



**“Raids and ‘Rackets’ Arouse
Cleveland”
Bootlegging and Dry Agents
in Cleveland, Ohio 1919-1924**

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Introduction

Despite the best efforts of “dry agents” in Cleveland, bootlegging and organized crime undermined the regime and enforcement of the Volstead Act through the corruption of, and retaliation on, said agents throughout this region. Located on Lake Erie, Cleveland, Ohio, was the first settlement established in the Connecticut Western Reserve in 1796.¹ Founded by the Connecticut Land Company and named for its surveyor General Moses Cleveland, the region saw very little population growth in its earliest years.² By 1800, its population was seven and its first distillery was opened. Following the War of 1812, the population increased to 606 in 1820.³ By the turn of the century, this small city’s population had significantly increased to 381,768, making it the seventh largest city in the United States. Over the next twenty years, Cleveland, Ohio, saw the incorporation of villages and the industrialization of its region. By 1920, this vastly growing metropolis was recognized as the fifth largest city in the nation with a population of 796,841.⁴

Full of contradictions, Cleveland retained its status as a major city throughout the twentieth century while also maintaining a collection of townships, villages, and an array of school districts within the city itself. Known for being the home to many social reformers such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Movement and various labor unions, it was also a city recognized for its conservatism. Religiously and ethnically diverse, the city currently houses some fine cultural establishments like the Cleveland

Museum of Art, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, and an extensive parks system. It is also home to large medical facilities such as the Cleveland Clinic, established in 1921, and historical religious structures like Trinity Cathedral Episcopal Church, whose original building was located at St. Clair and Seneca, now West 3rd Street, before burning in 1854.⁵ Rich in history, culture, and diversity, this large city is paradoxical. Conservative yet driven by social change, built upon immigrant labor yet exclusionary and discriminatory, Cleveland's history is deeply complex and worthy of further exploration. Suggested readings include *Lost Cleveland* by Laura DeMarco, *East Fourth Street: The Rise, Decline, and Rebirth of an Urban Cleveland Street* by Alan F. Dutka, *A History of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland* by William R. Coates, and *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* by David D Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski.

Because this city is contradictory at times, this original piece of research intends to explore Cleveland's exceptionality during the height of Prohibition from 1919-1925. Recognized for its confrontational politics, Ohio is the birthplace of many reforms. Although nearby Oberlin is the home of the Anti-Saloon League, Cleveland is an example of Ohio cities that also hosted instances of bootlegging, corruption, and organized crime. Reliant on the *Cleveland Press* Collection, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *New York Times* and a handful of primary articles, this research explores the narrative surrounding Prohibition agents in this Midwest city.

Literature Review

This analysis relies heavily on local and national newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. The following pages highlight organized crime history alongside disorganization, corruption, and the ineffectiveness of National Prohibition. Through an exploration of bootlegging and smuggling in the metropolitan area this work lends weight to the complexity of National Prohibition at the local level. This research presents a unique facet of Cleveland history, giving voice to Clevelanders who resented Prohibition's enforcement and found innovative means to go around the law. As a result, this research also focuses on the

experiences of individuals who tried to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment like Cleveland Prohibition Agent Fred Counts.

Local and social history matter here, including ethnic and class issues. This piece of research would not have been possible without Elizabeth Piwowski of the Cleveland State University archives. Her knowledge of local history, archival science, and access to the *Cleveland Press* collection were vital in this project. The Cleveland Memory Project through Cleveland State University was especially vital and provided digital access to photographs seen throughout this project. The Cleveland Public Library's digitized *Cleveland Plain Dealer* archives are foundational to this analysis. I attempt to add works by individuals like Wayne B. Wheeler and William Foulke as I explore those who both supported and opposed this movement.

