



Module 8

The Roaring Twenties



Essential Question

Why did political, economic, and social tensions characterize the 1920s?






About the Photograph: Gertrude “Ma” Rainey was one of the earliest professional blues singers. She made over 100 recordings, including some with Louis Armstrong. Ma Rainey has been called “The Mother of the Blues.”

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VIDEOS, including...

- Boom
- The Presidents: Warren G. Harding
- Henry Ford and the Model T
- The True Story of Sacco and Vanzetti
- America Goes Dry with Prohibition
- The Monkey Trial

-  Document-Based Investigations
-  Graphic Organizers
-  Interactive Games
-  Carousel: Women of the 1920s
-  Image with Hotspots: Harlem in the 1920s

In this module you will learn about the challenges and changes that the nation faced after World War I. You will also discover the vibrant cultural life of the 1920s.

What You Will Learn . . .

Lesson 1: The Business of America 360

The Big Idea Although the U.S. government was rocked by scandal during the early 1920s, a business boom fueled a rise in America’s standard of living.

Lesson 2: Postwar Issues 370

The Big Idea A desire for normality after the war and a fear of communism and “foreigners” led to postwar isolationism.

Lesson 3: Changing Ways of Life 379

The Big Idea Americans experienced cultural conflicts as customs and values changed in the 1920s.

Lesson 4: The Twenties Woman 386

The Big Idea American women pursued new lifestyles and assumed new jobs and different roles in society during the 1920s.

Lesson 5: Education and Popular Culture. 391

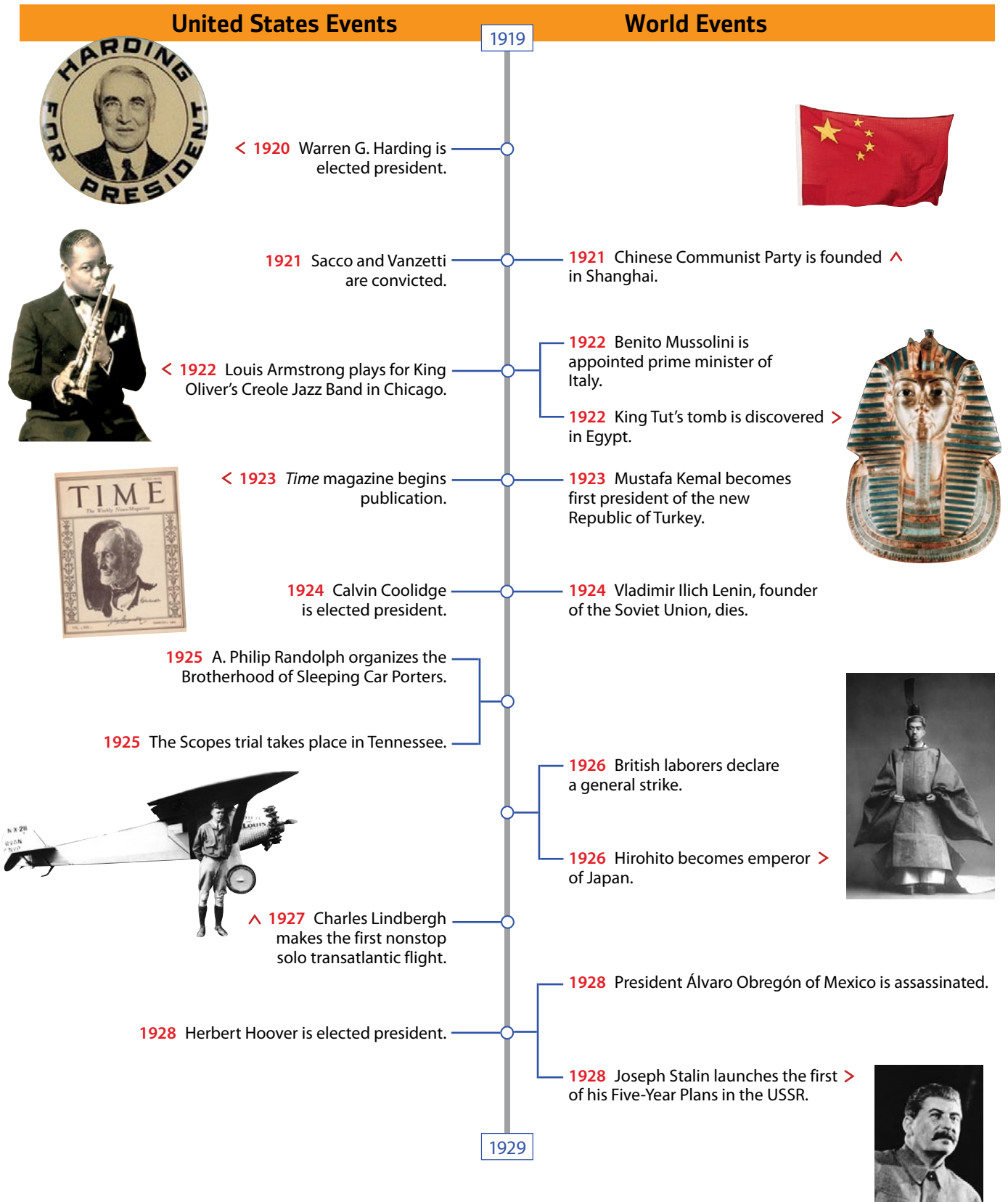
The Big Idea The mass media, movies, and spectator sports played important roles in creating the popular culture of the 1920s—a culture that many artists and writers criticized.

Lesson 6: The Harlem Renaissance 400

The Big Idea African American ideas, politics, art, literature, and music flourished in Harlem and elsewhere in the United States.

Timeline of Events 1919–1929

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The Business of America

The Big Idea

Although the U.S. government was rocked by scandal during the early 1920s, a business boom fueled a rise in America's standard of living.

Why It Matters Now

The government must guard against scandal and corruption to merit public trust. In addition, business, technological, and social developments of the 1920s launched the era of modern consumerism.

Key Terms and People

Warren G. Harding

Charles Evans Hughes

Fordney-McCumber Tariff

Ohio gang

Teapot Dome scandal

Albert B. Fall

Calvin Coolidge

urban sprawl

consumerism

installment plan

One American's Story

Charles E. Sorensen emigrated from Denmark to the United States at the age of four. After working at several other jobs, he met Henry Ford at a Detroit foundry. Sorensen went to work for Ford as a patternmaker, turning Henry Ford's ideas into reality. Over the years, Sorensen would play an instrumental role in developing Ford's dream of building automobiles that almost anyone could afford to buy and maintain. Sorensen and Ford succeeded to a remarkable degree with the Model T, a carefully crafted product.



A Ford Model T

"Many of the world's greatest mechanical discoveries were accidents in the course of other experimentation. Not so Model T, which ushered in the motor transport age and set off a chain reaction of machine production now known as automation. All our experimentation at Ford in the early days was toward a fixed and, then, wildly fantastic goal."

—Charles E. Sorensen, from *My Forty Years with Ford*

The Model T and its successor, the Model A, transformed the United States. The automobile became the backbone of the American economy in the 1920s and remained such until the 1970s. It profoundly altered the country's landscape and society, but it was only one of several factors in the business boom of the 1920s.

Struggles for Peace

In 1920 the American people were weary with war and the zeal of the Progressive Era. The postwar economy had faltered. Strikes and riots disrupted the cities. Voters wanted peace and quiet. The presidential election reflected those attitudes. Senator **Warren G. Harding**, the handsome Ohio Republican presidential candidate, promised “normalcy” if he were elected. Harding won a landslide victory. His tenure began with sincere peacekeeping efforts.

LEGISLATING PEACE After World War I, problems surfaced relating to arms control, war debts, and the reconstruction of war-torn countries. In 1921 President Harding invited several major powers to the Washington Naval Conference, also known as the Washington Disarmament Conference. Russia was left out because of its Communist government. At the conference, Secretary of State **Charles Evans Hughes** urged that no more warships be built for ten years. He suggested that the five major naval powers—the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy—scrap many of their battleships, cruisers, and aircraft carriers.

Conference delegates cheered, wept, and threw their hats into the air. For the first time in history, powerful nations agreed to disarm. Later, in 1928, 15 countries signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which renounced war as a national policy. However, the pact was futile, as it provided no means of enforcement.

HIGH TARIFFS AND REPARATIONS New conflicts arose when it came time for Britain and France to pay back the \$10 billion they had borrowed from America. They could do this in two ways: by selling goods to the United States or by collecting reparations from Germany. However, in 1922 America adopted the **Fordney-McCumber Tariff**, which raised taxes on some U.S. imports to 60 percent—the highest level ever. The tax protected U.S. businesses—especially in the chemical and metals industries—from foreign competition, but made it impossible for Britain and France to sell enough goods in the United States to repay debts.

The two countries looked to Germany, which was experiencing terrible inflation. When Germany defaulted on (failed to make) payment, French troops marched in. To avoid another war, American banker Charles G. Dawes was sent to negotiate loans. Through what came to be known as the Dawes Plan, American investors loaned Germany \$2.5 billion to pay back Britain and France with annual payments on a fixed scale. Those countries then paid the United States. Thus, the United States actually arranged to be repaid with its own money.

The solution caused resentment all around. Britain and France considered the United States a miser for not paying a fair share of the costs of World War I. Further, the U.S. had benefited from the defeat of Germany, while Europeans had paid for the victory with millions of lives. At the same time, the United States considered Britain and France financially irresponsible.

Vocabulary

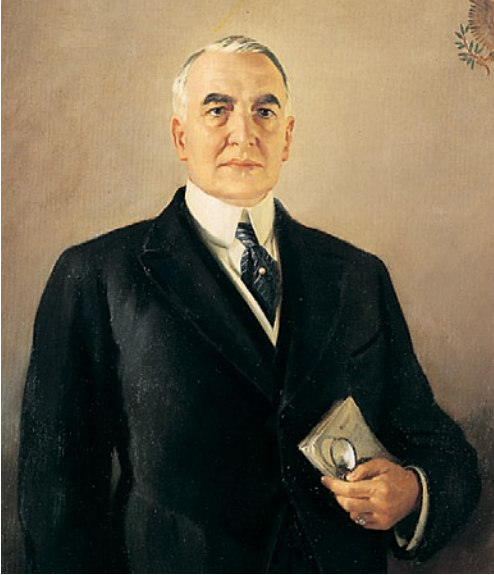
reparations payments demanded from a defeated enemy

Reading Check

Summarize How did the United States try to solve the political and financial issues that faced the country as the 1920s began?

Harding's Domestic Policies and Problems

On domestic issues, Harding favored a limited role for government in business affairs and in social reform.



Warren G. Harding, shown here in 1923, looked presidential, but he is considered one of the least successful presidents.

ECONOMIC POLICIES Harding believed the answer to the nation's postwar economic struggles could be found in his campaign slogan, "Less government in business and more business in government." To help achieve his pro-business goal, Harding sought to cut the federal budget and to reduce taxes on the wealthiest Americans. Harding and his advisers believed that it was the wealthy who started and expanded businesses. By taxing them less, the thinking went, business would grow and pull the nation out of hard times. These policies did contribute to a period of prosperity—but only for a time.

Some of Harding's policies were more progressive. He set up the Bureau of the Budget to help run the government more efficiently and urged U.S. Steel to abandon the 12-hour workday.

HARDING'S CABINET Harding appointed Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state. Hughes later went on to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The president made Herbert Hoover the secretary of commerce. Hoover had done a masterful job of handling food distribution and refugee problems during World War I. Andrew Mellon, one of the country's wealthiest men, became secretary of the treasury and set about drastically cutting taxes and reducing the national debt. However, the cabinet also included the so-called **Ohio gang**, the president's poker-playing cronies, who would soon cause a great deal of embarrassment.

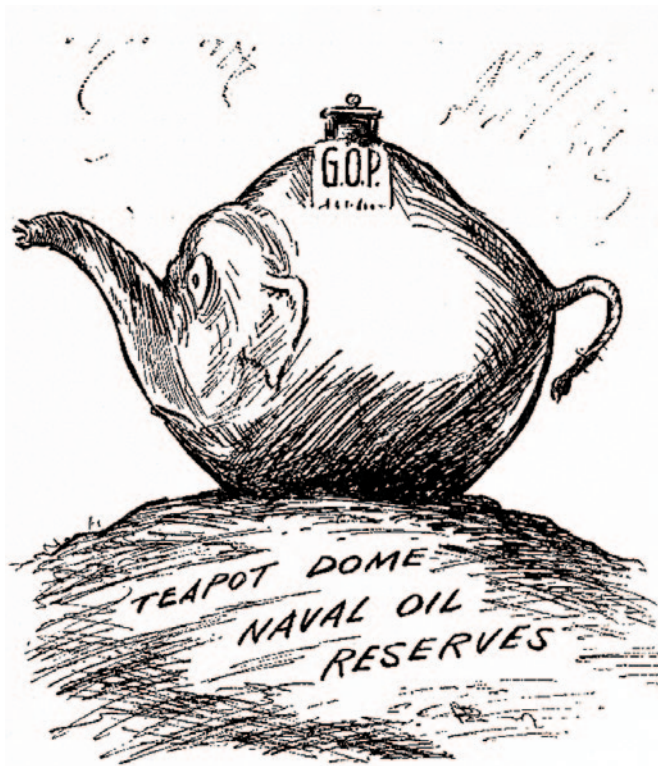
SCANDAL PLAGUES HARDING The president's main problem was that he didn't understand many of the issues. He admitted as much to a secretary.

