

In the Aftermath of War: Cultural Clashes in the 1920s

A Unit of Study for Grades 9-12

Nina Gifford



NATIONAL CENTER FOR HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS
University of California, Los Angeles

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**Cultural
Clashes**
in the 1920s

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INTRODUCTION

I. APPROACH AND RATIONALE

In the Aftermath of War: Cultural Clashes in the 1920s is one of over sixty teaching units published by the National Center for History for the Schools that are the fruits of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of World and United States History. They represent specific issues and “dramatic episodes” in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of these selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. By studying crucial turningpoints in history the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected issues and dramatic episodes that bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow’s history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from government documents, artifacts, magazines, newspapers, films, private correspondence, literature, contemporary photographs, and paintings from the period under study. What we hope you achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to have your students connect more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of “being there,” a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian’s craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

II. CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) Unit Objectives, 2) Correlation to the National History Standards, 3) Teacher Background Materials, 4) Lesson Plans, and 5) Student Resources. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain issues and key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for grades 9-12, they can be adapted for other grade levels. The teacher background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific “dramatic moment” to the larger historical narrative. You may consult

Introduction

it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The Lesson Plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, any handouts or student background materials, and a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

TEACHER BACKGROUND MATERIALS

I. UNIT OVERVIEW

Images of a carefree, slightly giddy “Jazz Age” leap to mind at the thought of America in the 1920s: flappers, raccoon coats, Model T’s, and no more war. In fact, the United States emerged from World War I with deep seismic faults in its society, with clashes that would reverberate through the decade and beyond. A study of the contrast between modern urban and traditional rural society can help students grasp the era’s great complexity and give them insights into different cultural attitudes that still exist in our society. Using a variety of documents, plus cooperative and individual instructional activities that emphasize critical thinking, students will examine the attitudes and strategies of people struggling with competing worldviews. Art, literature, and film are also used to illustrate key points.

II. UNIT CONTEXT

These lessons deal with the United States between World War I and World War II. They should follow the study of World War I and precede coverage of the Great Depression. An in-depth look at the Red Scare, which is only touched on here, would be a good transition from the war to this unit. Similarly, an examination of the northward migration of blacks through the 1920s, including the Harlem Renaissance, would make a good transition to study of the Great Depression.

III. UNIT OBJECTIVES

- ◆ To identify social and economic changes that had been occurring in the United States since the late 19th century.
- ◆ To identify reactions to the social and economic changes that had been occurring.
- ◆ To recognize that the emergence of new beliefs and attitudes produce tensions and conflicts in society.

IV. INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL CLASHES IN THE 1920s

The 1920s opened with a “red scare” that began in 1919, which led to the arrest of thousands of radicals, the lynching of a few, and the deportation of several hundred others. This campaign by Woodrow Wilson’s Justice Department and local police helped to sustain a rising spirit of anti-radicalism and nativism inspired by the crush of “the new immigrants” from southern and eastern Europe, who began crowding into American ports once again after the interruption caused by World War I. At the same time, the trend toward increasing urbanization of the native-born American population resumed, spurred by the widespread ownership of automobiles for the first time. Individuals from declining rural America migrated into cities, and cities spread out into the surrounding rural hinterlands. The old problem of the clash between the special needs of town and country reappeared. Yet this split between rural and urban life should not be exaggerated because small towns had their radicals and immigrants, and a majority of people in cities were from the country or had close ties to it.

The clash between the traditional and the modern was not just a new version of an old conflict but one that seemed to many country people or city-dwellers to be apocalyptic: Freudianism, Bolshevism, evolutionism, and innumerable other new ideas and movements seemed to be in league to destroy traditional life or values.

The pace of change was extraordinary: the nation’s gross national product grew by 40 percent between 1920 and 1930; over ten million households began listening to radios for the first time; movie theaters sold 100 million tickets *each week* by 1929; the rate of graduation from high school zoomed: those attending college reached one million by 1930. As for family farming, it declined dramatically because agribusiness made it impossible for small independents to compete. By 1930, only 21 percent of the population made its living from the land.

Meanwhile, the country tried to live without liquor from 1919 to 1933, which only seemed to increase drinking, make criminals of many citizens, and make the cities hostage to new crime syndicates that controlled the supply of illegal liquor. Prohibition was in part an aspect of the clash between “dry” moral fundamentalists in the country and “wet” moderns in the city. The decade neared its end with dramatic events: a Catholic nominee for the presidency was rejected in an anti-Catholic landslide in 1928; unregulated speculation in the stock market led to a crash in 1929; and the country plunged into a depression in which people went hungry in the cities while farmers plowed under their crops.

V. CORRELATION TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

In the Aftermath of War: Cultural Clashes of the Twenties provides teaching materials to support the *National Standards for History, Basic Edition* (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), Era 7, “The Emergence of Modern American (1890-1930). Lessons within this unit assist students in attaining **Standard 3A** and **3C** by examining the social tensions and their consequences in the postwar era and explaining how new cultural movements reflected and changed American society.

The unit likewise integrates a number of Historical Thinking Standards including: draw upon visual and literary sources (**Standard 2, Historical Comprehension**); compare and contrast differing sets of ideas, values, personalities, behaviors, and institutions (**Standard 3, Historical Analysis and Interpretation**); interrogate historical data by uncovering the social, political, and economic context in which it was created (**Standard 4, Historical Research**); and identify issues and problems in the past (**Standard 5, Historical Issues-Analysis and Decision Making**).

VI. LESSON PLANS

1. Urban Modernism in the Twenties
2. Rural Traditionalism in the Twenties
3. Three Case Studies

Dramatic Moment

AT THAT MOMENT

At that moment in the city of Zenith, Horace Updike was making love to Lucile McKelvey in her mauve drawing-room on Royal Ridge, after their return from a lecture by an eminent English novelist. Updike was Zenith's professional bachelor . . . famous at conversation. He spoke reasonably of psychoanalysis, Long Island polo, and the Ming platter he had found in Vancouver. She promised to meet him in Deauville, the coming summer, "though," she sighed, "it's becoming too dreadfully banal. . . ."

And at that moment in Zenith, a cocaine-runner and a prostitute were drinking cocktails in Healey Hanson's saloon on Front Street. Since national prohibition was now in force . . . they were compelled to keep the cocktails innocent by drinking them out of tea-cups. The lady threw her cup at the cocaine-runner's head. He worked his revolver out . . . and casually murdered her. . . .

At that moment in Zenith, two men sat in a laboratory. For thirty-seven hours now they had been working on a report of their investigations of synthetic rubber.

At that moment in Zenith, there was a conference of four union officials deciding whether the twelve thousand coal miners within a hundred miles of the city should strike. . . .

At that moment the steel and cement . . . factory of the Pullmore Tractor Company of Zenith was running on night shift to fill an order of tractors for the Polish army. . . .

At that moment Mike Monday was finishing a meeting. Mr. Monday, the distinguished evangelist, . . . had once been a prize-fighter. . . . As a prize-fighter he had gained nothing but his crooked nose, his celebrated vocabulary, and his stage-presence. The service of the Lord had been more profitable. He was about to retire with a fortune. It had been well-earned, for, to quote his last report, "Rev. Mr. Monday, the Prophet with a Punch, has shown that he is the world's greatest salesman of salvation, and that by efficient organization the overhead of spiritual regeneration may be kept down to a . . . rock-bottom basis. He has converted over two hundred thousand lost and priceless souls at an average cost of less than ten dollars a head."

LESSON ONE

URBAN MODERNISM IN THE TWENTIES

A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ To identify social and economic trends in the early twentieth century.
- ◆ To describe urban modernism in the 1920s.
- ◆ To describe some of the reactions to urban modernism.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

1. Draw students into discussion of cultural clashes in the 1920s by reading the **Dramatic Moment**. Ask if any of the vignettes, or parts of them, would be likely to happen in today's society. Point out that the 1920s was significant as a time when great numbers of people abandoned traditional ways and committed themselves to a modern way of life that is very familiar to us today. Note that the reading is from *Babbitt*, Sinclair Lewis' 1922 novel set in the typical American city of "Zenith." With a population of three to four hundred thousand, it would have been in the top twenty cities in size. Tell them that they will learn more about life in Zenith after developing an overall picture of urban America in the 1920s.
2. Divide students into small groups to analyze **Documents A1** through **A6**, the historical statistics. Have them round off the decimal points to the nearest whole. Point out that economic changes motivated many of the social transformations that occurred. Have each group examine one set of data, and prepare a graph that they will use to present the information to the class.
3. Distribute **Worksheet One**, "The Historical Picture of the 1920s." Groups should answer the questions pertaining to their set of data. Then have groups present their analyses and graphs in the order on the worksheet, while the other students fill in the answers to the questions for each set of data on their own copies of the worksheet.

Enrich the discussion by circulating copies of **Documents B** and **C**, the Ivory Soap and Ford Motor Company advertisements. These illustrate the changing economic and social conditions reflected in the statistics. As students identify these changes and add them to their notes, make sure they see the full implications. For example, they should understand that the rise in manufacturing points not only to high em-

ployment and prosperity, but to an improved standard of living, including more leisure.

4. Discuss “Introduction to Precisionist Paintings,” **Student Handout One**. Show students **Document D**, paintings and a photograph by *Precisionists* in the 1920s. Direct their observations with a few general questions:
 - a. What is the subject matter?
 - b. Do the works create negative or positive impressions?
 - c. How does this group of Americans seem to be reacting to modernization?
 - d. What do they claim as evidence for their point of view?
 - e. How does the image they created compare to urban America today?
 - f. Can we say that they were right or wrong in their optimism?
 - g. Have students do a “quick-write”: *America’s Precisionist artists in the 1920s tried to show . . .*
5. Do a Dramatic Reading of **Document E**, an extract from *Babbitt*, to illustrate:
 - a. The up-and-coming urban middle class, creating, and even, as in George Babbitt’s case, reacting to in dismay, the life of go-ahead modernism symbolized by the city.
 - b. Lewis’ criticism of modern society.
6. After the reading, ask class members what facts they know about the Babbitts, while a student lists them on the board. Ask what their observations suggest about what is important in the Babbitts’ lives, and how they feel about themselves and life. Expect students to have difficulty deciding on the best way to categorize their findings, and be ready to suggest some key terms such as conformity, boosterism, materialism, and alienation.
7. Continue discussion with general questions that clarify the main concepts:

- a. What does Lewis seem to be saying about modern urban society in the 1920s?
 - b. What does he claim as evidence for his point of view?
 - c. How does Lewis' image compare to what the Precisionists saw?
 - d. How does it compare to urban America today?
8. Follow up with a three-paragraph pop essay: *What does Sinclair Lewis seem to be saying about Modern urban society in the 1920s and how does his view compare to what the precisionists saw?*
 9. In class or for homework have students do a "quick-write" that states several major changes that had occurred in American urban society since the late 19th century and briefly describes a negative and a positive reaction to those changes.

C. LESSON EVALUATION

1. Check for understanding during discussion.
2. Assess group participation, including ability to deal with the statistical data and graphs.
3. Evaluate "quick-writes."

Value of Output of Finished Commodities (Perishable)
(Primary Source)

Year	Total all finished commodities (mil. dol.)	PERISHABLE (mil. dol.)							
		Total	Food and Kindred Products		Cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco	Drug, toilet, and household preparations	Magazines, news- papers, misc. paper supplies	Fuel and lighting products	
			Manufactured	Non- Manufactured				Manufactured	Non- Manu- factured
		318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325
1929	37,782.6	18,384.0	9,463.9	4,358.3	1,243.6	984.2	683.9	1,237.8	412.3
1928	38,892.9	17,911.1	9,111.7	4,466.9	1,168.7	932.3	661.6	1,153.3	416.4
1927	34,410.2	17,263.6	8,827.3	4,360.2	1,164.5	851.9	648.4	958.9	452.5
1926	35,856.6	17,784.6	9,039.8	4,467.4	1,127.2	783.3	632.8	1,220.7	513.4
1925	34,046.3	16,870.5	8,684.0	4,335.8	1,094.4	767.0	615.7	990.1	383.5
1924	30,957.7	15,573.6	7,981.3	3,948.0	1,073.2	718.6	563.0	781.3	508.2
1923	32,168.5	15,176.0	7,554.6	4,012.9	1,050.3	698.5	550.7	746.4	562.7
1922	27,393.8	14,059.4	6,837.6	3,843.0	1,002.1	624.6	499.9	888.4	363.9
1921	25,864.0	14,022.9	6,548.7	4,182.4	1,053.0	562.2	474.5	714.9	487.3
1920	37,285.2	19,236.2	10,301.4	4,696.3	1,195.5	765.6	675.9	1,044.8	556.8
1919	33,265.3	17,215.5	9,312.4	4,709.0	1,000.0	660.1	458.7	630.7	444.5
1918	29,979.8	15,807.2	8,583.6	4,280.8	864.0	636.1	445.5	580.7	416.5
1917	24,545.5	13,174.1	6,925.7	3,907.2	629.5	511.5	407.5	425.7	366.9
1916	18,389.4	9,893.2	5,380.1	2,693.6	522.4	420.7	352.2	262.5	261.7
1915	13,986.1	8,079.8	4,342.1	2,310.3	478.6	331.0	255.6	141.7	220.5
1914	14,054.0	8,296.5	4,484.8	2,380.1	500.9	289.0	254.4	160.4	226.9
1913	14,632.8	8,230.2	4,441.9	2,315.9	506.8	294.9	243.9	191.3	235.3
1912	14,028.0	8,100.8	4,342.3	2,410.5	468.9	289.4	233.6	142.0	214.0
1911	12,749.4	7,491.3	3,980.1	2,235.7	460.4	278.8	211.3	119.1	205.9
1910	12,659.2	7,386.0	3,823.5	2,306.1	464.0	266.8	209.9	121.0	194.8