'Prohibition: An Interactive History' helped illustrate the full picture of the Federal Prohibition Bureau and its agents.⁶ This worked well in conversation with Lisa McGirr's *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State*.⁷ Both aptly discussed individuals like Isidor Einstein and Moe Smith, two dry agents who were often an exception to public animosity.⁸ *Prohibition: A Very Short Introduction* by W. J. Rorabaugh was especially important to the national narrative. Its lack of distinct bias allowed its readers to form their own opinions regarding Prohibition's successes and failures.

The historiography surrounding the Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead Act is vast, contested, and future historians should continue to explore their impact on localities throughout the Midwest. While often focused on New York City and Chicago, this topic presents a unique opportunity to add to local history, public history, social history, and legal history. While there are inherent biases in newspapers, this can also be utilized to understand public perception of Prohibition at both the national and local level.

Bootlegging, Dry Agents, and the Volstead Act

According to scholar W. J. Rorabaugh, whenever a substance is prohibited, two things can occur. First, the price rises. Second, the substance returns in a "more concentrated form or a

replacement appears.”⁹ The shift from beer to distilled liquor during Prohibition brought back the hard liquor that was despised by the original temperance movement. In January 1919, US legislators passed the Eighteenth Amendment which sought to eliminate alcohol uses in the nation entirely. In doing so, the government outlawed the sale, manufacture, and transportation of all alcohol nationwide.¹⁰ Deemed the “Great Experiment,” this piece of legislation should have cured intemperance and its ill-effects that afflicted communities as a result.

Integral to the American way of life, alcohol prohibition fostered bootlegging, “bathtub gin,” smuggling, organized crime, and the creation of underground bars known colloquially as speakeasies. For those willing to meet consumer demands, the

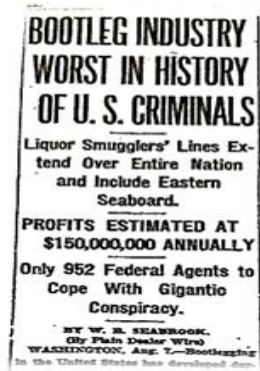


Image 1: “Bootleg Industry Worst in History of U.S. Criminals,” *Plain Dealer*, 1921. Courtesy of *Plain Dealer* Historical accessed through

underworld liquor business flourished. This underworld also saw the increased popularity of distilled liquor due to its ease of transportation and its discreetness. Defined as the “illegal manufacturing, transportation, and sale of alcohol,” bootlegging took root as a business opportunity for many Americans including those within Cleveland, Ohio.¹¹ According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in 1921, bootlegging developed into “perhaps the most gigantic criminal conspiracy in the history of the world according to the

cold facts and figures now in the hands of the federal prohibition authorities.”¹² This criminal conspiracy included corruption, blackmail, bribery, burglary, murder, and even arson. Eye-catching newspaper articles rapidly caught Americans’ attention. In 1921, nine hundred fifty-four agents nationwide were devoting their whole time to chasing down bootleggers.¹³

The Eighteenth Amendment lacked enforcement details which drove Congress to pass the National Prohibition Law, commonly referred to as the Volstead Act. Named after Congressman Andrew Volstead, the act’s confusing language allowed for an array of loopholes. Its description of intoxicating

substances alone allowed for Americans to skate around the law. The Volstead Act stated that any beverage with “more than one half of one percent of alcohol by volume was illegal.”¹⁴ Shocking to many Americans who believed beer would be spared, this law fostered the popular rise in distilled liquors such as rum, moonshine, and whiskey. As a result, the United States government employed prohibition agents, or dry agents, to enforce the regime of the Volstead Act in accordance with the Eighteenth Amendment.

