

7

The Twenties 1919–1929



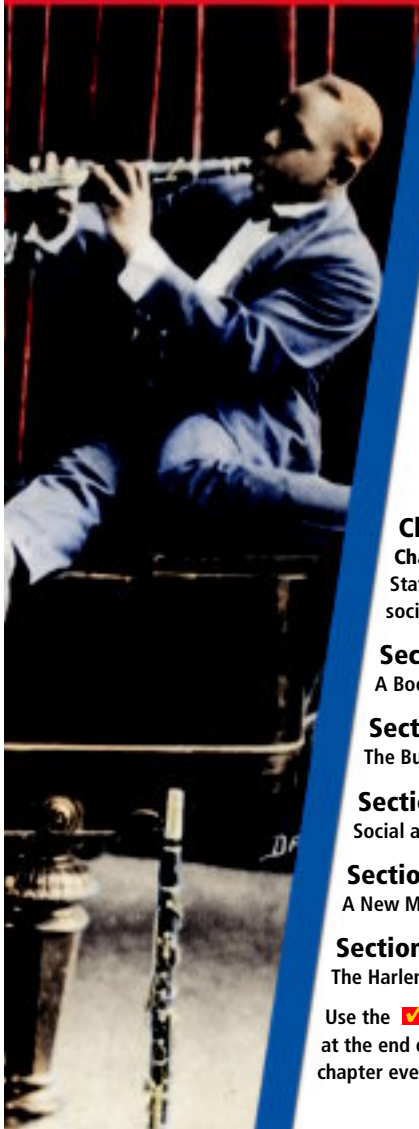
WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Kings of Jazz

When he was 14 years old, Louis Armstrong began to haunt the jazz clubs of New Orleans, Louisiana. King Oliver, an experienced musician, took the boy under his wing and bought him his first cornet. Before long, young Armstrong—nicknamed Satchmo—was making a name for himself playing in clubs and on riverboats.

Then, he got a telegram from King Oliver asking him to come to Chicago to join his Creole Jazz Band. Armstrong was scared, but he made the move north. Satchmo would become America's ambassador of jazz, and jazz would become the music that made the “Roaring Twenties” roar. *Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about jazz.*

◀ King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, left, helped create the jazz sound.



Dancing the Charleston



Campaign button for Warren G. Harding

Chapter Preview

Chapter Focus Question: How did the United States experience both economic growth and social change in the decade after World War I?

Section 1

A Booming Economy

Section 2

The Business of Government

Section 3


Social and Cultural Tensions

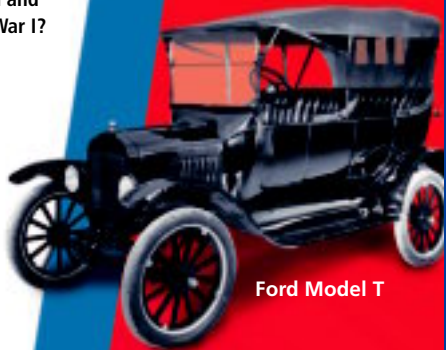
Section 4

A New Mass Culture

Section 5

The Harlem Renaissance

Use the  **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Ford Model T

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector
Web Code: nee-8001



▲ Will Rogers



◀ 1920s magazine ad

WITNESS HISTORY  AUDIO**Paying for It?**

Folksy comedian Will Rogers was one of the most beloved entertainers of his day. Whether standing onstage twirling a rope or chatting on the radio, he could always be counted on to deliver good-natured, amusing comments on the American scene. In the 1920s—with the nation in the midst of a giant economic boom—Rogers turned his keen eye on Americans' passion for buying things:

“No nation in the history of the world was ever sitting as pretty. If we want anything, all we have to do is go and buy it on credit. So that leaves us without any economic problems whatsoever, except perhaps some day having to pay for them. But we are certainly not thinking of that this early.”

—Will Rogers, radio commentary, 1928

A Booming Economy

Objectives

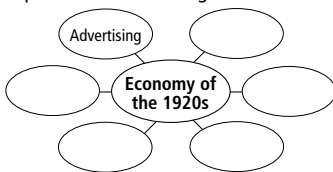
- Explain the impact of Henry Ford and the automobile.
- Analyze the consumer revolution and the bull market of the 1920s.
- Compare the different effects of the economic boom on urban and rural America.

Terms and People

Henry Ford	consumer revolution
mass production	installment buying
Model T	bull market
scientific management	buying on margin
assembly line	

NoteTaking**Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details**

Note specific economic changes of the 1920s.



Why It Matters In the decade after World War I, the American economy experienced tremendous growth. Using revolutionary mass-production techniques, American workers produced more goods in less time than ever before. The boom fundamentally changed the lives of millions of people and helped create the modern consumer economy. **Section Focus Question:** How did the booming economy of the 1920s lead to changes in American life?

The Automobile Drives Prosperity

Rarely, if ever, has the nation enjoyed such an economic boom as it did in the 1920s. The recession that had followed World War I quickly ended. All signs pointed to economic growth. Stock prices rose rapidly. Factories produced more and more goods and, with wages on the rise, more and more people could afford to buy them.

Much of this explosive growth was sparked by a single business: the automobile industry. Carmaker **Henry Ford** introduced a series of methods and ideas that revolutionized production, wages, working conditions, and daily life.

Ford Pioneers Mass Production Ford did not originate the idea of **mass production**, the rapid manufacture of large numbers of identical products. It had been used, for example, to make sewing machines and typewriters. But such products involved only hundreds of parts—not the thousands that go into the production of cars. Ford brought mass production to new heights.

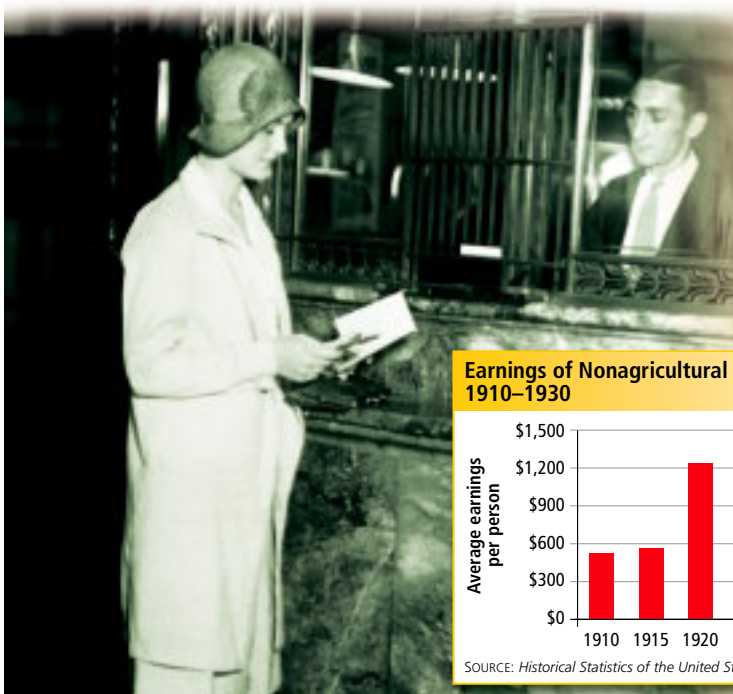
Early in the century, only wealthy city dwellers could afford cars. The automobile was often seen as a symbol of the class divisions in the country. City drivers who ventured out onto country roads frightened horses and cows, coated crops with dust, and rutted dirt roads. “To the countryman,” said Woodrow Wilson in 1906, cars “are a picture of the arrogance of wealth.”

Ransom Olds had introduced a less expensive car, the Oldsmobile in 1901. But it was Henry Ford who truly brought the automobile to the people. In 1908, he introduced the **Model T**, a reliable car the average American could afford. The first Model T sold for \$850. Soon after, Ford opened a new plant on the Detroit River. The Detroit location gave Ford easy access to steel, glass, oil, and rubber manufactured in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

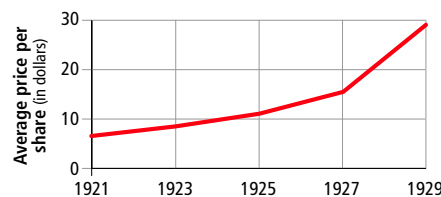
Ford hired **scientific management** experts to improve his mass-production techniques. Scientific management was a relatively new method of improving efficiency, in which experts looked at every step of a manufacturing process to find ways to reduce time, effort, and expense. Ford also studied the techniques of Chicago meatpacking houses, where beef carcasses were moved on chains past a series of meat cutters, each of whom cut off a specific part of the carcass. Ford reversed the process. He put his cars on moving **assembly lines**. At each step, a worker added something to construct the automobile. In two years, assembly line techniques reduced the time it took to manufacture a Model T—from more than 12 hours to just 90 minutes.

The assembly line allowed Ford to keep dropping the sale price. The cost of a Model T fell to \$350 by 1916 and to \$290 by 1927. It was slow, dull, and available only in black. But the Model T was the first car that ordinary people could afford. In 1919, only 10 percent of American families owned an automobile. By 1927, 56 percent did.

Graph Skills The economic boom of the 1920s was reflected in many aspects of the economy, from wages to industrial production to stock prices. *By how much did wages increase between 1910 and 1925? During what years did stock prices soar the most?*

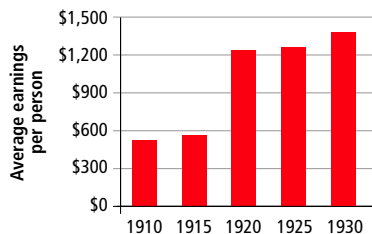


Average Price of Selected Stocks, 1921–1929



SOURCE: Standard and Poor's

Earnings of Nonagricultural Employees, 1910–1930



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

Gross Domestic Product

Year	Value of goods produced (in millions of dollars)
1921	68,355
1923	82,994
1925	87,359
1927	94,161
1929	101,444

SOURCE: National Bureau of Economic Research



◀ The automobile gave Americans new freedom to enjoy picnics, camping, and Sunday drives.



Impact of the *Automobile*

Henry Ford made the automobile affordable for the average American. By the 1920s, the growing "car culture" was changing the nation in deeper ways than even Ford might have imagined.

The Gas Station ▶
Automobiles encouraged the growth of related industries—especially the oil industry. The gas station—and gas fumes—became a permanent feature of the U.S. landscape.



U.S. HIGHWAY SYSTEM 1926



◀ **The Highway System**
By 1925, states had built hundreds of highways, and the federal government organized them into a numbered system. One of the first federal highways was Route 66, which ran from Illinois to California.

Advertising ▶
Ads stressed what cars gave their owners—speed, status, and a new sense of freedom.



◀ **Vacation Industry**
Americans used their new cars and expanded leisure time to travel. Motels and motor camps sprung up all over the nation.

Connect to Your World
Which of the features of "car culture" shown here are still part of American life today?

History Interactive*

For: More on the automobile
Web Code: nep-0712

When it came to managing the men who worked along his assembly lines, Ford also proved that he was not afraid of **innovation**. In 1914, he more than doubled the wages of a large number of his workers, from \$2.35 to \$5 a day. He also reduced their workday from 9 hours to 8 hours. In 1926, he became the first major industrialist to give his workers Saturday and Sunday off. Before Ford, the idea of a “weekend” hardly existed. Ford shrewdly realized that if workers made more money and had more leisure time, they would become potential customers for his automobiles. The combination of the Model T and the “five-dollar day, forty-hour week” made Ford not only a very rich man but also one of the shapers of the modern world.

The Automobile Changes America The boom in the automotive industry **stimulated** growth in other industries related to car manufacture or use. The steel, glass, rubber, asphalt, wood, gasoline, insurance, and road-construction industries all benefited. For example, one seventh of all steel output was used to make automobiles. The need for gasoline prompted a nationwide search for oil deposits. Oil discoveries in California, Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma brought workers and money to the Southwest.

Road construction boomed, especially when the federal government introduced the system of numbered highways in 1926. The millions of cars on American roads led to the rapid appearance of thousands of service stations, diners, and motor hotels (a term later shortened to *motels*). The growth in all these industries created new and often better-paying jobs, spurring national prosperity.

The automobile caused additional economic effects. Other forms of ground transportation, such as railroads and trolleys, suffered a decline in use. With cars, people could go where they wanted, when they wanted. They did not have to travel along set tracks on set schedules.

The automobile prompted a new sense of freedom and prosperity. Never had Americans been so mobile. Entire families crowded into their cars for cross-country vacations or Sunday drives to the country. Ownership of an automobile came to symbolize participation in the American dream of success.

Finally, automobiles altered residential patterns. The ability to drive to work permitted people to live farther from their places of employment. This led to the development of suburban communities linked to cities by arteries of highways and roads. Los Angeles, one of the first cities whose growth was influenced by the automobile, developed in a sprawling, haphazard fashion. It became, according to one observer, “a series of suburbs in search of a city.”