Value of Output of Finished Commodities and Construction Materials Destined for Domestic Consumption at Current Producers' Prices, and Implicit Price Indexes for Major Commodity Groups (Shaw)

Value of Output of Finished Commodities (consumer durable)
(Primary Source)

Year	CONSUMER DURABLE—CON. (mil. dol.)						
	Motor Vehicle Accessories	Passenger vehicles (horse-drawn) and accessories	Motorcycles and Bicycles	Pleasure Craft	Ophthalmic Products and Artificial Limbs	Monuments and Tombstones	Total
	346	347	348	349	350	351	352
1930	326.1	--	9.2	24.6	48.3	54.9	4,328.2
1929	407.6	--	10.6	26.2	52.1	63.6	5,628.4
1928	411.7	--	12.0	17.4	48.7	61.0	4,662.5
1927	419.8	--	10.1	17.8	49.7	61.9	4,320.2
1926	440.2	--	11.9	22.4	46.6	63.8	4,667.5
1925	444.3	--	11.3	15.0	46.6	66.8	4,256.0
1924	337.2	--	13.0	14.0	48.6	66.4	3,948.5
1923	355.8	--	16.3	12.1	58.5	65.6	4,395.5
1922	243.4	--	8.9	6.2	48.6	47.6	2,964.0
1921	169.5	--	10.2	9.4	46.6	46.9	2,939.1
1920	313.4	--	20.8	14.7	67.8	82.3	5,277.0
1919	168.0	26.4	19.0	5.1	45.0	73.4	5,358.4
1918	85.8	35.3	18.9	1.5	71.1	50.0	5,449.7
1917	120.5	38.8	16.7	3.3	36.5	42.3	3,781.8
1916	104.0	31.0	16.3	4.0	23.9	37.9	2,526.3
1915	61.0	30.5	13.3	3.4	20.2	37.5	1,570.4
1914	49.9	35.6	16.2	3.6	15.5	41.0	1,477.6
1913	46.1	40.1	21.9	4.1	12.3	42.1	1,827.3
1912	39.3	41.6	12.0	3.9	10.6	40.3	1,634.5
1911	26.3	45.9	9.4	4.3	10.9	42.4	1,347.6
1910	26.9	53.3	7.3	4.4	10.7	42.6	1,524.2

Value of Output of Finished Commodities and Construction Materials Destined for Domestic Consumption at Current Producers' Prices, and Implicit Price Indexes for Major Commodity Groups (Shaw)

Mileage of Federal-Aid Highway Systems
(Primary Source)

Year or Period	MILES OF HIGHWAY		COST (mil. dol.)		
	Total designated as part of Federal Systems	Completed During Year	Total	Federal Funds	State Funds
	64	65	66	67	68
1929	189,853	8,581	197	80	117
1928	188,017	9,756	196	83	113
1927	187,035	10,220	189	84	105
1926	184,162	10,723	215	93	122
1925	179,501	11,001	221	100	121
1924	174,507	10,946	205	93	112
1923	169,007	7,494	130	57	73
1922	- -	11,188	186	80	106
1917-1921	- -	12,919	222	95	127

Highway Transportation—Mileage and Cost of Federal-Aid Highway Systems

Power—Electric Utilities (residential)
(Primary Source)

Year	RESIDENTIAL CONSUMERS		
	Number, December 31	Kilowatt-hours (thousands)	Revenues (dollars)
	228	229	230
1930	20,331,551	11,018,072	664,441,200
1929	19,965,154	9,772,788	618,798,800
1928	19,087,882	8,618,834	571,619,800
1927	17,950,984	7,675,970	523,688,800
1926	16,706,621	6,827,305	478,181,800
1925	15,123,304	6,020,000	439,460,000
1924	13,438,929	5,079,900	369,762,900
1923	12,440,000	4,579,900	331,852,800
1922	10,907,000	3,915,600	290,671,800
1921	10,180,000	3,532,400	261,048,800
1920	9,410,000	3,190,000	237,655,000

Power—Electric Utilities, Sales to Ultimate Consumers

Labor Force
(Primary Source)

Year	ALL PERSONS 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER				
	Population 10 years old and over	Number of persons engaged in—			
		All Occupations		Non- agricultrual pursuits	Agricultrual pursuits
		Number	Percent of population 10 and over		
1	2	3	4	5	
1940	1 10,443,129	52,148,251	47.2	42,985,704	9,162,547
1930	98,723,047	48,829,920	49.5	38,357,922	10,471,998
1920	82,739,315	42,433,535	51.3	30,984,765	11,448,770
1910	71,580,270	37,370,794	52.2	25,779,027	11,591,767
1900	57,949,824	20,073,233	50.2	18,161,235	10,911,998

Labor Force—Persons 10 Years Old and Over Gainfully Occupied, in Agricultural and in Nonagricultural Pursuits;

Population in Urban and Rural Territory
(Primary Source)

Series No.	Class and population size	1970	1960		1950		1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
			Including Alaska & Hawaii	Contiguous United States	1950 urban definition	1940 urban definition					
57	Urban Territory	149,325	125,269	124,699	96,468	88,927	74,424	68,955	54,158	41,999	30,160
58	Places of: 1,000,000+	18,769	17,484	17,484	17,404	17,404	15,911	15,065	10,146	8,501	6,429
59	500,000-999,999	12,967	11,111	11,111	9,187	9,187	6,457	5,764	6,224	3,011	1,645
60	250,000-499,999	10,442	10,766	10,472	8,242	8,242	7,828	7,956	4,541	3,950	2,861
61	100,000-249,999	14,286	11,652	11,652	9,479	9,614	7,793	7,541	6,519	4,840	3,272
62	50,000-99,999	16,724	13,836	13,836	8,931	9,073	7,344	6,491	5,265	4,179	2,709
63	25,000-49,999	17,848	14,951	14,855	8,808	9,496	7,417	6,426	5,075	4,023	2,801
64	10,000-24,999	21,415	17,568	17,513	11,867	12,467	9,967	9,097	7,035	5,549	4,338
65	5,000-9,999	12,924	9,780	9,739	8,139	7,879	6,682	5,897	4,968	4,217	3,204
66	2,500--4,999	8,038	7,580	7,542	6,490	5,565	5,026	4,718	4,386	3,728	2,899
67	under 2,500	727	690	690	578	--	--	--	--	--	--
68	Other urban territory	15,186	9,851	9,806	7,344	--	--	--	--	--	--
69	Rural territory	53,887	54,054	53,765	54,230	61,770	57,246	53,820	51,553	49,973	45,835
70	Places of 1,000-2,499	6,656	6,497	6,440	6,473	5,383	5,027	4,821	4,712	4,234	3,298
71	under 1,000	3,852	3,894	3,888	4,031	4,129	4,316	4,363	4,255	3,930	3,003
72	Other rural territory	43,379	43,664	43,437	43,725	52,258	47,903	44,637	42,586	41,809	39,533

Population in Urban and Rural Territory, by Size of Place

A Statistical Picture of the 1920s

Document	Questions
<p>Document A1 Value of Output of Finished Commodities</p>	<p>a. What are some examples of the perishable commodities produced?</p> <p>b. What is the total value of perishable commodities produced, 1910-1919?</p> <p>c. What is the total value of perishable commodities produced, 1920-1929?</p>
<p>Document A2 Value of Output of Finished Commodities</p>	<p>a. What are some examples of the consumer durable commodities produced?</p> <p>b. What is the total value of consumer durable commodities produced, 1910-1919?</p> <p>c. What is the total value of consumer durable commodities produced, 1920-1929?</p>
<p>Document A3 Mileage & Cost of Federal-Aid Highway System</p>	<p>a. What is the average number of miles of highways completed per year, 1917-1921?</p> <p>b. What is the average number of miles of highway completed per year, 1922-1929?</p>

A Statistical Picture of the 1920s

Document	Questions
<p>Document A4 Power/Electric Utilities</p>	<p>a. What is the number of residential consumers of electricity in 1920? In 1930?</p> <p>b. How many kilowatt-hours of electricity does each residential consumer use in 1920?</p> <p>c. How many kilowatt-hours of electricity does each residential consumer use in 1930?</p>
<p>Document A5 Labor Force</p>	<p>a. What is the total number of persons in the labor force in 1920?</p> <p>b. What is the total number of persons in the labor force in 1930?</p> <p>c. By what % does the number of persons engaged in all occupations rise from 1920-1930?</p>
<p>Document A6 Population in Urban & Rural Territory . . .</p>	<p>a. What is the rural population in 1910?</p> <p>b. What is the urban population in a 1910?</p> <p>c. What is the rural population in 1920?</p> <p>d. What is the urban population in 1920?</p> <p>e. What is the rural population in 1930?</p> <p>f. What is the urban population in 1930?</p>

A Statistical Picture of the 1920s
Answer Sheet

- Document A1**
Value of Output of Finished
Commodities
- a. food, newspapers, etc.
 - b. \$103,675,000,000
 - c. \$166,283,000,000
- Document A2**
Value of Output of Finished
Commodities
- a. boats, cars, etc.
 - b. \$26,498,000,000
 - c. \$43,060,000,000
- Document A3**
Mileage & Cost of Federal-
Aid Highway System
- a. 2,584 miles
 - b. 9,989 miles
- Document A4**
Power/Electric Utilities
- a. 9,410,000 consumers
 - b. 20,331,551 consumers
 - c. 3,190,000,000,000 kilowatt hours
 - d. 11,018,072,000,000 kilowatt hours
- Document A5**
Labor Force
- a. 42,433,535 persons
 - b. 48,829,920 persons
 - c. 15% (divide difference by earlier
decade's total)
- Document A6**
Population in Urban & Rural
Territory . . .
- a. 49,973,000 persons
 - b. 41,999,000 persons
 - c. 51,553,000 persons
 - d. 54,158,000 persons
 - e. 53,820,000 persons
 - f. 68,955,000 persons

Ivory Soap Advertisement

ASK THE SALESWOMAN IN ANY SMART SHOP

*She will tell you why
this care makes silk
stockings look better
and wear longer...*

You probably wash your stockings shortly after *every* wearing. (At least, you should!) Doesn't this frequent washing of delicate silken fibers simply *cry* for extra-care?

The next time you buy silk stockings, ask the saleswoman how to wash them to get the longest wear. She will mention two important precautions — "Lukewarm water" and then — "Ivory Soap." (In the finest department stores of 30 leading cities, 9 out of 10 salespeople advise *only* Ivory for silk stockings.)

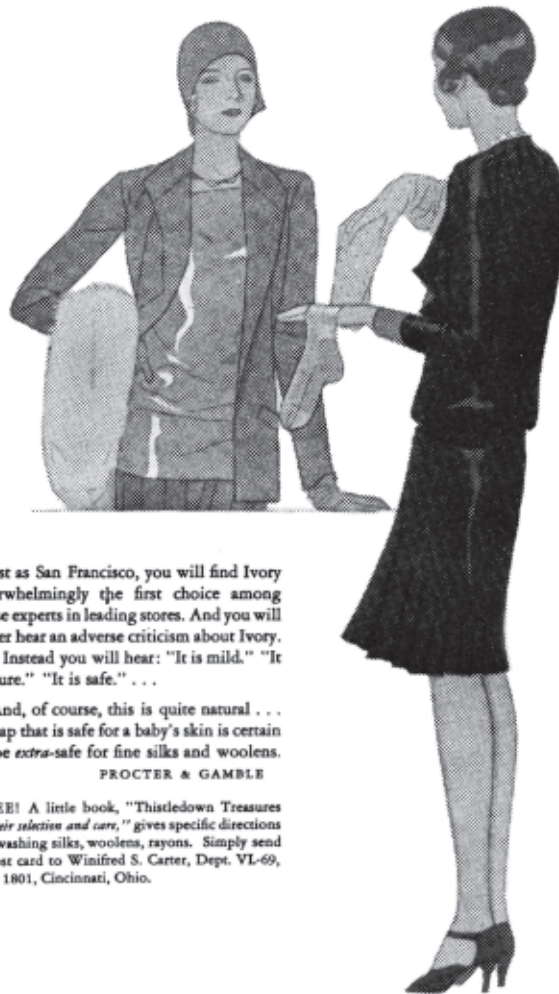
Why salespeople advise Ivory

"The wrong soap will often fade, discolor, or weaken stockings. But you can wash any stockings well if you use lukewarm water and the right soap. Ivory Soap or Ivory Flakes is best — Ivory is pure." — *Leading New York Store.*

"We never recommend anything but Ivory — other soaps are likely to cut the silk." — *Boston Specialty Shop.*

"Ivory is the best thing to use for silk stockings — best for the color and best for the silk." — *Chicago Department Store.*

Ask the saleswoman yourself. Whether you live as far East as New York or as far



West as San Francisco, you will find Ivory overwhelmingly the first choice among these experts in leading stores. And you will never hear an adverse criticism about Ivory. . . . Instead you will hear: "It is mild." "It is pure." "It is safe." . . .

And, of course, this is quite natural . . . a soap that is safe for a baby's skin is certain to be *extra-safe* for fine silks and woolens.

PROCTER & GAMBLE

FREE! A little book, "Thisledown Treasures — *their selection and care,*" gives specific directions for washing silks, woolens, rayons. Simply send a post card to Winifred S. Carter, Dept. VL-69, Box 1901, Cincinnati, Ohio.