"John, I can't make a . . . thing out of this tax problem. I listen to one side and they seem right, and then . . . I talk to the other side and they seem just as right. . . . I know somewhere there is an economist who knows the truth, but I don't know where to find him and haven't the sense to know him and trust him when I find him. . . . What a job!"

—Warren G. Harding, quoted in *Only Yesterday*

Harding's discomfort with policy details contributed to his inability to see the criminal behavior going on right under his nose.

Harding's administration began to unravel as his corrupt friends engaged in graft. That is, they used their offices improperly to become wealthy. One example was Charles R. Forbes, the head of the Veterans Bureau. He was caught illegally selling government and hospital supplies to private companies. Colonel Thomas W. Miller, the head of the Office of Alien Property, was another corrupt official. He was caught taking a bribe.



The elephant, shaped like a teapot here, is the symbol of the Republican Party (also referred to as the Grand Old Party). The cartoonist implies that Republicans were responsible for the Teapot Dome scandal.

Reading Check

Make Inferences

How did the corruption of the Harding administration affect the country economically?

THE TEAPOT DOME SCANDAL The most spectacular example of corruption was the **Teapot Dome scandal**. The government had set aside oil-rich public lands at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, for use by the U.S. Navy. Secretary of the Interior **Albert B. Fall**, a close friend of various oil executives, managed to get the oil reserves transferred from the navy to the Interior Department. Then, Fall secretly leased the land to two private oil companies, including Henry Sinclair's Mammoth Oil Company at Teapot Dome. Although Fall claimed that these contracts were in the government's interest, he suddenly received more than \$400,000 in "loans, bonds, and cash." He was later found guilty of bribery and became the first American to be convicted of a felony while holding a cabinet post.

In the summer of 1923, Harding declared, "I have no trouble with my enemies. . . . But my . . . friends, they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights!" Shortly thereafter, on August 2, 1923, he died suddenly, probably from a heart attack or stroke.

Americans sincerely mourned their good-natured president. The crimes of the Harding administration were coming to light just as Vice-President Calvin Coolidge assumed the presidency. Coolidge, a respected man of integrity, helped to restore people's faith in their government and in the Republican Party. The next year, Coolidge was elected president.

American Industries Flourish

The new president, **Calvin Coolidge**, fit into the pro-business spirit of the 1920s very well. It was he who said, "the chief business of the American people is business. . . . The man who builds a factory builds a temple—the man who works there worships there." Both Coolidge and his Republican successor, Herbert Hoover, favored government policies that would keep taxes down and business profits up, and give businesses more available credit in order to expand. Their goal was to minimize government involvement in business and to allow private enterprise to flourish. This approach echoed the *laissez faire* economic policy of 19th-century industrialization—the idea that business should not be regulated.

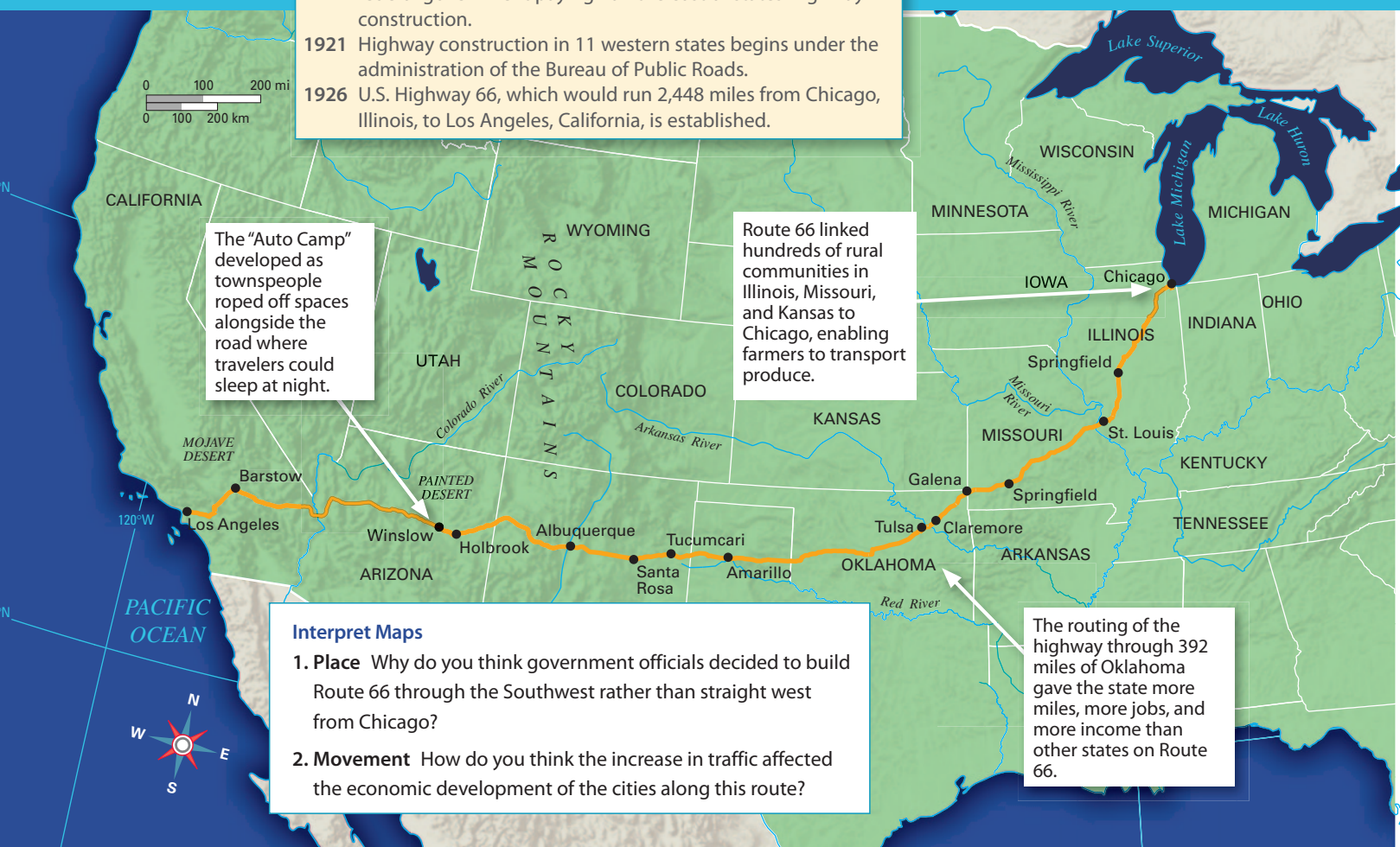
For most of the 1920s, this tactic seemed to work. Coolidge's administration continued to place high tariffs on foreign imports, which helped American manufacturers. Reducing income taxes meant that people had more money in their pockets. Wages were rising, and so was productivity.

THE AUTO INDUSTRY AND INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY The auto industry was one of the biggest business successes of the 1920s. Henry Ford and his Model T led the way. To create his Model Ts, Ford used several methods to make production as efficient and cost-effective as possible. He used assembly-line manufacturing, increased pay for workers, and avoided changes to the car's design. Other industries learned from Ford. Manufacturers began using assembly-line techniques to make many types of products in large quantities and at lower costs. During the 1920s, productivity—a measure of output per unit such as labor—rose by about 45 percent. American workers were producing more in less time, which helped the growth of American manufacturers.

THE IMPACT OF THE AUTOMOBILE The automobile literally changed the American landscape. Its most visible effect was the construction of paved roads suitable for driving in all types of weather. One such road was the legendary Route 66, which provided a route for people trekking west from Chicago to California. Many people, however, settled in towns along the route.

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Route 66



Vocabulary
status symbol a possession believed to enhance the owner's social standing

In addition to the changing landscape, architectural styles also changed, as new houses typically came equipped with a garage or carport and a driveway—and a smaller lawn as a result. The automobile also launched the rapid construction of gasoline stations, repair shops, public garages, motels, tourist camps, and shopping centers. The first automatic traffic signals began blinking in Detroit in the early 1920s. The Holland Tunnel, the first underwater tunnel designed specifically for motor vehicles, opened in 1927 to connect New York City and Jersey City, New Jersey.

The automobile liberated the isolated rural family, who could now travel to the city for shopping and entertainment. It also gave families the opportunity to vacation in new and faraway places. It allowed both women and young people to become more independent through increased mobility. It allowed workers to live miles from their jobs, resulting in **urban sprawl** as cities spread in all directions. The automobile industry also provided an economic base for such cities as Akron, Ohio, where several tire companies were headquartered, and Michigan cities Detroit, Dearborn, Flint, and Pontiac, where the cars were manufactured. The industry drew people to oil-producing states such as California and Texas. The automobile even became a status symbol—both for individual families and to the rest of the world. In their work *Middletown*, the social scientists Robert and Helen Lynd noted one woman's comment: "I'll go without food before I'll see us give up the car."

The auto industry symbolized the success of the free enterprise system and the Coolidge era. Nowhere else in the world could people with little money own their own automobile. By the late 1920s around 80 percent of all registered motor vehicles in the world were in the United States—about one automobile for every five people. The humorist Will Rogers remarked to Henry Ford, "It will take a hundred years to tell whether you helped us or hurt us, but you certainly didn't leave us where you found us."

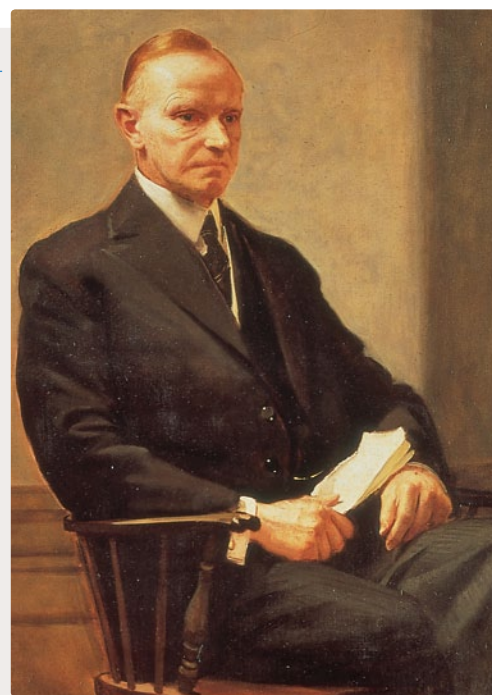
BIOGRAPHY

Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933)

Stepping into office in 1923, the tightlipped Vermonter was respected for his solemnity and wisdom. Coolidge supported American business and favored what he called "a constructive economy."

Known for his strength of character, Coolidge forced the resignation of Attorney General Harry Daugherty and other high officials who had created scandal in office.

Shortly after Coolidge was elected, his son died of blood poisoning. Coolidge later wrote, "The power and the glory of the presidency went with him." When he decided not to seek reelection in 1928, Coolidge stumped the nation. Keeping in character, he said, "Goodbye, I have had a very enjoyable time in Washington."



Reading Check

Analyze Effects

How did the widespread use of new transportation options affect the country?

THE YOUNG AIRPLANE INDUSTRY Automobiles weren't the only form of transportation taking off. The airplane industry began as a mail-carrying service for the U.S. Post Office. Although the first flight in 1918 was a disaster, a number of successful flights soon established the airplane as a peacetime means of transportation. With the development of weather forecasting, planes began carrying radios and navigational instruments. Henry Ford made a trimotor airplane in 1926. Transatlantic flights by Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart helped to promote cargo and commercial airlines. In 1927 the Lockheed Company produced a single-engine plane, the Vega. It was one of the most popular transport airplanes of the late 1920s. Founded in 1927, Pan American Airways inaugurated the first transatlantic passenger flights.

America's Standard of Living Soars

The 1920s were prosperous ones for the United States. It seemed like the American Dream was coming true. Americans owned around 40 percent of the world's wealth, and that wealth changed the way most Americans lived. The average annual income increased by more than 35 percent during the period—from \$522 to \$705. People found it easy to spend all that extra income and then some. **Consumerism**, or the acquisition of goods in ever-greater amounts, began to play a significant role in the American economy and culture.

ELECTRICAL CONVENIENCES Gasoline powered much of the economic boom of the 1920s, but the use of electricity also transformed the nation. American factories used electricity to run their machines. Also, the development of an alternating electrical current made it possible to distribute electric power efficiently over longer distances. Now electricity was no longer restricted to central cities but could be transmitted to suburbs. The number of electrified households grew, although most farms still lacked power.

The electrification of new areas of the country made it possible for people to use the latest home conveniences. By the end of the 1920s, more and more homes had electric irons, while well-to-do families used electric refrigerators, cooking ranges, vacuum



American consumers in the 1920s could purchase the latest household electrical appliances, such as a refrigerator, for as little as a dollar down and a dollar a week.

Goods and Prices, 1900 and 1928

1900		1928	
wringer and washboard	\$ 5	washing machine	\$150
brushes and brooms	\$ 5	vacuum cleaner	\$ 50
sewing machine (mechanical)	\$25	sewing machine (electric)	\$ 60

cleaners, and toasters. The new refrigerators' freezers might hold foods quick-frozen by a process developed by Clarence Birdseye. Homemakers could save time by shopping at the new self-service grocery stores that Clarence Saunders created.

