Why It Matters

In the 1920s, new technology, including automobiles, airplanes, radios, and electric appliances helped create a booming economy with rising stock prices and increased consumer spending. In 1929, economic problems triggered the Great Depression. This led to increased federal regulation of the economy and several new programs, such as Social Security as the federal government took on the task of protecting people from economic hardship.
The Great White Way, Times Square, New York, 1925
Chapter 17

The Jazz Age
1921–1929

SECTION 1 The Politics of the 1920s
SECTION 2 A Growing Economy
SECTION 3 A Clash of Values
SECTION 4 Cultural Innovations
SECTION 5 African American Culture

Joe “King” Oliver’s jazz band plays in San Francisco in 1921, with singer Lil Hardin.

1921
- Harding 1921–1923
- Ireland becomes independent country

1922
- Coolidge 1923–1929
- Claude McKay’s Harlem Shadows is published
- Mussolini and Fascists take power in Italy
- France invades Ruhr
- Teapot Dome scandal erupts

1923
- Vladimir Lenin dies
- Hitler writes Mein Kampf

1924
- Congress passes National Origins Act
- Scopes trial begins

1925
- Mussolini and Fascists take power in Italy
- France invades Ruhr
- Teapot Dome scandal erupts

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS
Why Does Culture Change?

In the 1920s, technology spurred economic growth and cultural change. Although not everyone approved, young people adopted new styles of dress, listened to jazz music, and had more independence than earlier generations.

- What technologies changed life in the 1920s?
- How do you think the invention of radio and movies changed popular culture?

Categorizing the Harlem Renaissance

Create a Trifold Book Foldable to present a brief biography, with artistic works, of major figures in the Harlem Renaissance under the category of writers, poets, and musicians. You may want to expand on your entries by using the Internet.

HistoryONLINE Chapter Overview
Visit glencoe.com to preview Chapter 17.
Section 1

The Politics of the 1920s

Warren G. Harding’s administration suffered from corruption and scandals. His successor, Calvin Coolidge, worked hard to restore the American public’s faith in their government and to promote a healthy economy.

The Harding Administration

**MAIN Idea** President Harding staffed his administration with political friends from Ohio; his presidency was marred by many scandals.

**HISTORY AND YOU** If you were choosing teammates, would you pick a friend or a better player? Read on to learn about the problems Harding created by making poor choices for government appointments.

Warren G. Harding was born in 1865 in Corsica, Ohio. In 1898 voters elected Harding to the Ohio General Assembly, where he fit in comfortably with the powerful Ohio Republican political machine. Voters elected him as Ohio’s lieutenant governor in 1903 and United States senator in 1914. After serving one term in the Senate, Harding ran for and won the presidency in 1920.

Harding’s political philosophy fit in well with the times. In his campaign, he had promised “a return to normalcy,” by which he meant “normal” life after the war. His charm and genial manner endeared him to the nation, and people applauded when the open, easygoing atmosphere of the Harding administration replaced the quiet gloom of President Wilson’s last years.

Teapot Dome and Other Scandals

Harding made several distinguished appointments to the cabinet, including former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state, former Food Administrator Herbert Hoover as secretary of commerce, and business tycoon Andrew Mellon as secretary of the treasury. All three men would play an important role in supporting and shaping the economic prosperity of the 1920s.

Many of Harding’s other appointments, however, were disastrous. He gave cabinet posts and other high-level jobs to friends and political allies from Ohio. Harding named Harry M. Daugherty, his campaign manager and boss of the Ohio Republican Party, attorney general. He made his boyhood friend Daniel Crissinger chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and selected Colonel Charles R. Forbes—another Ohio acquaintance—to head the Veterans Bureau.

Harding felt more comfortable among his old poker-playing friends, known as the Ohio Gang, than he did around such sober and
serious people as Herbert Hoover. One of Harding’s aides told William Allen White of the Emporia Gazette:

**Primary Source**

“The air [would be] heavy with tobacco smoke, trays with bottles containing every imaginable brand of whiskey . . . cards and poker chips at hand—a general atmosphere of waistcoat unbuttoned, feet on desk, and spittoons alongside.”

—quoted in The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932

The Ohio Gang did more than drink, smoke, and play poker with the president. Some members used their positions to sell government jobs, pardons, and protection from prosecution. Forbes sold scarce medical supplies from veterans’ hospitals and kept the money for himself, costing the taxpayers about $250 million. When Harding learned what was going on, he complained privately that he had been betrayed. He said that he had no troubles with his enemies, but his friends were a different story: “They’re the ones that keep me walking the floor nights!”

In June 1923 Harding left to tour the West. En route from Alaska to California, he became ill with what was probably a heart attack. He died in San Francisco on August 2, shortly before the news of the Forbes scandal broke. Early the next morning, the vice president, Calvin Coolidge, took the oath of office and became president.

The Forbes scandal was only the latest in a series of scandals and accusations that had marked the Harding administration. The most famous scandal, known as Teapot Dome, began in early 1922 when Harding’s secretary of the interior, Albert B. Fall, secretly allowed private interests to lease lands containing U.S. Navy oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California. In return, Fall received bribes from these private interests totaling more than $300,000.

After the Wall Street Journal broke the story, the Senate launched an investigation that took most of the 1920s to complete. Trials followed; the Supreme Court invalidated the leases in 1927, and in 1929 Secretary Fall became the first cabinet officer in American history to go to prison.
Another Harding administration scandal involved Attorney General Harry Daugherty. During World War I, the federal government had seized a German-owned company in the United States as enemy property. To acquire the company and its valuable chemical patents, a German agent bribed a “go-between” politician, and a portion of the bribe ended up in a bank account that Daugherty controlled.

Under investigation by his own Justice Department, Daugherty refused to turn over requested files and bank records. He also refused to testify under oath, claiming immunity, or freedom from prosecution, on the grounds that he had had confidential dealings with the president. Daugherty’s actions disgusted the new president, Calvin Coolidge, who demanded his resignation.

“Silent Cal” Takes Over

Calvin Coolidge was very different from Harding. Harding had enjoyed the easy conversation and company of old friends. Coolidge, joked a critic, could be “silent in five languages.” Although he quickly distanced himself from the Harding administration, Coolidge asked the most capable cabinet members—Hughes, Mellon, and Hoover—to remain in the cabinet. Coolidge’s philosophy of government was simple. He believed that prosperity rested on business leadership and that part of his job as president was to make sure that government interfered with business and industry as little as possible.

In the year following Harding’s death and the revelations of the scandals, Coolidge avoided crises and adopted policies to help keep the nation prosperous. He easily won the Republican nomination for president in 1924.

The Republicans campaigned using the slogan “Keep Cool with Coolidge.” They promised the American people that the policies that had brought prosperity would continue. Coolidge won the election easily, winning more than half the popular vote and 382 electoral votes.

**Analyzing** What do the scandals of the Harding administration have in common with each other?
Policies of Prosperity

**MAIN Idea** During the 1920s, the government cut taxes and spending to encourage economic growth.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you have a sales tax in your state? Do you think taxes are too high? How do you know? Read to learn about changes to American taxes in the 1920s.

Although Harding gave many corrupt friends government jobs, he also selected several highly qualified individuals for his cabinet. Among them were Andrew Mellon and Herbert Hoover. Both of these men were responsible for policies that contributed to the economic growth and prosperity of the 1920s.

At the beginning of the 1920s, the nation had a large national debt, and many people were worried that it would not recover from the postwar recession. Harding chose Andrew Mellon, a successful banker and industrialist, to be secretary of the treasury. Mellon became the chief architect of economic policy and served as secretary of the treasury for three Republican presidents.

When Mellon took office, he had three major goals: to balance the budget, to reduce the government’s debt, and to cut taxes. He was convinced these policies would promote economic growth and prosperity. He also firmly believed that the government should apply business principles to its operations.

In 1921 Mellon convinced Congress to create both the Bureau of the Budget to prepare a unified federal budget, and the General Accounting Office to track spending. He then began cutting spending. The federal budget fell from $6.4 billion to less than $3 billion in seven years. He also cut tax rates.

Mellon argued that high tax rates actually reduced the amount of tax money the government collected. If taxes were lower, businesses and consumers would spend and invest their extra money, causing the economy to grow. As the economy grew, Americans would earn more money, and the government would actually collect more taxes at a lower rate than it would if it kept tax rates high. This idea is known today as supply-side economics, or “trickle-down” economics.

