



Received: 17 February 2016
Accepted: 15 May 2016
Published: 07 June 2016

*Corresponding author: Wisam Chaleila,
Department of Literature, Katholieke
Universiteit Leuven, Tiensestraat 189,
Leuven 3000, Belgium
E-mail: wchaleil@campus.haifa.ac.il

Reviewing editor:
Isabel Pinto, Universidade Catolica
Portuguesa, Portugal

Additional information is available at
the end of the article

LITERATURE, LANGUAGE & CRITICISM | RESEARCH ARTICLE

Between a rock and a hard place: Racist, xenophobic, and materialist 1920s America struggling for home and identity

Wisam Chaleila^{1*}

Abstract: Immigration, urbanization, crime, racketeering, and bootlegging are only a few of the many crises that befell America in 1920s. These predicaments, however, were not without consequences. According to the novellas as well as the non-literary texts under discussion, immigration brought with it alien and anti-puritan (derived from Puritanism or more precisely “Reformed Protestantism.” See *Humanitas* (88)) values that went hand in hand with promiscuity, bacchanalia, fox-trotting, and jazz. Thus, antagonism toward foreigners (new-timers) by native-born Americans (old-timers) is expressed in various forms, particularly racism and xenophobia. In addition, foreigners are held responsible for boosting materialism and immorality in ways that shake the texture of the social order and the foundations of the American family and hence the American identity. Therefore, materialism and mass production are also denounced for making the annihilation of these entities possible by the competitive ambiance they create, the ruthlessness they entail, and the brainwashing of the masses they practice. The writers’ prejudice is sometimes ambivalent. Covert or overt, it is conveyed by their protagonists and by their extra-literary utterances. Although they censure foreigners, the authors also criticize Americans who renounce their ideals and values for the sake of gold, being enslaved to capitalism, turning into nodding sycophants, mere puppets.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Wisam Chaleila

The author, Wisam Chaleila, is a postdoctoral fellow at KU Leuven, Belgium and Haifa University, Israel. This article was inspired partly from her doctoral thesis entitled “When a House is not a Home: Racism and Xenophobia in Early Twentieth-Century American Fiction” and which is now being revised to be published as a book by Brill. Wisam is also teaching a master module at KU Leuven related to similar themes entitled: “Literary, Political, Psychological and Cultural Representations of Xenophobia, Racism and American Identity in 1920s America.” https://onderwijsaanbod.kuleuven.be/2015/syllabi/e/FOYE2AE.htm#activetab=toelichting_idm5558016

PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

Everyday we witness acts of intolerance of different levels, based on race, gender, sex, and even physical competence. Such relentless behavior is not new and it occurs, no matter how unfair, for diverse reasons. In 1920s America, intolerance reached its peak as it mostly targeted immigrants and foreigners. This paper seeks to outline modes of xenophobia and racism recurrent in 1920s’ literature and history. It also investigates how these modes are linked to various forms of materialism including industrialization, consumption, and capitalism. In addition, this work succeeds in illuminating relationships between themes that are usually discussed separately in various fields of study. The suggested novels are crammed with anxieties and tensions. Therefore, this article revisits these texts so as to enhance the critical field by adding in-depth scrutiny of these anxieties and tensions, and to shed light on the correspondence between fiction and nonfiction these literary texts entail so far ignored or underemphasized by the critical literature.

Subjects: Arts; Humanities; Language & Literature

Keywords: foreignness; racism; xenophobia; materialism; capitalism; America; identity

1. Introduction

Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glowed world-wide welcome; her mild eyes
commanded the air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door! (Emma Lazarus (2015) ["The New Colossus" 1883])

This paper investigates the themes of foreignness and materialism in Sinclair Lewis' (2010) *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922), Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* (1925), Willa Cather's (2010) *The Professor's House* (1925), and Francis Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925). It mainly examines the reasons behind depicting foreigners and capitalism as two major causes underlying the decline of the 1920s American home and identity by these novels. The authors'/narrators' warnings are embodied in the fatal repercussions that typify the novels: the protagonists are doomed to loss or death. They die either physically or spiritually. In *The Great Gatsby*, and *An American Tragedy* the protagonists succumb to a physical death. In *The Professor's House*, *Babbitt*, and *Main Street*, they remain physically alive but are spiritually dead. In *The Professor's House*, the professor Godfrey St. Peter tries to commit suicide but fails. Although he does not die, he remains soulless. In *Babbitt*, after being excluded by his clan, George Babbitt returns defeated, agreeing to live by its terms. In *Main Street*, Carol Kennicott, who rebels against societal demands, finally yields, though it costs her losing herself. In *An American Tragedy*, Clyde Griffiths is doomed to die in the electric chair. In *The Great Gatsby*, Jay Gatsby is killed by Wilson, who avenges his wife's "murder." In all these instances, the foreigner/immigrant and materialism seem to be depicted as reasons for the breakdown of the "American home" and "family," even as the country enjoys great wealth and is basically a nation of immigrants.

Most critical debates in the scholarship on the proposed authors tend to focus upon apparent themes in their texts, such as class, gender and capitalism and/or materialism. It is my contention that such handling by critics betrays other themes that have been overlooked. That is, in their attempts to understand these authors, critics neglect some of the significant motifs. For example, they largely dismiss the themes of racism and xenophobia apparent in the authors' works and which are related not only to the literary field but also to political discourses.

The novels were written at a time when Germans and Scandinavians were considered to be another "race," perhaps not quite like the Irish and the Italians, but also not quite "white." But then the word "race" in the period under consideration also covered what now we would call "ethnicities," so that in English one talked about "the German race," "the French race," etc. As such, the word "foreigners" refers to immigrants and/or those who are not "Anglo-Saxon native-born Americans." According to John Higham, America adopted the idea of "nativism" coined from the "Native American" parties (Higham, 1955, pp. 27–30). Hence, "Native" refers to the descendants of the settlers of the original Thirteen Colonies and not to "indigenous" American Indians (US History, 2013, p. 424). This xenophobic and nativistic 1920s America was more strict and selective as to its immigrants: "white, Anglo-Saxon, English speaking, and Christian" (Hing, 2004, pp. 4–5).

Although African-Americans are not immigrants or aliens, they still do not fit within the racial standards of white supremacy: they are black and hence are not "real Americans." Therefore, racism and xenophobia against them are obvious for many reasons. The First Great Migration characterized by massive movement of African-Americans during and after WWI triggered xenophobic and bigoted attitudes: "In 1910, three out of every four black Americans lived on farms, and nine out of ten

lived in the South. World War I changed that profile [...]. Hoping to escape tenant farming, sharecropping, and peonage, 1.5 million Southern blacks moved to cities. During the 1910s and 1920s, Chicago's black population grew by 148 percent; Cleveland's by 307 percent; Detroit's by 611 percent." As a result, hostility between blacks and whites increased especially when it came to housing as "[m]any cities adopted residential segregation ordinances to keep blacks out of predominantly white neighborhoods" (The Great Migration, 2016).

Winthrop Jordan (1968) claims that in the late eighteenth century blackness stood out separately from the human race thanks to "Christian cosmology" and especially Protestant Christianity which played a significant role in "English patriotism." He also notes that color has become a dominant birthmark to distinguish between the white Christian and the black heathen: "white and black connoted purity and filthiness, virginity and sin, virtue and baseness, beauty and ugliness, beneficence and evil, God and the Devil" (7). However, the disputation over the Negro's inbred nonphysical features only started a century later: "they indeed seem to be born and bred Villains" (4). There was a substitution of the Christian color classification of the Negro with that of the innate features due to "secular nationality" which did not envisage including blacks within its scope (7). Moreover, with more immigration of non-English Europeans to the United States "the colonists turned increasingly to the striking physiognomic difference." The term "white" stood for the old, Anglo-Saxon, native-born people of the country: those who had arrived in America during the waves of immigration of the early nineteenth century and before. According to John Tehranian, the distinction between whites and non-whites in the US was established by the earlier Anglo-Saxon immigrants precisely on the basis of the two waves of immigration. The non-whites in this case signified Germans, Jews, Slavs, Greeks, Italians, Irish, Arabs, and Spaniards, among others (Tehranian, 2000, pp. 825–827).

Similarly, Bill Hing argues that there were two basic waves of immigration which formed the country: the eighteenth-century wave which constituted the old-stock Americans or "real Americans" who settled the country in its early years. This wave continued until 1803 and "brought with it white, predominantly English-speaking, mainly Protestant Europeans" (4). The second wave, which began in the 1820s and lasted until the 1920s, included mostly "Catholics and Jews, more southern Europeans and non-English speakers." Therefore, unlike the first wave, this wave gave rise to many restrictive immigration laws. The influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe was particularly high in the 1880s. John Higham maintains that in 1883 the new arrivals caused fear among the "original" Americans who saw these new immigrants as a menace to America's politics, culture, and economy. For one thing, the newcomers were regarded as moral and economical threats. For another, they were viewed as boosters of materialism. The authors, though, do not fail to criticize Americans for indulging themselves in profligacy, but imply that foreigners are more to blame for boosting materialism—more than native-born Americans. However, according to the "American Immigration Timeline", they were three. The first big immigration wave between the years 1700–1776, consisted of mainly English Europeans. The second big immigration wave during the years 1820–1870, included nearly 7.5 million mostly from northern and western Europe. The third big immigration wave, 1881–1920, approximately 23.5 million immigrants mainly from southern and eastern Europe particularly from Austro-Hungary, Italy, and Russia entered the American shores.

In fact, challenges of immigration did not prevail only in the 1920s but also in the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. In particular, the period of 1900–1919 indicates the immigration-restriction policy of the successive US governments. It also signifies the feeling of the nation which laid the groundwork for a climate of xenophobia and bigotry. However, the combination of new waves of immigration after WWI with the changes that hit America in the 1920s in such a short period is what makes this an interesting study: the Red Scare, Prohibition, the revolution of morals and values, Al Capone, President Harding's scandals, Black Tuesday, The KKK, Big Bull Market, The Jazz Age, and more. It is vital to note that the hostility toward immigrants was condoned by the US government which passed anti-immigration laws. Hence, this epoch marked the zenith of enacting such laws.

The 1921 Emergency Act created national immigration quota based on the number of foreigners of each nationality already residing in the United States according to the 1910 census (also called the Thirteenth United States census), (LeMay & Barkan, 1999, p. 133). In 1923, the Supreme Court's verdict in the case of the US vs. Bhagat Singh Thind resulted in categorizing Indians (from India, so not native Americans) as non-white, hence depriving them of land ownership and citizenship alleging that these were illegally obtained. One year later, Congressman Albert Johnson and Senator David Reed, outright racists, advocated the Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as Johnson-Reed Act), which included the National Origins Act, and the Asian Exclusion Act. This Act restricted the influx of Asians (or the so-called Yellow Peril) as well as immigrants from southern and eastern Europe (129). In 1925, the Congress created the Border Patrol (152). Following the chronological sequence of the above-mentioned Acts explains the dramatic decline of the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe as well as from Asia. Thus, the annual number of Japanese immigrants between 1907 and 1910 declined from 9,948 to 1,552, and more Japanese left than entered the US (Búzás, 2013, p. 20). The Chinese population decreased to 62,000 people in 1920 (Li, 2009, p. 56). Moreover, immigration to the United States from China was barred permanently in 1924. Between the years 1921–1930 the number of immigrants from eastern and western Europe made up 14 percent of all immigrants (Hing, 2004, p. 4).

The labor movement prospered during the war and unions initiated strikes, agitating for the replacement of “capitalistic control of industry [...] by government control.” The Socialist party gained supporters, most of whom were foreign-born anarchists or communists. These were viewed as a foreign peril to the American businessman and his prosperity, so he had to fight back (Allen, 1997, p. 10–34). After the war, the menace of Bolshevism was spreading from Russia through Europe, and the fear was that it would also spread to America. One week after the Armistice (11 November 1918), in reaction to this general psychological climate (there were rumors with regard to a radical conspiracy against the United States), all gatherings sympathizing with revolutionary Russia or even displaying red flags were disallowed by John Hylan, the Mayor of New York during the years 1917–1925. Many Red riots were knocked down by the police forces in order to secure America.

Alcohol was the next supposed menace that needed to be taken care of. On 18 November 1918, the temporary Wartime Prohibition Act was ratified. One year later, on 28 October 1919, the Volstead Act, also known as the National Prohibition Act, was passed, with enforcement starting on 17 January 1920 (Welskopp, 2013, p. 31). The aftermath of war was a time of terror nurtured by national panic and disorder. Still, this fear was somewhat justified because of the numerous bombings that took place across the country. For example, a bomb package was addressed to Senator Hardwick (chairman of the Immigration Committee of the Senate) who sponsored the Immigration Act of 1918, aimed against anarchist immigrants; such mail-bombs were sent to many people with sensitive positions (Allen, 1997, p. 42). This situation caused hysteria, triggering American intolerance against anything or anyone that seemed alien or un-American, including Jews, Negroes, and Roman Catholics.

The 1920s were also the heyday of the Ku-Klux-Klan after years of decline since 1870. Inspired by its predecessor, founded in the 1860s during the Reconstruction, and fostered by the nativistic and xenophobic atmosphere of the era, the new KKK was recreated in 1915 and it stood for Gentile, Protestant white supremacy against Jews and Catholics (McVeigh, 2009, pp. 19–83).

The relentlessly biased policy against immigrants could be illustrated by the Sacco-Vanzetti case. In 1922 two immigrant Italian radicals, Ferdinando Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were accused of murdering two men and sentenced to death by Judge Webster Thayer in 1927. Sympathetic public pressure and a series of bombings and boycotts did not end the contentious trial. In response to the judge's verdict, Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter called for a new trial and claimed that those people had been convicted only because they were Italian immigrants, accusing the judge of prejudice (Frankfurter, 1927).

Portraying the United States in the era of 1914–1930, William Leuchtenburg states that it is characterized by inconsistency, transformation, and anxiety. Those years signify a restless turning point between the typically conventional, agrarian, nonmetropolitan, religious nation from before WWI and a mechanized, nonreligious, and urban country. There was a sudden transformation from an “old-style evangelical reformism,” to a “newstyle urban progressivism.” The nation’s conundrums emerged due to the disinclination of Americans to reconcile themselves with their new America: “a strong state, the dominance of the metropolis, secularization and the breakdown of religious sanctions, the loss of authority of the family, industrial consolidation, international power politics, and mass culture” (Leuchtenburg, 1958, p. 522).

On a different note, materialism is a broad concept that is intimately linked to capitalism, or in Elie Adams’ words: “the capitalist system is the embodiment of modern materialism” (Adams, 1997, p. 127). The author maintains that capitalism is “a way of life dominated by materialistic values, scientific/technological ways of thought, and individualistic utilitarian rationality of the profit-driven [...] economy” (129). Similarly, Scott Rae and Austin Hill state that “capitalism produces a culture that is committed to materialism and consumes much more than it should [and] produces a soulless, materialistic culture that leads to spiritual poverty” (Rae & Austin, 2010, p. 66).