The new appliances and food preparation options made the lives of housewives easier, freed them for other community and leisure activities, and coincided with a growing trend of women working outside the home.

THE DAWN OF MODERN ADVERTISING With new goods flooding the market, advertising agencies no longer just informed the public about products and prices. Now they hired psychologists to study how to appeal to people's desire for youthfulness, beauty, health, and wealth. Results were impressive. The slogan "Say it with flowers" doubled florists' business between 1912 and 1924. "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" lured weight-conscious Americans to cigarettes and away from candy. Brand names became familiar from coast to coast, and luxury items now seemed like necessities.

One of those "necessities" was mouthwash. Listerine advertisements aimed to convince readers that without mouthwash a person ran the risk of having halitosis—bad breath—and that the results could be a disaster.

"She was a beautiful girl and talented too. She had the advantages of education and better clothes than most girls of her set. She possessed that culture and poise that travel brings. Yet in the one pursuit that stands foremost in the mind of every girl and woman—marriage—she was a failure."

—Listerine advertisement

Businesspeople applied the power of advertising to other areas of American life. Across the land, they met for lunch with fellow members of such service organizations as Rotary, Kiwanis, and the Lions. As one observer noted, they sang songs, raised money for charities, and boosted the image of the businessman "as a builder, a doer of great things, yes, and a dreamer whose imagination was ever seeking out new ways of serving humanity." Many Americans idolized business during these prosperous times.

Reading Check

Find Main Ideas

What were some popular laborsaving devices and concepts that changed lifestyles in the 1920s?

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

The Needy

While income rose for many Americans in the 1920s, it did not rise for everyone. Industries such as textile and steel manufacturing made very little profit. Mining and farming actually suffered losses. Farmers were deeply in debt because they had borrowed money to buy land and machinery so that they could produce more crops during World War I. When European agriculture bounced back

after the war, the demand for U.S. crops fell, as did prices. Before long there were U.S. farm surpluses.

Many American farmers could not make their loan and mortgage payments. They lost their purchasing power, their equipment, and their farms. As one South Dakota state senator remarked, "There's a saying: 'Depressions are farm led and farm fed.'"

A Superficial Prosperity

During the 1920s most Americans believed prosperity would go on forever—the average factory worker was producing 50 percent more at the end of the decade than at its start. Hadn't national income grown from \$64 billion in 1921 to \$87 billion in 1929? Weren't most major corporations making fortunes? Wasn't the stock market reaching new heights?

PRODUCING GREAT QUANTITIES OF GOODS As the adoption of mass production techniques increased productivity, businesses expanded. There were numerous mergers of companies that manufactured automobiles, steel, and electrical equipment, as well as mergers of companies that provided public utilities. Chain stores sprouted, selling groceries, drugs, shoes, and clothes. Five-and-dime stores like Woolworth's also spread rapidly. Mail-order catalogs allowed Americans who lived far from big cities to buy the attractive new products. Congress passed a law that allowed national banks to open branch offices within cities where their main office was located.

As the number of businesses grew, however, so did the income gap between workers and managers. There were a number of other clouds in the blue sky of prosperity. The iron and railroad industries, among others, weren't very prosperous, and farms nationwide suffered losses—with new machinery, they were producing more food than was needed and this drove down food prices.

BUYING GOODS ON CREDIT In addition to advertising, industry provided another solution to the problem of luring consumers to purchase the mountain of goods produced each year: easy credit, or “a dollar down and a dollar forever.” The **installment plan**, as it was called, enabled people to buy goods

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Coolidge and Big Business

This cartoon depicts Calvin Coolidge playing a saxophone labeled “Praise” while a woman representing “Big Business” dances and sings “Yes, Sir, He’s My Baby.”

Analyze Historical Sources

1. The dancing woman is a 1920s “flapper”— independent, confident, and assertive. In what ways was big business in the 1920s comparable to the flappers?
2. What do you think the cartoonist suggests about Coolidge’s relationship with big business?



Reading Check

Make Inferences

How do you think the changes in spending will affect the economy?

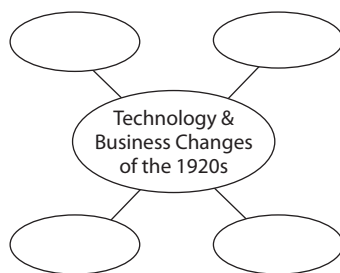
over an extended period, without having to put down much money at the time of purchase. Banks provided the money at low interest rates. Advertisers pushed the “installment plan” idea with such slogans as “You furnish the girl, we’ll furnish the home” and “Enjoy while you pay.”

Some economists and business owners worried that installment buying might be getting out of hand. They feared that the practice was really a sign of fundamental weaknesses behind a superficial economic prosperity. Still, most Americans focused their attention on the present. What could possibly go wrong with the nation’s economy in the future? What little concern there was for the years ahead often took the form of speculation, or investing in risky ventures in the hope that prices would rise and big profits would result. Speculation would eventually spell financial disaster for many investors.

The decade of the 1920s had brought about many technological and economic changes. And yet the Coolidge era was built on paradox—the president stood for economy and a frugal way of life, but he was favored by a public who had thrown all care to the wind. Life definitely seemed easier and more enjoyable for hundreds of thousands of Americans. From the look of things, there was little warning of what was to come.

Lesson 1 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Create a web diagram and fill it in with events that illustrate the central idea.



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Form Opinions** Do you agree with President Coolidge’s statement: “The man who builds a factory builds a temple—the man who works there worships there”? Explain your answer.

Think About:

- the goals of business and of religion
- the American idolization of business
- the difference between workers and management

4. **Evaluate** How successful was Harding in fulfilling his campaign pledge of returning the country to “normalcy”? Support your opinion with specific examples.
5. **Analyze Effects** How do you think the postwar feelings in America influenced the election of 1920?

Postwar Issues

The Big Idea

A desire for normality after the war and a fear of communism and “foreigners” led to postwar isolationism.

Why It Matters Now

Americans today continue to debate political isolationism and immigration policy.

Key Terms and People

xenophobia

nativism

isolationism

communism

anarchists

Sacco and Vanzetti

quota system

John L. Lewis

One American's Story

During the 1920s and 1930s, Irving Fajans, a department store sales clerk in New York City, tried to persuade his fellow workers to join the Department Store Employees Union. He described some of the techniques union organizers used.

“If you were caught distributing . . . union literature around the job you were instantly fired. We thought up ways of passing leaflets without the boss being able to pin anybody down. . . . We . . . swiped the key to the toilet paper dispensers in the washroom, took out the paper and substituted printed slips of just the right size! We got a lot of new members that way—It appealed to their sense of humor.”



Irving Fajans organized department store workers in their efforts to gain better pay and working conditions during the 1920s.

—Irving Fajans, quoted in *The Jewish Americans*

During the war, workers' rights had been suppressed. Then in 1919, workers began to cry out for fair pay and better working conditions. Tensions arose between labor and management, and a rash of labor strikes broke out across the country. The public, however, was not supportive of striking workers. Many citizens longed to get back to normal, peaceful living—they felt resentful of anyone who caused unrest.

Reading Check
Summarize What challenges faced the United States after World War I ended?

Postwar Trends

World War I had left much of the American public exhausted. The debate over the League of Nations had deeply divided America. Further, the Progressive Era had caused numerous wrenching changes in American life. The economy, too, was in a difficult state of adjustment. Demobilized soldiers, those returning from the war, faced unemployment or took their old jobs away from women and minorities. Also, the cost of living had doubled. Farmers and factory workers suffered as wartime orders diminished.

POSTWAR FEARS Many Americans responded to the stressful conditions by becoming fearful of outsiders. Such unreasoned fear of things or people seen as foreign or strange is called **xenophobia**. A wave of **nativism**, or prejudice against foreign-born people, swept the nation. World War I had caused a wave of anti-German sentiment, which continued after the war's end. For example, some schools stopped teaching German language classes and some Americans of German heritage changed their names to be more English-sounding. Anti-Semitism, or the hatred of Jews, also increased during the 1920s, as immigration from Jewish communities in Eastern Europe surged. Also prevalent was a belief in **isolationism**, a policy of pulling away from involvement in world affairs. Isolationism was in contrast to internationalism, the engagement in global concerns that had begun to develop in the previous century.

A GLOBAL ECONOMY At the same time that isolationism dominated public opinion and government policy, however, the U.S. economy was becoming more international. American prosperity allowed loans to Europe, which helped pull those countries out of a post-war slump. U.S. factories exported manufactured goods. More efficient farming techniques increased agricultural production so much that during the early 1920s, American products were marketed to countries around the world. After European agriculture recovered, however, U.S. farmers suffered from overproduction and increased competition.

Fear of Communism

One perceived threat to American life was the spread of **communism**, an economic and political system based on a single-party government ruled by a dictatorship. In order to equalize wealth and power, Communists would put an end to private property, substituting government ownership of factories, railroads, and other businesses.

THE RED SCARE The panic in the United States began in 1919, after revolutionaries in Russia overthrew the czarist regime. Vladimir I. Lenin and his followers, or Bolsheviks ("the majority"), established a new Communist state. Waving their symbolic red flag, Communists, or "Reds," cried out for a worldwide revolution that would abolish capitalism everywhere.

Background

On August 23, 1977, exactly 50 years after the executions, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis declared that Sacco and Vanzetti had not been given a fair trial.

A Communist Party formed in the United States. Some 70,000 radicals joined, including some from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). When several dozen bombs were mailed to government and business leaders, the public grew fearful that the Communists were taking over. A “Red Scare” gripped the country. U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer took the lead in trying to eradicate what many Americans saw as a real threat.

THE PALMER RAIDS In August 1919 Palmer appointed J. Edgar Hoover as his special assistant. Palmer, Hoover, and their agents hunted down suspected Communists and Socialists; officials did not distinguish between the two groups. Also targeted were **anarchists**—people who opposed any form of government. The government agents trampled people’s civil rights, invading private homes and offices and jailing suspects without allowing them legal counsel. Hundreds of foreign-born radicals were deported without trials.

But Palmer’s raids failed to turn up evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy—or even explosives. Many thought Palmer was just looking for a campaign issue to gain support for his presidential aspirations. Soon, the public decided that Palmer didn’t know what he was talking about.

SACCO AND VANZETTI Although short-lived, the Red Scare fed people’s suspicions of foreigners and immigrants. This nativist attitude led to ruined reputations and wrecked lives. The two most famous victims of this attitude were shoemaker Nicola Sacco and fish seller Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Both were Italian immigrants and anarchists; both had evaded the draft during World War I.

In May 1920 **Sacco and Vanzetti** were arrested and charged with the robbery and murder of a factory paymaster and his guard in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Witnesses had said the criminals appeared to be Italians. The accused asserted their innocence and provided alibis. In addition, the evidence against them was circumstantial, and the presiding judge made prejudicial remarks. Nevertheless, the jury found them guilty and sentenced them to death.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Palmer and the Red Scare

As fear of Communists spread, Palmer expressed the panic that many Americans felt.

“The blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order . . . eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat . . . licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, . . . burning up the foundations of society.”

—A. Mitchell Palmer, from “The Case Against the Reds”

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What are some words and phrases that Palmer used to stir emotions?
2. Why do you think that Palmer doesn’t provide any evidence of his claims?

Reading Check

Analyze Motives

What fears drove the Red Scare, the Palmer raids, and the Sacco and Vanzetti arrest?

Protests rang out in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Many people thought Sacco and Vanzetti were mistreated because of their radical beliefs; others asserted it was because they were immigrants. The poet Edna St. Vincent Millay donated proceeds from her poem “Justice Denied in Massachusetts” to their defense. She personally appealed to Governor Alvan Fuller of Massachusetts for their lives. However, after reviewing the case and interviewing Vanzetti, the governor decided to let the executions go forward. The two men died in the electric chair on August 23, 1927.

In 1961 new ballistics tests showed that the pistol found on Sacco was in fact the one used to murder the guard. However, there was no proof that Sacco had actually pulled the trigger.

Immigration and Citizenship Issues

During the wave of nativist sentiment, “Keep America for Americans” became the prevailing attitude. Anti-immigrant attitudes had been growing in the United States ever since the 1880s, when new immigrants began arriving from southern and eastern Europe. Many of these immigrants were willing to work for low wages in industries such as coal mining, steel production, and textiles. But after World War I, the need for unskilled labor in the United States decreased. Nativists believed that because the United States now had fewer unskilled jobs available, fewer immigrants should be let into the country. Nativist feelings were fueled by the fact that some of the people involved in postwar labor disputes were immigrant anarchists and Socialists, who many Americans believed were actually Communists. Racist ideas like those expressed by Madison Grant, an anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, fed nativist attitudes.

“The result of unlimited immigration is showing plainly in the rapid decline in the birth rate of native Americans . . . [who] will not bring children into the world to compete in the labor market with the Slovak, the Italian, the Syrian and the Jew. The native American is too proud to mix socially with them.”

—Madison Grant, quoted in *United States History: Ideas in Conflict*

THE KLAN RISES AGAIN As a result of the Red Scare and anti-immigrant feelings, different groups of bigots used anti-communism as an excuse to harass any group unlike themselves. One such group was the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The KKK was devoted to “100 percent Americanism.” By 1924 KKK membership reached 4.5 million “white male persons, native-born gentile citizens.”