At Mellon’s urging, Congress dramatically reduced tax rates. When Mellon took office, most taxpayers paid 4 percent federal income tax, while wealthy Americans in the highest bracket paid 73 percent. By 1928, Congress had reduced the rate most Americans paid to 0.5 percent and cut the rate for the wealthiest Americans to 25 percent.

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover also sought to promote economic growth. He tried to balance government regulation with his own philosophy of cooperative individualism. This idea involved encouraging businesses to form trade associations that would voluntarily share information with the federal government. Hoover believed this system would reduce costs and promote economic efficiency.

To assist businesses, Hoover directed the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to find new markets for companies. He also established the Bureau of Aviation to regulate and promote the growth of the airline industry and the Federal Radio Commission to help the young radio industry by regulating radio frequencies and the power of transmitters.

**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Analyzing Primary Sources** What does Coolidge believe is the point of accumulating wealth? Do you believe that the United States has achieved Coolidge’s goals? Explain.

2. **Evaluating** Based on the graphs, what did Coolidge’s economic policies achieve in the 1920s?

**Reading Check** Summarizing What strategies did Mellon use to promote economic growth?
**Trade and Arms Control**

**MAIN Idea** During the 1920s, the United States tried to promote peace and stability through economic policies and arms control agreements.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember reading about the Treaty of Versailles and how the United States never ratified it? Read to learn how America initiated other treaties in the 1920s.

Before World War I the United States was a debtor nation. By the end of the war, the situation was reversed. Wartime allies owed the United States more than $10 billion in war debts. By the 1920s, the United States was the dominant economic power in the world. Under the leadership of Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes, the nation tried to use its economic power to promote peace and stability.

**The Myth of Isolationism**

The majority of Americans—tired of being entangled in the baffling, hostile, and dangerous politics of Europe—favored isolationism. This is the idea that the United States will be safer and more prosperous if it stays out of world affairs.

To many people at the time, it appeared that the United States had become isolationist. The United States had not ratified the Treaty of Versailles and had not joined the League of Nations. The Permanent Court of International Justice, better known as the World Court, opened in 1921, but the United States refused to join it as well.

Despite appearances, the United States was too powerful and too interconnected with other countries economically to be truly isolationist. Instead of relying on armed force and the collective security of the League of Nations, the United States tried to promote peace by using economic policies and arms control agreements.

**The Dawes Plan**

America’s former allies had difficulty making the payments on their immense war debts. High American tariffs hampered their economic

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**The Washington Conference, November 1921–February 1922**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treaty</th>
<th>Signers</th>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Four-Power Treaty</td>
<td>United States, Great Britain, France, Japan</td>
<td>• All agreed to respect the others’ territory in the Pacific</td>
<td>• Mutual defense of other co-signers not specified</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Full and open negotiations in the event of disagreements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Five-Power Treaty</td>
<td>United States, Great Britain, France, Japan,</td>
<td>• All agreed to freeze naval production at 1921 levels and halt production of large warships for 10 years</td>
<td>• No restrictions on the construction of smaller battle craft such as submarines and naval destroyers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>• U.S. and Great Britain agreed not to build new naval bases in the western Pacific</td>
<td>• Did not place restrictions on the ground forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine-Power Treaty</td>
<td>United States, Great Britain, France, Japan,</td>
<td>• All agreed to preserve equal commercial rights to China—a reassertion of the Open Door policy</td>
<td>• No enforcement of the terms of the Open Door policy specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Italy, Belgium, China, the Netherlands, Portugal</td>
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**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Interpreting Charts** Which countries signed the Five-Power Treaty?
2. **Analyzing** Why do you think the terms of the treaties focused on the Pacific region?
recovery by making it difficult to sell their products in the United States. This meant they could not acquire the money to pay off their war debts. These countries also were receiving reparations—huge cash payments Germany was required to make as punishment for starting the war. These payments, however, were crippling the German economy.

It was vital for the United States that European economies be healthy so that the Europeans could buy American exports and repay their debts. Thus, in 1924, American diplomat Charles G. Dawes negotiated an agreement with France, Britain, and Germany by which American banks would make loans to Germany that would enable it to make reparations payments. In exchange, Britain and France would accept less in reparations and pay back more on their war debts.

The Washington Conference

Despite their debts, the major powers were involved in a costly postwar naval arms race. To end the weapons race, the United States invited representatives from eight major countries—Great Britain, France, Italy, China, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal—to Washington, D.C., to discuss disarmament. The Washington Conference opened on November 12, 1921.

In his address to the delegates, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes proposed a 10-year moratorium, or halt, on the construction of new warships. He also proposed a list of warships in each country’s navy to be destroyed, beginning with some American battleships. The discussions that followed produced the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty in which Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States essentially formalized Hughes’s proposal.

As a long-term effort to prevent war, the conference had some serious shortcomings. It did nothing to limit land forces. It also angered the Japanese because it required Japan to maintain a smaller navy than either the United States or Great Britain. It did, however, give Americans cause to look forward to a period of peace, recovery, and prosperity.

Abolishing War

The apparent success of the Washington Conference boosted hopes that written agreements could end war altogether. Perhaps the highest expression of that idea occurred when U.S. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand proposed a treaty to outlaw war. On August 27, 1928, the United States and 14 other nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Although it had no binding force, the pact was hailed as a victory for peace. It stated that all signing nations agreed to abandon war and to settle all disputes by peaceful means. The Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Dawes Plan were perhaps the most notable foreign policy achievements of the Coolidge administration.

Identifying What problem was the Dawes Plan intended to solve?

Vocabulary
1. Explain the significance of: Teapot Dome, supply-side economics, cooperative individualism, isolationism, Charles G. Dawes, Charles Evans Hughes, Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Main Ideas
2. Summarizing What scandals marred Harding’s presidency?
3. Explaining What strategies did Andrew Mellon and Herbert Hoover use to stimulate economic growth?
4. Describing In what two ways did the United States try to promote peace during the 1920s?

Critical Thinking
5. Big Ideas What efforts did the United States make to promote worldwide economic recovery?
6. Categorizing Use a graphic organizer like the one below to list the major terms of the treaties resulting from the Washington Conference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Terms of Treaties</th>
</tr>
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</table>

7. Analyzing Visuals Examine the charts on page 592. What explanation can you offer for the drop in the United States’s budget from 1919 to 1928?

Writing About History
8. Persuasive Writing Imagine that you are an American business owner or farmer in the 1920s. Write a letter to your representatives in Congress explaining why you think cutting taxes is a good or bad idea.

History ONLINE
Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.
In the 1920s widespread ownership of automobiles, radios, and other innovations changed how Americans lived. The Coolidge administration encouraged business growth and tried to promote stability in international affairs.

The Rise of New Industries

**MAIN Idea** Mass production and the assembly line allowed new industries, such as automobile and airplane manufacturing, to grow.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How would businesses, governments, and your family be affected if air travel did not exist? Read to learn how the transportation industry changed during the 1920s and 1930s.

By the 1920s, the automobile had become an accepted part of American life. In a 1925 survey conducted in Muncie, Indiana, 21 out of 26 families who owned cars did not have bathtubs with running water. When asked why her family decided a car was more important than indoor plumbing, a farm wife explained, “You can’t ride to town in a bathtub.”

The automobile was just one part of a rising standard of living that Americans experienced in the 1920s. Real per capita earnings soared 22 percent between 1923 and 1929. Meanwhile, as Americans’ wages increased, their work hours decreased. In 1923 U.S. Steel cut its daily work shift from 12 hours to 8 hours. In 1926 Henry Ford cut the workweek for his employees from six days to five, and International Harvester, a maker of farm machinery, instituted an annual two-week paid vacation for employees. These changes took place because **mass production**, or large-scale manufacturing done with machinery, increased supply and reduced costs. Workers could be paid more and the consumer goods they bought cost less.

The Assembly Line and the Model T

First adopted by carmaker Henry Ford, the moving **assembly line** divided operations into simple tasks and cut unnecessary motion to a minimum. In 1913 Ford installed the first moving assembly line at his plant in Highland Park, Michigan. By the following year, workers were building an automobile every 93 minutes. Before, the task had taken 12 hours. By 1925 a Ford car was rolling off the line every 10 seconds. Ford was the first person to build factories based on the concept of the assembly line.

Ford’s assembly-line product was the **Model T**—affectionately called the “Tin Lizzie” or “Flivver.” In 1908, the Model T’s first year,
Many industries that were needed to build cars prospered. Car manufacturers needed steel for the car body, glass for the windows, and rubber for the tires. The automobile also led to changes in society. People moved to the suburbs, but were less isolated from the benefits of the city. At the same time, there was a decline in mass transportation such as railroads and trolleys.