From this perspective, materialism also affects the family unit and unity. Hence, the traditional meaning of the family as an integrating, connecting agent has been thrown into disarray because family members are now, first and foremost, activated by materialism. Over and above, one obvious repercussion of materialism is that conventional religion turns into business. Religious institutions and leaders are motivated by the desire for material gain. Edward Thompson depicts the impact of capitalism on the dissolution of the American home: “Each stage in industrial differentiation and specialization struck [...] at the family economy, disturbing customary relations between man and wife, parents and children, and differentiating more sharply between “work” and “life,” such deformations of the traditional family seemed a small price to pay for the promotion of capitalism” (Thompson, 1980, p. 416).

In the following paragraphs, I present examples of xenophobia and racism omnipresent in the novels. Although these two expressions often overlap, there is a major difference. Whereas xenophobia refers to the fear of strangers based on their undisclosed aspects, racism touches upon the fear of strangers based on their corporeal features. For the sake of clarity, I demonstrate how foreigners are presented in relation to materialism. Obviously, gender, among other themes is worthwhile scrutinizing; however, it is not my intention to discuss it in this work.

2. Racism and Xenophobia

In this section, I will discuss two different modes of intolerance expressed in the novels: xenophobia and racism. Noticeably, we observe anti-Semitism in the bargain, but I prefer to include it within the scope of these two terms since anti-Semitism could be racial or xenophobic, i.e. cultural.

The utterances and the pronouncements of the narrators or characters in the novels ridicule the speakers’ new material interests. At the top of the list of those ridiculed are foreigners, i.e. non-Americans, who are often portrayed as Prohibition-breakers and bootleggers. They are seen to have decadent opinions as agitators, socialists, and strikers. The censure of immigrants is strongly linked to their materialism. This does not mean that “native-born” characters are not portrayed as materialists but they are not censured as much (like *Babbitt*), or, they are shown as victims of the capitalist system promoted by foreigners (such as the Professor).

It is equally important to highlight the authors’ political tendencies throughout their writing. Gary Levine analyzes how the figure of the commercial Jew since the sudden rise of the Victorian stock market until the Great Depression is handled in the works of Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, Fitzgerald, and Dreiser in addition to other authors. Levine contends that the textual products of these writers are heavily influenced by the major shifts of capitalism, and that modern anti-Semitism has emerged

as a result of the economic history marketing of that epoch (Levine, 2003, pp. 53–125). He also adds that “For most if not all late Victorian and Modernist authors, the economic Jew is a metonym for capitalism” (1) Alfred Kazin, examining the work of Lewis, Cather, Wharton, and Fitzgerald among others, maintains that these writers adopt a new literary style reflecting historical events, directly or indirectly conveying deep national sentiments associated with economic consciousness. He claims that their works demonstrate the deep moral shifts in American society influenced by science, industrialization, and a World War (Kazin, 1970, pp. xxi-xxv).

Walter Benn Michaels inspects the way some writers like Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald associate money with races. He argues that *The Great Gatsby* shows how “our society” is classified by race instead of “economic classes.” He presents a definitive depiction of the 1920s as a zenith of racial science. Hence, for Fitzgerald, according to Michaels, it is not money that makes people belong to a special race but what they are. For Hemingway too the importance of Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises* (Hemingway, 1926) does not lie in that he has money, but rather in the “force” this “little kike” represents as “race-consciousness” (Michaels, 2006, p. 2). This is definitely resonant of one of Dreiser’s remarks recorded by his secretary Evelyn Light during an editorial Conference in 1934: “the world’s quarrel with the Jew is not that he is inferior, but that he is superior” (Loving, 2005, p. 367). Michaels claims that in the 1920s the notion of cultural identity was reinvented and became itself a form of racism; that is, connected to whiteness. Hence, America’s cultural identity was defined through white supremacism. For Michaels, modernism and social nativism as they appeared in the 1920s played a vital role in determining the later meanings of pluralism, multiculturalism, race, and identity. Thus, Michaels recontextualizes the works of Cather, Dreiser, Lewis and others as having shaped, or rather re-shaped, the American identity (Michaels, 1955, pp. 8–30).

Fitzgerald presents Meyer Wolfshiem as a fictional representation of Arnold Rothstein¹ (The Brain): a notorious racketeer and the bigwig of the Jewish mafia. By the same token, unlike Cather, Dreiser is highly vocal regarding his stereotypic labeling, connecting “the Irishman” or “the Swede” with revoltingness and vulgarity. Jerome Loving sees Dreiser with his racist remarks denouncing liberalism and considering it futile as American society is already imperiled, being taken over by countless “types,” among which are Jews, Arabs, and blacks. What is more, he regards the Jews as the most intimidating “type,” suggesting the creation of a “separate Jewish state” instead of “their integration of other countries” (368–369). These remarks are irreversible, Loving claims, and he brands Dreiser as “a racial conservative, if not a racist.” Along the same lines, Hutchins Hapgood’s response after getting a letter from Dreiser containing such declarations was: “if Dreiser hadn’t signed the letter, I might have thought it was written by a member of the Ku Klux Klan or a representative of Hitler” (Loving, 2005, p. 370). Loving maintains that it is not that Dreiser hated blacks, but rather that he conceived of them as “genetically inferior [...] and thus an emerging social problem” (74).

David Daiches refers to Cather’s association with William Jennings Bryan, a populist, who had a great formative impact on her political thinking as well as on many of her works, leading her to examine America’s lost glory and contemplate the ills of commercialism and industrialism (Daiches, 1951, p. 12). One of the Populist platforms in 1892 states that the land is an American heritage and that all aliens should be disallowed to own it, and that those of them that already own land should give it back to its real owners: the settlers. Another statement demands for a further restriction of immigration to America (Gerteis & Goolsby, 2003, pp. 8–10). Similarly, John Randall connects Cather’s “anti-Semitism” with her populist stance and her adoption of the Populist movement principles (Randall, 1960, p. 6–12). Although Cather for the longest time has been regarded as “apolitical” in her writings, Susan Rosowski argues that, on the contrary, Cather was political and that she wrote to produce social change (1990, p. 72). According to James Schroeter examples of Cather’s anti-Semitism (xenophobia) can be gleaned from short stories such as “The Old Beauty” (1948), hinting at Jewish vulgarity and viciousness (rather than saying it *blatantly*): one of the scoundrels is depicted as a banker who is “vulgar,” “repulsive,” and “foreign-looking.” In another story, “Scandal” (1919), the character Stein is portrayed negatively as physically abhorrent, socially crude, greedy, and immoral (367). Nevertheless, James Woodress claims that calling Cather an anti-Semitic is an

exaggeration, yet he admits that Cather had “a typical Midwestern bias against Jews in the aggregate.” He argues that Cather’s characters, Miletus Poppas in “The Diamond Mine” (1915), and Siegmund Stein in “Scandal” (1916) “owe[ed] something to Cather’s subconscious resentment of Jan Hambourg,” the Jewish husband of her friend Isabelle (283–284). This same allegation was already voiced by Joseph Leon Edel in *Willa Cather: A Critical Biography*, but concerning Marsellus in *The Professor’s House* (Brown & Edel, 1953, p. 112). Cather might have resented Jan Hambourg, although she has written to Carrie Sherwood that her relationship with Hambourg was going well and that she had “really learned to like him” (Woodress, 1987, p. 287). However, it is an exaggeration by some critics to link Hambourg to all the Jewish figures Cather creates in her works.

3. Racism versus Xenophobia

Coskun Tastan explains that “The term xenophobia is derived from a combination of two words: The Greek word *xenos* (stranger) combined with the suffix—phobia (fear).” According to him xenophobia is about the “unfamiliar face” or “the unrevealed qualities” of the object whereas racism involves “the well-known, tangible face” (3). These two connected yet polarized terms will therefore be used in the discussion according to their function: unknown qualities as opposed to well-known ones and covert features versus overt ones. To elaborate this a little further, if we take the specific example of Jewishness, I might say that Meyer Wolfshiem is a Jew with obvious “known” carnal features, i.e. a big nose. Jay Gatsby and Louie Marsellus, on the other hand, have lost their obvious known Jewish features, therefore they are *xenoi*. In “The Uncanny” published in 1919, Freud addresses xenophobia (though he does not mention the word) in depth. He claims that the uncanny (or *xenos*) “tends to coincide with what excites fear [phobia] in general” not because it is strange but, on the contrary, because it is connected to something that is familiar. He links the fear of the uncanny (xenophobia) with the Oedipus complex, which arouses “fears about the eye [that] are derived from the fear of castration” (Freud, 1953, p. 175).² This statement does not contradict the fact that the uncanny is *xenos*, because the uncanny was originally “*heimlich*” but not anymore. Tastan explains the dichotomy entailed in the uncanny—the known by giving the example of the Jew whose features are visible (*heimlich*) based on historical records. However, when this Jew loses “the qualities that used to make him known” he becomes *unheimlich* or *xenos* (Tastan, 2012, pp. 91–2).

Adrian Piper defines xenophobia as “a special case of a more general cognitive phenomenon, namely the disposition to resist the intrusion of anomalous data of any kind into a conceptual scheme whose internal rational coherence is necessary for preserving a unified and rationally integrated self” (2). A xenophobe refuses to accept any unusual or strange influences so as to preserve his self/identity. This leads Piper to define xenophobia as “fear of a particular kind of stranger, one who does not comply with collective norms or behaviors, rather than fear of strangers in general.” In this context, xenophobia is “a paradigm case of resistance to the intrusion of anomalous data into an internally coherent conceptual scheme—a threat to the unity of the self defined by it” (Piper, 2012, p. 3).

4. Foreigners

Foreigners are despised for many reasons. First, they imperil the composition of the old-timer families and social order by intermarriages and hence the Anti-miscegenation laws such as the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 were enacted. Second, they are accused of boosting materialism providing cheap labor and increasing the price of the land menacing the livelihood and daily bread of native-born Americans. Third, they are adduced as a moral threat for the prevailing social and cultural values. These reasons generate racial and xenophobic attitudes noticeable between old-timers and new-timers or old-money and new-money.

The first example is from *The Great Gatsby* where the difference between the old families and the nouveaux riches is underscored by emphasizing the contrast between the opulent life-style of Gatsby and that of Nick Carraway whose house in the Midwest and located “in a city where dwellings are still called through decades by a family’s name” (188). Even more, East Egg and West Egg represent Midwestern and Eastern American states. This division underlines the material as well as cultural disparity between the two: the East is more connected to European values because of the

immigrants who first came there whereas the Midwest stands for more traditional Americans who are likely to preserve American values. They abide by more conservative and stricter approaches to life and are unlikely to accept changes.

In *Babbitt* the narrator repeatedly underlines the change that befalls the American family in “the barbarous twentieth century,” as social status is determined by the “family’s motor” just as “the grades of the peerage determined the rank of an English family” (67). In point of fact, values and legacy are replaced by a yardstick. There are two types of families in Zenith: the old county families and the “newly created brewery barons and woolen-mill viscounts” or the nouveaux riches (180). These types indicate those who came before 1840 and those who arrived after (168). Unlike the McKelveys who belong to the smart set, Mr. Eathorne belongs to the old families: “He was the great-grandson of one of the five men who founded Zenith, in 1792, and he was of the third generation of bankers.” In like manner, in *An American Tragedy*, family origin is highly important: being head of one of the finest, most reputable, oldest, and most conservative few families of the region (105), Clyde’s uncle, Mr. Samuel Griffiths regards with distaste the rapid rise to prosperity of the Finchleys. The Griffiths family of Lycurgus has its own prejudices against what they call the “fast set” or the “new set” of families—in other words, the newer immigrants. Mrs. Griffiths of Lycurgus therefore disapproves of her daughter’s (Bella) becoming friendly with this set:

Bec[a]me thick and fast friends, not only with the scions of the older and more conservative families who constituted the ultra-respectable element of the city, but also, and this was more to her mother’s distaste, with the sons and daughters of some of those later and hence socially less important families of the region—the sons and daughters of manufacturers of bacon, canning jars, vacuum cleaners, wooden and wicker ware, and typewriters, who constituted a solid enough financial element in the city, but who made up what might be considered the “fast set” in the local life (106).

The principal cause for Mrs. Griffiths’ prejudice is that she sees that this “fast set” allows “too much dancing, cabaretting, automobiling [...] without due social supervision” (Dreiser, 2004, p. 101). Despite their affluence, the former belong to the new fast set. Mrs. Griffiths therefore warns her daughter not to go out much with these people because they are too daring and because she favors the “manner and tactics of the older, if not less affluent families.” Therefore, to her, blood and race are more pivotal than capital. Perhaps a good explanation of what Mrs. Griffiths deems as a “fast set” or the nouveaux riches is found in Willa Cather’s *My Ántonia*. The newer immigrants prosper because the older American families are more conservative than the immigrants, and any marriage between the two sets is thus out of the question. Therefore, they marry only from their own set:

One result of this family solidarity was that the foreign farmers in our county were the first to become prosperous. After the fathers were out of debt, the daughters married the sons of neighbours—usually of like nationality—and the girls who once worked in Black Hawk kitchens are to-day managing big farms and fine families of their own; their children are better off than the children of the town women they used to serve (Cather, 2006, p. 136).

In the same degree, the distinction between the old American families and the new rising American families is emphasized in *Main Street*. For example, Percy Bresnahan claims that the new business families are the ones who manage Boston and not those “old” rich families (288). It seems that the new families are detested by the old families not only because they threaten the old values but also for being more prosperous.

It is noticeable that foreigners or immigrants are portrayed in two different ways: the first is rather sinister, namely to emphasize that they pose a threat, while the second mocks them, making fun of them and their accents. In *An American Tragedy*, the protagonist, Clyde, working in the Green Davidson hotel, meets non-American bellhops who are perceived as a moral threat. Hegglund, Ratterer, Doyle, Paul Shiel, Davis Higby, and Arthur Kinsella are characterized by lavishness, libertinage, and immoralities totally “foreign” to Clyde (38). The narrator refers to these foreigners as of

another “type” or “stripe,” i.e. *xenoi*. Their unfamiliar uses of the English language and their various forms of pronunciation show the differences of the “types” among the characters in the novel. Dragging Clyde into a “bad house” where he is confronted by “bacchanalian scenes” (43), these foreign youngsters directly contribute to Clyde’s destruction. Even the girls who live in that house are mostly foreigners of “a German or Scandinavian type” (46).

In due course, Clyde combines xenophobia with racism differentiating the foreign girls from the American ones, which makes it quite clear that they are not only morally but also physically different: the foreign girls are characterized by “fat hands,” “broad faces,” and “heavy legs and ankles” (racism). Some speak with a foreign accent “being Poles or the children of Poles,” and “they were all concerned with catching a “feller,” going to some dancing place with him afterwards, and little more” (xenophobia). Foreigners in general are recurrently portrayed as a peril to the American moral code. Foreign girls working at the factory are labeled as “pagan,” “savage,” and “ignorant.” These girls, as Clyde can sense, have no qualms regarding sex. Evaluating their behavior, he has no doubt that they will let him “have his way with them somewhere, and think nothing of it afterward if he chose to ignore them” (164).