In its earliest days, the federal government funded only 1,500 agents who were issued guns and access to state vehicles yet were given little training.¹⁵ Unlike other state employees, dry agents were not initially required to take the Civil Service exams.¹⁶ This allowed for nepotism and corruption throughout the agency. A lack of funding, few qualification requirements, and low wages constructed an ideal climate for corruption. Despite working with local police forces at times, dry agents were often bribed, retaliated against, or even turned to bootlegging in Cleveland themselves. Local law breakers even forged federal identification cards to impersonate and infiltrate dry forces. Prohibition throughout this Midwest region blurred the lines between criminality and dry agent enforcement. America's further attempts to ban liquor only pushed its sales deeper into the underworld alongside other outlawed drugs. Raids on pharmacies, cafes, ships, yachts, warehouses and even personal homes fed the rising animosity between agents and Clevelanders.

When Ohio officially enforced the Eighteenth Amendment, fifty of the original one thousand twenty-eight bars remained open.¹⁷ Due to its proximity to Lake Erie, bootlegging and the smuggling of liquor were particularly successful. This location fostered interstate and international liquor transportation. Canada in particular readily accommodated Cleveland's need for liquor.¹⁸ Presented with a daunting, if not impossible task, dry agents stationed in the city attempted to enforce the Volstead Act despite smuggling, home brewing, speakeasies, and corruption in the bureau itself.

“Dry Forces Labor Day and Night but Rum Still Flows”: 1919-1922

Historians such as J. C. Burnham believed that Prohibition was initially effective during the first few years of its enforcement.¹⁹ Cleveland, Ohio, proved to be an exception to this rule. Following the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, this city saw a distinct rise in corruption and bootlegging. Herbert Frederick Counts' involvement in this region is particularly insightful into Cleveland's Prohibition history. Counts was born in Sidney, Ohio, in 1886.²⁰ He attended Case School of Applied Science, earned his degree in law, and upon graduation in 1907 returned home where he ran for county clerk, winning twice.²¹ In June 1919, he returned to Cleveland to serve as deputy internal revenue collector. In 1920, he was officially appointed as a dry agent in Cleveland.²²

Enforced and contested in January 1920, Clevelanders found various ways to get around the Eighteenth Amendment. On February 7, 1920, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that the night before, federal agents raided the restaurant and former saloon of J. B. Rose, arresting him and “confiscating large quantities of liquor of many kinds.”²³ Rose, commonly known as the proprietor of one of the most popular saloons in the city, was charged with violating Prohibition. The raid was led by Fred Counts and the stock totaled “forty-five sealed cases of quart bottles of whisky and three cases of half pint flasks.”²⁴ Alongside the aforementioned confiscations, twelve large barrels of wine were taken and broken boxes of whisky, gin, brandy, champagne, and other liquors “ran into the hundreds.”²⁵ February 19, 1920, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported violations continued despite the efforts of federal agents, local police, and township deputies.²⁶

In August 1920, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that Fred Counts refused to confirm or deny allegations that he was bribed by Samuel H. Rembrandt. He stated that “all I have to say is that the story is printed without our official sanction.”²⁷ According to the report, the agent deposited the \$4,000 into a government vault and notified his Washington superiors.²⁸ Throughout the fall of 1920, conditions grew more corrupt. Evident in a September 1920 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* article entitled “*Careful Bud, This Man's City Isn't Old Paris: Watch Your Step, as the Bird in O.D. May*

Be a Dry Agent” highlighted the growing animosity between federal dry agents and Cleveland citizens. A quirky, but short poem, this article warned Cleveland visitors of dry agent Fred Counts. The article cautioned American Legion Convention visitors to beware of the “buddy in uniform who knows where you can get something good.”²⁹

On February 1, 1921, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that attorney Samuel H. Rembrandt was indicted the day before for attempting to bribe Federal Prohibition Agent Fred Counts with \$4,000 to “permit the transportation into Cleveland of a large quantity of whisky.”³⁰ The following month, the *New York Times* reported that Cleveland attorney, Samuel Rembrandt was found guilty of attempted bribery. Rembrandt foolishly gave \$4,000 to dry agent Fred Counts with the promise of \$6,000 more if he would “declare alleged permits for transportation of liquor valid in Ohio.”³¹ The jury motioned for a new trial despite finding the defendant guilty. Counts personally testified against Rembrandt who attempted to bribe him the previous July. Throughout this trial, evidence revealed that J. A. Shearer, Prohibition Commissioner for Ohio was also approached with a bribe for legal permits by the defendant.³² April 4, 1921, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that Rembrandt was officially sentenced to three years in the Atlanta federal prison and fined \$5,000 for his attempted bribery of Counts.³³

