Woman at Wash Tub

T. C. Steele painted Woman at Wash Tub ca. 1915–20. The painting shows the loose, impressionistic style he used to capture the natural beauty of Indiana.
The Roaring Twenties

During no other period in the history of the world was there such a revolutionary change in the manners and customs of the American people, such a rising tide of prosperity, or such lawlessness. It was the decade of the gin-mill, the speakeasy, the flapper, flaming youth, bootleggers and gangsters.

— “The Roaring Twenties” Saturday Spectator, Terre Haute, Indiana, November 11, 1939

Everything seemed new and exciting in the 1920s. Change often meant progress, including improvements in daily life. Many Hoosiers now had radios, flush toilets, cars, telephones, sewing machines, and fancy stores jammed with enticing goods. But the changes also threatened traditional ways.

The “Roaring Twenties” followed a decade of contradictions, beginning with a golden age of the arts and closing with “a war to end all wars.” The second decade of the twentieth century truly encompassed both the best of times and the worst of times.

A Golden Age?

Hoosiers had good reasons to be proud when they celebrated the state’s one-hundredth birthday in 1916. Then and later they would look back on the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth as a Golden Age.

The turn of the twentieth century ushered in a Golden Age in art and literature in Indiana. Painters and writers seemed to spring from the Indiana soil. The number of best-selling books by Indiana authors exceeded that from any other state except New York. An oft-told story featured author Opie Read visiting Fort Wayne, Indiana. Aware of the state’s literary reputation, he invited any writer in the audience to stand up, at which point all but one person rose. When the visitor commented on the elderly man who remained seated he was told, “Oh, no, he writes too. He’s just deaf [deaf] and didn’t hear the question.”

James Whitcomb Riley

James Whitcomb Riley was and remains a beloved poet of many Hoosiers, both young and old. This photo was taken in the front yard of his Indianapolis home in 1916.
The most popular of Indiana’s Golden Age authors were the poet James Whitcomb Riley (1849–1916) and the novelist Booth Tarkington (1869–1946). Riley’s poetry expressed longing for an idealized rural and small-town past. Generations of schoolchildren memorized “The Old Swimmin’ Hole,” “When the Frost Is on the Punkin,” and “Little Orphant Annie.” Heard in his lyrics, journalist Irvin Cobb wrote, were “the click of the mowing-machine in the wheat, the gurgle of the catbird in the paw-paw thicket, the ripple of the sunfish’s fins in the creek.” Riley’s poems created for Indiana the most popular expressions of pioneer values and Hoosier traditions of the time.

Tarkington’s books, often set in a fictionalized Indianapolis, were almost as well-known as Riley’s poetry. Tarkington won Pulitzer Prizes for two of his novels, *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1918) and *Alice Adams* (1921). Throughout these two novels Tarkington explores the social problems resulting from urban and industrial growth with a focus on class issues and threats to the traditional individualism and stability at the core of Hoosier values. In his novels, his beloved Indianapolis seems at times alien and cold, consumed by a zeal to build more factories and suburbs as it spreads outward under a pall of sooty smoke.

Less popular in Indiana than Riley and Tarkington was Theodore Dreiser (1871–1945). Although Dreiser, too, drew on his Indiana childhood, unlike the idealist’s perspective of Riley and Tarkington, Dreiser wrote in a grimly realistic manner about poverty, corruption, and prostitution, reflecting what he had witnessed in Terre Haute and Evansville. His first masterpiece, *Sister Carrie* (1900), shocked many. To Riley, Dreiser’s ultra realistic writing was “‘feverish nasty stuff,’” with “‘no right to exist.’” The reluctance of traditional Hoosiers to accept him as one of their own tells us as much about

**WWI Propaganda Poster**

This WWI propaganda poster, ca. 1914–18, demonstrates how it is easier to fight an enemy that is dehumanized—as is the bloody-fingered figure at the top of this image. Americans dehumanized the Germans by referring to them as brutish “Huns.” However, their rhetoric also negatively affected German Americans, who suppressed their culture during this period to avoid prejudice against them.
Indiana culture as does their eager embrace of Riley and Tarkington.

Indiana’s painters were part of this Golden Age too. They first earned national praise with an exhibition in Chicago in 1894 titled “Five Hoosier Painters,” which showed the work of T. C. Steele, J. Ottis Adams, William Forsyth, Otto Stark, and Richard Gruelle. This Hoosier group mostly painted rural landscapes and had little interest in cities or factories. The best known was T. C. Steele. Steele eventually settled in rural Brown County, where a flourishing artists’ colony developed before World War I. Golden Age paintings have remained very popular into the twenty-first century. The Indiana State Museum has a large collection as do other museums and galleries.

**The Great War Threatens Democracy at Home, 1917–1918**

In 1916 Indiana celebrated its first one hundred years as a state. Early the next year the United States declared war on Germany. Many Hoosiers were not sure at first that America should join the near world-wide fight, but most supported the cause as their patriotic duty. Eventually, however, the Great War, later known as World War I, demonstrated that war can threaten democracy and civil liberties at home.

Many leaders thought Americans needed a big push to get behind the war effort, and so they began a propaganda campaign to persuade citizens to support America’s war involvement. Some fierce propaganda posters and other media depicted Germans as barbarians and suppressed the state’s vibrant German American culture. The vast majority of Indiana’s German-language newspapers ceased publication. German street names and music disappeared. The center of German American culture in Indianapolis, *Das Deutsche Haus*, was renamed the Athenaeum. Beer became *verboten* (forbidden) because of its close German association.

Some zealous patriots targeted the teaching of the German language in schools. The foreign language was now, one state legislator proclaimed, “the German poison that must of necessity corrupt the channels of patriotism in this land.” German language instruction was not just frowned upon; it was against the law. The...
Indiana General Assembly passed a ban with only one vote against it—that of an Irish American Catholic from South Bend.

Kurt Vonnegut (1922–2007), the Indianapolis-born author, stated later that his German American parents were ashamed of their heritage and “resolved to raise me without acquainting me with the language or the literature or the music or the oral family histories which my ancestors had loved. They volunteered to make me ignorant and rootless as proof of their patriotism.” This led to what Vonnegut called a “dismantling and quiet burial of a culture.” By the time Vonnegut served during World War II in Germany, Indiana’s German culture had nearly disappeared. Not until the late twentieth century did Hoosiers begin to rediscover their German roots.