As a rule, American girls do not work in factories unless they have a good reason. Hence, when Roberta Alden seeks employment with Griffiths and Company, the narrator provides an explanation: her poverty (167). Although Roberta believes that this type of work is beneath her, she does it because she is in great need of money to help her family. Venus Green, a historian, concludes that unlike for the immigrants, working in a factory was considered a devaluation and a degradation to the “white lady” (Green, 2001, p. 134). The theme of immigrant women working in a factory is recurrent both in *Main Street* (1920) and *An American Tragedy* (1925). Magdalena Zaborowska justifies the negative image of the East European immigrant woman in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as perceived by native-born Americans, according to which the former is typically shameless, ill-mannered, vulgar, and “loose.” Her upbringing is of a “different morality and alien sexual conduct” (Zaborowska, 1995, p. 46). Zaborowska contends that the Americans misunderstood the sexual behavior of those immigrant women:

What the host culture took for signs of promiscuity and lack of restraint in ethnic women were usually traditional ways of sexual conduct. Many peasant women, for example, who became factory workers in America were very open about their sexuality because they had grown up in close quarters and in big families where a girl was witness to nudity, sex, and birth from her earliest years (Zaborowska, 1995, p. 46).

Roberta, who represents the native-born American girl, is appalled by the “giggling” and “simpering” of the factory girls who are of “a certain type” (170). To add, the “real” American girls are “of a decidedly different texture, thinner, more nervous and for the most part more angular, and with a general reserve due to prejudices, racial, moral and religious, which would not permit them to mingle with these others or with any men” (165). Considering the previous instances, foreign girls are decidedly immoral, easy, and worldly whereas American girls are decent, moral, and religious.

In *Babbitt*, The Doppelbrauers and other bohemians influence Babbitt strongly and unfavorably: he always returns home late and drunk (294). His wife calls them “strange people” and reminds him that he also used to call them so (317). Nonetheless, Babbitt goes astray from his home and family engrossing himself in the Bohemian life, staying in bohemians’ houses, associating with people whose life is “dominated by suburban bacchanalia of alcohol” (292). Beyond any doubt, bohemianism is a foreign importation: “The sentimental term [of bohemianism] applied to a man of art and of unconventional or wandering disposition was brought to America from France” (Parry, 2005, p. 8). It should be noted though that the use of the word “bohemians” is only metaphorical to imply foreignness.

In the same fashion, houses of bohemians in *Main Street* are depicted as places of looseness and lewdness: before her marrying Will, Carol was in one of those houses where she first encountered Bohemianism, turning “into a bacchanal” in a perplexed mentality: sometimes “demurely” and at other times “in dread of life’s slipping past” (14). Carol is delineated as a helpless victim in the following examples: she “was taken to a certified Studio Party,” where she was exposed to beer, cigarettes, bobbed hair, and a Russian Jewess. Feeling “ignorant” and “shocked by the free manners,” Carol’s only savior was home (13). This perplexed attitude indicates a split: she is lost between the new immorality and the preservation of the past. By and by, under the influence of foreigners Gopher Prairie undergoes a gradual change, but “[Carol] did not expect the town to become a Bohemia” (155).

Likewise, foreigners’ houses in *An American Tragedy* challenge Clyde’s morality and virtues. His foreign friend’s (Ratterer’s) house, is the exact opposite of Clyde’s “solemn and reserved” home characterized by “dogma and conviction.” In Ratterer’s home Clyde is able to meet other “girls and boys of the Ratterer, Heggland, Hortense stripe” (54). This “stripe” alludes to foreigners because of their incorrect English and misconduct. Moreover, it stands for a different set from that of Clyde’s. Regardless of Clyde’s “certain strain of *refinement* which cause[s] him to look askance at most of this” (50), and wonder concerning Mrs. Ratterer’s “lackadaisical” and “indifferent” attitude, he is infatuated by such a world and the liberty it satisfies, free and unabashed love-making, easy chumminess between the sexes, card-playing and dancing. Thus, he is drawn and becomes part of the group notwithstanding “the rather wretched English they spoke” and which “he looked down upon.” Clyde’s mixing with this particular stripe blurs the boundaries between his set and theirs.

One evident distinction between foreigners and native-born Americans, which does not entail racism but rather xenophobia, is “Niceness” and “Refinement.” These terms are probably borrowed from the Bible³ and they are typical of the old Puritan virtues. Nice girls and nice families (135/136/137/198/223) are mentioned to show the difference between native-born Americans and foreigners or people with no clearly-defined origins. Moreover, both Roberta and Clyde, the protagonists, are depicted as *refined*, which is equivalent to “nice” (48/57/171/235). The situation is similar in *The Great Gatsby* Tom Buchanan says that Miss Baker is a “nice girl.” Yet he believes that her family “oughtn’t to let her run around the country this way” (22). *Gatsby* says that “[Daisy] was the first “nice” girl he had ever known” (158).

The prejudice against immigrants expands in *An American Tragedy* as most prisoners on Death Row are foreigners: “with twenty other convicted characters of varying temperaments and nationalities” (533). Even in prison, racism is present in the ethnic slurs the narrator uses: a “sinister-looking Chinaman in a suit exactly like [Clyde’s]” (525), and “The two dark-eyed sinister-looking Italians.” The former comparison, which equates Clyde with the Chinaman, is used to show the shockingly absurd situation in which Clyde has found himself: a criminal, precisely like the foreigner. In addition, the foreigners’ non-English style of speech is reported: “wid,” “Wot’s yer name?” (525) and “dis,” and “De” (526). Although Clyde is in the same situation as the other criminals—locked in a cell and wearing a prisoner’s uniform—he is aghast at their way of eating: “that reminded him more of hungry animals being fed than men” (526). Unlike Clyde, whose murder is made out to be circumstantial, the foreigners are premeditated murderers (535). Nicholson, Clyde’s new friend, who is obviously a white “native-born” American, is certain that one Hungarian is “more animal than man.” Contrary to the other prisoners, Nicholson is portrayed rather positively: he is educated (a lawyer), “intelligent,” and “respectable” (533), whereas the foreigners are “all so different,” evil, ignorant, and rough (535). Surprisingly, we are never told what Nicholson’s crime is.

A specific peril of the immigrants emphasized in all the novels is their economic progress. The foreigners’ financial progress—especially when compared to that of their native-born American counterparts—is extremely rapid. In *Main Street*, comparing Gopher Prairie to Dutch towns,⁴ the latter are outlined as of lower quality than the American ones generally. Yet people coming from there are likely to turn out good, like Rauskukle who has a big house and “owns a lot of mortgages, and he gambles in farm-lands” (26). Nels Erdstrom, for example, has recently prospered and built a new

house; the Erdstrom's house and Axel Egge's grocery are instances of such progress (222). Miles Bjornstam's progress becomes evident: he quits his job at the mill and starts a dairy of his own with "three cows and sixty chickens." Later, his dairy grows. Now he has "six cows, two hundred chickens, a cream separator, a Ford truck" (306). Will claims that one of his clients' sons, a little Svenska, will "have a corking farm in ten years" (21). Foreigners' progress and become owners after working as hired people. Another reason for their advancement is that foreign girls can work whereas American girls cannot: it is a taboo (89). Hence, it is expected that foreigners will exceed the financial status of native-born Americans. Ezra Stowbody, a banker, is discontented with regard to the social changes which Gopher Prairie has been undergoing for the past 30 years. The town becomes "heterogeneous" and foreigners become store owners.

In *Main Street*, the conversation between the maids Bea and Tina implies, first, that foreigners are materialistic: Bea wants to earn six dollars, which is a relatively high price to pay a hired girl in Gopher Prairie. The conversation also suggests that such girls have loose morals: Bea asks Tina if she "got a fella now," and the latter answers that his name is "Yim Yacobson." To add, instead of the word "six" (referring to the price she wants), the word is printed as "sex"—this not only imitates Bea's specific accent, it could as well refer to the girls' debauchery. Therefore, although Carol, the protagonist, likes associating with foreigners, there are limits that she cannot cross and taboos that she cannot breach: "However charitable toward the Lower Classes she may have thought herself, Carol had been reared to assume that servants belong to a distinct and inferior species" (112). This note indicates her covert racism regarding foreigners: she considers them "inferior species."⁵ Meeting Miles Bjornstam, Carol sympathizes with him. Still, when she invites him to dine with her maid, Bea, in the kitchen she does not dine with them because of the "social distinctions," as well as "her own taboos." Then again, these "distinctions" signify the dividing line between those in the American circle, and those outside. Thus, she is also a hypocrite since although she considers them friendly people she cannot have them as friends because they are foreigners: "she continues to regard them as retainers and herself as a lady" (Lewis, 2012, p. 240).

The indictment of foreigners as threatening elements goes beyond the fictional world as it corresponds with the real one. In the late nineteenth century, Frank Russell, D.D., Field Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, admits in a conference entitled "Alliance Methods" that violations of the moral code also happened among native-born Americans, but he warns of the immigrants' negative role worsening such a situation in America: "Here are evils that rise threateningly against us and require the activity of all our forces to meet them [...] and immigration with all its blessings, surely strengthen [sic] these threatening evils" (Russell, 1890, p. 102).

The previous description of the foreigners seems to rely upon the Eugenics Theory developed by Francis Galton in the 1880s and popular in the 1920s, whereby immigrants were considered biologically inferior. This theory found a home with the American Eugenics Society established in 1922. Harry Laughlin, a prominent Eugenicist proposed the Eugenic Sterilization Law, subsequently adopted by many American states,⁶ whereby large numbers of foreigners were submitted to sterilization. Laughlin was appointed superintendent of the Eugenics Record Office (1910–1939), and served on the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives of Washington D.C (1920). These facts explain the passing of the Johnson-Reed Act 1924.⁷ In the 1920s, immigrant inferiority was linked to the soaring crime rate. Immigrants were considered by many detrimental to the American race and stock. One example is Laughlin's testimony before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1923 where he classifies Italians, Greeks, and Asiatics as people of "low mentality and disorders of the personality" (Laughlin, 1923, p. 741).

Scientists of eugenics sought to maintain the purity of the Anglo-American race by limiting the reproduction of the inferior races of the poor genetic stock. Therefore, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were subjected to forced sterilization. (Morrow, 2004, p. 303). In his first annual message, President Coolidge said that "America must be kept American" (The American Presidency Project, 1923). Even as recent as 1973 ten African-American women out of thirteen were forcibly

sterilized in Montgomery, Alabama (Dula & Goering, 1994, p. 17). The article “It’s time for California to compensate its forced-sterilization victims” published in *Los Angeles Times* last year Bold (2015) condemns the shameful actions of the states who adopted the sterilization law including Virginia and California.

The previously mentioned negative “findings” reflect the attitude of native-born Americans toward foreigners in the literary texts examined here. In *Babbitt*, immigrants are degraded even if they are legal immigrants. The protagonist’s racism is noticeable in many ways: either directly or indirectly. For instance, he opposes his wife’s desire not to invite the Orville Joneses (obviously for their being Jews) because he needs a “boob,”⁸ Orville Jones, to tell a good joke in his Jewish accent. Moreover, in the 1920s racism becomes so rooted that it pervades even daily, trivial conversations, for instance about food. Babbitt remarks that it is the “Best fried chicken [he has] tasted for a coon’s age” (115)—an ethnic slur referring to black people. The same negative term is used again in the Good Fellows council as the members discuss the “serious problem” of foreigners and black people: one of them complains about the new generation of “coons” who reject their traditional roles as porters and cotton-pickers for the privilege of becoming “lawyers and professors and Lord knows what all!” (128). The members of the council therefore demand that practical measures be taken to show the blacks and the yellow (Asians) their place. According to James Dormon the word “coon” in the 1920s characterized blacks “[A]s not only ignorant and indolent, but also devoid of honesty or personal honor, given to drunkenness and gambling, utterly without ambition, sensuous, libidinous, even lascivious” (Dormon, 1988, p. 455).

It is ironic that one of the Good Fellows claims that he hasn’t “one particle of race-prejudice,” and that he is pleased when “nigger[s]” do well, but only so long as they know their place. Thus, he is against them attempting to assume the “rightful authority and business ability of the white man” (Lewis, 128). Seeing the black porter who works at the Good Fellows council, they all stare at him “gloomily.” The Fellows’ hypocrisy is palpable as they keep talking as usual, but when the porter has left they complain: “I don’t know what’s come over these niggers, nowadays. They never give you a civil answer.” What is surprising is that at the beginning of the previous quote the subject “I” is used instead of “they” (referring to “they wailed:”) to express a collective opinion. Definitely, this underscores Piper’s “collective” identity of class⁹. This highly racist debate takes place in the Good Fellows council. The irony lies in the fact that their bigoted remarks are at odds with their claim that they are not racially prejudiced: in fact, they assert that white supremacy is good, inequality is good, and “clan” is good.

The newcomers were also considered a serious threat to America’s security. Agitators in the 1920s were mostly foreigners (Lindop & Goldstein, 2009, p. 12). In *The Regulated Economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy* published in 2008 it is stated that: “labor unrest would be fueled by foreign agitators. Perhaps of most importance was the emergence of a pivotal group in the form of the foreign born, who were vocal and rapidly gaining the franchise” (230). Thus, declaring that “all labor agitators [...] should be hanged” (40), Babbitt represents not only the view of himself, but also that of many old-timers, the media, and the US Government policy represented by Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, all of whom, at one time or another, influence his opinions (155). The narrator emphasizes the attitudes of Seneca Doane, “radical lawyer,” and Dr. Yavitch, “a revolutionist Jew,” who criticize boosting and call for the “standardization” of America (89–90), that is, empowering civil society and labor unions. In *My Neighbor the Workingman* James Roscoe Day,¹⁰ pastor and chancellor of Syracuse University, warns against such foreigners, calling them America’s enemies:

Is America unable to protect herself from her most insidious and perilous foes? [...] Reds and Blacks, Soviets and World-Wides must be sent to their own place. [...] a country’s greatest safeguard against the socialist in whatsoever form he may appear. We could take the chance of breaking the hearts of foreign lands rather than break up the homes of our own people with hunger and discontent (Day 22–52).

Babbitt is a member of the “right-thinking wing,” and he supports the idea of shooting the “crooked agitators” and even states that all those who demand higher wages are liars and fakers (269). Remarkably, after encountering Seneca Doane, he alters his lifestyle as well as his political views. Therefore, he defends the strikers in the Athletic Club. When Chum Fink, a member of the Athletic Club suggests that these “bomb-throwing socialists and thugs” and “hoodlums that are trying to take the bread and butter away from our families” should be beaten, Babbitt asserts that “they look just about like you and me, and I certainly didn’t notice any bombs” (273). Chum Fink’s attack on foreigners is similar to that of Day:

Strikes in nearly all cases are projected by foreigners or their descendants, who never have learned our laws and whose ignorance is the secret of their diabolical mischief [...] These founders of the first openly declared Bolshevik political party in our country, men defeated in bomb-throwing and other kinds of assassination and sabotage, declare as their political principles, in the name of labor, the abolition of the United States Senate (Day, 1920, p. 339).¹¹

In *Main Street* the same situation prevails: following the news that an organizer for “the National Nonpartisan League” has been outlawed, Sam Clark’s reaction is that he should have been “lynched”¹² (429). While Kennicott agrees with him, Carol claims that the whole action is illegal and asks her husband: “How do you expect these aliens to obey your law if the officer of the law teaches them to break it?” Her use of the word “aliens” is ambivalent: she seems to defend foreigners and sympathize with them but, at the same time, she also does not consider them “real” Americans. In addition, the word “our” evokes the collective identity which shuns the *xenos* out of the xenophobe’s circle, producing an unmistakable distinction between the two. To emphasize the collective xenophobic identity of Gopher Prairie, interestingly, not only the collective “I” is present but the words “we” and “our” also signify such collectivity. Day attributes the ominousness of socialism to immigrants: [B]ecause of our increasing numbers and the varied elements of socialism by immigration eternal vigilance is the only price at which we can retain our liberties. And only a homogeneous people will find unity of thought and a common ground of patriotism (Day, 1907, p. 44).