The Klan also believed in keeping blacks “in their place.” The Great Migration, the movement of African Americans to northern cities, had heightened racial tensions there. The KKK took advantage of that tension

Vocabulary

bigot a person who is intolerant of any creed, race, religion, or political belief that differs from his own

In August 1925 nearly 60,000 Ku Klux Klan members marched along Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC.



to increase its repression and violence against black Americans. Other Klan activities included destroying saloons, opposing unions, and driving Roman Catholics, Jews, and foreign-born people out of the country.

Support for Klan activities varied according to what members perceived as the biggest threats to their way of life. For example, in Birmingham, Alabama, an industrial city, Klan members used violence to keep African Americans from getting good jobs in the local steel mills and associated factories. Birmingham Klan leaders also suppressed unions. Another example of targeted Klan activities comes from the 1928 presidential election. New Yorker Al Smith, a Catholic, was the Democratic nominee. The Klan encouraged anti-Catholic prejudice, helping the Republicans win.

KKK members were paid to recruit new members into their world of secret rituals and racial violence. Though the Klan dominated state politics in many states, by the end of the decade its criminal activity led to a decrease in power.

THE QUOTA SYSTEM From 1919 to 1921 the number of immigrants had grown almost 600 percent—from 141,000 to 805,000 people. Congress, in response to nativist pressure, decided to limit immigration from certain countries, namely those in southern and eastern Europe. Although some Americans wanted to end immigration from those countries, a compromise was reached.

The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 set up a **quota system**. This system established the maximum number of people who could enter the United States from each foreign country. The goal of the quota system was to cut sharply European immigration to the United States. It achieved that goal.

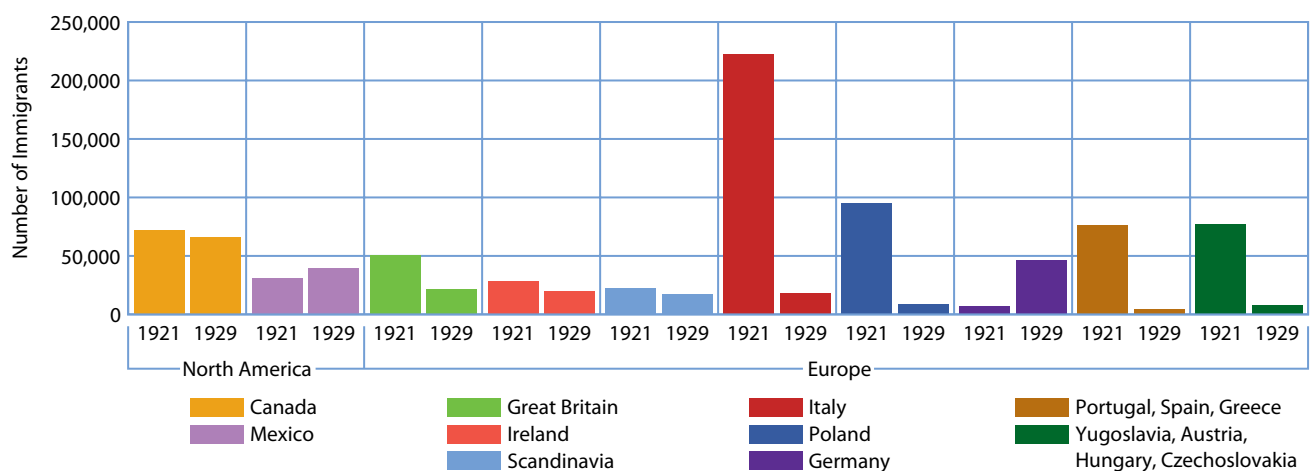
As amended in 1924, the law limited immigration from each European nation to 2 percent of the number of its nationals living in the United States in 1890. This provision discriminated against people from eastern and southern Europe—mostly Roman Catholics and Jews—who had not started coming to the United States in large numbers until after 1890. Later, the base year was shifted to 1920. In 1927 the law reduced the total number of persons to be admitted in any one year to 150,000.

U.S. Patterns of Immigration, 1921–1929

The map and graph below show the change in immigration patterns resulting from the Emergency Quota Act, among other factors. Hundreds of thousands of people were affected, including people from Asia who were excluded from entering the U.S. due to the new quotas. For example, while the number of immigrants from Mexico rose from 30,758 in 1921 to 40,154 in 1929, the number of Italian immigrants dropped drastically from 222,260 in 1921 to 18,008 in 1929.



Immigration to the United States, 1921 and 1929



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Interpret Graphs

- Which geographical areas show the sharpest decline in immigration to the U.S. between 1921 and 1929? What are the only areas to register an increase in immigration to the U.S.?
- How did the quota system affect where immigrants came from?

In addition, the law prohibited Japanese immigration, causing much ill will between the two nations. Japan—which had faithfully kept the Gentlemen’s Agreement to limit immigration to the United States, negotiated by Theodore Roosevelt in 1907—expressed anger over the insult. President Calvin Coolidge, who signed the bill into law, was also unhappy with the exclusion of Japanese immigrants. He added a statement to the bill in which he expressed his disapproval.

The national origins quota system did not apply to immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, however. During the 1920s about a million Canadians and almost 500,000 Mexicans crossed the nation’s borders.

CHANGES FOR NATIVE AMERICANS While laws and intimidation were limiting immigration for some people during the 1920s, conditions were finally improving for another group. Although their ancestors had lived on the land for centuries, thousands of Native Americans were not yet full U.S. citizens. Nonetheless, some 17,000 Native Americans had registered for military service during World War I. About 10,000 of them served in the armed forces. Partially in recognition of their service, President Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act into law in 1924. The law granted citizenship to about 125,000 native people. However, the act did not include people born before the effective date of the 1924 act. Nor did it ensure voting rights. Loopholes allowed states to deny suffrage to Native Americans. Not until 1948 was the right extended to all. Native Americans’ right to full self-determination would also be delayed for many more years.

Reading Check

Compare What challenges faced African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrant Europeans and Japanese who sought the rights of U.S. citizenship?



Strikers included working women tailors who fought for improved working conditions.

A Time of Labor Unrest

Another severe postwar conflict formed between labor and management. During the war, the government wouldn’t allow workers to strike because nothing could interfere with the war effort. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) pledged to avoid strikes.

However, 1919 saw more than 3,000 strikes during which some 4 million workers walked off the job. Employers didn’t want to give raises, nor did they want employees to join unions. Some employers, either out of a sincere belief or because they saw a way to keep wages down, attempted to show that union members were planning a revolution. Employers labeled striking workers as Communists. Newspapers screamed, “Plots to Establish Communism.” Three strikes in particular grabbed public attention.

THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE The Boston police had not been given a raise since the beginning of World War I. Among their many grievances was that they had been denied the right to unionize. When

representatives asked for a raise and were fired, the remaining policemen decided to strike. Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge called out the National Guard. He said, “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time.” The strike ended, but members weren’t allowed to return to work; new policemen were hired instead. People praised Coolidge for saving Boston, if not the nation, from communism and anarchy. In the 1920 election he became Warren G. Harding’s vice-presidential running mate.

THE STEEL MILL STRIKE Workers in the steel mills wanted the right to negotiate for shorter working hours and a living wage. They also wanted union recognition and collective bargaining rights. In September 1919 the U.S. Steel Corporation refused to meet with union representatives. In response, over 300,000 workers walked off their jobs. Steel companies hired strikebreakers—employees who agreed to work during the strike—and used force. Striking workers were beaten by police, federal troops, and state militias. Then the companies instituted a propaganda campaign, linking the strikers to Communists. In October 1919 negotiations between labor and management produced a deadlock. President Woodrow Wilson made a written plea to the combative “negotiators.”

“At a time when the nations of the world are endeavoring to find a way of avoiding international war, are we to confess that there is no method to be found for carrying on industry except . . . the very method of war? . . . Are our industrial leaders and our industrial workers to live together without faith in each other?”

—Woodrow Wilson, quoted in *Labor in Crisis*

The steel strike ended in January 1920. In 1923 a report on steel mills’ harsh working conditions shocked the public. The steel companies agreed to an eight-hour workday, but the steelworkers remained without a union.

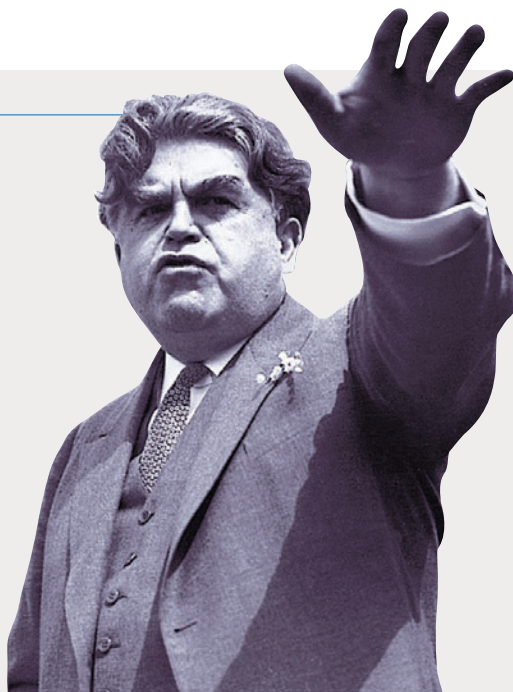
THE COAL MINERS’ STRIKE Unionism was more successful in America’s coalfields. In 1919 the United Mine Workers of America, organized since 1890, got a new leader—**John L. Lewis**. In protest of low wages and long workdays, Lewis called his union’s members out on strike on November 1, 1919. Attorney General Palmer obtained a court order sending the miners back to work. Lewis then declared it over, but he quietly gave the word for it to continue. In defiance of the court order, the mines stayed closed another month. Then President Wilson appointed an arbitrator, or judge, to put an end to the dispute. The coal miners received a 27 percent wage increase, and John L. Lewis became a national hero. The miners, however, did not achieve a shorter workday and a five-day workweek until the 1930s.

LABOR MOVEMENT LOSES APPEAL In spite of limited gains, the 1920s hurt the labor movement badly. Over the decade, union membership dropped from more than 5 million to around 3.5 million. Membership declined for several reasons:

John Llewellyn Lewis (1880–1969)

John L. Lewis was born in the little mining town of Lucas, Iowa. His family had traditionally been concerned with labor rights and benefits.

Lewis grew up with a fierce determination to fight for what he believed companies owed their employees: decent working conditions and a fair salary. As he said years later, “I have pleaded your case not in the tones of a feeble mendicant [beggar] asking alms but in the thundering voice of the captain of a mighty host, demanding the rights to which free men are entitled.”



Reading Check

Compare How do the results of the Boston police strike and the steel mill strike compare?

- restrictive government policies had intimidated union advocates,
- much of the work force consisted of immigrants willing to work in poor conditions,
- since immigrants spoke a multitude of languages, unions had difficulty organizing them,
- farmers who had migrated to cities to find factory jobs were used to relying on themselves, and
- most unions excluded African Americans.

By 1929 about 82,000 African Americans—or less than 1 percent of their population—held union memberships. By contrast, just over 3 percent of all whites were union members. However, African Americans joined some unions like the mine workers’, longshoremen’s, and railroad porters’ unions. In 1925 A. Philip Randolph founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to help African Americans gain a fair wage.

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. Organize Information

In a cause-and-effect chart like the one shown, list examples of the aftereffects of World War I.

Event	Result
1. _____	→
2. _____	→

What event do you think was the most significant? Explain your choice.

2. Key Terms and People

For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Evaluate

Do you think Americans were justified in their fear of radicals and foreigners in the decade following World War I? Explain your answer.

Think About:

- the goals of the leaders of the Russian Revolution
- the challenges facing the United States

4. Analyze Issues

In the various fights between management and union members, what did each side believe?

5. Draw Conclusions

What do you think the Sacco and Vanzetti case shows about America in the 1920s?

Changing Ways of Life

The Big Idea

Americans experienced cultural conflicts as customs and values changed in the 1920s.

Why It Matters Now

The way in which different groups react to change continues to cause conflict today.

Key Terms and People

Prohibition

speakeasy

bootlegger

fundamentalism

Clarence Darrow

Scopes trial

One American's Story

As the 1920s dawned, social reformers who hoped to ban alcohol—and the evils associated with it—rejoiced. The Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, banning the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcohol, took effect in January 1920. Billy Sunday, an evangelist who preached against the evils of drinking, predicted a new age of virtue.

“The reign of tears is over! The slums will soon be only a memory. We will turn our prisons into factories and our jails into storehouses and corncribs. Men will walk upright now, women will smile and the children will laugh. Hell will be forever for rent!”

—Billy Sunday,
quoted in *How Dry We Were:*
Prohibition Revisited



1920s evangelist Billy Sunday

Sunday's dream was not to be realized in the 1920s, as the law proved unenforceable. The failure of Prohibition was a sign of cultural conflicts most evident in the nation's cities. Lured by jobs and by the challenge and freedom that the city represented, millions of people rode excitedly out of America's rural past and into its urban future.

Rural and Urban Differences

America changed dramatically in the years before 1920, as was revealed in the 1920 census. According to figures that year, 51.2 percent of Americans lived in communities with populations of 2,500 to more than 1 million. Between 1922 and 1929, migration to the cities accelerated, with nearly 2 million people leaving farms and towns each year. “Cities were the place to be, not to get away from,” said one historian. The agricultural world that millions of Americans left behind was largely unchanged from the 19th century. It was a world of small towns and farms bound together by conservative moral values and close social relationships. Yet small-town attitudes began to lose their hold on the American mind as the city rose to prominence.