Throughout his time as Federal Prohibition Agent, Fred Counts created quite the reputation for himself. Seen as a strict Volstead Act enforcer, Counts raided cafes, made significant arrests, and even investigated the Lakewood police who drank confiscated liquor.³⁴ Despite his widespread reputation, rumors began in the summer of 1921 that Counts would be removed from his post. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported on July 12, 1921, that “elimination of a resident prohibition enforcement agent in Cleveland is a possibility.”³⁵ It claimed that the chief duties of the position would be recentered in Columbus, Ohio. This plan was argued due to limited funds within the system.³⁶ In this article, it was stated that former County Clerk Charles S. Horner was mentioned to succeed Counts.

The early days of August saw another bribery attempt on Counts. Louis Cohen from New York was arrested and charged with attempting to hand a \$5,000 bribe to Counts.³⁷ In the remaining summer month, the dry agent broke up rum and whiskey rings throughout Cleveland and even in Cincinnati. On August 16, 1921, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that Samuel Rembrandt asked the United States Court of Appeals in Cincinnati for a case reversal.³⁸ Although Counts had clearly moved past this event, the past came back to haunt him eventually. In October 1921, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* announced that Counts would officially leave his post and practice law in Cleveland.³⁹ This was not the last time the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* would report on Counts. Following his departure, Cleveland would continue to see corruption and bootlegging.

In May 1922, Federal Prohibition Chief C. J. Burns lamented that "the ancient sacredness of governmental authority. . . appears to have disappeared with the coming of prohibition."⁴⁰ According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Burns reported a rapid influx of Cleveland complaints. He claimed that reports of dry agent impersonation were received several times a day. Burns believed that the reported men chose to impersonate dry agents because it "assures them ready admittance to the average home brewer's basement."⁴¹ On May 13, 1922, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that Samuel Rembrandt officially lost his appeal at the Court of Appeals Cincinnati. The story shifted significantly as this report now stated he offered Fred Counts \$15,000 rather than the originally stated \$10,000.⁴² That November, Rembrandt was officially disbarred.⁴³

City	Arrests For Drunkenness	Arrests For Liquor and Bootlegging	Total Deaths From All Causes
New York	1,211	1,200	1,200
San Francisco	1,100	1,100	1,100
Los Angeles	1,000	1,000	1,000
Chicago	900	900	900
Philadelphia	800	800	800
St. Louis	700	700	700
Boston	600	600	600
San Antonio	500	500	500
San Diego	400	400	400
San Jose	300	300	300
San Bernardino	200	200	200
San Francisco	100	100	100
San Jose	50	50	50
San Bernardino	25	25	25
San Francisco	12	12	12
San Jose	6	6	6
San Bernardino	3	3	3
San Francisco	1	1	1

Image 2: The Effects of Prohibition in 80 Cities, *New York Times*, 1923; courtesy of *New York Times* Historical accessed through the Cleveland Public Library; photograph by author.