When Carol mentions the word “co-operatively” in a non-political sense, Vida warns her that even mentioning this word would stir the merchants to “lynch” her (Lewis: *Main Street* 144). Her friend Guy also warns her not to “class” herself with “trouble-making labor leaders (socialists).” He argues that democracy is all right, but only hypothetically. He also admits that “there are industrial injustices” but he prefers them to turning America into “a dead level of mediocrity” (208). Day blames Americans who assist the foreign workers and agitators in their struggle against the government on the occasion of a coal mine strike, implying that those Americans are traitors:

The workers at the mines are men of the lower type, the foreigners, but it is amazing that men of supposed intelligence and loyalty should lead ignorant men into defiance of our courts. It is not a case of underpaid and protesting men threatened with cold and hunger. It is an effort to force their higher wage by imperiling the innocent (Day, 1920, p. 213).

The statements uttered by Carol’s friends indicate the highly erratic and unsteady connections of old-time Americans and foreigners in the early twentieth century. Most (if not all) of Gopher Prairie locals believe that “any system of profit-sharing” is unjust to employers (246). When Mr. James Blausser comes to town, one of his welcome-posters states that: “Alien Agitators Threaten the Security of Our Institutions” (424). In his speech he claims that the “Farmers’ Nonpartisan League” and “socialists” are the same. This animosity escalates when Gopher Prairie faces a serious crisis: the hired girls of the town abscond “to city kitchens, or to city shops and factories,” creating a shortage of servants (305). As soon as “the loyal Oscarina” (Carol’s maid) leaves Carol, the Jolly Seventeen remind her “how Oscarina stay[ed] on between incumbencies of Finn maids from the North Woods, Germans from the prairies, occasional Swedes and Norwegians and Icelanders,” turning Carol into “a maid” as she had to do her own housework. Carol’s pathetic image foreshadows what may become of native-born American women deserted by their maids. Native-born ladies will be exchanging roles

with the help. Cindy Aron argues that: “By the twentieth century the percentage of female domestic workers had begun to decline as women chose positions as factory operatives over jobs as servants” (xiii), and “immigrant white women left domestic service for factory positions” (Aron, 1990, p. xiv). This was possibly the reason behind creating the servant-girl problem. However, according to David Katzman, this shift of positions was not always pecuniary (Katzman, 1981, p. 223).

Despite Carol’s previous sympathy for immigrants, her fear of Americanizing these foreigners into conformity conveys a certain anxiety of assimilation. Foreigners have become Americans in “less than a generation” and “their sons finished the process. In ready-made clothes and ready-made high-school phrases they sank into propriety, and the sound American customs had absorbed without one trace of pollution another alien invasion” (274). Carol, like Gopher Prairie citizens in general, is concerned that foreigners would become their equals. In such a case, the boundaries between the two would become invisible, especially when immigrants overcome the obstacle of language. Her true feelings toward foreigners are revealed during the War: in spite of considering Miles Bjornstam a friend and a decent person “she was uncomfortable when she met [him] on the street” (284). Moreover, she retracts her desire to help the immigrants, because she realizes that those “common people were able to do things for themselves.” She becomes extremely frightened and agitated by the notion of “millions of workmen like Miles taking control [...] and she scuttled rapidly away from the thought of a time when she might no longer retain the position of Lady Bountiful to the Bjornstams and Beas and Oscarinas whom she loved -and patronized” (285).

True, Carol loves these foreigners, but only as long as they remain subservient. The previous quotation also conveys the anxiety concerning the American identity that Carol and her ilk have. It is a graphic image: immigrants are swarming in clouds over America and, by doing so, they are intimidating and consequently diluting and diminishing the original American nation. Carol’s concern echoes that of Bertrand Tipple who wrote in 1924: “While we have slept, the Wooden Horse¹³, filled with Greeks and other strangers has floated past the Statue of Liberty.” (Tipple, 1924, p. 32). Tipple’s statement echoes the dishonest ways used by immigrants to enter America: Justice Stephen Field asserted that the “customs officials had discovered [...] that newly arrived immigrants carried fraudulent documents” (Dinnerstein, 1985, pp. 25–35).

Carol’s uneasiness toward immigrants makes her exactly like Bresnahan who tells Miles: “If you don’t like this country, you better get out of it and go back to Germany, where you belong!” (291). Except that her anxiety, like Nick’s from *The Great Gatsby*, is not clearly spelled out—even to herself. However, Lewis’ attitude is overt toward Germans during the war: “In July 1918 the Author’s League of America expelled G. S. Viereck because of his pro-German activities, and in August it expelled W. B. Hale.” Lewis’ response was “Would it have the celebrated Dr. Hale for president? Would it beg Karl Rosner to come over and head the Executive Committee? Or would it include only persons whose names begin with an obscure “von”?” (Schorer, 1961, p. 252).

The preposition “von” in German is often used to indicate a German family name. Here it stands for Germans. Hence, when Lewis uses “obscure” followed by “von” he is unquestionably denouncing Germans. Not only Germans were condemned during the war, but also German signs and icons including artists, musicians, philosophers, even language and food were under attack. In 1919, Indiana schools enacted a law preventing teaching German in public schools (Tylor, 2010, p. 171). In addition, national German foods were renamed: hamburger became liberty sandwich and sauerkraut became liberty cabbage (1918) (Murrin et al., 2010, p. 858).

The xenophobic attitude embodied in mocking immigrants assumes a more aggressive form in *Babbitt* when Koplinsky, a Booster, supported by the other members, attacks the new immigrants: “Keep these damn foreigners out of the country. Thank the Lord, we’re putting a limit on immigration” (128). He calls immigrants “Dagoes” and “Hunkies” (ethnic slurs referring to Italians and people from East and Central Europe) who have to be taught that: “This is a white man’s country, and they

ain't wanted here." Ironically, Koplinsky's own name rather plainly reveals that he himself is of eastern European background, probably Polish or Russian.

Xenophobia is intensified by the way in which Babbitt portrays European countries as useless and unproductive. The only things that they produce are "bootblacks," "scenery," and "booze." They are filthy, he claims, and "haven't got one bathroom per hundred people." Europeans are ignorant and could not recognize "a loose-leaf ledger from a slip-cover." Moreover, Babbitt accuses foreigners of ruining the face of America: the "old mansions" and the "castles" (both of which might as well refer to old values) have lost their glory and have now turned into contemptible "boarding houses with muddy walks and rusty hedges" and "cheap apartment-houses [...] conducted by bland, sleek Athenians" (28).

5. Italians and Jews

In addition to Germans, two particularly abused groups are Italians and Jews. Philip Cannistraro explains the heated xenophobic sentiments toward Italians in the 1920s. Italian Americans were on the whole avowedly pro-fascist and sympathized with Mussolini. During this period, Italian Americans were undergoing a process of transition from Italian to American identity, and the "pro-Fascist sentiments of many were the result of the stresses and difficulties of assimilation and acculturation" (77).¹⁴ An additional significant reason to the prejudices against Italians is that during 1901–1910, 2,045,877 Italian immigrants arrived in American shores, and more 1,109,52 in 1911–1920. In the novels, it is obvious that Italians' accents are especially mocked in *Babbitt*. For example, when Babbitt has dinner with W.A. Rogers who pokes fun at an Italian waiter, calling him "Gooseppy" and asks him to serve "elephants' ears." He continues in this vein, calling the waiter "Pedro," "Carlo," "Antonio," "Garibaldi," and finally "Michelovitch Angeloni." Rogers' intention of humor indicates intolerance as he claims that "the Eytalians (misspelled to emphasize Rogers' idea of cleverness) get their fresh garden peas out of the can." Then he repeats the waiter's answer sarcastically. At the end he asks "comprenez-vous [...]?" which is bad French not Italian (152). Rogers' behavior, endorsed by his company, points to the collective prejudice toward foreigners.

In retrospect, it seems that the influence of radicalism, especially anarchism, was popular particularly among Italian immigrants (Michels, 2012, p. 21). Babbitt's xenophobia toward immigrants involved in politics is obvious: the country should deport agitators who are "paid with German Gold" (indicating their disloyalty to their American citizenship) such as De Valera. Undoubtedly, the fictional character De Valera in *Babbitt* corresponds with Éamon de Valera, an American whose parents were immigrants of Spanish and Irish origins. He was despised mainly for his Catholicism. Babbitt claims that people such as De Valera implicate America in trouble with foreign governments (Britain).

By the same token, Jews are censured for their social and economic opportunism. They are considered an inferior race in that they were included, right after the turn of the twentieth century, in a list of eugenic "scientific" research objects, and accordingly, classified as deficient together with other immigrant types (Schrag, 2010, pp. 2–6). In addition to the previously mentioned reasons of despising foreigners, Jews are accused of raising rents. On 22 May 1920, the *Dearborn Independent*, in a paper owned by Henry Ford, and under the headline "*The International Jew, The World's Problem*," Jews were held guilty of international conspiracy. They were accused of being the source of every American misery: rising rents, the scarcity of farm labor, "jazz song," "gambling," drunkenness, loose morals, "flashy jewelry," and "cheap-dear fashions" (Ford, 1920, p. 140). In fact, Ford also funded the publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in 1920 (Burnet, 2005, p. 249).

The fear of Jews was common among Americans from the late nineteenth through the first half of the twentieth century. Thus, it is not surprising that some period writers conveyed this fear through their works of fiction. According to Nancy Foner, New York City turned into the "hub of American Jewish life" because of its large number of Jewish immigrants, who constituted "one-quarter of the city's population" (Foner, 2001, p. 105). In *The American Scene* (1907), like many of his American counterparts, Henry James expressed anxiety and shock about the "swarming" of Jews to the East side, the "Hebrew

conquest of New York”, and the “Jewry that had burst all bounds” (James, 1968, pp. 131–132). Similarly, Cather’s anti-Semitism is obvious in her attacks of Jews—using the Jewish characters of a play—¹⁵ in an essay she wrote in 1914. In the essay, Cather claims that Jews are taking control over New York: “One has to live in tasteless apartments because the buildings are built by Potash and Perlmutter to be lived in by Potash and Perlmutter” (Schroeter, 1967, p. 366). Cather’s statement echoes Ford’s previous accusations that the Jews are responsible for “rising rents.”

We can also attribute the anti-Semitic/racist sentiments toward Jews in particular to the fact that in the years 1881–1920, two million eastern European Jews immigrated to the United States (Mednick, 2006, p. 128). Furthermore, 1,500,000 Jews entered the United States during the 16 years before the war (1899–1914) (Willcox, 1931). Religion is another reason into the bargain. One cause of Edith Wharton’s abhorrence of Jews is religious. Elisina Tyler, who witnessed Wharton’s last moments, recorded the author’s last remarks, including that she “hated the Jews” and blamed them for Jesus’ crucifixion (Lee, 2007, p. 613). Jews were also despised because they composed gangs and broke the law and boosted illegal business (bootlegging in the Prohibition era¹⁶/the Detroit Jewish gangs). In the novels, Jewishness is presented as an icon for solid, ruthless, capitalism (Wolfshiem, *Gatsby*, Marsellus).

Strikingly, native-born Americans violate Prohibition, drinking while accusing Jews of illegally importing alcohol. For example, Mr. Frink, Babbitt’s friend, gets drunk and he enjoys it: “Let me dream on! It ain’t true, but don’t waken me! Jus’ lemme slumber!” Ironically, after drinking, Babbitt and his guests discuss Prohibition and claim that it is good because drinking is not healthy—not for them but for the working-classes because it “keeps ‘em from wasting their money and lowering their productiveness” (102). Then they converse about Prohibition and bootlegging in Detroit: Prohibition is good but it allows bootleggers to deal in bad contraband liquor: “no American’ll ever stand for that!” The members vent their anger and concern about bootlegging in Detroit alluding to the Jewish criminals who have controlled organized crime in the Midwest. One influential gang is the Purple Gang, led by the Bernsteins that imported liquor from Canada across the Detroit River. This gang included two Jewish groups: The Oakland Sugar gang whose members were Henry Shorr, Irving Milberg, Harry Altman, Harry Keywell, and Morris and Phil Raider. They “manufactured alcohol for bootleg liquor” and were responsible for local gambling. The other group consisted of East Side Jewish mobsters and was led by Sammy Cohen and the three Bernstein brothers: Abe, Isidore, and Ray (Rockaway, 2000, p. 76). Lewis’ xenophobic authorial voice should not be overlooked, even though his books might seem ironic.¹⁷

In *Main Street*, Carol’s xenophobia increases. After living for about two years in Gopher Prairie and returning to Minneapolis, Carol no longer recognizes her hometown because it has become crowded with “farmers and Swedish families with innumerable children and grandparents and paper parcels, their foggy crowding and their clamor confused her” (217). The change that Minneapolis has undergone is not only in the population but also in the panoramic view: “the liquor warehouses, Hebraic clothing-shops and lodging-houses on lower Hennepin Avenue were smoky, hideous, ill-tempered.” Foreigners are not explicitly mentioned in the last sentence, but the mention of the “Hebraic clothing-shops” underscores the Jews’ antipathetic impact on the traditionally modest American clothing habits in the 1920s. Kathleen Blee indicates such influence quoting Emma White: “The Jewish-owned fashion industry, White argued, foisted immodest clothing on women through “the powerful edicts of fashion.” In moral standards, White thundered, a Jewish man had “no code to restrain him in his dealings with Gentile women” (Blee, 2009, p. 75).

Similarly, in *The Great Gatsby*, the uncanny Gatsby is a prototype of the Jewish opportunist. A good example is when Gatsby tells Nick [the narrator] about the house he has bought; it turns out that the house was built by a “Native American brewer” who was ready to “pay five years” taxes on all the neighboring cottages if the owners would have their roofs thatched with straw—an imitation of homes built by first settlers. However, their refusal breaks his heart as well as his plan to “Found a Family” (95). As a result, trying to preserve a tradition of centuries, and failing to do so, the brewer

dies, and his children immediately sell the house. Oddly, the brewer's "home" becomes Gatsby's. Thus, it is ironic that Nick refers to the same house as "[Gatsby's] ancestral home" (165). Gatsby's opportunism is also highlighted through his hazy background as well as the fact that he is someone who has no legacy or "past" and yet has "inherited" the house with his money. The fact that Gatsby has no past is an echo of Tom's expression "Mr. nobody from nowhere." Nick also hints at the same fact yet with slightly more delicate words when he says that when Gatsby met Daisy for the first time he was impoverished and "without a past" (159).