Cars and pedestrians crowd the streets of New York City on Easter Sunday, 1920.

THE NEW URBAN SCENE At the beginning of the 1920s, New York, with a population of 5.6 million people, topped the list of big cities. Next came Chicago, with nearly 3 million, and Philadelphia, with nearly 2 million. Another 65 cities claimed populations of 100,000 or more, and they grew more crowded by the day. Life in these booming cities was far different from the slow-paced, intimate life in America’s small towns. Chicago, for instance, was an industrial powerhouse. It was home to native-born whites and African Americans, immigrant Poles, Irish, Russians, Italians, Swedes, Arabs, French, and Chinese. Each day, an estimated 300,000 workers, 150,000 cars and buses, and 3,000 streetcars filled the pulsing downtown. At night, people crowded into ornate movie theaters and vaudeville houses offering live variety shows.

For small-town migrants, adapting to the urban environment demanded changes in thinking as well as in everyday living. The city was a world of competition and change. City dwellers read and argued about current scientific and social ideas. They judged one another by accomplishment more often than by background. City dwellers also tolerated drinking, gambling, and casual dating. These worldly behaviors were considered shocking and sinful in small towns.

For all its color and challenge, though, the city could be impersonal and frightening. Streets were filled with strangers, not friends and neighbors. Life was fast-paced, not leisurely.

“It is not for nothing that the predominating color of Chicago is orange. It is as if the city, in its taxicabs, in its shop fronts, in the wrappings of its parcels, chose the color of flame that goes with the smoky black of its factories. It is not for nothing that it has repelled the geometric street arrangement of New York and substituted . . . great ways with names that a stranger must learn if he can. . . . He is in a [crowded] city, and if he has business there, he tells himself, ‘If I weaken I shan’t last long.’”

—Walter L. George, from *Hail Columbia!*

In the city, lonely migrants from the country often ached for home. Throughout the 1920s Americans found themselves caught between rural

and urban cultures. It was a tug that pitted what seemed to be a safe, small-town world of close ties, hard work, and strict morals against a big-city world of anonymous crowds, moneymakers, and pleasure-seekers. This tension between traditional, rural attitudes and modern, urban lifestyles was both a reflection of and a reaction to changes in American society during the 1920s. The conflict would be expressed in several ways.

THE PROHIBITION EXPERIMENT One vigorous clash between small-town and big-city Americans began in earnest in January 1920, when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. This amendment launched the era known as **Prohibition**, during which the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages were legally prohibited.

Reformers had long considered liquor a prime cause of corruption. They thought that too much drinking led to crime, wife and child abuse, accidents on the job, and other serious social problems. Support for Prohibition came largely from the rural South and West, areas with large populations of native-born Protestants. The church-affiliated Anti-Saloon League had led the drive to pass the Prohibition amendment. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which considered drinking a sin, had helped push the measure through.

At first, saloons closed their doors, and arrests for drunkenness declined. But in the aftermath of World War I, many Americans were tired of making sacrifices; they wanted to enjoy life. Most immigrant groups did not consider drinking a sin but a natural part of socializing, and they resented government meddling.

Eventually, the government sealed Prohibition's fate when it failed to budget enough money to enforce the law. The Volstead Act established a Prohibition Bureau in the Treasury Department in 1919, but the agency was underfunded. The job of enforcement involved patrolling 18,700 miles of coastline as well as inland borders, tracking down illegal stills (equipment for distilling liquor), monitoring highways for truckloads of illegal alcohol, and overseeing all the industries that legally used alcohol to be sure none was siphoned off for illegal purposes. The task fell to approximately 1,500 poorly paid federal agents and local police. It was clearly an impossible job.

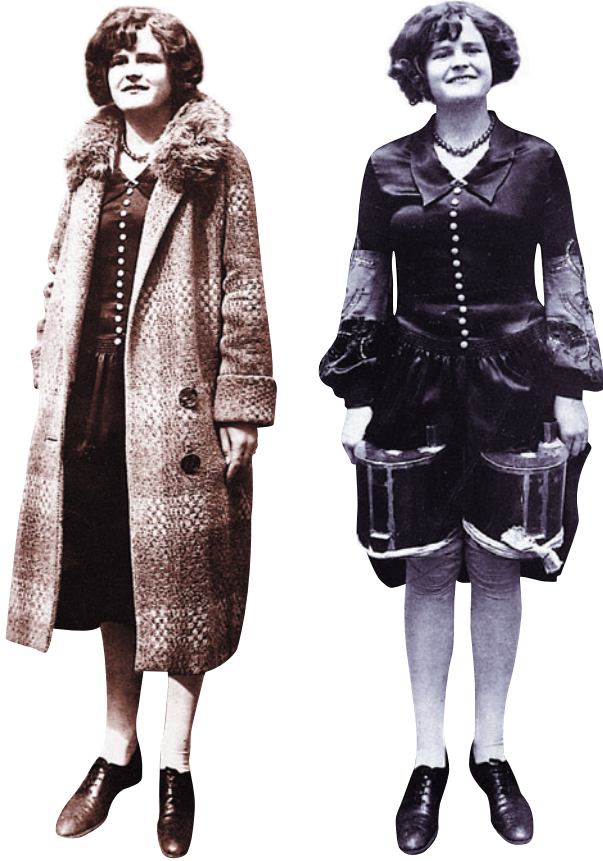
DIFFICULT DECISIONS

To Prohibit Alcohol or Not?

The question of whether to outlaw alcohol divided Americans. Many believed the government should make alcohol illegal to protect the public, while others believed it was a personal decision and not morally wrong.

1. Examine the pros and cons of each position. Which do you agree with? What other factors, if any, do you think would influence your position?

2. If you had been a legislator asked to vote for the Eighteenth Amendment, what would you have said? Explain.
3. What happens when the government legislates moral values? Give contemporary examples to support your answer.



A young woman demonstrates one of the means used to conceal alcohol—hiding it in containers strapped to one’s legs.

SPEAKEASIES AND BOOTLEGGERS To obtain liquor illegally, drinkers went underground to hidden saloons and nightclubs known as **speakeasies**—so called because when inside, one spoke quietly, or “easily,” to avoid detection. Speakeasies could be found everywhere—in penthouses, cellars, rooming houses, office buildings, tenements, hardware stores, and tearooms. To be admitted to a speakeasy, one had to present a card or use a password. Inside, one would find a mix of fashionable middle-class and upper-middle-class men and women.

Before long, people grew bolder in getting around the law. They learned to distill alcohol and built their own stills. Since alcohol was allowed for medicinal and religious purposes, prescriptions for alcohol and sales of sacramental wine (intended for church services) skyrocketed. People also bought liquor from **bootleggers** (named for a smuggler’s practice of carrying liquor in the legs of boots). Bootleggers smuggled alcohol in from Canada, Cuba, and the West Indies. “The business of evading [the law] and making a mock of it has ceased to wear any aspects of crime and has become a sort of national sport,” wrote the journalist H. L. Mencken.

ORGANIZED CRIME Prohibition had a devastating unintended consequence. Not only did Prohibition generate disrespect for the law, it also contributed to organized crime in nearly every major city. Chicago became notorious as the home of Al Capone, a gangster whose bootlegging empire netted over \$60 million a year. Capone took control of the Chicago liquor business by killing off his competition. During the 1920s headlines reported 522 bloody gang killings and made the image of flashy Al Capone part of the folklore of the period.

Prohibition, 1920–1933

Causes	Effects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various religious groups thought drinking alcohol was sinful. • Reformers believed that the government should protect the public’s health. • Reformers believed that alcohol led to crime, wife and child abuse, and accidents on the job. • During World War I, native-born Americans developed hostility to German American brewers and toward other immigrant groups that used alcohol. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumption of alcohol declined. • Disrespect for the law developed. • An increase in lawlessness, such as smuggling and bootlegging, was evident. • Criminals found a new source of income. • Organized crime grew.

Al Capone in Chicago

In 1940 the writer Herbert Asbury recalled the Capone era in Chicago:

"The famous seven-ton armored car, with the pudgy gangster lolling on silken cushions in its darkened recesses, a big cigar in his fat face, and a \$50,000 diamond ring blazing from his left hand, was one of the sights of the city; the average tourist felt that his trip to Chicago was a failure unless it included a view of Capone out for a spin. The mere whisper: 'Here comes Al,' was sufficient to stop traffic and to set thousands of curious citizens craning their necks along the curbing."

—Herbert Asbury, from
Gem of the Prairie



Analyze Historical Sources

1. How does Capone's reputation reflect attitudes toward Prohibition?
2. How does the image of Capone contribute to his reputation?

Reading Check

Contrast What are some ways that urban and rural ways of life differed?

By the mid-1920s only 19 percent of Americans supported Prohibition. The rest wanted the amendment changed or repealed. They believed that Prohibition caused worse effects than the initial problem. Rural Protestant Americans, however, defended a law that they felt strengthened moral values. The Eighteenth Amendment remained in force until 1933, when it was repealed by the Twenty-First Amendment.

Science and Religion Clash

Another bitter controversy highlighted the growing rift between traditional and modern ideas during the 1920s. This battle raged between fundamentalist religious groups and secular thinkers over the validity of certain scientific discoveries.

AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISM The Protestant Christian movement grounded in a literal, or nonsymbolic, interpretation of the Bible was known as **fundamentalism**. Fundamentalists were skeptical of some scientific discoveries and theories; they argued that all important knowledge could be found in the Bible. They believed that the Bible was inspired by God, and that therefore its stories in all their details were true.

Their beliefs led fundamentalists to reject the theory of evolution advanced by Charles Darwin in the 19th century. This theory states that species of plants and animals descended from common ancestors. The

implication they found most objectionable was that humans were related to apes. They pointed instead to the Bible's account of creation, in which God made the world and all life forms, including humans, in six days.

Fundamentalism expressed itself in several ways. In the South and West, preachers led religious revivals based on the authority of the Scriptures. One of the most powerful revivalists was Billy Sunday, a baseball player turned preacher who staged emotional meetings across the South. In Los Angeles, Aimee Semple McPherson used Hollywood showmanship to preach the word to homesick midwestern migrants and devoted followers of her radio broadcasts. In the 1920s fundamentalism gained followers who began to call for laws prohibiting the teaching of evolution.

THE SCOPES TRIAL In March 1925 Tennessee passed the nation's first law that made it a crime to teach evolution. Immediately, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) promised to defend any teacher who would challenge the law. John T. Scopes, a young biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, accepted the challenge. In his biology class, Scopes read this passage from Civic Biology: "We have now learned that animal forms may be arranged so as to begin with the simple one-celled forms and culminate with a group which includes man himself." Scopes was promptly arrested, and his trial was set for July.

Vocabulary

culminate to come to completion; end



A 1925 newspaper cartoon portrays Bryan (left) and Darrow (right) at the close of the Scopes "monkey" trial on the teaching of evolution, so-called because of the theory of evolution that states humans are related to apes.

The ACLU hired **Clarence Darrow**, the most famous trial lawyer of the day, to defend Scopes. William Jennings Bryan, three-time Democratic candidate for president and a devout fundamentalist, served as a special prosecutor. There was no real question of guilt or innocence: Scopes was honest about his action. The **Scopes trial** was a fight over evolution and the role of science and religion in public schools and in American society.

The trial opened on July 10, 1925, and almost overnight became a national sensation. Darrow called on Bryan to testify as an expert on the Bible—the contest that everyone had been waiting for. To handle the throngs of Bryan supporters, Judge Raulston moved the court outside, to a platform built under the maple trees. There, before a crowd of several thousand people, Darrow relentlessly questioned Bryan about his beliefs. He asked Bryan if he agreed with Bishop James Ussher's 17th-century calculation that, according to the Bible, creation happened in 4004 BC. Had every living thing on earth appeared since that time? Did Bryan know that ancient civilizations had thrived before 4004 BC? Did he know the age of the earth?

Bryan grew edgy but stuck to his guns. Finally, Darrow asked Bryan, "Do you think the earth was made in six days?" Bryan answered, "Not six days of 24 hours." People sitting on the lawn gasped.

Science and Social Change

Evolution was not the only scientific theory to make news during the 1920s. On November 23, 1924, the New York Times reported a major find by Edwin Hubble. The astronomer had discovered that blobs of light beyond the Milky Way were entire galaxies, not just clouds of gas. The announcement disturbed the notion that our galaxy is the only one in the universe. Implicit in the announcement was the possibility that other planets and living beings might exist. This was a shocking idea for the time.

A telescope now orbiting Earth bears Edwin Hubble's name. Because it operates beyond Earth's distorting atmosphere, the Hubble Space Telescope (HST) can record astoundingly detailed images of the sky. The HST's most remarkable images have proven that the universe contains hundreds of billions of galaxies. Just as we did in 1924, we who live on planet Earth continue to ask questions about humanity's place in the universe.

Reading Check

Analyze Issues

What was the conflict between fundamentalists and those who accepted evolution?

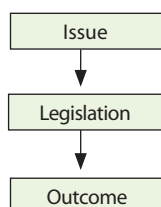
With this answer, Bryan admitted that the Bible might be interpreted in different ways. But in spite of this admission, Scopes was found guilty and fined \$100. The Tennessee Supreme Court later changed the verdict based on a technicality, but the law outlawing the teaching of evolution remained in effect. To this day, teaching evolution remains controversial in some communities.