In 1914 mass production reduced the price to $490. Three years later, improved assembly-line methods and a high volume of sales brought the price down to $360. By 1924 Model Ts were selling for $295, and Ford sold millions of them. His business philosophy was: lower the cost per car and thereby increase the volume of sales.

The low prices made possible by Ford’s mass-production methods not only created an immense market for his cars but also spawned imitators. By the mid-1920s, other car manufacturers, notably General Motors and Chrysler, competed successfully with Ford. The auto industry also spurred growth in other industries, such as rubber, plate glass, nickel, and lead. The auto industry alone consumed 15 percent of the nation’s steel and led to a huge expansion of the petroleum industry.

**High Wages for Workers** Ford also increased his workers’ wages in 1914 to $5 a day (doubling their pay) and reduced the workday to eight-hour shifts. Ford took these dramatic steps to build up workers’ loyalty and to undercut union organizers.
There were strings attached, however. Ford created a “Sociological Department,” which set requirements workers had to meet. For example, renting space in one’s home to nonfamily members was strictly forbidden. Investigators visited employees’ homes to verify their eligibility and workers who broke the rules could be disqualified from extra pay, suspended, or even fired.

**The Social Impact of the Automobile**

Cars revolutionized American life. They eased the isolation of rural life and enabled more people to live farther from work. An entirely new kind of worker, the auto commuter, appeared. Since commuters could drive from their homes in suburbia to their workplaces, other forms of urban transportation, such as the trolley, became less popular.

**Consumer Goods**

In response to rising disposable income, many other new goods came on the market. Americans bought such innovations as electric razors, facial tissues, frozen foods, and home hair color.

Companies created many new products for the home. As indoor plumbing became more common, Americans’ concern for hygiene led to the development of numerous household cleaning products. By appealing to people’s health concerns, advertisers convinced homemakers to buy cleansers in hopes of protecting their families from disease.

New appliances advertised as labor-savers changed the home. Electric irons, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and refrigerators changed the way people cleaned their homes and prepared meals.

Another lucrative category of consumer products focused on Americans’ concern with fashion and youthful appearance. Mouthwash, deodorants, cosmetics, and perfumes became popular products in the 1920s.

**Birth of the Airline Industry**

In the early 1900s, many people were trying to build the first powered airplane that could...
carry a human being. Samuel Langley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, was perhaps best known for his attempts at the time. Langley had built small model airplanes powered by steam engines, and the War Department had awarded him $50,000 to build an airplane that could carry a person. On December 8, 1903, Langley demonstrated his plane to government officials in Washington, D.C. Unfortunately, his plane broke apart on takeoff and crashed into the Potomac River.

The War Department, in its final report on the Langley project, concluded that “[W]e are still far from the ultimate goal, and it would seem as if years of constant work and study by experts, together with the expenditure of thousands of dollars, would still be necessary before we can hope to produce an apparatus of practical utility on these lines.”

Nine days later, Wilbur and Orville Wright, two inventors from Dayton, Ohio, tested the airplane they had built using only $1,000 of their personal savings. The Wright brothers had carefully studied the problems of earlier airplanes and had designed one with better wings, a more efficient propeller, and a strong but very light engine. On December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, Orville made the first crewed, powered flight in history.

After the Wright brothers’ successful flight, the aviation industry began developing rapidly. Leading the way was American inventor Glenn Curtiss. Curtiss owned a motorcycle company in Hammondsport, New York. Fascinated by airplanes, he agreed in 1907 to become director of experiments at the Aerial Experiment Association, an organization that Alexander Graham Bell founded. Within a year, Curtiss had invented ailerons—surfaces attached to wings that can be tilted to steer the plane. Ailerons made it possible to build rigid wings and much larger aircraft. They are still used today.

Curtiss’s company began building aircraft and sold the first airplanes in the United States. The company grew from a single factory to a huge industrial enterprise during World War I, as orders for his biplanes and engines flooded in from Allied governments. Although Curtiss retired in 1920, his inventions made possible the airline industry that emerged in the 1920s.
After Curtiss and other entrepreneurs started building practical aircraft, the federal government began to support the airline industry. President Wilson’s postmaster general introduced the world’s first regular airmail service in 1918 by hiring pilots to fly mail between Washington, D.C., and New York. In 1919 the Post Office expanded airmail service across the continent.

The aviation industry received an economic boost in 1925 when Congress passed the Kelly Act, authorizing postal officials to contract with private airplane operators to carry mail. The following year Congress passed the Air Commerce Act, which provided federal aid for building airports. Former airmail pilot Charles Lindbergh made an amazing transatlantic solo flight in 1927, showing the possibilities of commercial aviation. By the end of 1928, 48 airlines were serving 355 American cities.

### The Radio Industry

In 1913 Edwin Armstrong, an American engineer, invented a special circuit that made it practical to transmit sound via long-range radio. The radio industry began a few years later. In November 1920 the Westinghouse Company broadcast the news of Harding’s landslide election victory from station KDKA in Pittsburgh—one of the first public broadcasts in history. That success persuaded Westinghouse to open other stations.

In 1926 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) set up a network of stations to broadcast daily programs. By 1927, almost 700 stations dotted the country. Sales of radio equipment grew from $12.2 million in 1921 to $842.5 million in 1929, by which time 10 million radios were in use across the country.

In 1928 the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) assembled a coast-to-coast network of stations to rival NBC. The two networks sold advertising time and hired musicians, actors, and comedians from vaudeville, movies, and the nightclub circuit to appear on their shows. Americans experienced the first presidential election campaign to use radio broadcasts in 1928, when the radio networks sold more than $1 million in advertising time to the Republican and Democratic Parties.

### Analyzing

How did the automobile change the way people lived?

Higher wages and shorter workdays resulted in a decade-long buying spree that kept the economy booming. Shifting from traditional attitudes of thrift and prudence, Americans in the 1920s enthusiastically accepted their new role as consumers.

### The Consumer Society

**MAIN Idea** Consumer credit and advertising helped to create a nation of consumers.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever purchased something on credit or bought an item because of advertising? Read to discover the beginnings of the widespread consumer culture in America.

**Easy Consumer Credit**

One notable aspect of the economic boom was the growth of individual borrowing. Credit had been available before the 1920s, but most Americans had considered debt shameful. Now, however, attitudes toward debt started changing as people began believing in their ability to pay their debts over time. Many
listened to the sales pitch “Buy now and pay in easy installments,” and racked up debts. Americans bought 75 percent of their radios and 60 percent of their automobiles on the installment plan. Some started buying on credit at a faster rate than their incomes increased.

**Mass Advertising**

When inventor Otto Rohwedder developed a commercial bread slicer in 1928, he faced a problem common to new inventions: the invention—sliced bread—was something no one knew was needed. To attract consumers, manufacturers turned to advertising, another booming industry in the 1920s.

Advertisers linked products with qualities associated with the modern era, such as progress, convenience, leisure, success, and style. In a 1924 magazine advertisement for deodorant, the headline read, “Flappers they may be—but they know the art of feminine appeal!” An advertisement for a spaghetti product told homemakers that heating is the same as cooking: “Just one thing to do and it’s ready to serve.” Advertisers also preyed on consumers’ fears and anxieties, such as jarred nerves due to the hectic pace of modern life or insecurities about one’s status or weight.

**The Managerial Revolution**

By the early 1920s, many industries had begun to create modern organizational structures. Companies were split into divisions with different functions, such as sales, marketing, and accounting. To run these divisions, businesses needed to hire managers. Managers freed executives and owners from the day-to-day running of the companies.

The managerial revolution in companies created a new career—the professional manager. The large numbers of new managers helped expand the size of the middle class, which in turn added to the nation’s prosperity. Similarly, so many companies relied on new technology that engineers were also in very high demand. They, too, joined the ranks of the growing middle class.
Welfare Capitalism

Middle-class Americans were not the only members of the new consumer society. Industrial workers also had more disposable income, partly due to rising wages and partly because many corporations introduced what came to be called welfare capitalism. Companies allowed workers to buy stock, participate in profit sharing, and receive medical care and pensions.

The Decline of Unions Benefits programs also made unions seem unnecessary to many workers. During the 1920s, unions lost both influence and membership. Employers promoted the open shop—a workplace where employees were not required to join a union. With benefits covering some of their basic needs, workers were able to spend more of their income to improve their quality of life. Many purchased consumer goods they previously could not afford.

