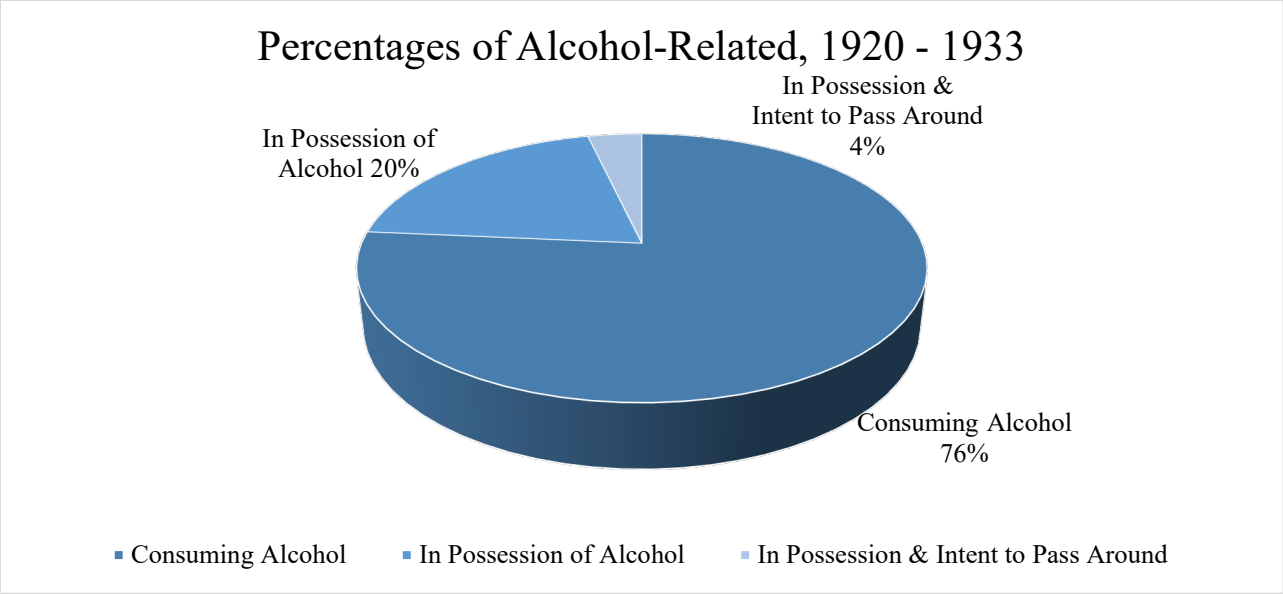


Figure 12 Alcohol-related Crimes Defined, 1920 to 1933

The first and largest category contains all the offenses related to an individual's consumption of alcohol. There are a variety of charges in this category, including drunk and disorderly, drunk and fighting with an officer, drunkenness, and operating a car while under the influence of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquor.[96] Considering Sanford's historical dry status, it is notable that ingesting spirits is the largest category of offenses. This perspective is limited because it only displays what folks were caught doing. This is a key limitation of the Sanford Municipal Court Records. Notably there are no occurrences of producing large quantities of alcohol or transporting it. Corruption, fraud, organized crime and the like were not found in the 30 percent sample. Sanford is in a key position in the middle of the state, yet their Sheriff's office does not report arresting moonshiners or busting large stills. This is likely because of Sanford's small size. Organized crime in larger Florida cities is addressed in Chapter Two.

[96] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.

Further, it is possible that because Sanford was historically dry, operations of alcohol distillation and smuggling routes were already well established.

The second category concerns an individual's possession of an illegal substance. This category carries a lesser variety of charges, primarily possession of intoxicating liquors and possession of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquor.[97] The third category represents an individual who has an illegal substance and has demonstrated the intent to pass that substance along to others. The specific charges referenced are giving away spirituous, vinous, or malt liquor, selling spirituous, vinous, or malt liquor, and transporting intoxicating liquor.[98] This category is surprisingly sparse, considering Florida's reputation in the current historiography. Based on this, we can see that Sanford's culture leaned more heavily toward consumption and away from production. Many who supported the Eighteenth Amendment did so to prevent the liquor trade, not to stop individuals from drinking.[99] Ironically, the number one crime in Sanford was "drunkenness."[100]

Conclusions are drawn from what is in the data and what is not in the data. Sanford's crimes vary from what is seen in larger Florida cities. Academic works on cities, including Miami and Tampa, are addressed in this thesis as they contribute to the overall understanding of Prohibition in Central Florida. The comparison method between Sanford and Miami or Tampa cannot be direct, as the sizes of the populations vary too greatly. However, incorporating some comparisons between the township of Sanford and larger cities like Miami, such as details on the punishment for Prohibition-related violations, better frames the experience in Sanford and the

[97] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[98] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[99] Dorr,115-132.
[100] Dorr, 122.

impact of Prohibition there. Further, the current Florida historical data on Prohibition is heavily focused on smuggling and organized crimes in large cities. Simply ignoring events in these cities would result in less thorough work. Sanford's crimes are smaller in scale, nearly all crimes are individual offenses. This does not apply to the larger Florida cities. Prohibition history in Miami and Tampa often include organized crime.[101] Organized crime was not mentioned in the entire population of Sanford Municipal Court Records reviewed. At the national scale, historians make the claim that one of the most influential consequences of Prohibition was the legacy of organized crime.[102] These primary resources show that the narrative does not apply to Sanford.

Beyond understanding which types of crimes were committed, the court records included verdicts for those arrested in 99.98 percent of the records. There are a total of eleven verdict variations in the court records which can be grouped into four categories: guilty, not guilty, transferred to county court and other.[103] Those verdicts are visualized below.

[101] Scott Dietche, *Cigar City Mafia: A Complete History of the Tampa Underworld.* 1st ed. (Lanham: National Book Network: 2005); Frank Alduino. "Prohibition in Tampa." *Tampa Bay History* 9 (Spring-Summer 1987): 17-28; Stephen C. Bousquet "The Gangster in Our Midst: Al Capone in South Florida, 1930-1947." *Florida Historical Quarterly 76* (winter 1998): 297-309; Michael H. Mundt "Justice is Only a Name in This City': Tampa Confronts the Roadring Twenties." *Gulf Coast Historical Review 12* (Fall 1996): 29-41.
[102] Clark, 18.
[103] The total 11 categories are continued, defendant not arraigned, dismissed by request from Chief of Police, dismissed by request of officer, dismissed on recommendation of Chief of Police, guilty, innocent, judgement suspended, not guilty, sentence suspended by Mayor Drumos, transferred to county court and finally there are 12 of the 1,069 records where the verdict is not indicated.

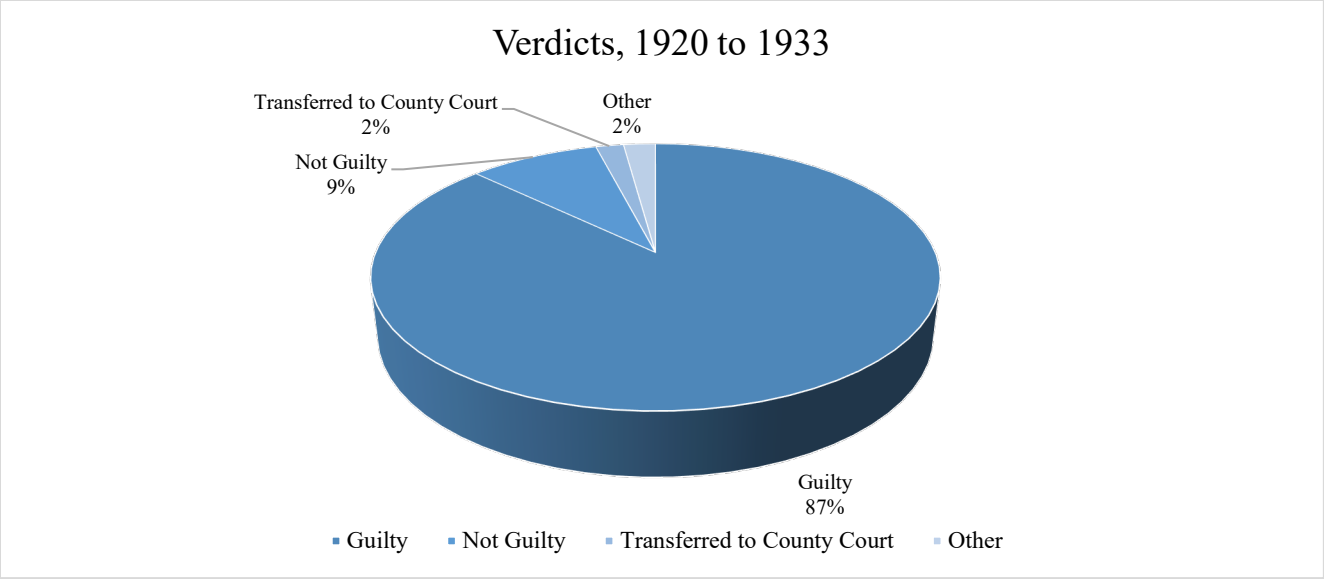


Figure 13 Verdicts of Alcohol-related Crimes, 1920 to 1933

Arrest most often translated to a charge with 87 percent of the population found guilty. Of the total population of 1069 records, 218 included race information. This population translated to 97 white arrests (44 percent) and 121 non-white arrests (56 percent). Of that population, the non-white arrestees were found guilty 88 percent of the time. In contrast, the white arrestees were found guilty only 69 percent of the time. This race data is limited because it was only taken for 20 percent of the overall population reviewed. However, it is clear that at least in the final three years of the amendment's enforcement, the non-white population was arrested in higher quantities and found guilty at greater intervals.

The culture of officers and motivations behind arrests varied. For example, Guthrie argues that in Northern Florida, particularly toward the end of Prohibition, officers would only arrest individuals if they were confident the individual would be charged.[104] Officers would target poorer, less educated populations to ensure the individual was less able to navigate the

[104] Guthrie, 435–52.

court system.[105] Jacksonville's 65 percent conviction rate in 1928 increased to 89 percent by 1932 because of these targeting practices. While the municipal records do not include the economic or educational status of individuals arrested it does appear that this narrative applies in Sanford, considering the high rate of guilty verdicts.

There were two types of punishment when an arrestee was found guilty: monetary fine or jail time. If the defendant could not pay the fine, they would default to jail time. The municipal records do not detail how the punishment was determined at the time of sentencing. Jail time was not always included as a punishment; often, only a fine was administered. Sentencing a monetary fine disproportionately affected populations along class lines. The classes who could afford to pay the fine were minimally impacted by the arrest; however, those who could not afford the fine experienced major disruption in their life because they would be jailed. While the records do not specify the financial information of the individual arrested, the assumption that there was economic variance in Sanford is reasonable. This is a further limitation of the source, which could be greatly supplemented with personal diary entries or additional oral histories of examples of families who experienced varying degrees of disruption. The court records contribute to this piece of Sanford's Prohibition history, advancing the argument that Prohibition was more detrimental to the lower classes.

Corruption at the local, state, and federal levels was rampant during Prohibition.[106] Local officers were put in a difficult position of potentially having to arrest their friends, peers, and neighbors. Often, the officers themselves were violating the law, too. Okrent argues this problem was delt with by officers "turning their head the other way" or lack of prosecution of loved

[105] Guthrie, 435–52.
[106] Dorr, 98-110; McGirr, 56.

ones.[107] In the Sanford Municipal Court Records, there are three cases dismissed at the police's request and one case in which the mayor suspended the sentence.[108] There are not additional details in the court records explaining why the police and mayor intervened on these cases, however, it does suggest a minor level of corruption was present. This piece of the Sanford story is not unique in comparison to the rest of the nation. Enforcement and lawbreaking was not consistent from community to community because of varying resources, population size, varying degrees of organized crime and corruption, political influences, economic stability, degree of urbanization and geographical position that allowed more or less access for smugglers.[109]

Tampa is located only 100 miles southwest of Sanford but drew national attention and dedicated enforcement efforts in support of Prohibition.[110] Despite the two cities' relative geographic closeness, the Prohibition-related experience in these Florida cities varied greatly. Tampa and Sanford had varying levels of urbanization and different total populations. In 1930, Sanford had less than 10 percent of Tampa's population with a total of 8,874 people.[111] The same year Tampa's recorded population was 101,161 residents.[112] Further variations are the geographic characteristics of these two cities. Sanford is landlocked, whereas Tampa is settled on the Gulf Coast. This location potentially allowed for more smuggling via watercraft. Tampa hosted a well-known organized crime presence.[113] This crime presence increased law

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[107] Okrent, 198.
[108] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[109] Dorr, 198.
[110] Sanford, FL to Tampa, FL is approximately 100 miles, according to Google Maps," Google Maps, https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Sanford,+FL/Tampa,+FL/ (accessed September 18, 2023).
[111] United States Census Bureau. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*: 1920 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921) [183-200]; United States Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1930 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931) 393-451.
[112] United States Census Bureau. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*: 1920 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921) [183-200]; United States Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1930 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931) 393-451.
[113] Andrew Huse. "An Ignoble Experiment: Tampa's Restaurants during Prohibition" *Sunland Tribune* Vo 28, Article 3 2002, 7-10.

enforcement efforts and reactions to Prohibition violations, including extensive police surveillance of various establishments and severe fines or long jail sentences for charges of Prohibition violations. Fine dining restaurants, soda shops, and sandwich parlors were commonly under police watch. The story of El Pasaje represents how crime was committed in Tampa. El Pasaje was an expensive, luxurious fine dining establishment determined to ignore the liquor ban. The managers taught employees to be on watch for police activity. El Pasaje was raided many times, with one raid resulting in the discovery of $100,000 worth of illegal liquor bottles hidden in the walls (worth $1 million today.) Police threw cases of liquor out of the second-story windows for hours, breaking hundreds of bottles in the streets.[114] Federal, state, and local law enforcement expanded their funding and greatly increased their surveillance campaigns during Prohibition.[115] Tampa was a large hub for illegal activity. Crimes were so frequent that the U.S. Senate Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce brought national attention to Tampa's gambling and organized crime scene.[116]

Gambling was also illegal in Sanford and is commonly seen in the municipal court records; this is the greatest apparent similarity between Tampa and Sanford based on the records.[117] There are no recorded restaurant busts, large police operations, or surveillance operations in the court records or in the review of the *Sanford Herald*. Life in Sanford would have been quite different from the high-speed chases and colossal raids experienced in large Florida cities. Remarkably, there is not a noticeable percentage of bootlegger arrests in the municipal court records, even with Sanford's central location in the state. Florida was well known for its massive smuggling operations, even referred to as "the wettest country in the

[114] Huse, 10-12.
[115] McGirr, 68-70.
[116] Huse, 28.
[117] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.

world."[118] Even so, there is no evidence in the sampled court records of smuggling operations running out of the city. Evidence in the *Sanford Herald*, as seen in Chapter Two does report on small distilling operations in Sanford. The crimes in Sanford are principally individuals consuming alcohol. The average fines associated with these crimes vary based on the type of crime. The following sections display how crimes are fined. It is a safe assumption that a larger average fine indicates a more serious violation.

Impact of Arrest: The Cost of Crime

The chart below breaks down the average fine for various crimes. There is a clear hierarchy of severity. The greater the cost of the fine, the more seriously the court viewed the violation.

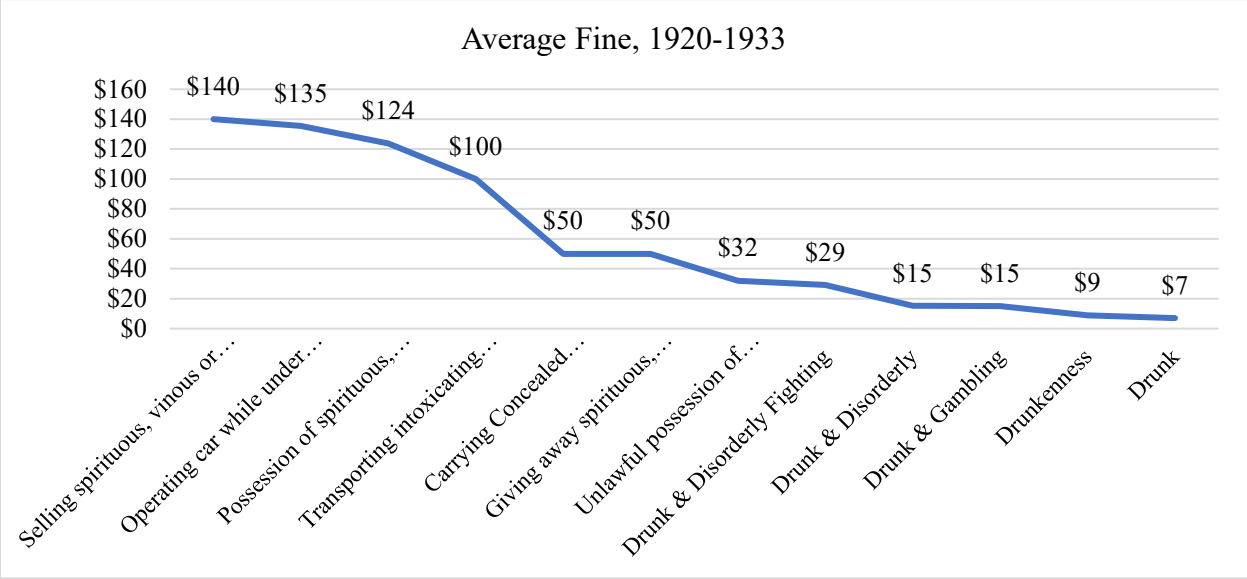

Figure 14 Average Fine Grouped by Type of Charge, 1920 to 1933

For consistency, this chart only includes tracking for fines, not jail time, from 1920 to 1933. Recall that Seminole County was dry before Prohibition. Seminole County's definition of

[118] Dorr, 201.

dry included the ability to consume, produce, and distribute alcohol, but only after the proper permits had been obtained. The monetary fines recorded in the municipal court records show that the most severely punished crimes were those that perpetuated the community's continued use of illegal substances. This includes selling, possessing, and transporting liquor. Additionally, driving while under the influence of intoxicating substances was severely punished. This is likely because of the danger it posed to others. The least severely punished crimes were individual consumption of alcohol and resulting individual behaviors, including drunk and disorderly. [119] The court experience would have been much different in the early 1900s. Public defenders were not available in all judicial circuits in Florida until 1963.[120] This would have lessened the chances of a low-income individual having a victorious ruling in the court system. Recall that jail time was often the result of an individual who was unable to pay their fine.