Nick Carraway returns to the West with Gatsby's story. He starts this story with a general opinion of Gatsby: "Gatsby who represented everything for which I have an unaffected scorn [...] turned out all right at the end" (4). This statement hints at two elements: the first is Gatsby's behavior that the narrator has despised. He already warns us about Gatsby before reading the story, which proves that he is not an objective narrator. The second implies certain dissatisfaction with Gatsby: "all right at the end" seems to concede that for most of his life Gatsby had not been all right. It is fair to claim that Fitzgerald's voice is heard (sometimes) in Nick's. For instance, in one letter (March 1923) Fitzgerald writes to Thomas Boyd: "All these "marvellous" places like Majorca turn out to have one enormous disadvantage—bugs, lepers, Jews, consumptives, or philistines" (Donaldson, Donaldson, 2012, p. 184).¹⁸ Fitzgerald's racial comments are unmistakable in this quote: "Jews lose clarity. *They get to look like old melted candles, as if their bodies were preparing to waddle*" (*Midstream* 31). Simultaneously, he was ambivalent concerning Jews: "at the same time that he attacked the Jews, Fitzgerald also recognized individuals who contradicted the racial stereotypes and confused his own prejudice" (32).

Fitzgerald does not inadvertently unveil racist attitudes. According to his previously stated opinion concerning Jews, undisguised or shrouded, his racism and xenophobia are obvious in *The Great Gatsby*. The xenophobia against Gatsby is rife with intolerant declarations, indications, and postulations. It starts with rumors about Gatsby, and ends with rumors about him, the so-called crime. However, rumors that are launched by the other characters in the beginning are relentlessly repeated. Moreover, Gatsby's reactions and suspicious behavior—his shady business being a bootlegger (66/115/143), his panic when asked about murdering a man and the mention of such a crime (48/54/66/144), and his changing facial expressions telling Nick his story, seem to ascertain that these rumors have not come out of thin air.

Although Nick apparently represents objectivity as a narrator, he *does* express a racist attitude: in his excursion with Gatsby a limousine passes them. Now the normal picture that he seems to expect is that of a black chauffeur and white passengers. Still, as he confronts the opposite image, i.e. "a white chauffeur" and "three modish Negroes" as passengers, he laughs loudly and justifies his laughter by alleging that "the yolks of their eyeballs rolled [toward Gatsby and Nick] in haughty rivalry" (74). He concludes that "anything can happen now that we've slid over this bridge" and "anything at all [...] Even Gatsby could happen." This, statement indicates Nick's racist feelings toward foreigners. The first comment entails ambiguity as he might refer also (other than the physical bridge they slid over) to America which slid over because the result of such sliding is that Negroes act like masters whereas the white man is the servant: conventional positions (places) are reversed. The second comment concerning Gatsby implicitly suggests an anti-Semitic stance: Nick does not explicitly state why he mentions Gatsby together with the Negroes but it is obvious that he already knows that Gatsby is a Jew.

However, meeting Meyer Wolfshiem, who is obviously Jewish, Nick cannot but describe him in a typical anti-Semitic racist fashion: "A small, flat-nosed Jew raised his large head and regarded me with two fine growths of hair which luxuriated in either nostril. After a moment I discovered his tiny eyes in the half darkness" (75). This portrayal definitely depicts a distorted image: Wolfshiem's eyes are too small and are mentioned after the big nose and the large head. In addition the picture also involves unpleasant, animal-like features: Wolfshiem does not regard Nick with his eyes but rather with the hairs of his nostrils. Nick constantly, obsessively points out Wolfshiem's nose (seven times):

“expressive nose,” “flat-nosed,” “either nostril” (75), “[His] nose flashed at me indignantly” and “His nostrils turned to me in an interested way” (77), “tragic nose” (79), and “the hair in his nostrils” (183). Moreover, Nick emphasizes Wolfshiem’s incorrect pronunciation of English: “gonnegtion,” for “connection” as well as “Oggsford College” (76–8). When Gatsby introduces Wolfshiem to Nick as his friend, and brings up Rosenthal’s name (a projection of Herman Rosenthal murdered by a Jewish gang motivated by a police officer Charles Becker),¹⁹ Nick suspects Gatsby’s claims regarding who he alleges to be.

In the first encounter with Wolfshiem, when Nick asks Gatsby about Wolfshiem, Gatsby answers hesitantly “a gambler” and yet adds “coolly” that he had fixed the World’s Series in 1919 (46). Meyer Wolfshiem is a literary representation of Arnold Rothstein. Rothstein is even mentioned in the 1974 film, *The Godfather II*. Matthew Bruccoli has Fitzgerald describing his method of treating material in a letter to Corey Ford twelve years after *The Great Gatsby*: “in Gatsby I selected the stuff to fit a given mood or “hauntedness” or whatever you might call it [...] always starting from the small focal point that impressed me -my own meeting with Arnold Rothstein, for instance (Bruccoli, 1985, p. 8).

The linkage between this excerpt and *The Great Gatsby* (179) is obvious: Fixing the 1919 World Series—known as the “Black Sox Scandal”—refers to fixing sporting events. It was an infamous event, which dominated American society and the press. The Chicago White Sox were bribed by a mediator (Joseph “Sport” Sullivan, directed by Arnold Rothstein) to deliberately lose the World Series to the Cincinnati Red Legs (Bruccoli, 1985, p. 8). Moreover, recalling the 1912 Rosenthal-Becker murder case, Fitzgerald also attempts to highlight Wolfshiem’s criminality by the human molars he wears as jewelry (Bruccoli, 1985, pp. 8–10). Gatsby tries to tempt Nick into business with him but “because the offer was obviously and tactlessly made for a service to be rendered, [Nick] had no choice except to cut him off there” (Fitzgerald, 2010, p. 89). Nick depicts himself as an honest man who, in spite of his slow-moving business, is not tempted by the money that Gatsby offers. Even after Gatsby’s death, Nick (though mourning Gatsby) cannot hide his irritation when Mr. Gatz, Gatsby’s father, equates his son with James J. Hill (also known as The Empire Builder): a national hero and self-made entrepreneur and a railway-builder from the Midwest (Martin, 1976, pp. 9–10).

In contrast to Nick’s previously mentioned covert racism, Tom’s is overt. He openly talks about the purity of the white race and the obligation to preserve it. Tom’s idea of Americans as the supreme and “dominant” race indicates his racism: he (like Carol) is anxious lest other races might take control. Gatsby is not seen as an equal by Tom so he is therefore not a genuine American. Gatsby has changed his original Jewish, German-sounding name, Gatz, to the more English-sounding Gatsby. Hiding the real person that he is, Gatsby tries to conceal his identity as a Jew. One tangible proof that Gatsby is Jewish is when Tom warns against intermarriages between black and white in Gatsby’s presence, Jordan reacts: “We’re all white here.” This remark alludes to the fact that Gatsby (unlike Wolfshiem, the obvious Jew) is white by color, but still a Jew. Hence, this warning is against the other races rather than their physical color, i.e. Jewish race. Daisy is a dream to Gatsby and this dream stands for the unbridgeable gap between Daisy and Gatsby. The dream is not realized—not for financial reasons but for something more serious: Gatsby’s being Jewish.

Nick’s comment: “A new world, material without being real, where poor ghosts, breathing dreams like air, drifted fortuitously about” (172) is ambiguous: he seems to reprimand materialists (such as Gatsby who, in this case, is a dreamer) who will end by losing themselves. He also might be admonishing America of the new age (symbolized in people like Daisy), a country that will eventually end up losing itself, and its inheritance if it submits to materialism (new money). Old money is often thought to be more moral than new money: Tom assumes that Gatsby is a big bootlegger: “A lot of these newly rich people are just big bootleggers.”

In similar fashion, in *The Professor’s House*, Godfrey blames his son-in-law, Louie the Jew, for the family’s breakdown. He cannot stand Louie. The narrator’s prejudice toward the Jew is evident: “There was nothing Semitic about his countenance except his nose -that took the lead” (23). Such a

phrase is proof of the narrator's racism: no matter how similar the Jew may be to the Gentiles, his nose exposes him for what he is—a Jew—and thus he will remain forever a foreigner. Although Cather presents Marsellus as someone who is amiable she also conveys him as someone who has destroyed the family, which suggests that no matter how nice the “immigrants” are, their damage is irreparable. The professor resents his wife's “adoption” of Louie. He believes that a foreigner should not be considered a member of the family. This is another reason for isolating himself from the family. He feels that Louie has taken his place: “He would have said that she would feel about Louie just as he did; would have cultivated him as a stranger in the town, because he was so unusual and exotic, but without in the least wishing to adopt anyone so foreign into the family circle” (45). Tom's and Godfrey's attitudes toward intermarriage echo that of Madison Grant's, a lawyer and eugenicist who, in 1916, stated that:

The man of the old stock is being crowded out of many country districts by these foreigners, just as he is today being literally driven off the streets of New York City by the swarms of Polish Jews. These immigrants adopt the language of the native-born American; they wear his clothes; they steal his name; and they are beginning to take his women, but they seldom adopt his religion or understand his ideals, and while he is being elbowed out of his own home the American looks calmly abroad and urges on others the suicidal ethics which are exterminating his own race (Grant, 1916, p. 85).

This excerpt is not so different from Cather's attitude toward immigrants/foreigners.²⁰

Imagine a young man or woman, born in New York city, educated at New York university, violently inoculated with Freud, hurried into journalism, knowing no more about country people (or country folks anywhere) than he has caught from motor trips or observed from summer hotels: what is there for him in *The Country of the Pointed Firs*. This hypothetical young man is perhaps of foreign descent: German, Jewish, Scandinavian. To him, English is merely a means of making himself understood (Nelson, 1988, p. 102).

For many people, the word “Jew” has a negative connotation, but Kathleen insists that everybody uses the word, and that she is no exception. She deliberately overlooks the fact that Louie is part of the family, and thus categorizes herself with all the other Gentiles who call Louie a Jew. She draws a line between Louie and herself, calling him a Jew and herself a Gentile: this alludes to the ancient hostility and enmity between Christianity and Judaism: “Even if I have [called him a Jew], why should [Rosamond] be so revengeful? Does she think nobody else calls him a Jew? Does she think it's a secret? I don't mind being called a Gentile” (49). Likewise, the professor refuses to admit Louie into his country club. He declines his wife's request and maintains that “it's not safe yet” and that “he's not been here long enough” (46). He says that the members of the club are fussy and will not let Louie in.

In the following section, foreigners are depicted as boosters of capitalism. Significant themes related to this part will also be discussed. One example is science and man's enslavement to machines and how man subsequently becomes as automatic as a machine, an automaton, lacking any true emotions, in particular love.

6. Religion, capitalism, and mechanization

While it literally pauperized Europe, WWI hardly affected America economically: postwar America only prospered the more (Coolidge Prosperity). This prosperity affected America in its religious beliefs, morals and values, and everyday life. Business boomed, and the churches realized the threat of business to them; hence they found a way to sustain themselves by using the bible to “point the lessons of business” (Allen, 1997, p. 136). Protestant churches were divided into two parties: Fundamentalists who believed only in the letter of the bible vis-à-vis Modernists or Liberals who sought to reconcile the bible with scientific skepticism. Prosperity also led to faddiness. The new America of the 1920s was faddy virtually in all aspects: the first radio, the Mah Jong craze, crossword puzzle mania, sports, clubs, food, and tabloids. The moral code of the country was endangered as the younger generation revolted against taboos and traditional constraints: the structure of the

conventional tight-knit American family and home collapsed, the marriage establishment was dissolving as girls and boys buckled under the lures of sex. Women's new fashion skirts fell short of modesty; the wild wailing saxophone replaced the sensible violin and induced new wild dancing styles: fox-trotters moved in a "syncopated embrace" (68).

Frederick Allen claims that the stimuli for this revolution were totally American, and resided first and foremost in the business boom embodied by the mass production of the automobile (which provided easy ways to avoid parental oversight), the emergence of movies (displaying provocative, unorthodox behaviors), the confessional and sex magazines (arousing lust and temptation), and prohibition. The unintended but very real effect of America's sudden prosperity was to produce or stimulate bootleggers, speakeasys, crime, Al Capone, racketeering, and flappers. Living without values led many people to feel empty and disillusioned (72). A quasi-counter-revolt to the loss of morals took place: that of the highbrows. Growing up into a Godless, valueless, meaningless world they realized the imperative need for change. Highbrows such as Dreiser, Cather, and Lewis were highly outspoken romanticizing the past, lamenting a lost civilization, and advocating a renewed moral awareness. They fought materialism, mass production²¹ and pointless consumption (173).

The Second Industrial Revolution led to the mechanization of industries, mass production, as well as economic boom and hence necessitated labor force. As a result, African-Americans in addition to recent immigrants moved to the big cities. They were accused of creating the urbanization problem and consequently were confronted with racial and xenophobic attitudes including segregation by the native-born American citizens. For many years, immigrants, especially the Germans and the Irish, were blamed for changing the demographics of the American cities, and their rapid expansion provoked urban problems inflaming anti-immigrant sentiments (Hawgood, 1940, p. 238).²² Furthermore, the old-timers considered the new city-dwellers as intruders who intimidated their daily bread and wages and hence their homes: "Increased numbers of foreign born [...] threatened the economic position of many native-born workers" (Goldin, 1994, p. 225). Although these foreign-born workers were a bonanza for entrepreneurs, they were regarded a menace to the native-born workers: "Immigrants [were] welcomed by employers because they reduce[d] the unit cost of labor (that is, lower wages)" therefore they "[were] resented by resident workers as unfair competitors willing to accept lower wages [...] they may not only lower wages but also displace natives" (Zolberg, 2006, p. 15).

The second supposed reason for the collapse of the American home is the combination of capitalism and materialism. Immigrants were loathed for creating a competitive labor force in the workplace. Lerman and Maxwell state that the main motive for immigration is based mostly on a materialist desire: "Regardless of their home country, immigrants to the United States often arrive in search of personal freedom and a share of the riches of this country" (Lerman & Maxwell, 2006, p. 479). According to Nathan Rosenberg, more than native-born workers, immigrants used to save money for the purpose of transferring it to their country of origin. They were also known for opening small businesses and purchasing homes (Rosenberg, 1972, pp. 32–3).

This connection between capitalism and immigrants in general is also discussed by Werner Sombart, who sees a direct relationship between capitalism and mobility, that is, immigration. He explains: "Before long the possession of money becomes [the foreigner's] one aim and ambition [...] But how can he amass money? Surely by enterprise [...] his unbridled acquisitiveness will turn him into a restless capitalist undertaker? (Sombart Sombart, 2009, p. 320).²³ John Hobson further contends that shaping "the central ganglion of international capitalism" is mastered "chiefly by men of a single and peculiar race [Jews], who have behind them centuries of financial experience" (Hobson, 2010, p. 64). Tamar Wilson (2011), referring to foreigners, claims that: "The recurrent migration of parts of this global reserve army of labor, internally or transnationally, provides a variety of subsidies to capitalist enterprise" (1). Mark Wyman underlines the influence that interim immigrants have had on America: they immigrated to advance and eventually return to their homeland (Wyman, 1996, pp. 52–88). Marc Schneiberg (2011) emphasizes the impact immigrants from Germany and the

Nordic countries had on America in the late nineteenth century as they brought with them “experiences with cooperatives and templates for collective enterprises that proved easiest to organize — and sustain—among communities and groups where stability, homogeneity, and existing associations fostered enduring networks and a wealth of social capital” (1420). Some critics even go beyond this general statement and attribute the materialism of foreigners, especially Jews, to religious difference. For example, Lerman and Maxwell distinguish between Jewish and Christian consumers ascribing the different level in materialism to culture and religion (Lerman & Maxwell, 2006, pp. 479–490). Moreover, Cosimo Perrotta claims that Jewish and Christian cultures have fundamentally different beliefs concerning wealth and money. Whereas the Christian culture held material wealth in low regard, the Jewish culture treasured it (Perrotta, 2004, pp. 43–4). Probably these authors have inspired their claims from Deuteronomy 23:20²⁴ or from Karl Marx’ (2015) *Book A World without Jews* whereby he states the following: “What is the object of the Jew’s worship in this world? Usury. What is his worldly God? Money. Very well then: emancipation from usury and money” (10).