Patriotic duty required 100 percent “Americanism,” a term widely used during the war and in the twenties. Senator James Watson told the 1917 meeting of the Indiana State Teachers Association that “there are no real German-Americans today; they all ought to be Americans.” Indiana Governor James Goodrich claimed that “There can be no middle course in this war. There are just two kinds of people in America—patriots and traitors.” All ethnic Hoosiers needed careful watching and should melt into the American pot. In Gary, where nearly half the population was foreign born, the Calumet Township Council of Defense worked to stamp out “disloyalty, sedition or treason.” People could be and were arrested for speaking out against the war. The anti-war speeches of labor union organizer Eugene V. Debs earned him a ten-year prison sentence under the Espionage Act of 1917.

**Storms Ahead**

Wartime patriotism taught Hoosiers to fear differences and demand conformity. Ironically, this form of patriotism contradicted some of the state’s long-held traditions of freedom. Thus, the Great War laid a base for the troubling twenties. Indiana had long been divided by ethnicity, race, religion, gender, and class. The decade of the twenties brought those divisions to the surface, particularly with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan.

Nevertheless, there were bursts of sunlight in the twenties. “Hoosier Hysteria” was born as basketball became one of Indiana’s favorite pastimes; the automobile continued its rise in popularity; and the rhythms of jazz and ragtime came to symbolize new types of freedom.
8.1

A Klan State?

“I did not sell the Klan in Indiana on hatreds—that is not my way. I sold the Klan on Americanism, on reform.”

— D. C. Stephenson, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, ca. 1924

Clarifying the Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) can be a confusing subject to study. That confusion stems largely from the fact that there have been multiple Klan groups in American history. The Klan of the 1920s was distinct from the other groups.

Nationwide, there have been two important Klan groups known especially for their violence, racism, and opposition to civil rights laws. The Klan first appeared in the South after the Civil War. Its members were often cloaked in white hoods and used violent means to deny former slaves their freedom and to end Reconstruction laws, which aimed to give African Americans equal standing with whites. This group did not exist in the North.

The most recent strain of the Klan emerged in the 1960s in resistance to the Civil Rights Movement and was characterized by bombings and murders. This newer version of the hate group had very little impact in Indiana as evidenced by a 1999 Klan rally at the Indiana State House. The rally attracted the media, five hundred police officers, fifty anti-Klan protestors, and a scant thirteen Klan members shouting “White Power” through a weak public address system.

KKK Parade

Members of the Ku Klux Klan parade in Anderson, Indiana, in 1922. According to the writing on the photograph, this was the largest crowd ever seen in Anderson to that date. Public KKK parades occurred in many Indiana towns during the 1920s, always with the display of the American flag as seen in this picture.
Klan Celebration Poster

This 1923 poster announces a five-day KKK celebration at Melfalfa (Malfalfa) Park in Kokomo, Indiana. Besides uniting members around its narrow ideas of who an American should be, the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s served as a social organization. This celebration featured speeches, live music, swimming, and concession stands.
The KKK of the 1920s

Indiana’s Klan of the 1920s was part of a new national movement of the Klan. However, this new strain of the movement was less stigmatized and less prone to flamboyant outbursts than either of the national movements that preceded or followed it. As across the country, the members of Indiana’s 1920s-era Klan included hard-working, middle-class white people—ministers, mayors, shopkeepers, and factory workers. Klansmen came from cities, towns, and farms—more of them from northern and central Indiana than from the southern part of the state. One scholar who has analyzed membership lists estimates that approximately one-quarter or more of the state’s native-born white men joined as did thousands of Hoosier women. Many Americans joined the Klan out of a sense of outrage and fear over what they saw as dangerous social forces in the 1920s—booze, sex, jazz, and declining family values. As elsewhere in the United States, Indiana’s 1920s-era Klan was primarily an organization whose membership used fear and intimidation—and only occasional violence—as a way to beat down those social elements it considered a threat to white Protestant Americanism.

Symbols and Beliefs of the KKK

We do not believe in popery. History does not believe in it. Progress does not believe in it. Liberty does not believe in it. Free institutions do not believe in it. Democracy does not believe in it. The light of Christian truth does not believe in it.

— Methodist newspaper Western Christian Advocate, February 1922

Klan symbols in the 1920s were the cross and the American flag—symbols of their core values of Christianity and patriotism. The burning cross—long an emblem of Klan terror—symbolized Christ as the light of the world, purification by fire, and the beacon of truth. The Klan’s white-robed members came from a variety of Protestant denominations. Their white robes and hooded masks represented the white race and the purity of Protestantism—as the Klan perceived it. The mask performed other functions, too. It concealed the identity of the person wearing it, thus reducing the significance of the individual in the community of Christian fellowship. The Klan’s strong demonstration of religious belief was the foundation of its appeal to ordinary Hoosiers and to ordinary Americans throughout the country.

The Klan of the 1920s dedicated itself to fighting what members believed to be an erosion of spiritual and civic values threatening the state and the nation. For example, Klan members considered alcohol a major source of moral corruption and worked closely with the Anti-Saloon League to insist on enforcement of national prohibition, which began in 1920. The Klan also pushed for passage of the Wright Bone Dry law in 1925 that criminalized possession of empty bottles or kegs that had contained liquor. Even the odor of alcohol lingering in a container was evidence enough to be arrested. First-time violators received thirty-day jail sentences.

The Klan considered white, native-born Protestants such as themselves to be the only true Americans and stood firm against the spread of racial or ethnic diversity. One of their spokespersons claimed that “there are nations and races that can never by any process of education or assimilation become Americanized, and we have determined that the time shall come when there will be no place in America for people who cannot think in terms of Americanism.” Klan members counted Catholics among the most dangerous of these groups. The Klan dug up centuries of anti-Catholic propaganda to justify their claim that the Catholic Church was a foreign religion and that its followers did what the Pope told them to do. The Fiery Cross, an Indianapolis Klan newspaper, printed allegations of immoral priests and Catholic conspirators trying to tear down Protestant America. One Protestant minister voiced a popular sentiment when stating that Catholics “cannot continue allegiance to the Pope of Rome and still be loyal to the institutions of America.”