The average yearly income in the state of Florida during this decade was $3,342.93.[121] This average yearly salary produced a monthly income of $278. The top average fines ranged from $135 to $140. Fines of this proportion would significantly impact an individual's income. These figures are the averages; some individuals were fined $200, $300, even up to $400, or nearly two months' income. More than half of recorded fines were under $50. For example, a 25-year-old dark ginger male was fined $7.50 for drunk and disorderly in 1924. In 1930, a white 63-year-old male was fined $10 for drunkenness. In 1931, a 28-year-old light ginger female was fined $25 for possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor. In total from 1920 to 1933, 80

[119] "Orange County is Dry," *Sanford Herald*, October 31, 1919.
[120] Sara Mayeux. *Free Justice: A History of the Public Defender in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press: 2021), 5.
[121] Internal Revenue Service. "Individual Income Tax Returns, Preliminary Data, Tax Year 1930." *Statistics of Income Bulletin* 41, no. 4, 2.

percent of fines were $100 or less. Sanford's fines appear less costly than those of larger cities with more severe and common violations, as detailed in the next section.[122]

John Branch, for example, a sailor in Tampa, was caught drunk in public. This event was his first offense. The punishment for this first offense was not recorded. However, on his day in court, Branch was informed that if caught again, he would be charged with a misdemeanor, fined up to $500, and sentenced to six months in jail.[123] If caught a third time, the offense would be treated as a felony, with a maximum fine of $3,000 or three years in prison. This is far greater than any fines in the Sanford Municipal Court Records, even after multiple offenses from the same individual.

There is evidence demonstrating that fines increased in Sanford when issued for multiple offenses. For example, a male was arrested for drunkenness four times from 1924 to 1928. His first fine was $5, the second $10, the third $100 and the final fourth fine was $200. The total data reviewed comes from a 30 percent sample size, there may be very large fines that were not included in this populations review. Within that sample size are examples of individuals found guilty three, four, or even twelve times. In total, repeat offenders were a small population; statistically, 13.6 percent of all individuals arrested would be arrested again for an alcohol-related offense.[124] Repeat Prohibition violations were common nationwide, particularly with the moonshining and bootlegging population.[125] The frequency of multiple offenses in Sanford is displayed below.

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[122] Huse, 34.
[123] Lisa Lindquist Dorr, "Bootlegging Aliens: Unsanctioned Immigration and the Underground Economy of Smuggling from Cuba during Prohibition" *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 93, no.1 (Summer 2014): 44-74.
[124] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[125] McGirr, 87.

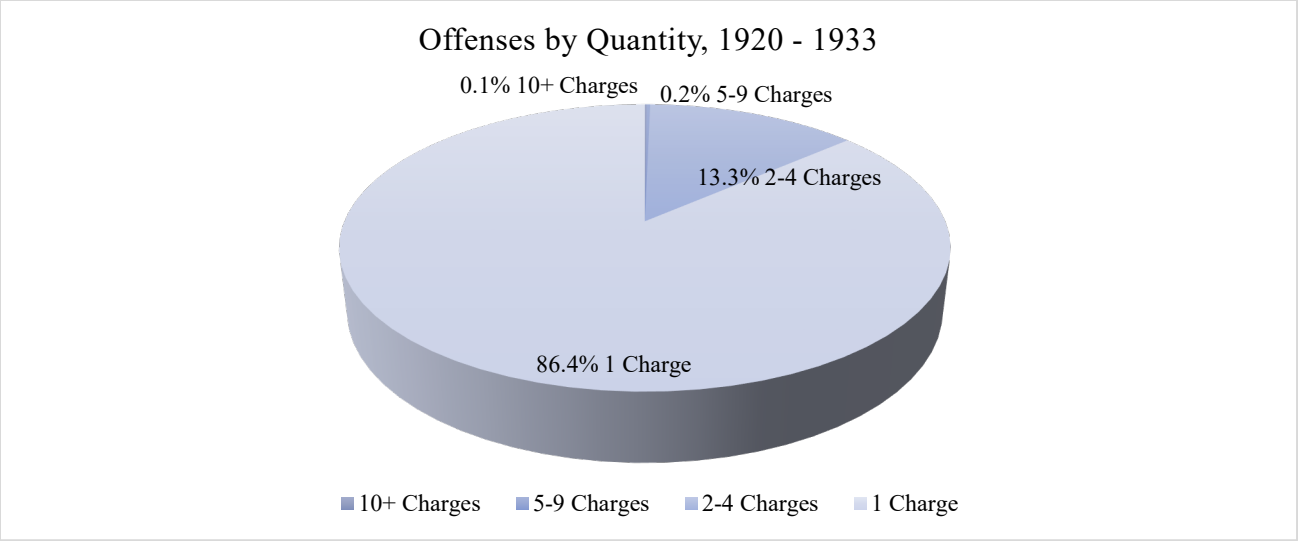

Figure 15 Offenses by Quantity, 1920 to 1933

The data displayed above does not provide the race or sex of the arrested individual, which limits the angle of the study. The 0.1 percent population with greater than ten charges are statistical outliers. Three of these names are in the 30 percent of court records reviewed. The twelve plus offender was non-white male named Frank Blair. Details of the twelve offenses are listed in the table below.

Table 5 Multiple Offenses Charge and Verdict

Year	Name	Charge	Verdict	Fine
1920	Frank Blair	Selling Whiskey	Guilty	$152
1920	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$252
1924	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$200
1924	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$200
1924	Frank Blair	Selling spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$200
1925	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$100
1925	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$100
1925	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$100
1929	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$100

1929	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Guilty	$200
1930	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Not Guilty	No fine
1930	Frank Blair	Possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor	Transferred to County Court	No fine

Table 6 Multiple Offenses Charge and Verdict

The following two repeat offenders were women, Miss Grace Coleman and Miss Laura Kelley each with six total arrests. Miss Grace Coleman was arrested on the same charge each time - possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor. Miss Laura Kelley was arrested for selling of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor and possession of spirituous, vinous or malt liquor.

Punishment, like enforcement, varied as time progressed. The average cost of alcohol-related fines is displayed below.

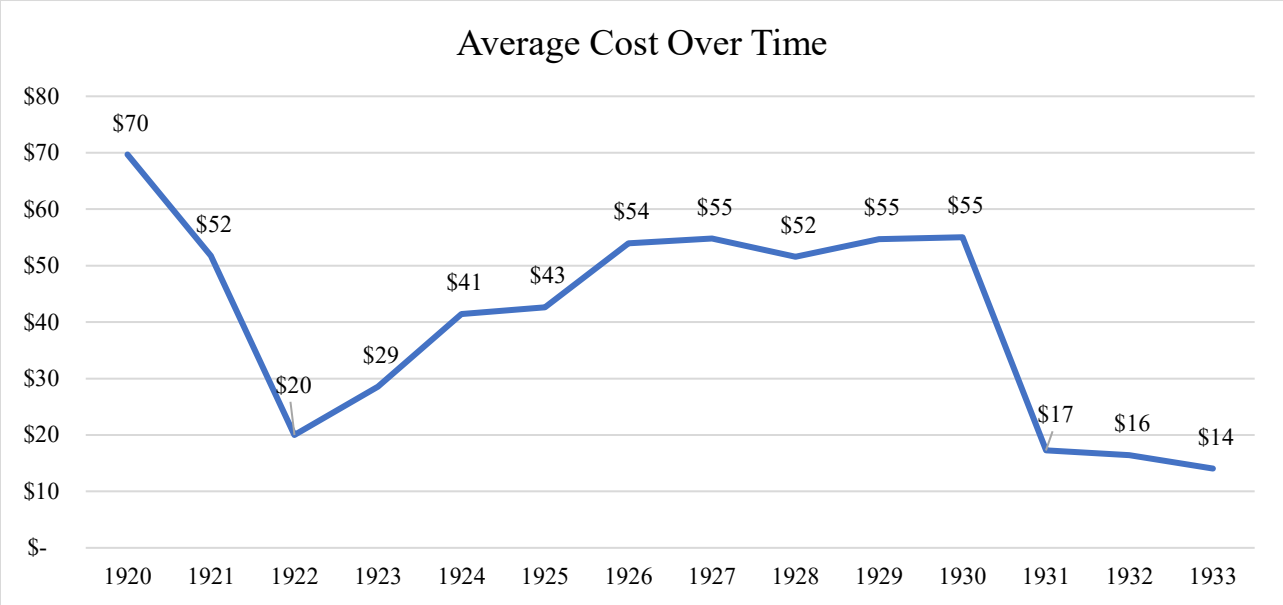

Figure 16 Average Cost Over Time, 1920 to 1933

The chart above references the fees associated with alcohol-related crimes from 1920 to 1933. The data shows that fines were very large (25 percent of the average monthly income)

immediately after the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Although the average fine was $70, initial fines for possession of alcohol were often over $100. The first years after ratification had the highest average dollar figure. Fines sharply decreased in 1922, increased from 1923 to 1930 and decreased sharply again in 1931 as the Great Depression set it. These two years 1922 and 1923 had the fewest total number of violations. There could be many reasons for this variance; it is possible these years saw fewer Prohibition-related crimes, or it could simply be errors in record keeping. Unfortunately, without additional details, offering solutions is simply conjecture. This is an additional limitation of the municipal court records, as there is a lack of relevant details surrounding them.

Fines dropped dramatically in 1931 and stayed low for the remainder of Prohibition. Florida was not immune to the impending economic crisis of the Great Depression. By 1931, Florida had large issues with the state budget, and in just one year, from 1930 to 1931, per capita income decreased 20 percent. [126] Fines from 1931 to 1933 likely changed in response to the national Great Depression.

It is important to recognize that the records reviewed for this study do not contain information on the judge, attorneys, or other potential courtroom factors. A clear record of local law enforcement personnel remaining stable suggests that the courtroom personnel followed suit. The number of arresting officers remain consistent from 1922 to 1933.[127]

Law Enforcement

How did Sanford law enforcement evolve over time? The municipal court records consistently mention 39 officers making arrests as individuals and working in pairs or groups.

[126] Guthrie, 435–52.
[127] There are no records for which officer(s) made arrests prior to 1922.

The total number of officers stayed consistent from 1922 to 1933, although names did change. This is another finding which does not hold up to the national experience. According to the previously mentioned historiographic narrative, we expect to see an increase in law enforcement officers after the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. That is different from what the court records provide.

The Sanford Municipal Court Records contain the specific name or names of the arresting officer(s) in 94 percent of the records. The Sanford Sheriff's Office worked as individuals and in groups. The individual arresting offers and the combination of groups were compiled and analyzed. The data on how often officers worked in groups of two, three, four, five, or more is listed below. One singular officer stands out with the largest number of Prohibition-related arrests. From 1920 to 1933, Officer R.G. Williams completed 49 total Prohibition-related arrests. Those arrests translate to 4 percent of total alcohol-related arrests in Sanford during Prohibition. Officer Williams's total arrests, working as an individual and in groups with other officers, were 290 people, or a total of 27 percent of all alcohol-related arrests from 1920 to 1933.[128]

There are 218 combinations where law enforcement worked in groups of two or more. This began in 1924 and increased in frequency as time progressed. There was not a large variance in law enforcement personnel; the same names were repeated and frequently appeared in different combinations. This suggests that this police force did not have set partners; instead, they worked in various groups. From 1920 to 1933 alcohol-related arrests averaged 21 percent of the total population of arrests. This means 79 percent of the time an officer is making an arrest

[128] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.

the reason is not related to Prohibition. Eight out of ten people arrested during Prohibition in Sanford were not arrested for violating the Eighteenth Amendment. The chart below represents how often the officers worked individually vs in pairs or groups.

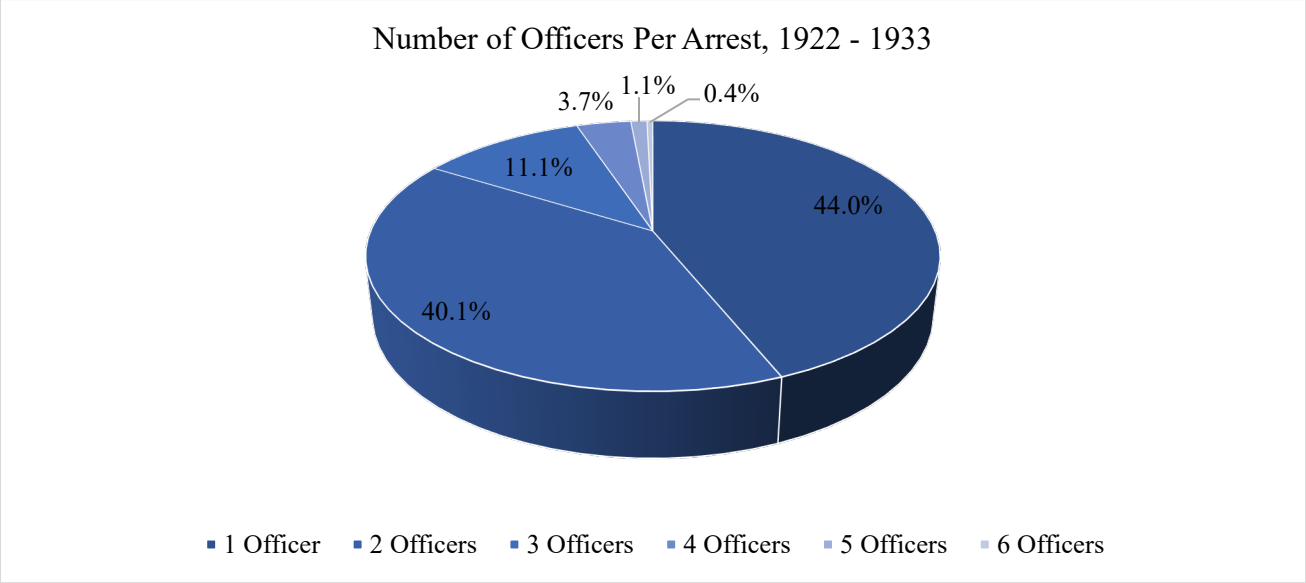

Figure 17 Number of Officers per Arrest, 1922 to 1933

This chart is representative of arrests from 1922 to 1933. This data sheds some light on the lived experience of the arrest, both for the officer and the arrestee. With nearly 44 percent of arrests done with one officer and, conversely, 0.4 percent of arrests done in groups of six, it is reasonable to conclude there were not many large moonshine busts. Eighty percent of all arrests were done with one or two officers. This data lines up with the reason for most arrests being related to individual offenses such as drunkenness, operating a motor vehicle while intoxicated, and similar single-person crimes. This point is not meant to comment on the officers' treatment of their arrestees. The number of officers present during an arrest speaks nothing to the treatment of the individual. The number of officers can comment on the types of crimes with larger-scale operations requiring more officers.

When comparing the reason for arrests completed by groups of four or five officers vs the reason for arrests completed by one officer, there is a difference in the crime. When working in groups of four or more, the most common offense is possession of or selling alcohol. When working in groups of three or fewer, the most common offense is individual intoxication.[129] This suggests that working in groups did have a purpose. Law enforcement displays organization and intentional decision-making with this pattern. Below is a view of this organization of law enforcement efforts over time. The first year in this chart does display a low number of arrests that gradually increases over time then decreases again toward the end of Prohibition.