99⁴/₁₀₀ % Pure

Ford Motor Company Advertisement



“Everyone owns a car but us”~

You, too, can own an automobile without missing the money, and now, is the time to buy it — through the easiest and simplest method ever devised:

Ford Weekly Purchase Plan

Thousands of families, who thought a car was out of the question because of limited incomes, found that they could easily, quickly and surely buy a car of their own under this remarkable plan

Introduction to Precisionist Paintings

Like many other Americans in the 1920s, artists and writers often responded to their disillusionment and anxiety by turning away from the swiftly changing world to seek answers in old traditions. Writers such as Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald literally turned away by leaving the United States for the expatriate life in Europe. There they wrote novels critical of war, and of the alienation and materialism they believed dominated modern life. Critic Van Wyck Brooks stated that writers found themselves “born into a race that has drained away all of its spiritual resources in the struggle to survive and that continues to struggle in the midst of plenty because life itself no longer possesses any meaning.”¹ Novelists who remained in America, such as Sinclair Lewis, wrote about related themes of growing urban isolation and conformity. Artists who had experimented in Europe with Futurism, Cubism, Dada, and Surrealism abandoned much of the modern, non-objective vocabulary. They perfected a new American realism that celebrated the machine and portrayed the rise of the industrialized, urban United States in analytical and geometric forms. “Precise” was the word often used to characterize the airy, simplified forms of artists such as Georgia O’Keeffe, Joseph Stella, Charles Demuth, George Ault, Louis Lozowick, Elsie Driggs, and Charles Sheeler, who was also a photographer, along with Paul Outerbridge, Edward Weston, and others. Although their pristine styles were symbolic of a new, ordered era for America, Precisionists seemed to deny the alienation, boredom, and conformity that many people recognized under the “Roaring Twenties” exterior. In the 1930s, Regionalists such as Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton, and Social Realists such as Ben Shahn, refined the bleaker themes from which artists generally tried to turn away during the 1920s.

¹ Van Wyck Brooks, *Letters and Leadership* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1918).

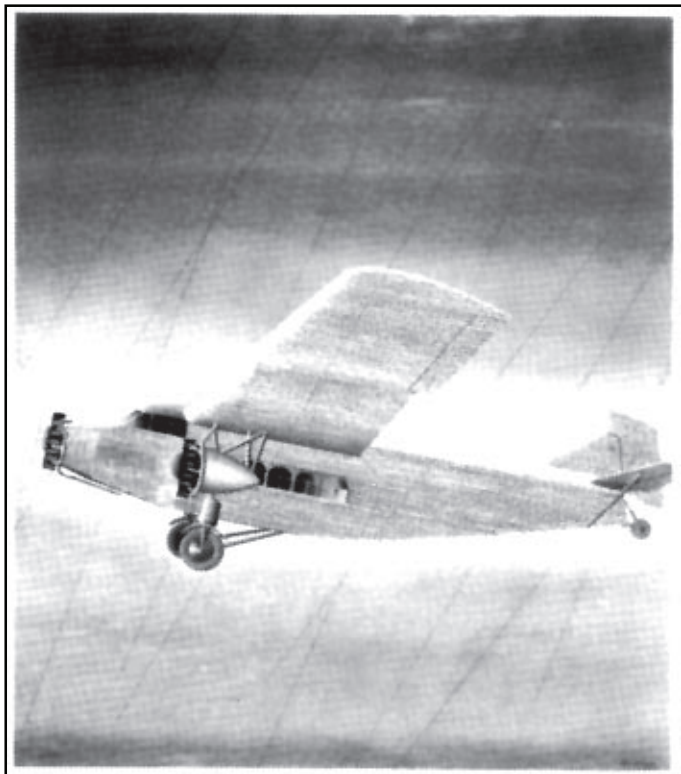


The emphasis on geometric shapes and bright colors develops a feeling of power and dynamism. The strong verticals and horizontals achieve a sense of motion-within the orderliness that is enhanced by the extreme perspective. These elements reflect Lozowick's Cubist background.

Louis Lozowick, *Chicago*, 1923
Oil on canvas
Lee Lozowick, Prescott, Arizona
Reprinted with kind permission.

Driggs became interested in the legitimacy of machinery as a subject for art-not from developments in Europe but from her memories of industrial Pittsburgh. After her first plane trip, she captured the feeling and the potential of flight in this precise, gleaming canvas.

Elsie Driggs, *Aeroplane*, 1928
Oil on canvas
Private Collection





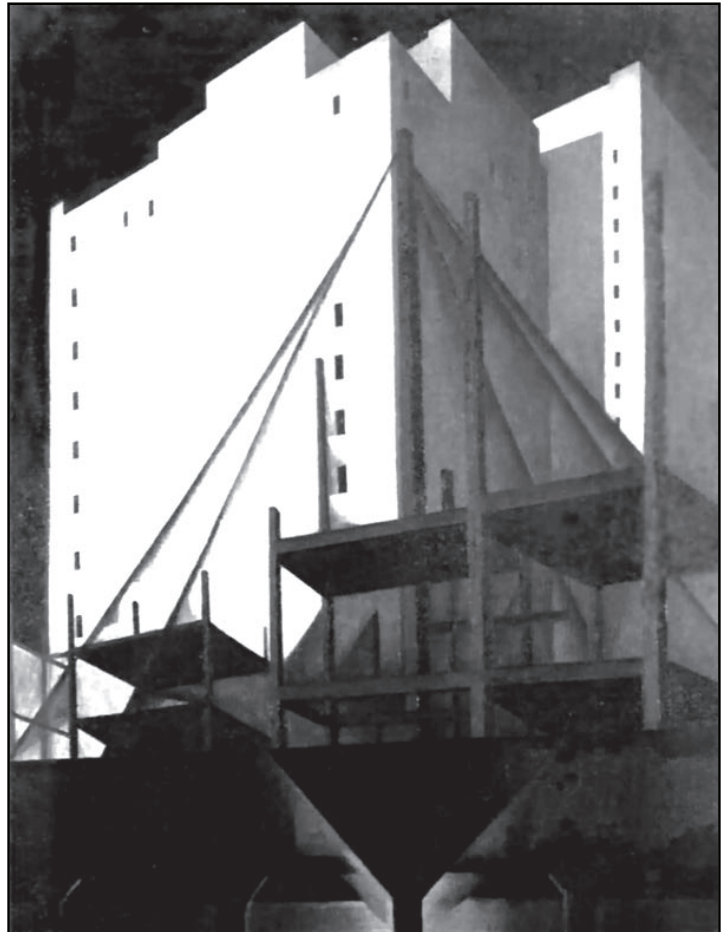
O'Keefe recorded her view of the power of the city through a series of soaring skyscrapers, in complete contrast with her rural Texas background. She felt that the city reflected modern life and had to be forthrightly dealt with, though, to a great extent, her heart remained in capturing the rural environment. The extreme simplification of form seen in the Radiatory building suggests O'Keefe's belief that "It is only by selection, by elimination, by emphasis, that we get at the real meaning of things."

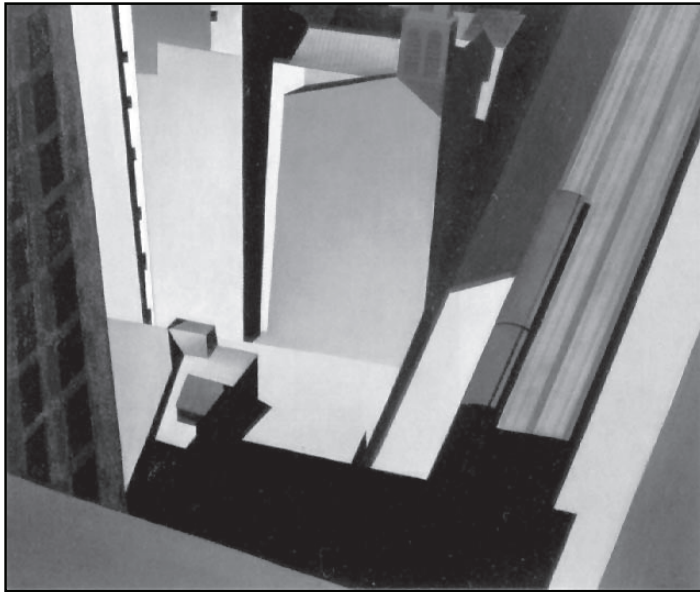
Georgia O'Keefe, *The Radiator Building at Night*
 New York, 1927, oil on canvas
 Carl van Vechten Gallery of Fine Arts,
 Fisk University
 See this painting in color online:
<http://sunsite.dk/cgfa/okeeffe/p-okeeffe9.htm>

Severe geometric simplification and strong lines show the power of the city, but Ault's eerie night-lighting also spreads a feeling of menace in urban complexity. Like O'Keefe, he seems to be stripping it to its essence.

George Ault,
Construction Night, 1922
 Oil on canvas
 Nancy F. Wechsler, New York

Available for viewing online:
<http://tvm.tigtail.org/TVM/>



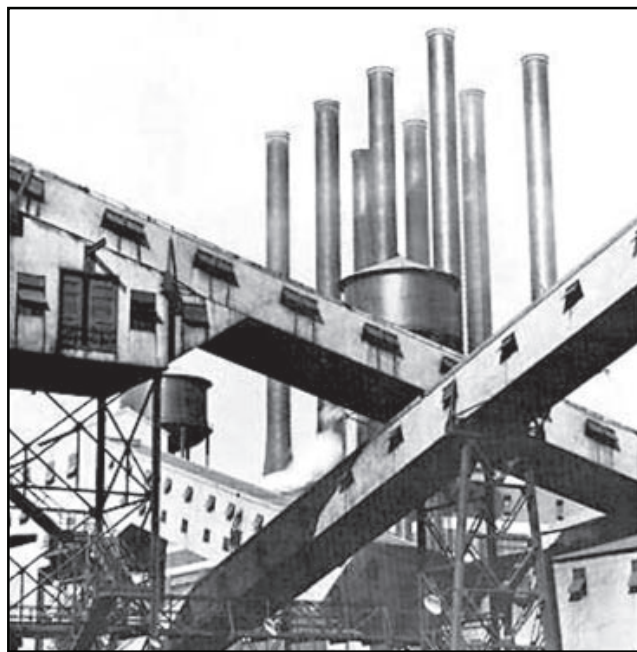


Charles Sheeler
Church Street El, 1920
 Oil on canvas
 The Cleveland Museum of Art
 Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. William H.
 Martlatt Fund

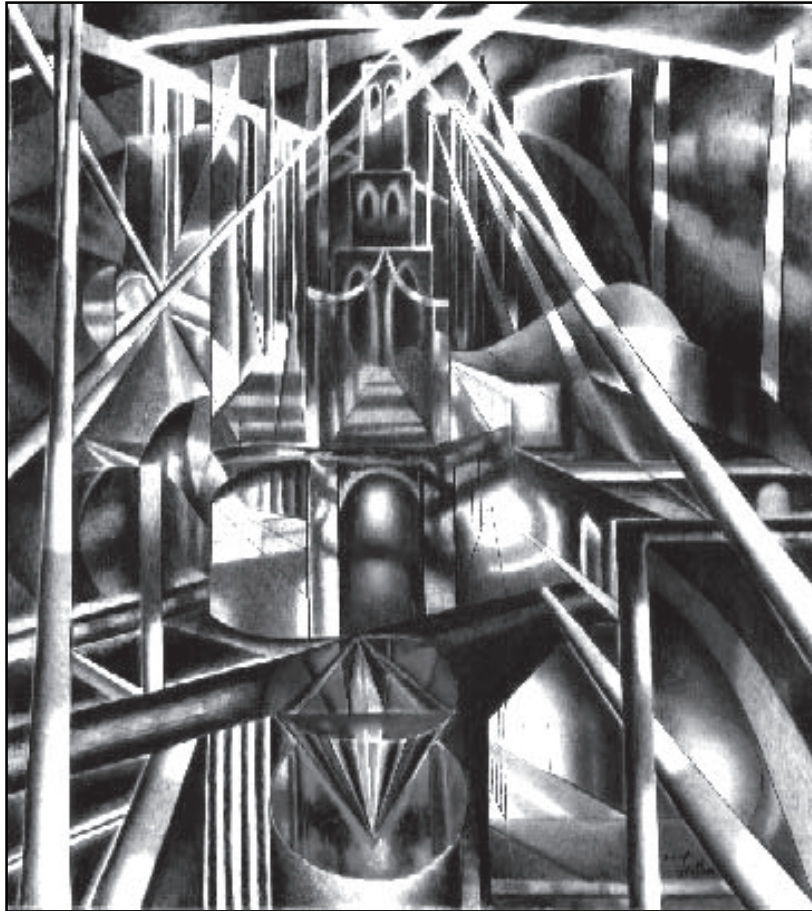
Sheeler used the analytical motivations of Cubism-leaving Cubist philosophy behind-to respond to “intrinsic realities of forms and environments.” He reacted especially to the sense of strength, proportion, and purpose in the work of early American craftsmen such as the Shakers, and in architectural mass. In *Church Street El*, the severe angle of perspective and the nearly abstract geometric shapes reveal the “intrinsic realities” of power and dynamism in the city. Sheeler’s work has an essential realism. It does not take realism to the point of showing the detritus one would normally expect to find under an el.

Sheeler often used photography to get at the essentials of form. Two dimensional photos helped him to analyze the underlying structure, which he might later interpret on canvas. Photography, however, was his main means of support. Sheeler captures the promise of industrial America with the noble smokestacks puffing benign airy white clouds.