This clash over evolution, the Prohibition experiment, and the emerging urban scene all were evidence of the changes and conflicts occurring during the 1920s. During that period, women also experienced conflict as they redefined their roles and pursued new lifestyles.

Lesson 3 Assessment

1. Organize Information

Create two cause-and-effect diagrams to show how government attempted to deal with (a) problems thought to stem from alcohol use and (b) the teaching of evolution.



Was the legislation effective? Explain.

2. Key Terms and People

For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Analyze Issues

How might the overall atmosphere of the 1920s have contributed to the failure of Prohibition?

Think About:

- the growth of cities
- the increase in immigration

4. Analyze Causes

Why do you think organized crime spread so quickly through the cities during the 1920s? Explain your answer.

5. Predict

How might the 1920s conflict between traditional and more modern values affect decades to come?

The Twenties Woman

The Big Idea

American women pursued new lifestyles and assumed new jobs and different roles in society during the 1920s.

Why It Matters Now

Workplace opportunities and trends in family life are still major issues for women today.

Key Terms and People

flapper

double standard

One American's Story

Christine Frederick was an advertising consultant and efficiency expert. She applied her skills to encouraging women to buy the new appliances quickly becoming available. One of the glamorous new devices she praised was a washing machine.



A woman uses an electric washing machine, a time-saving appliance that was marketed in the 1920s

“No housekeeper today persists in roasting her Sunday dinner over a spit when she can buy an insulated oven, or in using a dirt-scattering corn broom when she can procure a dust-absorbing vacuum cleaner. So too, where is the housekeeper of this progressive year who will refuse to understand the new, slightly different, but still very simple principles which make machine washing a success?”

—Christine McGaffey Frederick, from “You and Your Laundry,” 1922

As a businessperson and public figure, Frederick represented the new woman of the 1920s, who broke free of established roles. However, the arena in which she worked was the home, where women had traditionally remained. This contradiction reflects the conflict between modernity and convention that many women of the 1920s experienced.

Young Women Change the Rules

By the 1920s the experiences of World War I, the pull of cities, and changing attitudes had opened up a new world for many young Americans. These “wild young people,” wrote John F. Carter Jr. in a 1920 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*, were experiencing a world unknown to their parents: “We have seen man at his lowest, woman at her lightest, in the terrible moral chaos of Europe. We have been forced to question, and in many cases to discard, the religion of our fathers. . . . We have been forced to live in an atmosphere of ‘tomorrow we die,’ and so, naturally, we drank and were merry.” In the rebellious, pleasure-loving atmosphere of the twenties, many women began to assert their independence, reject the values of the 19th century, and demand the same freedoms as men.

THE FLAPPER During the twenties, a new ideal emerged for some women: the **flapper**. This was a liberated young woman who embraced the new fashions and urban attitudes of the day. Close-fitting felt hats, bright waistless dresses an inch above the knees, skin-toned silk stockings, sleek pumps, and strings of beads replaced the dark and prim ankle-length dresses, whalebone corsets, and petticoats of Victorian days. Young women clipped their long hair into boyish bobs and dyed it jet black.

Many young women became more assertive. In their bid for equal status with men, some began smoking cigarettes, drinking in public, and talking openly about sex. These same actions would have ruined their reputations not many years before. They danced the fox trot, camel walk, tango, Charleston, and shimmy with abandon.

Attitudes toward marriage changed as well. Many middle-class men and women began to view marriage as more of an equal partnership, although both agreed that housework and child-rearing remained a woman’s job.

Flappers compete in a Charleston dance competition in 1926.



Reading Check

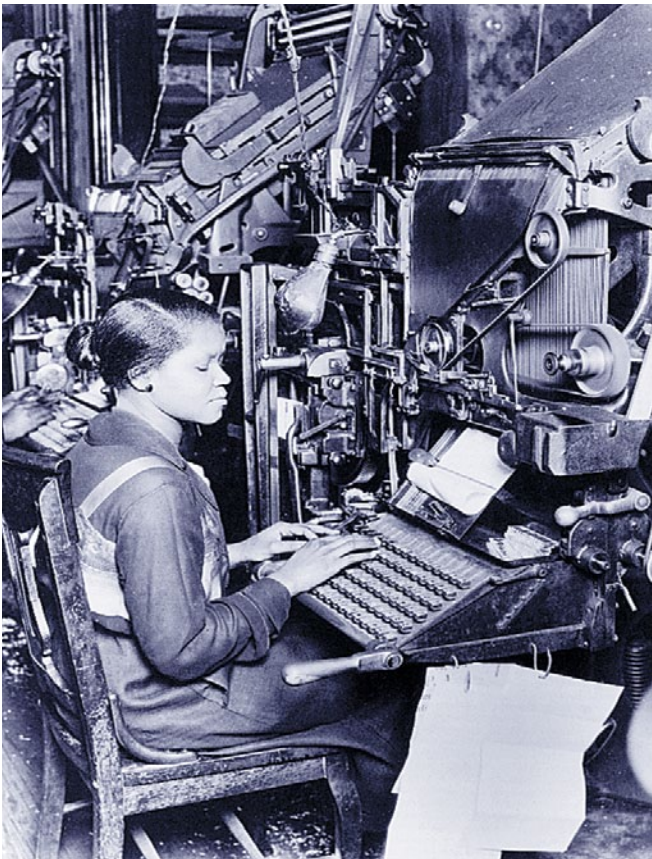
Compare and Contrast How was the 1920s woman like and unlike women of today?

THE DOUBLE STANDARD Magazines, newspapers, and advertisements promoted the image of the flapper, and young people openly discussed courtship and relationships in ways that scandalized their elders. Although many young women donned the new outfits and ignored tradition, the flapper was more an image of rebellious youth than a widespread reality. It did not reflect the attitudes and values of many young people. During the 1920s, morals loosened only so far. Traditionalists in churches and schools protested the new casual dances and women's acceptance of smoking and drinking.

In the years before World War I, when men “courted” women, they pursued only women they intended to marry. In the 1920s, however, casual dating became increasingly accepted. Even so, a **double standard**—a set of principles granting greater sexual freedom to men than to women—required women to observe stricter standards of behavior than men did. As a result, many women were pulled back and forth between the old standards and the new.

Women Shed Old Roles at Home and at Work

The fast-changing world of the 1920s produced new roles for women outside the home and new trends in family life. A booming industrial economy opened new work opportunities for women in offices, factories, stores, and professions. The same economy churned out time-saving appliances and products that reshaped the roles of housewives and mothers.



A young woman works as a typesetter in a publishing house in 1920.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES Women had worked successfully during the war. After the war, employers who believed that men had the responsibility to financially support their families often replaced female workers with men. Women continued to seek paid employment, but their opportunities changed. Many female college graduates turned to “women’s professions” and became teachers, nurses, and librarians. Big businesses required extensive correspondence and recordkeeping. This created a huge demand for clerical workers such as typists, filing clerks, secretaries, stenographers, and office-machine operators. Others became clerks in stores or held jobs on assembly lines. A handful of women broke the old stereotypes by doing work once reserved for men, such as flying airplanes, driving taxis, and drilling oil wells.

More options for higher education also expanded women’s roles in public life. Several women’s colleges opened during the 1920s. Among them were Sarah Lawrence College and Scripps College, both established in 1926. In addition, new community or junior

colleges made low-cost higher education available to more women with jobs or families.

By 1930, 10 million women were earning wages; however, few rose to managerial jobs, and wherever they worked, women earned less than men. Fearing competition for jobs, men argued that women were just temporary workers whose real job was at home. Between 1900 and 1930, the patterns of discrimination and inequality for women in the business world were established.



Margaret Sanger was arrested at least eight times for her activities in support of birth control.

THE CHANGING FAMILY Widespread social and economic changes reshaped the family. The birthrate had been declining for several decades, and it dropped at a slightly faster rate in the 1920s. This decline was due in part to the wider availability of birth-control information. Margaret Sanger, who had opened the first birth-control clinic in the United States in 1916, founded the American Birth Control League in 1921 and fought for the legal rights of physicians to give birth-control information to their patients.

At the same time, social and technological innovations simplified household labor and family life. Stores overflowed with ready-made clothes, sliced bread, and canned foods. Public agencies provided services for the elderly, public health clinics served the sick, and workers' compensation assisted those who could no longer work. These innovations and institutions had the effect of freeing homemakers from some of their traditional family responsibilities. Many middle-class housewives, the main shoppers and money managers, focused their attention on their homes, husbands, children, and pastimes. "I consider time for reading clubs and my children more important than . . . careful housework and I just don't do it," said an Indiana woman.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Working-Class Women in the 1920s

Helen Wright, who worked for the Women's Bureau in Chicago, recorded the struggle of an Irish mother of two.

Analyze Historical Sources

How does the woman described in this account reflect the contradicting expectations women experienced during the 1920s?

"She worked in one of the meat-packing companies, pasting labels from 7 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. She had entered the eldest child at school but sent her to the nursery for lunch and after school. The youngest was in the nursery all day. She kept her house 'immaculately clean and in perfect order,' but to do so worked until eleven o'clock every night in the week and on Saturday night she worked until five o'clock in the morning. She described her schedule as follows: on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday she cleaned one room each night; Saturday afternoon she finished the cleaning and put the house in order; Saturday night she washed; Sunday she baked; Monday night she ironed."

—Helen Wright, quoted in *Wage-Earning Women*



In the 1920s women began to bob their hair, cutting it much shorter than the long styles that had been fashionable for years.

As their spheres of activity and influence expanded, women experienced greater equality in marriage. Marriages were based increasingly on romantic love and companionship. Children were no longer thrown together with adults in factory work, farm labor, and apprenticeships. Instead, they spent most of their days at school and in organized activities with others their own age. At the same time, parents began to rely more heavily on manuals of childcare and the advice of experts.

Working-class and college-educated women quickly discovered the pressure of juggling work and family, but the strain on working-class women was more severe.

As women adjusted to changing roles, some also struggled with rebellious adolescents, who put an unprecedented strain on families. Teens in the 1920s studied and

socialized with other teens and spent less time with their families. As peer pressure intensified, some adolescents resisted parental control, much as the flappers resisted societal control.

This theme of adolescent rebelliousness can be seen in much of the popular culture of the 1920s. The decade known as the Roaring Twenties was a celebration of youth culture—the way young people lived, their values, and their styles. Education and entertainment reflected the conflict between traditional attitudes and modern ways of thinking.

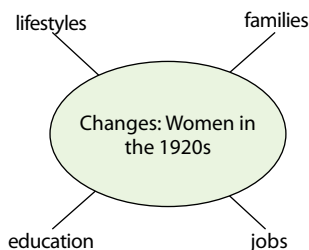
Reading Check

Summarize What changes affected women and families in the 1920s?

Lesson 4 Assessment

1. Organize Information

Create a web diagram to record examples that illustrate how women's lives changed in the 1920s.



Write a paragraph explaining how you think women's lives changed most dramatically in the 1920s.

2. Key Terms and People

For each key term in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Evaluate

During the 1920s, a double standard required women to observe stricter codes of behavior than men. Do you think that some women of this decade made real progress toward equality? Support your answer with examples.

Think About:

- the flapper's style and image
- changing views of marriage

4. Analyze Primary Sources

In 1920 veteran suffragist Anna Howard Shaw stated that equality in the workplace would be harder for women to achieve than the vote.

"You younger women will have a harder task than ours. You will want equality in business, and it will be even harder to get than the vote."

Why do you think Shaw held this belief? Support your answer with evidence from the text.

Education and Popular Culture

The Big Idea

The mass media, movies, and spectator sports played important roles in creating the popular culture of the 1920s—a culture that many artists and writers criticized.

Why It Matters Now

Much of today's popular culture can trace its roots to the popular culture of the 1920s.

Key Terms and People

Charles A. Lindbergh

George Gershwin

Irving Berlin

Georgia O'Keeffe

modernism

Sinclair Lewis

F. Scott Fitzgerald

Edna St. Vincent Millay

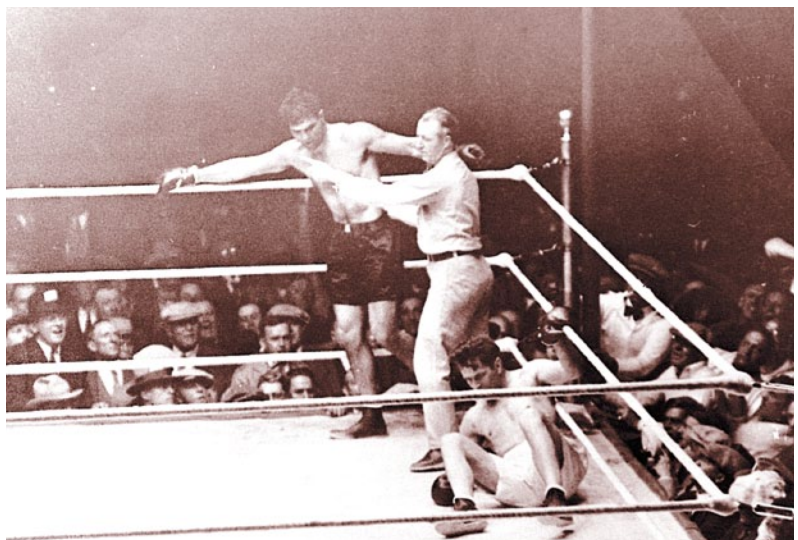
Ernest Hemingway

One American's Story

On September 22, 1927, approximately 50 million Americans sat listening to their radios as Graham McNamee, radio's most popular announcer, breathlessly called the boxing match between the former heavyweight champ Jack Dempsey and the current titleholder, Gene Tunney.