By December 1922, corruption, and criminality, fully swept Cleveland. Harry Steinhoff, a long-distance truck driver, was held at gunpoint by a man claiming to be a dry agent.⁴⁴ Steinhoff was originally em-

ployed to deliver wine to churches when he was stopped by two other men who claimed to be dry agents as well. They stated that they were instructed to take over the truck due to its contents. A third man invited Steinhoff into his car, stating he was a dry agent with a warrant. By the time they reached the downtown Post Office, the truck driver realized the plot and tussled with the third man.⁴⁵ After a brief hassle, the "agent" pressed a gun to his side in front of the crowd before driving off. At the time of this article, "Battles Wine Thief on Steps of Post Office: Victim is Escorted Downtown by Robber Posing as Dry Agent," in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the wine had still not been found.⁴⁶

"Cleveland Kept Dry by 34 Agents": 1923-1925

Popular legends of dry agents like Isidor "Izzy" Einstein as "Prohibition Agent No. 1" led many to assume that Prohibition enforcement could be humorous and entertaining.⁴⁷ The antics of Einstein and his partner Moe Smith, although real, appeared as fictitious as those seen within silent films yet the life of dry agents throughout other cities was not as glamorous. Recognized for their stylish liquor busts throughout New York City, these agents appear more an exception than the rule of Prohibition enforcement.⁴⁸ Enforcers of a deeply unpopular law, many dry agents were stigmatized for their loyalty to enforcement. Dry agents were further stereotyped because many were "known to accept bribes from bootleggers, which made the entire bureau seem corrupt."⁴⁹ According to scholars like Lisa McGirr, despite its imperfections and shortcomings, many Americans found "themselves ensnared in one or more of Prohibition's webs, arrested, charged, fined, or incarcerated by local, state, or federal agents whose methods frequently violated constitutional protections."⁵⁰

Per a *New York Times* article in February 1923, animosity reached a new high in Cleveland, Ohio, when a dry agent was shot dead. Carl Metta, a local dry agent was "summoned to the door of his home at daylight this morning and shot to death by a bootlegger enemy" according to police.⁵¹ The assassin fired three shots at the agent: two through his head, one through his lung. According to the article, sources believed the shooter who then fled the scene was likely a previously arrested bootlegger.⁵² Within the next month, an

unnamed dry agent admitted to accepting a \$50 bribe to guarantee protection against further prosecution for a “convicted liquor law violator.”⁵³ The accused agent pleaded with the county prosecutor and instead offered his service to reveal other agents who received graft from the underworld liquor market.

By May 1923, Count’s past came back to haunt him when he was arrested alongside his brother Frank Counts in what the *New York Times* deemed a “liquor scandal.” The Counts brothers were charged with a “conspiracy to violate the Prohibition act and defraud the government by obstructing prohibition enforcement.”⁵⁴ Considered to be the “greatest liquor scandal unearthed since prohibition enforcement was begun,” the case of Fred Counts highlights the corruption of dry agents in Cleveland, Ohio.⁵⁵ The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported on May 27, 1923, that the Counts brothers were charged with a conspiracy “involving bribery in connection with the Auerbach alcohol diversion plot.”⁵⁶ The older of the two Frank claimed that “I got no favors and expected none during the time my brother was prohibition agent.”⁵⁷ Arrested alongside the two brothers, Joseph A. Shearer, former Ohio prohibition director, was convinced that his arrest and the Counts’ were due to political reasons. Former attorney Samuel Rembrandt was an Ohio legislature candidate in 1920 and was indicted the following year.⁵⁸

What began as allegations of bribery snowballed into claims of conspiracy, leaks, and corruption. The Counts’ trial lasted until

fall 1923. On September 27, 1923, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that all four defendants were acquitted.⁵⁹ Initially charged with two counts of conspiracy, the jury found the



Image 3: “ACQUITS ALL 4 of Liquor Conspiracy,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1923. Courtesy of Cleveland Plain Dealer Historical; accessed through the Cleveland Public Library. Photograph by author

four lawyers not guilty. The con-spiracy which directly involved the Auerbach brothers was tied to Samuel Rembrandt through marriage.⁶⁰ Brother-in-law to the brothers, Rembrandt highlights local corruption and nepotism that fostered bootlegging and smuggling throughout Ohio and Kentucky.