Charles Sheeler
Untitled (Ford River Rouge plant), 1927
 Gelatin silver print
 Art Museum
 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque
 Gift of Eleanor and Van Deren Coke



View this photograph online:
<http://www.seattleartmuseum.org/exhibitions/hallmark/timeline/sheeler.htm>



Joseph Stella
Old Brooklyn Bridge, about 1941
Oil on canvas

Gift of Susan Morse Hilles in memory of Paul Hellmuth

View in color online: http://artchive.com/artchive/S/sheeler/sheeler_church_street_el.jpg.html

New York's Brooklyn Bridge, completed in 1883 and hailed as an engineering marvel, spans the East River between Brooklyn and Manhattan. When Stella emigrated from Italy to Brooklyn in 1916, the borough's most famous landmark became a recurrent image in his work—a symbol of the dynamism and promise of the modern American city. Here, Stella shows the bridge at night: cables soar overhead, traffic signals and headlights flash through the darkness, and the bridge's Gothic arches rise in the background like those of a skyscraper or a church. The bridge, to Stella, was a "shrine containing all the efforts of the new civilization of AMERICA."

Babbitt

(Primary Source)

His name was George F. Babbitt. He was forty-six years old now, in April 1920, and he made nothing in particular, neither butter nor shoes nor poetry, but he was nimble in the calling of selling houses for more than people could afford to pay.

His large head was pink, his brown hair thin and dry. His face was babyish in slumber, despite his wrinkles. . . .He was not fat but he was exceedingly well fed; his cheeks were pads, and the unroughened hand which lay helpless upon the khaki-colored blanket was slightly puffy. He seemed prosperous, extremely married and unromantic. . . .Yet Babbit was again dreaming of the fairy child. . . .

For years the fairy child had come to him. Where others saw but George Babbitt, she discerned gallant youth. She waited for him, in the darkness beyond mysterious groves . . . so slim . . . so eager. . . .

He escaped from reality till the alarm-clock rang, at seven twenty.

It was the best of nationally advertised and quantitatively produced alarm-clocks, with all modern attachments, including cathedral chime, intermittent alarm, and a phosphorescent dial. Babbitt was proud of being awakened by such a rich device. Socially it was almost as creditable as buying expensive cord tires.

He sulkily admitted now that there was no more escape, but he lay and detested the grind of the real-estate business, and disliked his family, and disliked himself for disliking them. The evening before, he had played poker at Vergil Gunch's till midnight, and after such holidays he was irritable before breakfast. It may have been the tremendous home-brewed beer of the prohibition-era and the cigars to which that beer enticed him; it may have been resentment of return from this fine, bold man-world to a restricted region of wives and stenographers. . . .

He creaked to his feet, groaning at the waves of pain which passed behind his eyeballs. Though he waited for their scorching recurrence, he looked blurrily out at the yard. It delighted him, as always; it was the neat yard of a successful business man of Zenith, that is, it was perfection, and made him also perfect. He regarded the corrugated iron garage. For the three-hundred-and-sixty-fifth time in a year he reflected, "No class to that tin shack. Have to build me a frame garage. But by golly it's the on it thing on the place that isn't up to date!"

. . . He finished shaving in a growing testiness increased by his spinning headache and by the emptiness in his stomach. When he was done, his round face smooth and streamy and his eyes stinging from soapy water, he reached for a towel. The family towels were wet, wet and clammy and vile, all of them wet, he found, as he blindly

snatched them—his own face-towel, his wife’s, Verona’s, Ted’s, Tinka’s, and the lone bath towel. . . . Then George F. Babbitt did a dismaying thing. He wiped his face on the guest towel! It was a pansy-embroidered trifle which always hung there to indicate that the Babbitts were in the best Floral Heights society. No one had ever used it. No guest had ever dared to. Guests secretively took the corner of the nearest regular towel.

He was raging, “By golly, here they go and use up all the towels, every doggone one of ‘em . . . and never put out a dry one for me—of course, I’m the goat!—And then I want one and—I’m the only person in the doggone house that’s got the slightest doggone bit of consideration for other people and thoughtfulness and consider there may be others that may want to use the doggone bathroom after me and consider—”

...In the midst his wife serenely trotted in, observed serenely, “Why Georgie dear, what are you doing? . . . Oh, Georgie, you didn’t go and use the guest towel, did you?”

It is not recorded that he was able to answer.

For the first time in weeks he was sufficiently roused by his wife to look at her.

Myra Babbitt—Mrs. George F. Babbitt—was definitely mature. She was in a petticoat now, and corsets which bulged, and unaware of being seen in bulgy corsets. She had become so dully habituated to married life that. . . she was as sexless as an anemic nun. She was a good woman, a kind woman, a diligent woman, but no one, save perhaps Tinka her ten-year-old, was at all interested in her or entirely aware that she was alive.

His first adornment was the sleeveless . . . undershirt, in which he resembled a small boy wearing a costume at a pageant. He never put on B.V.D.’s without thanking the God of Progress that he didn’t wear tight, long, old-fashioned undergarments, like his father-in-law and partner, Henry Thompson. His second embellishment was combing and slicking back his hair. . . . But most wonder-working of all was the donning of his spectacles. . . .

Babbitt’s spectacles had huge, circular, frameless lenses of the very best glass; the ear-pieces were thin bars of gold. In them he was the modern business man; one who gave orders to clerks and drove a car and played occasional golf and was scholarly in regard to Salesmanship. His head suddenly appeared not babyish but weighty, and you noted his heavy, blunt nose, his straight mouth . . . ; with respect you beheld him put on the rest of his uniform as a Solid Citizen. . . .

The gray suit was well cut, well made, and completely undistinguished. It was a standard suit. . . .

Last, he stuck in his lapel the Boosters' Club button. With the consciousness of great art the button displayed two words: "Boosters—Pep!" It associated him with Good Fellows, with men who were nice and human, and important in business circles. . . .

Babbitt stood at the westernmost window of their room. This residential settlement, Floral Heights, was on a rise; and though the center of the city was three miles away . . . he could see the top of the Second National Tower, an Indiana limestone building of thirty-five stories.

Its shining walls rose against April sky. . . . Integrity was in the tower, and decision. It bore its strength lightly as a tall soldier. As Babbitt stared, the nervousness was soothed from his face, his slack chin lifted in reverence. All he articulated was "That's one lovely sight!" but he was inspired by the rhythm of the city; his love of it renewed. He beheld the tower as a temple-spire of the religion of business, a faith passionate, exalted, surpassing common men. . . .

LESSON TWO

RURAL TRADITIONALISM IN THE TWENTIES

A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ To describe rural traditionalism in the 1920s.
- ◆ To describe some of the reactions to rural traditionalism.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

1. Involve students in the new lesson by reminding them of George Babbitt, a model of urban modernism. Read them the following passage from *Babbitt*:

"If you had asked Babbitt what his religion was, he would have answered in sonorous Boosters'-Club rhetoric, '*My religion is to serve my fellow men, to honor my brother as myself, and to do my bit to make life happier for one and all.*' If you had pressed him for more detail, he would have announced, '*I'm a member of the Presbyterian Church, and naturally, I accept its doctrines.*' If you had been so brutal as to go on, he would have protested, '*There's no use discussing and arguing about religion; it just stirs up bad feeling.*'

Actually, the content of his theology was that there was a Supreme Being who had tried to make us perfect, but presumably had failed; that if one was a '*good man*' he would go to a place called *Heaven* (Babbitt unconsciously pictured it as rather like an excellent hotel with a private garden), but if one was a '*bad man*,' that is, if he murdered or committed burglary or used cocaine or had mistresses or sold non-existent real estate, he would be punished. Babbitt was uncertain, however, about what he called '*this business of Hell.*' He explained to Ted, '*Of course, I'm 'pretty liberal' I don't exactly believe in a fire-and-brimstone Hell. Stands to reason, though, that a fellow can't get away with all sorts of Vice and not get nicked for it, see how I mean?'*"

- a. Point out that from the viewpoint of rural America, Babbitt's practical, business-like approach to religion was indeed "pretty liberal."
- b. Ask students why they think rural Americans would care whether city people often took a more casual attitude about religion.
- c. Make sure they see the threat that this citified modernism or moral relativism posed to traditional ways.

Lesson Two

- d. Use their discussion as a springboard into the lesson portraying rural traditionalism and reactions to it.
2. To illustrate one of the primary traditions in rural America, intense religious belief, show a scene from one of several good films that depicts how evangelism grew in response to the threats of modernization.
 - a. A good choice is two five-minute clips from *Elmer Gantry*, based on Sinclair Lewis' 1927 novel. The first develops the general singing-and-shouting atmosphere of a revival, plus the power Sister Sharon has over her audience. The second shows Gantry delivering his first fiery sermon, making 450 converts. Have students answer these questions in their notebooks while they watch: What do Sister Sharon and Gantry do? How does the audience react, and why?
 - b. An excellent alternative is a segment from *Inherit the Wind*. There are several scenes in the first half of the film that show citizens marching through the streets singing hymns and Rev. Brown, "the spiritual leader of the community," working his congregation into a frenzy.
3. In a discussion afterward, ask students to describe the rural religious experience and contrast it to Babbitt's urbanized religion.
 - a. What aspects of urban life are explicitly or implicitly criticized by revivalists and ministers?
 - b. Can students see the fundamentalist religious response as "Moral rearmament," a way for people to defend themselves against modernism.
4. Illustrate another major theme of rural life, its relative homogeneity and settled lifestyles, with **Document F**, Hiram Wesley Evans' "*Fight for Americanism*." The article shows how American nativism, was born in response to the perceived threats of modernism. At first, don't tell the class that Evans was the Ku Klux Klan's Imperial Wizard. Have students read the document silently and answer the fact-oriented questions on **Worksheet Two**.
5. Resume class discussion by telling students the name of the movement, if they have not already guessed. Follow up with questions that will help them tie this and other nativist movements to the notion of moral rearmament: What specific fears did Evans identify?

Why did the Klansmen seem to believe they were in danger and needed to defend themselves? Make sure students understand that most rural dwellers were more likely to express themselves through the American Legion than the extremist Klan, and that nativist movements existed in cities but less so because immigrants dominated many cities. Read aloud and discuss a few key passages, such as the final sentence, to make your points.

6. To introduce the class to the reaction to rural traditionalism in the 1920s, ask them to discuss Evans' statement that "*Those who maintained the old standards did so only in the face of constant ridicule.*" Why? Do they find this today?
7. In class or for homework, have students summarize the lesson by answering the questions below in a paragraph (the first sentence can be used as the topic sentence).
 - a. Many rural Americans believed that modernization threatened their way of life. What symbolized this modern reckless life to them?
 - b. Who or what did they think threatened each of the following: their moral standards and religion; their jobs; their political system? How did they hope to handle these problems?
 - c. What did the typical city person think about people with traditional rural attitudes?

C. LESSON EVALUATION

1. Evaluate group participation.
2. Check for understanding during the discussion.
3. Assess the summary paragraph.

“Fight for Americanism”
Hiram Wesley Evans
(Primary Source)

We are a movement of the plain people, very weak in the matter of culture, intellectual support, and trained leadership. We are demanding, and we expect to win, a return of power into the hands of the everyday, not highly cultured, not overly intellectualized, but entirely unspoiled . . . average citizen of the old stock. . . .

[We have] now come to speak for the great mass of Americans of the old pioneer stock. We believe that it does fairly and faithfully represent them, and our proof lies in their support. To understand [us], then, it is necessary to understand the character and present mind of the mass of old-stock Americans. . . .

There is no need to recount the virtues of the American pioneers; but it is too often forgotten that in the pioneer period a selective process of intense rigor went on. From the first only hardy, adventurous and strong men and women dared the pioneered dangers; from among these all but the best died swiftly, so that the new Nordic blend which became the American race was bred up to a point probably the highest in history. This remarkable race character, along with the new-won continent and the new-created nation, made the inheritance of the old-stock Americans the richest ever given to a generation of men.

In spite of it, however, these Nordic Americans for the last generation have found themselves increasingly uncomfortable, and finally deeply distressed. There appeared first confusion in thought and opinion, a groping and hesitancy about national affairs and private life alike, in sharp contrast to the clear, straightforward purposes of our earlier years. There was futility in religion, too, which was in many ways even more distressing. Presently we began to find that we were dealing with strange ideas; policies that always sounded well, but somehow always made us still more uncomfortable.

Finally came the moral breakdown that has been going on for two decades. One by one all our traditional moral standards went by the boards, or were so disregarded that they ceased to be binding. The sacredness of our Sabbath, of our homes, of chastity, and finally even of our right to teach our own children in our own schools fundamental facts and truths were torn away from us. Those who maintained the facts and truths were torn away from us. Those who maintained the old standards did so only in the face of constant ridicule.

Along with this went economic distress. The assurance for the future of our children dwindled. We found our great cities and the control of much of our industry and commerce taken over by strangers, who stacked the cards of success and prosperity against us, Shortly they came to dominate our government. . . .

So the Nordic American today is a stranger in large parts of the land his fathers gave him. Moreover, he is a most unwelcome stranger, one much spit upon, and one to whom even the right to have his own opinions and to work for his own interests is now denied with jeers and revilings. "We must Americanize the Americans," a distinguished immigrant said recently. Can anything more clearly show the state to which the real American has fallen in this country which was once his own?

. . . All this has been true for years but it was the World War that gave us our first hint of the real cause of our troubles, and began to crystallize our ideas. The war revealed that millions whom we had allowed to share our heritage and prosperity, and whom we had assumed had become part of us, were in fact not wholly so. They had other loyalties: each was willing—anxious!—to sacrifice the interests of the country that had given him shelter to the interests of the one he was supposed to have cast off; each in fact did use the freedom and political power we had given him against ourselves whenever he could see any profit for his older loyalty.