After punches flew for ten rounds, Tunney defeated the legendary Dempsey. So suspenseful was the brutal match that a number of radio listeners died of heart failure. The "fight of the century" was just one of a host of spectacles and events that transformed American popular culture in the 1920s.

By 1920 radio had morphed from a way to communicate wirelessly with ships at sea to an impactful form of mass communication. Before radio, people often had to wait days or even weeks to get news and information from newspapers. New radio stations broadcast news, sports, dramas, and comedies—providing entertainment and information to more than 3 million U.S. households by 1924. For the first time, people could experience sporting events, concerts, shows, and other performances in real time without physically attending.



Gene Tunney, down for the "long count," went on to defeat Jack Dempsey in their epic 1927 battle.

Schools and the Mass Media Shape Culture

During the 1920s developments in education and mass media had a powerful impact on the nation.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS In 1914 approximately 1 million American students attended high school. By 1926 that number had risen to nearly 4 million, an increase sparked by prosperous times and higher educational standards for industry jobs.

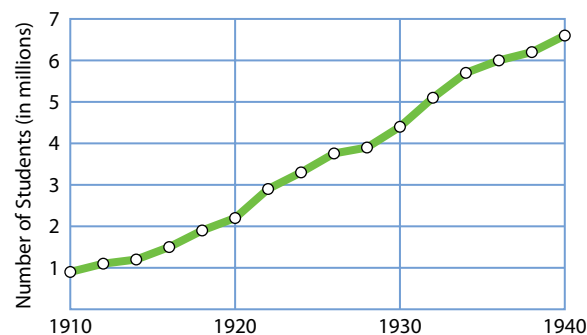
Prior to the 1920s, high schools had catered to college-bound students. In contrast, high schools of the 1920s began offering a broad range of courses such as vocational training for those interested in industrial jobs.

The public schools met another challenge in the 1920s—teaching the children of new immigrant families. The years before World War I had seen the largest stream of immigrants in the nation’s history—close to 1 million a year. Unlike the earlier English and Irish immigrants, many of the new immigrants spoke no English. By the 1920s their children filled city classrooms. Determined teachers met the challenge and developed a large pool of literate Americans.

Taxes to finance the schools increased as well. School costs doubled between 1913 and 1920, and then doubled again by 1926. The total cost of American education in the mid-1920s amounted to \$2.7 billion a year.

EXPANDING NEWS COVERAGE Widespread education increased literacy in America, but it was the growing mass media that shaped a mass culture. Newspaper circulation rose. Imitating the sensational stories in the tabloids, newspaper writers and editors learned how to hook readers. By 1914 about 600 local newspapers had shut down and 230 had been swallowed up by huge national chains, giving readers more expansive coverage from the big

High School Enrollment, 1910–1940



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

Interpret Graphs

What was the approximate increase in the number of high school students between 1920 and 1930?

Reading Check
Analyze Effects
How did changes in education and mass media affect Americans' knowledge of world affairs?

cities. Mass-circulation magazines also flourished during the 1920s. Many of these magazines summarized the week's news, both foreign and domestic. By the end of the 1920s, ten American magazines—including *Reader's Digest* (founded in 1922) and *Time* (founded in 1923)—boasted a circulation of over 2 million each.

RADIO COMES OF AGE Although major magazines and newspapers reached big audiences, radio was the most powerful communications medium to emerge in the 1920s. Americans added terms such as “air-waves,” “radio audience,” and “tune in” to their everyday speech. By the end of the decade, the radio networks had created something new in the United States—the shared national experience of hearing the news as it happened. The wider world had opened up to Americans, who could hear the voice of their president or listen to the World Series live.

Radio Broadcasts of the 1920s

Prior to the 1920s, radio broadcasts were used primarily for transmitting important messages and speeches regarding World War I. After the first commercial radio station—KDKA Pittsburgh—made its debut on the airwaves in 1920, the radio industry changed forever. Listeners tuned in for news, entertainment, and advertisements.



Radio dance parties were common in the 1920s.



By 1930, 40 percent of U.S. households had radios, like this 1927 Cosser three-valve Melody Maker.

In the 1920s radio was a formal affair. Announcers and musicians dressed in their finest attire, even without a live audience.



Sports Heroes of the 1920s

Although the media glorified sports heroes, the Golden Age of Sports reflected common aspirations. Athletes set new records, inspiring ordinary Americans. When poor, unknown athletes rose to national fame and fortune, they restored Americans' belief in the power of the individual to improve his or her life.



Gertrude Ederle

In 1926, at the age of 19, Gertrude Ederle became the first woman to swim the English Channel. Here, an assistant applies heavy grease to combat the cold Channel waters.

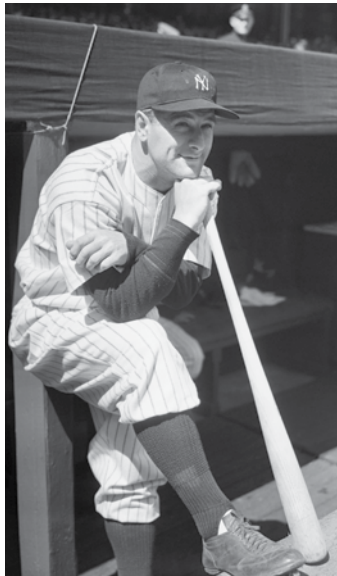


Babe Ruth

New York Yankees slugger Babe Ruth was the home run king during the 1920s. When the legendary star hit a record 60 home runs in 1927, Americans went wild.

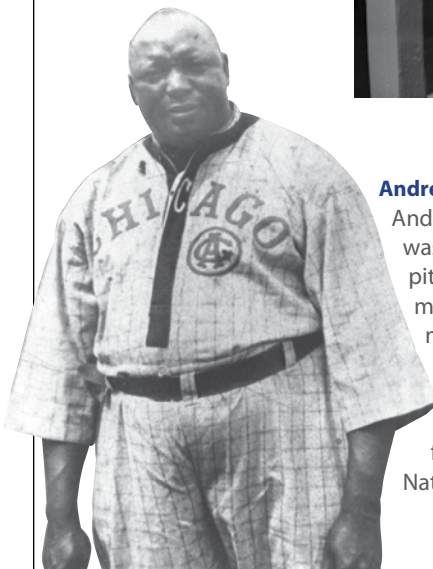
Lou Gehrig

Dubbed the "Iron Horse" for his endurance, baseball star Lou Gehrig set several major league records. His life was cut short by amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a condition now commonly called Lou Gehrig's disease.



Helen Wills

Helen Wills dominated women's tennis, winning the singles title at the U.S. Open seven times and the Wimbledon title eight times.



Andrew "Rube" Foster

Andrew "Rube" Foster was a celebrated pitcher and team manager. He made his greatest contribution to black baseball in 1920 when he founded the Negro National League.



Red Grange

During his college days, athlete Red Grange scored at least one touchdown in almost every game he played. His professional career helped legitimize the National Football League.

America Chases New Heroes and Old Dreams

During the 1920s many people had money and the free time to enjoy it. In 1929 Americans spent \$4.5 billion on entertainment, much of it on ever-changing fads. Early in the decade, Americans engaged in new leisure pastimes such as working crossword puzzles and playing mahjong, a Chinese game with playing pieces that resemble dominoes. They also flooded athletic stadiums to see sports stars, who were glorified as superheroes by the mass media. In 1922 explorers opened the dazzling tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen. Afterward, consumers mobbed stores for pharaoh-inspired accessories, jewelry, and furniture.

LINDBERGH'S FLIGHT America's most beloved hero of the time wasn't an athlete but a small-town pilot named **Charles A. Lindbergh**. He made the first nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic. A handsome, modest Minnesotan, Lindbergh decided to go after a \$25,000 prize offered for the first nonstop solo transatlantic flight. On May 20, 1927, he took off near New York City in the *Spirit of St. Louis*. Lindbergh flew up the coast to Newfoundland and headed over the Atlantic. The weather was so bad, Lindbergh recalled, that "the average altitude for the whole . . . second 1,000 miles of the [Atlantic] flight was less than 100 feet." After 33 hours and 29 minutes, Lindbergh set down at Le Bourget airfield outside of Paris, France, amid beacons, searchlights, and mobs of enthusiastic people.

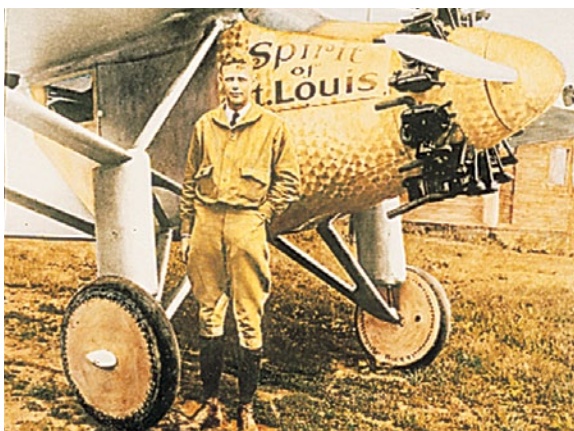
Paris threw a huge party. On his return to the United States, New York City showered Lindbergh with ticker tape, the president received him at the White House, and America made him its idol. In an age of sensationalism, excess, and crime, Lindbergh stood for the honesty and bravery the nation seemed to have lost. Lindbergh's accomplishment paved the way for others. In the next decade, Amelia Earhart was to undertake many brave aerial exploits.

Reading Check

Summarize

What were some of the ways Americans spent their leisure time in the 1920s?

Historic Flights



Charles Lindbergh established a record of 33 hours 29 minutes in his 3,614-mile nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic. He left New York City on May 20, 1927, and arrived in Paris, France, the following day.



On May 20, 1932, Amelia Earhart was the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic. She completed the trip in a record time of about 15 hours from Newfoundland to Ireland.

Popular Culture Reflects New Attitudes

During the 1920s America's thirst for fun and entertainment seemed unquenchable. The decade's youth culture set the tone. Energetic dances such as the Charleston were all the rage. Bizarre fads caught the public's attention. One of the oddest was sitting on tiny platforms on top of flagpoles, for days at a time. Radically new styles of clothing captured the public's fancy. Young men who wanted to attract the glamorous flappers wore extremely baggy trousers and slicked down their hair. Public entertainment and the arts also underwent dramatic changes.

MOVIES, DRAMA, MUSIC, AND ART The leisure culture that developed during the 1920s stimulated the arts, including the newest art form, motion pictures. Movies became a national pastime, offering viewers a means of escape through romance and comedy. During the early years of the decade, all Hollywood movies were silent. Written dialogue and live music helped move the plot and enhance the mood. Then in 1927 the first major movie with sound, *The Jazz Singer*, was released. The plot followed a young Jewish man who rebels against his family heritage to become a stage star. Walt Disney's *Steamboat Willie*, the first animated film with sound, was released in 1928. By 1930 the new "talkies" had doubled movie attendance, with millions of Americans going to the movies every week. Other countries, too, quickly developed their own film industries, which brought popular culture to millions of eager customers. Not everyone approved of the new medium, however. Almost as soon as the first movies hit the screens, viewers who held



Edward Hopper's *Night Windows* (1928)



Charlie Chaplin was one of the biggest stars of the early film era.

more traditional values declared some films “immoral” for their depictions of religious and sexual topics.

Both playwrights and composers of music broke away from the European traditions of the 1920s. Eugene O’Neill’s plays, such as *The Hairy Ape*, forced Americans to reflect upon modern isolation, confusion, and family conflict. Jewish composer **George Gershwin** earned fame when he merged popular concert music with American jazz, thus creating a new sound that was identifiably American. *Rhapsody in Blue* and *An American in Paris* are among his most famous compositions. **Irving Berlin** was another important composer of the period. Berlin wrote 1,500 songs, some of which appeared in Broadway shows or Hollywood movies. He may be best remembered for the song “White Christmas,” recordings of which have sold more than 100 million copies over the years.

Painters appealed to Americans by recording an America of dreams and the contrasting realities. Edward Hopper caught the loneliness of American life in his canvases of empty streets and solitary people. **Georgia O’Keeffe** produced intensely colored canvases that captured the grandeur of New Mexico. Other O’Keeffe paintings depicted flowers in extreme close-ups. Hopper and O’Keeffe were just two of the many artists whose works were representative of **modernism**. This artistic movement rejected traditional art as outdated and no longer meaningful in the new, industrialized, urban world.

WRITERS OF THE 1920s The 1920s also brought an outpouring of fresh and insightful writing, making it one of the richest eras in the country’s literary history. In contrast to the merriment of popular entertainment, many works of the decade’s writers revealed the tensions gnawing below the surface.

Sinclair Lewis was the first American to win a Nobel Prize in literature. He was among the era’s most outspoken critics. In his novel *Babbitt*, Lewis used the main character of George F. Babbitt to ridicule Americans of the period.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

A Businessman Changes His Suit

One of the defining novels of the 1920s, Sinclair Lewis’s *Babbitt* is a blistering satire of American culture. Set in a fictional Midwestern city named Zenith, the novel pokes fun at the empty shallowness of the booster clubs and lodges where deals were made and social status was measured.