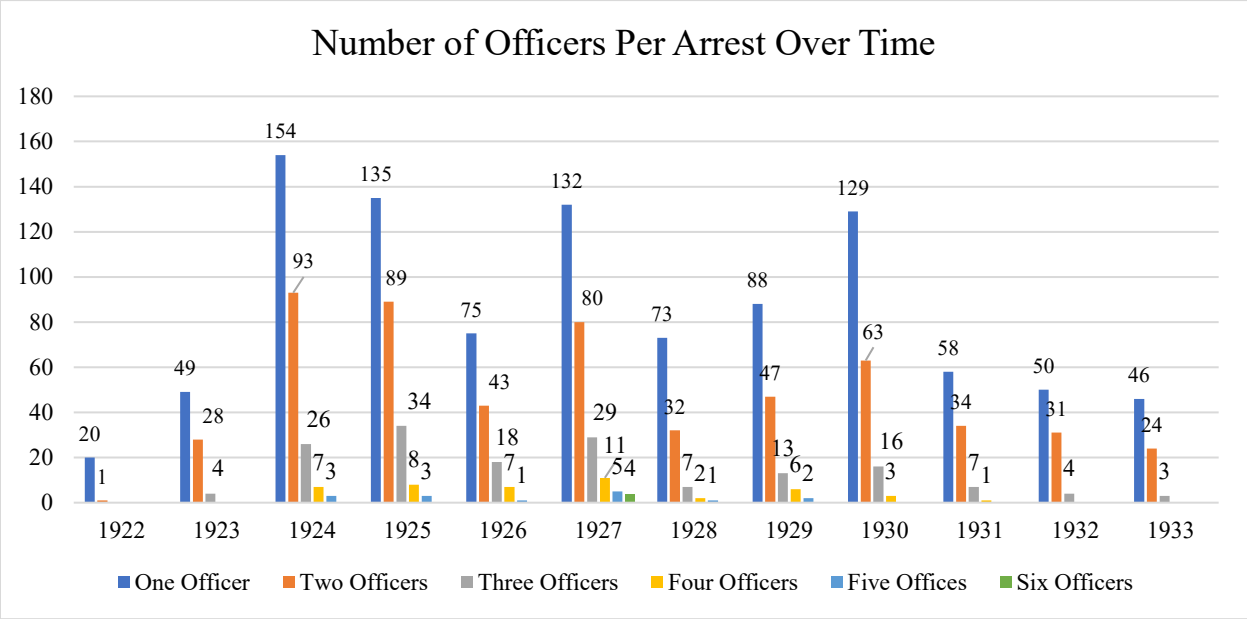

Figure 18 Number of Officers per Arrest Over Time, 1922 to 1933[130]

This graph demonstrates a jump in arrests in 1924, then a gradual, inconsistent decline in arrests. This continues to parallel the other visual aids in this paper, further solidifying that there was low enforcement early on, then a jump in 1924, and then a gradual decrease until repeal in

[129] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[130] Total arrest per year 1922:21; 1923:81; 1924:283; 1925:269; 1926:144; 1927: 261; 1928:115; 1929:156; 1930:211; 1931:100; 1932:85; 1933:73.

1933. Beyond the officers making an arrest, it is important to note that members of the court, judges and lawyers, were all part of the community in which they were enforcing these rules. This placed these professions in the challenging position of enforcing laws they occasionally broke, and members of their communities disagreed with.[131] Guthrie addresses this issue in a statewide study of Federal District Cases and reports on State and Federal Courts. Initially, there was much support for Prohibition from the judicial community. This wavered over time and from region to region. Guthrie focuses on Florida but further illustrates the situation in Florida by comparing the Sunshine State's legal situation to the Supreme Court's opinions.

Two sensitive areas gave judges limited flexibility in enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment. Privacy rights when searching for alcohol and irregular/inconsistent enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, particularly when comparing state and federal agencies.[132] The courts had to enforce the amendment, but Guthrie proves that one way around an increase in convictions was for judges to stick very closely to the individual's right against unreasonable search and seizure (the Fourth Amendment) regardless of the findings from law enforcement.[133] In order to truly understand the legal implications of the Eighteenth Amendment, the historiography must grasp court decisions at the federal, state, and local levels. Guthrie describes the Supreme Court as not taking a strong Fourth Amendment view, which directly contrasts with local Florida judges.[134] The Fourth Amendment only protected people in their "persons, houses, papers, and effects." It did not apply to "open fields," which did not protect moonshiners but allowed local judges to dismiss many individual cases.[135]

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[131] Dorr, 115-132.
[132] Guthrie, “Keepers of the Spirits,” 24-26.
[133] Guthrie, “Keepers of the Spirits,” 41-54.
[134] Guthrie, “Keepers of the Spirits,” 53.
[135] Guthrie, “Rekindling the Spirits,” 23–39.

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates the power of the courts. With 87 percent of individuals having been found guilty, this translates to 927 guilty charges in 1,068 total arrests. There are also traces of the power of law enforcement, with four cases making it through arrest and into court only to be dismissed by request of the police or the police chief. Kenneth Murchison further illuminates the relationship between the justice system and Prohibition by discussing the additional power provided to the courts by the Eighteenth Amendment.[136] Judicial powers expanded, taking more liberties. The more severe the violation, the more likely the court would apply the Fourth Amendment in a stricter manner, therefore offering less protection to the individual and increasing their chances of conviction.[137] The national narrative reports that the liquor ban increased caseloads across courtrooms nationwide. Many court systems were not designed to handle a sudden increase in the number of defendants, resulting in more frequent and widespread use of plea bargaining.[138] Those patterns are not evident in the Sanford dockets.

Issues with Law Enforcement

Various law enforcement groups worked to prevent the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol. The national narrative of law enforcement during Prohibition provides claims of weak and poorly funded enforcers. The Bureau of Prohibition agents, for example, were paid very poorly. Nationally, agents were paid in the range of $1,200 - $2,000 per year in the 1920s and up to $2,300 per year in the 1930s.[139] Recall that this decade in Florida saw an

[136] Murchison, 478-481.
[137] Murchison, 490-511.
[138] Murchison. 498.
[139] Dorr, 31-34.

average yearly salary of $3,342.93.[140] The bureau had little support or training, which eventually led to many employed at the Bureau of Prohibition to become bootleggers.[141] Low staffing rates plagued many federal and state departments. On the East Coast of Florida, five customs officers were responsible for incoming ships from Key West to St. Augustine.[142] Five customs officers were expected to cover 500 miles of scraggly coastline where dozens of vessels brought illegal contraband daily. The Key West Coast Guard station had eight men to handle the search and seizure of all smuggling vessels in the Gulf of Mexico. These agencies were instructed to rely on each other and follow the proper chain of command. The Coast Guard would have to cooperate with customs and turn any smuggler information over to the U.S. Attorney for prosecution.[143]

This is one of many examples of federal powers requiring coordination and cooperation from multiple agencies, most of which did not want to work together. There was often confusion about the role of state and local forces, further contributing to error and weakness nationwide. Despite this, internationally, the reputation of American police power was not one of weakness. The U.S. carried the image of strong enforcement only because it was not weaker than its surrounding nations.[144]

All states agreed on one item: the verbiage of the amendment did not require states to contribute funding to enforcement.[145] Sanford did not experience a sharp increase in law enforcement officers employed. This fact, combined with the lack of evidence of smuggling, further proves that the city was plagued less by this amendment than many other places. There is

[140] Internal Revenue Service. "Individual Income Tax Returns, Preliminary Data, Tax Year 1930." *Statistics of Income Bulletin* 41, no. 4, 2.
[141] Dorr, 127-132.
[142] Dorr, 99-121.
[143] Dorr, 81-89.
[144] Dorr, 71-89.
[145] Dorr, 92.

no marker in this data set to suggest corruption in the Sanford police force. However, corruption within the state was common and often prevented enforcement entirely.[146] These court dockets do not measure corruption in Sanford. However, there are three examples where a crime was dismissed because the police asked it to be. Reviewing Sanford specifically, the data available and referenced in this paper shows a consistent number of officers available for individual arrests for non-serious and common crimes but does not provide proof that the Sanford police force was weak. The number of officers staying consistent with new names coming to replace old ones demonstrates consistent staffing. This is once again in opposition to the current historiographical narrative. National enforcement was weak. Local enforcement was not. Garcia-Jimeno argues that law enforcement and its successes and failures directly contribute to policy and public opinion. As a case study, Sanford seems to fit into this context. The police were successful in maintaining a comfortable community.[147]

Conclusion: How valuable is this source? What do the records tell us?

The purpose of using the Sanford Municipal Court Records was to contribute to our understanding of how Prohibition impacted Sanford. The records successfully contributed to the "big picture" of Sanford. Recall that Seminole County was dry before Prohibition was enacted. Therefore, it must be noted which types of alcohol-related crimes were specific to Prohibition and, conversely, which crimes were an extension of what was already happening in Seminole County. The crimes specific to the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol are the measure of the impact of the Eighteenth Amendment. Those crimes in Sanford are possession of spirituous,

[146] Dorr, 115-132.
[147] Camilo García-Jimeno. "The Political Economy of Moral Conflict: An Empirical Study of Learning and Law Enforcement Under Prohibition." *Econometrica* 84, no. 2 (2016): 511-70.

vinous, or malt liquor, selling spirituous, vinous, or malt liquor, transporting intoxicating liquor, and unlawful possession of intoxicating liquor. In total, two of ten arrests were alcohol-related (20 percent); however, of those, 76 percent were not Prohibition-related. The implementation of Prohibition increased Sanford's gross number of arrests by 4.8 percent from 1920 to 1933. The records also show a catch-and-release policy with some Sanford residents having excessive examples, three, four and five plus arrest occurrences. This indicates an informality of the arresting and processing cycle. If one had only the court records to discuss the intersection of Sanford and Prohibition, it would seem that Prohibition did not have a large impact on Sanford. However, this is a limitation of the source. The community was still engaging with alcohol. Where were they getting it? Who was still drinking it? Why? How often did the police look the other way? These are all unanswered questions and, therefore, a limitation of these sources.

The court records do help in understanding how Prohibition impacted the police force. Increases in the size of federal, state, and local law enforcement were major consequences of Prohibition in many areas of the nation but not in Sanford. Often, topics of historical interest tell a story of how things changed and what immediate reactions can be discussed or debated based on that change. This is the story of Sanford "riding out the wave" and not having a massive reaction to change. The discovery is seemingly anti-climactic, but it is meaningful to understand how the lived experience in Sanford contrasts to other communities.[148]

The court records' most obvious limitation is the small amount of information they document in each case. At their current level of detail, we do have evidence that the ratio of

[148] Guthrie, “Keepers of the Spirits,” 53; McGirr, 14-35.

arrests based on race does suggest racial targeting, the proven norm in many other cities. This conclusion is further strengthened in Chapter Two with use of the *Herald* articles racial slurs.

The next, more conclusive level of work with these primary sources would be a complete review of all arrests. Alcohol-related arrests would not be enough to prove or disprove a racial narrative. Logistically, this is likely too large of a topic for one graduate student to take on. There is also the possibility of inaccuracy when transcribing information if a human completes this research portion. The most efficient and accurate way to fully utilize this resource is digitalization paired with an optical character recognition (OCR) process. This would allow the court records to be fed through a machine to sort the information in fields where a human could perform data analysis. This could convert a mass amount of raw data into a form where meaning could be detectable. Even so, there will still be the limitation of not understanding the interaction between the arrestee and the officer before, during, and after the arrest. As they relate to Prohibition specifically, a review of what alcohol-related arrests were like before and after Prohibition would be a valuable exercise. The scope of this study is limited to arrests during Prohibition, which limits conclusions to specifically the events that occurred while the amendment was in effect, not comparing what occurred before or after repeal. To conclude, the Sanford Municipal Court Records are valuable, particularly when discussed in conversation with other sources.

CHAPTER TWO: PROHIBITION IN MEMORY AND PRINT

Famous early 20th-century novelist Willa Cather reflected on Prohibition when she wrote, "The world broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts."[149] The following pages demonstrate how the Sanford community "broke". In 1918, 61 percent of Florida residents voted in support of the Eighteenth Amendment; only fifteen years later, in 1933, Florida was the 33rd state to ratify the Twenty-First Amendment. This evolution will be illuminated in Sanford through two sources. The first source is a close read of over 200 newspaper articles from the *Sanford Herald*. Many newspaper articles were displayed at a temporary Prohibition Exhibition at the Seminole County Museum. Many are quoted specifically throughout this chapter and put into conversation with municipal court records and existing secondary literature. The second source is an oral history from Karen Jacobs, curator at the Sanford Museum. Jacobs was part of a founding family in Seminole County, The Jacobses located in Chuluota. Jacobs describes all of Seminole County as one community, not specific to Sanford or isolated if an individual's residence was located outside of the city center. Jacobs is still in contact with the families she grew up around, who openly discuss their families' history with Prohibition. She shares a story and information about what life was like in Sanford during Prohibition.

Floridians were regular violators of Prohibition legislation, particularly smuggling. The *Sanford Herald* reported in 1929, in an article titled “Florida is Second in Number of Rum Stills Take in the U.S.” that Florida’s vast parcels of unoccupied space, temperate climate that could be tolerated year-round, and the swamp land of the Everglades made it a great place to hide rum and rye producing stills. Further, year-round tourism provided a rotating market to whom the product

[149] Okrent, 207.

could be sold.[150] Florida, Georgia, and Maryland ranked among the top three for the nation's leading moonshine producing states.[151]

Examining newspapers allows insight into the culture of a community by relaying community opinions, highlighting issues of importance, and reporting local news and national events. Newspapers are a reliable source for historical scholarship. Serious efforts towards the digitization of newspapers began in the 1990s, with large regional and national libraries devoting significant resources to their newspaper digitization projects.[152] This has created a climate in which newspapers are more accessible than ever before, allowing for an increase in scholarly work done by close reading of these newspapers. Newspapers are valuable to scholars in many disciplines, including "curators, geographers, computer scientists and humanities".[153] Newspapers must be read with a close eye for bias; their claims are not entirely representative of the whole population. Unpopular opinions are not always published, and there can be agendas behind the stories that reach publication. Therefore, newspaper articles should not be relied upon to present a complete and accurate narrative; rather, their evidence is best used as one of many evidence sources.

This chapter has two purposes: first, to reconstruct the community lived experience under the Eighteenth Amendment, to the degree the newspapers allow, and in conversation with findings from the municipal court records. Secondly, this chapter intends to evaluate if source analysis of newspapers and court records produces an effective methodology for completing a

[150] "Florida is Second in Number of Rum Stills Take in the U.S.," *Sanford Herald,* December 7, 1929.
[151] "Florida is Second in Number of Rum Stills Take in the U.S.," *Sanford Herald*, December 7, 1929.
[152] Jeng Wei, Ying Ding, and Xiaozhong Liu, "International Collaboration in LIS: Global Trends and Networks," *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology 69, no. 2* (2018): 165-177, https://asistdl.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/asi.24565 (accessed March 10, 2024).
[153] Wei, Ding, and Liu, 165-177.

microhistorical study. Considering public opinion and perception assists in constructing an image for the modern reader of what life was like at the micro-level in Sanford during Prohibition. It has been established that different individuals had different experiences during the war on alcohol. The *Sanford Herald's* evidence, in conversation with what has been identified from the Sanford Municipal Court Records, will advance the depiction of the lived experience in the Sanford community. The *Sanford Herald* provides additional detail to the cultural realities of racism, and the community's reaction to Prohibition, highlights local customs, and the changes in article types over time illustrates how community priorities evolved. Finally, conclusions are framed within the context of the current historiography.

The Sanford Herald

The *Sanford Herald* was based out of and printed in Sanford. The *Herald* was not limited to local stories. It also printed stories from New York, Washington, and international cities like Paris. Both the local and national stories printed in the *Herald* have value in a study of the community. For the purpose of this chapter, articles were only reviewed if their subject was alcohol or Prohibition-related. After reviewing over 200 news stories, three distinct categories emerged. This chapter is organized thematically following those categories; examples and analysis are presented in each section. The first category includes local reports providing a short synopsis of local crimes, news, and Prohibition-related events. This includes reporting moonshine or whisky still busts, warnings of alcohol scams, crime reports on specific community members, and details on the danger to law enforcement. Many of these articles explicitly list by name who was arrested, for what reason, and how the court ruled. The *Herald* regularly noted race if the individual is non-white, and commonly used racial slurs. There are few examples of white individuals being identified by race in an article. The second category

includes opinion pieces meant to influence the community and shame the portion of the community that was still drinking. These pieces rely heavily on tone and, therefore, are frequently cited specifically. This evidence is presented alongside secondary literature to better frame the drys' experience and mindset.[154] This section also includes pop culture references that express pro-Prohibition sentiment. The third category includes informative stories reporting notable events in other cities or describing national debates surrounding Prohibition. This includes scandalous accounts of Prohibition violators. This section also follows the road to repeal, as reported by the *Sanford Herald*. Even though the events discussed occur outside of Sanford, a close reading of how they are reported through the *Sanford Herald* provides a line of sight into the community's perception and lived experience. Beyond these categories, there is a final section relating to the newspapers that addressed themes evident in the historiography, which cannot be ignored: corruption and the interaction of local and federal forces in Sanford. The accompanying analysis reviews many perspectives, putting them in conversation with each other to produce an overarching presentation of the dynamics at work in the Sanford community.