The 1920s-era Klan also singled out other groups as posing threats to white America, including immigrants, especially those coming from eastern and southern Europe, Jews, and—in the group’s most obvious tie to its earlier and later incarnations—African
For the most part, the Klan used a combination of public propaganda and legislative pressure to suppress the groups they considered undesirable. To the delight of many Klan members, in 1924 the U.S. Congress passed a law severely restricting immigration. Meanwhile, the White Supremacy League and related citizen groups pushed for segregation in housing and public schools.

The Klan at Work

This is a free country and no masked gang of lawbreakers, whose leaders should be sent to the penitentiary for the crimes they are committing, with the sanction of the prosecutor one of their number, will be allowed to terrify free American citizens very much longer.

— Muncie [Indiana] Post–Democrat, June 16, 1922

There is a popular misconception that the Klan did all of its damage with a lynch rope. Yet outright violence was rarely the Klan’s way in the 1920s. Instead, the organization relied on a combination of intimidation and persuasion. Intimidation took the form of burning a cross in someone’s front yard or threatening to boycott a business whose proprietor refused to join the KKK or to buy ads in the Fiery Cross. The Klan newspaper also published the names of Catholic-owned businesses so that Protestants would not patronize them and urged the boycotting of Jewish-owned businesses. More aggressive Klan members resorted to vigilantism. Claiming that law enforcement was weak or corrupt, Klan enforcers stopped cars to search for alcohol or raided gambling and prostitution dens.

The Klan of the 1920s used persuasion as its main means of recruiting members. Protestant ministers were among the chief persuaders. Many Klan-related ministers would praise the Klan from the pulpit and gladly accept offerings from Klansmen who marched up the church aisle on Sunday mornings. Pamphlets and speeches helped spread the word, and movie theaters showed Klan films. Gennett Studios in Richmond, Indiana—site of early jazz recordings performed by black musicians—produced records from Klan sheet music.

The Klan also favored big public events, such as rallies and parades, where they sought to create a community of like-minded Americans. Many klaverns, or local Klan units, had their own bands that marched behind a car carrying an electrically lighted cross. One of the largest rallies in Indiana took place at Kokomo’s Malfalfa Park on July 4, 1923. Thousands of white Protestants traveled long distances to the “Konklave in Kokomo.” The day was festive. There was a picnic on the banks of Wildcat Creek, a parade, and a few performances of the hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers.” The day also included two cross burnings.

Flexing Political Muscle

With its strength in numbers, the Klan inevitably moved into politics. Although Republicans tended to be more sympathetic to the Klan, many Democrats also had ties to the organization. The Klan was instrumental in electing candidates who reflected its ideals. The organization published information about each candidate’s religion, stance on prohibition, and friendliness to the Klan. During the 1924 elections, Klan support ensured the election of many local and state officials, including that of Republican Ed Jackson as Indiana’s governor. Jackson was a close friend of Indiana Grand Dragon David Curtis “D. C.” Stephenson. After the new governor’s inaugural speech, Stephenson joined Jackson and 150 leading Republicans for a gala banquet at which poet William Herschell recited his “Ain’t God Good to Indiana” poem.

In 1925 the Indiana General Assembly had a Republican majority. This gave Indiana Klan leaders great hope for the passage of a long list of Klan-backed legislation that centered on Americanism and schools. One of the most publicized bills prohibited Catholic nuns from wearing “religious garb” while teaching in some schools. The bill failed to pass—as did all of the Klan’s major proposals except for the bone dry prohibition law. Seeds of dissent were germinating. As some legislators spoke against Klan bills and in defense of religious or individual freedom, deep splits began to emerge within the Klan leadership.
Fiery Summons
This “fiery summons” of 1926 calls KKK members together for a meeting at the time when the organization was in decline. The invitation aims to intimidate, stating that if a member does not respond he or she “may never be permitted to cross the threshold of a Klavern again.”
D. C. Stephenson and the Decline of the Klan

Indiana has a political world. One D. C. Stephenson was the self-appointed monarch of this world for some time. . . . He boasted that his word was “law in Indiana.”

— W. H. Settle in the Indianapolis News, December 30, 1925

Although Stephenson boasted to be the law in Indiana, his reign lasted for but a brief time. Born to sharecroppers, or tenant farmers, in Texas in 1891, Stephenson made his way to Indiana in 1920, lured by the prospect of a job. Soon after arriving, he joined the KKK in Evansville and swiftly rose through the organization’s ranks. On July 4, 1923, he was inducted as Indiana’s Grand Dragon (head of the state’s Klan) at the Konklave in Kokomo. By the end of that year, Indiana had one of the largest Klan memberships in the country.

Stephenson had many powerful associates in state government, including Governor Jackson. He had high hopes of using Klan contacts to shape state legislation. In fact, Stephenson was much more interested in the Klan to gain political power than because he shared its beliefs. He also had a lust for alcohol and attractive young women. His unbridled appetites, coupled with excessive pride and self-confidence, would bring about his fall.

In March 1925 Madge Oberholtzer, a young woman who met Stephenson at Jackson’s inauguration, committed suicide by swallowing poison. Before she died, Oberholtzer offered deathbed testimony that Stephenson had sexually assaulted her on a Chicago-

D. C. Stephenson

David Curtis Stephenson, leader of the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, was arrested for sexually assaulting and contributing to the death of a young woman named Madge Oberholtzer. This mug shot was taken when he was imprisoned for murder in the second degree in 1926. His arrest led to the discovery of political scandals involving the Klan.
bound train. Stephenson was tried in Noblesville and convicted of second-degree murder. Other scandals soon came to light involving the Klan and high-ranking politicians, including Jackson.

The Klan lost its grip on Indiana as Republicans tried to distance themselves from the organization. Stephenson’s conviction played a part in the group’s downfall, as did corruption and turmoil within the organization. External forces were at work, too. Labor unions condemned the Klan. The Indiana Bar Association warned in 1923 that the group threatened to replace courts with “secret tribunals.” Although many newspapers avoided criticizing the Klan, others took it to task. The Fort Wayne Journal–Gazette consistently spoke out against the Klan; and in 1928 the Indianapolis Times won a Pulitzer Prize for its Klan investigations.