Uneven Prosperity Not all Americans shared in this economic boom. Thousands of African Americans had factory jobs during World War I. When servicemen returned from the war, they replaced both African Americans and women.

Native Americans were also excluded from prosperity. Although granted citizenship in 1924, they were often isolated on reservations, where there was little productive work. The majority of immigrants to the United States continued to come from Europe. Even these people often found it difficult to find work; most of them were farmers and factory workers whose wages were pitifully low.

Many people in the Deep South were also left out of the economic boom. The traditional agricultural economic base eroded after the war ended. Farmers in general failed to benefit from the general prosperity.

Analyzing How did advertisers try to convince Americans to buy their products?

Prosperity for Whom?

Although many people benefited from the economic boom of the 1920s, several groups did not share in the general prosperity, nor did all regions of the country. Members of minority groups, newly arrived immigrants, and farmers often struggled economically. During the 1920s, for example, laborers in manufacturing not only outnumbered farmers but also acquired three times more actual wealth.

For many African Americans, including this family in rural Georgia, the 1920s was a time of poverty, not prosperity.
The Farm Crisis

**MAIN Idea** Increases in farm productivity and decreases in foreign markets led to lower prices for farmers.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember reading about the platform of the Populist Party in the 1890s? Read to learn about farmers’ troubles in the 1920s.

American farmers did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s. On average, they earned less than one-third of the income of workers in the rest of the economy. Technological advances in fertilizers, seed varieties, and farm machinery allowed them to produce more, but higher yields without a corresponding increase in demand meant that they received lower prices. Between 1920 and 1921, corn prices dropped almost 19 percent, and wheat went from $1.83 a bushel to $1.03. The cost of the improved farming technology, meanwhile, continued to increase.

**Changing Market Conditions**

Many factors contributed to this “quiet depression” in American agriculture. During the war, the government had urged farmers to produce more to meet the great need for food supplies in Europe. Many farmers borrowed heavily to buy new land and new machinery to raise more crops. Sales were strong, prices were high, and farmers prospered. After the war, however, European farm output rose, and the debt-ridden countries of Europe had little money to spend on American farm products. Congress had unintentionally made matters worse when it passed the Fordney-McCumber Act in 1922. This act raised tariffs dramatically in an effort to protect American industry from foreign competition. By dampening the American market for foreign goods, however, it provoked a reaction in foreign markets against American agricultural products. Farmers in the United States could no longer sell as much of their crops overseas, and prices tumbled.

**Helping Farmers**

Some members of Congress tried to help the farmers sell their surplus. Every year from 1924 to 1928, Senator Charles McNary of Oregon and Representative Gilbert Haugen of Iowa proposed the McNary-Haugen Bill, a plan in which the government would boost farm prices by buying up surpluses and selling them, at a loss, overseas.

Congress passed the bill twice, but President Coolidge vetoed it both times. He argued that with money flowing to farmers under this law, they would be encouraged to produce even greater surpluses. American farmers remained mired in a recession throughout the 1920s.

**Synthesizing** What factors led to the growing economic crisis in farming?
A Clash of Values

Historians often call the 1920s the “Roaring Twenties” because the decade seemed to be one long party. Many Americans celebrated the new “modern” culture that was emerging. Not everyone, however, agreed that the new trends were a good thing; some believed traditional society and morality were under attack.

Nativism Resurges

MAIN Idea
Nativism and racism increased in the 1920s and led to changes in immigration laws.

HISTORY AND YOU
In your school, is there a limit to the number of students in each class? Read to learn why the United States imposed new rules in the 1920s limiting the number of immigrants admitted each year.

The 1920s was a time of economic growth, but it was also a time of cultural turmoil. When the 1920s began, an economic recession, an influx of immigrants, and cultural tensions combined to create an atmosphere of disillusionment and intolerance. The fear and prejudice many felt toward Germans and communists during and after World War I expanded to include all immigrants. This triggered a general rise in racism and nativism—a belief that one’s native land needs to be protected against immigrants.

During World War I, immigration to the United States had dropped sharply. By 1921, however, it had returned to prewar levels, with the majority of immigrants coming from southern and eastern Europe. Many Americans reacted to the bombings, strikes, and recession of the postwar years by blaming immigrants. Many believed immigrants were taking jobs that would otherwise have gone to soldiers returning home from the war.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case

The controversial Sacco-Vanzetti case reflected the prejudices and fears of the era. On April 15, 1920, two men robbed and murdered two employees of a shoe factory in Massachusetts. Police subsequently arrested two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, for the crime.

The case created a furor when newspapers revealed that the two men were anarchists, or people who oppose all forms of government. They also reported that Sacco owned a gun similar to the murder weapon and that the bullets used in the murders matched those in Sacco’s gun. The evidence was questionable, but the fact that the accused men were anarchists and foreigners led many people to assume they were guilty, including the jury. On July 14, 1921,
Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty and sentenced to death. After six years of appeals, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed on August 23, 1927.

**Return of the Ku Klux Klan**

At the forefront of the movement to restrict immigration was the Ku Klux Klan, or KKK. The old KKK had flourished in the South after the Civil War and used threats and violence to intimidate newly freed African Americans. The new Klan had other targets as well: Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and other groups said to be “un-American.” In the 1920s, the Klan claimed it was fighting for “Americanism.”

William J. Simmons founded the new Ku Klux Klan in Georgia, in 1915. A former preacher, Simmons pledged to preserve America’s white, Protestant civilization. The Klan attracted few members until 1920, when Simmons began using professional promoters to sell Klan memberships. By 1924 membership had reached nearly 4 million as it spread beyond the South into Northern cities.

The Klan began to decline in the late 1920s, however, largely as a result of scandals and power struggles between its leaders. Membership shrank, and politicians backed by the Klan were voted out of office. In addition, new restrictions on immigration deprived the Klan of one of its major issues.
Changing Roles for Women

As women achieved greater independence, access to higher education, and professional opportunities in the 1920s, they adopted new clothing styles that expressed their identities.

Controlling Immigration

American immigration policies changed in response to the postwar recession and nativist pleas to “Keep America American.” Even some business leaders, who had favored immigration as a source of cheap labor, now saw the new immigrants as radicals.

In 1921 President Harding signed the **Emergency Quota Act**. The act restricted annual admission to the United States to only 3 percent of the total number of people in any ethnic group already living in the nation. Ethnic identity and national origin thus determined admission to the United States.

In 1924 the **National Origins Act** made immigration restriction a permanent policy. The law set quotas at 2 percent of each national group represented in the U.S. Census of 1890. Thus, immigration quotas were based on the ethnic composition of the country more than 30 years earlier—before the heavy wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The new quotas deliberately favored immigrants from northwestern Europe. Although subsequent legislation made some changes in immigration laws, the National Origins Act set the framework for immigration for the next four decades.

Hispanic Immigration

While workers and unions rejoiced at the reduction in competition with European immigrants for jobs, employers desperately needed laborers for agriculture, mining, and railroad work. Mexican immigrants were able to fill this need because the National Origins Act of 1924 exempted natives of the Western Hemisphere from the quota system.

Large numbers of Mexican immigrants had already begun moving to the United States after the passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902. The act funded irrigation projects in the Southwest and led to the creation of large factory farms that needed thousands of farmworkers. As the demand for cheap farm labor steadily increased, Mexican immigrants crossed the border in record numbers. By the end of the 1920s, nearly 700,000 had migrated to the United States.

> Many young women adopted the flapper style in the 1920s. They stopped wearing corsets, bobbed their hair, and wore short skirts, high heels, and rounded hats with almost no brim. The style expressed the sense of freedom many women felt in the 1920s.

Women in the 1920s

Having won the right to vote in 1920, many women sought to break free of the traditional roles and behaviors that were expected of them. Attitudes toward marriage—popularized by magazines and other media—changed considerably. As the loving and emotional aspects of marriage grew in importance, the

A Clash of Cultures

**MAIN Idea**  Supporters of the new morality in the 1920s clashed with those who supported more traditional values.

**HISTORY AND YOU**  How do you think older generations view your generation? Read about the changes in morality during the 1920s.

Many groups that wanted to restrict immigration also wanted to preserve what they considered to be traditional values. They feared that a “new morality” was taking over the nation. Challenging traditional ways of behaving, the new morality glorified youth and personal freedom and changed American society—particularly the status of women.
ideas of romance, pleasure, and friendship became linked to successful marriages.

The popularizing of Sigmund Freud’s psychological theories also changed people’s ideas about relationships. Freudian psychology emphasized human sexuality and his theories (often oversimplified) became acceptable subjects of public conversation.