Local Stories

Prior to 1920, Sanford was a dry town. In 1911, an article in the *Sanford Herald* informed the community that violations of the dry law could result in fines issued from $100 to $2,000, and imprisonment was possible at "30 days up to two years." First-time offenders would be offered lesser punishments. The article goes on to a bolded section entitled "The Big Exceptions."[155] This piece assures the reader that private dwellings will not be searched unless

[154] In this occurrence, drys refers to an individual who does not consume alcohol and/or is in favor of anti-liquor laws.
[155] "Orange County is Dry," *Sanford Herald,* March 31, 1911. Sanford was located in Orange County until 1913, when Seminole County was established.

that space is used to sell liquor. The state of the dry law at this point did allow the consumption of spirits in an individual's home. "It shall not be unlawful to possess liquors in ones private dwelling…provided such liquors are for use of the owner thereof and his family residing in such dwelling and of his bona fide guests and further provided that such liquor was not unlawfully acquired, possessed and used."[156] There was a legal process that required applying for permits for distilling spirits, purchasing spirits through the appropriate legal channels, and consuming them within the home. This dry status still involved the production and consumption of alcohol. Ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment brought about a significantly different and far stricter definition of dry.

There are many articles published in the *Herald* reporting the Sheriff's Office's success in the war on alcohol, both through discovery and destruction of liquor producing stills or arrests of individual violators. Moonshine, whisky and rye producing stills were often found in the surrounding countryside; these areas described in general terms. For example, stills are identified as "near Lake Brantley" or "at a place near Geneva."[157] It was common knowledge that lights in the distance were moonshine operations.[158] Looking back on the Prohibition era in 1989, the Orlando Sentinel reported, "Anywhere a light was shining in Chuluota, a jug of moonshine could be had."[159] Some of these moonshine stills were mobile, moving from location to location. Moonshine was distilled in large copper pots filled with grain, water, sugar, and yeast. This created a "mash," which was then allowed to ferment. After fermentation, the mash was cooked

[156] "Orange County is Dry," *Sanford Herald*, October 31, 1919.
[157] "Local Dry Officers Seize Mammoth "Shine" Plant Near Lake Brantley," *Sanford Herald*, November 20, 1924.; "Big Still and 1,000 Gallons of Mash Are Seized By the Sheriff," *Sanford Herald*, February 5, 1924.
[158]Jim Robinson, "Floridians made a living in Prohibition day – by the light of the silvery moon," *Orlando Sentinel*. January 15, 1995.
[159] Jim Robinson, "Backwoods of Chuluota Brewed Ideal Setting for Moonshiners," *Orlando Sentinel*, August 17, 1989.

until alcohol vapors formed. The vapers were collected, and the whisky came out clear.[160] Once liquor was distilled, it was placed in used bottles, jugs, pints, and quarts, then sold to the consumer. This may have been in a person-to-person exchange or done by leaving the contraband in a hiding spot.[161] Moonshiners were creative and used what they had. If parts were missing, they would find others. There are even reports of vehicle gasoline tanks used in the distillation process.

Not all liquor sold was good or safe. There were questionable products on the market, some relatively harmless and others serious health hazards. In August 1922 the *Sanford Herald* printed a warning about "Booze Powder."[162] The United States Post Office sent a nationwide warning about this fraudulent product. It was advertised as a powder engineered by German chemists that could be sent by mail. The claim was that this powder, when mixed with a gallon of water, would create a gallon of spirit. The post office shut down this scam and assisted in returning the victims' money because of the mail fraud committed.[163]

Scams and dangerous modifications of alcohol were a common phenomenon outside of Sanford, too. Hundreds of deaths nationwide were recorded each year from wood-alcohol consumption, which was created using embalming fluid. [164] The South had common issues with "Jake ginger," a legal prescription obtained by bootleggers and then altered. The consumer would experience a loss of muscle control in their legs. This loss of control was never regained, leaving the victim permanently paralyzed.[165] Anti-liquor advocates published many pieces telling the

[160] Jim Robinson, “Backwoods of Chuluota brewed ideal setting for moonshiners” *The Orlando Sentinel*. August 17, 1989.
[161] Jim Robinson, “Backwoods of Chuluota brewed ideal setting for moonshiners” *The Orlando Sentinel*. August 17, 1989.
[162] “Beware “Booze Powder” P.O. Department Warns,” *Sanford Herald,* August 14, 1922.
[163] "Beware "Booze Powder" P.O. Department Warns," *Sanford Herald,* August 14, 1922.
[164] McGirr, 58-61.
[165] McGirr, 58-61.

tragic stories of victims of bad moonshine. In August 1922, an article entitled “Murderous Moonshine” warned, “The man who will take a drink of moonshine liquor whose making he did not superintend himself cares little about his term of life on this planet.” The pathos appeal was one of the many strategies employed by anti-liquor crusaders.[166] The same article goes on to publicize the story of three fathers who died from consuming moonshine, leaving behind “helpless” wives and children. The article pleads with readers not to consume moonshine for the survival for their family.[167] One defense mechanism patrons developed in response to this danger became a legacy that lives on today. Consumers would order liquor by its brand name and not by spirit classification. For example, Cutty Stark was created in 1923 by British distillers for American markets. American patrons learned this was a safe whisky and would order "Cutty Stark" instead of "whisky."[168] This custom grew as more dangerous spirits appeared on the market.

Local Stories: Law Enforcement

The Sanford Sheriff’s Office is heavily reported on in the *Herald*. Evidence in the *Herald* suggests that locals in Sanford supported their law enforcement. There is a sense of recognition that the officers were in a precarious position: “Officers of the law are doing their duty to the commonwealth."[169] The court records from Chapter One visually represent arrest patterns over time and highlight that most arrests in Sanford were for individual violations of Prohibition, such as drunkenness or drunk and disorderly. From 1920 to 1933 there are a total of 39 officer names that appear in the court records. These names appear in consistent intervals; when one name

[166] “Murderous Moonshine,” *Sanford Herald*, August 3, 1922.
[167] “Murderous Moonshine,” *Sanford Herald*, August 3, 1922.
[168] Okrent, 210.
[169] “Sheriffs Office Makes Big Haul of Moonshiners,” *Sanford Herald,* 1921.

stops appearing, it is replaced by another, suggesting consistency in budget and workforce during Prohibition.

Sanford law enforcement was familiar with the practice of regulating alcohol because of the municipality's historically dry status. *Sanford Herald* articles describe regular blind tiger activity as far back as 1913.[170] Blind tiger is a reference to alcohol peddling establishments or individuals nationwide; the *Herald* uses the term frequently. The term "blind" is also applied to country clubs, dinner parties and inner-city social clubs to indicate alcohol was involved.[171] Private residents would include code words on invitations to inform potential guests of the presence of illegal substances. *Vanity Fair* published articles on the polite way to inform guests throughout the Prohibition era. The most popular suggestion was to add a note suggesting guests "bring your corkscrew."[172]

Initially, Prohibition was supported by the public in Sanford. There are many accounts of law enforcement seizures and arrests for alcohol-related offenses. The tone in these articles is celebratory. Sanford held an annual "pouring day," which was described in the *Herald*.[173] Pouring day at the Sheriff's office was a Sanford pro-Prohibition event. Over the course of regular operations, moonshine, mash and still supplies were confiscated by the Sheriff's office. The Sheriff's Office assigned a "pourer" and a "checker out." The pourer drains "coco cola bottles, near beer bottles, old time pints and quarts" while the "checker out" acted as a witness; copper stills were scrapped for material. The *Herald* reported on May 19th, 1925 the pouring day that year. Officer Smart the official pourer said, "ten thousand fights" and "a million headaches

[170] "Big Haul of Tiger," *Sanford Herald*, August 13, 1913.
[171] Okrent, 211.
[172] Okrent, 207.
[173] "Moonshine's Odors Wafted on Breeze as Police Pour It," *Sanford Herald,* May 19, 1925.

went gurgling into the pipe."[174] This event is representative of the community's anti-liquor response. As time progressed, the community expressed hope that breaking up stills and jailing the operators would bring a "disheartening effect" to anyone involved with the business.[175] Evidence of moonshine or whisky stills was not found in the sample review of the municipal court records, but there are infrequent mentions of police raids on moonshine stills throughout the *Sanford Herald* articles.

Many of the seizures written about in the *Herald* proudly name confiscation of mash, particularly when no liquor was present in the still. When authorities found a still, they would confiscate or destroy the mash, the liquor, and the equipment. It was not uncommon for law enforcement to find an empty still and confiscate the goods without a party to arrest. The problem was too pervasive to enforce true regulation. There were not enough officers to cover all possible places where stills could be hidden or to arrest all who broke the law. In the occurrences where law enforcement did make arrests at moonshine stills, the perpetrators were often released and would re-offend.[176] Many community members were involved in Prohibition violation; the *Herald* named doctors, women, store owners, and most interactions resulted in peaceful surrender without weapons in sight. [177] A culture of normalcy was evident by the frequency at which Prohibition was violated and the varying socioeconomic levels of offenders who broke this law. The pattern of peaceful surrender and violations committed by many individuals within the community is also evident in the historiography and holds up to the national narrative.[178]

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[174] "Moonshine's Odors Wafted on Breeze as Police Pour It," *Sanford Herald,* May 19, 1925.
[175] "Sheriffs Office Makes Big Haul of Moonshiners," *Sanford Herald,* 1921.
[176] "Why Bootlegging Flourishes," *Sanford Herald*, October 6, 1924.
[177] "Big Haul of Tiger," *Sanford Herald,* August 13, 1913.
[178] Okrent, 211-215.

The *Sanford Herald* highlighted the risks facing law enforcement. This jarring 1921 headline: “Mortality Rate Higher Among Prohibition Officers than in the World War”[179] expresses the dangers of this amendment. Death threats were made against the police, and many in the community were in open defiance of the law: "We will make and sell liquor as long as we please.”[180] In Sanford, the officers were responsible for enforcement beyond the city limits, including the vast marshland around the city center. There are accounts of moonshine stills located and destroyed by police officers in swampland throughout Seminole County.[181] Confiscation of stills required police officers to abandon their vehicles and walk potentially miles through the swamp. Success from this form of enforcement appears relatively infrequently in the *Herald*. In over 200 *Herald* articles from 1920 to 1933, there are less than ten stories of officers crawling through grass and weeds, trudging through mud, and hiding in palmettos overnight.[182] The stories are most frequently reported when the result is a successful still bust; often these efforts led to a discovery of an empty still with signs of recent abandonment. This type of enforcement required an abundance of time and resources. Searching through swamps is not a very efficient practice. Other Florida municipalities, toward the end of Prohibition, stopped bothering with these efforts. For example, from 1929 to 1933 Hernando County did not convict a single Prohibition-related offense.[183]

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[179] “Mortality Rate Higher Among Prohibition Officers than in the World War,” *Sanford Herald*, January 29, 1921.
[180] “Three Members of Moonshine Gang Arrested,” *Sanford Herald*, July 6, 1927.
[181] “Big Still Found in Wekiva Swamp,” *Sanford Herald*, May 20, 1924; "Local Dry Officers Seize Mammoth “Shine” Plant Near Lake Brantley," *Sanford Herald*, November 20, 1924; "Big Still and 1,000 Gallons of Mash Are Seized By the Sheriff," *Sanford Herald*, February 5, 1924.
[182] “Sheriff Gets Fifth Still in Three Weeks,” *Sanford Herald*, August 11, 1925.
[183] Guthrie, “Hard Times, Hard Liquor, and Hard Luck,” 435–52; Hernando county was significantly smaller than Seminole county with 4,948 residents in 1930 compared to Seminole county’s 18,735 residents; United States Census Bureau. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*: 1920 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921) [183-200]; United States Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1930 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931) 393-451.

Many successful arrests were made in the Sanford community. On one occasion, officers found a recently abandoned still and, hours later, two men in a small rowboat on the water. The officers followed the men back until they fired up the 150-gallon still. After arrest, the two men were brought back to Sanford to be processed.[184] Other times, the experience would simply be walking through town, noticing a civilian with or under the influence of spirits, and chasing after them.[185] Many of these articles do not include the names of the individuals arrested, which prevents cross reference with the municipal court records. There is a further limitation because only a sample size of the municipal court records was reviewed. Only one name that appeared in the *Herald* also appeared in the municipal court records—Frank Blair.

Part of the law enforcement experience was the inability to act even when Prohibition violations had been reported. "For some time, the sheriff has been aware of extensive moonshining activities… but never had any concrete evidence."[186] This is true despite the bootlegging community's betrayal and habit of reporting one another, which was good for their business.[187] An example of this behavior is Mrs. Alma Hunt, who was reported to authorities by Ralph McQueen for possessing 22 gallons of liquor. After investigation authorities discovered that both parties were involved in the liquor business.[188]

The *Herald* regularly published articles reporting on arrests often without detailing the crime. The *Herald* would include details of the individual's name and often their race, if they were non-white, describe the crime and occasionally include commentary. An example of this is the 1919 article "Moonshiner Was Caught Sat. Night" in which John Williams, "a gentleman of

[184] "Local Dry Officers Seize Mammoth "Shine" Plant Near Lake Brantley," *Sanford Herald*, November 20, 1924.
[185] "Alleged Liquor Peddlers Arrested by Deputy Sherriff," *Sanford Herald,* March 29, 1926.
[186] "Big Still and 1,000 Gallons of Mash Are Seized By the Sheriff," *Sanford Herald*, February 5, 1924.
[187] "Big Still and 1,000 Gallons of Mash Are Seized By the Sheriff," *Sanford Herald*, February 5, 1924.
[188] "Man and Woman Nabbed by Sheriff on Liquor Charges," *Sanford Herald,* May 11, 1927.

color," was featured as an arrestee. The article stated that Williams's boss was responsible, and "The owners get away and go back to making shine just as soon as they are able to make another still."[189] Identification of race was also provided in some headlines: "Negress Is Jailed For Possession Of Moonshine Whisky" and "Negro Is Fined for Liquor Possession and Recklessness" are two examples. This pattern of identifying race is not seen for white residents.

Women were used to smuggle liquor because they were less likely to be stopped and searched.[190] Single mothers were often spared jail time for the sake of their children. In September 1922, the *Sanford Herald* published a story detailing the arrest of a woman with small children. She was arrested and tried for the crime of selling liquor. Citizens protested against her arrest and housing in the Bastille because the conditions were interpreted as not fit for a woman.[191] The article praised the judge for letting her go after she promised never to engage in the liquor trade again. Sympathy for women, particularly mothers, was a common response to arrested female violators. Often, their pathos appeal - pleading for their "dependent children" and assuring the judge they were "dutiful wives" — was successful.[192] It is significant to note that the experience of women in large cities outside of Sanford was different. For example, alcohol-related arrests and prosecution of women in New York spiked in 1920, the year the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified.[193]

Judicial rulings evolved during Prohibition; in the early years, Mayor Miller was closely involved in enforcement and had a weekly standing appointment with the court. The *Sanford Herald* reported that the blind tigers would "face him on the charge of selling booze." In

[189] "Moonshiner was Caught Sat Night," *Sanford Herald*, December 12, 1919.
[190] "Women Run Liquor Across Border to Prevent Suspicion," *Sanford Herald,* June 20, 1929.
[191] "Judge Sharon Paroles Woman Liquor Seller," *Sanford Herald,* September 30, 1922.
[192] McGirr, 97-100.
[193] Okrent, 211.

response, Mayor Miller sentenced either monetary fines or jail time. The mayor's direct involvement suggests a low volume of violations and an elevated sense of the importance of enforcement. The *Herald* often made remarks alluding to the ineffectiveness of anti-alcohol enforcement. For example, "They will probably pay the fine and start selling again as usual.[194] Another *Herald* article from 1929 reports on the employees of the still being apprehended but not the owners: "The sheriff's office may catch the underlings here and there the owners get away and go back to making shine just as soon as they are able to make another still."[195]

As the decade progressed, articles began to express frustration beyond the lack of enforcement. This is expressed by issuing more severe, reactionary sentences. For example, in 1924, three men were arrested for possession of liquor and concealed weapons. The fine for the liquor was $200 (nearly double what the average was in Sanford for that offense). In comparison, the fee for concealed weapons was only $50. Another example is Andrew Hamlin, who was caught with possession of alcohol for the third time, sentenced to jail time, and offered no bail.[196] The court records show many examples of repeat offenders receiving large fines without jail time. These extreme examples were in the early years of Prohibition. This was still during the time the newspaper was pushing the narrative that both producers and consumers of alcohol would eventually become disheartened and give up. By the late 1920s, the court system had acclimated to seeing large numbers of Prohibition-related crimes. State Attorneys began pushing through many trials to ensure short processing time. The *Herald* praises the jurors for their participation and impartial rulings. [197]

[194] "Big Haul of Tiger," *Sanford Herald*, August 13, 1913.
[195] "Moonshiner was Caught Sat Night" *Sanford Herald,* December 12, 1929.
[196] "Longwood Man Is Now Facing Three Whiskey Charges," *Sanford Herald*, December 1923.
[197] "Prosecutor is Rushing Liquor Cases to Trial," *Sanford Herald,* April 15, 1926.