Groups that were persecuted by the Klan most openly opposed it. Catholic and Jewish opposition were equally strong. In Indianapolis, Rabbi Morris Feuerlicht often spoke against the Klan, stating in one sermon, “These white-robed men . . . should not be allowed to take the Bible away from us.” A south side Indianapolis grocery store defiantly changed its name from the American Grocery Store to Shapiro’s and placed Stars of David on its front. Black Hoosiers also challenged the Klan, notably in moving away from Jackson’s Republican Party. Since the Civil War, African Americans had consistently voted for the Republican Party—known to many at the time as the party of Lincoln.

There is no single answer to the question of why Hoosiers or other Americans joined the Klan. Some were true believers in the group’s moral crusade. Others joined because the Klan provided a sense of community and belonging. And, of course, some opportunistic politicians saw it as an avenue to power and influence. The Klan’s rapid growth during the 1920s was also the result of poor political leadership that did not question the Klan’s activities.

Not surprisingly, Hoosier voter turnout dropped in the 1920s. This may have resulted from disgust over the state’s mediocre political leadership or from the confusion caused by the Klan’s meddling in politics. By the end of the decade, Indiana had survived its most serious political crisis since the Civil War. The Klan was dead in Indiana. Yet, it’s memory endures to the present. Thoughtful Hoosiers today can sense the dark blot on the fabric of the Roaring Twenties. Perhaps that awareness has inspired moderation and equity amidst the religious, ethnic, and racial diversity that exists in twenty-first century Indiana.
“Hoosier Hysteria”: The Rise of Basketball in Indiana

“Welcome to Indiana basketball.”
— Coach Norman Dale in the 1986 movie Hoosiers

While the Ku Klux Klan was dying out in Indiana, basketball was on the rise. Basketball was the perfect game for small-town Indiana. Only five kids needed to show up. A ball and a basket sufficed for equipment. Enthusiasm for the high school game reached massive proportions by the mid-twentieth century. At one point, the state boasted fifteen of the nation’s sixteen largest high school gymnasiums. In these Hoosier cathedrals on cold Friday nights, fans created a warm community focused on the home team. “Basketball,” wrote historian David Halberstam, “became critical in determining a town’s identity.”

Birth of a Tradition

“Basket Ball” was born in 1891, when James Naismith, a Canadian American physical education teacher at a Springfield, Massachusetts, YMCA, sought to develop an indoor athletic activity that could be played during New England’s long winters. The game spread like a wild fire and was soon played in Indiana. By the early 1900s, basketball was wildly popular in many of the state’s high schools. The Indiana High School Athletic Association (IHSAA) formed in 1903. By 1916, 450 schools had joined. The first Indiana high school state boys basketball tournament took place in 1911—the same year the Indianapolis 500 debuted—with Crawfordsville High School taking home the trophy.

Early Cinderella Teams

“Basketball really had its origin in Indiana, which remains the center of the sport.”
— James Naismith, inventor of basketball, ca. 1925

The first eight Indiana boys state champion teams came from a three-county, thirty-mile radius in the west-central portion of the state: Crawfordsville, 1911; Lebanon, 1912, 1917, 1918; Wingate, 1913, 1914; Thorntown, 1915; and Lafayette Jefferson, 1916. Led by Coach Ernest “Griz” Wagner, Franklin’s “Wonder Five” won three consecutive championships in 1920, 1921, and 1922. Both Wagner and Wonder Five star player, Robert “Fuzzy” Vandivier, were installed as charter members of the Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame in 1962.

Girls Basketball Team, 1914

The Muncie High School Girls Basketball Team poses for a team picture in 1914. After its introduction in 1891, basketball quickly caught on in Indiana high schools—for boys and girls.
Hot Dogs, Artesians, and Wooden

“The size of our gyms astounded people from other parts of the country. . . . Before I entered high school, Martinsville built a gym that seated 5,200 people. The whole town had only 4,800, but we always filled the gym.”

— Basketball legend John Wooden, ca. 1982

After Franklin’s reign, Frankfort’s Hot Dogs and Martinsville’s Artesians duked it out for boys hardwood supremacy from 1923 to 1929. Under Coach Everett Case the Hot Dogs swept eleven straight regional titles from 1921 to 1931, a record which still stands. In 1939 Coach Glenn Curtis and his Martinsville Artesians tied Case for a career record of four state championships.

During his long career at Martinsville, Curtis mentored many outstanding players, but John Wooden stood in a league of his own. The Artesians’ star player in their state championship season of 1927, Wooden went on to play for Purdue University where he made All American three years running. After coaching stints at South Bend Central High School and Indiana State University, Wooden went to the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1948. There he became one of the most revered coaches in sports history. During Wooden’s twenty-seven years at UCLA, the Bruins had a record 88-game winning streak and won ten National College Athletic Association (NCAA) titles in twelve years. A member of the founding class of the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, Wooden, a soft-spoken man known as much for his wisdom about life as for his athletic brilliance, passed away in 2010, a few months before his one hundredth birthday. He had received practically every honor that can be bestowed upon a sports figure. In 2009 Sporting News named Wooden “Greatest Coach of All Time.” Today, the gym at his alma mater, Martinsville High School, bears his name, and there is a street in Martinsville named John R. Wooden Drive.

Hoosier Basketball Mythology—Milan and Beyond

“Our guys had a quiet confidence about them. They knew they were good and that it was going to take a good team to beat them. Bigger schools have the opinion that they should beat the smaller schools.”

— Milan boys basketball coach Marvin Wood, ca. 1954

The golden age of Indiana high school basketball culminated in the 1954 David-and-Goliath showdown between Milan High School and Muncie Central. Before 1953 few people in Indiana knew the location of Milan, a town so tiny it did not even appear on some maps. Just a year later, as the town’s boys high school...
team prepared to play mighty Muncie Central for the state championship, Hoosiers turned their eyes to the small town in southeastern Indiana. Even though Milan High School had only 162 students and none of its players was over six feet, two inches tall, Milan won the state championship in large part because of Bobby Plump’s fifteen-foot jump shot in the final seconds of the game. Fans, even those born after 1954, include that game—and that shot—among the greatest events in basketball history.