The automobile played a role in encouraging the new morality. Cars allowed young people to escape the careful watch of their parents. Instead of socializing at home with the family, many youths could now use cars to “go out” with their friends.

Women in the workforce began to define the new morality. Many working-class women took jobs because they or their families needed the wages but for some young, single women, work was a way to break away from parental authority and establish financial independence. Earning money also allowed women to participate in the consumer culture.

Fashion, too, changed during the 1920s, particularly for women, who “bobbed,” or shortened, their hair, wore flesh-colored silk stockings, and copied the glamorous look of movie stars. The flapper personified these changes, even though she was not typical of most women. The flapper smoked cigarettes, drank prohibited liquor, and wore makeup and sleeveless dresses with short skirts.

Women who attended college in the 1920s often found support for their emerging sense of independence. Women’s colleges, in particular, encouraged their students to pursue careers and to challenge traditional ideas about women’s role in society.

Many professional women made major contributions in science, medicine, law, and literature in the 1920s. In medicine, Florence Sabin’s research led to a dramatic drop in death rates from tuberculosis while Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, and Edna Ferber each won a Pulitzer Prize in fiction for their novels.

Public health nurse Margaret Sanger believed that families could improve their standard of living by limiting the number of children they had. She founded the American Birth Control League in 1921 to promote knowledge about birth control. This organization became Planned Parenthood in the 1940s. During the 1920s and 1930s, the use of birth control increased dramatically, particularly among middle-class couples.

Educational opportunities for women increased in the 1920s, and with education came new professional opportunities. A 1922 magazine cover depicts a college girl. Below is Judge Florence E. Allen, in her judge’s chambers in Ohio. In 1920 she became the first woman elected to a state supreme court.

Women Earning College Degrees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Degrees Earned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. Speculating Clothing is often used to create a specific impression or to convey social status. What image or attitude does each of these women convey with her attire?

2. Analyzing Visuals What happened to the number of women earning college degrees during the 1920s?
**The War Against Alcohol**

Prohibition supporters argued that it reduced violence, illness, and poverty. Critics argued that it increased violence because gangs fought to control the sale of illegal alcohol, and that it led to illness because many people drank unsafe “moonshine.”

Supporters of Prohibition portrayed the sale of alcohol as a danger to mothers and children.

Prohibition led to the creation of a special federal bureau charged with stopping the sale of illegal alcohol. In this photo, a federal agent cracks open barrels of illegal rum in San Francisco in 1927.

**Fundamentalism**

While many Americans embraced the new morality, others feared that the country was losing its traditional values. They viewed the consumer culture, relaxed ethics, and changing roles of women as evidence of the nation’s moral decline. Many of these people, especially in rural towns, responded by joining a religious movement known as **Fundamentalism**, a name derived from a series of Christian religious pamphlets titled “The Fundamentals.”

**Fundamentalist Beliefs** Fundamentalists believed that the Bible was literally true and without error. They rejected the idea that human beings derived their moral behavior from society and nature, not God. In particular, they rejected Charles Darwin’s theory of **evolution**, which said that human beings had developed from lower forms of life over the course of millions of years. Instead, they believed in **creationism**—the belief that God created the world as described in the Bible.

Two popular preachers, Billy Sunday and Aimee Semple McPherson, stirred supporters by preaching in very nontraditional ways. Sunday, a former professional baseball player, drew huge crowds with his showmanship and rapid-fire sermons. McPherson conducted her revivals and faith healings in Los Angeles in a flamboyant theatrical style, using stage sets and costumes that expressed the themes of her highly emotional sermons.

**The Scopes Trial** In 1925 Tennessee outlawed any teaching that denied “the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible,” or taught that “man descended from a lower order of animals.” The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) advertised for a teacher willing to be arrested for teaching evolution. John T. Scopes, a biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, volunteered. He taught evolution and was arrested.

The trial took place in the summer of 1925. William Jennings Bryan, a three-time presidential candidate, was the prosecutor who...
represented the creationists. Clarence Darrow, one of the country’s most celebrated trial lawyers, defended Scopes. After eight days of trial, Scopes was found guilty and fined $100, although the conviction was later overturned on a technicality. The trial had been broadcast over the radio, and Darrow’s blistering cross-examination of Bryan hurt the Fundamentalist cause. Increasingly, Fundamentalists felt isolated and their commitment to political activism declined.

Prohibition

The movement to ban alcohol grew stronger throughout the late 1800s. People supported the prohibition of alcohol sales for many reasons. Some opposed alcohol consumption for religious reasons; others thought prohibition would reduce unemployment, domestic violence, and poverty. Prohibition supporters achieved their goal when the Eighteenth Amendment, which went into effect in January 1920, was ratified.

Congress passed the Volstead Act, making the U.S. Treasury Department responsible for enforcing Prohibition. Treasury agents had enforced federal tax laws for many years, but police powers—a government’s power to control people and property in the interest of public safety, health, welfare, and morals—had generally been reserved for state governments. The Eighteenth Amendment granted federal and state governments the power to enforce Prohibition, marking a dramatic increase in federal police powers.

The Treasury Department struggled to enforce Prohibition. During the 1920s, treasury agents made more than 540,000 arrests, but Americans persisted in blatantly ignoring the law. People flocked to secret bars called speakeasies, where they could purchase alcohol. In New York City alone, an estimated 32,000 speakeasies sold liquor illegally. Liquor also was readily available in rural areas, where bootlegging—the illegal production and distribution of liquor—was common.

Organized crime thrived on the illegal trade in alcohol. Huge profits could be made smuggling liquor from Canada and the Caribbean. Crime became big business, and some gangsters had enough money to corrupt local politicians. Al Capone, one of the most successful and violent gangsters of the era, had many police officers, judges, and other officials on his payroll. Capone dominated organized crime in Chicago. Finally, Eliot Ness, the leader of a special Treasury Department task force, brought Capone to justice. More than 70 federal agents were killed while enforcing Prohibition in the 1920s.

The battle to repeal Prohibition began almost as soon as the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified. The Twenty-first Amendment, ratified in 1933, repealed the Eighteenth Amendment and ended Prohibition. Prohibition had reduced alcohol consumption, but it had not improved society in the ways its supporters had hoped.

Vocabulary

Main Ideas
2. Identifying What two factors influenced the limits on immigration?
3. Summarizing What issues caused clashes between traditional and new moralities?

Critical Thinking
4. Big Ideas Why did many Americans oppose immigration after World War I? What connections can you make with immigration policies today?
5. Categorizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the provisions of the immigration acts passed in the 1920s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Provisions</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

6. Analyzing Visuals Look at the chart on page 605 showing European immigration. How would these figures have affected someone who was a nativist? Why?

Writing About History
7. Persuasive Writing Imagine it is the 1920s. Write a letter to your senator persuading him or her either to continue supporting Prohibition or to work for its repeal.

Identifying What political, social, and economic contributions did women make to American society in the 1920s?
Section 4

Cultural Innovations

The 1920s was an era of great artistic innovation. Artists and writers experimented with new techniques. Popular culture also changed. Broadcast radio introduced Americans around the country to the latest trends in music and entertainment, and motion pictures became a major leisure-time activity.

Art and Literature

MAIN Idea New York City’s Greenwich Village and Chicago’s South Side became known as centers for new artistic work.

HISTORY AND YOU Is there a neighborhood with many art galleries in your community? Read about the flowering of the arts during the 1920s in the United States.

During the 1920s, American artists and writers challenged traditional ideas. These artists explored what it meant to be “modern,” and they searched for meaning in the emerging challenges of the modern world. Many artists, writers, and intellectuals of the era flocked to Manhattan’s Greenwich Village and Chicago’s South Side. The artistic and unconventional, or bohemian, lifestyle of these neighborhoods allowed young artists, musicians, and writers greater freedom to express themselves.

Modern American Art

European art movements greatly influenced the modernists of American art. Perhaps most striking was the diverse range of artistic styles, each attempting to express the individual, modern experience. American painter John Marin drew on nature as well as the urban dynamics of New York for inspiration, explaining, “the whole city is alive; buildings, people, all are alive; and the more they move me the more I feel them to be alive.” Painter Charles Scheeler applied the influences of photography and the geometric forms of Cubism to urban and rural American landscapes. Edward Hopper revived the visual accuracy of realism in his haunting scenes. His paintings conveyed a modern sense of disenchantment and isolation. Georgia O’Keeffe’s landscapes and flowers were admired in many museums throughout her long life.