Further, there are examples of news stories exaggerating the reality of run-ins with the law. In 1929, the *Herald* reported that "liquor and disorderly conduct" were the “most frequent charges” in the cases on the docket. This evidence is not supported by the municipal court records which show that alcohol-related arrests were 20 percent of total arrests.[198] The *Herald* argues that even though the town had always been dry, Prohibition resulted in increased efforts to sell liquor. This was a reality across the nation. The *Herald* reports that a common way Sanford residents brought spirits into town was to go to Jacksonville or Tampa with trunks and suitcases. This would then be transported into the "tiger’s lair" to be sold around town.[199]

Frank Blair was mentioned three times in the *Herald* as early as 1913 and as late as 1932. In an article from August 1913, Blair was reported to be selling liquor in a dry county. Even though this article was published seven years before the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, Mr. Blair was referred to as an "old offender." The story reports that he denied being labeled a repeat offender. Again, in 1921, Blair is arrested with a group of three "Africanos" near Christmas Road.[200] Finally, in August of 1932, the *Herald* reported that Blair and his son were possessing and selling liquor.[201] The municipal records and the *Herald* offer evidence that Blair was not only taking consuming spirits but also offering spirits to others. Engaging with both sides of the law certainly increased the chances of being arrested many times. Access to legal counsel greatly influenced the outcome of the court decisions. Of the three arrested near Christmas Road, only one man sought out legal counsel, Walter Morin, who pleaded *nolo contendere*, accepting a

[198] It is possible that a comprehensive review of all the court records would produce a different percentage, however, the outcomes of the 30 percent sample size should reflect a degree of accuracy. Further, it is possible that “most frequent” does not require a majority, however, the *Herald* article offers no additional evidence of other crimes. Considering that alcohol-related arrests were only 20 percent of the arrested population, it is unlikely this is an accurate statement.
[199] “After Blind Tigers,” *Sanford Herald*, May 23, 1921.
[200] “Blind Tiger Cases,” *Sanford Herlad*, September 12, 1929.
[201] “Many Fined By Judge Ware for Selling Liquor,” *Sanford Herald*, August 15, 1932.

guilty plea but still maintaining his innocence. With the support of this attorney, J.J. Dickinson, Mr. Morin walked away with a $25 fine. The other two men (including Blair), who did not have attorneys, were fined $250.[202]

Opinion Pieces

Most news stories in the early years of Prohibition spoke disparagingly of selling moonshine and spoke triumphantly of moonshine "busts." These reports are seemingly evidence that Sanford supported the Eighteenth Amendment. However, it is also possible that the wets did not need the power of the pen. They had the power of the dollar and of the bottle. As time progresses, reports of "busts" are less detailed and carry a less triumphant tone. Eventually, Prohibition-related newspaper coverage switched almost entirely to reporting on repeal. The *Herald* articles are not sufficiently detailed to truly identify how divided Sanford was in its opinion of Prohibition. However, they provide insight, specifically into the three camps that emerged: the drys, the wets, and the hypocrites. Both the drys and the wets used pop culture to spread their message.[203]

The anti-liquor sentiment in the community was clearly expressed in opinion pieces published by the *Sanford Herald*. An anonymous author, who refered to themselves as the "Titusville Advocate," wrote a powerful opinion piece in 1924, four years after Prohibition was established as federal law. This scathing commentary appealed to the conscience of the drinker, shaming the community for fueling bootleggers, attributing "national humiliation" to all who engaged with liquor. The advocate addressed the most common anti-Prohibition argument: a man

[202] "Some Were Caught With the Goods and Some Were Caught There with the Goods," *Sanford Herald*, December 19, 1913.
[203] See Terminology for definitions of dry, wet, and hypocrites.

does not have to follow a law they do not agree with. The author countered this argument by addressing that even though one disagrees with the law, it does not mean it is permissible in any lawful society to disregard it. If this was an acceptable reaction to all laws the general population had a moral disagreement with, there could be no society that would survive. The author ended by labeling any engagement with alcohol as "selfishness"; this characteristic is one "that men most despise, for it lies at the root of much of the misery of the world." [204] It is notable that this author, who is in support of the law, felt the need to hide their identity. This is powerful evidence that the community was not aligned to Prohibition.

There are some claims that after ratification, more folks than ever were drinking, and what they were drinking was dangerous.[205] "Regulating" liquor by banning it, in some circumstances made the process of acquiring spirits easier. The time of day, day of the week, or age of the patron no longer mattered. This concern was recognized within the community. They were vocal about this problem of teenage boys buying liquor. These boys would purchase from unknown sources and then tear through the city streets rowdy and drunk. The *Herald* articles report that all police officers could do was lock them up until they sobered up.[206] This suggests that teenage boys were not charged with a crime, or if they were, it was not effective in combating the problem of young men over-consuming intoxicating spirits. This is an opinion piece and is therefore expressing the concerns of the community. This is not a claim to fact that arrests or charges had zero impact on those arrested. The sample set of municipal court records show that re-offense only occurred 13.6 percent of the time, some of whom were serial re-offenders. This data demonstrates that police officers were more than ineffective bystanders, as

[204] "Why Bootlegging Flourishes," *Sanford Herald*, October 6, 1924.
[205] "Prohibition Laws are a Joke," *Sanford Herald,* November 4, 1921.
[206] "Young Boys are Buying Liquor," *Sanford Herald*, November 4, 1921.

suggested in the opinion piece. The *Herald* has several opinion pieces claiming that this problem was more pervasive after ratification than it had ever been. Other drys reacted to the cycle of arrest, charge, selling booze, and repeat by calling for stricter punishments: one year in the city gang and one year in the county gang in lieu of fines.[207]

By the late 1920s there is ample evidence that the community was no longer supportive of Prohibition. An article in the *Herald* from 1927 claimed the only segment of the population who supported Prohibition were the gangsters; they were the true anti-liquor voice because illegal liquor had become such big business. People simply enjoyed their spirits in Sanford and across the nation. The actor W.C. Fields, famously said many years later, "Once, during Prohibition, I was forced to live for days on nothing by food and water."[208] This sentiment was shared by many in the community. The anti-liquor voices were louder in the formal settings of newspaper articles but the reality is more complex than what the paper reported. The wets did not have the same need for formal persuasion as the drys. Anti-Prohibition folk songs were popular across the nation. Many songs existed similar to the one featured below.

There won't be no sunshine

No stars, no moon

No laughter, no music 'cept this one sad tune

Goodbye forever to my old friend “Booze”

Doggone, I've got the Prohibition blues [209]

[207] “Blind Tiger Case Again” *The Sanford Herald*, December 23, 1923.
[208] Arthur Frank Wertheim. *W.C. Fields from Sound Film and Radio Comedy to Stardom: Becoming a Cultural Icon*. (London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018,) 321.
[209] The Prohibition Blues, 1921. Seminole County Museum

Prohibition's most alluring stories are the tales of the hypocrites.[210] The *Sanford Herald* reports evidence of hypocritical behavior at the federal level. In 1929, Congress voted against a "drink-wet-vote-dry" investigation amidst talk of repeal.[211] This was a proposal by the president to put together an action force investigating members of Congress to confirm they followed the plank they voted on. One dry leader spoke against this: "Senators and Representatives are sent here to represent their constituencies. This is a representative government and not a personal government." Congress spoke in unison when they recommended that in lieu of investigating officials, the president's committee should investigate ideas for improving enforcement.[212]
The *Sanford Herald* articles did not report on any local community, political, or religious leaders exposed for supporting the law in public but breaking it in private. However, many years later, an article was published in the *Orlando Sentinel* claiming that during Prohibition, ministers in Sanford preached the evils of alcohol on Sunday morning after drinking moonshine at Saturday night dances. The Sanford Municipal Court Records do not provide any evidence of hypocritical behavior.[213]

Informative Stories

One of the purposes of the newspaper review is to gain insight into the Sanford community in an effort to reconstruct the lived experience of the community. This category of informative stories addresses topics of interest to the Sanford community, but the subjects of these articles are actors outside the Sanford community. Therefore, their contribution speaks to

[210] Refer to Terminology, the hypocrite is defined as "A modern term used to describe the group of individuals who publically supported Prohibition by privately consuming intoxicating beverages and/or patronized businesses which sold intoxicating beverages."
[211] "Solons Spurn Quiz of Their Liquor Habits" *Sanford Herald,* March 13, 1929.
[212] "Solons Spurn Quiz of Their Liquor Habits" *Sanford Herald,* March 13, 1929
[213] Jim Robinson. "Floridians made a living in Prohibition day – by the light of the silvery moon," *Orlando Sentinel*, January 15, 1995.

an experience felt nationally, and local discussion and debate in Sanford. The end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s saw the focus of articles shift away from local reports and opinion pieces to the discussion of national Prohibition repeal; this includes reports of national leaders violating the amendment. By 1929, the *Herald* regularly reported on the state of enforcement nationwide.

The *Sanford Herald* had always reported on national stories of interest. For example, in 1920, the *Herald* printed an article telling the story of a Key West trial. The defendant was a congressman from Illinois. Prohibition agents searched the defendant's house, where illegal substances were found. However, their search was deemed not legal.[214] Improper and illegal actions by law enforcement were a common occurrence during Prohibition.[215] There were newspaper articles reporting improper police action directly in Sanford yet the municipal court records contained no evidence of officers charged with crimes related to corruption, including bribery, extortion, fraud, abuse of power or obstruction of justice. However, the *Sanford Herald* did report corruption outside of the city. In June of 1921, the *Herald* reported that a justice of the peace in Monticello, Florida (200 miles north of Sanford), was arrested for operating a moonshine still on his farm.[216] In 1932, the *Herald* reported the mayor of Muncie, Indiana, was convicted alongside nine co-defendants as liquor law violators.[217] There are no records of convictions of community leaders in Seminole County.

In 1930, the *Sanford Herald* printed an article sharing the opinion of a New Jersey judge who found the Eighteenth Amendment invalid. Judge William Clark ruled that constitutional

[214] "Dry Solon Has Scored in his 'Liquor' Trial," *Sanford Herald,* March 20, 1920.
[215] McGirr, 211-213.
[216] "Officer Arrested as Moonshiner," *Sanford Herald,* July 1, 1921.
[217] "Mayor of Indiana is Convicted for Liquor Violation," *Sanford Herald,* May 24, 1932.

conventions, not state legislatures, can only ratify an amendment. Therefore, any arrests made in New Jersey for the sale of alcohol would have to be made under the (non-existent) state Prohibition. Two federal judges, Judge Guy Fake and Judge William Runyor, dissented. Judge Runyor's ruling had no effect in adjusting the interpretation or enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.[218] The *Herald* reported several legal loopholes in place throughout Prohibition to avoid prosecution.

The *Sanford Herald* reported on how Prohibition enforcement had evolved in Florida by the end of the 1920s. According to the *Herald*, smuggling was on the decline; the Coast Guard seized only 183 vessels and three planes in 1929, a large decrease from the 734 vessels seized in 1925.[219] This fact reported in the *Sanford Herald* contradicts modern scholarship on smuggling. By the end of the 1920s, smuggling was expanding in number and trade. Smugglers were bringing in more than spirits, including narcotics, merchandise, and illegal aliens. The treatment of people smuggled in, and the expansion of harmful substances in circulation is one of the insidious legacies of Prohibition.[220]

Law enforcement and their tactics evolved to be more violent. By 1929, federal agents were using the same weapons gangsters used: sawed-off shotguns, machine guns, and 30-30 rifles. The *Herald* claimed Florida border law enforcement reacted swiftly and violently even in situations where it was not required. [221] This occurrence was not limited to Florida. Representative Piveenger of Minnesota called for Prohibition reform because customs officers

[218] "Judges Order Disregard of Clark Ruling," *Sanford Herald,* December 7, 1930.
[219] "By Robert Thornbursh International New Service Staff Correspondent Washington" *Sanford Herald*, June 12, 1929.
[220] Dorr, 76-85.
[221] "Ban is Placed on Armament of Dry Agents," *Sanford Herald,* June 18, 1929.

killed members of his district.[222] Sanford reported no deaths to law enforcement or their residents. However, there were death threats made to police officers.

The *Herald* reported on national support and criticism of Prohibition. Henry Ford of Ford Motor Company had supported Prohibition long before the amendment was ratified. He maintained that position even as repeal was nearing with this quote printed in the *Herald* in 1932: "I give my unreserved support to the Eighteenth Amendment and the prohibition law… because it provides a degree of control over liquor which is necessary for sobriety…. in the American home, and church and school and workshop."[223]

Informative Stories: Repeal

The *Herald* covered in great detail the series of political moves that led to repeal. The legal conflict against Prohibition took center stage by 1930.[224] This was when political candidates began to take strong stances in support of repealing Prohibition.[225] Political parties were diving into "the most furious battle…since the League of Nations."[226] Conflict over repeal affected both Republicans and Democrats. In June 1932, the *Sanford Herald* reported on a recent G.O.P. convention in which the dry law dominated debate and conversation. Some members within the party supported the law, and other members were vehemently opposed to it.[227] Before Prohibition went into effect, 61 percent of the Florida population supported it. However, from 1928 to 1932, a solid "wet constituency" comprised of professionals, including members of the

[222] "Ban is Placed on Armament of Dry Agents," *Sanford Herald,* June 18, 1929.
[223] "Ford Re-Affirms With Force His Dry Law Stance" *Sanford Herald,* May 17, 1932.
[224] "Prohibition is Seen as Real Issue of 1930," *Sanford Herald,* January 1, 1930.
[225] "John D Jr. is Now Opposed to Dry Laws," *Sanford Herald,* January 1, 1930.
[226] "Nomination of Hoover Takes Side Seat for One Great Issue of Dry Law Platform" *Sanford Herald,* June 13, 1931.
[227] "Both Wets and Drys Gearing for Big Fight," *Sanford Herald,* June 14, 1932.

legal and judicial community, backed repeal. They advanced their pro-liquor argument via the lens of states' rights, potential financial gain, and concern for stopping federal government expansion.[228] In 1932, Florida attorneys favored repeal 6 to 1. Their reasons included decreased government revenue, increased disrespect for the law, increased syndicate crime and they claimed Prohibition "nearly crippled the judicial system."[229] *Literary Digest* completed a poll of twenty-three Florida cities with populations greater than 5,000, in 1930. Twelve cities supported the wet agenda, and eleven remained dry.[230]

In 1932, the City Attorney in West Palm Beach, a man with no political experience or history, publicly announced he was running for House of Representatives. His interest in running was only to attempt to modify the Volstead Act to permit light wine and beer. [231] In June 1932, Florida sent an eighteen-person delegation to Washington. The spokesperson of that delegation was George Anderson, from Jacksonville, Florida. The delegation took a harsh stance in refusing to support a candidate who did not include repeal of Prohibition on their platform. [232]

News of repeal was published so frequently that it nearly replaced the articles describing individual accounts of Prohibition violators. Eventually, repeal became so popular that Democrat Senator Sheppart, from Texas, co-author of the Eighteenth Amendment, announced he would vote for repeal in June 1932.[233] Support for repeal was backed not only by pro-liquor advocates but also by financial concerns that arose as the nation progressed into the Great Depression. Prohibition resulted in job losses and decreased grain sales. The Florida Times Union estimated

[228] Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits" 23–39.
[229] Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits" 23–39.
[230] Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits" 23–39.
[231] "Wilcox Tells Throng about Liquor Evils," *Sanford Herald,* May 28, 1932.
[232] "State Delegation to Insist on Wet Plank," *Sanford Herald,* June 20, 1932.
[233] "Democrats Adopt Dripping Wet Plank After Fiery Debate," *Sanford Herald,* June 30, 1932.

that repeal of Prohibition would provide 6,000 new jobs, contracts for new buildings, and various other types of economic stimulation.[234] This coincided with a time when 85,000 Floridians were actively looking for work.[235] Enforcement was expensive (and ineffective); those funds could instead be directed to the public services and support. The government lost tax dollars on the sale of alcohol and had to employ an entirely new bureau to enforce the law. In 1932, repeal supporters at the federal level proposed that the $11 million Prohibition fund be cut by $5 million; the total budget was only reduced to $10 million.[236] Franklin Delano Roosevelt ran on a pro-repeal platform the same year.

In 1933, President Roosevelt was hosting dinner at the White House when he remarked, "This would be a good time for a beer." The next day, he asked Congress for modification to the Volstead Act. On March 22, 1933, there was a bill rewriting the Volstead Act legalizing 3.2 beer and light wines.[237] Nine months later, on December 5, 1933, the Twenty-First Amendment was ratified. President Roosevelt issued a proclamation, "I trust in the good sense of the American people that they will not bring upon themselves the curse of excessive use of intoxicating liquors, to the detriment of health, morals, and social integrity." [238] In November 1933, Florida became the 33rd state to ratify the Twenty-First Amendment.[239] Beer sales were legal on April 6, 1934, but not in Sanford until May 8, 1934. The first legal 3.2 beer was sold for $0.35 to Felix Frank at the Wurt Warner's Valdez Hotel.[240] The hotel bar opened to a crowd at 9 a.m.[241]

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[234] Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits" 23–39.
[235] Guthrie, "Hard Times, Hard Liquor, and Hard Luck" 435–52.
[236] "Enforcement of Liquor Law to Get Million Cut," *Sanford Herald,* April 19, 1932.
[237] Refer to Terminology, 3.2 beer is defined as "A low alcohol content beer, containing 3.2% alcohol, the first beverage alongside light wines to be legalized after Prohibition."
[238] Richard Worth, *Prohibition: The Rise and Fall of the Temperance Movement*. 1st ed. (New York, NY: Rosen Publishing Group, 2020).
[239] Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits" 23–39.
[240] Schaal, Peter. *Sanford As I Knew It 1912-1925,* 98-99.
[241] Schaal, 98-99.