This, of course, was chiefly in international affairs, and the excitement caused by the discovery of disloyalty subsided rapidly after the war ended. But it was not forgotten by the Nordic Americans. They had been awakened and alarmed; they began to suspect that the hyphenism which had been shown was only a part of what existed; their quiet was not that of renewed sleep, but of strong men waiting very watchfully. And presently they began to form decisions about all those aliens who were Americans for profit only.

. . . They decided that in every way, as well as in politics, the alien in the vast majority of cases is unalterably fixed in his instincts, character, thought and interests by centuries of racial selection and development, that he thinks first for his own people, works only with and for them, cares entirely for their interests, considers himself always one of them, and never an American. They decided that in character, instincts, thought, and purposes—in his whole soul—an alien remains fixedly alien to America and all it means.

They saw, too, that the alien was tearing down the American standard of living, especially in the lower walks. It became clear that while the American can out-work the alien, the alien can so far under-live the American as to force him out of all competitive labor. . . .

They learned, though more slowly, that alien ideas are just as dangerous to us as the aliens themselves, no matter how plausible such ideas may sound. With most of the plain people this conclusion is based simply on the fact that the alien ideas do not work well for them. Others went deeper and came to understand that the differences in racial background, in breeding, instinct, character and emotional point of view are more important than logic. So ideas which may be perfectly healthy for an alien may also be poisonous for Americans. . . .

As they learned all this the Nordic Americans have been gradually arousing themselves to defend their homes and their own kind of civilization. They have not known just how to go about it; the idealist philanthropy and good-natured generosity which led to the philosophy of the melting pot have died hard. Resistance to the peaceful invasion of the immigrant is no such simple matter as snatching up weapons and defending frontiers, nor has it much spectacular emotionalism to draw men to the colors.

The old-stock Americans are learning, however. They have begun to arm themselves for this new type of warfare. Most important, they have broken away from the fetters of the false ideals and philanthropy which put aliens ahead of their own children and their own race.

. . . [We go] back to the American racial instincts, and to the common sense which is their first product, as the basis of its beliefs and methods. . . .

There are three of these great racial instincts, vital elements in both the historic and the present attempts to build an America which shall fulfill the aspirations and justify the heroism of the men who made the nation. These are the instincts of loyalty to the white race, to the traditions of America, and to the spirit of Protestantism, which has been an essential part of Americanism ever since the days of Roanoke and Plymouth Rock. They are condensed into [our] slogan: "Native, white, Protestant supremacy."

First in [our] mind is patriotism-America for Americans. [We believe] religiously that a betrayal of Americanism or the American race is treason to the most sacred of trusts, a trust from his fathers and a trust from God. [We believe], too, that Americanism can only be achieved if the pioneer stock is kept pure. There is more than race pride in this. Mongrelization has been proven bad. It is only between closely related stocks of the same race that interbreeding has improved men; the kind of interbreeding that went on in the early days of America between English, Dutch, German, Huguenot, Irish and Scotch.

Racial integrity is a very definite thing to [us]. It means even more than good citizenship, for a man may be in all ways a good citizen and yet a poor American, unless he has racial understanding of Americanism. . . .

It is the only religion that permits the unhampered individual development and the unhampered conscience and action which were necessary in the settling of America. Our pioneers were all Protestants, except for an occasional Irishman-Protestants by nature if not by religion-for though French and Spanish dared and explored and showed great heroism, they made little of the land their own. America was Protestant from birth. . . .

The real indictment against the Roman Church is that it is, fundamentally and irredeemably, in its leadership, in politics, in thought, and largely in membership, actually and actively alien, un-American and usually anti-American. . . .

Toward the Catholic as an individual [we have] no "attitude" whatever. His religion is none of our business. But toward the Catholic Church as a political organization, and toward the individual Catholic who serves it as such, we have a definite intolerance.

We are intolerant, also, of the efforts of the Roman Church to prevent the assimilation of immigrant members. We demand that in politics and in education the Roman Church abandon its clutching after special and un-American privileges, and that it become content to depend for its strength on the truth of its teachings and spiritual power of its leaders. Further than this we ask nothing. We admit that this is intolerant; we deny that it is either bigoted or unjust.

Hiram Wesley Evans, *The Klan's Fight for Americanism* (New York: North American Review, 1926).

“Fight for Americanism”

Questions

1. What kind of person is in this movement, and for whom does the movement claim to speak?

2. Why do they think that “Nordic Americans” (Americans whose ancestors were from Northern and Western Europe) are superior?

3. List three or four main issues that deeply distressed members of this movement (see paragraphs 4-6).

4. The author states that World War I taught them the cause of their troubles. What does he believe to be the cause?

5. List 3 reasons they believe that aliens or immigrants cause problems in America.

6. The author believes that there are three American racial instincts, or statements of common sense, that are *“vital elements in both the historic and the present attempts to build [a strong] America.”*
 - a. What is the first “racial Instinct,” and why does the author think it is important?

- b. What is the second “racial instinct,” and why does the author think it is important?

 - c. What is the third “racial instinct,” and why does the author think it is important?
7. What is this movement’s opinion of:
- a. Jews?

 - b. African Americans?

 - c. Catholics?

LESSON THREE

THREE CASE STUDIES

A. Objectives

- ◆ To recognize that the emergence of new beliefs and attitudes produces tension and conflicts in society.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Start off the lesson by asking the class to give some examples of the attitudes and beliefs of teenagers that cause conflicts with people of other generations.
 - a. What stake do the people with whom they disagree have in the conflict?
 - b. If these others did not have a position they were trying to protect, would differences necessarily lead to conflict?
 - c. Point out to students that the contrast between traditional rural lifestyles and modern urban ones is another example of how the emergence of new beliefs and attitudes typically causes conflict in society. Tell them that during the next three days they will examine several flashpoints where cultures clashed in America in the 1920s.
2. The first flashpoint takes the class back to October 28, 1919, to the passage of the Volstead Act. Ask students to recall (from discussion and film clips) which segment of American society most strongly favored Prohibition. Help them to develop hypotheses to explain this behavior.
3. Pass out **Document G**, abbreviated versions of the Volstead Act, officially known as the National Prohibition Act, so the class can study its provisions and begin to deal with the issue of enforcement.
 - a. Divide students into eleven groups and assign one section of the act to each group (the introduction under Title I counts as a section, and Sec. 6 should be divided up for three groups).
 - b. Tell each group to read their section and then, with a marker, title a piece of newsprint and list the section's main points.
 - c. As soon as they have finished, let the groups present their information to the rest of the class.
 - d. Students should ask clarifying questions and write down the titles and key points of all sections in their notes.

4. When the class understands the basic provision of the Volstead Act, point out that an estimated one half of the population disobeyed it. Do a “Read-Around” of three extracts that express the problem of enforcing the act:
 - a. An account of “*obtaining alcohol under the reign of righteousness and prohibition*,” from *Babbitt*; **Document H**.
 - b. “*Poisoned Hooch*,” by United States Prohibition Commissioner Roy A. Haynes; **Document I**.
 - c. “*Gangsters*,” by Frederick Lewis Allen; **Document J**.

Lead a discussion that compares the social costs of prohibition legislation to the benefits that rural Americans hoped to gain by it. Conclude by noting that the 21st Amendment ended Prohibition in 1931.

5. Assign a quick-write in which students explain what Prohibition was and discuss why it became a flashpoint between clashing urban and rural cultures in the twenties.
6. Introduce the next flashpoint, the Sacco and Vanzetti trial, by showing a copy of **Document K**, Ben Shahn’s painting, “*The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*.” Point out Judge Thayer, who handed down the death sentence, in the background, and the three members of the Lowell Commission who investigated the immigrants’ plea for a new trial and recommended against it. If their jobs are finished and the execution is over, why has Shahn put them in the picture? What do the students see in their faces and bearing? Tell students that the Sacco and Vanzetti case dragged on from 1920 to 1927 in a nativist atmosphere with the city, home of immigrants with strange religions and ideas, on one side and the small towns and farms, dominated by native-born Protestant Americans, on the other.
7. Have them role-play segments of the trial, using **Document L** the script of “The Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti.”
 - a. Follow with a show of hands: Who thinks they were guilty? Innocent? Not sure? The small amount of testimony included and the statement by Chief of Police Gallivan at the end are ample to express the confusion and frustration of the ordeal. It is also the reason why many believed the men were being tried not so much for robbery and murder as for being Southern Europeans of Catholic heritage with radical ideas.
 - b. Point out that most historians remain unsure about whether Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty.

Lesson Three

8. Give each student a copy of **Document M**, “Bartolomeo Vanzetti’s Last Statement in Court” to read.
 - a. Have them highlight the reasons he gives for his contention that he was wrongly convicted.
 - b. Follow up with a discussion of his claims: Might the claims be justified? What do they know about nativist beliefs that would be consistent with Vanzetti’s claims. Would most of Sacco and Vanzetti’s support have come from rural or urban areas? How would urban and rural forces have used the case to bolster their own causes?
9. In class, or for homework, have students summarize their understanding of the case as one front on which urban and rural values clashed by responding to Vanzetti’s “Last Statement” taking the role of a nativist. They might choose to do it in a paragraph or a point-by-point list.
10. Introduce the third flashpoint, the Scopes trial.
11. Tell the class that the first day’s proceedings in the case of *State of Tennessee vs. John Thomas Scopes* began with a few preliminaries, including a prayer and the introduction of the famous out-of-state counsel, ex-Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan for the prosecution, and Clarence Darrow for the defense. To give students background to explore the traditional vs. modern issues that flared up in the famous “monkey trial,” do a Read-Around of Scopes Transcript which includes:
 - a. **Document N1**: “First Day of the Proceedings,” in which Judge Raulston gives the Grand Jury instructions for deciding upon an indictment.
 - b. **Document N2**: “Fourth Day of the Proceedings,” which quotes from a textbook used by Scopes.
 - c. **Document N3**: “Second Day of the Proceedings,” the indictment returned by the Grand Jury, and part of Darrow’s response to it.
12. Show the trial segment from the film *Inherit the Wind* to bring alive the atmosphere and the testimony. The film uses sound-alike names for the participants, but otherwise adheres closely to the facts and often uses segments of the Scopes transcript in the dialog. The segment is 40-45 minutes long beginning with the testimony of Howard, one of Scopes’ students, and concluding with the end of Darrow’s (Drummond) examination of Bryan (Brady). A five-minute scene of Scopes (Cates) in jail could be cut to save time.

13. Homework Assignment:

Have students briefly state the legal issue involved in the Scopes case, then give specific examples of how it was dominated by the clash of traditional and modern views.

C. Lesson Evaluation

1. Check for understanding during discussion.
2. Evaluate group participation and presentations.
3. Assess Quick-Writes and homework.
4. A good culminating activity for the unit is to assign a document-based essay in which students develop an opening statement about cultural clashes in the 1920s, then select documents to back up their thesis:

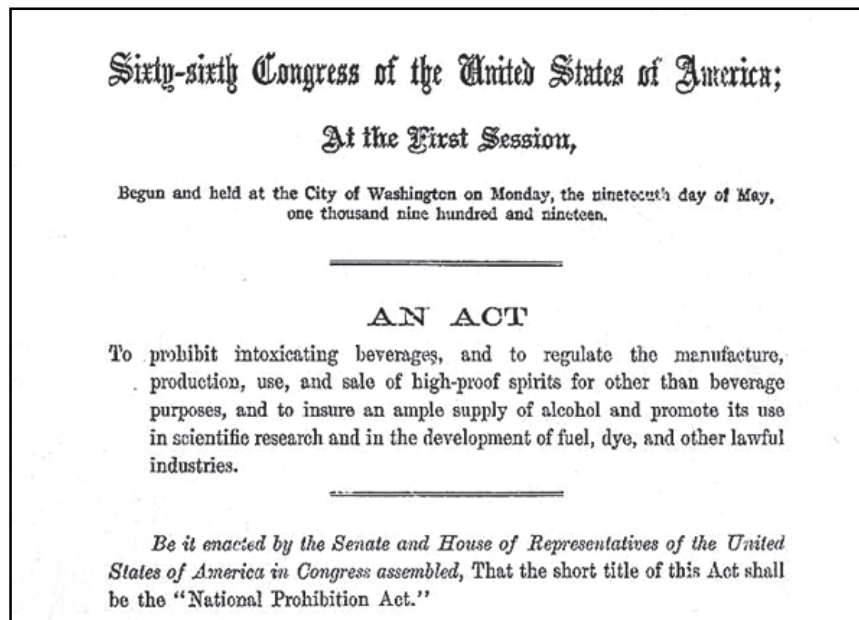
Explain why culture clash occurred in the United States in the 1920s. Name three flashpoints that serve as examples of this clash, then briefly describe the urban and rural positions on each. Finally, choose one flashpoint and discuss it in detail, using two or more documents to back up your discussion.

5. Assign a document-based essay in which students develop an opening statement about cultural clashes in the 1920s, then select five documents and use them to back up their thesis.

The Volstead Act
October 28, 1919
(Primary Source)

(U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. XXXI, p. 305ff)

Be it Enacted. . . . That the short title of this Act shall be the "National Prohibition Act."



National Archives, NWCTB-11-LAWSPI159E6-PL66(66)

TITLE I.

To Provide for the Enforcement of War Prohibition

The term "War Prohibition Act" used in this Act shall mean the provisions of any Act or Acts prohibiting the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States. The words "beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquors" in the War Prohibition Act shall be hereafter construed to mean any such beverages which contain on-half of 1 per centum or more of alcohol by volume: . . .