Poets and Writers

Poets and writers of the 1920s varied greatly in their styles and subject matter. Chicago poet, historian, folklorist, and novelist Carl...
Many artists and writers focused on the isolation and alienation of modern society. A group of artists who painted urban life became known as the Ashcan Realists. The writers who described modern life as spiritually empty and materialistic became known as the “Lost Generation.”

Excerpt from The Great Gatsby (1925) by F. Scott Fitzgerald

“They were careless people, Tom and Daisy—they smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness or whatever it was that kept them together, and let other people clean up the mess they had made. . . .

I shook hands with him; it seemed silly not to, for I felt suddenly as though I were talking to a child. Then he went into the jewelry store to buy a pearl necklace—or perhaps only a pair of cuff buttons—rid of my provincial squeamishness forever.”

Sandburg used common speech to glorify the Midwest, as did Pulitzer Prize–winner Willa Cather, who wrote about life on the Great Plains. In Greenwich Village, another Pulitzer Prize winner, Edna St. Vincent Millay, expressed women’s equality and praised a life intensely lived.

Several poets had an important impact on the literary culture. Gertrude Stein, an avant-garde poet of the era, was a mentor to many writers, including Ernest Hemingway. Some poets, including Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, and William Carlos Williams, used clear, concise images to express moments in time. Others concentrated on portraying what they perceived to be the negative effects of modernism. In “The Hollow Men,” for example, T.S. Eliot described a world filled with empty dreams that would end “not with a bang but a whimper.”

Among playwrights, one of the most innovative was Eugene O’Neill. His plays, filled with bold artistry and modern themes, portrayed realistic characters and situations, offering a vision of life that sometimes touched on the tragic.

Excerpt from The Hollow Men (1925) by T.S. Eliot

“We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!
Our dried voices, when
We whisper together
Are quiet and meaningless
As wind in dry grass
Or rats’ feet over broken glass
In our dry cellar
Shape without form, shade without colour,
Paralysed force, gesture without motion;
Those who have crossed
With direct eyes, to death’s other
Kingdom
Remember us—if at all—not as lost
Violent souls, but only
As the hollow men
The stuffed men.”
Many American writers wrote about their disillusionment with World War I. Some, known as the “Lost Generation,” moved to Paris or other cities in Europe. There, they often wrote about “heroic antiheroes”—flawed individuals who still had heroic qualities. Ernest Hemingway was one such writer. In direct simple prose, he described the experience of war in such novels as *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *A Farewell to Arms*.

Sinclair Lewis wrote about the absurdities of small-town life in *Main Street* and *Babbitt*. F. Scott Fitzgerald’s colorful characters chased futile dreams in *The Great Gatsby*, a novel critical of modern society’s superficiality. Similarly, Edith Wharton used irony and humor to criticize upper-class ignorance and pretensions. Her 1920 novel, *The Age of Innocence*, won the Pulitzer Prize.

### Popular Culture

**MAIN Idea** Broadcast radio and “talking” pictures were new forms of popular entertainment.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What forms of entertainment make up today’s popular culture? Read how Americans spent their leisure time in the 1920s.

The economic prosperity of the 1920s provided many Americans with more leisure time and more spending money, which they devoted to making their lives more enjoyable. Millions of Americans eagerly watched sports and enjoyed music, theater, and other forms of popular entertainment. They also fell in love with motion pictures and radio programs.

### Movies and Radio Shows

For many Americans in the 1920s, nothing quite matched the allure of motion pictures. Before technology made sound possible in
films, theaters hired piano players to provide music during the feature, while subtitles explained the plot. Audiences thronged to see such stars as Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, Tom Mix, Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., Rudolph Valentino, and Clara Bow. In 1927 the golden age of Hollywood began when the first “talking” picture—*The Jazz Singer*—was produced.

Entertainment programs broadcast over the radio also had a large following during the Jazz Age. Most stations in the 1920s played the popular songs of the day, such as “Yes! We Have No Bananas” and “Ain’t We Got Fun.” Broadcasts such as *The Eveready Hour* offered everything from classical music to comedy. In one of the most popular shows, *Amos ’n’ Andy*, the trials and tribulations of two African American characters (portrayed by white actors) captured the nation’s attention every evening.

The **mass media**—radio, movies, newspapers, and magazines aimed at a broad audience—did more than just entertain. Their easy availability to millions helped break down patterns of provincialism, or narrow focus on local interests. They fostered a sense of shared experience that helped **unify** the nation and spread new ideas and attitudes.

**Sports**

Thanks to motion pictures and radio, sports such as baseball and boxing reached new heights of popularity in the 1920s. Baseball star Babe Ruth became a national hero, famous for hitting hundreds of home runs. As one broadcaster later remarked, “He wasn’t a baseball player. He was a worldwide celebrity, an international star, the likes of which baseball has never seen since.”

Sports fans also idolized boxer Jack Dempsey. Dempsey held the title of world heavyweight champion from 1919 until 1926, when he lost it to Gene Tunney. When Dempsey attempted to win back the title in 1927, fans’ enthusiasm for the rematch reached such a frenzy that one store sold $90,000 worth of radios—an incredible sum at that time—in the two weeks before the event.

Americans eagerly followed other sports and sports figures, too. Newspaper coverage helped generate enthusiasm for college football. One of the most famous players of the 1920s was Red Grange of the University of Illinois. Grange was known as the “Galloping Ghost” because of his speed and ability to evade members of opposing teams.

The triumphs of Bobby Jones, the best golfer of the decade, and tennis players Bill Tilden and Helen Wills, who dominated world tennis, also thrilled sports fans. In 1926 Jones became the first golfer to win the U.S. Open and the British Open in the same year. When swimmer Gertrude Ederle shattered records by swimming the English Channel in a little over 14 hours in 1927, Americans were enchanted.

**Summarizing** How did the economy of the 1920s affect popular culture?
Appreciation

LOUIS DANIEL ARMSTRONG  Writer Stanley Crouch remembers Louis Armstrong, a Jazz Age great.

Pops. Sweet Papa Dip. Satchmo. He had perfect pitch and perfect rhythm. His improvised melodies and singing could be as lofty as a moon flight or as low-down as the blood drops of a street thug dying in the gutter. The extent of his influence across jazz and across American music continues to this day.

Not only do we hear Armstrong in trumpet players who represent the present renaissance in jazz, we can also detect his influence in certain rhythms that sweep from country-and-western music to rap.

Louis Daniel Armstrong was born in New Orleans on August 4, 1901. It was at a home for troubled kids that young Louis first put his lips to the mouthpiece of a cornet and, later, a trumpet.

In 1922 Armstrong went to Chicago, where he joined King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band. The band brought out the people and all the musicians, black and white, who wanted to know how it was truly done.

When he first played in New York City in 1924, his improvisations set the city on its head. The stiff rhythms of the time were slashed away by his combination of the percussive and the soaring. He soon returned to Chicago, perfected what he was doing, and made one record after another.

Louis Armstrong was so much, in fact, that every school of jazz since has had to address how he interpreted the basics of the idiom—swing, blues, ballads, and Afro-Hispanic rhythms. His freedom, his wit, and his discipline give his music a perpetual position in the wave of the future that is the station of all great art.

VERBATIM

“The great creators of the government . . . thought of America as a light to the world, as created to lead the world in the assertion of the right of peoples and the rights of free nations.”

WOODROW WILSON, in defense of the League of Nations, 1920

“We seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World.”

WARREN G. HARDING, Inaugural Address, 1921

“There has been a change for the worse during the past year in feminine dress, dancing, manners and general moral standards. [One should] realize the serious ethical consequences of immodesty in girls’ dress.”

F. Scott Fitzgerald, author, This Side of Paradise

“In New York I saw 7,000,000 two-legged animals penned in an evil smelling cage, . . . streets as unkempt as a Russian steppe, . . . rubbish, waste paper, cigar butts. . . . One glance and you know no master hand directs.”

article in Soviet newspaper PRAVDA describing New York City in 1925
Milestones

**EMBARRASSED, 1920. TEXAS SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD,** a leading proponent of the Eighteenth Amendment, when a large whiskey still is found on his farm.


**DIED, 1923. HOMER MOREHOUSE,** 27, in the 87th hour of a record-setting 90-hour, 10-minute dance marathon.

**EXONERATED, 1921. EIGHT CHICAGO WHITE SOX PLAYERS** charged with taking bribes to throw the 1919 World Series. The players were found “not guilty” when grand jury testimony disappeared. Newly appointed commissioner of baseball Kenesaw Mountain Landis banned the “Black Sox” from baseball.