In 1997 the IHSAA divided the state’s high schools into four classes, determined by school enrollment size. Before that, all high school teams in Indiana—regardless of size—played in a single division. Everyone

John Wooden at Indiana State University, 1947

John Wooden, back row left, coached the Indiana State University basketball team for two seasons from 1946 to 1948. In 1948 the team competed in the National Association of Intercollegiate Basketball Tournament. This was the first year that African American players were allowed to play in the tournament.
got an equal shot at winning. Milan, the smallest school ever to win the state championship within a single-class tournament, could not have played against a large school under the new rules. To this day, some lament the end to the possibility of another Milan-style miracle, arguing that the multiclass system has deflated the spirit of Hoosier high school basketball.

Thirty years after the Milan miracle, two Hoosiers in Hollywood brought it to the big screen. Director David Anspaugh and writer Angelo Pizzo met as students at Indiana University. Both grew up hearing about the Milan story. They filmed the movie *Hoosiers* on location in Indiana. It was a huge hit that received two Oscar nominations. Tourists swamped tiny Milan after the film’s release. Basketball, explained Anspaugh, was incredibly important to towns in Indiana. “It is a religion,” Anspaugh said. “It’s how communities and schools define themselves.”
Chuck Taylors

Chuck Taylor, who got his start playing basketball in Columbus, Indiana, became well-known as a promoter for Converse All Star shoes, also known as “Chuck Taylors.”
### IHSAA Boys Basketball State Champions, 1911–1954

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Risky Business: Bootleg Booze, Flappers, and French Lick

People throughout the country wanted jazz and liquor. People were restless.
— Hoagy Carmichael, The Stardust Road (1983)

Not Your Father’s Decade

Young people set the mood in the 1920s. Hoosier songwriter Hoagy Carmichael spoke for his generation when he said that as a college student in Bloomington, Indiana, he realized that “there was a wide world out there. . . . Being young, we knew it couldn’t bend and push us around the way it had our fathers.” Sociologists Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd, studying Muncie, Indiana, in the 1920s, agreed: “No two generations of Americans,” they wrote, “have ever faced each other across as wide a gap in their customary attitudes and behavior as have American parents and children since the World War.”

While young people such as Carmichael reveled in new freedoms and pursued new avenues of pleasure, older folks and church-going citizens were anxious about what they saw as rapidly increasing immorality: bootleg alcohol, gambling, racy Hollywood films, rising hemlines, and jazz—music that became the soundtrack of the era.

Jazz was a free and uninhibited form of music that inspired new dances such as the Charleston, with its fast, provocative moves favored by young women with bobbed hair and short skirts, known as “flappers.” Traditionally minded folks considered such expression an “unholy mingling of the civilized with the savage,” partly since it derived from African American culture.

Life in the Fast Lane

Nine-tenths of our crimes an’ calamities are made possible by th’ automobile. It has unleashed all th’ pent-up criminal tendencies o’ th’ ages. It’s th’ central figure in murders, hold-ups, burglaries, accidents, elopements, abscondments. It has well nigh jimmed th’ American home.
— Kin Hubbard, ca. 1924

In the 1920s the popularity and increasing affordability of the automobile made it possible for young people to take off down the road to a jazz club or a secluded dating spot. Dark movie theaters were another popular destination. Sex was an effective marketing strategy for films of the day. A Crawfordsville newspaper advertised a film called Single Wives as a chance to see women “who sometimes listen when forbidden love calls.” A film called Wild Company showed in Marion, Indiana, promising “wild ways and jazz days,” where “parents are indifferent and children in search of thrills pick their own paths for play.”

“Hoosier Hop”

Sheet music for the song “Hoosier Hop.” The song was used in the 1929 film It’s a Great Life, showing that the new styles of music and dancing had caught on in Indiana. As the lyrics go, “It’s a hick step, but a slick step called the Hoosier Hop. It’s the high school kids invented the thing, grown up folks caught onto the swing.”
Despite the fact that Prohibition had outlawed alcohol since 1920, illegal booze flowed. Speakeasies (illegal bars) popped up from rural crossroads to major cities. With them came illegal gambling and prostitution, vices that flourished in neighborhoods such as Terre Haute’s booming red light district. Sometimes law enforcement and government officials turned away or even joined in the action. Police often lacked patrol cars, radios, or other tools of effective law enforcement. This gave lawbreakers the advantage in their pursuits—whether it was running whiskey or holding up a bank.

Opulence and Decadence in Orange County

All Irish Patriots (sex or color no bar) are cordially invited to visit the annual ball of the sons of Erin, to be held on Tuesday night, March 17. Grand March at 8:30. . . . Ladies must not appear in green bloomers. Gentlemen must wear more than their complexion.

— Announcement of the Saint Patrick’s Day Ball at West Baden Springs Hotel, March 1896

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, people with money for expensive indulgences often headed to spas and hotels located near mineral springs that were believed to have medicinal properties. Two of America’s most luxurious spas were located just a mile from each other in rural Orange County, Indiana—French Lick Springs Hotel and West Baden Springs Hotel.
Pluto Water Advertisement

Pluto Water was bottled in French Lick, Indiana, and sold across the country with its trademark devil logo. Thomas Taggart, the owner of the French Lick Springs Hotel, advertised the water as a cure for a multitude of ills.
Baden Springs hotel. Southern Indiana’s inadequate roads ensured that most people traveled to French Lick by train. Wealthy Chicagoans took the Monon Railroad on tracks that stopped at the front entrance of the French Lick Springs Hotel. At the peak of French Lick’s popularity, affluent visitors would take long leisurely vacations there. They might stay as long as a month, taking the train to the Kentucky Derby in Louisville and then back north to see the Indianapolis 500.