SEC. 2. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, his assistants, agents, and inspectors, shall investigate and report violations of the War Prohibition Act to the United States attorney for the district in which committed, who shall be charged with the duty of prosecuting, subject to the direction of the Attorney General, the offenders as in the case of other offenses against laws of the United States;

and such Commissioner or Internal Revenue, his assistants, agents, and inspectors may swear out warrants before United States commissioners or other officers or courts authorized to issue the same for the apprehension of such offenders, and may, subject to the control of the said United States attorney, conduct the prosecution at the committing trial for the purpose of having the offenders held for the action of a grand jury. . . .

TITLE II.

Prohibition of Intoxicating Beverages

SEC. 3. No person shall on or after the date when the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States goes into effect, manufacture, sell, barter, transport, import, export, deliver, furnish or possess any intoxicating liquor except as authorized in this Act, and all the provisions of this Act shall be liberally construed to the end that the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage may be prevented.

Liquor for nonbeverage purposes and wine for sacramental purposes may be manufactured, purchased, sold, bartered, transported, imported, exported, delivered, furnished and possessed, but only as herein provided, and the commissioner may, upon application, issue permits therefore: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall prohibit the purchase and sale of warehouse receipts covering distilled spirits on deposit in Government bonded warehouses, and no special tax liability shall attach to the business of purchasing and selling such warehouse receipts. . . .

SEC. 6. No one shall manufacture, sell, purchase, transport, or prescribe any liquor without first obtaining a permit from the commissioner so to do, except that a person may, without a permit, purchase and use liquor for medicinal purposes when prescribed by a physician as herein provided, and except that any person who in the opinion of the commissioner is conducting a bona fide hospital or sanatorium engaged in the treatment of persons suffering from alcoholism, may, under such rules, regulations, and conditions as the commissioner shall prescribe, purchase and use, in accordance with the methods in use in such institution, liquor, to be administered to the patients of such institution under the direction of a duly qualified physician employed by such institution.

All permits to manufacture, prescribe, sell, or transport liquor, may be issued for one year, and shall expire on the 31st day of December next succeeding the issuance thereof; . . . Permits to purchase liquor shall specify the quantity and kind to be purchased and the purpose for which it is to be used. No permit shall be issued to any person who within one year prior to the application therefore or issuance thereof shall have violated the terms of any permit issued under this Title or any law of the United States or of any State regulating traffic in liquor. No permit shall be issued to anyone to sell liquor at retail, unless the sale is to be made through a pharmacist designated in the permit and duly licensed under the

laws of his State to compound and dispense medicine prescribed by a duly licensed physician. No one shall be given a permit to prescribe liquor unless he is a physician duly licensed to practice medicine and actively engaged in the practice of such profession. . . .

Nothing in this title shall be held to apply the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, possession, or distribution of wine for sacramental purposes, or like religious rites, except section 6 (save as the same requires a permit to purchase) and section 10 hereof, and the provisions of this Act prescribing penalties for the violation of either of said sections. No person to whom a permit may be issued to manufacture, transport, import, or sell wines for sacramental purposes or like religious rites shall sell, barter, exchange, or furnish, any such to any person not a rabbi, minister of the gospel, priest, or an officer duly authorized for the purpose by any church or congregation, nor to any such except upon an application duly subscribed by him, which application, authenticated as regulations may prescribe, shall be filed and preserved by the seller. The head of any conference or diocese or other ecclesiastical jurisdiction may designate any rabbi, minister, or priest to supervise the manufacture of wine to be used for the purposes and rites in this section mentioned, and the person so designated may, in the discretion of the commissioner, be granted a permit to supervise such manufacture.

SEC. 7. No one but a physician holding a permit to prescribe liquor shall issue any prescription for liquor. And no physician shall prescribe liquor unless after careful physical examination of the person for whose use such prescription is sought, or if such examination is found impracticable, then upon the best information obtainable, he in good faith believes that the use of such liquor as a medicine by such person is necessary and will afford relief to him from some known ailment. Not more than a pint of spirituous liquor to be taken internally shall be prescribed for use by the same person within any period of ten days and no prescription shall be filled more than once. Any pharmacist filling a prescription shall at the time indorse upon it over his own signature the word "cancelled," together with the date when the liquor was delivered, and then make the same a part of the record that he is required to keep as herein provided. . . .

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

SEC. 21. Any room, house, building, boat, vehicle, structure, or place where intoxicating liquor is manufactured, sold, kept, or bartered in violation of this title, and all intoxicating liquor and property kept and used in maintaining the same, is hereby declared to be a common nuisance, and any person who main-

tains such a common nuisance shall be guilty of misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or be imprisoned for not more than one year, or both. . . .

SEC. 25. It shall be unlawful to have or possess any liquor or property designed for the manufacture of liquor intended for use in violating this title or which has been so used, and no property rights shall exist in any such liquor or property. . . . No search warrant shall issue to search any private dwelling occupied as such unless it is being used for the unlawful sale of intoxicating liquor, or unless it is in part used for some business purposes such as a store, shop, saloon, restaurant, hotel, or boarding house. . . .

SEC. 29. Any person who manufactures or sells liquor in violation of this title shall for a first offense be fined not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, and for a second or subsequent offense shall be fined not less than \$200 nor more than \$2,000 and be imprisoned not less than one month no more than five years.

Any person violating the provisions of any permit, or who makes any false record, report, or affidavit required by this title, or violates any of the provisions of this title, for which offense a special penalty is not prescribed, shall be fined for a first offense not more than \$500; for a second offense not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000, or be imprisoned not more than ninety days; for any subsequent offense he shall be fined not less than \$500 and be imprisoned not less than three months no more than two years. . . .

SEC. 33. After February 1, 1920, the possession of liquors by any person not legally permitted under this title to possess liquor shall be prima facie evidence that such liquor is kept for the purpose of being sold, bartered, exchanged, given away, furnished, or otherwise disposed of in violation of the Provisions of this title. . . . But it shall not be unlawful to possess liquors in one's private dwelling while the same is occupied and used by him as his dwelling only and such liquor need not be reported, provided such liquors are for use only for the personal consumption of the owner thereof and his family residing in such dwelling and of his bona fide guests when entertained by him therein; and the burden of proof shall be upon the possessor in any action concerning the same to prove that such liquor was lawfully acquired, possessed, and used. . . .

Babbitt

(Primary Source)

Now this was the manner of obtaining alcohol under the reign of righteousness and prohibition:

He drove from the severe rectangular streets of the modern business center into the tangled byways of Old Town—jagged blocks filled with sooty warehouses and lofts; on into The Arbor, once a pleasant orchard but now a morass of lodging-houses, tenements, and brothels. Exquisite shivers chilled his spine and stomach, and he looked at every policeman with intense innocence, as one who loved the law, and admired the Force, and longed to stop and play with them. He parked his car a block from Healey Hanson's saloon, worrying, "Well, rats, if anybody did see me, they'd think I was here on business."

He entered a place curiously like the saloons of ante-prohibition days, with a long greasy bar with sawdust in front and streaky mirror behind, a pine table at which a dirty old man dreamed over a glass of something which resembled whisky, and with two men at the bar, drinking something which resembled beer, and giving that impression of forming a large crowd which two men always give in a saloon. The bartender, a tall pale Swede with a diamond in his lilac scarf, stared at Babbitt as he stalked plumply up to the bar and whispered, "I'd, uh—Friend of Hanson's sent me here. Like to get some gin."

The bartender gazed down on him in the manner of an outraged bishop.

"I guess you got the wrong place, my friend. We sell nothing but soft drinks here." He cleaned the bar with a rag which would itself have done with a little cleaning, and glared across his mechanically moving elbow. The old dreamer at the table petitioned the bartender,

"Say, Oscar, listen."

"Aw, say, Oscar, listen, will yuh? Say, lis-sen!"

The decayed and drowsy voice of the loafer, the agreeable stink of beer-dregs, threw a spell on inattention over Babbitt.

The bartender moved grimly toward the crowd of two men. Babbitt followed him as delicately as a cat, and wheedled,

"Say, Oscar, I want to speak to Mr. Hanson."

"Whajuh wanta see him for?"

"I just want to talk to him. Here's my card."

It was a beautiful card, an engraved card, a card in the blackest black and the

sharpest red, announcing that Mr. George F. Babbitt was Estates, Insurance, Rents. The bartender held it as though it weighed ten pounds, and read it as though it were a hundred words long. He did not bend from his episcopal dignity, but he growled, "I'll see if he's around."

From the back room he brought an immensely old young man, a quiet sharp-eyed man, in tan silk shirt, checked vest hanging open, and burning brown trousers—Mr. Healey Hanson. Mr. Hanson said only "Yuh?" but his implacable and contemptuous eyes queried Babbitt's soul, and he seemed not at all impressed by the new dark-gray suit for which (as he had admitted to every acquaintance at the Athletic Club) Babbitt had paid a hundred and twenty-five dollars.

"Glad meet you, Mr. Hanson. Say, uh—I'm George Babbitt of the Babbitt-Thompson Realty company. I'm a great friend of Jake Offutt's."

"Well, what of it?"

"Say, uh I'm going to have a party, and Jake told me you'd be able to fix me up with a little gin." In alarm, in obsequiousness, as Hanson's eyes grew more bored, "You telephone to Jake about me, if you want to."

Hanson answered by jerking his head to indicate the entrance to the back room, and strolled away. Babbitt melodramatically crept into an apartment containing four round tables, eleven chairs, a brewery calender, and a smell. He waited. Thrice he saw Healy Hanson saunter through, humming, hands in pockets, ignoring him.

By this time Babbitt had modified his valiant morning vow, "I won't pay one cent over seven dollars a quart" to "I might pay ten." On Hanson's next weary entrance he besought, "Could you fix that up?" Hanson scowled, and grated, "Just a minute—Pete's sake—just a min-ute!" In growing meekness Babbitt went on waiting till Hanson casually reappeared with a quart of gin—what is euphemistically known as a quart—in his disdainful long white hands.

"Twelve bucks," he snapped.

"Say, uh, but way, cap'n, Jake thought you'd be able to fix me up for eight or nine a bottle."

"Nup. Twelve. This is the real stuff, smuggled from Canada. This is none o' your neutral spirits with a drop of juniper extract," the honest merchant said virtuously. "Twelve bones—if you want it. Course y' understand I'm just doing this anyway as a friend of Jake's."

"Sure! Sure! I understand!" Babbitt gratefully held out twelve dollars. He felt honored by contact with greatness as Hanson yawned, stuffed the bills, uncounted, into his radiant vest, and swaggered away.

Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt* (New York: Grossett & Dunlap Publishers; copyright 1922 by Harcourt, Brace & Co.), pp. 106-108.

Poisoned Hooch

(Primary Source)

It is a common practice among moonshiners to place their liquor in old-fashioned fruit jars with zinc tops. The acids corrode the zinc, which goes into the liquor in the form of zinc salts. Cases of acute gastritis and other fatal ailments undoubtedly are caused by drinking that sort of moonshine. . . .

One of the worst features of moonshine liquor, however, is . . . that it is raw spirits—new liquor not properly aged in wood—and that it contains all the poisons incidental to such liquor. . . .

Next to that kind of moonshine, the liquor most commonly dealt in by bootleggers is made from denatured alcohol, a non-beverage liquor intended for industrial uses. Denatured alcohol originally was pure grain alcohol . . . [and] many illicit manufacturers attempt to [recover it from the denatured product, but almost] without exception such a manufacturer is without chemical knowledge or training. . . .He succeeds in distilling a liquor from which most of the disagreeable taste has been removed, so that when it is combined with flavoring and coloring substances the buyer will accept it as real liquor. But it still contains quantities of the poisons used in the denaturing process. . . .

Wood alcohol's toll of death and blindness is ghastly. . . . many cases of . . . poisoning probably have been due to the fact that a bootlegger . . . used wood alcohol by mistake. His victims die more quickly and more violently than those of the moonshiner or the redistiller of denatured alcohol. . . .

Delirium tremens was the aftermath of real liquor in its day. . . . From all parts of the country have come reports of after-effects of bootleg liquor more weird than delirium tremens. Sometimes the victim prefers death to the agony and, with closing consciousness, takes his own life. A young actress, for instance, who killed herself in her dressing room in a Washington theatre, lived long enough to say that the effects of the liquor drunk at the party had caused her to seek death as a relief. . . .

Haynes, Roy A., *The New York Times*, July 26, 1923. Reprinted in George E. Mowry (ed.), *The Twenties: Fords, Flappers & Fanatics* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

“Gangsters” Alcohol and Al Capone

In 1920, when prohibition was very young, Johnny Torrio of Chicago had an inspiration. Torrio was a formidable figure in the Chicago underworld. He had discovered that there was big money in the newly outlawed liquor business. He was fired with the hope of getting control of the dispensation of booze to the whole city of Chicago. At the moment there was a great deal too much competition; but possibly a well disciplined gang of men handy with their fists and their guns could take care of that, by intimidating rival bootleggers and persuading speakeasy proprietors that life might not be wholly comfortable for them unless they bought Torrio liquor. What Torrio needed was a lieutenant who could mobilize and lead his shock troops.