Toward the end of 1923, the Volstead Act was “crippled by spoilsmen,” according to William Dudley Foulke, president of the National Civil Service Reform League.⁶¹ He published “Prohibition Under the Spoils System,” which argued that the Bureau for the Enforcement of the Volstead Act “inaugurated an era of corruption in this branch of the service unheard of even in the worst days of spoil politics.”⁶² In February 1924, Wayne B. Wheeler, General Counsel and Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, published “Prohibition Enforcement Under Civil Service” in the *Current History* magazine. In this article, the teetotaler defended civil service reform and the League against attacks from critics like William Dudley Foulke.

The following December, Foulke claimed the Anti-Saloon League was partially at fault for the corruption which had infiltrated the Prohibition Bureau’s agents.⁶³ Along with this, he also argued that this issue would continue to perpetuate the evils of the system. Despite these criticisms, Foulke was absent from Volstead Act deliberations.⁶⁴ Foulke’s criticism attacked the League for accepting the Volstead Act measures with little to no protest. In contrast, Wheeler suggested critics were more inclined to refute the Prohibition Act rather than consider the “success of any civil service provisions” that the law held.⁶⁵ He also recognized that the Anti-Saloon League endorsed this, knowing it was not perfect at the time, but was necessary. Unlike his critics, Wheeler believed in civil service reform for Prohibition agents. Alongside this belief, he also acknowledged that the selection of agents was often due to political ties, which allowed for corruption and political persuasion lenience.⁶⁶ In his eyes, civil service reforms provided personal security for those who truly wished to uphold and enforce the law despite political influence and pressure.

The discourse on civil service and agent reform took root in popular magazines. Despite this, violence and bribery continuously swept Cleveland, Ohio. March 21, 1924, four dry agents were

arrested for theft during a raid.⁶⁷ Charged with breaking into a man's trunk, Morris Fischer, Harry Weisman, Jack Chinnman, and Joseph Cohen allegedly stole \$103. All four agents denied the theft. Detectives Andrew Ryan, Clarence Banks, and Max Mettel claimed that the four men opened the trunk during a liquor raid, but found none.⁶⁸ The following day, the trunk owner realized the money was missing and reported it. At the month's end, Ralph J. Donaldson claimed that the first few years of Prohibition were successful, yet "Cleveland police have spent a large part of their time investigating crimes attributed to village and township dry agents."⁶⁹ Since the previous November, the Cleveland police arrested sixty-four dry agents for intoxication, bribery, impersonation, and event assault with intent to kill.⁷⁰

Two months later, two dry agents were arrested for bribery. According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in May 1924, one was a former policeman.⁷¹ The bribery complaint was filed by Thomas Ivone who stated that George Durkin and Milton Pehotsky came into his home around 3 a.m. the previous morning. The men found a still and offered to "fix it" for \$300.⁷² After he paid each man \$60, Ivone reported the incident to the prosecutor's office. Despite these events, Cleveland promoted a dry image of itself. On June 8, 1924, the *New York Times* released a statement which claimed that the city "appears pretty dry" to those who investigated it.⁷³

Conclusion

In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt accepted the Democratic presidential nomination. Upon this acceptance, he stated "I am confident that the United States wants repeal."⁷⁴ Nine days after he took office, he officially cut Prohibition Bureau funding. He also asked Congress to modify the Volstead Act's "intoxicating substances" definition and, with the help of the Association against the Prohibition Amendment, began a resolution to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment.⁷⁵ A combination of forces changed this reversal. Lisa McGirr states that "widespread disrespect for the law, controversial actions of the Volstead vigilante enforcers, ever more draconian enforcement legislation, and the siren song of nightlife cultural experimentation" led former supporters to deem the law more harmful than good.⁷⁶

By November 1933, repeal sentiments were painfully obvious. The *New York Times* released that “although Ohio dry leaders have conducted a vigorous campaign against repeal, they admit it has been futile.”⁷⁷ This article also claimed that wets predicted a majority of eight or nine for the amendment’s repeal, while dries were no more than two to one. Clevelanders celebrated Prohibition’s end as early as February 1933 despite Ohio’s repeal not occurring until December.