A spa had operated in French Lick since the 1840s, but it was Thomas Taggart, mayor of Indianapolis from 1895 to 1901 and Democratic Party bigwig, who made the French Lick Springs Hotel a destination for the rich and famous. In 1901 Taggart and three business partners—a brewery owner in Terre Haute, a quarry owner, and a president of the Monon Railroad—purchased the existing French Lick hotel and its grounds. Over the next several years they renovated and expanded the property, including bathhouses and a golf course, sparing no expense for the first-class facilities. Taggart masterminded a national marketing campaign for the Pluto water that he pumped from nearby Pluto Spring. He claimed that the water was helpful for “‘diseases of the stomach, intestines, liver, gall bladder and ducts, auto-intoxication (toxins in the system), intestinal indigestion, gout . . . diseases of the heart and blood vessels, diseases of the urinary system, diseases of the skin, and diseases of the nervous system.’”

Celebrities including Bing Crosby, William “Bud” Abbott and Lou Costello frequented French Lick Springs Hotel and the nearby West Baden Springs Hotel. The latter’s ornate architecture and soaring dome earned it the nickname “The Eighth Wonder of the World.” Taggart, who was chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1904 to 1908, made his resort an unofficial Democratic Party headquarters during the 1920s. In 1931 Franklin D. Roosevelt rounded up support for his presidential nomination at a Democratic governors’ meeting at French Lick.

Golf, celebrity sightings, and rejuvenating water were not the only attractions in Orange County. Alcohol, gambling, and prostitution flourished. Despite rumors to the contrary, there is no evidence that gangster Al Capone stayed there. Capone was a frequent visitor to the area, but legend has it that Taggart refused to let Capone hold his wedding reception at French Lick Springs Hotel. Despite its reputation, the hotel never officially functioned as a gambling hall, although Taggart’s biographer writes that “it stretches the imagination to believe he was not connected in some way to the rampant gambling in the valley.”
West Baden Springs Hotel

The interior of West Baden Springs Hotel after it was restored and reopened in 2007. When it originally opened in 1903, it had the largest unsupported dome in the world—a spectacle that drew in many visitors.

Architectural Rescue of the Century

French Lick Springs Hotel and West Baden Springs Hotel were the crown jewels of Hoosier architecture when they were built during the first years of the twentieth century. At the close of the century, after decades of changing hands, it appeared that both were destined for demolition. Many felt that they were too large and too far gone to be rescued. Who had the kind of money needed to restore them to their glory?

During the 1990s, the endangered historic hotels found a fairy godmother in the form of a Hoosier corporation with an interest in historic preservation. Bloomington-based Cook Group, a global manufacturer of medical devices, purchased both properties and spent millions of dollars to restore both to the grandeur they had known during Thomas Taggart’s time. Cook Group founders and passionate architectural preservationists Bill and Gayle Cook and their son Carl oversaw the project. French Lick Springs Hotel, now a resort, reopened in 2006, and West Baden Springs Hotel reopened in 2007.

Today, the French Lick Resort advertises “One Amazing Resort—Two Grand Hotels.” Guests’ jaws drop in amazement as they enter the palatial lobbies—not just because of the restored beauty of these spaces but because of the fact that they are in rural southern Indiana rather than in some European capital. Shuttle service operating between the French Lick Springs and West Baden Springs Hotels gives guests access to big-name entertainers, restaurants, spa treatments, horseback riding, golfing, and legal casino gambling. The hotels’ restoration has also been an economic shot in the arm for Orange County, which had struggled in the years that followed the resorts’ original heyday.
The Musical State of Indiana

"A common image of courting in nineteenth-century advertising literature was the woman seated at the piano, playing sentimental classics to her anxious male caller. Certainly, the minds of these young couples were on other things besides Chopin nocturnes, but the piano stood as a moral institution."

— Rick Kennedy, historian, ca. 1999

Hoosiers have enjoyed music since the pioneer days—singing and fiddling, harmonicas and even pianos. By 1900 church choirs and town bands were commonplace. In the 1920s one could still hear traditional country, gospel, and folk, but young adults could not ignore the new jazz music. Much of it was composed, played, and recorded right in Indiana.

From Ragtime to Jazz

Ragtime, a precursor to jazz that is characterized by its fast, cheerful quality and interesting, syncopated rhythms, made its debut in the late 1890s. Although it started in African American communities, both black and white composers and musicians embraced the new style. Published in Missouri in 1899, Scott Joplin’s "Maple Leaf Rag" is considered the first ragtime hit. Indianapolis also had a number of talented ragtime composers who gained national recognition, including two women, May Aufderheide and Julia Niebergall. Niebergall, a pianist and music teacher, published her “Hoosier Rag” in 1907. A year later Aufderheide’s father, a loan broker, published her “Dusty Rag” and “Richmond Rag.”

In 1917 a group from New Orleans called the Original Dixieland Jazz Band released their first recordings, which sold more than a million copies. For many jazz aficionados and historians, the release of these records marked the birth of the jazz era. A piano player named Hoagy Carmichael, then an Indiana high school student, was aware of the exciting new music and would soon find himself in the thick of it.

Unlike New Orleans, Indiana was not a “root source” for jazz. Instead, it was a crucible—a place where a hot new interpretation of the music developed—a popular style called “midwestern jazz.” As residents of a crossroads, Hoosiers were accustomed to blending styles and cultures. In music, the state’s Germans brought a passion for choral compositions; the Anglo-Saxons contributed folk melody and songs; and African Americans who came North brought syncopated rhythms and a bluesy tone—all essential to homemade Hoosier jazz.

Jingling Jazz Orchestra

The “Original Jingling Jazz Five Piece Orchestra” of Terre Haute, Indiana, ca. 1918. This band performed jazz and the swing music that grew out of it—two of the most popular musical genres of the 1920s to 1940s.
Hoagy Carmichael
The younger of the two men behind the piano, Hoagy Carmichael, plays with Hitch’s Happy Harmonists in Gennett Studios in Richmond, Indiana, in 1925. This was the first time Carmichael was involved in recording his music.

Gennett Studios and Early Jazz Recordings

“I was nervous in anticipation of my first recording. The studio was a dreary looking Rube Goldberg place with lily-shaped horns sticking oddly from the walls. . . . The horns . . . looked spooky and I was pretty upset by the time we were ready to make test records.”