He picked for the job a bullet-headed twenty-three-year-old Neapolitan roughneck of the Five Points gang, and offered him a generous income and half the profits of the bootleg trade if he would come to Chicago and take care of the competition. The young hoodlum came, established himself at Torrio’s gambling-place, the Four Deuces, opened by way of plausible stage setting an innocent-looking office which contained among its properties a family Bible, and had a set of business cards printed:



Within three years it was said that the boy from the Five Points had seven hundred men at his disposal, many of them adept in the use of the sawed-off shotgun and the Thompson sub-machine gun. As the profits from beer and “alky-cooking” (illicit distilling) rolled in, young Capone acquired more finesse—particularly finesse in the management of politics and politicians. By the middle of the decade he had gained complete control of the suburb of Cicero, had installed his own mayor in office, had posted his agents in the wide-open gambling-resorts and in each of the 161 bars, and had established his personal headquarters in the Hawthorne Hotel. He was taking in millions now. Torrio was fading into the background; Capone was becoming the Big Shot. But his conquest of power did not come without bloodshed. As the rival gangs—the O’Banions, the Gennas, the Aiellos—disputed his growing domination, Chicago was afflicted with such an epidemic of killings as no civilized modern city had ever before seen, and a new technique of wholesale murder was developed.

To say that prohibition—or, if you prefer, the refusal of the public to abide by prohibition—caused the rise of the gangs to lawless power would be altogether too easy an explanation. There were other causes: the automobile, which made escape easy,

as the officers of robbed banks had discovered; the adaptation to peace-time use of a new arsenal of handy and deadly weapons; the murderous traditions of the Mafia, imported by Sicilian gangsters; the inclination of a wet community to wink at the by-products of a trade which provided them with beer and gin; the sheer size and unwieldiness of the modern metropolitan community, which prevented the focusing of public opinion upon any depredation which did not immediately concern the average individual citizen; and, of course, the easy-going political apathy of the times. But the immediate occasion of the rise of gangs was undoubtedly prohibition—or, to be more precise, beer-running. (Beer rather than whisky on account of its bulk; to carry on a profitable trade in beer one must transport it in trucks, and trucks are so difficult to disguise that the traffic must be protected by bribery of the prohibition staff and the police and by gunfire against bandits.) There was vast profit in the manufacture, transportation, and sale of beer. In 1927, according to Fred D. Pasley, Al Capone's biographer, federal agents estimated that the Capone gang controlled the sources of revenue from booze of something like sixty million dollars a year, and much of this—perhaps most of it—came from beer. Fill a man's pockets with money, give him a chance at a huge profit, put him into an illegal business and thus deny him recourse to the law if he is attacked, and you have made it easy for him to bribe and shoot. There have always been gangs and gangsters in American life and doubtless always will be; there has always been corruption of city officials and doubtless always will be; yet it is ironically true, nonetheless, that the outburst of corruption and crime in Chicago in the nineteen-twenties was immediately occasioned by the attempt to banish the temptations of liquor from the American home.

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The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti



Ben Shahn, 1931-1932

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

Available for viewing in color:

<http://www.usc.edu/schools/annenberg/asc/projects/comm544/library/images/367.html>

The Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti

Participants in the Trial

NARRATOR	
HAROLD P. WILLIAMS	<i>assistant to the district attorney</i>
FREDERICK G. KATZMANN	<i>district attorney</i>
LOLA ANDREWS	<i>witness for the prosecution</i>
NICOLA SACCO	<i>defendant</i>
FRED H. MOORE	<i>one of Sacco's attorneys</i>
HARRY KURLANSKY	<i>witness for the defense</i>
AUSTIN REED	<i>witness for the prosecution</i>
THOMAS McANARY	<i>one of Vanzetti's attorneys</i>
GEORGE KELLEY	<i>witness for the prosecution</i>
BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI	<i>defendant</i>

NARRATOR: The trial began on Tuesday, June 7, 1920. The opening statement for the prosecution was made by Mr. Williams.

WILLIAMS: The crime which we are charging here, and which we are about to try, took place on the 15th day of April. . . . The place was South Braintree . . . in Norfolk County. On that day [\$15,776] had been received by Slater & Morrill, shoe manufacturers . . . for the purpose of paying their employees. . . . The acting paymaster at that time, the man who actually had to distribute the money, was Frederick A. Parmenter. . . . The man who was employed to guard the paymaster was Alessandro Berardelli, a man of Italian descent, and at three o'clock, or about then, Mr. Parmenter and Mr. Berardelli left the Slater & Morrill factory with these boxes [of money] to make the payments in the lower factory. . . .

Down there between two telegraph posts . . . were two men leaning against the fence. . . . Parmenter and Berardelli . . . came down to where the two men were . . . and these two men on the fence stepped out and approached them. There is some testimony that one of the men seized hold of Berardelli, shots were fired by these two men. . . . Berardelli dropped, as he was shot, in the gutter . . . and as he fell . . . a short, swarthy man . . . was standing in front of Berardelli with a pistol, and fired two shots at the prostrate man. That man, gentlemen, who shot Berardelli as he was on the ground, is described and identified as Nicola Sacco, the defendant on the left.

. . . While this was going on, this big, black car . . . was down below the Slater & Morrill factory . . . and as this shooting went on that car crawled up to the scene of the shooting. The two bandits . . . took up the two boxes, and piled them into the car. . . . As it went up the street

a man . . . saw the number 49,783 on the back. . . . We next find them at Matfield Crossing. . . . The crossing-tender . . . noticed them going down the grade there towards the crossing at the same time that a train was approaching, and ran across the crossing with his stop signal . . . and they stopped. He held them there until the train got by. And then the man who was on the front seat and whom he describes as Bartolomeo Vanzetti, said: "What to hell are you holding us up for?" And they went off. . . .

The defendants are presumed to be innocent. They are just as innocent at the present time as you or I may be. . . . But if you find . . . sufficient evidence has been submitted to overcome the presumption of innocence, . . . it is your duty, or course, to so declare.

NARRATOR: Seven witnesses claimed to have seen Sacco at the scene of the crime. One, Mrs. Lola Andrews, had gone with her friend, Mrs. Campbell, to look for work in the shoe factories on the day of the murders. She said that they had seen two men near a car outside the Slater & Morrill factory, and that she asked one how to get to the Rice & Hutchins factory.

KATZMANN: Did you have any talk with either of those men at that time?

ANDREWS: Yes, sir. . . . With the man who was fixing the car. . . .

KATZMANN: Where was he when you had the talk with him?

ANDREWS: He was under the car. . . . I spoke to him and he got up, as I spoke to him. . . . I asked him if he would please show me how to get into the factory office, that I did not know how to go. . . .

KATZMANN: Just point to the man you mean.

ANDREWS: That man there. [points to Sacco]

SACCO: I am the man? Do you mean me? Take a good look.

KATZMANN: Then you mean . . . the man they call Sacco?

ANDREWS: Yes, sir.

NARRATOR: Later, the defense called Lola Andrews' friend, Mrs. Julia Campbell to the stand.

MOORE: When you got down to Slater and Morrill's factory . . . did you see anything or any person outside?

CAMPBELL: We saw a car there, and we saw a man in khaki clothes.

- MOORE: Did you see any man doing anything to the automobile?
- CAMPBELL: There was a man down underneath the automobile. He never looked up at all.
- MOORE: Did you or Mrs. Andrews speak to that man who was down under the automobile?
- CAMPBELL: We did not.
- NARRATOR: District Attorney Katzmann cross-examined Mrs. Campbell.
- KATZMANN: Which way was the automobile facing, Mrs. Campbell?
- CAMPBELL: It was facing down from the track.
- KATZMANN: Back to the track?
- CAMPBELL: Yes, back to the track.
- KATZMANN: Have you said it was facing towards the track?
- CAMPBELL: No, sir, I have not. I told the same story, dear man, everytime, and I don't want to get into this trouble. . . .
- KATZMANN: I think this lady ought not to stand up. She is tired. . . . [Mrs. Campbell cries and an officer brings her water.]
- THAYER: Perhaps you better suspend with the witness and call some other.
- J. McANARNY: I would like to proceed if I could. She is anxious to get home to Maine.
- THAYER: She is advanced in years, and if anything should happen we would feel we kept her on the stand too long. . . . Now, Mrs. Campbell, . . . if you feel tired . . . won't you tell me right off? I would be grateful to you if you would. . . .
- KATZMANN: Do you say, Mrs. Campbell, that there was no conversation on your coming out of Slater & Morill's with the man under the car?
- CAMPBELL: There was not. We never spoke to either one.
- NARRATOR: Harry Kurlansky testified for the defense about a conversation he had with Mrs. Andrews after she had been to the jail to make a formal identification of Sacco.
- MOORE: Now, tell us what was said.
- KURLANSKY: As I sat on my doorstep and as I know her I always spoke to her when she went by. I said to her, "Hello, Lola, . . . you look kind of tired." She says, "Yes, . . . I just come from jail. . . . The government took me down and want me to recognize those men," she says, "and I don't

know a thing about them. I have never seen them and I can't recognize them." She says, "unfortunately I have been down there to get a job and I have seen many men that I don't know and I have never paid any attention to any one. . . ."

THAYER: . . . Did you attempt to find out who this person was who represented the Government and who was trying to get her to . . . state that which was false?

KURLANSKY: No

THAYER: Why not?

KURLANSKY: Well, it didn't come to my mind. I wasn't sure, you know. . . .

NARRATOR: The prosecution called Austin Reed, the Matfield crossing-tender, who testified that he stopped a black car on the afternoon of the crime just as it was trying to cross the tracks in front of a train.

REED: It was coming . . . so fast that it kicked up the dust. . . . I had my sign in my hand and they did not seem to want to stop then. . . .

NARRATOR: After the train had gone by, the car stopped near Reed and one of the men inside spoke abusively to him, for the second time, for stopping their car.

REED: . . . He pointed his finger at me again. . . . And he says, "What to hell did you hold us up for?"

KATZMANN: . . . How near was he to you. . . .?

REED: Within about four feet. . . .

KATZMANN: Will you describe the personal appearance of that man who spoke to you . . . ?

REED: He was a dark complected man, kind of hollow cheeks, with high cheek bones . . . and kind of a stubbed mustache, bushy. His hair was black. . . .

KATZMANN: Have you ever seen that man since that day?

REED: Yes, sir. . . . [At] the Brockton police station. . . .

KATZMANN: Any doubt in your mind?

REED: No, sir. . . .

NARRATOR: Thomas McAnarny cross-examined Reed for the defense.

T. McANARNY: Had anyone spoken to you about this matter before?

- REED: [hesitates] . . . Yes.
- T. McANARNY: Yes. Well, did you introduce yourself when you went into . . . the police station and told them who you were and what you wanted?
- REED: Not at first. . . . I asked to see the two defendants that were there. . . .
- T. McANARNY: . . . And the picture in your mind you wanted to find was the face of some Italian man?
- REED: The face I wanted to see was the face of the one I had seen.
- T. McANARNY: Would you kindly answer my question, please. It was the face of an Italian, wasn't it?
- REED: Yes, sir. . . .
- NARRATOR: One of the pieces of evidence used to tie Sacco to the crime was a cloth cap picked up at the scene and alleged to belong to Sacco. The defense did not want the cap admitted as evidence because it had been found the next day, after crowds had gathered at the murder site, and could have been dropped by anyone. The prosecution called Sacco's boss, George Kelley, to identify the cap.
- THAYER: I would like to ask the witness one question: . . . According to your best judgment, is it your opinion that the cap which Mr. Williams now holds in his hand is like the one that was worn by the defendant Sacco?
- MOORE: I object to that question, Your Honor.
- THAYER: [speaking to Williams] . . . I would rather it come from you Mr. Williams. Will you put that question?
- WILLIAMS: Mr. Kelley, according to your best judgment, is the cap I show you alike in appearance to the cap worn by Sacco?
- KELLEY: In color only.
- THAYER: That is not responsive to the question. I wish you would answer it, if you can.
- KELLEY: I can't answer it when I don't know right down in my heart that that is the cap.
- THAYER: I don't want you to. I want you should answer according to what is in your heart.
- KELLEY: General appearance, that is all I can say. I never saw that cap so close in my life as I do now.
- THAYER: In its general appearance, is it the same?

- KELLEY: Yes, sir.
- MOORE: I object to that last question and answer.
- THAYER: You may put the question so that it comes from counsel rather than from the Court.
- WILLIAMS: In its general appearance, is it the same?
- KELLEY: Yes.
- WILLIAMS: I now offer the cap, if you Honor please.
- THAYER: Admitted.
- NARRATOR: Sacco and Vanzetti's radical political and economic beliefs were also closely questioned.
- KATZMANN: Did [Chief Stewart] indicate . . . the crime you were arrested for?
- SACCO: I never think anything else than Radical. . . the Radical arrest, you know, the way they do in New York, the way they arrest so many people there.
- KATZMANN: What made you think that?
- SACCO: Because I was not registered, and I was working for the movement for the working class.
- KATZMANN: Was there anything that Chief Stewart said to you that made you think that?
- SACCO: Yes. He did ask me if I was a Socialist. I did say, "Yes."
- KATZMANN: . . . Did you say yesterday you love a free country?
- SACCO: Yes, sir.
- KATZMANN: Did you love this country in the month of May, 1917?
- SACCO: I did not say,—I don't want to say I did not love this country.
- KATZMANN: Did you love this country in the last week of May, 1917?
- SACCO: That is pretty hard for me to say in one word, Mr. Katzmann.
- KATZMANN: There are two words you can use, Mr. Sacco, yes or no. Which one is it?
- SACCO: Yes.
- KATZMANN: And in order to show your love for this United States of America when she was about to call upon you to become a soldier you ran away to Mexico? . . . Did you go to Mexico to avoid being a soldier for this

country that you loved?

SACCO: Yes. . . .

KATZMANN: Why didn't you stay down in Mexico?

SACCO: Well, first thing, I could not get my trade over there. I had to do any other job. . . . I don't think I did sacrifice to learn a job to go to pick and shovel in Mexico.

KATZMANN: Is it because,—is your love for the United States of America [related to] the amount of money you can get in this country per week?

SACCO: Better conditions, yes?