 **Checkpoint** How did Henry Ford increase the production and sale of automobiles?

A Bustling Economy

The 1920s saw what has been called a **consumer revolution**, in which a flood of new, affordable goods became available to the public. The widespread availability of electrical power supported the consumer revolution. Electric washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and irons made housekeeping easier and less time-consuming. Accessible electricity also contributed to radio and refrigerator sales.

Advertising and Credit Build a Consumer Culture The growing advertising industry also played its part. Using new “scientific” techniques and psychological research, advertisers were able to sell more products to more Americans than ever before. Magazine and newspaper ads often focused on the desires and fears of Americans more than on what people really needed.

Vocabulary Builder
innovation—(ihh uh VAY shuhn)
n. change in the way of doing something; act of introducing such a change

Vocabulary Builder
stimulate—(STIHM yuh layt) *v.* to excite to action; to cause to grow or act


Advertisers celebrated consumption as an end in itself, convincing people that they could be the person they wanted to be just by buying the right products. From Kleenex to Listerine, Americans bought products that years earlier they could never have imagined they needed.

Finally, new ways of buying fueled the consumer revolution. People who did not have enough ready cash could buy what they wanted on credit. **Installment buying**, in which a consumer would make a small down payment and then pay off the rest of the debt in regular monthly payments, allowed Americans to own products they might otherwise have had to save up for years in order to buy.

The Big Bull Market Makes Fortunes Consumers were not the only Americans buying and selling in a big way. During the 1920s, the stock market enjoyed a dizzying **bull market**, a period of rising stock prices. More and more Americans put their money into stocks in an effort to get rich quick. By 1929, around 4 million Americans owned stocks.

The pounding desire to strike it rich often led investors to ignore financial risks. As the market soared, people began **buying on margin**—another form of buying on credit. By purchasing stock on margin, a buyer paid as little as 10 percent of the stock price upfront to a broker. The buyer then paid the broker for the rest of the stock over a period of months. The stock served as collateral, or security, for the broker's loan. As long as the price of the stock rose, the buyer had no trouble paying off the loan and making a profit. But if the price fell, the buyer still had to pay off the loan. Buyers gambled that they would be able to sell the stock at a profit long before the loan came due.

In truth, the big bull market stood on very shaky ground. But most people ignored the dangers. By the middle of 1929, economic authorities proclaimed that America and the stock market had entered a “new era.” Stock prices would continue their march upward, they said, while boom-and-bust economics would become a thing of the past.

 **Checkpoint** How did buying on margin allow more people to invest in the stock market?

Cities, Suburbs, and Country

The economic boom did not affect all parts of the nation equally. While urban and suburban areas prospered, rural Americans faced hardships.

People Flock to Cities In the 1920s, the movement of people was toward cities. Immigrants settled in cities. Farmers left their fields for cities. The direction of the African American Great Migration was toward northern cities. Mexican Americans crossing the border relocated to southwestern cities.

As in the late nineteenth century, cities grew and changed shape. In addition, the adoption of skyscraper technology caused cities to stretch skyward. Steel-framed skyscrapers with light coverings of masonry and glass began to dominate the skylines of the nation's cities. New York's Empire State Building, finished in 1931, symbolized the power and majesty of the United States.

The Suburbs Grow Improved mass transportation and the widespread use of automobiles caused cities to expand outward. More urban workers moved to the suburbs. Western and southern cities, developed after the automobile revolution, encompassed suburban areas as well as inner cities. Suburbs mushroomed, growing much faster than inner cities.

Urban Growth

Built by automaker Walter P. Chrysler in 1928, New York's Chrysler Building (below) was the world's tallest skyscraper—but only for a short time. *Look at the table below. Why do you think Detroit grew so fast after 1910?*



Population of Selected U.S. Cities, 1910–1930

City	1910	1920	1930
New York	4,766,883	5,620,048	6,930,446
Chicago	2,185,283	2,701,705	3,376,478
St. Louis	687,029	772,897	821,960
Los Angeles	319,198	576,673	1,238,048
Detroit	465,766	993,078	1,568,662

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Slowly at first, but more rapidly as the century progressed, suburbs drained people and resources from the cities. Catering to middle- and upper-class residents, suburbs tended to be more conservative and Republican. Meanwhile, the inner cities at the heart of older urban areas began a slow but steady decline.

Many Americans Face Hardship In the cities and suburbs, Americans enjoyed prosperity and the fruits of growth. They participated in the consumer economy and in the joys of automobile ownership. The wealthiest urban residents—owners and managers of businesses—reaped fabulous rewards, which they often pumped back into the bull market. But there were problems looming ahead. America’s wealth was poorly distributed. Industrial wages rose at a much slower rate than corporate salaries.

Worst yet, farm incomes declined during the decade. Many people living in the country did not participate in the consumer benefits and economic gains of the decade. They formed part of another America—poorer and outside the economic boom. In particular, farmers suffered from growing debt and falling farm prices. A protest song of 1928 expressed their frustration:

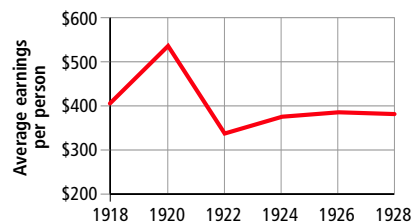
Primary Source

“Eleven-cent cotton, forty-cent meat,
How in the world can a poor man eat?
Mule’s in the barn, no crop’s laid by,
Corncrib empty and the cow’s gone dry.”
—Bob Miller and Emma Dermer,
“Eleven Cent Cotton”

If the wealthy believed that the country had entered an age of permanent prosperity, the “other Americans” saw things differently.

✓ Checkpoint What impact did the development of suburbs have on American society?

Earnings of Agricultural Employees, 1918–1928



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States



Rural Struggles

American farmers did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s. Compare this graph to the economic graphs at the beginning of this section and make a generalization about farm wages versus nonfarm wages in the 1920s.

SECTION 1 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0702

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining how that person or item was connected with the changing economy of the 1920s.

- Henry Ford
- mass production
- assembly line
- consumer revolution
- installment buying
- bull market
- buying on margin

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Supporting Details Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the booming economy of the 1920s lead to changes in American life?

Writing About History

3. Summarize a Historical Interpretation Using information from the text, write a paragraph summarizing the reasons for the historical viewpoint that Henry Ford was one of the chief makers of the modern world.

Critical Thinking

- Analyze Effects** How is the rise of the automobile an example of technology affecting attitudes or values?
- Draw Conclusions** Why do you think many advertisers began to focus on the benefits of their products rather than on the products themselves?
- Predict Consequences** Identify two potential signs of weakness in the economy of the 1920s, and predict what might happen if those problems are not solved.



▲ President Harding joins a parade.

Harding campaign button ►



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A Fun-Loving President

In 1920, voters turned from the intellectualism and rigid idealism of Woodrow Wilson to someone who presented himself as an average American, Warren G. Harding. “I am a man of limited talents from a small town,” Harding admitted. “I don’t seem to grasp that I am President.” The genial politician from Marion, Ohio, got more pleasure from golf, poker, and music. He once claimed that he could play every band instrument “but the slide trombone and the e-flat cornet.” But what Harding loved most was shaking hands with tourists who visited the White House:

“I love to meet people. It is the most pleasant thing I do; it is really the only fun I have. It does not tax me, and it seems to be a very great pleasure to them.”

—Warren G. Harding, U.S. President

The Business of Government

Objectives

- Analyze how the policies of Presidents Harding and Coolidge favored business growth.
- Discuss the most significant scandals during Harding’s presidency.
- Explain the role that the United States played in the world during the 1920s.

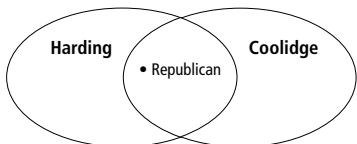
Terms and People

Andrew Mellon	Washington Naval Disarmament
Herbert Hoover	Conference
Teapot Dome scandal	Kellogg-Briand Pact
Calvin Coolidge	Dawes Plan

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast

Note similarities and differences between Presidents Harding and Coolidge.



Why It Matters In 1920, Warren G. Harding was elected President on a pledge of a “return to normalcy.” Rather than pursue reform, as the Progressives had done, Harding and his successor, Calvin Coolidge, favored more conservative policies that aided the growth of business. This pattern—a period of activism followed by a more laissez-faire approach—would repeat itself in the 1950s and 1980s. **Section Focus Question:** How did domestic and foreign policy change direction under Harding and Coolidge?

The Harding Administration

What exactly did a “return to normalcy” mean? Different voters saw different things in the vague phrase. Some saw it as a retreat from involvement in world affairs, others as a rejection of Progressive reform efforts or a swing back to laissez-faire economics. Once in office, however, Harding had to give substance to his promise.

New Policies Favor Big Business Harding signaled the economic direction of his administration by naming wealthy banker **Andrew Mellon** Secretary of the Treasury. Mellon’s idea of prudent economic policy was to support legislation that advanced business interests. He disliked the relatively new income tax, favoring instead low taxes on individuals and corporations. Mellon also cut the fat from the budget. By 1925, Congress had reduced spending from a wartime high of \$18 billion to \$3 billion. Instead of sinking deeper into debt, the Treasury actually showed a surplus.

Harding signed a bill raising protective tariff rates by about 25 percent. The tax on imports made it easier for American producers to sell goods at home. However, in retaliation, European nations also hiked tariffs, making American goods harder to sell overseas. This tariff war weakened the world economy.

Under the Progressive leadership of Roosevelt and Wilson, the federal government had passed laws to break up monopolies, protect workers, and restrict the absolute freedom of business leaders. By contrast, Harding favored a return to a more traditional laissez-faire approach. He and Mellon worked to reduce government regulation of business.

Still, the Harding administration did not abandon social goals. Harding's thoughtful and energetic Secretary of Commerce, **Herbert Hoover**, worked with business and labor leaders to achieve voluntary advancements. What the Progressives hoped to achieve through legislation, Hoover attempted to attain with the cooperation of interest groups. He enjoyed great successes at getting people to work together instead of battling one another.

The Ohio Gang Cashes In Harding was a kind, likable man, but he was not especially intelligent. Perhaps no President was friendlier, and few had less sense of what was expected of a President. Faced with a tax issue, Harding lamented, "I listen to one side and they seem right . . . I talk to the other side, and they seem just as right, and here I am where I started. . . . What a job!"

Rather than struggle to master the complexities of the job, Harding trusted others to make decisions. Many were his close friends, men he enjoyed relaxing and gambling with at late-night poker games. Known as the Ohio Gang, they were not honest public servants like Mellon and Hoover. They were mostly greedy, small-minded men who saw government service as a chance to get rich at the expense of the very citizens they were supposed to serve.

Charles Forbes, head of the Veterans' Bureau, practiced graft on an immense scale and wasted hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars. For example, his department bought \$70,000 worth of floor cleaner—enough to last 100 years—at more than 24 times the fair price. Another Harding pal, Attorney General Harry Daugherty, used his position to accept money from criminals.

The Teapot Dome Scandal Explodes The worst scandal involved Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall. In 1921, Fall arranged to transfer oil reserves in Elk Hills, California, and Teapot Dome, Wyoming, from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. The oil reserves were intended for the navy's use in time of emergency. Harding signed the transfer.

Once Fall had control of the oil, he forgot about the needs of the navy. He leased the properties to private oilmen in return for "loans"—which were actually bribes. Rumors of the deal led to a Senate investigation, and, by 1924, the entire



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Teapot Dome Scandal This cartoon comments on the most notorious scandal of the Harding administration.

1. What object is used to represent the scandal? Why?
2. According to the cartoon, what is the impact of the scandal?



Silent Cal

In the picture (above right), President Coolidge reenacts the scene when his father swore him in as President. At above left, Coolidge wears a proper business suit to go fishing.



sordid affair was revealed to the public. Later, the oil reserves were returned to the government. Fall was sentenced to a year in prison.

Harding himself never saw the full extent of the **Teapot Dome scandal**.

In fact, he only had a growing suspicion that his friends were up to no good. But that was enough, as he said, to keep him “walking the floor nights.” In July 1923, he visited Alaska during a speaking tour. On his return voyage, he suffered a heart attack and died on August 2. Americans mourned Harding as they had mourned no other President since Lincoln. When the full extent of the scandals emerged, however, the public formed a different opinion of him.

✔ **Checkpoint** What were the causes and effects of the Teapot Dome scandal?

Coolidge Prosperity

News of Harding’s death reached Vice President **Calvin Coolidge** during a visit to his father’s Vermont farm. Almost immediately, the elder Coolidge, a justice of the peace, used the family Bible to swear in his son as President.