National Prohibition alongside the Volstead Act was successful in state building, yet it also created a regime of crime, corruption, and retaliation on its Cleveland reformers. From personal attacks to bribery and even impersonations, these presented dry agents with a particularly difficult task of enforcing an extremely unpopular law. There is evidence that dry agents genuinely wanted to enforce the Volstead Act and did so ethically. In the same evidence, the corruption that infiltrated Cleveland proves individuals like Fred Counts were likely the minority rather than the majority. The present analysis of opinion pieces and newspaper reports clarifies that bootlegging undermined the Volstead Act enforcement reign within Cleveland, Ohio, thus resulting in mass corruption of the region’s dry agents.

¹ “Timeline.” *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, Case Western Reserve University. August 2, 2021, <https://case.edu/ech/timeline>.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Toni Berry, “Trinity Episcopal Cathedral – a Progressive Congregation with Robber Baron Roots,” *Cleveland Historical*, accessed September 4, 2022, <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/81>.

⁶ “Prohibition Agents Lacked Training, Numbers to Battle Bootleggers,” *Prohibition*, accessed November 1, 2021, <https://prohibition.themobmuseum.org/the-history/enforcing-the-prohibition-laws/law-enforcement-during-prohibition/>.

⁷ Andersen Lisa M., *The Politics of Prohibition: American Governance and the Prohibition Party, 1869-1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Rorabaugh, W. J., *Prohibition: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 65.

¹⁰ Dennis Nishi, *Prohibition* (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 2004), 12.

¹¹ "Bootlegging," Ohio History Central, accessed October 26, 2021, <https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Bootlegging>.

¹² "Bootleg Industry Worst in History of U.S. Criminals," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 8, 1921.

¹³ "Bootleg Industry Worst in History of U.S. Criminals," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 8, 1921.

¹⁴ Nishi, 17.

¹⁵ "Prohibition Agents Lacked Training, Numbers to Battle Bootleggers," Prohibition, accessed November 1, 2021, <https://prohibition.themobmuseum.org/the-history/enforcing-the-prohibition-laws/law-enforcement-during-prohibition/>.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Prohibition Amendment," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*. Case Western Reserve University, June 18, 2018, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/p/prohibition-amendment>.

¹⁸ Rorabaugh, 72.

¹⁹ J. C. Burnham, "New Perspectives on the Prohibition 'Experiment' of the 1920's," *Journal of Social History* 2, no. 1 (January 1968): 51-68, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jsh/2.1.51>.

²⁰ "Among Those You Meet on Main Street," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 28, 1921.

²¹ "Among Those You Meet on Main Street," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 28, 1921.

²² Ibid.

²³ "Huge Liquor Stock Seized: U.S. Agents Arrest J. B. Rose, Take Booze Valued \$100,000," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 7, 1920.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 2, 1920.

²⁷ "Refuses to Talk on Bribery Rumor: Prohibition Agent Counts Reported to Have Been Offered \$4000," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 20, 1920.

²⁸ "Refuses to Talk on Bribery Rumor: Prohibition Agent Counts Reported to Have Been Offered \$4000," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 20, 1920.

²⁹ "Careful Bud, This Man's City Isn't Old Paris: Watch Your Step, as the Bird in O. D. May Be a Dry Agent," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 24, 1920.

³⁰ "Lawyer Indicted as Liquor Briber: S. H. Rembrandt Accused of Offering Counts \$4000 in Whisky Running; Declared Trapped Tendering Money After a Seizure of Cargo," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 1, 1921.

³¹ "Cleveland Attorney Is Found Guilty of Offering \$10,000 for Permits," *New York Times*, March 25, 1921.

³² Ibid.

³³ "Plans Appeal in Bribe Case: Lawyer Gets Three Years and \$5000 Fine," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 4, 1921.