Contrary to the popular image of the indigent immigrant, Jews and Asian immigrants have paved their way to prosperity: “[T]he data on Asian immigrant start-up capital does not support the stereotype of the poor immigrant starting a business on a shoestring” (Bogan & Darity, 2008). In addition, the role of immigrants in forming the capitalist system is underscored by these authors: “An urban, middle class background characterizes many immigrant groups, and class resources of the middle class have been critical for the business enterprises of [the Jews and overseas Chinese].” This capitalist system is ruthless and inhumane. In *An American Tragedy* Clyde loses his innocence and Roberta her life. In *The Professor’s House* Godfrey St. Peter loses Tom Outland’s²⁵ patent intended only to benefit mankind becomes a source of profit to Louie the Jew who turns it into a source of pure financial gain.

The theme of the mechanization of humans and not only factories emerges in the early twentieth century as the epoch is characterized by industrialization, mass consumption, and mass media. Charlie Chaplin, like Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997, pp. 134–145), conveys the reality of mechanization negatively in his 1936 film *Modern Times*. The primary scene of this movie is laid in a mechanized factory, where Chaplin works for long exhausting hours and eventually, physically, turns into a cog in the machine he operates. Furthermore, mass production symbolized by the factory and the repetitive motion of the machines involves loss of identity and, equally, loss of subjectivity. The scene in which individuals are driven as a herd perfectly illustrates this notion. There is no place for rebellion in this matrix, and those who do, such as the protagonists in *Babbitt*, and *An American Tragedy* are victimized and dispelled.

In the novels, dehumanization is a significant consequence of mechanization. Therefore, tensions between old-money and new-money surface in many forms including violence, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Nonetheless, dehumanization does not only relate to the relationship between immigrants and native-born Americans but also among old-timers as we shall see. The man-machine theme is prevalent in *An American Tragedy*. This novel starts and ends not with machines but with walls—symbolizing rigidity, hindrance, and ruthlessness. The first phrase in the novel, “the tall walls of the commercial heart,” will be echoed in the last one: “But now these hard, white-painted walls” (525), as both start and end with “walls,” and “commercial heart” which sounds rather like “hard.” Moreover, “iron” is used to signify power and wealth on the one hand and, on the other, it allegorizes rigidity and death. Objects made of iron impress Clyde: they indicate status and influence in the world of money and social position. An example of this can be seen when Clyde goes to visit the lavish houses in Lycurgus: “rich, luxurious even. So many imposing wrought-iron fences” (122). However, as the novel proceeds, the word “iron” acquires a different, more forbidding connotation when Clyde is imprisoned: mercilessness. The “iron trays in the various cells” (526).²⁶

In a similar vein, *Babbitt* begins with an illustration of the brutal materialist face of the city of Zenith, exemplified by “austere” and “sturdy” “towers” made of steel and cement (3). The words

“steel” and “cement” are repeatedly mentioned to indicate the unrelenting almighty power of materialism. In contrast to the older “stingy” and “fretted” houses of earlier generations, the new houses are shiny and new and seem like homes for “laughter and tranquility” (but they are not). The world of business is also depicted as callous: people work to bring about the ruin of others. Babbitt’s best friend, Paul Riesling, realizes this and abhors it: “All we do is cut each other’s throats and make the public pay for it!” (57). Paul emphasizes that man is enslaved by business, the world in which his youthful dreams—and Babbitt’s—were never realized: “No. We’ve never done anything the way we thought we would” (133). Notably, only when Babbitt becomes sick (and thus realizes his humanity) does he discover the mechanical aspect of his life: he has time to think and now he finds out that his life as he knew it was mechanical, i.e. without feelings: “mechanical business,” “mechanical religion,” “mechanical golf and dinner parties,” and “mechanical friendships” (204).

The examples about steel and iron highlight the fact that between the years 1920–1929 steel production in the United States rose by 34 percent (Rogers, 2009, p. 53). This production had generated “a machine mind,” whose initial resistance is, Robert Rogers concludes, replaced by “satisfaction in purely mechanical qualities, in geometrically regular form, in smooth finish, in perfective repetition” (183–6). According to Joel Mokyr, steel was one prominent characteristic of the Second Industrial Revolution. Following Henry Bessemer’s invention, the Bessemer process in 1856, producing steel became cheaper.²⁷ This was followed by a rapid growth in the steel industry which signified the technology of that era (3). The results of such a mechanized country harmonize with Austin Freeman’s statement that “The extinction of craftsmanship and its replacement by machine production” has to a great extent affected general culture where “habitual contemplation of ugliness produces, first tolerance and finally complete acceptance” (Freeman, 1921, p. 183). Paradoxically, in his article “Art” Walter Pach declares that the “steel bridges, the steel buildings, the newly designed machines and utensils of all kinds, show an adaptation to function that is recognized as one of the great elements of art” (Stearns, 1922, p. 241).

Dreiser’s concern with materialism exceeds the above-mentioned depiction: the contrast of the city vis-à-vis a small group of people is overwhelming. “Tall walls” and a “commercial heart” animate and engross the city whereas Clyde’s family, the “band of six [members],” is marginalized and squeezed by the words “little,” “unimportant,” “small,” “short,” and “plain.” Moreover, the colossus of commercialism is pitted against religion—now seen as a dwarf: “a Bible and several hymn books.” The status of religion in this novel echoes the religion referred to in Frederick Allen’s *Only Yesterday*: shaken, eroded, and superseded by skepticism which is reflected in the novel: “As they sang, this nondescript and indifferent street audience gazed, held by the peculiarity of such an unimportant-looking family publicly raising its collective voice against the vast skepticism and apathy of life” (Dreiser, 2004, p. 3). Clyde’s family roams the streets and makes religion its business. Clyde’s religious family exemplifies what some churches/religious people did in the 1920s: accommodating the new revolt against morals and religion and reconciling religion with business: “and now at last they were making a business of it” (8). In 1928 Stuart Chase connects making profit from religion to the “changing ethics” of Americans:

Finally we have to record what is perhaps the most curious and the most significant item in the whole phenomenon of changing ethics, the ever growing number of barrels of holy water with which business is being sprinkled—nay drenched. Commerce is taking upon itself all the sanctions of the church, and so slowly [...] To the older ethics this alliance between business and religion appears as cant and hypocrisy, but to the new it is accepted as sound and self-evident doctrine (Chase, 1936, pp. 403–405).

Meshing religion with business which becomes the trend of 1920s America: the clergy—both Protestant and Fundamentalist—adopts the latest marketing techniques in order to boost their own spiritual message:

By the 1920s, modern influences had infiltrated virtually every aspect of American society and culture, and religion was no exception. Modern Religion promoted by the Reverend

Harry Emerson Fosdick and other liberal Protestant clergy, rejected literal interpretations of the Bible and embraced the notion that Christianity could co-exist with science [...] new diversions tempted many members of their congregations to skip church in order to go to the movies, play golf, or take a Sunday drive. The Fundamentalist movement produced several famous ministers who, ironically, spread the gospel using modern show business techniques (Drowne & Huber, 2004, p. 20).

Along these lines, in *Babbitt* religion is promoted as though it were a business, and believers are regarded as consumers. Babbitt advises Eathorne to “[drum] up customers or -members” and to recruit “a real paid press-agent for the Sunday School-some newspaper fellow” (188). Using attractive headlines and up-to-date news Babbitt commercializes religion. For example, the Biblical story of Jacob is turned into an adventure: “Jake Fools the Old Man; Makes Getaway with Girl and Bankroll” (189). Such religious hypocrisy and corruption are demonstrated also by Eathorne, the president of the First State Bank of Zenith, himself: he seeks Babbitt’s advice for “Sunday School” and in turn grants the latter a loan and insures it (illegally): it “did not appear on the books of the bank” (206). Likewise, in *Main Street*, the comparison of metallic mechanical components with the sacred objects used in church proves this: “To [Will] motoring was a faith not to be questioned, a high-church cult with electric sparks for candles, and piston-rings possessing the sanctity of altar-vessels; his liturgy was composed of intoned and metrical road-comments” (202). Like Will and Babbitt, Lewis and his wife were fond of motors. According to Mark Schorer “The general fuss that the Lewises made over their Ford was silly” (237).²⁸

The new position of science has a profound influence on people’s ways of thinking. Science as the new God of Americans in an era of mass production and materialism is in the ascendant. Many people seem to believe everything that is thought to be scientific. Tom’s belief in eugenics is only an example: “We’re Nordics. I am, and you are and you are and—” (Fitzgerald 16). This affiliation with the Nordics seems to foreshadow the Nazi doctrine: Nordicism is a philosophy that considers the Nordic race as part of the Caucasian race and thus it composes a supreme race (Gregor, 1961, pp. 352–360). According to James Gregor, such ideology “involves the belief that men of the “Nordic Race” -tall, slender, fair-skinned, blond, blue-eyed, narrow-faced, narrow-nosed, long-headed individuals [...] are the creators of civilization, and their passing marks are the passing of civilization” (1).

A major concern that permeates the novels is the antagonism between religions: Christianity versus Judaism and Protestantism versus Catholicism. This antagonism enhances xenophobia and racism. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a large increase in the number of Catholic immigrants into the United States, and the Catholic Church was a concrete symbol of these newcomers. Many of the Protestant old-timers resented the Catholics, fearing that they would outstrip their religion and identity. In *Main Street* Mrs. Warren points out that she and her husband oppose Catholicism (137). The citizens of Gopher Prairie attend the Baptist Church: aunt Bessie tells Carol that she should go to church with her (73). Aunt Bessie also states that the good influence of religion is that it keeps “the lower classes in order.”

An illustration of religious hypocrisy is that Babbitt believes that the ideal American is one who belongs to a church as well as a club such as the “Boosters.” This ideal man entertains the “Smoker of the Men’s Club of the Chatham Road Presbyterian Church with Irish, Jewish, and Chinese dialect stories” (166). Babbitt’s God and religion in the twenties is the “God of Progress” and the God of Modern Appliances: the God of Materialism. Babbitt admires the mechanical devices (the electric lighter is one example) because they are “symbols of truth” (61).

Apparently, such instances might refer to the author’s deep anxieties about materialism and mass industry. Some might even believe that by introducing Babbitt as a materialist booster Lewis is criticizing boosterism. However, in his book *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life*, Mark Schorer presents many examples that demonstrate Lewis’s materialism. One of them is that in an 1908 editorial titled the “Needful Knocker” Lewis himself seems to idealize boosterism presenting it as the opposite of knocking: “The booster’s enthusiasm is the motive force which builds up our American cities.

Granted. But the hated knocker's jibes are the check necessary to guide that force. In summary then, we do not wish to knock the booster, but we certainly do wish to boost the knocker" (142).²⁹ For all that, this quotation and others rebut what some critics claim about Lewis' denunciation of boosterism.³⁰ Still, in general, Lewis might have deep concerns about materialism, and in particular, for the reason that he had undergone a financial crisis: it took a long time before his work paid off.

Whatever implications boosterism might suggest, it cannot be acquitted of being merciless. The idea of delineating business as an agency of mercilessness and exploitation (i.e. boosterism) is uttered by Karl Marx' "Capital I": "The expropriation of the immediate producers is accomplished with merciless vandalism [...] capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others (1986, p. 209). In *An American Tragedy* such mercilessness exists even when the kinship of the employer-employee is that of blood. Gilbert appoints Clyde as the head of a department in the factory. Simultaneously, he warns Clyde against "playing" because the people who work for the company must "feel that they are employees first, last and all the time" (159). This note emphasizes the callousness of business and the hardheartedness of materialism: there is no place for softness or for romance. Gilbert, who despises Clyde, reminds the latter that he is a family member "by blood" and therefore he should represent them in the best way. This remark lacks the feelings of love and passion which characterize families and stresses the only uncontrollable bond and the racial lineage that connects Clyde to the family: the blood relationship (161).

Despite Gilbert's warning, Clyde does not keep his promise, at least, not for long. Entering the golden social gate, Clyde thrives in Sondra³¹ Finchley's "magical" world, impressed by the "plethora" of such a world and the luxury it may offer if he marries her: "One would have a cook and servants, a great house and car, no one to work for, and only orders to give" (248). Nevertheless, during all this, Roberta finds herself pregnant. She succumbs to shame and disgrace: an illegitimate child (252). Clyde is horrified by such news because now he is to lose everything: Sondra's love comes with expensive presents such as the "gold pencil" (254) which stands in sharp contrast to Roberta's obviously cheaper "metal Eversharp pencil" (231), and the distinction points to the social and material conditions of both women. Certainly, it is yet another incentive for Clyde's would-be merciless act.

The business policy endorsed by Griffiths confirms Dreiser's belief in the theory of "the survival of the fittest," which he adopted from Herbert Spencer's *First Principles* (1896) and *The Data of Ethics* (1879), (Newlin, 2003, p. 131). In *Theodore Dreiser: A Primary Bibliography and Reference Guide*, Donald Pizer, Richard Dowell, and Frederic Rusch indicate that one "permanent [center] of Dreiser criticism was his naturalism" and hence they define Dreiser's Naturalism as "Darwinian materialistic determinism in theme and crude massiveness in technique" (Pizer et al., 1991, p. 93). Clyde, too, is subjected to this theory: because he is financially weak, he is doomed in the jungle of the business world. The policy of hiring new employees is explained to Clyde by Liggett:

Also one might freely take on as many girls as were needed to meet any such situation, and then, once the rush was over, as freely drop them—unless, occasionally, a very speedy worker was found among the novices. In that case it was always advisable to try to retain such a person, either by displacing a less satisfactory person or transferring someone from some other department, to make room for new blood and new energy (Dreiser, 2004, p. 164).

Thus, human life becomes worthless compared to the omnipotence of materialism. Likewise, in *Main Street* there are multiple instances of Kennicott's preferring money to his patients' welfare.³² However, the seemingly critical Carol is not so very different from the doctor: she is fond of things, beautiful, elegant things. She is far more extravagant than her husband (74). In fact, she even thinks of having "a stated amount - be business-like. System" (76). The fragmentation of the previous sentence into two emphasizes the rigidity as well as the disharmony of such a materialist system which turns marriage into a mechanical and emotionless entity. George Duhamel, a French author,

describes his visit to America in 1928 during which he underscores the negative change it has undergone because of modernity masked by industrial civilization:

As yet no nation has thrown itself into the excesses of industrial civilization more deliberately than America. If you were to picture the stages of that civilization as a series of experiments made by some malign genie on laboratory animals, North America would immediately appear to you as the most scientifically poisoned of them all (Duhamel, 1931, p. xiii).