In personality, Coolidge was far different from the outgoing, back-slapping Harding. Known as Silent Cal, he was quiet, honest, and frugal—a man who measured his words carefully. He placed his trust in business, and put his administration in the hands of men who held to the simple virtues of an older America. Political sharpies out to make a quick buck had no place in the Coolidge administration. Neither did Progressives who believed in an activist government bent on sweeping reforms.

Silent Cal Supports Big Business Coolidge admired productive business leaders. “The man who builds a factory,” Coolidge once said, “builds a temple.” He believed that the creation of wealth benefited the nation as a whole. In 1925, he expressed this view in his best-known speech:

Primary Source “The chief business of the American people is business.

They are profoundly concerned with producing, buying, selling, investing, and prospering in the world. . . . We make no concealment of the fact that we want wealth, but there are many other things that we want very much more. We want peace and honor, and that charity which is so strong an element of all civilization. The chief ideal of the American people is idealism.”

—Calvin Coolidge, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors

Coolidge's statement of values and principles has often been oversimplified as "the business of America is business."

In his approach to the economy, Coolidge continued to follow the goals of Secretary of the Treasury Mellon by reducing the national debt, trimming the federal budget, and lowering taxes to give incentives for businesses. Coolidge thus oversaw a spectacular boom in the national economy. For almost six years, the economy soared, generating industrial profits, spectacular growth in the stock market, and general prosperity, especially for urban Americans.

Troubles Brew Beneath the Surface Yet, there were grave problems breeding in the nation. Farmers struggled to keep their land as the prices of their goods fell. Labor unions demanded higher wages and better working conditions. African Americans faced severe discrimination, especially in the South, where Jim Crow laws made enforced segregation a way of life. African American leaders urged Congress to pass an antilynching law. In the Southwest, Mexican Americans confronted shamefully low wages and efforts to force them to return to Mexico.

To all of these concerns, Silent Cal remained silent. Like Harding, he mistrusted the use of legislation to achieve social change. Unlike Progressive Presidents, he believed that it was not the business of the federal government to help create an ideal nation.

 **Checkpoint** What policies did Calvin Coolidge favor to support economic growth?

America's Role in the World


Under both Harding and Coolidge, America continued to play an increasingly important role in world business and trade. Beyond that, U.S. foreign policy was largely shaped by reaction to World War I. No previous war had been as deadly. Citizens of all nations agreed: It must never happen again. But how could this goal be achieved?

Seeking an End to War One solution was to avoid another arms race, such as the naval rivalry between Germany and Britain that had contributed to the outbreak of the war. In 1921 and 1922, diplomats gathered in Washington, D.C., to halt another naval arms race before it got out of control. World leaders agreed to limit construction of large warships and hammered out a settlement on several problems between Japan and the West. This **Washington Naval Disarmament Conference** did not end the world's naval problems, but it raised hopes that nations could solve disagreements without resorting to war.

A later attempt to prevent war was the **Kellogg-Briand Pact** of 1928. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg and French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand

Vocabulary Builder

incentive—(ihn SEHNT ihv) *n.*
something intended to encourage someone to take action or work harder

The United States in International Affairs, 1920–1929		 Quick Study
	Goal	U.S. Action
League of Nations	To prevent war and settle disputes between nations	U.S. membership favored by Wilson; rejected by Senate
World Court	To make judgments in international disputes voluntarily submitted by nations	U.S. participation favored by Harding; rejected by Senate
Washington Naval Conference	To reduce arms race and size of navies of major powers	U.S. agreed with leading naval powers to limit construction of warships.
Kellogg-Briand Pact	To "outlaw war ... as an instrument of national policy"	U.S. agreed with many other nations to renounce war as a means of settling international disputes.


(bree AHN) drew up a treaty to “outlaw” war “as an instrument of national policy.” Eventually, 62 nations ratified the pact. But, in reality, the pact was unenforceable. Kellogg knew it, Briand knew it, and so did the rest of the diplomats. No sooner was the ink dry than everyone involved forgot about it.

Although Congress applauded the useless Kellogg-Briand Pact, it refused to join the World Court, an international body which at least promised to help mediate international disputes. As much as possible, most American leaders in the 1920s hoped to avoid another war by keeping the rest of the world at arm’s length.

Collecting War Debts Money issues were another matter. The United States insisted that Britain and France repay their huge war debts to the United States. For this to happen, though, Germany had to make the reparation payments to Britain and France imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. The complex financial issue threatened to undermine the international economy. Some statesmen suggested reducing or even canceling both war debts and reparations. But the frugal Coolidge insisted that a debt was a debt and had to be paid.

In 1924, an agreement known as the **Dawes Plan** arranged U.S. loans to Germany. By enabling Germany to make reparation payments to Britain and France, the Dawes Plan helped Britain and France to repay their debts to the United States. Of course, the entire scheme was financed by U.S. money. After the stock market crash of 1929, however, the well of U.S. money went dry. Germany stopped reparation payments, and Britain and France ended war-debt payments to the United States.

In the end, the war-debt situation damaged America’s reputation in the eyes of the world. People from England and France thought that it was heartless for American bankers and politicians to insist on repayment of debts and not to take into account the human costs of the war. In the next war, the United States would take a more flexible approach to war loans.

 **Checkpoint** How did the United States support world peace efforts during the 1920s?

Vocabulary Builder

mediate—(MEE dee ayt) *v.* to bring about the settlement of a dispute between two parties

SECTION

2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0703

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each of the following, write a sentence explaining its importance to national politics of the 1920s.
 - Teapot Dome scandal
 - Washington Naval Disarmament Conference
 - Kellogg-Briand Pact
 - Dawes Plan

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Compare and Contrast Use your Venn diagram to answer the Section Focus Question: How did domestic and foreign policy change direction under Harding and Coolidge?

Writing About History

3. Comparing Historical Interpretations

Some people view Coolidge as a moral, idealistic President who restored integrity to government and promoted prosperity. Others see him as a stiff, unimaginative President who retreated from the idealism of the Progressive Era and cared only for the interests of business. Make a Venn diagram comparing these differing historical interpretations.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Make Comparisons** How did the approach to government of Harding and Coolidge differ from that of the Progressives?
- 5. Draw Conclusions** Do you think that Harding should be held responsible for the scandals in his administration? Why or why not?
- 6. Evaluate Information** Many Americans in the 1920s seemed to support both isolationism and an active role in international affairs. Do you agree?



▲ Crowd at a Billy Sunday revival meeting

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Kicking, Fighting, Butting, and Biting

In a time of rapid social change, with a deadly war behind them, many Americans sought a return to more traditional values. They found comfort and strength in the words of preachers such as Billy Sunday. A former pro baseball player, Sunday never lost the dynamic energy of an athlete. Arms flailing, fists punching the air, he railed against the evils of greed, card playing, dancing, and, especially, drinking. He liked to tell audiences:

“I’m against sin. I’ll kick it as long as I’ve got a foot, and I’ll fight it as long as I’ve got a fist. I’ll butt it as long as I’ve got a head. I’ll bite it as long as I’ve got a tooth. And when I’m old and fistless and footless and toothless, I’ll gum it ‘till I go home to Glory.”

—Billy Sunday, sermon

Social and Cultural Tensions

Objectives

- Compare economic and cultural life in rural America to that in urban America.
- Discuss the changes in U.S. immigration policy in the 1920s.
- Analyze the goals and motives of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.
- Discuss the successes and failures of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Terms and People

modernism	Ku Klux Klan
fundamentalism	Prohibition
Scopes Trial	Eighteenth Amendment
Clarence Darrow	Volstead Act
quota system	bootlegger

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Contrast As you read, look for issues that divided Americans in the 1920s.

Differing Viewpoints	
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Viewpoint 1 • Viewpoint 2
Evolution	

Why It Matters In the 1920s, while many city dwellers enjoyed a rising standard of living, most farmers suffered through hard times. Conflicting visions of what the nation should be heightened the urban-rural division. Some of these issues, such as immigration policy and teaching the theory of evolution, still divide Americans today. **Section Focus Question:** How did Americans differ on major social and cultural issues?

Traditionalism and Modernism Clash

The 1920 census reported that, for the first time in American history, more people lived in urban areas than in rural regions. This simple fact had profound consequences. The nation had been divided before, but usually along north-south or east-west lines. In the 1920s, however, the split was between urban America and rural America. On virtually every important social and cultural issue, the two groups were divided.

Urban Americans enjoyed new consumer products and a wide array of leisure activities. They generally showed an openness toward social change and the new discoveries of science. The growing trend to emphasize science and secular values over traditional ideas about religion became known as **modernism**.

By contrast, rural Americans did not participate fully in the consumer bonanzas, and they missed out on many of the new forms of leisure. People in the country generally embraced a more traditional view of religion, science, and culture.

High School Education, 1900–1930

Year	High School Graduates (percentage of 17-year-olds)
1900	6.3
1910	8.6
1920	16.3
1930	28.8

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau



Americans Go to School

Although school attendance grew steadily, fewer than half of American children graduated from high school by 1930. *How much did the high school graduation rate increase during the 1920s?*

Education Becomes More Important Rural and urban Americans differed in their attitudes toward formal education. In rural America, prolonged formal education had not seemed vital. Farmers expected their children to master the “Three R’s”—reading, writing, and arithmetic. But beyond that, education collided with the many farm tasks that needed to be done. Muscle, endurance, and knowledge of crops and animals seemed more important to farmers than “book learning.”

Formal education took on more importance in urban America. Mental ability, not muscular fitness, was seen as the essential ingredient for success. Mastery of mathematics and language could spell the difference between a low-paying, unskilled job and a higher-paying position as an office worker. By 1930, more American teens were graduating from high school, and more Americans than ever before went to college.

Religious Fundamentalism Grows In the 1920s, many devout Americans believed that Christianity was under siege throughout the world. They pointed to Soviet communist attacks on the Orthodox Church in Russia and to the Mexican revolutionary assaults on the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico.

At home, a growing number of Christians were upset by what they saw as secular trends in religion and culture. They reaffirmed their belief in the fundamental, or basic, truths of their religion. This approach, often called **fundamentalism**, emphasized Protestant teachings and the belief that every word in the Bible was literal truth. Fundamentalists believed that the answer to every important moral and scientific question was in their holy book. Their ideas took root all over the country but were especially strong in rural America.

Americans Clash Over Evolution Fundamentalism and modernism clashed head-on in the **Scopes Trial** of 1925. At issue was the theory of evolution, developed by English scientist Charles Darwin. Darwin believed that complex forms of life, such as human beings, had developed gradually from simpler forms of life. This theory clashed with the description of creation in the Bible.

In 1925, Tennessee passed a law making it illegal to teach Darwin’s theory in the state’s public schools. The American Civil Liberties Union convinced John Scopes, a high school biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, to challenge the law. When Scopes taught evolution in his classroom, he was promptly arrested.

The Scopes Trial drew nationwide attention. Journalists flocked to Dayton to cover the emotionally charged event, which many dubbed the “Monkey Trial” because of the mistaken belief that Darwin claimed that human beings descended from monkeys. **Clarence Darrow**, the most celebrated defense attorney in America, traveled from his home in Chicago to defend Scopes. Three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, a long-time defender of rural values, served as an expert for the prosecution.

The highlight of the trial came when Darrow called Bryan to the stand as an expert on the Bible. Bryan affirmed that the Bible stated the literal truth. He testified that he believed that God created Adam and Eve and that Joshua made the sun stand still. Darrow tried to use science to cast doubt on such beliefs, but Bryan firmly stated, “I accept the Bible absolutely.”

Scopes was found guilty of breaking the law—a fact that was never in question—and fined \$100. While the Scopes Trial showcased a major cultural and religious division, it did not heal the conflict or answer its central questions. When the trial was over, each side still believed in the truth of its position. The conflict over evolution continues today.



Checkpoint How did the Scopes Trial illustrate the urban-rural split in the 1920s?

Restricting Immigration

Another cultural clash involved the ongoing boom in immigration. As in the past, Americans known as nativists argued that the new arrivals took jobs away from native-born workers and threatened American religious, political, and cultural traditions.

Nativists Oppose Immigration Although nativist politicians had been able to restrict immigration from China in 1882, they had failed to push through laws to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe. On the eve of World War I, however, Congress did pass a law requiring immigrants to take a literacy test. Immigrants who could not read or write their own language were prohibited from entering the United States. President Wilson vetoed the law, but Congress overrode Wilson's veto.

During the postwar Red Scare, fear that communists and socialists from eastern Europe were traveling to the United States with their revolutionary doctrines added an emotional edge to the debate. The problem that confronted nativists was traditional immigration policy. All Americans who could trace their ancestry back far enough discovered foreign origins. Many viewed the immigration experience as part of what made an American an American.

Quota Laws Limit Newcomers World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the Red Scare strengthened the nativist position. Two important laws—the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the National Origins Act of 1924—established a **quota system** to govern immigration from specific countries.

Comparing Viewpoints

Should a State Ban Teaching of Darwin's Theory of Evolution?