— Hoagy Carmichael, recalling his first Gennett recording session in 1925

Gennett Studios in Richmond was a key agent in the national craze. Owned by the Starr Piano Company, a local company that supplied Hoosiers with pianos before the turn of the century, the recording studio was not much more than a small shed near the railroad tracks in the Whitewater River Gorge. But to this small building came some of the nation’s best early jazz musicians to make 78 rpm record albums. At a time when music making and marketing were often racially segregated, Gennett accommodated white and black artists as well as integrated jazz groups. The studio might record a white Appalachian country band in the morning and a black jazz band in the afternoon. The young Hoosier pianist, Hoagy Carmichael, was among those who recorded at Gennett. Also, on April 6, 1923, Gennett recorded the Chicago-based Joe “King” Oliver’s Creole Jazz Band, one of the premiere groups in early jazz, with a young Louis Armstrong on cornet. These discs are universally regarded as the first true masterpieces in jazz recording.
Music brought blacks and whites together in a segregated world where there were few opportunities for blacks and whites to interact in everyday life. Often these interactions occurred at the clubs and bars lining Indiana Avenue in Indianapolis. Additionally, the African American roots of ragtime and jazz meant that many white musicians, including Carmichael, learned from black musicians and composers such as Reggie DuValle, an Indianapolis ragtime pianist and band leader. Bloomington was also a music hotspot with the help of Carmichael, who formed some of his first bands while he attended Indiana University. It was in Bloomington that Carmichael composed “Washboard Blues,” “Stardust,” and other songs that have become classics in the American songbook.

The Great Depression hit the recording industry hard. Gennett Studios was one of its casualties. The music preserved on the label outlived the company, however. By the mid-1930s, Gennett discs were beginning to become collectors’ items.

Indiana Avenue, the Hoosier Harlem

Its soundtrack, if it could be heard today, would be the music that spilled out into the streets on summer nights in the days before air-conditioning, the doors propped open, the Avenue alive and a town unto itself.

— David Brent Johnson, jazz historian, 2007

Although most Hoosiers today associate Indiana Avenue with Indianapolis’s early jazz scene, the first black-owned businesses opened on the block in the 1860s. By the early 1900s the street had become the center of Indianapolis’s African American community. On Indiana Avenue in 1927, millionaire businesswoman Madam C. J. Walker opened her magnificent Walker Building, which included a 1,500-seat theater and other shops and offices. On opening night, DuValle played to a sold-out house; the Walker Theater was thus christened one of the city’s premiere jazz venues. Brothers Denver and Sea Ferguson owned other popular clubs on the Avenue, most notably the Cotton Club at Vermont and West Streets, where one outstanding night in the 1930s jazz greats Louis Armstrong and Fats Waller appeared together. Some of the jazz joints were not classy places—quite the contrary. Clubs such as the Hole-in-the-Wall and the Blackstone were reputed to be dangerous places where only the bravest “insiders” dared venture. Legend has it the notorious gangster John Dillinger was so scared by his visit to the Blackstone that he quickly left.

At its peak in the 1930s, Indiana Avenue was home to more than twenty-five jazz clubs. Its character resembled New York’s Harlem, where well-to-do whites came to listen to top black entertainers. According to jazz historian Duncan Schiedt, “It was not a place where white people would congregate, but people who were interested in the music went there and nobody gave them any trouble.”

Crispus Attucks High School, founded as an all-black school near Indiana Avenue in 1927, not only dominated state high school basketball—winning the 1955 and 1956 state championships—it also nurtured talented young jazz musicians. A haven of African American scholarship and achievement, the school’s outstanding music teachers tutored students such as
cellist-composer David Baker, trombonist J. J. Johnson, guitarist Wes Montgomery, and many others. Out of school, the young musicians also earned their reputations by playing on Indiana Avenue. As Baker recalls, “At that time, a black was expected to play religious music, R & B or jazz. I can remember auditioning for the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra and being told, in no uncertain terms, that even though my audition was the best, there was no chance that I’d become a member.”

Indiana Avenue continued to thrive into the 1950s. By the 1980s, however, much of the avenue was run down, a victim of economic forces and cultural change. Middle-class blacks had moved to the suburbs. Highway construction and the expansion of Indiana University–Purdue University, Indianapolis (IUPUI) resulted in the razing of the buildings where Indiana jazz made history. Today, only the street’s crown jewel, the Madame Walker Theater, reminds passersby of the street’s heyday.

David Baker

David Baker conducts an ensemble at Indiana University’s Musical Arts Center in Bloomington. Baker grew up in Indianapolis and earned his jazz education firsthand by playing in jam sessions in clubs along Indiana Avenue as a high school student. As of 2014 Baker was distinguished professor of music and chair emeritus, Department of Jazz Studies, at the Indiana University Jacobs School of Music.

Indiana Avenue Jazz Club Featuring Willis B. Dyer

Indiana Avenue was the place to hear jazz in Indianapolis. Willis Dyer, in the back on the electric organ, and Buddy Parker, in the front on the saxophone, were captured performing in a club on the avenue by photographer Emmett Brown sometime in the 1940s or 1950s.
Selected Bibliography


Chapter 8 | The Roaring Twenties

Essential Questions

1. Why were the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century considered to be a Golden Age of art and literature in Indiana? How do the works of authors such as James Whitcomb Riley and Booth Tarkington and artist T. C. Steele reflect nostalgia for an earlier time?

2. Why did basketball become so popular in Indiana?

3. Name at least three activities and/or trends that young people participated in during the “Roaring Twenties” that older people found troubling.

4. How did the popularity of the automobile help to promote these “morally questionable” activities?

5. How did “Hoosier jazz” combine different cultural and musical traditions?

6. How did Gennett Studios in Richmond, Indiana, contribute to the popularity of jazz music? What was remarkable about Gennett Studios?

7. What was Indiana Avenue like in the 1920s through the 1950s? What factors led to the decline of Indiana Avenue as the center of Indianapolis’s African American community?

8. How did the 1920s incarnation of the Ku Klux Klan differ from the original southern incarnation of the organization and the nationwide 1960s version of the KKK? What made the 1920s Klan attractive to many Hoosiers and other Americans?*

9. What factors led to the decline of the 1920s KKK in Indiana?*

*See student activities related to this question.