This industrial civilization is fueled, principally, by capitalistic thought, which becomes a collective one: in *Main Street* Gopher Prairie has a kind of a gentlemen's agreement when it comes to business: a mutually beneficial convention. Since Dr. Kennicott makes his money in the town, he is expected to spend it in the town. Although the doctor claims that Jenson is "tricky" and Ludelmeyer is a "shiftless old Dutch hog," he would like Carol to "keep the trade in the family" (103).

Mass production of automobiles has also contributed to demeaning American values: "the reckless way Dr. Gould always drove his auto, the reckless way almost all these people drove their autos" (265). Paul Gagnon connects Ford's cars, the symbol of modernity, with the dissolution of American values and marriage: "Did not Fordism mean mass production [...] Were his cars not the universal symbols of prosperity? Were they not helping to change the behavior, including the patterns of courtship and marriage, of an entire generation?" (Gagnon, 1962, p. 439). Unquestionably, modernity has invaded even small towns such as Gopher Prairie: Carol's small town thinks not in "hoss-swapping but in cheap motor cars, telephones, ready-made clothes, silos, alfalfa, Kodaks, phonographs, leather-upholstered Morris chairs, bridge-prizes, oil-stocks, motion-pictures, land-deals, unread sets of Mark Twain, and a chaste version of national politics" (273). This list—note the unread sets of Mark Twain—confirms that as mass production spreads, once-cherished values decrease. Day demonstrates how values and morals have retreated, becoming money-branded by the assistance of immigrants:

How strange it sounds in such an age when there are such tremendous exigencies in the varied estate of mankind demanding money—money to furnish men, money to change the face of nature, money to apply healthful, natural, and moral laws, money to inspire self-respect and courage, money to supply our nation, appallingly increasing in immigrated ignorance, with educated citizens. How passing strange in such a land and age for an intelligent man to become alarmed at permanent gifts of five billions in fourteen years to all of these causes (Day, 1907, p. 253).

Such love of material goods is also obvious in *The Great Gatsby*. Gatsby tries to seduce the already-wealthy Daisy by demonstrating his own obvious wealth: first by showing off his house; then, by throwing "rich" shirts before her: "shirts of sheer linen and thick silk and fine flannel [...] shirts with stripes and scrolls and plaids" (99). He obviously succeeds in making an impression: she cries "stormily" acknowledging that she has never seen "such—such beautiful shirts before." This incident does not imply Daisy's affection to Gatsby, but rather, it reveals her materialism, and his. This fact is demonstrated by Nick's later notice concerning the obvious change in Daisy's voice, about which Gatsby enlightens Nick that it is "full of money" (129). Nick admits that Gatsby is right: "That was it. I'd never understood before. It was full of money—that was the inexhaustible charm that rose and fell in it, the jingle of it, the cymbals' song of it [...] High in a white palace the king's daughter, the golden girl." Daisy's voice sounds like money and Nick's observation goes beyond the sound of her voice until all of Daisy becomes golden. This "transformation" of a person turning into a rich, metallic substance points to materialism per se. It enfolds one until it cancels one's being: it is the gold which talks, laughs, behaves; not one of the human sentiments prevails—no heart, no love, and no real emotions. In the same fashion, the narrator's xenophobia is obvious in this situation whereby Gatsby is presented as a home wrecker and someone who promotes materialism. That is, he uses material in order to attract a married woman.

It is quite clear that American culture is subservient to materialism and that money has become more vital than values: in *Main Street* Gopher Prairie is a perfect example of such materialism rampant in American villages and cities. Instead of “love” and “courage” the main interest of Gopher Prairie “functions admirably in the large production of cheap automobiles, dollar watches, and safety razors.” Moreover, values such as “the grand manner,” “the noble aspiration,” and “the fine aristocratic pride,” have now been superseded by “cheap labor for the kitchen and rapid increase in the price of land” (276).

In conclusion, this paper brings literary representations of racism and xenophobia in dialog with sociological, economic, and cultural discourses as well as struggles that took place in history, and which were registered as historical facts. Another accomplishment of this work lies in its integrated study of fiction and history. Principally, it explores the reciprocal interaction between different discourses—literary and sociological—in order to situate literature in a dense historical context. The importance of the historical moment resides in the fact that after World War I, and especially during the 1920s, the government passed more biased and severe measures because more immigrants meant more impoverishment to old-stock Americans, and, this culminated in increasing hostilities between old-stock Americans and immigrants.

We notice that signs of xenophobia encapsulated in the rejection of foreigners escalated in the country after the third wave of immigration (1880s until 1920s). However, in the 1920s, the situation deteriorated due to the fact that the old-stock American identity underwent a crisis as that period was characterized by episodes of dramatic changes in the texture of the American society. In the article, we have demonstrated how and why foreigners are illustrated as elements of destruction and moral threat to native-born Americans. The former seduce the latter into dishonest conduct as happens with Babbitt, Clyde, and Carol; or they pave the way to immorality, as is the case with Gatsby and Marsellus. They also pose a threat to the wealth of the native-born Americans. Sometimes they are seen to advance rapidly for different reasons: illegal business (Wolfshiem); their different culture characterized by recklessness allowing girls to work (Bea); or enhancing capitalism by generating an urban, industrial America (Miles Bjornstam, Wolfshiem, and Mersellus). To add, they endanger the existence and identity of the native-born Americans by intermarriages.

We notice that African-Americans are rarely mentioned in the novels, the focus nonetheless is on immigrants or other foreigners. The only possible explanation is that African-Americans were brought to America by the first settlers. However, immigrants or foreigners arrived uninvited in colossal numbers and thus provoked new anxieties.

Although there are evident examples from different sources, political and historical, that support my initial allegation as to the anxiety conveyed in all the novels discussed in this paper that foreigners have a dominant role in boosting the capitalistic system in America, there is also proof that Americans themselves are boosters of capitalism. However, criticism is more biting when the foreigner is involved because it is always easier to blame the other than oneself. Let’s not forget that racism and xenophobia do not end here. These issues are still controversial when it comes to America. Even today, it is easy to find incidents of intolerance in literature or in the media.

Funding

The authors received no direct funding for this research.

Author details

Wisam Chaleila¹

E-mail: wchaleil@campus.haifa.ac.il

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9061-9995>

¹ Department of Literature, University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel.

Citation information

Cite this article as: Between a rock and a hard place: Racist, xenophobic, and materialist 1920s America struggling for home and identity, Wisam Chaleila, *Cogent Arts & Humanities* (2016), 3: 1191123.

Notes

1. Arnold Rothstein was not arrested for fixing the 1919 World Series yet murdered in 1928 for another crime: not paying a debt connected to a Poker game (see Johnson, 2011, p. 232).
2. Oedipus sleeps with his mother, therefore he blinds himself, a metaphor for castrating himself. This eye-castration complex is a natural unconscious (familiar/unfamiliar) anxiety children undergo in their early years. The contradiction, and at the same time, the reconciliation between the familiar/unfamiliar is explained through the preconscious, which is connected to unconscious thoughts at a particular moment but which are available for recollection and easily “capable of becoming conscious.” (see Thompson et al., 1955, pp. 113–115, 431).

3. "We must be refined before our offerings are acceptable to the Lord." Malachi 3:2–4 (New International Version, 2013a). In addition, niceness, belongs to people who "live [...] in all godliness and holiness." 2 Timothy 2:2 (New International Version, 2013b).
4. "Dutch towns" actually refers to German towns—as German in German itself is called "Deutsch." The Americans confused it with "Dutch" (i.e. from Holland), and so when they call someone "Dutch" they actually mean that these persons are Germans or German-descended.
5. This masked racism also touches upon the class aspect. That is, the struggle between classes.
6. See *The Nazi Hydra in America: Suppressed History of a Century* (Yeadon & John, 2008). From 1921–1938, more than half of the American States embraced Laughlin's law, with Virginia, California, and Michigan heading up.
7. "The main intention behind enforcing the 1924 Immigration Act was to protect the principle of American homogeneity. The Act was revised by Congress in 1952." See "US Department of State (2013)," Office of the Historian.
8. We wonder here who is more racist, Babbitt or his wife.
9. The collective norms and behaviors allude to collective identity created within a structure, a place, whose imaginary boundaries are created by a certain group who complies with these norms: a set, a circle, or a clan. Therefore, foreigners (anomalous data/intruders) are thought to be the first cause for the decline of the American home because they shake its foundations.
10. He was appointed Bishop of the Methodist-Episcopal Church (1904) and was Chancellor of Syracuse University 1894–1922.
11. Note Day's remark "Our working-men." It is as if he were referring to Babbitt's new sympathetic attitude toward foreigners.
12. Note that lynching was a favorite practice used by the resurrected KKK and the posse. According to Gonzales-Day Ken, lynching was practiced from 1850 in America targeting mainly blacks, but later it also targeted "whites," mostly new comers. (Ken, 2006, p. 9). For more details, see *Lynching in the West, 1850–1935*.
13. The Wooden Horse (Trojan Horse) here stands for the stratagem executed by the Greeks led by Odysseus to defeat Troy.
14. According to Cannistraro, the most prominent group of pro-fascists is also called prominenti, or prominent ones. They channeled fascist images into their communities through their control of the media (Cannistraro, 2005, p. 2).
15. *Potash and Perlmutter* is a play staged on Broadway in 1913 by Charles Klein and Montague Glass. See also Patricia Erens's *The Jew in American Cinema*.
16. The desire for reviving temperance was renewed during the Second Industrial Revolution, particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century.
17. See Lewis' previously mentioned statement against Germans.
18. In this occasion, Fitzgerald censured Jews, the Italians, and the French for allegedly destroying a Spanish resort.
19. "Say Slayers Didn't Resemble Gunmen (1912); Defense Rests After Calling Some of Those Who Saw the Murder of Rosenthal." *New York Times*.
20. Cather writes an essay on Sara Jewett where she criticizes foreigners and Jews as well as their descendants who, even though born in America and are fluent English speakers, are in her view outsiders because they do not understand the American culture, its people, or its soul.
21. I refer here to mass production triggered by the Second Industrial Revolution 1880–1914 and following the process of electrification (see Mokyr's et al., 1998).
22. See also pages 364–385 in Oliver MacDonagh's "Irish Emigration to the United States of America and the British Colonies during the Famine." *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History, 1845–52*.
23. Werner Sombart was a German sociologist and professor in Berlin. This passage first appeared in a book *The Quintessence of Capitalism, (A Study of the History and Psychology of the Modern Businessman*, published in 1915 in New York by E.P. Dutton & Co., translated from the German *Der Bourgeois*, München und Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1913). Sombart accuses foreigners, especially Jews of building the capitalist system. Sombart's attitude as a European looking at the US underscores the "Jewish issue" from a European point of view. He judges the US negatively because of its capitalism, which he sees tied to mobility, and to the influence of the Jews, who during the second half of the nineteenth century had immigrated in great numbers to the US.
24. "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it."
25. Godfrey's former student and almost to become his son-in-law.
26. For examples of the same sort see pages 130, 147, 206, 385, 426, 515, 533, 559 in *An American Tragedy*.
27. Bessemer created steel by "driving the impurities out of pig iron" (*The White Book of Steel* 16, 2015). More about the "Bessemer Process" see James Swank's *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages: And Particularly in the United States from Colonial Time to 1891*, see Swank, (2011, p. 395).
28. Also see page 259 about Lewis's fascination of automobiling in Schorer's *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life*. (1963).
29. More examples that demonstrate Lewis' materialism by Mark Schorer are: "[Lewis] was determined to become a successful commercial writer" (184); and "signed the letter to his father, but typing 'The Stokes Co.' beneath that signature as if to remind the old doctor that he was indeed 'a business man'" (188); and "He also wanted to make money" (197); and one letter in which he wrote "I got a check for \$40.00 from Terhune on that account!!" (217). Regarding his xenophobia: "the uneasy attitude toward Europe vis-à-vis the United States; the antibourgeois fulminations coming from a deepest self that was profoundly bourgeois" (178).
30. See James Hutchisson (1996, p. 48), Kidder and Oppenheim (2007, p. 181), and Green and Karolidas (2009, p. 324). The clashing opinions regarding Lewis' attitude toward boosterism and other issues can be elucidated by Sheldon Grebstein's emphasis on Lewis' ambivalence, "an ambivalence toward his material and his craft which derived from an ambivalence within himself" (Grebstein, 1962, p. 2). In addition he claims that "Lewis was controversial because his books were ambivalent and conveyed 'ambivalent love and hatred of the land and people'" (19).
31. A *nouveaux riche* family.
32. See pages 62–66 in *Main Street*.

References

- Adams, E. M. (1997). *A society fit for human beings* (pp. 127–129). New York, NY: State University of New York.
- Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. (1997). *The culture industry: Enlightenment as mass deception. Dialectic of enlightenment 1944* (pp. 134–145). New York, NY: Verso.