Ultimately, Prohibition ended because the government needed the tax revenue. The Twenty-First Amendment ended federal prohibition, but liquor bans or restrictions would still be enforced at state and local levels. The Twenty-First Amendment made it more challenging and safer for citizens to drink because legalization brought regulation by age, establishment, and hours. Today, there are dry counties—the most famous of which is Lynchburg, TN which hosts the famous Jack Daniels Distillery. Legalization resulted in $258 million in taxes the first year after repeal; this was 9 percent of the government revenue, which funded many New Deal programs.

Corruption and Federal Forces

Corruption and the conflict among local, state, and federal forces are both broad themes in Prohibition historiography. Therefore, it is necessary for a small mention in a Prohibition micro-history. Corruption was common during Prohibition to such a degree that it is widely associated with the modern pop culture narrative of Prohibition. Secondary literature makes claims that in Central Florida, law enforcement was both involved in illegal activity and had a tenderness toward moonshiners.[242] Jim Robinson claims “more than a few sheriffs had their own side deals with moonshiners" and Sheriffs would look the other way when shine was purchased if the buyer paid the "sheriff tax."[243] The Sanford Municipal Court Records and the *Sanford Herald* did not make mention of corruption in Sanford. However, both of these primary sources would require that the corrupt official be caught for the corruption to be recorded. This is a limitation of using official records.

[242] Jim Robinson, “Floridians made a living in Prohibition day – by the light of the silvery moon,” *The Orlando Sentinel*. January 15, 1995.
[243] Jim Robinson, “Goldenrod moonshiner built a moveable escape,” *The Orlando Sentinel*. June 7, 1998.

Many Southern Democratic state leaders had concerns with federal authority. Federal forces were present in large numbers throughout the state and along the coast because of the large stilling and smuggling operations. Federal enforcers had a larger presence in major cities, specifically Tampa and Jacksonville.[244] Guthrie's regional study of Florida reports, "Local authorities proved indifferent if not outright hostile to enforcement, which was left to federal agents whom there were never enough."[245] Without support from local officers, moonshining stills grew, but federal enforcement resources did not. Bootleggers had more than 100 times the appropriation of the Bureau of Prohibition and were far better organized.[246] There is little mention of federal forces in Sanford. The lack of presence of federal forces in Sanford is likely because federal enforcement efforts were placed more aggressively on "commercial violators," which refers to large-scale operations and organized crime.[247]

Oral History

On May 20, 2023, Karen Jacobs and I sat down at the Sanford Museum to discuss Prohibition. Karen Jacobs married into a prominent family in Seminole County – the Jacobses. She recalls family gatherings where family members who lived through Prohibition would tell stories of those days. Jacobs also went to high school with the descendants of Sanford moonshiners. She is aware that some stills exist in the woods today at undisclosed locations. Jacobs shared many details about Seminole County and Prohibition. The italic writing below is my own words summarizing that interview.

[244] Dorr, 212, 216-219*;* Guthrie, "Keepers of the Spirits," 41-54.
[245] Jim Robinson, "Floridians made a living in Prohibition day – by the light of the silvery moon," *The Orlando Sentinel*, January 15, 1995.
[246] Dorr, 127-132.
[247] Guthrie, "Rekindling the Spirits" 23–39.

Seminole County was a rural community where dirt roads and bridges would wash out during bad storms. The community was small, a town where everyone knew everyone. The community comprised more than Sanford, including many small towns; Chuluota, for example, will be featured in this oral history. Most folks did engage with alcohol, and the rest of the community knew about it. Some factions within the community did not drink alcohol because of religious beliefs, but many in Seminole County did. According to Jacobs even the community members that did not have a strong relationship with alcohol had use for it. Many used spirits as a disinfecting tool or as an alternative to over the counter pain medication (which was not available). Life in the county was not without accidents and injuries. Having a jug of moonshine on standby was useful.

Seminole County did not have large stills; it was not a bootlegger community. Most of the moonshine came from Ocala, where the larger stills were.[248] This statement is supported by the small number of arrests reported in chapter one. The *Sanford Herald* also supports this, which contains many short articles announcing arrests. Many report the details of moonshine stills, but by 1927, a still with 750 gallons was "one of the largest busts to date." [249] *Sanford's people distilled some illegal spirits primarily for personal use.*[250] Jacobs's statements of alternative uses for alcohol are further verified by an article detailing a bust in St. Johns County. The liquor was not destroyed; instead, it was distributed to hospitals.[251]

Jacobs describes the Blind Tigers, a common reference in the Sanford Herald.[252] *If an establishment were interested in selling moonshine, a small stuffed tiger would be placed in a*

[248] Karen Jacobs, 2023. interview with the author, May 20, 2023. Sanford History Museum. Transcript in Appendix.
[249] "Local Dry Officers Seize Mammoth "Shine" Plant Near Lake Brantley," *Sanford Herald*, November 20, 1924.
[250] Karen Jacobs, 2023. interview with the author, May 20, 2023. Sanford History Museum. Transcript in Appendix.
[251] "Conservation of Whiskey," *Sanford Herald*, December 19, 1919.
[252] "Blind Tiger Case Again," *Sanford Herald*, December 23, 1923.

street facing window. This tiger informed regular customers and strangers alike that spirits were open for purchase in this building. The stuffed animals would be removed when the revenuers walked down the street.[253] "Blind Tiger Strikes Again" is an example of an article title reporting a victorious bust meant to rally the town.[254] *Jacobs reports blind tigers of Sanford were in competition with one another. Often, they would report each other to revenuers or the Sheriff's office.*

Jacobs's interpretation of Prohibition violations is that there were no social consequences for violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. Public shaming or ostracization of convicted community members did not occur; even if the individual was arrested many times and served a prison sentence. Finding ways around the law was always a part of life, nearly viewed as a game. Jacobs reports that all folks "knew where you could get it even if you weren't buying it."[255]

Jacobs currently works as the curator for the Sanford Museum. She has previously worked as the curator for the Seminole County Museum. During that time, a member of the Sanford community came to the museum and recognized Jacobs's last name. Sheriff Hobby, an sheriff in Seminole County during Prohibition, knew the Jacobses. He spoke with her and told her the story of Uncle Billy Jacobs and Butler Boston.

There are three characters in the story: Sheriff Hobby, Uncle Billy Jacobs, who Karen describes as "quite the character" and one of the founding family members of Chuluota, and Butler Boston, the preacher of the black church in Oviedo.

[253] Karen Jacobs, 2023. interview with the author, May 20, 2023.Sanford History Museum. Transcript in Appendix.
[254] "Blind Tiger Case Again," *Sanford Herald,* December 23, 1923.
[255] Karen Jacobs, 2023. interview with the author, May 20, 2023. Sanford History Museum. Transcript in Appendix.

Moonshiners commonly reported other moonshiners to the sheriff. One moonshiner called Sheriff Hobby repeatedly to report Uncle Billy Jacobs. This was common and Sheriff Hobby did not take the reports too seriously. However, after the reports kept coming in, Sheriff Hobby drove down to the First Baptist Church at Chuluota on a Sunday morning to confront Uncle Billy. Uncle Billy, who had a reputation for wearing the finest clothes on Sundays, responded with surprise and Southern charm. "I am a fine, upstanding Christian man, and I would never do anything like that." Sheriff Hobby took his word for it and then presented a warning that if he caught Uncle Billy, he would arrest him. Then, the two parted ways.

Time passes, and the sheriff keeps getting reports of Uncle Billy distilling moonshine. One day, a report requested Sheriff Hobby go to Fort Christmas Road at dawn to see Uncle Billy pick up hidden barrels. That is exactly what Sheriff Hobby did. He took one deputy with him and "hunkered down in Palmetto bushes." The officers stayed in the Palmetto bushes through the night. It rained throughout the night. When the sun rose, the officers heard a Model T put-put-putting down the dirt road. They look up to see Butler Boston in the driver's seat and Uncle Billy Jacobs beside him. The vehicle stops. One of the men jumps out, grabs a barrel, then goes a few more yards and picks up another barrel. This goes on for some time. Finally, the car pulls up to the Palmetto tree the deputy and sheriff were "hunkered down in." Butler Boston gets out of the Model T and picks up a barrel that had been in front of the deputy and dheriff the entire rainy night. At 6'1", Sheriff Hobby stands up tall, and Butler Boston drops the barrel. Uncle Billy sees the sheriff putting his hands over his heart and saying, "I'm having the big one. "Uncle Billy continued to insist he was experiencing a heart attack. Sheriff Hobby gets in the driver's seat; Uncle Billy stays in the passenger seat. Butler Bosten goes in the back with the deputy. Uncle Billy is carrying on in the front. The sheriff takes Uncle Billy to Judge Housholder.

Judge Housholder takes Billy back to his chambers and begins to scold him. "Billy, I cannot believe you did this. I have to set bail for you." Uncle Billy leans across the table, looks at Judge Housholder, and says, "Before you set bail, just remember I delivered three pints to your wife last week."

Judge Householder set a bail, but it was small. Uncle Billy kept moonshining; the cycle repeated itself over and over. When it came to trial, Uncle Billy brought every one of his children and sat them in the front row. Finally, there was a time when this strategy stopped working. Uncle Billy was eventually sent to prison for one year and one day. When Billy returned, the town treated him normally; it was like nothing ever happened. The community accepted him, and there were no social consequences. Uncle Billy was never arrested again.[256]

Multiple sections of Jacobs oral history are supported by evidence found in the *Sanford Herald*. The *Herald* published stories about William Jacobs, including one article in 1927 titled "Liquor Case Most Important Today for County Court." The article reported that a year prior, two sheriffs discovered 45 gallons of moonshine in Billy Jacobs's home, which was located in Chuluota.[257] The result of the court case was not addressed in the *Herald*. Billy Jacobs's name did not appear in the sample of municipal court records reviewed.[258]

Judge Householder was named by Jacobs as the judge in William Jacobs's case. The Sanford Herald published an article in 1921 naming Judge Householder and listing the results of the cases he presided over.[259] This further supports the validity of the Jacobs oral history. Finally, Jacobs also mentions the strategy of adults bringing children to court when facing Prohibition-

[256] Karen Jacobs, 2023. interview with the author, May 20, 2023. Sanford History Museum. Transcript in Appendix.
[257] "Liquor Case Most Important Today for County Court," *Sanford Herald*, July 7, 1927.
[258] "Liquor Case Most Important Today for County Court," *Sanford Herald*, July 7, 1927.
[259] "Joe Saucer Convicted Yesterday for having Liquor in Possessions," *Sanford Herald,* July 21, 1921.

related charges. This claim is supported by secondary literature which claims bootleggers would bring children to court, have them sit in the front row, and put on displays of sadness as a common practice.[260]

One of the contributions of this paper is to compare the experience in Sanford to other lived experiences in the United States as reported by related secondary literature. Racial divison was occasionally blurred during attempts to defy Prohibition. Federal agencies regularly reported white and black men working together on illegal stills.[261] Working together in the Jim Crow South does not suggest a sense of community or even strong interpersonal bonds. Often, the black population acted as a physical workforce distilling and delivering the product for the white owner. This increased the likelihood for African Americans to cross paths with law enforcement. It is noteworthy for race relations that Butler Boston, a black man, and Uncle Billy Jacobs, a white man, worked together. White men more often funded the stills because they had greater access to capital to fund the small operations.[262]

Conclusion

Both the Sanford Municipal Court Records and the *Sanford Herald* are valuable sources that contribute to the lived experience in Sanford. The articles in the *Herald* highlight areas that were not mentioned in the municipal court dockets. “Local Stories” and “Opinion Pieces” contributed to the reconstruction of the lived experience in Sanford during Prohibition. The newspaper review helps us better understand the cultural climate related to Prohibition and Prohibition violators. The “Informational Stories” reported in the *Herald* provide context for the

[260] Jim Robinson, “Goldenrod moonshiner built a moveable escape,” *The Orlando Sentinel*, June 7, 1998.
[261] McGirr, 81.
[262] McGirr, 81.

evolving opinions within the town and tell the story of repeal. The unexpected benefit of the newspaper articles was additional details on arrests, particularly Mr. Frank Blair, who was introduced in Chapter One. Both the oral history and the newspaper articles show that violation of the Eighteenth Amendment was frequent and, as Karen Jacobs describes it, "not a big deal." Sanford residents had always broken the law to consume spirits, because the county was historically dry. The oral history provided additional context to reconstruct the Sanford lived experience. The oral history holds additional value because its details could be verified via newspaper articles, cementing its validity.

There are some limitations to these sources. Newspaper articles only reported the details of large "busts" and printed limited details of why moonshiners/bootleggers were arrested. There were no details on the treatment of the individuals after they were arrested. The newspaper articles reviewed nearly always carried a triumphant tone when discussing arrests for Prohibition. There is no mechanism to confirm the accuracy of the newspapers today. The newspapers did show what topics were of interest to the community; it is telling that toward the end of Prohibition, there was a sharp increase in the number of articles published discussing events in different cities and focusing on repeal. Additional limitations of these sources include generational delay. The oral history is a shared memory of recited stories, two degrees of separation from the original experience. However, oral histories are still a great tool for the historian because of the detail they provide.

Incorporating additional personal stories could make this work more conclusive. Compared to other microhistories, this work lacks journal or diary entries. Many of this period's more detailed historiographic works include cultural details gathered more intimately than official newspaper publications.

CHAPTER THREE: PROHIBITION IN CENTRAL FLORIDA

https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/81437e7f816b4ecf983ef45ce08b201f

This map contains over 25 locations identified in the *Sanford Herald* as points of interest. The interactive map allows users to click on the point of interest, which will then display the details from the newspaper article, the article title, and the year of publication. This allows the reader to see geographically the areas referenced in the thesis. Further, it includes more stories not included in the previous thesis chapters. Some of the points plotted were details that did not apply to the argument in this thesis but still contributed to the overall image of life in Sanford. This is also a more accessible piece of this thesis. The intended audience is academic because the map is not substantial enough to stand alone; it is a supplementary resource. This map is also intended to be a more engaging part of the thesis for non-academic readers.

Making historical work engaging is valuable. John Brewer explains that the "pleasure of…history derives not from a sense of control of history but from a sense of belonging, of connected to both persons and details – in the past. This sort of history sees sympathy and understanding – a measure of identification with the quite abstract to the deeply emotive – as essential to historical knowledge and insight." [263]

[263] Brewer, 89.