**MAKING A COMEBACK, 1926. SANTA CLAUS,** after falling into low favor in the last decade. Aiming at children, advertisers are marketing St. Nick heavily.

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**WHAT'S NEW**

**Invented This Decade**

*How did we live without . . .*

- push-button elevators
- neon signs
- oven thermostats
- electric razors
- tissues
- spiral-bound notebooks
- motels
- dry ice
- zippers
- pop-up toasters
- flavored yogurt
- car radios
- adhesive tape
- food disposals
- water skiing
- automatic potato peeler
- self-winding wristwatch

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**CRITICAL THINKING**

1. **Recognizing Bias**  How does the communist newspaper *Pravda* describe New York City? Why do you think the writer described the city in such negative terms?

2. **Making Connections**  Why do you think Charles Lindbergh's flight caused such excitement among Americans in 1927?
Section 5

African American Culture

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Group Action The artistic and political contributions of African Americans changed American society.

Content Vocabulary

- jazz (p. 617)
- blues (p. 618)

Academic Vocabulary

- symbolize (p. 618)
- impact (p. 620)
- ongoing (p. 620)

People and Events to Identify

- Great Migration (p. 616)
- Harlem Renaissance (p. 616)
- Claude McKay (p. 616)
- Langston Hughes (p. 616)
- Zora Neale Hurston (p. 616)
- Cotton Club (p. 618)
- Marcus Garvey (p. 621)

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the African American experience in the 1920s, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the causes and effects of the Harlem Renaissance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harlem Renaissance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Harlem Renaissance was a creative era for African American artists and writers. The growing African American population in the North meant an increasing number of African Americans had meaningful political power to continue the struggle for civil rights.

The Harlem Renaissance

MAIN Idea The Harlem Renaissance sparked new trends in literature, music, and art.

HISTORY AND YOU Can you think of any examples of integrating different cultures in today’s music and visual arts? Read to learn about the contributions of African Americans to the arts during the 1920s.

During World War I and the 1920s, hundreds of thousands of African Americans joined in the Great Migration from the rural South to industrial cities in the North. By moving north, African Americans sought to escape Southern segregation, find economic opportunities, and build better lives. Although job discrimination and economic inequality remained the norm in Northern cities, the North still offered much greater economic opportunities for African Americans compared to the South. After World War I, African American populations swelled in large Northern cities. The cities were full of nightclubs and music, particularly in the New York City neighborhood of Harlem—the heart and soul of the African American renaissance. It was there that African American artistic development, racial pride, and political organization thrived. The result was a flowering of African American arts that became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

The Writers

Claude McKay was the first important writer of the Harlem Renaissance. McKay translated the shock of American racism into Harlem Shadows, a collection of poetry published in 1922. In such poems as “The Lynching” and “If We Must Die,” McKay's eloquent verse expressed a proud defiance and bitter contempt of racism—two striking characteristics of Harlem Renaissance writing. Langston Hughes was a prolific, original, and versatile writer. He became a leading voice of the African American experience in America.

Another important Harlem Renaissance author was Zora Neale Hurston. Hurston published her first novels, Jonah's Gourd Vine and Their Eyes Were Watching God, in the 1930s. Hurston’s personal and spirited portrayals of rural African American culture were also the

NORTH CAROLINA STANDARDS

Eleventh Grade U.S. History

9.03 Analyze the significance of social, intellectual, and technological changes of lifestyles in the United States.
9.04 Describe challenges to traditional practices in religion, race, and gender.
Voices From the Harlem Renaissance

Excerpt from
Dust Tracks on a Road
by Zora Neale Hurston

“I can look back and see sharp shadows, high lights, and smudgy inbetweens. I have been in Sorrow’s kitchen and licked out all the pots. Then I have stood on the peaky mountain wrapped in rainbows, with a harp and a sword in my hands.

“What I had to swallow in the kitchen has not made me less glad to have lived, nor made me want to low-rate the human race... It is the graceless acknowledgment of defeat... I am in the struggle with the sword in my hands, and I don’t intend to run until you run me [away].”

If We Must Die
By Claude McKay

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,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
Oh, Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we’ll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

I, Too, Sing America
by Langston Hughes

I, too, sing America.
I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.
Tomorrow,
I’ll be at the table
When company comes.
Nobody’ll dare
Say to me,
“Eat in the kitchen,”
Then.
Besides,
They’ll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed—
I, too, am America.

First major stories featuring African American women as central characters. Other notable writers of the Harlem Renaissance include Countee Cullen, Alain Locke, Dorothy West, and Nella Larsen.

Jazz, Blues, and the Theater

When New Orleans native Louis Armstrong moved to Chicago in 1922, he introduced an improvisational early form of jazz, a style of music influenced by Dixieland blues and ragtime, with its syncopated rhythms and improvisational elements. Three years later, Armstrong awed fellow musicians with a series of recordings made with his group, the Hot Five. In these recordings, especially in the song “Cornet Chop Suey,” Armstrong broke away from the New Orleans tradition of ensemble or group playing by performing highly imaginative solos. He became the first great cornet and trumpet soloist in jazz music. The artistic freedom of Chicago’s South Side gave Armstrong the courage to create his own type of jazz.

1. Speculating What might have been some of the “pots” in Sorrow’s kitchen for a woman in the Harlem Renaissance?

2. Comparing and Contrasting What does McKay’s poem have in common with Hurston’s excerpt and the poem by Hughes?
The Harlem Renaissance made both jazz and blues music popular and enabled African American entertainers to reach a wide audience.

Ragtime also influenced the composer, pianist, and bandleader Edward “Duke” Ellington, who listened as a teenager to ragtime piano players in Washington, D.C. In 1923 Ellington, also known simply as “Duke,” formed a small band, moved to New York, and began playing in speakeasies and clubs. He soon created his own sound, a blend of improvisation and orchestration using different combinations of instruments. In fact, Ellington often did not like to use the word “jazz,” since he believed it put a restriction on the general concept of his music. The Ellington style appeared in such hits as “Mood Indigo” and “Sophisticated Lady.” Ellington, who had to be forced to practice piano as a child, eventually composed nearly 6,000 musical pieces, about a third of them jazz numbers. He also wrote religious music, the scores for five movies, and a ballet.

Like many other African American entertainers, Ellington got his start at the Cotton Club, the most famous nightclub in Harlem (but one that served only white customers). Years later, reflecting on the music of this era, Ellington said, “Everything, and I repeat, everything had to swing. And that was just it, those cats really had it; they had that soul. And you know you can’t just play some of this music without soul. Soul is very important.”

Bessie Smith seemed to symbolize soul. Her emotional singing style and commanding voice earned her the title “the Empress of the Blues.” Smith sang of unfulfilled love, poverty, and oppression—the classic themes of the blues, a soulful style of music that evolved from African American spirituals. Born in Tennessee, Smith started performing in tent shows, saloons, and small theaters in the South. Discovered by Ma Rainey, one of the early great blues singers, Smith later performed with many of the greatest jazz bands of the era, including those of Louis Armstrong, Fletcher Henderson, and Benny Goodman. Her first recorded song, “Down Hearted Blues,” became a major hit in 1923.

While jazz and blues filled the air during the Harlem Renaissance, the theater arts were also flourishing. Shuffle Along, the first musical written, produced, and performed by African Americans, made its Broadway debut in 1921. The show’s success helped launch a number of
African Americans and 1920s Politics

**MAIN Idea** While the NAACP pursued racial equality through the courts, black nationalists supported independence and separation from whites.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How does a sense of positive self-esteem help you perform better? Read how African Americans developed a new sense of pride.

In 1919, 1,300 African American veterans of World War I marched through Manhattan to Harlem. The march symbolized the new aspirations of African Americans in the 1920s. W. E. B. Du Bois captured the new sense of dignity and defiance of African Americans:

> “We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.”

—quoted in *When Harlem Was in Vogue*

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Excerpt from Bessie Smith’s first hit song, 1923

**Down Hearted Blues**

Gee, but it’s hard to love someone when that someone don’t love you!
I’m so disgusted, heart-broken, too;
I’ve got those down-hearted blues;
Once I was crazy ’bout a man;
he mistreated me all the time,
The next man I get has got to promise me to be mine, all mine!
Trouble, trouble, I’ve had it all my days,
Trouble, trouble, I’ve had it all my days;
It seems like trouble going to follow me to my grave.