The Scopes Trial of 1925 revolved around a Tennessee law that banned the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution. The deeper issue involved a clash between traditional religious beliefs and modern science.

THE PROSECUTION

William Jennings Bryan believed that Tennessee had a right to protect its children from ideas that violated biblical teachings.

Primary Source

“Science is a magnificent force, but it is not a teacher of morals. . . . In war, science has proven itself an evil genius; it has made war more terrible than it ever was before.”

“It is for the jury to determine whether this attack upon the Christian religion shall be permitted in the public schools of Tennessee by teachers employed by the state.”

“When Shall We Three Meet Again?”



Compare

1. How does Bryan's view of science differ from that of Malone?
2. What does each man feel should happen when science clashes with religion?

THE DEFENSE

Dudley Field Malone, who joined Clarence Darrow in the defense of Scopes, argued against a state determining what should be taught.

Primary Source

“We feel we stand with progress. We feel we stand with science. We feel we stand with intelligence. We feel we stand with fundamental freedom in America.”

“Let the children have their minds kept open. Close no doors to their knowledge. Shut no door from them. Make the distinction between theology and science. Let them have both. Let them be taught both. Let them both live.”

TRACK THE ISSUE



How should government regulate immigration?

The first major effort to limit immigration to the United States came in the late 1800s. By then, immigrants were streaming into the country. Many Americans worried about losing their jobs or their sense of national identity. Since then, immigration and immigration policy have remained controversial issues. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1882 Chinese Exclusion Act

Federal government makes first law to exclude a specific national group.

1924 National Origins Act

Law sets quotas on numbers of immigrants from each country.

1952 McCarran-Walter Act

Law establishes political beliefs as criteria for exclusion.

1965 Immigration Act Amended

Congress abolishes national quotas but sets ceiling for each hemisphere.

1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act

Law offers amnesty to some illegal aliens.

2004 Guest Worker Program

President Bush proposes law allowing temporary foreign workers.



Immigrants and foreign visitors go through a careful check before they are allowed to enter the country.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

Amnesty for Illegal Immigrants In recent years, Americans have hotly debated the question of amnesty for illegal immigrants. Some Americans favor laws providing a legal route to citizenship. Critics say that laws curbing further illegal immigration would be more effective.

“Amnesty combined with serious penalties for employers that hire undocumented workers . . . is the only real way out of [this] situation. . . . It . . . is . . . the option most likely to secure the border and end the system of undocumented worker exploitation—which is precisely why our well-funded leaders in Washington have no intention of pursuing it.”

—Tom Head, author

“Amnesty for illegal aliens is simply a reward for law-breaking. No system depending on a strict regard for the rule of law can treat law-breaking so casually. Amnesty will be a magnet for further illegal immigrants, who hope to be future recipients of the nation’s compassion.”

—Edward J. Erlar, Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute



TRANSFER Activities

- 1. Compare** Why does Tom Head support amnesty? Why does Erlar oppose it?
- 2. Analyze** How does the issue debated today differ from the issues that led to the passage of the National Origins Act?
- 3. Transfer** Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. **Web Code:** neh-8002



Immigrants enter New York’s Ellis Island in the 1920s.

The National Origins Act set up a simple formula: The number of immigrants of a given nationality each year could not exceed 2 percent of the number of people of that nationality living in the United States in 1890. The year 1890 was chosen because it came before the great wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. For example, the act permitted about 65,721 immigrants from England and Northern Ireland to come to America every year, but it allowed only about 5,802 immigrants from Italy. The act also continued to exclude most Asian immigrants. America had closed its “golden door” to many of the people trying to enter.

More Mexicans Come North The quota system did not apply to Mexico, which was still reeling from the chaos of the 1910 revolution. Mexicans settled in sparsely populated regions of the Southwest and made major contributions to the local economies. Most Mexican newcomers found work harvesting crops in Texas and California. A smaller number sought jobs in the factories and farms of the North or Midwest.

Many Mexican immigrants faced discrimination and hostility in their new homes. They often competed with native-born Americans for jobs and were frequently subjected to brutality and violence.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did new laws change U.S. immigration policy in the 1920s?

The New Ku Klux Klan

Immigration restriction was an attempt to turn back the clock to what many saw as a simpler, better time—a time before the nation became ethnically diverse. As rural Americans saw the country become increasingly urban and their own position in the nation slip in relative importance, many lashed out against symbols of change. Some even turned to organizations that supported doctrines of hate and employed violence and terror to achieve their ends.

The Klan Rises Again In 1915, on Stone Mountain in Georgia, a group of angry men revived the **Ku Klux Klan**. The original Klan had been formed in the South during Reconstruction largely to terrorize African Americans who sought to vote. Although the revived Klan continued to promote hatred of African Americans, it was also aimed at the new America taking shape in the cities. It targeted Jews, Catholics, and immigrants. The Klan also claimed to stand against lawbreaking and immorality. One of their leaders claimed that “every criminal, every gambler . . . every crooked politician . . . is fighting the Klan.”

At its height, the Klan’s “Invisible Empire” had perhaps 4 to 5 million members. Most were in the South, but there were also branches in the Midwest, Northeast, and West—in both rural areas and in small industrial cities. One center of Klan strength was Indiana, where Klan leader David Stephenson ruled with an iron fist and controlled numerous politicians. They burned crosses, boycotted businesses owned by anyone who was Jewish, Catholic, or African American, and terrorized citizens in the darkness of night. Klansmen

The New Ku Klux Klan

In 1925, thousands of Klansmen (below) staged a huge march in Washington, D.C.



Vocabulary Builder

imperial—(ihm PIR ee uhl) *adj.*
relating to an empire or emperor;
having supreme authority

usually wore masks to conceal their identities, met to wave flags and preach hate, and followed leaders with such titles as Grand Dragon and **Imperial Wizard**. But behind the Klan's confident facade were Americans fearful of change.

Americans Oppose the Klan Individuals, as well as organizations such as the NAACP and the Jewish Anti-Defamation League, battled against the Klan and its values. They embraced the idea of racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. For them, the notion of the “melting pot” was as old as America itself, and they drew strength from American traditions and saw hope in the American future. Journalist William Allen White noted:

Primary Source

“To make a case against a birthplace, a religion, or a race is wickedly un-American and cowardly. The whole trouble with the Ku Klux Klan is that it is based upon such deep foolishness that it is bound to be a menace to good government in any community.”

—William Allen White, letter to the editor of the *New York World*, 1921

The Klan itself became thoroughly corrupt. Its leaders bribed politicians, stole from its members' dues, and lied to its members. Stephenson ended up going to prison for assault and second-degree murder. By the late 1920s, the Klan stood exposed. Although it never disappeared, it withered in importance.



Checkpoint How did the goals of the new Ku Klux Klan differ from those of the old Klan?

INFOGRAPHIC



PROHIBITION AND CRIME

Supporters of Prohibition rightly pointed out that alcohol was at the root of many social ills, from child abuse to lost productivity on the job. Sadly, the attempt to ban alcohol opened the door to a new set of social problems.

During Prohibition, many ordinary Americans—rich and poor—became lawbreakers. Ignoring the Volstead Act, they found creative ways to hide alcohol. This woman has a flask hidden in her boot. ▼

Federal agents destroy a still used to manufacture illegal alcohol. Although these “feds” worked tirelessly, there were not enough of them to enforce Prohibition effectively. ▼



Prohibition and Crime

Another divisive issue was **Prohibition**, the banning of alcohol use. Since the early 1800s, temperance reformers had crusaded against alcohol. By 1917, some 75 percent of Americans lived in “dry” counties that had banned liquor. World War I increased support for temperance. It seemed unpatriotic to use corn, wheat, and barley to make alcohol when soldiers overseas needed bread.


Government Bans Alcoholic Beverages In 1919, the states ratified the **Eighteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. It forbade the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcohol anywhere in the United States. The amendment had been passed largely on the strength of rural votes. Congress then passed the **Volstead Act**, a law that officially enforced the amendment.

Advocates of Prohibition, known as “drys,” called it a “noble experiment.” They argued that Prohibition improved individuals, strengthened families, and created better societies. In fact, drinking—as well as alcoholism and liver disease caused by drinking—did decline during Prohibition.

Opponents of Prohibition, dubbed “wets,” countered that the ban on alcohol did not stop people from drinking. Instead, they argued, Prohibition helped create an atmosphere of hypocrisy and increased organized crime.


Americans Break the Law As the wets noted, the Volstead Act did not stop Americans from drinking, but it did prevent them from purchasing drinks

Vocabulary Builder
advocate—(AD vuh kiht) *n.*
supporter; one who argues in favor of something



Critics of Prohibition argued that it encouraged political corruption. In this cartoon, a row of officials from federal agents to judges hold their hands out for bribe money.

Prohibition encouraged a new breed of organized crime. Racketeers like Al Capone (left) and his rival, Bugs Moran, thumbed their nose at the law and ruthlessly murdered their competitors (below).



7 CHICAGO GANGSTERS SLAIN
BY FIRING SQUAD OF RIVALS
SOME IN POLICE UNIFORM
VICTIMS LINED UP IN

Thinking Critically

- Summarize** What three types of law-breaking are illustrated here?
- Analyze** How were these three types of lawbreaking related to one another?



Wets Seek Repeal

Supporters of the Eighteenth Amendment had often used images of mothers and children to press for a ban on alcohol. This propaganda poster uses similar images to press for the repeal.

legally. The gap between the law and individual desires was filled by a large illegal network. People made alcohol in homemade stills or smuggled it in from other countries. **Bootleggers** sold illegal alcohol to consumers. In cities, secret drinking establishments, known as speakeasies, attracted eager customers.

Government agents worked tirelessly to stop the flow of illegal liquor. However, they were short-handed, and the demand for alcohol was too great. There were millions of dollars to be made by both organized and unorganized criminals. Particularly in cities, policemen and politicians tended to look the other way when liquor was concerned. They rationalized their actions by saying that if people wanted to drink they would drink.

Al Capone, a Chicago gang leader, was the most famous criminal of the Prohibition era. He defended his illegal actions:

Primary Source


“I make my money from supplying a public demand. If I break the law, my customers, who number hundreds of the best people in Chicago, are as guilty as I am. The only difference between us is that I sell and they buy. Everybody calls me a racketeer. I call myself a businessman.”

—Al Capone, quoted in *Era of Excess* (Sinclair)

The problem was that under the guise of providing a glass of beer or scotch, organized crime spread into other areas of society. Capone's other “businesses” included prostitution, drugs, robbery, and murder. Thus, Prohibition contributed to the growth of organized crime in America.

Prohibition Divides the Nation By the mid-1920s, most city politicians clamored for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. But to many rural Americans, liquor and crime were tied to other divisive cultural issues of the day. Thus, like immigration and evolution, the debate over Prohibition became part of a battle over the future of America.

In the culturally divided 1920s, Americans could not reach a satisfactory settlement on the issue. Not until 1933 did the Twenty-first Amendment finally repeal Prohibition.

 **Checkpoint** What were the effects of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act?

SECTION

3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0705

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each of the following, write a sentence explaining its importance to the social and cultural clashes of the 1920s.
 - modernism
 - fundamentalism
 - Scopes Trial
 - quota system
 - Ku Klux Klan
 - Prohibition
 - Eighteenth Amendment
 - Volstead Act
 - bootlegger

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Contrast Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Americans differ on major social and cultural issues?

Writing About History

- 3. Compare and Contrast** Write the opening paragraph for an essay comparing supporters and opponents of Prohibition. Use the information in this section as well as your own thoughts. Consider the goals and values that wets and dries might have had in common as well as the ways in which they differed.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognize Ideologies** How did the two sides in the Scopes Trial represent conflicting value systems? What did each side value most?
- 5. Identify Points of View** Why did both supporters and opponents of immigration quotas believe they were defending American traditions and values?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Why do you think the revived Ku Klux Klan was able to spread beyond the South and even into some urban areas?

WITNESS HISTORY  AUDIO**“Ain’t We Got Fun?”**

The phonograph had come a long way from that day in 1877 when inventor Thomas Edison had recorded himself reciting “Mary Had a Little Lamb.” By the 1920s, Americans were buying thousands of phonographs and millions of shiny phonograph records. In the comfort of their living rooms, they listened and danced to popular songs that reflected the carefree spirit of the age. One hit tune of 1921 told of a young couple who were determined to enjoy themselves even though they didn’t have much money:

“Night or daytime, it’s all playtime,
Ain’t we got fun?
Hot or cold days, any old days,
Ain’t we got fun?
If wifie wishes to go to a play,
Don’t wash the dishes, just throw them away!”

—Gus Kahn and Raymond B. Egan,
“Ain’t We Got Fun?”

A New Mass Culture

Objectives

- Trace the reasons that leisure time increased during the 1920s.
- Analyze how the development of popular culture united Americans and created new activities and heroes.
- Discuss the advancements of women in the 1920s.
- Analyze the concept of modernism and its impact on writers and painters in the 1920s.