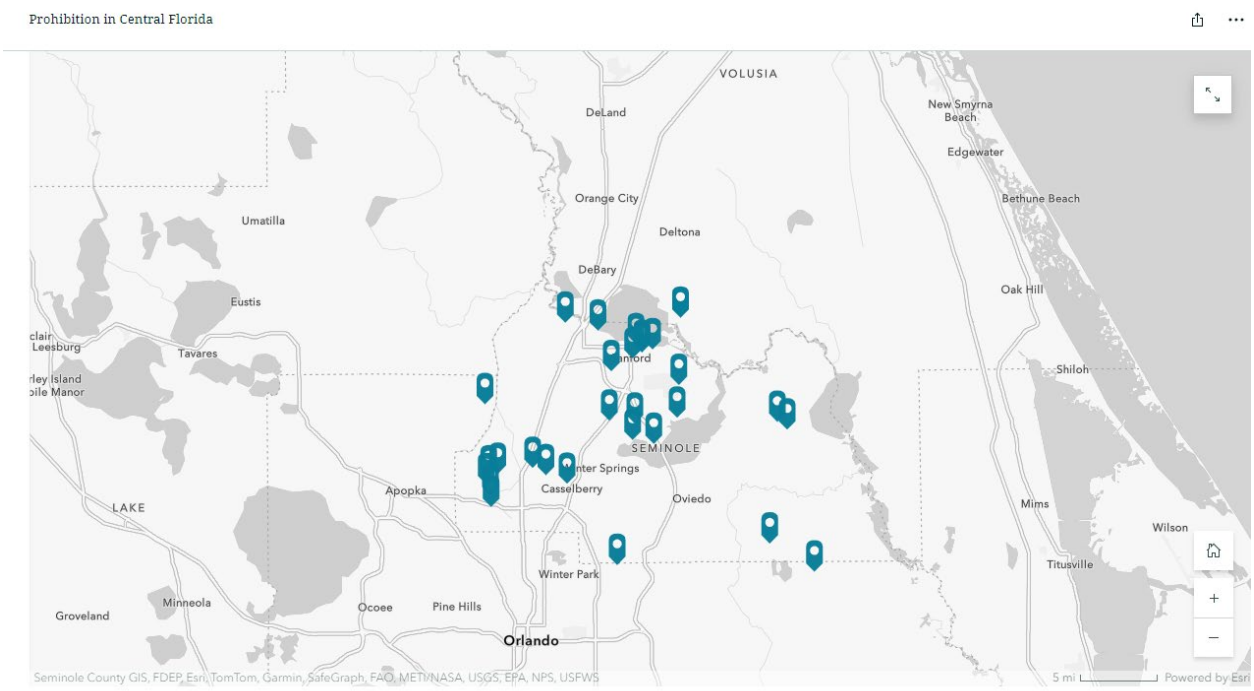

Figure 19 Image of Digital Map

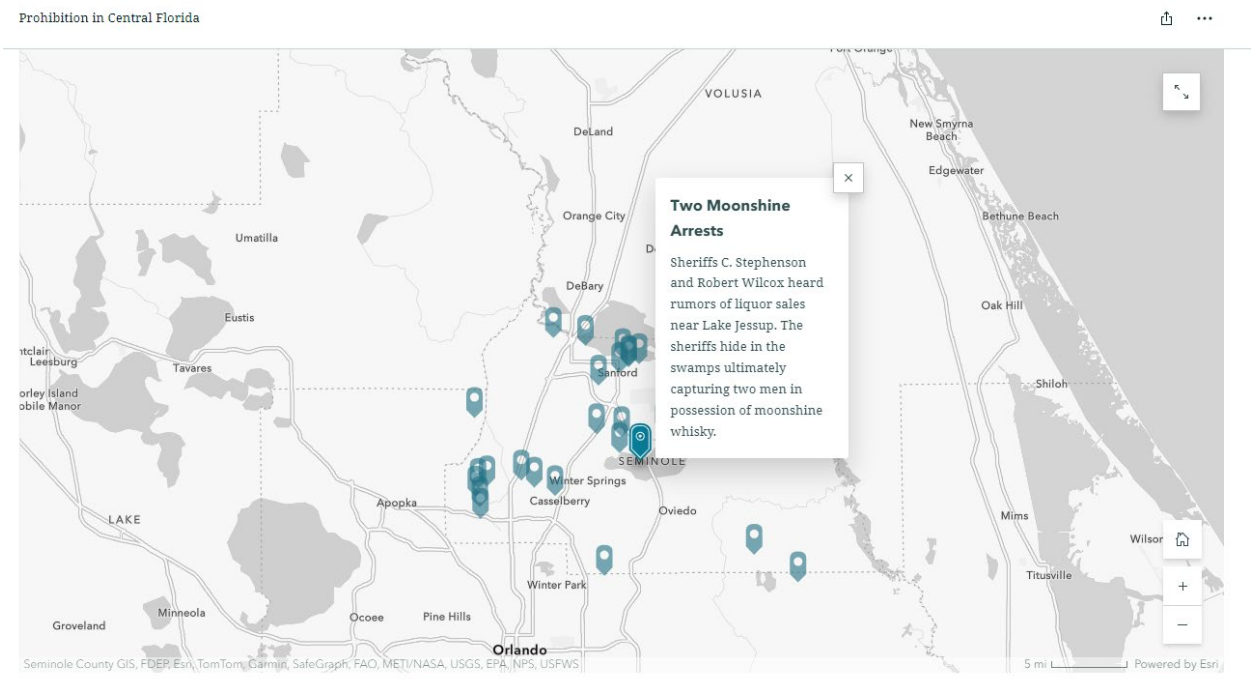

Figure 20 Image of Digital Map Interactive Function

CONCLUSION

This work set out to accomplish three goals. The first was to evaluate the methodology of using court records and newspapers with a supplemental oral history and interactive map. Is this methodology an effective framework for micro-historical study? Does a micro-history of Sanford during Prohibition advance the current historiography? The second was to explore what the sources themselves offered in an effort to reconstruct the lived experience in Sanford during Prohibition. Finally, it set out to test claims made in the current historiography in a local setting.

Value from this project derives not from one source but from a combination of all the source bases. The use of big data in the discipline of history, as an exercise for the author and exposure for the reader, provides value. The people living in Sanford in the early twentieth century left behind a rich source base. They deserve to be studied. Putting the Sanford Municipal Court Records to use provides value, especially because they were used in combination with the *Sanford Herald*. The *Herald* provided great context into the lived experience of the community and represented their interests. Finally, the oral history and digital map provided an entertaining and interactive component. This methodology produced a successful work, which does contain insights about Sanford and advances the historiography.

Comparison is a useful tool in constructing a historical image and progressing historical understanding. Particularly in microhistorical work comparisons contribute to overall comprehension. This work's approach to understanding the experience in a historically dry county in the South hinges on comparisons. Historic work in isolation does not provide insight and the work is not placed on a map. That is why a core of this work, and reappearing theme is comparisons both to historical claims and to historical facts in other municipalities. This work does produce a reasonable representation of the lived experience in Sanford during Prohibition.

This is the result of many primary sources, the census information, Sanford Municipal Court Records, the *Sanford Herald* and finally the addition of the oral history.

Chapter One showed that during the thirteen years Prohibition was in effect, the gender population of Seminole County was nearly evenly split. The white vs non-white population followed the same pattern of nearly even populations. This claim holds true despite consistent population growth, in total the population more than doubled from 1920 to 1933.[264]

After the population demographics were established, Chapter One offered an accompanying analysis of the arrest data based on three different classes: race, gender, and age. Women in Sanford broke liquor laws; however, they were not prosecuted in nearly the same manner as men.[265] Only 13 percent of women were arrested, many of whom were not charged and were provided more favorable treatment throughout the court process than men.[266] This work concluded that non-white arrests outpaced white arrests with respect to the population division. Further, division related to race was established through analysis of language use in both the Sanford Municipal Court Records and the *Sanford Herald*. The court records included eight different terms to describe non-white arrestees and one term to describe white arrestees. Significantly, one of the terms used to describe the non-white population was "Ginger Cake," a common runaway slavery term.[267] The lexicon used suggests additional otherness for the non-white population as it relates to Prohibition violations and the lived experience in Sanford. Finally, the non-white population was arrested more often and found guilty more frequently than

[264] United States Census Bureau. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*: 1920 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921) [183-200]; United States Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1930 - Population. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931) 393-451.
[265] "Judge Sharon Paroles Woman Liquor Seller" *Sanford Herald*, September 30, 1922.
[266] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[267] Kinlaw-Best.

the white population. Review of age demographics displayed that most arrestees for alcohol-related crimes were between 20 and 40.[268]

Chapter One also provided details of larger cities' Prohibition enforcement details, which show that Sanford had less severe punishments and a large number of repeat offenders.[269] This is likely because the types of violations were individual offenses. There was no record of organized crime, and the stilling operations were small. This is the result of the smaller population in Sanford and Seminole County as opposed to larger municipalities. Tampa, for example was much larger and did have a large organized crime presence.

There were a variety of Prohibtion-related crimes committed in Sanford. The most severely punished crimes were those which involved continuing the use of alcohol in ways that affected the community. This includes selling, possessing or transporting alcohol, and operating a vehicle while under its influence.[270] The least criminalized crimes were individual, isolated offenses, including intoxication and activities associated with it, including disorderly conduct, fighting, and gambling. Fines were initially very large, with some variance over time and a sharp drop at the beginning of the Great Depression. Law enforcement personnel remained consistent in number from 1922 to 1933.[271] Most arrests were individual crimes, not large busts.

Chapter Two establishes that anti-liquor lawbreakers had a long history in Sanford.[272] Seminole County was dry before Prohibition but did allow alcohol consumption with the proper permits. Regular violations of these laws were documented more than a decade before

[268] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[269] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[270] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[271] Sanford Municipal Court Records, 1920-1972.
[272] "Big Haul of Tiger," *Sanford Herald*, August 13, 1913.

Prohibition began. These violations were so widespread that there was an organized chapter of the blind tigers in the city as far back as 1913.[273]

Chapter Two also displays the evolution of how Prohibition was perceived in Sanford. Immediately after ratification, the *Herald* articles reported triumphantly and frequently on liquor busts. Celebratory stories of moonshine busts are reported along with stories of community support including pouring out day.[274] The names of locals were provided and details of the busts are included. Early on after ratification, there were also opinion pieces published pushing for support of Prohibition and shaming those still consuming intoxicating liquors. Complaints of liquor violators and expressions of frustration with the lack of effectiveness of Prohibition are circulated for the community to read. However, by the middle of the 1920s, there was a decrease in these types of reports, and far fewer specifics were offered. In lieu of these reports, there were periodic articles on the reality of living with Prohibition, including warnings of scams and expressions of the health dangers associated with consuming illegal spirits. Jake ginger and other unsafe spirits were consumed in Sanford, newspaper articles warn about the danger of potential paralysis. In the national theatre, by 1926, 81 percent of Americans were in favor of modification or repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.[275] By the end of the 1920s and into the early 1930s, the *Herald's* Prohibiton-related content was almost exclusively on repeal. The evolution of these articles represents the interest of the community and how they changed over time.

[273] "Big Haul of Tiger," *Sanford Herald*, August 13, 1913.
[274] "Big Still and 1,000 Gallons of Mash Are Seized By the Sheriff," *Sanford Herald*, February 5, 1924; "Big Still Found in Wekiva Swamp," *Sanford Herald*, May 20, 1924; "Moonshine's Odors Wafted on Breeze as Police Pour It," *Sanford Herald*, May 19, 1925.
[275] Seminole County Museum, "Prohibition" (exhibit, 2023), complete with artifacts, newspaper articles, court records, and personal diaries, (Seminole County Museum, Orlando, Florida), (accessed July 22, 2023).

Although the detail from the municipal court records and the *Herald* are substantial the oral history provides tremendous value in accomplishing the second goal of this paper. Which is to construct an image of the lived experience in Sanford. The details in the oral history further advance the details on race relations laid out from the primary sources and add an accessible element. Finally, Chapter Three, the digtal map adds another accessible element and provides a place for more details from the *Sanford Herald* to be included is this work.

Sanford held up to nearly all claims made in the established historiography. Inconsistent enforcement along racial lines, consisting of increased targeting of non-white Prohibition violators, is supported by statistical analysis of arrest records with racial data. Further, the manipulation of alcohol, including the addition of toxic substances, was also consistent. There were some experiences that were different in a local setting than was described by the historiography. The experience of women was less criminalized. The existing historiography claims increased intensity of law enforcement efforts whereas the Sanford Sheriff's workforce remained consistent over time. [276] The Sanford Sheriffs Office did not rely on the federal government to enforce Prohibition, nor was there a large presence of federal law enforcement or organized crime directly involved in Sanford. Many parts of the country classified Prohibition as the "new public panic over crime."[277] The industrial response to Prohibition was "No Beer, No Work" campaigns.[278] Sanford did not repeat these experiences.

Ultimately meaningful conclusions surrounding Prohibition's impact and legacy cannot be effectively studied at the national level. The lived experience and reactions to the amendment were incredibly varied – among populations, in different regions and among different sizes of

[276] McGirr,78.
[277] McGirr, xxi.
[278] McGirr, 41.

settlements. Regional differences are simply too diverse to speak in any more than broad generalizations. For example, Florida's involvement in Prohibition was largely related to smuggling, whereas, traditionally famous Prohibition cities like New Orleans, Chicago, and New York conversely had a large organized crime presence.

The legacy of Prohibition that is traceable today is substantial. The New York Sun in 1930 declared, "The history of the United States could be told in 11 words: Columbus, Washington, Lincoln, Volstead, two flights up and ask for Gus."[279] Beyond the fascinating dependence of the American public on alcohol, Prohibition left behind a larger penal system and expanded methods of enforcement. There exists a more lighthearted legacy of Prohibition: its contribution to the English language. By 1960, there were more synonyms for intoxication than for nearly all other words.[280] The majority of these synonyms were created in the 1920s, again signaling the impact this period had on most American popular culture.

Studying this period's impact can contribute to a more broadly just society today. Today, we are just as Sanford was, then, part of a multiracial, multicultural society. Understanding comprehensive history contributes to an understanding of challenges and opportunities today. [281] The information presented in this work makes a minor contribution to the current community. History plays a valuable role in our cultures and neighborhoods.[282]

[279] Okrent, 208.
[280] Okrent, 164.
[281] Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1995).
[282] Alan Brinkley, "Historians and Their Publics," *Journal of American History 81:3* (December 1994): 1027- 1030.

APPENDIX: Oral history: Interview with Karen Jacobs

May 20, 2023

Interviewer: Lindsey Yeazell

Yeazell: It's very nice to meet you.

Jacobs: Oh, thank you.

Yeazell: Okay, so the story, so I, I guess you understand the general premise of my thesis, right?

Jacobs: Yes.

Yeazell: Do any, what stories jump out at you?

Jacobs: The best story that I think that your readers would enjoy is the Sheriff Hobby story. Okay. With Uncle Billy Jacobs and Butler Boston from Oviedo.

Yeazell: Okay.

Jacobs: Butler Boston was the preacher of the black church in Oviedo. And Billy Jacobs was a character that lived in Chuluota, one of the founding families represented. With that being told, I worked at the Museum of Seminole County history and I had heard stories about Sheriff Hobby and different things and you know, Sheriff Hobby was a good sheriff, but he also had his faults. One time he took some people that were under his care up to Georgia to work in his fields up there. And he got into a lot of trouble and he actually lost his job for a few months or a year or something. And then he got it back. But he took him up there to work on his farm from here in Sanford, which he should have never done, but he did. So I had been hearing all these stories and one day I'm at the Museum of Seminole County History, and I get a phone call saying, Sherriff Hobby is on his way up there from a relative. And I said, okay. So I have my name tag on, and Sheriff Hobby sees me and he goes, you related to any of them, Jacobs up in Chuluota? I go, yes, sir. He said, well, I got some stories for you. So he was up in age. So he came in the museum and he sat down. And this is the best story that I think everybody would enjoy. Okay. Okay. Moonshiners liked to tell on other moonshiners because it would take their business while they were in the pokey and the other moonshiners could get it. So this particular moonshiner kept calling Sheriff Hobby and saying, Billy Jacobs out in Chuluota is making moonshine. You need to go out there and arrest him. So Hobby took the message, but he said, I really didn't do anything about it. He said the guy kept being persistent. So he said, I went out on a Sunday, and there's a little tiny church there in Chuluota still stands today, and it's a little block church, it used to be a wooden one. And Uncle Billy was known for wearing very fancy clothes on Sunday to church. So Hobby comes up in his uniform after church had gotten out waiting for him. And he

says, now, Billy, he said, I've been told that you're doing moonshine. And Uncle Billy puts his hands underneath his armpits and goes like this and says, I'm a fine, upstanding Christian man. I would never do anything like that. And Hobby said, well, I'm just telling you, that if I catch you, I'm going to arrest you. He said, well, I don't appreciate you coming by my church and trailing me out here in front of the church. And he said, well, I couldn't get you any other way. So they parted ways.

Yeazell: And what was their relationship? Had they interacted with each other before?

Jacobs: Well, most everybody back in that day knew everybody. Okay. I mean, you knew 'em somehow through a relative, twice removed or whatever. And, you know, gotta remember Seminole County was not big back in those days, right? Not, not like it's now. Oh, dirt roads and you know, very rural and that kind of thing. So the other Moonshiner called him again and he says, did you get him? And they go, no. And he says, well, I'm going to tell you. He said, you go out to Vhuluota. And he said, you know where Fort Christmas Road is? He said, go out there and at dawn they're going to be picking up some moonshine barrels. So Hobby takes one deputy, and with him and another deputy drops them off. So they get into a bunch of palmetto bushes, to hunker down, as he said, hunker down, into the night. And it rained on them, they got soaking wet and they were, they were hunkered down a bunch of palmettos. Now, Fort Chris Christmas Road was dirt at that time, and Lake Mills Road was not really good. It, it paved a little bit, but not really good. Okay. So when the sun started to come up, they heard this little model T put put put, they could hear it coming. And so they're all down in the bushes, the two deputies, and they hear 'em turn and they see a black gentleman driving the vehicle. And Uncle Billy is sitting on the other side and they could see it through the Palmettos. And they stop right near the corner of the intersection. And this gentleman who turns out to be Butler Boston, the black preacher from Oviedo, gets a barrel down in the palmettos and puts it in the back of the Model T. And then he goes a few more yards, comes down, gets the second barrel, puts it in the back of the Model T, or in the back of the vehicle Model T I think, I don't know whether it was actually a Model T, but one of those older cars.And the whole thing is that the deputy and sheriff hobby did not know there was a barrel right in front of them in the Palmettos. So Butler Boston is a black gentleman. He's up in age and he's not real tall. Okay, Sheriff Hobby is six foot six. So when Butler Boston reaches down to get the barrel in front of them, the last barrel hobby stands up and Uncle Billy, of course Butler Boston drops the barrel. Uncle Billy takes both of his hands, puts it over his

heart and goes, I'm having the big one, I'm having the big one, I'm having big one. And goes into this dissertation like the man is dying. So Hobby says, don't anybody move, we're gonna take you over to Sanford. And Billy is just going on and on and on about, he's having a heart attack, he's doing this. So they put Butler Boston in the back with the deputy Uncle Billy's in the front, just wailing and carrying on and Hobby's driving. Well, they had to come over to Sanford because anybody that was arrested had to go before Judge Householder. Okay, this is an important name, Householder. And so they get in there and he says, well, Billy, he said, I can't believe that you would do this. And he goes, well, yes. And he says, now I've got to set bail for you. Uncle Billy leans across the table and says, now judge, before you set bail, just remember I delivered three pints to your wife last week.

Yeazell: I love that!

Jacobs: My Lord, I don't need to say anything else.

Yeazell: Oh my gosh. I wonder what the, the, you could probably hear a pin drop in the courtroom after that.

Jacobs: It wasn't in the courtroom, it was just conversation was in his chambers.

Yeazell: In his chambers?