**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Hypothesizing** Why do you think many African American performers of the 1920s dressed so formally?
2. **Speculating** How might the Harlem Renaissance have helped overcome racism in American society?
During World War I, thousands of African Americans began the Great Migration from the rural South to the industrial cities of the North. Many African American neighborhoods, including Harlem in New York City, developed at this time.

**African American Population**

During the Great Migration, the population of African Americans in cities such as Chicago, New York, and Detroit increased significantly. The chart shows the population growth from 1910 to 1920.

**Analyzing GEOGRAPHY**

1. **Movement** To what three Midwestern cities did many of the African Americans from the South migrate?
2. **Location** In which cities was the African American population highest in 1920?

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**The Black Vote in the North**

World War I set the stage for African Americans to reenter federal politics in the United States, although perhaps not in the way many expected. The Great Migration of African Americans to the North to take jobs in the war factories had a significant impact on the political power of African Americans in the United States as well. As their numbers grew in city neighborhoods, African Americans became a powerful voting bloc that could sometimes sway the outcome of elections.

At election time, most African American voters in the North cast their votes for Republicans, the party of Abraham Lincoln. In 1928 African American voters in Chicago achieved a significant political breakthrough. Voting as a bloc, they helped elect Oscar DePriest, the first African American representative in Congress from a Northern state. During his three terms in Congress, DePriest introduced laws to oppose racial discrimination and make lynching a federal crime.

**The NAACP Battles Injustice**

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) battled valiantly—but often unsuccessfully—against segregation and discrimination against African Americans. Its efforts focused primarily on lobbying public officials and working through the court system.

The NAACP also lobbied and protested against the horrors of lynching. The NAACP's
persistent efforts led to the passage of anti-lynching legislation in the House of Representatives in 1922. The Senate defeated the bill, but the NAACP continued the fight. Its ongoing efforts to end lynching kept the issue in the news and probably helped to reduce the number of lynchings that took place.

One of the NAACP’s greatest political triumphs occurred in 1930 with the defeat of Judge John J. Parker’s nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. The NAACP joined with labor unions to launch a highly organized national campaign against the North Carolina judge, who allegedly was racist and antilabor. By a narrow margin, the Senate refused to confirm Parker’s nomination. His defeat demonstrated that African American voters and lobby groups had finally achieved enough influence to affect national politics and change decisions in Congress.

Black Nationalism and Marcus Garvey

While the NAACP fought for integration and improvement in the economic and political position of African Americans, other groups began to emphasize black nationalism and black pride. Eventually, some began calling for black separation from white society.

A dynamic black leader from Jamaica, Marcus Garvey, captured the imagination of millions of African Americans with his “Negro Nationalism,” which glorified the black culture and traditions. Inspired by Booker T. Washington’s call for self-reliance, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), an organization aimed at promoting black pride and unity. The central message of Garvey’s Harlem-based movement was that African Americans could gain economic and political power by educating themselves. Garvey also advocated separation and independence from whites. In 1920, at the height of his power, Garvey told his followers they would never find justice or freedom in America, and he proposed leading them to Africa.

The emerging African American middle class and intellectuals distanced themselves from Garvey and his push for racial separation. FBI officials saw UNIA as a dangerous catalyst for black uprisings in urban areas. Garvey also alienated key figures in the Harlem Renaissance by characterizing them as “weak-kneed and cringing . . . [flatterers of] the white man.” Convicted of mail fraud in 1923, Garvey served time in prison. In 1927 President Coolidge commuted Garvey’s sentence and used Garvey’s immigrant status to have him deported to Jamaica.

Despite Garvey’s failure to keep his movement alive, he instilled millions of African Americans with a sense of pride in their heritage and inspired hope for the future. That sense of pride and hope survived long after Garvey and his “back to Africa” movement was gone. This pride and hope reemerged strongly during the 1950s and played a vital role in the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Summarizing How did World War I change attitudes among African Americans toward themselves and their country?
Causes of Prosperity

Government’s Role
- Limits interference with business
- Cuts taxes, debt, and government spending
- Imposes higher tariffs to protect young industries

Business Innovation and Technology
- Mass production creates a wide range of consumer goods sold at low prices.
- Technology such as autos, airplanes, and radio leads to new industries and economic growth.
- Business pays high wages.

New Consumer Society
- People have more disposable income and leisure time
- Credit is more readily available
- Mass advertising begins

A Changing Society

Cultural Changes
- A new youth culture with a “new morality” develops.
- Young people and women gain more independence.
- The working class enjoys more leisure time.
- New mass media in radio, movies, and sports develops.

Changes for African Americans
- Harlem Renaissance begins.
- Literature reveals racial pride and contempt of racism.
- Jazz and blues are popularized.
- Great Migration during the war creates strong African American voting blocs in Northern cities.
- First African American from the North is elected to Congress.
- NAACP battles segregation and discrimination.

Opposition to Change
- Nativists and a new Ku Klux Klan target immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and African Americans.
- Government imposes new quotas on immigration.
- Fundamentalists push for traditional values.
- Prohibition is implemented.
TEST-TAKING TIP

Make sure that you can define the chapter’s vocabulary terms. You will see these words in questions on standardized tests. By understanding their meanings you can omit incorrect answers through the process of elimination.

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

1. What economic philosophy encouraged businesses to form trade associations?
   A monopolies
   B cooperative individualism
   C moratorium
   D supply-side economics

2. Why did some people think that Sacco and Vanzetti did not get a fair trial?
   A Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists.
   B Sacco and Vanzetti were Communists.
   C Sacco and Vanzetti were bohemians.
   D Sacco and Vanzetti were creationists.

3. During Prohibition, what was the name for places where people bought and sold liquor illegally?
   A mass media
   B speakeasies
   C police powers
   D bootlegging

4. The Ohio Gang and Teapot Dome are examples of scandals during the administration of which president?
   A Calvin Coolidge
   B Warren G. Harding
   C Woodrow Wilson
   D William Howard Taft

5. What agreement involved American banks giving loans to Germany to pay war reparations to France and Britain?
   A the Washington Conference
   B the Kellogg-Briand Pact
   C the Dawes Plan
   D the Four-Power Treaty

6. What was Henry Ford’s contribution to manufacturing?
   A the expansion of the petroleum industry
   B the requirement of an open shop
   C the idea of mass marketing
   D the adoption of the assembly line

7. Which of the following changed Americans’ ideas about spending more money on items that were once considered luxury goods?
   A mass production
   B consumer credit
   C advertising
   D welfare capitalism

8. Which statement most accurately describes conditions of American farmers during the economic boom of the mid-1920s?
   A Shortages of fertile land and farm equipment lowered farm income.
   B Overproduction helped keep farmers from participating in the prosperity of the times.
   C Subsidies and other government programs dramatically increased farmers’ incomes.
   D Higher prices for farm products resulted in a higher standard of living for farmers.
9. Nativism and racism → Changes in _____

Which phrase best completes the diagram above?
A economic regulations
B immigration laws
C social activities
D education policies

10. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment was seen as a victory for which of the following?
A the forces of modernism
B supporters of the Volstead Act
C traditional values
D women

11. What were Chicago's South Side and New York's Greenwich Village centers for?
A the arts
B industry
C politics
D banking

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12. Which nation or empire sent the greatest number of immigrants to the United States between 1890 and 1920?
   A. Italy
   B. Russian Empire
   C. German Empire
   D. Spain

13. What act restricted immigration to 2 percent of each national group represented in the 1890 U.S. Census?
   A. Emergency Quota Act
   B. National Origins Act
   C. Reclamation Act
   D. Clayton Antitrust Act

14. What written agreement declared war illegal?
   A. the Washington Conference
   B. the Dawes Plan
   C. the Kellogg-Briand Pact
   D. the League of Nations Charter

15. The artistic developments of African Americans in the 1920s were known as the
   A. Great Migration.
   B. Saint Louis blues.
   C. New Orleans sound.
   D. Harlem Renaissance.

16. What was an idea of black nationalism?
   A. integration and political improvement in society
   B. separation and independence from whites
   C. emigration from the United States to Jamaica
   D. support for the arts as a way to improve African American society

17. What effect did greater education and job opportunities for women create?
   A. Many women began earning as much money as men did.
   B. Women contributed to both scientific and artistic knowledge.
   C. More women preferred to remain at home.
   D. Most women working outside the home gained leadership positions.

18. What did the works of Duke Ellington and Langston Hughes reflect?
   A. the expanding role of women in the 1920s
   B. the achievements of the Harlem Renaissance
   C. the architectural innovations of the 1930s
   D. the influence of southern European immigrant groups

END OF TEST