Activity: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s

Introduction: While the 1920s was a time of great economic prosperity in Indiana and nationwide, it was also an era in which many people clung to a nostalgic American identity, one that was generally defined quite narrowly. As industrialization led to urbanization and immigrants flocked to Indiana cities in search of jobs and new opportunities, some Hoosiers—specifically some white, American-born Protestants—felt threatened by these newcomers whose traditions, religions, and cultures were unlike their own.

Re-read the section of chapter eight that discusses the rise and fall of Indiana’s 1920s Ku Klux Klan. Keep in mind that the Klan of the 1920s differs from versions of the group after the Civil War and in the 1960s. The Klan that formed in the South following the Civil War used violence to try to deny freedom to former slaves and to oppose Reconstruction. The most recent nationwide incarnation of the Klan was born in the 1960s in reaction to the Civil Rights Movement and also used violent methods as an expression of the racism of its members. While this group remains active in Indiana, it has had relatively little impact in the state.

Read the following excerpt from the 1924 Ku Klux Klan pamphlet, Why You Should Become a Klansman: Of Interest to White, Protestant, Native-Born Americans Who Want to Keep America American. This publication illuminates the ways in which the 1920s Klan differs from earlier and later versions. After reading the excerpt from the pamphlet, answer the questions below.

In its influence and its teachings, and its principles, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan seeks to generate and impart a spirit of loyalty to America, of consecration to her ideals, of fealty to her institutions, of support to her government, of obedience to her laws, and of unselfish devotion to her interests.
1 Define the following words:
   A Loyalty
   B Consecration
   C Fealty
   D Support
   E Obedience
   F Devotion

2 Do these terms have positive or negative connotations?

3 The pamphlet claims that it is the goal of the Klan to promote these feelings and/or actions in America. As such, do you think the Klan of the 1920s was considered by its members to be a patriotic organization?

4 Based on this description of the purpose of the Ku Klux Klan, do you think Klan supporters looked upon non-members in a positive or negative light? Explain your answer.

   The 1924 Klan pamphlet also claimed that the KKK was necessary to keep America 100 percent American:

   The Jews are organized to protect Jewish interests; the Roman Catholics are organized to further papal interests; the Negroes are organized to advance the interests of that race; and in various parts of America, various racial and alien-national groups are organized for the furtherance of their particular interests, and the spread of their peculiar ideals among our own American people. These racial and religious groups exercise the rights of freedom of assembly, free speech, and free press. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan believes that White, Native-born Protestant Americans should be protected in their own exercise of these fundamental American rights, and especially in their right to insist that America shall be made American through the promulgation of American principles, the dissemination of American ideals, the creation of wholesome American sentiment, the preservation of American institutions, and through all of those means that will make for a nobler, purer, and more prosperous America.

1 According to this excerpt, what groups were endangering the “American-ness” of America? Why?

2 Define the following terms:
   A Promulgation
   B Dissemination

3 What might the phrase “wholesome American sentiment” mean?

4 What other “means”—or methods—might the last sentence refer to when it states that “Protestant Americans should be protected . . . in their right to insist that America shall be made more American through . . . all of those means that will make for a nobler, purer, and more prosperous America?” In other words, what may the Klan have been willing to do to achieve its goals?

From 1915 through the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan existed in states throughout the United States. In 1922 W. C. Witcher of Texas wrote an exposé of the Klan, which he believed to be a corrupt organization that duped its supporters. In The Unveiling of the Ku Klux Klan, Witcher addresses the Klan’s supposed goal of promoting American ideals and its doctrine of 100 percent Americanism. Witcher writes:

   We know that the Klan has repeatedly stated through its chief representatives that it stands for “Law and order, the Constitution of the United States” to “Aid the officers in the enforcement of law, etc.” All of which we know to be ABSOLUTELY FALSE, but these high-sounding phrases have especially appealed to a large and respectable class of people, for the reason that the majority of our citizenship respect law and order, and quite naturally, they would be easily induced to
contribute both their time and money toward the accomplishment of these ideals.

1 Why does Witcher write that the stated motive of the Klan would be appealing to "a large and respectable class of people?"

2 What does the word *induce* mean? Does it have a positive or negative connotation? What did Witcher believe the Klan had induced people to do?

► In regard to the notion of 100 percent Americanism, Witcher writes:

> It is surprising to know that [this philosophy] has succeeded, in a large degree, in sowing the poisonous seed of class antagonism, religious intolerance and race hatred throughout the breadth and width of our land. . . . The Constitution knows neither Catholic, Jew, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Quaker, Shaker, nor any other kind of religion. For the simple reason that a belief in or rejection of, any and all religions neither qualifies, nor disqualifies a man for the acceptance or rejection of the Constitution. Therefore this doctrine of “100 per cent Americanism” is the product of either an ignorant, or a very mean, depraved mind—a mind raging and seething with the spirit of persecution—tyranny and intolerance, and this is the kind of mind which is at the FOUNDATION of the Ku Klux Klan.

1 What, then, would Witcher say was the true motive of the Klan of the 1920s?

2 According to Witcher, what is the ultimate result of the Klan philosophy of 100 percent Americanism?

3 Is the philosophy of 100 percent Americanism rooted in the Constitution?

4 Witcher implies that the 100 percent Americanism doctrine that is the foundation of the KKK is in itself un-American. Explain Witcher’s reasoning.

Today, Witcher’s argument seems obvious, but in the 1920s many Americans joined the Klan as an act of patriotism. They failed to see the contradiction that the organization claimed to defend American ideals—such as liberty, democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and so forth—by persecuting those who were unlike themselves in appearance, religious ideals, or social customs.

► In language, an oxymoron is a figure of speech that pairs two contradictory words or ideas, for example “living dead.” “Unconstitutional patriots” is an oxymoron that Witcher would say applies to the Klan of the 1920s. Write a poem titled “Unconstitutional Patriots” in which you reflect upon the contradictions of the Klan of the 1920s. You may choose any format or type of poem, but be sure to incorporate at least three poetic devices, such as figurative language (for example, similes, metaphors, hyperbole, or understatements), imagery, irony, or satire.

**Activity References**


Witcher, W. C. *The Unveiling of the Ku Klux Klan*. Fort Worth, TX: W. C. Witcher, 1922.