Terms and People

Charlie Chaplin

The Jazz Singer

Babe Ruth

Charles Lindbergh

flapper

Sigmund Freud

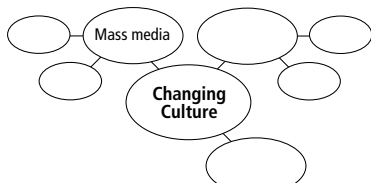
“Lost Generation”

F. Scott Fitzgerald

Ernest Hemingway

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Look for ways in which culture changed during the 1920s.



Why It Matters The automobile reshaped American culture, creating new forms of recreation and making it easier for people to travel. Other factors also contributed to changing ways of daily life. Americans listened to the radio, went to the movies, and followed the exploits of sports heroes. In the process, a new mass culture emerged—one whose shape and character closely resemble our own. **Section Focus Question:** How did the new mass culture reflect technological and social changes?

New Trends in Popular Culture

The 1920s was in many respects the first decade of our modern era. Even as cultural issues divided Americans from different regions or economic levels, technology was beginning to break down other barriers. Nowhere is this more evident than in the leisure interests of the American people.

Americans Enjoy More Leisure Time The growth of cities changed leisure patterns. On farms, people worked from dawn to dusk, with little time to spare. In the evenings, a farm family might play games, read, or sing together around the piano. Occasionally, they joined other farm families and townfolk for picnics or a game of baseball. They did not have the time or the money for more extensive leisure pursuits.

City life was different. The average workweek in all industries fell from 70 hours in 1850 to 55 in 1910 to 45 by 1930. The workweek itself also changed from seven days a week to six and at last to five. At the same time, salaries and wages were on the rise.

▼ Charlie Chaplin, the comic “common man”



Silent Movie Stars

Each silent movie star had his or her own special appeal. The four shown above were among the most popular not only in the United States but around the world.

► Lon Chaney, star of horror films like *The Phantom of the Opera*



▲ Douglas Fairbanks, athletic star of adventure movies

▲ Mary Pickford, known as America's Sweetheart

Americans Flock to the Movies With more free time and disposable income, urban and suburban Americans looked to new sources of entertainment. Motion pictures helped supply that demand.

The technology to make motion pictures had been around for a generation, but the movie industry rose to new heights in the 1920s. A handful of huge studios in Hollywood, California, established monopolies that controlled the production, distribution, and exhibition of movies. During the 1920s, from 60 to 100 million Americans went to the movies each week. Ornate movie palaces or small local theaters became America's cultural classrooms.

For most of the decade, the studios made silent pictures. They were an ideal entertainment at a time when millions of immigrants spoke little English. Motion pictures transcended languages and even literacy, treating universal themes in familiar ways that allowed any viewer to follow the stories. Motion pictures became America's democratic art. Unlike theatrical productions or classical concerts, movies were available to anyone with a few cents to spare. In addition, the fact that movies were silent made it easier for them to cut across geographic boundaries. Hollywood's biggest movies and stars became nearly as popular in far corners of the world as they were at home.

Many stars of the silent era portrayed ordinary folks. Comedian **Charlie Chaplin**, the most popular silent film star, played the Little Tramp. The character was equal parts hobo, dreamer, and poet but an eternal optimist in his ability to charm his audience and continually reinvent himself. Other stars played more romantic types. Handsome Rudolph Valentino was the sheik, as exotic to ordinary Americans as the deserts of Arabia. William S. Hart was a steely-eyed cowboy who came into town to restore law and order.

In 1927, film history changed, suddenly and forever, with the release of *The Jazz Singer*, the first movie with sound synchronized to the action. Audiences were amazed when Al Jolson said—not pantomimed—“You ain't heard nothin' yet” and then launched into a song. Silent pictures quickly faded out, replaced by “talkies.” But whether silent or sound, movies spoke directly to the desires, needs, fears, and fantasies of millions of people in the United States and around the world.

The Radio and Phonograph Break Barriers Like the movies, the phonograph and the radio also became powerful instruments of mass popular culture. Each was the result of both technological advances and business enterprise. Millions of radios and phonographs (as well as phonograph records) were marketed in the 1920s. On a deeper level, the phonograph and radio helped produce a standardized culture. Americans in the East and West and North and South listened to the same songs, learned the same dances, and shared the same popular culture as they never had before.

The radio, or wireless, had been developed in the 1890s by Italian inventor Guglielmo Marconi. Before the 1920s, the radio had been an innovation for a small group of military technicians, telephone operators, and amateur “wireless” operators. Then, in 1920, an executive of the Westinghouse company started radio station KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It was an immediate success. Within three years, there were almost 600 licensed stations broadcasting to more than 600,000 radio sets. Americans listened to music, educational lectures and religious sermons, and news and weather reports. They also heard commercials for a wide variety of consumer products.

Radios brought distant events into millions of homes in a way unmatched by newspapers or magazines. In 1927, much of America listened to a championship boxing match between Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey. That night, theaters and movie houses played to empty seats as Americans huddled next to their sets. Even the men on death row at Sing Sing prison listened to the broadcast. Before the 1920s, such coverage of an event had been impossible.

The phonograph allowed people to listen to the same music they heard on the radio, but whenever they wanted. Early phonographs employed difficult-to-use wax cylinders and suffered from poor sound quality. In the 1920s, grooved disc recordings and superior sound reproduction improved the sound of the earlier machines. Recordings helped spread country and western music from the South and West to the North and East, while pop tunes from New York City’s Tin Pan Alley traveled in the other direction. As they listened to the same songs, Americans also learned the same fashionable dances, from the fox trot to the Charleston.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did movies and the radio cut across geographic barriers?

An Age of Heroes

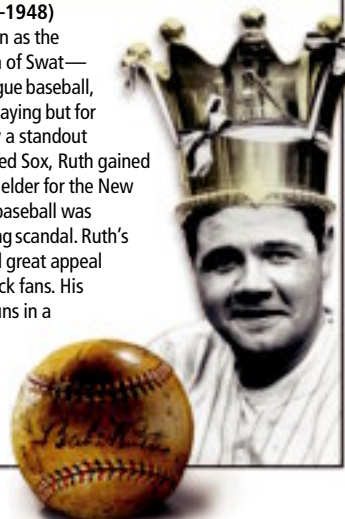
Hollywood’s chief rivals for the creation of heroes were the nation’s baseball parks, football fields, and boxing rings. Before the 1920s, there were relatively few nationally famous athletes, such as boxer John L. Sullivan and all-around athlete Jim Thorpe. Most sports stars were local heroes. This changed by the 1920s, often called the Golden Age of Sports.

Sports Heroes Win Fans Thanks to increased newspaper readership and the rise of radio coverage, every major sport boasted nationally famous performers. Perhaps the leading sports hero was baseball home-run king **Babe Ruth**. Others included Red Grange in football, Jack Dempsey in boxing, Bobby Jones in golf, and Bill Tilden in tennis. Women athletes, too, gained fame, from tennis player Helen Wills to Gertrude Ederle, the first woman to swim the English Channel.

HISTORY MAKERS

Babe Ruth (1895–1948)

Babe Ruth—also known as the Bambino and the Sultan of Swat—towered over major league baseball, not only while he was playing but for decades after. Originally a standout pitcher for the Boston Red Sox, Ruth gained fame as a slugging outfielder for the New York Yankees. In 1920, baseball was suffering from a gambling scandal. Ruth’s amazing home runs and great appeal helped the sport win back fans. His record for most home runs in a season stood for more than 30 years, and his record for most home runs in a career lasted even longer.





Lucky Lindy Crosses the Atlantic

"Well, I made it," Charles Lindbergh said simply as he landed his airplane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, in Paris. Moments later, soldiers had to rescue him from the thousands of well-wishers who crowded the airfield.

was in its infancy. Flying aces had played a role in World War I, and a few small domestic airlines carried mail and passengers. But airplanes were still a novel sight to most Americans. The pilot became a new breed of hero, a romantic daredevil who risked death with every flight.

Lindbergh outdid them all. In May 1927, he took off from Long Island, New York, in his tiny single-engine plane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, and headed east—to Paris, France. Other pilots had flown across the Atlantic Ocean before, but Lindbergh was the first to do it solo and non-stop. The flight took more than 33 hours, and the lone pilot had to stay awake the entire time. He also recalled, "In the daytime I knew where I was going, but in the evening and at night it was largely a matter of guesswork."

When Lindbergh landed in Paris, he became an instant media celebrity, dubbed Lucky Lindy and the Lone Eagle. The radio reported on his landing, and movie newsreels showed his triumphant return home. The modest young man from the Midwest became the greatest hero of his time.

✓ Checkpoint How did the new mass media contribute to the popularity of heroes?

Why did athletes reach such heights of popularity? Part of the answer is that the Golden Age of Sports was also the Golden Age of the Sports-writer. Such journalists as Damon Runyon and Grantland Rice captured the excitement of sports events in their colorful prose. Turning the finest athletes into seemingly immortal gods, the sports-writers nicknamed Babe Ruth the Sultan of Swat and dubbed Notre Dame's football backfield the Four Horsemen.

The other part of the answer is that the decade needed heroes. World War I had shattered many Americans' faith in progress, making the world seem cheap and flawed. Athletic heroes reassured Americans that people were capable of great feats and lofty dreams. If in our heroes we see our idealized selves, the sports heroes of the 1920s gave Americans a sense of hope.

Lucky Lindy Crosses the Atlantic Even the biggest sports stars could not match the adoration given aviator **Charles Lindbergh**. In the 1920s, the airline industry

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize As you read, classify the various types of changes that took place in women's lives in the 1920s.

Women in the 1920s		
Social Changes	Political Changes	Economic Changes

Women Assume New Roles

In a 1931 book, *Only Yesterday*, journalist Frederick Lewis Allen attempted to make sense of the fads, heroes, and problems of the 1920s. Featured prominently was the New Woman. During the decade, many women challenged political, economic, social, and educational boundaries, to prove that their role was as vital outside the home as inside it.

Flappers Challenge Older Limits During the Victorian Age of the late 1800s and early 1900s, women had been expected to center their lives on the home and family. The New Woman of the 1920s, noted Allen, was more liberated. She wore dresses with shorter hemlines, put on more makeup, danced to the latest crazes, and generally assumed that she had the same political and social rights as any man.

THE NEW Woman?



What was new about the “New Woman” of the 1920s? The flapper—exciting to some and shocking to others—became the most familiar symbol of women’s new freedom. But for most women, change came more slowly and subtly.

◀ New Products for the Housewife

Even for the majority of women who stayed at home to care for the house and children, life changed. New consumer products such as dishwashers and vacuum cleaners made housework easier.



The Flapper ▲

“Flappers are we/ Flappers wild and free,” crowed a song of the 1920s. “Never too slow/ All on the go.” But although flappers influenced styles and attitudes, relatively few women were full-fledged flappers.

◀ Women Pioneers

In the 1920s, individual women seized opportunities to blaze new trails in fields from politics to auto mechanics.

“Firsts” for American Women, 1920s

Florence Allen	First woman state judge (1920)
Marie Luhring	First woman automotive engineer (1920)
Rebecca Felton	First woman in U.S. Senate (1922)
Nellie Tayloe Ross	First woman governor (1924)
Gertrude Ederle	First woman to swim English Channel (1926)
Dorothy Arzner	First woman to direct a talking movie (1927)
Phoebe Omlie	First woman to earn a federal pilot’s license (1927)

Office Workers The trend toward more women entering the workforce continued throughout the decade. Some white-collar jobs, such as stenographers and telephone operators, became predominantly female.

Thinking Critically

- Evaluate Information** Why were the “Firsts” shown on the table at left important?
- Draw Conclusions** Why do you think the flapper became a major symbol even though relatively few women were flappers?



Vocabulary Builder

sociological—(soh see uh LAH jih kuhl) *adj.* having to do with the study of human society and social relations

Popular magazines, **sociological** studies, novels, and movies all echoed Allen's observations. The rejection of Victorian morality seemed so total and the New Woman so novel that the change amounted to a "revolution in manners and morals." The symbol of all these changes was the **flapper**, a young woman with short skirts and rouged cheeks who had her hair cropped close in a style known as a bob.


There was only a germ of truth in the various observations. The Victorian code of separate spheres for men and women was disappearing but not as rapidly or as completely as Allen indicated. The flapper was undoubtedly more publicized than imitated. Still, the image of the flapper underscores an important aspect of the decade. Not all women aspired to be flappers, but many wanted more control over their lives—and got it.

Women Make Strides The great fight for suffrage had been won with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. What was the next step? Some groups, such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association, called on women to work in reform movements, run for office, or fight for laws to protect women and children in the workplace. Some women had success in public life. In 1925, Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming and Miriam Ferguson of Texas became the first women elected as their state's governor.