³⁴ "Lakewood Liquor Quiz Authorized: Council Sanctions Inquiry by Mayor of Charge Police Drank Seized Liquor; Chief Will Not Suspend Men at Present; Two Firemen Let Out," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 6, 1921.

³⁵ "Dry Agency Here May be Abolished: Centering of Enforcement Activities in Columbus Reported Considered," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 7, 1921.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Expect to Break Big Whisky Ring: Federal Dry Agents Trap New Yorker Charged with \$5000 Bribe Offer," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 5, 1921.

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- ³⁸ "Lawyer Appeals Own Case: Rembrandt Asks Court to Set Aside Liquor Case Sentence," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 16, 1921.
- ³⁹ "Counts and Dry Agents Will Go: Successor to be Announced Soon by State Prohibition Director," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 21, 1921.
- ⁴⁰ "Personate Dry Agents. Prohibition Chief Says He Has Several Complaints Each Day," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 13, 1922.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² "Court Upholds Bribery Verdict: Atty. Rembrandt Loses Appeal in 5-Year Sentence," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 13, 1922.
- ⁴³ "Lawyer is Disbarred: Rembrandt Loses Right to Practice Following Bribery Charge," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 7, 1922.
- ⁴⁴ "Battles Wine Thief on Steps of Post Office: Victim is Escorted Downtown by Robber Posing as Dry Agent," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, December 8, 1922.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Lisa McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State* (New York: Norton, 2016), 67.
- ⁴⁸ McGirr, 67.
- ⁴⁹ Nishi, 103
- ⁵⁰ McGirr, 71.
- ⁵¹ "Dry Agent Shot Dead: Called to Door in Cleveland and Slain by Supposed Bootlegger," *New York Times*, February 20, 1923.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ "Dry Agent Admits He Received Bribe: Tells Stanton He 'Guaranteed' Convicted Man Against New Raids," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 2, 1923.
- ⁵⁴ "Ex-Dry Agents Held in Big Liquor Fraud: Counts Brothers, J. A. Shearer, and S. A. Hoskins Indicted in Auerbach Conspiracy," *New York Times*, May 27, 1923.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ "Sees More Arrests in Rum Fraud: Bernstein Predicts Further Developments as Result of Action Involving Fred Counts," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 27, 1923.
- ⁵⁷ "Counts Brothers Practiced at Bar: Were Admitted as Attorneys Within a Year of Each Other," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 27, 1923.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ "Jury Acquits All Four Defendants: Finds No Plot Existed in Actions of Former Dry Chief and Lawyers," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 27, 1923.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ William Dudley Foulke, "Prohibition Under the Spoils System," 1923, 368.
- ⁶² Ibid.
- ⁶³ William Dudley Foulke, "Prohibition Under the Spoils System," 1923, 370.
- ⁶⁴ Wayne B. Wheeler, "Prohibition Enforcement Under Civil Service," 1924.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ "Arrest 4 Raiders on Theft Charges: Dry Agents Accused of Breaking into Trunk; \$103 Later Found Missing," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 21, 1924.
- ⁶⁸ "Arrest 4 Raiders on Theft Charges: Dry Agents Accused of Breaking into Trunk; \$103 Later Found Missing," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 21, 1924.
- ⁶⁹ "Dry Enforcement Fight Sweeps Ohio: Charges of Bribery and Graft Made against Agents Justices Hired," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 30, 1924.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ "Charges Agent with Bribery: Detectives Follow Up Man's Complaint," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 3, 1924.
- ⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ "Cleveland Kept Dry by 34 Special Agents: Commissioner Hayes, Who Lives in Ohio, Intends Convention Shall Set Good Example," *New York Times*, June 8, 1924

⁷⁴ Nishi, 25.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ McGirr, 233.

⁷⁷ "Ohio," Special to *New York Times*, November 5, 1933.

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