KATZMANN: Is your love for this country measured by the amount of money you can earn here?

SACCO: I never loved money.

KATZMANN: What is the reason you came back from Mexico if you did not love money, then?

SACCO: The first reason is all against my nature, is all different food over there, different nature, anyway. . . .

KATZMANN: You had Italian food there, didn't you?

SACCO: Yes, made by ourselves. . . .

KATZMANN: Couldn't you send to Boston to get Italian food sent to Monterey, Mexico?

SACCO: If I was a D. Rockefeller I will.

KATZMANN: Then, I take it, you came back to the United States first to get something to eat. Is that right?

SACCO: No, not just for eat. . . .The second reason is strange for me, the language. . . .

KATZMANN: When you came to America in 1908, did you understand English?

SACCO: No. . . .

KATZMANN: What is the third reason, if there is one?

SACCO: A third reason, I was far away from my wife and boy. . . .

NARRATOR: At one point, Sacco was able to say that he did not believe in war, but it was not followed up. Vanzetti's testimony was much the same.

KATZMANN: So you left Plymouth, Mr. Vanzetti, in May, 1917, to dodge the draft, did you?

VANZETTI: Yes, sir. . . .

KATZMANN: Did you ever work in Springfield, Massachusetts?

VANZETTI: Well, I have worked not really in the town of Springfield, Massachusetts, but in a shanty near Springfield. . . . You know, the little house where the Italian work and live like a beast, the Italian workingman in this country. . . .

NARRATOR: When the trial was over, South Braintree Chief of Police Gallivan was highly puzzled about the testimony of many witnesses, compared to what they had said when questioned at the preliminary hearing some months before:

It did seem to me that it was dog eat dog [at the trial], one crowd would get a big crowd there, and then the other crowd tried to offset them, that's the way it appeared to me. The Government would put on a witness there and then the defense would rush in to offset it, and I guess Katzmann was just as wise, he would dig up one to offset that other one, and then the defense would dig up one to offset him . . . The case appeared to me to be drifting along, to strive to see who could get the biggest crowd. In other words to see who could tell the biggest lies.

Testimony from:

Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, *Justice Crucified: The Story of Sacco and Vanzetti* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977).

Osmond K. Fraenkel *The Sacco-Vanzetti Case* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1931).

Bartolomeo Vanzetti's Last Statement in Court**April 9, 1927**

(Primary Source)

Yes. What I say is that I am innocent, not only of the Braintree crime but also of the Bridgewater crime. That I am not only innocent of these two crimes, but in all my life I have never stole and I have never killed and I have never spilled blood. That is what I want to say. And it is not all. Not only am I innocent of these two crimes, not only in all my life I have never stole, never killed, never spilled blood, but I have struggled all my life, since I began to reason, to eliminate crime from the earth.

Everybody that knows these two arms knows very well that I did not need to go in between the street and kill a man to take the money. I can live with my two arms and live well. But besides that, I can live even without work with my arm for other people. I have had plenty of chance to live independently and to live what the world conceives to be a higher life than not to gain our bread with the sweat of our brow. . . .

Well, I want to reach a little point farther, and it is this—that not only have I not been trying to steal in Bridgewater, not only have I not been in Braintree to steal and kill and have never steal or kill or spilt blood in all my life, not only have I struggled hard against crimes, but I have refused myself the commodity or glory of life, the pride of life of a good position because in my consideration it is not right to exploit man. . . .

Now, I should say that I am not only innocent of all these things, not only have I never committed a real crime in my life—though some sins, but not crimes—not only have I struggled all my life to eliminate crimes that the official law and the official moral condemns, but also the crime that the official moral and the official law sanctions and sanctifies,—the exploitation and the oppression of the man by the man, and if there is a reason why I am here as a guilty man, if there is a reason why you in a few minutes can doom me, it is this reason and none else.

I beg your pardon. There is the more good man I ever cast my eyes upon since I lived, a man that will last and will grow always more near and more dear to the people, as far as into the heart of the people, so long as admiration for goodness and for sacrifice will last. I mean Eugene Debs. . . . He know, and not only he but every man of understanding in the world, not only in this country but also in the other countries, men that we have provided a certain amount of a record of the times, they all stick with us, the flower of mankind of Europe, the better writers, the greatest thinkers, of Europe, have pleaded in our favor. The scientists, the greatest scientists, the greatest statesmen of Europe, have pleaded in our favor. The people of foreign nations have pleaded in our favor.

Is it possible that only a few on the jury, only two or three men, who would condemn their mother for worldly honor and for earthly fortune; is it possible that they are

right against the world, the whole world has say it is wrong and that I know that it is wrong? If there is one that I should know it, if it is right or if it is wrong, it is I and this man. You see it is seven years that we are in jail. What we have suffered during those years no human tongue can say, and yet you see me before you, not trembling, you see me looking you in your eyes straight, not blushing, not changing color, not ashamed or in fear. . . .

We have proved that there could not have been another Judge on the face of the earth more prejudiced and more cruel than you have been against us. We have proved that. Still they refuse the new trial. We know, and you know in your heart, that you have been against us from the very beginning, before you see us. Before you see us you already know that we were radicals, that we were underdogs, that we were the enemy of the institution that you can believe in good faith in their goodness—I don't want to condemn that—and that it was easy on the time of the first trial to get a verdict of guiltiness.

We know that you have spoke yourself and have spoke your hostility against us, and your despisement against us with friends of yours on the train, at the University Club, of Boston, on the Golf Club of Worcester, Massachusetts. I am sure that if the people who know all what you say against us would have the civil courage to take the stand, maybe your Honor—I am sorry to say this because you are an old man, and I have an old father—but maybe you would be beside us in good justice at this time.

When you sentenced me at the Plymouth trial you say, to the best part of my memory, of my good faith, that crimes were in accordance with my principle,—something of that sort—and you take off one charge, if I remember it exactly, from the jury. The jury was so violent against me that they found me guilty of both charges, because there were only two. . . .

We were tried during a time that has now passed into history. I mean by that, a time when there was hysteria of resentment and hate against the people of our principles, against the foreigner, against slackers, and it seems to me—rather, I am positive, that both you and Mr. Katzmann has done all what it were in your power in order to work out, in order to agitate still more the passion of the juror, the prejudice of the juror, against us. . . .

Well, I have already say that I not only am not guilty of these crimes, but I never commit a crime in my life,—I have never steal and I have never kill and I have never spilt blood, and I have fought against the crime, and I have fought and I have sacrificed myself even to eliminate the crimes that the law and the church legitimate and sanctify.

This is what I say: I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortunate creature on the earth—I would not wish to any of them what I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. But my conviction is that I have suffered

for things that I am guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian; I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already. I have finished. Thank you.

Nicola Sacco, *The Sacco-Vanzetti Case*, ed. Osmond K. Fraenkel (New York, A. A. Knopf: 1931), p. 138 ff.



Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco (Dedham courthouse, 1923)
National Archives

Scopes Transcript: First Day of the Proceedings

Judge's Charge to Grand Jury

Gentlemen of the grand jury, on May 25, 1925, John T. Scopes was indicted in this county for violating what is generally know as the anti-evolution statute. There is some uncertainty as to whether or not this indictment is valid, and, in order to avoid a possibility of it being invalid, I have determined to convene this grand jury for the purpose of reinvestigating these charges. I now use substantially the same charge I gave the first grand jury.

The statue, which it is alleged the said Scopes violated, is Chapter 27 of the acts of 1925, which makes it unlawful to teach in the universities, normals and all other public schools of the state, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the state, any theory that denies the story of Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible and teach instead thereof that man descended from a lower order of animals.

This act became the law in Tennessee on March 21, 1925.

This act in part reads as follows:

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the general assembly of the state of Tennessee, that it shall be unlawful for any teacher in any of the universities, normals and all other public schools of the state, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the state, to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals.

Since the act involved in this investigation proides that it shall be unlawful to teach any theory that denies the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, it is proper that I call your attention to the acocunt of man's creation as taught in the Bible, it is proper that I call your attention to the first chapter of Genesis, reading as follows [Reads first chapter of Genesis]:

In the beginning the Lord created the heaven and earth.

Second—And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

Third—And God said, let there be light: and there was light.

Fourth—And God saw the light, that it was good: And God divided the light from the darkness.

Fifth—And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

Sixth—And God said let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

Seventh—And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament; And it was so.

Eighth—And God called the firmament heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

Ninth—And God said, 'Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear,' and it was so.

Ten—And God called the dry land earth; and the gathering together of the waters called He seas: And God saw that it was good.

Eleventh—And God said, let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit trees yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: And it was so.

Twelfth—And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the trees yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind; and God saw that it was good.

Thirteenth—And the evening and the morning were the third day.

Fourteenth—And God said let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years.

Fifteenth—And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth; and it was so.

Sixteenth—And God made two great lights: The greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also.

Seventeenth—And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.

Eighteenth—And to rule over the day and over the night and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.

Nineteenth—And the evening, and the morning were the fourth day.

Twentieth—And God said, let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath light, and fowls that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.

Twenty-first—And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind; and God saw that it was good.

Twenty-second—And God blessed them, saying. Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.

Twenty-third—And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

Twenty-fourth—And God said, let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing, and beasts of the earth after his kind: And it was so.

Twenty-fifth—And God made the beasts of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.

Twenty-sixth—And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: And let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

Twenty-seventh—So God created man in His own image, in the image of God, created He him; male and female created He them.

Twenty-eighth—And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the flow of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

Twenty-ninth—and God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; and to you it shall be for meat.

Thirtieth—And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat; and it was so.

Thirty-first—And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

Therefore, the vital question now involved for your consideration is, has the statute been violated by the said John T. Scopes or any other person by teaching a theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and in Rhea County since the passage of this act and prior to this investigation.

If you find the statute has been thus violated, you should indict the guilty person or persons, as the case may be. . . .

John Thomas Scopes, *The World's Most Famous Court Trial, "State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes"* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1971)



Clarence Darrow seated with Judge John F. Raulston
July 12, 1925
Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-95411



William Jennings Bryan
Dictionary of American Portraits (Dover Publications, Inc., 1967)

Scopes Transcript: Fourth Day of the Proceedings

Doctrine of Evolution

The Doctrine of Evolution—We have now learned that animal forms may be arranged so as to begin with very simple one-celled forms and culminate with a group which contains man himself. This arrangement is called the evolutionary series. Evolution means change, and these groups are believed by scientists to represent stages in complexity of development of life on the earth. Geology teaches that millions of years ago, life upon the earth was very simple, and that gradually more and more complex forms of life appeared, as the rocks formed latest in time show the most highly developed forms of animal life. The great English scientist, Charles Darwin, from this and other evidence, explained the theory of evolution. This is the belief that simple forms of life a on earth slowly and gradually gave rise to those more complex and that thus ultimately the most complex forms came into existence.

Evidently, too, he is a mammal, because the young are nourished by milk secreted by the mother and because his body has at least a partial covering of hair. Anatomically we find that we must place man with the apelike mammals, because of these numerous points of structural likeness. The group of mammals which includes the monkeys, apes, and man we call the primates. I see another line marked here. I am ashamed to read that, too.

Mammals are considered the highest vertebrate animals, not only because of their complicated structure, but because their instincts are so well developed. Monkeys certainly seem to have many of the mental attributes of man.

Gen. Stewart—Just go right on. Mr. Darrow—I am going to. You have underscored part of it. I want to read it too.

Scopes Transcript: Second Day of the Proceedings

Indictment Read.
Gen. Stewart (Reading)—
State of Tennessee,
County of Rhea.
Circuit Court.

July Special Term, 1925.

The grand jurors for the state aforesaid, being duly summoned, elected, empaneled, sworn, and charged to inquire for the body of the county aforesaid, upon their oaths present:

That John Thomas Scopes, heretofore on the 24th day of April, 1925, in the county aforesaid, then and there, unlawfully did willfully teach in the public schools of Rhea county, Tennessee, which said public schools are supported in part and in whole by the public school fund of the state, a certain theory and theories that deny the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and did teach instead thereof that man has descended from a lower order of animals, he, the said John Thomas Scopes, being at the time, or prior thereto, a teacher in the public schools of Rhea county, Tennessee, aforesaid, against the peace and dignity of the state.

A. T. Stewart
Attorney-General

John Thomas Scopes, *The World's Most Famous Court Trial, "State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes"* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1971)

Darrow Reads from Newspaper:

I am reading from a newspaper. I forget what newspaper it was, but am sure it was right:

“That John Thomas Scopes on April, 1925, did unlawfully willfully teach in the public schools of Rhea County, Tennessee, which public schools are supported in part and in whole—”

I don’t know how that is possible, but we will pass that up—

“In part or in whole by the public school funds of the state a certain theory and theories that deny the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible and it teach instead thereof that man is descended from a lower order of animals.”

Now, then there is something that is very elementary. That is one of them and very elementary, because the constitutions [sic] of Tennessee provides and the constitution of pretty near every other state in the United States provide that an indictment must state in sufficient terms so that a man may be apprised of what is going to be the character of charge against him. Tennessee said that my friend the attorney-general says that John Scopes knows what he is here for. Yes, I know what he is here for, because the fundamentalists are after everybody that thinks. I know why he is here. I know he is here because ignorance and bigotry are rampant, and it is a mighty strong combination, your Honor, it makes him fearful. . . .

What did he teach? What was the horrible thing he taught that was in conflict with Moses and what is it that is not in conflict with Moses? What shouldn’t he have taught? What is the account contained in the Bible when he ignored, when he taught the doctrine of evolution which is taught by every—believed by every scientific man on earth. Joshua made the sun stand still. The fundamentalists will make the ages roll back. . . .

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