The National Women's Party took a more militant position, demanding complete economic, social, and political equality with men. Their primary goal was the passage of an Equal Rights Amendment. Most women, though, believed that a new constitutional amendment was premature. They set more achievable goals and made significant strides in employment. Although most working women continued to toil in domestic service and manufacturing, others moved into clerical, sales, and management positions. Women also won jobs in journalism, aviation, banking, and the legal and medical professions.

Family Life Changes Perhaps the most widespread revolution taking place in women's lives was a quiet one. During the decade, women tended to live longer, marry later, and have fewer children, freeing their time to pursue other interests. Some entered the workforce, others devoted more time to charitable work, and still others joined clubs that discussed books and ideas. All these pursuits enlarged the intellectual world of women.

The consumer economy of the 1920s benefited women. Electric vacuum cleaners and irons took some of the labor and drudgery out of household chores. Of course, not all women shared in the blessings of technology. Many homes in rural America had no access to electricity. For women in these regions, household labor continued to involve intense, even painful, work. They drew and carried water from wells, heated irons on stoves, and washed clothes by hand. Here again, the split between urban and rural Americans was distinct.

 **Checkpoint** What political gains did American women make during the 1920s?

Modernism in Art and Literature

No area of American life, however, reflected the impact of World War I more than literature and the arts. The war altered the way writers and artists viewed the world, changed the way they approached their craft, and inspired them to experiment with new forms and fresh ideas.

The Arts Reflect a Mood of Uncertainty During the Victorian era, most poets and novelists had expressed a belief in progress, placing boundless faith in human potential. But World War I called the notion of progress into question.

How could a society ruled by the idea of progress embark on a war that killed millions of people, destroyed monuments of civilization, and left survivors hungry, homeless, and hopeless? This was not an action of a rational people, a new generation of writers argued, but the irrational exploits of civilization without a sense of direction. This pessimistic, skeptical worldview sparked an artistic movement known as modernism.

The theories of Austrian **psychologist Sigmund Freud** (SIHG muhnd froid) also contributed to literary and artistic modernism. Freud argued that much of human behavior is driven not by rational thought but by unconscious desires. To live in society, people learn to suppress these desires. But the tension between outward behavior and the subconscious, said Freud, could lead to mental and even physical illness. Freud's theories led writers and artists to explore the subconscious mind.

Modern Painting Challenges Tradition Modernism clashed head-on with traditionalism most dramatically in the field of modern art. Since the late 1800s, European painters had led the way in seeking a fresh visual idiom, or language. They moved away from representational paintings that simply reproduced real life and experimented with more abstract styles.

Vocabulary Builder

psychologist—(sī KAHL uh jihst) *n.* scientist who studies the human mind and the process of thought and emotion

Modern Art

By the 1920s, many artists had broken away from purely representational styles. The two American artists shown here used vastly different methods in their work. *How do these paintings reflect the changing world of the 1920s? How do they express differing moods?*



Edward Hopper: *Automat*

Basically realistic, Edward Hopper's works often reflect the loneliness and anonymity of urban life. In this 1927 painting, a woman dressed in flapper style eats in a restaurant where even the food is dispensed by machine.



Joseph Stella: *Brooklyn Bridge*

Joseph Stella was one of the few American painters to follow a European style called futurism, which celebrated change and technology. This 1920 painting is more abstract than Hopper's, but the subject matter is still recognizable.

▲ Original cover of *Main Street*

American Postwar Novelists

Quick Study

Novelist	Major Themes	Representative Work
Willa Cather (1873–1947)	Frontier life on the Great Plains	<i>My Ántonia</i> (1918) depicts the passing of the American frontier through the life of an immigrant girl in Nebraska.
William Faulkner (1897–1962)	Life in the South; inner workings of mind	<i>The Sound and the Fury</i> (1929) uses different narrators to tell the story of the complex inner workings of a Southern family.
F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940)	The Jazz Age	<i>The Great Gatsby</i> (1925) shows the emptiness of the Jazz-Age world of flappers and bootleggers.
Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961)	Disillusionment of postwar generation	<i>A Farewell to Arms</i> (1929) tells the story of doomed love between a cynical American ambulance driver and a nurse during World War I.
Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951)	Small-town life in the Midwest	<i>Main Street</i> (1920) paints a satirical portrait of small-minded people in an American town.
Edith Wharton (1862–1937)	Life among the rich in New York	<i>The Age of Innocence</i> (1920) depicts a wealthy young man prevented by social conventions from marrying the woman he loves.

Most Americans got their first real glimpse of the new European approach at a major art show at New York's 69th Infantry Regimental Armory in 1913. Traditionalists were outraged by the Armory Show, and Theodore Roosevelt said that most of it represented the “lunatic fringe” of the art world. But many American painters were inspired by the bold new styles. They began their own search for artistic honesty in abstract patterns. In the 1920s, paintings by Edward Hopper, Man Ray, Joseph Stella, and Georgia O’Keeffe demonstrated the richness and varied styles of American artists. At the same time, the works of artists such as Archibald Motley and William H. Johnson portrayed African American perspectives on modern life.

Postwar American Literature Flowers American writers of the 1920s are often referred to as the “**Lost Generation**” because they no longer had faith in the cultural guideposts of the Victorian era. But many were inspired by their “lost” condition to search for new truths and fresh ways of expressing those truths. Never in American history had one decade seen the emergence of so many great literary talents. A list of writers who rose to distinction in the 1920s includes F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Edith Wharton, Sinclair Lewis, William Faulkner, Gertrude Stein, Eugene O’Neill, and T. S. Eliot. Each of these writers remains today on any list of distinguished American authors.

Novelist **F. Scott Fitzgerald** explored the reality of the American dream of wealth, success, and emotional fulfillment. In *This Side of Paradise*, he wrote that his generation had “grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, and all faiths in man shaken.” In *The Great Gatsby* (1925), his most accomplished work, Fitzgerald showed the American dream ending in nightmare. In the novel, through hard work and careful planning, James Gatz re-creates himself as Jay Gatsby, a successful tycoon. Gatsby fills his home with wild parties, dancing, bootleg liquor, and endless activity:

Primary Source

“In the main hall a bar with a real brass rail was set up, and stocked with gins and liquors and with cordials so long forgotten that most of his female guests were too young to know one from another. By seven o’clock the orchestra had arrived, no thin five-piece affair, but a whole pitful of oboes and trombones and saxophones. . . . People were not invited—they went there. They got into automobiles which bore them out to Long Island, and somehow they ended up at Gatsby’s door.”

—F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*

But in the end, Gatsby is destroyed by the very things he hoped to achieve. His lofty dreams end in a violent, meaningless death.

Fitzgerald's fellow novelist and good friend **Ernest Hemingway** explored similar themes but in a new idiom. Hemingway felt betrayed, not only by the American dream, but also by literary language itself. In *A Farewell to Arms*, his 1929 novel about World War I, Hemingway's narrator says:

Primary Source “I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice. . . . I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrifices were like the stockyards at Chicago if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it. . . . Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates.”

—Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*

In his short stories and novels, Hemingway worked to develop a writing style that reflected his insights. He wrote in unadorned sentences, stripped of vague adjectives and adverbs. He created a style that was as concrete and as powerful as a rifle shot.

Influenced by Freud, other writers explored the subconscious mind. Playwright Eugene O'Neill experimented with techniques that put the subconscious right on stage. In *The Emperor Jones*, the title character gets lost in a jungle and is attacked by imaginary beings called Little Formless Fears. In *Strange Interlude*, characters turn away from their conversations with other people on stage and speak their thoughts directly to the audience.

Certainly, many poets and novelists of the decade were disillusioned. Like Hemingway and Fitzgerald, they wrestled with the meaning of the war and life itself. But in the end, their efforts resulted in the creation of literary masterpieces, not worthless products of aimless despair.

 **Checkpoint** What impact did World War I have on postwar American literature?

HISTORY MAKERS

Gertrude Stein (1874–1946)

Gertrude Stein lived for a while in Europe as a child and returned there after college. A poet and writer, her poetry was highly experimental and often difficult to understand. But her Paris home became a gathering place for writers and artists. She supported new styles and encouraged several American writers, including Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald. It was Stein who called this group the “Lost Generation.”



SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0706

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining the importance of that person or item to American culture of the 1920s.

- Charlie Chaplin
- *The Jazz Singer*
- flapper
- Sigmund Freud
- “Lost Generation”
- F. Scott Fitzgerald
- Ernest Hemingway

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Summarize Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the new mass culture reflect technological and social changes?

Writing About History

3. Compare Write a paragraph comparing the mass culture of today with the mass culture of the 1920s. Consider: What technologies form part of the mass culture? What role do they play in our lives?

Critical Thinking


4. Analyze Information How did the increased popularity of sports heroes and the disillusionment of the “Lost Generation” writers represent different responses to the same events?

5. Identify Main Ideas How did the political role of American women change in the years after World War I?

6. Analyze Literature Reread the selection from *The Great Gatsby*, on the previous page. How does it reflect other information you have learned about the society of the 1920s?

EXPERIENCE THE ROARING TWENTIES

Turn on the radio! Let's go to the movies! In the 1920s, Americans were having fun in ways that hadn't even been invented half a century earlier. And, with new forms of mass communication, fads and entertainment were spreading faster and wider than ever before. For a few pennies, a farmer in Indiana could go to the movies and enjoy the same laughs and thrills as a factory worker in New York or a businessman in San Francisco. Practically every American knew ballplayer Ty Cobb, actress Mary Pickford, and singer Rudy Vallee.

Today, the technology and the fads have changed. But the age of mass culture has never left us.  AUDIO



◀ The Charleston

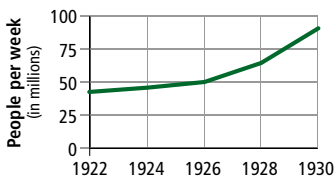
No fad symbolizes the Roaring Twenties more than the Charleston. Here, two young people demonstrate the wild, loose-limbed dance that swept the nation.

Saturday Night at the Movies ▼

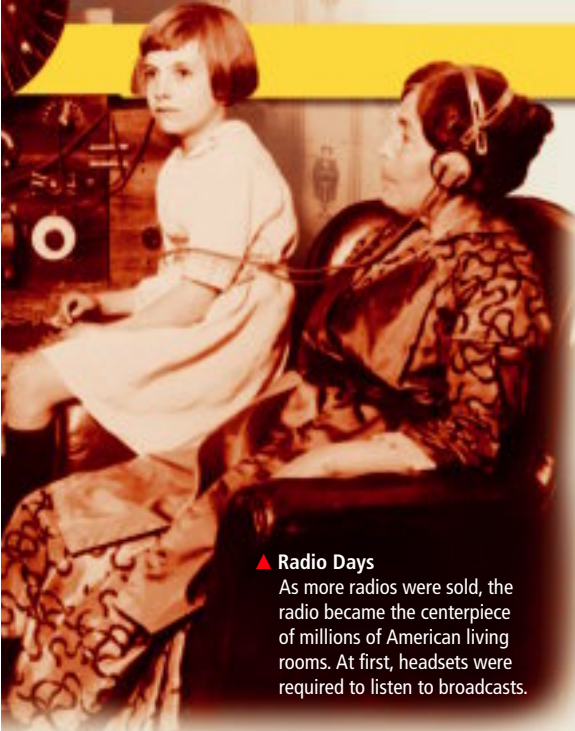
By the 1920s, Americans were going to the movies so often that attendance at other forms of public entertainment, such as theater, suffered. Decades later, the rise of television would have the same effect on movie attendance.



Average Weekly Movie Attendance, 1922–1930

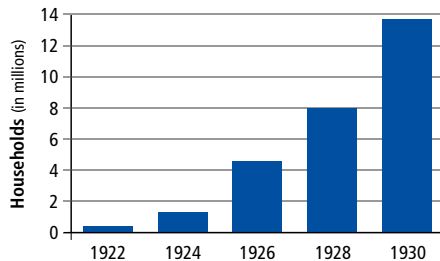


SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States



▲ **Radio Days**
As more radios were sold, the radio became the centerpiece of millions of American living rooms. At first, headsets were required to listen to broadcasts.

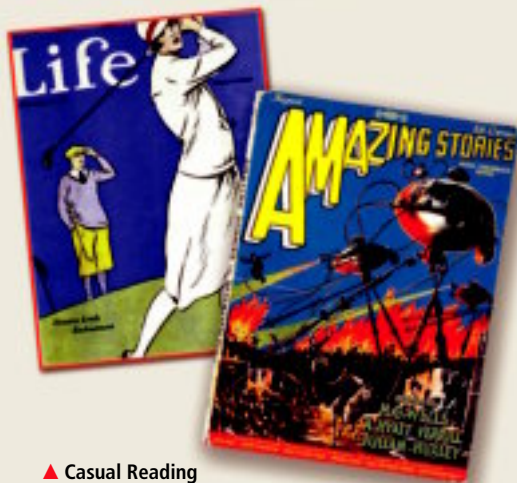
Households With Radios, 1922–1930



SOURCE: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

The Great American Pastime

Baseball remained America's favorite sport, but mass media brought it to an entirely new audience. Here, veteran superstar Ty Cobb (below) of the Detroit Tigers greets some young fans. ▼



▲ **Casual Reading**
Mass-market magazines with eye-catching covers were more popular than ever. This *Life* magazine cover (left) highlights the growing popularity of golf among both men and women. *Amazing Stories* (right) was the first "pulp" magazine devoted exclusively to science fiction.