- Allen, F. (1997). *Only yesterday: An informal history of the 1920's*. 1931. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons. Retrieved 2016, April 11, from American Immigration Timeline: https://artsedge.kennedy-center.org/~media/ArtsEdge/LessonPrintables/grade-3-4/immigrating_to_america_timeline.ashx
- Aron, C. (Ed.). (1990). Introduction. *The long day: The story of a new york working girl*. 1905 (pp. xiii–xiv). Charlottesville: University of Virginia.
- Blee, K. (2009). *Women of the Klan: Racism and gender in the 1920s* (p. 75). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bogan, V., & Darity Jr, W. (2008). Culture and entrepreneurship? African American and immigrant self-employment in the United States. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 37, 1999–2019. Retrieved 2013, April 4, from <http://bogan.dyson.cornell.edu/doc/research/jseweb.pdf> <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2007.10.010>
- Bold, M. (2015, March 5). It's time for California to compensate its forced-sterilization victims. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved 2016, April 11, from <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0306-bold-forced-sterilization-compensation-20150306-story.html>
- Brown, E. K., & Edel, L. (1953). *Willa Cather: A critical biography* (p. 112). New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf. Retrieved 2011, July 10, from <http://goo.gl/7ssMoc>
- Brucoli, M. (1985). *New essays on the great gatsby* (pp. 8–10). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Burnet, T. (Ed.). (2005). *Conspiracy encyclopedia* (p. 249). Essex, UK: Chamberlain Brothers.
- Búzás, Z. (2013). The color of threat: Race, threat perception, and the demise of the Anglo-Japanese alliance (1902–1923). *Security Studies* (p. 20). Retrieved 2013, August 11 from <http://goo.gl/VSDlcS>
- Cannistraro, P. (2005). The Duce and the prominenti: Fascism and the crisis of Italian American Leadership. *Calandra Institute, Queens College/CUNY* (Vol. 2, p. 77). Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli. Retrieved 2014, January 7, from <http://goo.gl/pMnsKK>
- Cather, W. (2006). *My Ántonia* (p. 136). Delaware: Prestwick House
- Cather, W. (2010, November 11). *The Professor's House: Feedbooks* (project gutenber Australia).
- Chase, S. (1936). Six-Cylinder Ethics. In G. Okerlund & Esther V. (Eds.), *Structure and style* (pp. 403–405). New York, NY: Thomas Nelson and Sons. Retrieved 2013, December 7, from <http://goo.gl/hws9uN>
- Coolidge, C. (1923, December 6). *The American presidency project*. Retrieved from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29564>
- Daiches, D. (1951). *Willa Cather: A critical introduction* (p. 12). New York, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Day, R. J. (1907). *The Raid on Prosperity* (p. 44, 253). New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company. Retrieved 2014, January 11, from <http://goo.gl/NvtD6O>
- Day, R. J. (1920). *My neighbor the workingman* (pp. 22–52, 213, 239). New York, NY: The Abingdon Press. Retrieved 2014, January 10, from <http://goo.gl/2nNOFT>
- Dinnerstein, L. (1985). The Supreme court and the rights of aliens. *This Constitution*, 8, 25–35. Retrieved 2013, June 20, from <http://goo.gl/5rtd5f>
- Donaldson, S. (2012). *Fool for Love* (p. 184). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dormon, J. (1988). Shaping the popular image of post-reconstruction American Blacks: The "Coon Song" phenomenon of the gilded AGE. *American Quarterly*, 40, 450–471. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2712997>
- Dreiser, T. (2004). *An American tragedy*. Retrieved 2010, November 22, from eBooks@Adelaide.
- Drowne, K., & Huber, P. (2004). *American popular culture through History: The 1920s* (p. 20). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Duhamel, G. (1931). *America, the menace: Scenes from the life of the future* (p. xiii). Trans. Charles Miner Thompson. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin.
- Dula, A., & Goering, S. (1994). *It just ain't fair: The ethics of health care for African Americans* (p. 17). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Fitzgerald, S. (2010, March 29). *The great gatsby*. Australia: Free eBooks at Planet eBook.com.
- Foner, N. (2001). *New immigrants in New York* (p. 105). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Ford, H. (1920). *The international Jew, the world's foremost problem* (Vol. 1, p. 140) (Being a reprint of a series of articles appearing in the Dearborn independent from May 22 to October 2, 1920). Dearborn, MI: Dearborn Publishing.
- Frankfurter, F. (1927, March). *The case of Sacco and Vanzetti*. *Atlantic Monthly*. Retrieved 2010, August 11, from <http://goo.gl/qyEJCr>
- Freeman, A. (1921). *Social decay and regeneration* (p. 183). London: Constable and Company. Retrieved 2014, February 5, from <http://goo.gl/4p57K>
- Freud, S. (1953). The Uncanny. In J. Strachey (Ed.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. XVII, p. 175). London: Hogarth.
- Gagnon, P. (1962). "French views of the second American revolution." *French historical studies* (Vol. 2, p. 439). Duke University Press. Retrieved 2013, June 15, from <http://goo.gl/PTEb6j>
- Gerteis, J., & Goolsby, A. (2003). *Nationalism in America: The case of the populist movement* (pp. 8–10). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota. Retrieved 2011, October 10 from <http://goo.gl/mhhUY>
- Goldin, C. (1994). The political economy of immigration restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921. *The Regulated economy* (p. 225). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226301341.001.0001>
- Grant, M. (1916). *The passing of the great race; or, the racial basis of European History* (Vol. 4, pp. 82–95). New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons. Retrieved 2013, August 4, from <http://goo.gl/BDqB6s>
- Grebstein, S. (1962). *Sinclair Lewis* (Vol. 2, p. 19). New York, NY: Twayne Publishers.
- Green, V. (2001). *Race on the line* (p. 134). Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822383109>
- Green, J., & Karolidas, N. (2009). *Encyclopedia of censorship* (p. 324). New York, NY: Infobase Publishing.
- Gregor, J. (1961). Nordicism revisited. *Phylon* (Vol. 22, pp. 1, 351–360). Atlanta, GA: Clark Atlanta University.
- Hawgood, J. (1940). *The tragedy of German-America* (p. 238). New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Hemingway, E. (1926). *The sun also rises*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Higham, J. (1955). *Strangers in the land: Patterns of American nativism, 1860-1925* (pp. 40–268). Rutgers: The State University.
- Hing, B. (2004). *Defining America: Through immigration policy* (pp. 4-5). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hobson, J. (2010). *Economic Parasites of Imperialism. Imperialism: A study*. 1902 (p. 64). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hutchisson, J. (1996). *The rise of Sinclair Lewis, 1920–1930* (p. 48). Pennsylvania: State University Press.
- James, H. (1968). Introduction In L. Edel(Eds.) *The American Scene*. 1907 (pp. 131–132). London: Hart-Davis.
- Johnson, S. (2011). The Chicago black box trial. *Trials of the century: An encyclopedia of popular culture and the law* (p. 232). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Jordan, W. (1968). The Simultaneous invention of slavery and racism. *White over black: American attitudes toward the*

- Negro, 1550-1812 (pp. 3-7). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Katzman, D. (1981). *Seven days a week: Women and domestic service in industrializing America* (p. 233). Urbana, Chicago: Illini Books.
- Kazin, A. (1970). *On native grounds: An interpretation of modern American prose literature*(pp. xxi-xxv). New York, NY: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Ken, G. (2006). *Lynching in the West, 1850-1935* (p. 9). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kidder, D., & Oppenheim, N. (2007). *The intellectual devotional: American history: Revive your mind, complete your education, and converse confidently about our nation's past* (p. 181). New York, NY: Rodale Books.
- King James Bible. (2013, March 23). Bible Getaway. *Deuteronomy*23:20.
- Laughlin, H. (1923). *Analysis of America's modern melting pot: Hearings before the committee on immigration and naturalization, house of representatives* (p. 741). Sixty-seventh congress, Third Session. November 21, 1922. Serial 7-C. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Lazarus, E. (2015). *The poems of Emma Lazarus: Narrative, lyric, and dramatic* (Vol. I, pp. 202-203). New York, NY: Dover Publications.
- Lee, H. (2007). *Edith Wharton* (p. 613, 748). New York, NY: Knopf.
- LeMay, M., & Barkan, E.(Ed.). (1999). *U.S. immigration and naturalization laws and issues: A documentary History* (pp. 99-152). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Lerman, D., & Maxwell, S. (2006). Joining a consumer society: Russian immigrant versus American materialism. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* (Vol. 5, pp. 479-490). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Leuchtenburg, W. (1958). *Perils of prosperity, 1914-1932* (p. 522). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levine, G. (2003). *The merchant of modernism: The economic Jew in anglo-American literature*(pp. 53-125). New York, M: Taylor & Francis Books.
- Lewis, S. (2010, February 14). *Main street: An electronic classics series publication, 2001-2013*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University.
- Lewis, S. (2012, January 23). *Babbitt: An electronic classics series publication, 2011-2013*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University.
- Li, W. (2009). *Ethnoburb: The new ethnic community in urban America* (p. 56). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lindop, E., & Goldstein, M. (2009). *America in the 1920s* (p. 12). Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-First Century Books.
- Loving, J. (2005). *The last titan: A life of theodore dreiser* (Vol. 74, pp. 367-370). California: University of California Press.
- Martin, A, & James, J.. (1976). *Hill and the opening of the Northwest* (p. 9-10). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Marx, K. (1986). Capital I. In J. Elster(Eds.), *Karl Marx: A reader* (p. 209). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Marx, K. (2015, November 19). *A world without Jews*. Retrieved from <http://www.resist.com/Onlinebooks/Marx-WorldWithoutJews.pdf>
- McVeigh, R. (2009). *The rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-wing movements and national politics* (pp. 19-83). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mednick, M. (2006). *Joseph Randolph* (p. 128). UK: Author House.
- Michaels, W. B. (1995). *Our America: Nativism, modernism and pluralism* (pp. 8-30). London & Durham: Duke University Press.
- Michaels, W. B. (2006) *The Trouble with diversity: How we learned to love identity and ignore inequality* (p. 2). London: Metropolitan Books.
- Michels, T. (1993). *Midstream* (Vol. 39, pp. 31-32). New York, NY: Theodor Herzl Foundation.
- Michels, T. (2012). *Jewish radicals* (p. 21). New York, NY: New York University Press.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9780814757437.001.0001>
- Mokyr, J. (1998). *The Second industrial revolution, 1870-1914* (pp. 3-16). Northwestern University. Retrieved 2013, May 23 from <http://goo.gl/YGHEZ9>
- Morrow, J. (2004). *The great war: An imperial history* (p. 303). (New York, NY: Routledge.
- Murrin, J., McPherson, J. M., Fahs, A., Gerstle, G., Rosenberg, E. S., & Rosenberg, N. L. (2010). *Liberty, equality, power: A history of the American people* (p. 858). Wadsworth, Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Nelson, R.. (1988). *Willa Cather and France: In search of the lost language* (p. 102). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- New International Version. (2013a) Bible Getaway. Malachi 3:2-4. Retrieved 2013, March 22.
- New International Version. (2013b) Bible Getaway. 2 Timothy 2:2. Retrieved 2013, March 22.
- Newlin, K. (2003). *A theodore dreiser encyclopedia* (p. 131). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Parry, A. (2005). *Garretts & Pretenders: A history of bohemianism in America* (pp. 8-10). New York, NY: Cosimo Classics.
- Perrotta, C. (2004). *Consumption as an investment I: The fear of goods from Hesiod to Adam Smith* (pp. 43-44). (J. McMullin, Trans.). London and New York: Routledge.
- Piper, A. (2012, January 11). *Xenophobia and Kantian Rationalism* (Vol. 1-3, pp. 188-232). Philosophical Forum XXIV. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/hzrUcs>
- Pizer, D., Dowell, R., & Rusch, F. (1991). *Theodore Dreiser: A primary bibliography and reference guide* (p. 93). Boston, MA: G.K. Hall.
- Rae, S., & Austin, H. (2010). *The virtues of capitalism: A moral case for free markets* (p. 66). Chicago, IL: Northfield Publishing.
- Randall, J. (1960). *The landscape and the looking glass: Willa Cather's search for value*. 1923 (pp. 6-12). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rockaway, R. (2000). *But he was good to his mother: The lives and crimes of Jewish gangsters* (p. 76). Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House.
- Rogers, R. (2009). *An economic history of the American steel industry*(Vol. 53, pp. 183-186). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Rosenberg, N. (1972). *Technology and American economic growth* (pp. 32-33). New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Rosowski, S. (1990). Willa Cather's subverted endings and gendered time. *Cather Studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 68-88). Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska.
- Russell, F. (1890). *National needs and remedies. The discussion of the general Christian conference, under the auspices and direction of the evangelical alliance, December 4th, 5th, 6th, 1889* (p. 102). New York, NY: Baker & Taylor.
- Sauerkraut may be liberty cabbage. (1918, April 25). The New York Times. Retrieved 2013, May 13, from <http://goo.gl/WkWOj>
- Say slayers didn't resemble Gunmen; defense rests after calling some of those who saw the murder of Rosenthal. (1912, November 16). New York Times. Retrieved 2014, January 29, from <http://goo.gl/OxPfi9>
- Schneiber, M. (2011). Toward an organizationally diverse American capitalism? cooperative, mutual, and local, state-owned enterprise. *Seattle University Law Review*, 34, 1409-1420. Retrieved 2012, May 23, from <http://goo.gl/Ih9rZ6>
- Schorer, M. (1961). *Sinclair Lewis: An American life* (pp. 69-259). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Schrag, P. (2010). *The unwanted: Immigration and nativism in America*. University of California Press. Retrieved 2013, February 4, from <http://goo.gl/EbWSvP>
- Schroeter, J. (1967). Willa Cather and The Professor's House. *Willa Cather and Her Critics* (pp. 366-367). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Sombart, W. (2009). From sentimental to rational attitudes. *Introduction to the science of sociology*. 1921 (p. 320). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Stearns, H. (Ed.). (1922). *Civilization in the United States, an inquiry by thirty Americans* (p. 241). New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and Company. Retrieved 2014, February 16, from <http://goo.gl/tMBQFJ>
- Swank, J. (2011). *History of the manufacture of iron in all ages* (p. 395). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511795374>
- Tastan, C. (2012, May 11). *The uncanny object: A lacanian analysis of xenophobia* (MS thesis). (Vol. 3, pp. 91–92). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/djGAFE>
- Tehrani, J. (2000). Performing whiteness: Naturalization litigation and the construction of racial identity in America. *The Yale Law Journal*, 109, 825–827.
- The Great Migration. (2016, April 11). *Digital History*. Retrieved from http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/dis_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3385
- The White Book of Steel. (2015, March 13). *World steel association* 2012 (p. 16). Retrieved from <https://www.worldsteel.org/dms/internetDocumentList/press-release-downloads/2013/The-white-book-of-steel/document/The%20white%20book%20of%20steel.pdf>
- Thompson, E. (1980). *The Making of the English working class 1963* (Vol. 8, p. 416). London: Penguin. Retrieved 2013, June 12, from <http://goo.gl/VNnJIK>
- Thompson, C., Mazer, M., & Wittenberg, E. (1955). *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (pp. 113–115, 431). New York, NY: Random House. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/VNnJIK>
- Tipple, B. (1924). *Alien Rome* (p. 32). Washington D.C.: The Protestant Guards.
- Taylor, Jr. R. (2010). *Peopling Indiana: The ethnic experience* (p. 171). Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society Press.
- US Department of State. (2013, June 4). *Office of the Historian*. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/V0lb2P>
- US History. (2013). Volume II: 1865—Present (p. 424). Boston, MA: Boundless. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/V0lb2P>
- Welskopp, T. (2013). Prohibition in the United States: The German America experience, 1919–1933. *Bulletin of the GHI*, 53, 31–53. Retrieved from http://www.ghi-dc.org/files/publications/bulletin/bu053/bu53_031.pdf
- Willcox, W. (1931). *International migrations, volume II: interpretations* (p. 473). NBER. Retrieved 2014, February 25, from <http://goo.gl/cZTP8Q>
- Wilson, T. (2011). *Primitive accumulation and the labor subsidies to capitalism* (p. 1). Sage. Retrieved 2013, July 22, from <http://goo.gl/bPzpqo>
- Woodress, J. (1987). *Willa Cather: A literary Life* (pp. 283–487). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Wyman, M. (1996). *Round trip to America: The immigrants return to Europe, 1880–1930* (pp. 52–88) Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Yeadon, G, & John H. (2008). *The Nazi Hydra in America: Suppressed history of a century* (pp. 113–117). Calif: Progressive Press.
- Zaborowska, M. (1995). *How we found America: Reading gender through East European immigrant narratives* (p. 46). Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Zolberg, A. (2006). *A nation by design: Immigration policy in the fashioning of America* (p. 15). Cambridge: Harvard University Press and the Russell Sage Foundation



© 2016 The Author(s). This open access article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) 4.0 license.

You are free to:

Share — copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format
Adapt — remix, transform, and build upon the material for any purpose, even commercially.
The licensor cannot revoke these freedoms as long as you follow the license terms.

Under the following terms:

Attribution — You must give appropriate credit, provide a link to the license, and indicate if changes were made.
You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.
No additional restrictions

You may not apply legal terms or technological measures that legally restrict others from doing anything the license permits.



Cogent Arts & Humanities (ISSN: 2331-1983) is published by Cogent OA, part of Taylor & Francis Group.

Publishing with Cogent OA ensures:

- Immediate, universal access to your article on publication
- High visibility and discoverability via the Cogent OA website as well as Taylor & Francis Online
- Download and citation statistics for your article
- Rapid online publication
- Input from, and dialog with, expert editors and editorial boards
- Retention of full copyright of your article
- Guaranteed legacy preservation of your article
- Discounts and waivers for authors in developing regions

Submit your manuscript to a Cogent OA journal at www.CogentOA.com