Jacobs: Yes.

Yeazell: So what was this arrest ever put on the books? Was there ever a bail set?

Jacons: Yes, there was a bail, but it wasn't a whole lot but, Uncle Billy didn't, you know, really learn his lesson. So this would go on and on from what I understand from the family. But he finally did get permanently arrested. Okay. And when it came to a trial, he brought every one of his children, set them up on the front row, and he had a lot of kids and he pleaded his case, but this time it didn't work. Okay. So he was sent to Rayford, which is was the big place in that day to go. And he was there for one year and one day.

Yeazell: Wow. Okay. So Rayford is a prison?

Jacobs: Yes. And when Billy came back, everybody was, well, hey Billy, how you doing? It was just like nothing ever happened. Yeah. Just like interesting. Oh, it was no big deal. You know? Well, Billy Jacobs is back.

Yeazell: Yeah. Yeah.

Jacobs: So, but as far as I know, he wasn't arrested again. Okay. And, and that was during that, I'd have to go back, it is in the records of the county jail book out there, it shows where he was actually arrested. I don't know what page or anything it's on, but it is there. But there were no ramifications or any different social cues when he was released. So it was very much a, the community accepted it as no big deal. Hey, you're back. Great. Yeah. Okay. And then we had other people out in Chuluota, different family members, that were arrested, but they didn't get, they might have spent two or three days at the convict camp for heavy labor, you know? Okay. To work on the side of the roads and stuff like that. And there are several articles in the Sanford Herald about who was arrested. Yes. Yes. And so most of these people have passed on, just about all of them have passed on. But there are a few of the relatives that are left. And some of 'em, I went to high school with. And so it's, it's, it's sort of funny 'cause we can all laugh about it and then if you mention something oh yeah. That still is still back there in the woods, you know, to this day.

Yeazell: Wow.

Jacobs: Yeah. But I can't tell anybody where it is. So.

Yeazell: No, of course.

Jacobs: No, I can't.

Yeazell: Awesome. Well, there, would this be overstepping if I asked if I could contact any of those folks? And I mean, if you don't wanna provide me their information, I can try to find it on my own. But do you think any of those people who you knew would be open to talking to me about it? I could. I could redact the names and just get the stories. But, you know, I don't wanna make anyone uncomfortable.

Jacobs: I think most of them have died off. I only know a couple. I mean, there's probably a lot more.

Yeazell: Yeah. And I'm going to try, I may get some doors slammed in my face, but I'll see what I can do on my own.

Jacobs: Well, let me canvas for you.

Yes, I love that.

Jacobs: I'll, I know two people for sure that I can call. I went to school with them. They're younger than me, but I went to school with them. Okay. And I'll ask if they would be willing and, and they may not. Yes, but they may. But it's been so long ago. I mean people, we, we all talk about it. Yeah. You know, just silly things, that kind of thing. But you gotta remember, everything was rural back there, dirt roads, Curyville Road was dirt, lake Mills road was dirt. Back in the day when you had to go from Oviedo to Chuluota or even to Geneva, everything was dirt. You had wooden bridges that would go out during the high waters. And in the early beginnings, different people would volunteer to take care of the bridge. And that was really interesting. And then you could charge, if you would run like a, a raft boat, from one side of the river to the other and, and if they wanted to bring cow or pigs or something, they would be charged 25 cents for a pig or, you know, that kind of thing. And that was pretty normal, even out here at the Wekiva River. If you wanted to pass in those days before all the big bridges, the, you know, but a lot of the bridges would get washed out when the, during the rainy season.

Yeazell: Were there any bad storms during that time that would wash out too? Like I think about that hurricanes that have hit Florida and I,

Jacobs: One happened in 1926. 26 was the biggest that I can think of down in Miami.

Yeazell: Andrew. Oh no, no. Andrew was in the nineties. Sorry. Sorry.

Jacobs: You'd have to look that one up. I can't think of the name of it. But it destroyed so many people in down in Miami. And I know a whole group of down around the big lake that's down there. I cannot think of it right this minute. Okeechobee? Yeah, probably that one. ok. And I know that there was a lot of black people that were working on the farms down there that died. And then there was a group that moved from down there, and they established Jamestown, which is between Goldenrod and Oviedo. There's a little community there called Jamestown. And also the convict camp was at Jamestown. People say, oh no, we didn't have convict camps. Yes you did. And we know it, we can show it to you. And Bennett now has a, a little thing about the camps that we were able to show.

Yeazell: I did learn about this in one of my grad school classes, not undergrad, interestingly enough. But I did learn about it in graduate school. I went to UCF. I should. Right. We should all be talking about that. You know, it

Jacobs: Just depends on what's important to certain people.

Yeazell: Right. Well that's an awesome story. Do you have any others?

Jacobs: Trying to think.

Yeazell: Yeah. Yes, of course.

Jacobs: Oh, I, I'll tell you about the Blind Tigers.

Yeazell: Yes, please. Okay. Tell me about the Blind Tigers.

Jacobs: When I was at the County Museum, I kept seeing these Blind Tiger articles and go Blind Tiger strikes again. And I'm go, what in the heck is a blind tiger? So one of the friends here that was a big researcher, Christine Kinlaw Best, and she grew up as a Kinlaw, and then they were into moonshine too. And so I said, Chris, I keep seeing these things. She said, oh, let me tell you about it. I said, okay. She said, down Sanford Avenue, where all the businesses were, if they wanted to sell moonshine, they would get a stuffed tiger and put it in the window of their shop. And that meant anybody could come in and buy booze from the back of the building, or you know, under the, under the table so to speak. But if there was revenuers up and down Sanford Avenue, like checking people out, they'd take the little stuffed tiger out of the window and everybody knew do not come in and ask for any moonshine, because a lot of the revenues would come in just like an everyday customer like undercover kind of deal. And don't be coming in here and asking for it. And so then I understood what it meant, you know, blind Tiger strikes again. And there's a lot of articles in the Sanford Herald during that timeframe, that you can actually see. Bennett, we printed them out. I think Bennett has a lot of them out at his museum in the file folders.

Yeazell: And what, what do you know about the, the network system of alerting each other about the, the revenuers coming down? I mean, it sounds like they, they knew enough to try to be discreet and come in and just like a regular customer, but people must have tipped each other off, you know?

Jacobs: Oh, I'm sure they did. It just depends. A lot of them were in competition for each other, so they would like not saying anything because, right.

Yeazell: Right.

Jacobs: They wanted their business. So that one's gonna go to jail. We can get their business while they're out. It was, it was, I was really surprised. And a lot of it was being run from Ocala. Ocala was a big distributor kind of a thing. If you, if there, you know, the local ones were real small around here. Not like humongous. There were a few that they would say, oh, we got 20,000 gallons or whatever.

Yeazell: I saw articles on that! The biggest one I saw was a thousand gallons. Yeah. And I saw one in 1927, it was 750 gallons. And they said this is one of the biggest. Oh, okay. And that was telling to me that we're now nine or eight years into prohibition and 750 gallons was one of the biggest.

Jacobs: Right. Yeah. And most people were just making it for, to sell to local people. You know, not on a big scale, but everybody liked their spirits, you know. And it's just not any different than it is today. You know?

Yeazell: Yes.Oh my gosh. I went to the Prohibition Museum in Savannah and there's a funny quote and it says, I once would a whole year surviving on nothing but food and water.

Jacobs: That's cute.

Yeazell: It was, yeah, it was cute. Actually, that museum is when I was like, there's something to this. I can, I can write my thesis on this.

Jacobs: So, they were running moonshine, you know, if you've ever seen, it was a Robert Mitchum movie and it talked about, and you could probably plug it in, Robert Mitchum and Moonshine. And they were, it was something like Thunder Road, but it wasn't called Thunder Road. I can't remember the name of it right this minute. But it talked about all the moonshining and how they would put it in the backs of the cars and how they would transport it, and how they would hide it. And he, you have to race through the mountains, you know, all the curvy roads, and everything to deliver it. And he was one that would deliver it. And it was, I can't remember, it was something road. Anyway, you look it up online.

Yeazell: Yeah, yeah.

Jacobs: And that was all about Moonshine. It's a really good movie too. Really old, but it's good.

Yeazell: Well, I think there were a lot of car engine advancements during that time because the moonshiners were like, okay, we're gonna try to sneak it, but we will be placed in situations where we just have to outrun the police. So this is what we'll do. And then of course, the police had to improve their vehicles to be able to catch the moonshiners trying. Oh! I did have a question. Oh, the name of the church. I don't know if you'll share that with me. That, that where, oh, it's Billy Jacobs was confronted.

Jacobs: Yeah, it was First Baptist Church of Chuluota. It still stands today.

Yeazell: Okay. First Baptist Church of Chuluota

Jacobs: Yeah. It's a little block building. The original was a wooden one. And it's, and it's just right there. It's still there. Same place. It's not a real big church. It never grew a lot. You know, it had periods of growth, but never like a humongous thing. It was all just local people that went there.

Yeazell: Yeah. Yeah. So it sounds like the, a lot of the, you said the moon shiners are tipping off the police. Right. But it sounds like because these were smaller stills, there was the system of blind tigers that the community was aware that this was going on. Not only was the moonshine being created here, distilled here, I wanted to say brewed. Distilled. But it was being sold here. So do you have any stories or have you gotten any indication from any of these family members that it was discussed openly and accepted by the population, or folks just kind of turn a blind eye and then they would walk into one of the blind tiger places? I mean, what, what was the community's perception of, of being a, you know, unable to consume alcohol?

Jacobs: Well, Baptist, normally don't believe in drinking.

Yeazell: Was it a big Baptist community?

Jacobs: But I don't think it was, because Holy Cross, they all drank. The Catholic churches they drink, but there was a big Baptist church here. There was Methodist, all kinds of religious groups. Baptist were the teetotalers supposedly. But a lot of them nipped in the back anyway, you know, on the side. But that was probably the strictest church. I know. I was raised Baptist and there was no alcohol in our house at all. And so, but I had friends that were Catholic and all of that. And they all drank. Ya know, I mean, even high school drinking.

Yeazell: Yeah. I was raised in a Catholic family, you know, I mean, we drink in church, so

Jacobs: Yeah. Yeah. I mean, you have wine, we had grape juice. Y'all had real stuff. Yeah. Had grape juice. I mean that, it's what it is. Everybody's different. But you know, but some of these local little churches, you know, everybody probably had corn liquor or some kind of, you know, in the jugs and, probably if somebody got hurt really bad, they'd give them a drink. 'cause they couldn't get to a doctor really fast. And that would help 'em just sew themselves up or something like that. Oh, yep. Yeah, yeah. Or disinfect something.

Yeazell: Right, right. Yeah. So it seems like that's it, it wasn't looked at when, when Prohibition, especially because there was this, this was a dry county, but when Prohibition was ratified, it doesn't seem like it was this whole big reactionary change of life.

Jacobs: Life had always just been, we like alcohol, but we can't really be open about it. There's this element of secrecy, almost like it was a game and just a part of life.

Yeazell: Yes.

Jacobs: That you used it at different times.

Yeazell: Yeah. Okay. And that's interesting. And I noticed one of the articles in here was scathing article, just insulting the town because the, there was complaints about, well, we keep seeing bootleggers being arrested and moonshiners being arrested, but they wouldn't be in business if it wasn't for you all drinking what they're producing. So shame on you.

Jacobs: In demand

Yeazell: Yes. So that was interesting too. I didn't see a single thing in there that was a suggestive that let, let's minimize this. This isn't that big of a deal. Oh, so what? But I saw a few things that were shaming the community, which I thought was really interesting. So I don't know. I, I wondering if you've had had any thoughts on that, if anyone had ever said like, spoken negatively of the dries or offended by any sort of scolding that.

Jacobs: No, it was just a matter of fact from everybody that I talked to. Oh. You know, well, oh yeah. He was doing it, you know, it wasn't like it was the end of the world. I mean, he didn't murder anybody.

Yeazell: Right, right.

Jacobs: That kind of thing. Yeah. Didn't take the law into his own hands and chop somebody up or something.

Yeazell: Almost like speeding. More extreme than speeding, but kind of like that. Okay. So

Jacobs: I, you know, I don't think, I just think it was everyday life that if you wanted to do it, do it. If you didn't everyday, then you didn't, but you knew where you could buy it. Even if you weren't raising it, you knew where you could get it. Yeah. You know, that's, that's just my personal opinion. I don't know. Other people might have different opinions and, and some people only went to jail for like a week or two. Some people were, you know, arrested more than once or twice. They'd make 'em long sentences. But when you go for several years and then they get tired of it, then you're gonna go to the big house and that's where he went.

Yeazell: Right, right. You know, I know there was a gentleman in his name escapes me now, but he, during prohibition would go to different cities and try to, there was a, he was keeping a tally and a competition of how quickly can I find alcohol in a new city. And New Orleans was the city where he found it the most quickly. He asked the taxi driver, where can I find it? And the taxi driver said, I've got some right here, 37 minutes or something like that from the time he entered the city until had it. Sure. So, okay. Well, something else, this is, I appreciate the stories I really do. Something else that maybe you can help me with a, another element to, to kinda round out this second chapter of my thesis is I'm curious of the, the sheriff records, just how many sheriffs did they have in accordance with the population? And did they have to hire up, you know, during Prohibition. Do you have any idea where I can find those kinds of records? I've, I've called the sheriff, the, the, the Seminole County Police Department. And I keep leaving voicemails for people and nobody ever calls me back. So I don't think they want to,

Jacobs: The Seminole County Sheriff's Department, the best guy that I would say to contact is Bob Keating. K-E-A-T-I-N-G, I believe. Okay. And he's the one that's done a lot of research. I've worked with him over the years. And they interviewed me about the moonshine and also about the first deputy that was shot in Seminole County. And that was Cleveland Jacobs. And that was the first public hanging and the last public hanging right here in Sanford about that.

Yeazell: Wow. At the firehouse?

Jacobs: Behind the firehouse. Yes. Research up the file open right now. Yeah.

Yeazell: Wow. And did the, the man who shot Cleveland Jacobs Yes. Did he pass away from that injury? Or was it just an injury?

Jacobs: No, no, no, no. Oh, Cleveland, this is the story. Okay. There, a black gentleman came into the city of Sanford, Cleveland. Jacobs was a sheriff's deputy, but they were covering for each other back in the day. Okay. And so the guy stole a pair of pants off of a clothes line, and now he's running. So he goes into a house. So sheriff,

Yeazell: Just a stranger's house? Yeah.

Jacobs: He went into a stranger's house, you know. Oh my gosh. He's screaming and hollering and all that.

Yeazell: Yeah, yeah.

Jacobs: And so Deputy Cleveland Jacobs, they knew he was in there. So he goes in through the front door. But what he didn't know is that the guy in there found a gun.

Yeazell: Oh, in the house. Okay.

Jacobs: It was a shotgun. Okay. And when he opened the door, he was instantly killed. So the guy's name that killed him was Percy Baylis, B-A-Y-L-L-I-S. And so they captured him, they whisk him off to Orlando, and then from Orlando, they whisk him off down south over to Tampa area just to keep the people from taking the law into their own hands here. 'cause he was young, first deputy shot and everything. So they had a trial, then they had a hanging, the first and only hanging in Seminole County.

Yeazell: What year was that?

Jacobs: I just, 19. I had it here. I don't know. I have it. Oh, you, I have it in my book too. That was right here.

Jacobs: I'm sure I can Google it too, no trouble.

Jacobs: And there's a whole, I assisted with fallen deputies for the state of Florida and Cleveland Jacobs is in there in that book. And I also have it in my book. I, I just need to look it up. And so here's the interesting thing. Back in the day, if somebody did not take the law into their own hands of the loved one that was killed, that they didn't try to go out and string 'em up themselves or do anything if you wanted to, the mother, the wife, sister, whoever could make the hood of the

person that was going to be hung, and Aunt Sissy made the hood and that guy wore the hood. And the hanging is right down here where the jail, the jail restaurant is, and people got up on top of the buildings here to see the public hanging. That was the first and last hanging in Seminole County.

Yeazell: Wow. That's a powerful story. Yeah. Whew. Wow. Okay. Thank you.

Jacobs: And that had to do with the Jacobs family as well. One was on one side of the law and one was on the other side of the law.

Yeazell: That's interesting. Were Cleveland and Billy. How were Cleveland and Billy related?

Jacobs: Gosh, I think they were cousins. Cousins, yeah. I'd have to look it up. I can, I can tell you I've got my genealogy book. I can tell you exactly.

Yeazell: That's okay. I'm just, I'm just curious.

Jacobs But if you need it, I can tell you.

Yeazell: Thank you. Thank you. Well, what I'll do is I'd like to give you my name and my contact information. Okay. So if you speak with those two people who I can maybe get in touch with and, you know, more than happy to, like I said, redact any names, change names, whatever would make them more comfortable. And if they say no, I totally understand. All right. So my name is Lindsay Yeazell, and I'll give you my phone number and my email.

Jacobs: Okay. I won't see them for a couple of weeks.

Yeazell: Oh, that's okay.

Jacobs: We're on a committee for a class reunion, so I will ask.

Yeazell: Oh, that's fine. All right. Well, thank you so much. Thank you. I think I'm all set. I'm gonna head on down to the County Museum.

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