Thinking Critically

- Analyze Visuals** Identify two ways that technology affected leisure activities.
 - Draw Conclusions** Do you think mass entertainment, such as movies and radio, would promote greater understanding and unity among Americans? Explain.
- Connect to Today** Many people worry that some of today's leisure activities, such as video games and the Internet, have a negative impact on family togetherness. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.

History Interactive*

For: Experience the Mass Culture of the 20s video, audio, and analysis
Web Code: nep-0707

OPPORTUNITY

A JOURNAL OF NEGRO LIFE



◀ Magazines like this one focused on African American culture and history.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

The Excitement of Harlem

In the early 1920s, the New York City neighborhood known as Harlem was the most vibrant African American community in the nation. Teeming with people and teeming with activity, it was also, as one observer noted, “a great magnet for the Negro intellectual.” Among those who were drawn to Harlem was a young Missouri-born poet named Langston Hughes. He later recalled what he felt like as he stepped off the subway:

“I can never put on paper the thrill of the underground ride to Harlem. I went up the steps and out into the bright September sunlight. Harlem! I stood there, dropped my bags, took a deep breath and felt happy again.”

—Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea*

The Harlem Renaissance

Objectives

- Analyze the racial and economic philosophies of Marcus Garvey.
- Trace the development and impact of jazz.
- Discuss the themes explored by writers of the Harlem Renaissance.

Terms and People

Marcus Garvey
jazz
Louis Armstrong
Bessie Smith

Harlem Renaissance
Claude McKay
Langston Hughes
Zora Neale Hurston

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read, identify the main ideas.

- | |
|--|
| <p>I. New “Black Consciousness”</p> <p>A. New Chances, New Challenges</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Migration to North continues 2. <p>B.</p> <p>II.</p> |
|--|

Why It Matters As a result of World War I and the Great Migration, millions of African Americans relocated from the rural South to the urban North. This mass migration continued through the 1920s and contributed to a flowering of music and literature. Jazz and the Harlem Renaissance made a lasting impact, not only on African Americans but on the culture all Americans share. **Section Focus Question:** How did African Americans express a new sense of hope and pride?

A New “Black Consciousness”

Like the immigrants who traveled from Europe and Asia, African Americans who left the South dreamed of a better future. They had heard stories of economic opportunity, social advancement, and greater political rights. The South, they reasoned, was a dead end. Locked into low-paying rural jobs, barred from decent schools, faced with the reality of Jim Crow oppression and the threat of lynching, they pointed their compasses north.

Migrants Face Chances and Challenges Most African American migrants to the north probably found a better life. Wages in a Detroit auto plant or a Pittsburgh steel mill were far better than what a sharecropper earned in the South. In such cities as New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, African Americans had a growing political voice. In those towns, there also existed black middle and upper classes. African American ministers, physicians, lawyers, teachers, and journalists practiced their professions and served as role models to the younger generation.

But in coming North, African Americans had certainly not escaped racism and oppression. On average, they were forced to live in the worst housing and labor in the lowest paying jobs. In addition, as the race riots of the summer of 1919 demonstrated, violence was a threat to African Americans north as well as south of the Mason-Dixon line. After World War I, African Americans increased their demand for a real solution to the country's racial problems.


New York City's Harlem became the focal point for the aspirations of hundreds of thousands of African Americans. Some 200,000 blacks settled in Harlem. Migrants from the South mixed with recently arrived immigrants from Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica. This dynamic blend of different cultures and traditions bred new ideas.

Garvey Calls for Racial Pride The most prominent new African American leader to emerge in the 1920s was **Marcus Garvey**. Born in Jamaica, Garvey traveled widely before immigrating to Harlem in 1916. From his travels, Garvey drew one important conclusion: Everywhere blacks were exploited. To combat the problem, he promoted the idea of universal black nationalism and organized a "Back to Africa" movement. Unlike Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. Du Bois, Garvey did not call for blacks and whites to work together to improve America. Instead, Garvey advocated the separation of the races.

Garvey's message found willing converts in American cities. By the mid-1920s, his Universal Negro Improvement Association boasted almost 2.5 million members and sympathizers. His advocacy of black pride and black support of black-run businesses won considerable support.

Garvey's movement fell apart in the second half of the decade. The federal government sent him to prison for mail fraud and then deported him to Jamaica. Without his powerful leadership, the Universal Negro Improvement Association lost its focus and appeal.

Although Garvey's movement died, his ideas did not fade. The nationalist and separatist aspects of the Nation of Islam and the Black Power movement in the 1960s owed much to Garvey. So, too, did later appeals to black pride, self-reliance, and cultural ties to Africa. Harlem's major newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, later wrote, "In a world where black is despised, he taught [African Americans] to admire and praise black things and black people."

 **Checkpoint** How did Marcus Garvey encourage African American pride?

The Jazz Age

It was F. Scott Fitzgerald who called the 1920s the "Jazz Age." However, it was African Americans who gave the age its jazz. A truly indigenous American musical form, **jazz** is a musical form based on improvisation. Jazz musicians creatively recombine different forms of music, including African American blues and ragtime, and European-based popular music.

A Unique American Music Emerges Jazz emerged in the South and Midwest, particularly New Orleans, where different cultures and traditions came together and influenced each other. Early jazz artists won fame playing in



Marcus Garvey

Dressed in a ceremonial uniform, Marcus Garvey rides in a New York City parade on the opening day of a 1922 convention of a group called Negro Peoples of the World.

Vocabulary Builder

indigenous—(ihh DIHJ uh nuhs)
adj. native to; growing out of a particular region or country

Storyville, a section of New Orleans known for its night life. From the South, it spread north with the Great Migration of African Americans.

Trumpet player **Louis Armstrong** became the unofficial ambassador of jazz. After playing with King Oliver's band in New Orleans and Chicago and with Fletcher Henderson's orchestra in New York, Armstrong began to organize his own groups. His ability to play the trumpet and his subtle sense of improvisation made him a legend and influenced the development of jazz. After Armstrong, all jazz bands featured soloists. Many also began to feature vocal soloists, such as **Bessie Smith**, the "Empress of the Blues."

Jazz Wins Worldwide Popularity Jazz was more than a musical style. It was also a symbol of the Roaring Twenties. It was part of the Prohibition era, played in speakeasies and nightspots in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. It was the sound of the Cotton Club, one of Harlem's most famous attractions, where African Americans played African American music to all-white audiences. Phonograph records and radio spread the influence of jazz across the country and beyond. By the end of the decade, the popularity of jazz had spread to Europe as well.

But jazz was still more. It was a demonstration of the depth and richness of African American culture. Gerald Early, a modern scholar of English and African American studies, predicted that, in the future, America will be best remembered for three great contributions—the Constitution, baseball, and jazz. All three enriched lives, opened windows to new possibilities, and lifted the human spirit. Jazz announced that the United States was a land of shared cultures and traditions, a place where people came together and created something greater than their parts.

Jazz quickly bridged the races. Trumpeter Bix Beiderbecke (Bī der behk) became the first white musician to contribute to the styles and popularity of jazz. Jazz sounds influenced such white songwriters and composers as Cole

Stars of the Jazz Age AUDIO

Not only was Louis Armstrong (below left) an influential trumpeter, he also pioneered "scat," a style in which the singer improvises meaningless syllables that mimic the sounds of musical instruments. The recordings and concerts of blues singer Bessie Smith (below right) made her the highest-paid African American entertainer of the 1920s.



Porter, Irving Berlin, and George Gershwin, whose jazz-inspired orchestral work *Rhapsody in Blue* premiered in 1924. The title of a song by African American band leader Duke Ellington best captures how jazz changed popular music: “It Don’t Mean a Thing If It Ain’t Got That Swing.”

✓ **Checkpoint** How did jazz spread from its roots in the South to the North in the 1920s?

The Harlem Renaissance

Jazz and blues were expressions of the African American experience. The pain of the African American experience can be heard in the blues, and the joy of that experience in the soaring notes of jazz. The range of such African American musicians as Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway speaks to the varieties of African American life. But in the 1920s, there were other expressions of African American culture. Novelists, poets, and artists celebrated their culture and explored questions of race in America. This flowering of African American culture became known as the **Harlem Renaissance**. The Harlem Renaissance helped give a new vocabulary and dynamic to race relations in the United States.

African American Literature Flowers In the 1920s, the term the “New Negro” entered the American vocabulary. It suggested a radical break with the past. No longer would African Americans silently endure the old ways of exploitation and discrimination. The new mood was most vividly expressed in Harlem, which attracted African American novelists, essayists, poets, and journalists from all over the country and beyond. In their work, these writers explored the pains and joys of being black in America, leaving a literary legacy that spoke to all Americans of all times.

Jean Toomer’s *Cane* (1923) set the tone for the Harlem Renaissance. A collection of short stories, poems, and sketches, *Cane* presented African American life and folk culture in all its richness. It was not a blueprint for where African Americans needed to move politically in the future, but a plea to remember and preserve the past.

Soon, other African American writers joined Toomer at the forefront of the Harlem Renaissance. Jamaican immigrant **Claude McKay** was the most militant of these writers. In his novels and poems, McKay showed ordinary African Americans struggling for dignity and advancement in the face of discrimination and economic hardships. A poem that McKay wrote after Chicago was stricken by violent race riots captured his sense of anger and militancy:

Primary Source

“If we must die—let it not be like hogs,
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot.
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Marking their mark at our accursed lot. . . .
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we will face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying but fighting back!”

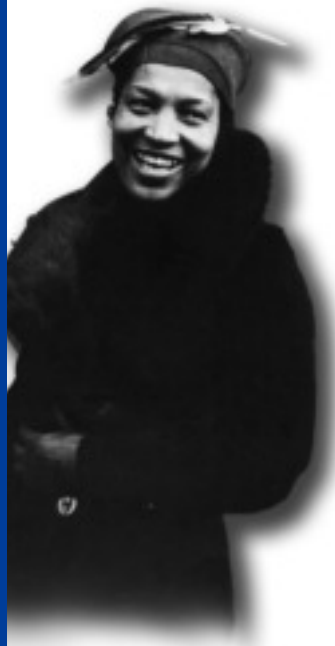
—Claude McKay, “If We Must Die”

HISTORY MAKERS

Duke Ellington (1899–1974)

Duke Ellington became one of the most important early figures in jazz and probably its greatest composer. He gained fame in the 1920s, when his band played in Harlem nightclubs. Hiring many skilled musicians, he arranged his music to showcase their talents. Ellington wrote or arranged about two thousand pieces of music that range from popular songs to ballets and movie music. Before his death, he had been awarded the highest honors from the governments of both the United States and France.





▲ Zora Neale Hurston

McKay represented the political and ideological left wing of the Harlem Renaissance. More in the center was **Langston Hughes**, probably the most powerful African American literary voice of his time. For Hughes, the force of the movement was not politics but a celebration of African American culture and life. (See the American Literature feature on the next page.) In more than 50 works of fiction, poetry, journalism, and criticism, he captured the remarkable diversity of everyday African American life. In the last line of his autobiography *The Big Sea*, Hughes wrote, “Literature is a big sea full of many fish. I let down my nets and pulled. I’m still pulling.”

Another powerful voice was **Zora Neale Hurston**. Hurston traveled the rural back roads of her native Florida, collecting folk tales in books such as *Mules and Men*. But Hurston also looked to the future. Her 1937 novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* expressed the new longing for independence felt by many women, black and white.

The Harlem Renaissance Has Lasting Impact The Harlem Renaissance gave a voice to African American culture, just as jazz and blues gave it a tune. It altered the way many white Americans viewed African American culture, and even the way African Americans viewed themselves. James Weldon Johnson, poet and secretary of the NAACP, noted:

Primary Source

“A great deal has been accomplished in this decade of ‘renaissance.’ . . . Today, one may see undesirable stories, but one may also read stories about Negro singers, Negro actors, Negro authors, Negro poets. The connotations of the very word *Negro* have changed. A generation ago many Negroes were half or wholly ashamed of the term. Today, they have every reason to be proud of it.”

—James Weldon Johnson, article in *Harper’s* magazine, 1928

The Harlem Renaissance ended with the national financial collapse that also ended the nation’s decade of prosperity. But the sense of group identity and African American solidarity that it created would become part of the bedrock on which the later civil rights movement would be constructed.



Checkpoint What themes did Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston explore?

SECTION

5 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0708

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining the importance of that person or item to the development of African American culture.

- Marcus Garvey
- jazz
- Louis Armstrong
- Bessie Smith
- Harlem Renaissance
- Claude McKay
- Langston Hughes
- Zora Neale Hurston

2. NoteTaking Identify Main Ideas

Use your section outline to answer the Section Focus Question: How did African Americans express a new sense of hope and pride?

Writing About History

3. Compare and Contrast Write a thesis statement and introductory paragraph for an essay in which you compare the influence of jazz to the influence of the Harlem Renaissance. Consider both the similarities and differences in the two cultural developments.

Critical Thinking

4. Identify Points of View Why do you think Marcus Garvey rejected the goals of earlier African American leaders such as Washington and Du Bois?

5. Analyze Information How did jazz blend cultural influences and cross-cultural divides?

6. Identify Main Ideas Restate the main idea of Claude McKay’s poem “If We Must Die” in your own words.

Two Poems by Langston Hughes

Langston Hughes wrote about how it felt to be African American, from the pain of racial prejudice to his deep pride in his culture and heritage. The two poems below are among his most famous.



▲ Langston Hughes

The Negro Speaks of Rivers

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.¹

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:

Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

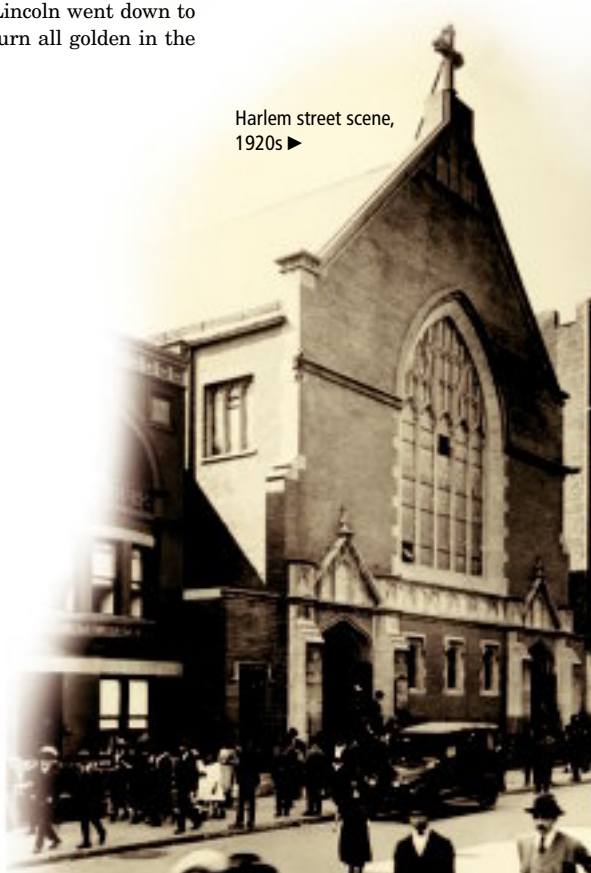
My People

The night is beautiful,
So the faces of my people.

The stars are beautiful,
So the eyes of my people.

Beautiful, also, is the sun.
Beautiful, also, are the souls of my people.

Harlem street scene,
1920s ►



Thinking Critically

1. Analyze Literature In "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," what point do you think Hughes is making when he names four rivers at four different periods of history?

2. Make Inferences How would you describe the speaker's attitude toward being African American in these poems?

1. The Euphrates is a river in the Middle East. The Nile and the Congo are rivers in Africa.

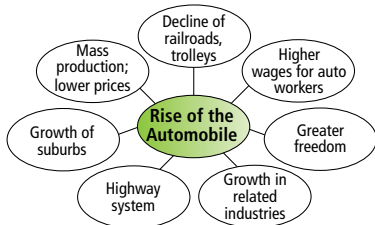
Quick Study Guide

Progress Monitoring *Online*

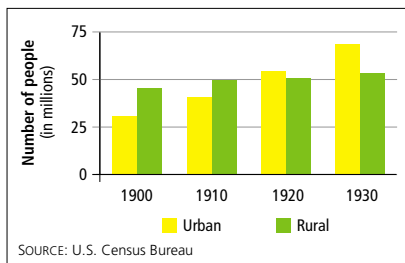
For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0709

Rise of the Automobile



Urban and Rural Population, 1900–1930



Quick Study Timeline



In America

1919
Eighteenth Amendment is ratified

1920
Warren Harding elected President



1922
Investigations into Teapot Dome scandal begin

Economic Policies of Harding and Coolidge

Goal: Support Economic Growth

Policy: Raise Tariffs

- Increased sales of domestic goods
- Led to tariff war with foreign nations

Policy: Cut Government Spending

- Cut national debt
- Created federal budget surplus

Policy: Support Business

- Encouraged business growth through tax incentives and reduced regulations
- Caused organized labor to lose ground

New Cultural Trends

Mass culture	Radio and movies unite people of different regions.
Prohibition	Crime rises as people find ways to avoid the ban on alcohol.
Fundamentalism	Many Christians promote a literal interpretation of the Bible and return to traditional values.
Modernism	Literature and art depict postwar disillusionment and the influence of the subconscious on human behavior.
Jazz	Musical style blends elements of African American and European forms.
Harlem Renaissance	Literature and art express pride and aspirations of African Americans.

Presidential Terms

Woodrow Wilson 1913–1921

Warren Harding 1921–1923

1919

1921

1923

Around the World

1919
Paris peace conference meets

1921
World Court is founded in the Netherlands

1923
Reparations contribute to inflation in Germany

American Issues

Connector

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code:** neh-8003).

Issues You Learned About

● **U.S. Immigration Policy** The U.S. government makes decisions about how many immigrants to allow into the country.

1. In the mid-1800s, the United States experienced a wave of immigration. From which countries did the majority of these immigrants come?
2. What measures had been taken to restrict immigration before the 1920s?
3. Was the National Origins Act biased? Explain.

● **Women in American Society** Women's roles in society continue to change and evolve, allowing women greater opportunities.

4. What amendment gave women the right to vote, and when was it ratified?
5. What immediate changes were the result of women's winning the right to vote?
6. How did the role of women in society change in the 1920s?

● **Technology and Society** New technological developments continually change the way Americans work and play.

7. Prior to the automobile, what inventions in transportation transformed the way people and goods traveled in the United States?
8. What social changes did the automobile bring to America?
9. What other technological changes affected American culture in the 1920s?

Connect to Your World

Activity

Migration and Urbanization In the 1920s, the migration of Americans throughout the country formed new urban centers. Over the decades, American population centers have continued to shift. For instance, in 1920 only one western city—Los Angeles—had a population greater than 500,000. Conduct research to find out which American cities have a population greater than one million. Then, create a map that shows your findings. Write a summary statement explaining how population centers have shifted since 1920.

History Interactive

For: Interactive timeline
Web Code: nep-0711



1924
National Origins Act sets up quota system for immigration

Calvin Coolidge 1923–1929

1925

1924
Stalin comes to power in the Soviet Union



1925
Scopes trial begins in Tennessee

1927

1927
The Jazz Singer, first talking movie, opens

1927
Civil war begins in China

1929
Stock market crash marks end of 1920s prosperity

Herbert Hoover 1929–1933

1929

1928
Major nations sign Kellogg-Briand Pact to ban war

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

1. Define **bull market**. How did it affect the investment activities of Americans?
2. Who was **Andrew Mellon**? What economic goals did he achieve?
3. What was the **Eighteenth Amendment**? Which lawmakers supported it?
4. Define **modernism**. Explain how modernist ideas could be viewed in literature.
5. What was the **Harlem Renaissance**? Name and describe the accomplishments of two people who took part in it.

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the United States experience both economic growth and social change in the decade after World War I?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 5 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. How did the booming economy of the 1920s lead to changes in American life?

Section 2

7. How did domestic and foreign policy change direction under Harding and Coolidge?

Section 3

8. How did Americans differ on major social and cultural issues?

Section 4

9. How did the new mass culture reflect technological and social changes?

Section 5

10. How did African Americans express a new sense of hope and pride?

Critical Thinking

11. **Analyze Evidence** What evidence supports the conclusion that Henry Ford cared about the quality of life of his workers?
12. **Predict Consequences** What likely happened in the 1930s to people who, in the 1920s, bought goods they could not afford on the installment plan?
13. **Analyze Information** Did Harding show good leadership of the country? Explain.
14. **Draw Inferences** Why did Congress support the Kellogg-Briand Pact even when lawmakers knew that its provision could not be enforced?
15. **Summarize** How could you describe the cultural differences between rural and urban Americans in the 1920s? What issues led to cultural clashes between the two groups?
16. **Analyze Information** What did athletes represent for Americans in the 1920s?
17. **Evaluate Information** List four changes that affected women in the 1920s. Which of these do you think had the most immediate effect? Which do you think was most important in the long term?
18. **Identify Central Issues** What did southern African Americans hope to find by moving north? Did they achieve their goals?

Writing About History

Writing a Comparison-and-Contrast Essay Evaluations and interpretations of historical eras often change over time or differ from historian to historian. Write the introductory paragraph and outline for an essay comparing two historical views on one of the following topics: the prosperity of the 1920s; the presidency of Calvin Coolidge; the role of the United States in world affairs after World War I; the “New Woman.”

Prewriting

- Use Internet or library sources to find two different interpretations or descriptions of one of the topics above. You may use this textbook as one of your sources.
- Make a Venn diagram to identify similarities and differences in the two articles.

Drafting

- Develop a working thesis in which you define the differences between the two historical interpretations.
- Write an opening paragraph in which you introduce the topic and summarize the major differences between your two sources.
- Make an outline organizing your supporting details.

Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your writing.



Document-Based Assessment

Scientific Management and Mass Production

The legacy of Henry Ford included not only the popularly priced automobile but techniques of mass production. What were his goals in introducing these techniques, and what impact did they have? Use your knowledge of the chapter material and Documents A, B, C, and D to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document A

"If you and your workman have become so skillful that you and he together are making two pairs of shoes in a day, while your competitor and his workman are making only one pair, it is clear that after selling your two pairs of shoes you can pay your workman much higher wages than your competitor who produces only one pair of shoes is able to pay his man, and that there will still be enough money left over for you to have a larger profit than your competitor. . . . The greatest permanent prosperity for the workman, coupled with the greatest prosperity for the employer, can be brought about only when the work of the establishment is done with the smallest combined expenditure of human effort, plus nature's resources, plus the cost for the use of capital in the shape of machines, buildings."

—Frederick Taylor, *Principles of Scientific Management*, 1911

Document B

"[In 1914], Ford announced that he would nearly double the minimum salary paid to his 13,600 workers to \$5 a day, and reduce the workday from nine hours to eight. In a stroke, he transformed the people who manufacture automobiles into the people who buy them. . . . The reaction from business thinkers was generally negative. 'He's crazy, isn't he?' asked Adolph Ochs, publisher of the *New York Times*. . . . The *Wall Street Journal* went even further, accusing Ford of having 'committed economic blunders, if not crimes' and applying 'spiritual' principles where they don't belong."

—Kevin Baker, "Ford's Paradox," 2000

Document C



Assembly line at Ford auto plant, 1928

Document D

"We have decided upon and at once put into effect through all the branches of our industries the five day week. Hereafter there will be no more work with us on Saturdays and Sundays. These will be free days, but the men, according to merit, will receive the same pay equivalent as for a full six day week. . . . It does not pay to put men at work, excepting in continuous operations, from midnight until morning. As a part of low cost production—and only low cost production can pay high wages—one must have a big investment in machinery and power plants. Expensive tools cannot remain idle. They ought to work twenty-four hours a day, but here the human element comes in, for although many men like to work all night and have part of their day free, they do not work so well and hence it is not economical, or at least that is our experience, to go through the full twenty-four hours."

—Henry Ford, "Why I Favor Five Days' Work With Six Days' Pay," 1926

- Documents C and D provide evidence that Henry Ford
 - applied the principles described in Document A.
 - disagreed with the principles described in Document A.
 - had influenced the writer of Document A.
 - had listened to the criticisms of the business leaders quoted in Document B.
- According to Document B, why did many business leaders disapprove of Ford's wage plan?
 - It did not take the well-being of his workers into account.
 - It was not based on accepted business principles.
 - It violated antitrust laws.
 - It would give Ford an unfair advantage over his competitors.
- According to Document D, why did Ford institute the five-day workweek?
 - If his machinery was not used over the weekend, it would last longer.
 - His company would save money if he could pay his workers for only five days' work instead of six.
 - He was giving in to the demands of labor unions for a shorter workweek.
 - The five-day workweek would allow maximum productivity and efficiency.
- Writing Task** Who was right: Henry Ford or his critics? Use your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.