Analyze Historical Sources

For what was Sinclair Lewis ridiculing Americans?

“A sensational event was changing from the brown suit to the gray the contents of his pockets. He was earnest about these objects. They were of eternal importance, like baseball or the Republican Party. They included a fountain pen and a silver pencil . . . which belonged in the righthand upper vest pocket. Without them he would have felt naked. On his watch-chain were a gold penknife, silver cigar-cutter, seven keys . . . and incidentally a good watch . . . Last, he stuck in his lapel the Boosters’ Club button. With the conciseness of great art the button displayed two words: ‘Boosters—Pep!’”

—Sinclair Lewis, from *Babbitt*

American Literature

The Lost Generation

F. Scott Fitzgerald's 1922 story titled "Winter Dreams" reflected the gloom behind the decade's glitter. The main character, Dexter Green, has achieved wealth and success but is crushed when his dream of a lifelong love is dashed. Life empty of meaning is his fate.

Winter Dreams

"The dream was gone. Something had been taken from him. . . . For the first time in years the tears were streaming down his face. But they were for himself now. . . . He wanted to care, and he could not care. For he had gone away and he could never go back any more. The gates were closed, the sun was gone down, and there was no beauty but the gray beauty of steel that withstands all time. Even the grief he could have borne was left behind in the country of illusion, of youth, of the richness of life, where his winter dreams had flourished.

'Long ago,' he said, 'long ago, there was something in me, but now that thing is gone. Now that thing is gone, that thing is gone. I cannot cry. I cannot care. That thing will come back no more.'

—F. Scott Fitzgerald, from "Winter Dreams" (1922)

Analyze American Literature

Consider the date when Fitzgerald wrote this story. What recent global events might have affected his melancholy frame of mind?

It was **F. Scott Fitzgerald** who coined the term "Jazz Age" to describe the 1920s. In *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby*, he revealed the negative side of the period's gaiety and freedom, portraying wealthy and attractive people leading imperiled lives in gilded surroundings.

In New York City, a brilliant group of writers routinely lunched together at the Algonquin Hotel's "Round Table." Among the best known of them was Dorothy Parker, a short-story writer, poet, and essayist. Parker was famous for her wisecracking wit, expressed in such lines as "I was the toast of two continents—Greenland and Australia." Many writers also met important issues head on. In *The Age of Innocence*, Edith Wharton dramatized the clash between traditional and modern values that had undermined high society 50 years earlier. Willa Cather celebrated the simple, dignified lives of people such as the immigrant farmers of Nebraska in *My Ántonia*. **Edna St. Vincent Millay** wrote poems celebrating youth and a life of independence and freedom from traditional constraints.

Several writers saw action in World War I, and their early books denounced war. John Dos Passos's novel *Three Soldiers* attacked war as a machine designed to crush human freedom. Later, he turned to social and political themes, using modern techniques to capture the mood of city life and the losses that came with success. **Ernest Hemingway**, wounded in World War I, became one of the country's most popular authors. In his novels *The Sun Also Rises* and *A Farewell to Arms*, Hemingway criticized the glorification of war. He also introduced a tough, simplified style of writing that set a new literary standard, using sentences a *Time* reporter compared to "round stones polished by rain and wind."

F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940)

F. Scott Fitzgerald married vivacious Zelda Sayre in 1920 after his novel *This Side of Paradise* became an instant hit. He said of this time in his life: "Riding in a taxi one afternoon between very tall buildings under a mauve and rosy sky, I began to bawl because I had everything I wanted and knew I would never be so happy again."

Flush with money, the couple plunged into a wild social whirl and outspent their incomes. The years following were difficult. Zelda suffered from repeated mental breakdowns, and Scott's battle with alcoholism took its toll.



Vocabulary

expatriate a person who has taken up residence in a foreign country

Reading Check

Make Inferences

Why do you think both frivolous entertainment and serious fiction were popular during the 1920s?

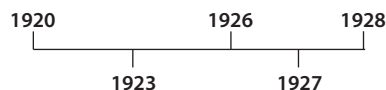
Some writers such as Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Dos Passos were so soured by American culture that they chose to settle in Europe, mainly in Paris. Socializing in the city's cafes, these expatriates formed a group that the writer Gertrude Stein called the Lost Generation—not vanished or misplaced, but aimless and disoriented. They joined other American writers already in Europe, such as poets Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, whose poem *The Waste Land* presented an agonized view of a society that seemed stripped of humanity.

During this rich literary era, vital developments were also taking place in African American society. Black Americans of the 1920s began to voice pride in their heritage, and black artists and writers revealed the richness of African American culture.

Lesson 5 Assessment

1. Organize Information

Create a timeline of key events relating to 1920s popular culture.



In a sentence or two, explain which of these events interests you the most and why.

2. Key Terms and People

For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Form Generalizations

In what ways do you think the mass media and mass culture helped Americans create a sense of national community in the 1920s? Support your answer with details from the text.

Think About:

- the content and readership of newspapers and magazines
- popularity of sports events and Hollywood movies
- the scope of radio broadcasts

4. Analyze Primary Sources

How did some writers of the 1920s respond to social and political changes in the United States?

5. Summarize

In two or three sentences, summarize the effects of education and mass media on society in the 1920s.

The Harlem Renaissance

The Big Idea

African American ideas, politics, art, literature, and music flourished in Harlem and elsewhere in the United States.

Why It Matters Now

The Harlem Renaissance provided a foundation of African American intellectualism to which African American writers, artists, and musicians contribute today.

Key Terms and People

Zora Neale Hurston

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

James Weldon Johnson

Marcus Garvey

Harlem Renaissance

Claude McKay

Langston Hughes

Paul Robeson

Louis Armstrong

Duke Ellington

Bessie Smith

One American's Story

When the spirited **Zora Neale Hurston** was a girl in Eatonville, Florida, in the early 1900s, she loved to read adventure stories and myths. The powerful tales struck a chord with the young, talented Hurston and made her yearn for a wider world.

"My soul was with the gods and my body in the village. People just would not act like gods. . . . Raking back yards and carrying out chamber-pots, were not the tasks of Thor. I wanted to be away from drabness and to stretch my limbs in some mighty struggle."

—Zora Neale Hurston,
quoted in *The African American Encyclopedia*



Zora Neale Hurston

After spending time with a traveling theater company and attending Howard University, Hurston ended up in New York. She struggled to the top of African American literary society by hard work, flamboyance, and, above all, grit. "I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less," Hurston wrote later. "I do not weep at [being Negro]—I am too busy sharpening my oyster knife." Hurston was on the move, like millions of others. And, like them, she went after the pearl in the oyster—the good life in America.

African American Voices in the 1920s

After World War I, Jim Crow laws continued to make life hard for African Americans in the South. Many black Americans looked north for more security, freedom, and opportunities.

During the 1920s African Americans set new goals for themselves as they moved north to the nation's cities. Their migration was an expression of their changing attitude toward themselves—an attitude perhaps best captured in a phrase first used around this time, “Black is beautiful.”

THE MOVE NORTH Between 1910 and 1920 a movement known as the Great Migration took place. Hundreds of thousands of African Americans uprooted themselves from their homes in the South and moved north to the big cities in search of jobs. By the end of the decade, 5.2 million of the nation's 12 million African Americans—over 40 percent—lived in cities.

However, northern cities in general had not welcomed the massive influx of African Americans. Tensions had escalated in the years prior to 1920. In the summer of 1919, these tensions culminated in approximately 25 urban race riots. In addition, the concentration of African Americans in big cities would eventually lead to legal discrimination in mortgage lending practices.

AFRICAN AMERICAN GOALS The prosperity of the 1920s did not benefit all Americans equally. African Americans remained the targets of discrimination. Several new organizations sought to improve the lives of African Americans. One was the National Urban League. This organization tried to remove barriers to black employment. Founded in 1909 the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)** urged African Americans to protest racial violence. W.E.B. DuBois, a founding member of the NAACP, led a parade of 10,000 African American men in New York City to protest such violence. The event, called the Silent Parade or the Silent Protest, failed to convince President Woodrow Wilson to improve protections for African Americans. Du Bois also used the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*, as a platform for leading a struggle for civil rights. *The Crisis* is still being published four times a year.

Under the leadership of **James Weldon Johnson**—poet, lawyer, and NAACP executive secretary—the organization fought for legislation to protect African American rights. It made antilynching laws one of its main priorities. In 1919, three antilynching bills were introduced in Congress, although none was passed. The NAACP continued its campaign through antilynching organizations that had been established in 1892 by Ida B. Wells. Gradually, the number of lynchings dropped. The NAACP represented the new, more militant voice of African Americans.

MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIA Although many African Americans found their voice in the NAACP, they still faced daily threats and discrimination. **Marcus Garvey**, an immigrant from Jamaica, believed that African Americans should build a separate society. His different, more radical message of black pride aroused the hopes of many.

James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938)

James Weldon Johnson served the public in many ways. During Theodore Roosevelt's administration, Johnson was a U.S. consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua. He was a school principal, newspaper editor, and lawyer. Later in life, Johnson became a professor of creative literature and writing.

In the 1920s Johnson straddled the worlds of politics and art. He served as executive

secretary of the NAACP, spearheading the fight against lynching. In addition, he wrote well-known works, such as *God's Trombones*, a series of sermonlike poems, and *Black Manhattan*, a look at black cultural life in New York City during the Roaring Twenties.



Vocabulary

oratory the art of public speaking

Reading Check

Compare and Contrast What did James Weldon Johnson and Marcus Garvey have in common? How were their efforts to change society different?

In 1914 Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In 1918 he moved the UNIA to New York City and opened offices in urban ghettos in order to recruit followers. By the mid-1920s Garvey claimed he had a million followers. He appealed to African Americans with a combination of spellbinding oratory, mass meetings, parades, and a message of pride.

Garvey also lured followers with practical plans, especially his program to promote African American businesses. Further, Garvey encouraged his followers to return to Africa, a scheme sometimes called the “Back to Africa” movement. When they had arrived in Africa, the new arrivals were to throw off white colonial oppressors and build a mighty nation. These goals formed the basis of Black Nationalism—the idea that all black people are one and that they should put aside their differences to unite. Garvey’s ideas struck a chord in many African Americans, as well as in Africans and people of African heritage in the Caribbean region.

Despite the appeal of Garvey’s movement, support for it declined in the mid-1920s. At that time, he was convicted of mail fraud and jailed. Although the movement dwindled, Garvey left behind a powerful legacy of newly awakened black pride, economic independence, and reverence for Africa.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Marcus Garvey on the Rights of African Americans

“In view of the fact that the black man of Africa has contributed as much to the world as the white man of Europe, and the brown man and yellow man of Asia, we of the Universal Negro Improvement Association demand that the white, yellow, and brown races give to the black man his place in the civilization of the world. We ask for nothing more than the rights of 400 million Negroes.”

—Marcus Garvey, from a speech at Liberty Hall, New York City, 1922

Analyze Historical Sources

How do you think reaction to Garvey’s speech might have varied among the audience members?

The Harlem Renaissance Flowers in New York

Many African Americans who migrated north moved to Harlem, a neighborhood on the upper west side of New York's Manhattan Island. In the 1920s Harlem became the world's largest black urban community. Residents came from the South, the West Indies, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Haiti. James Weldon Johnson described Harlem as the capital of black America.

"Harlem is not merely a Negro colony or community, it is a city within a city, the greatest Negro city in the world. It is not a slum or a fringe, it is located in the heart of Manhattan and occupies one of the most beautiful . . . sections of the city. . . . It has its own churches, social and civic centers, shops, theaters, and other places of amusement. And it contains more Negroes to the square mile than any other spot on earth."

—James Weldon Johnson, from "Harlem: The Culture Capital"

Like many other urban neighborhoods, Harlem suffered from overcrowding, unemployment, and poverty. But its problems in the 1920s were eclipsed by a flowering of creativity called the **Harlem Renaissance**, a literary and artistic movement celebrating African American culture.

AFRICAN AMERICAN WRITERS Above all, the Harlem Renaissance was a literary movement led by well-educated, middle-class African Americans who expressed a new pride in the African American experience. They celebrated their heritage and wrote with defiance and poignancy about the trials of being black in a white world. W.E.B. DuBois and James Weldon Johnson helped these young talents along, as did Harvard-educated former Rhodes Scholar Alain Locke. In 1925 Locke published *The New Negro*. It was a landmark collection of literary works by many promising young African American writers.

Claude McKay, a novelist, poet, and Jamaican immigrant, was a major figure in the movement. His verses urged African Americans to resist prejudice and discrimination. His poems also expressed the pain of life in the black ghettos and the strain of being black in a world dominated by whites. Another gifted writer of the time was Jean Toomer. His experimental book *Cane* was a mix of poems and sketches about blacks in the North and the South. It was among the first full-length literary works of the Harlem Renaissance.

Missouri-born **Langston Hughes** was the movement's best-known poet. Many of Hughes's 1920s poems described the difficult lives of working-class African Americans. Hughes gained an international reputation for his work. His poems influenced generations of African American writers.

In many of her novels, stories, poems, and books of folklore, Zora Neale Hurston portrayed the lives of poor, unschooled blacks—in her words, "the greatest cultural wealth of the continent." Much of her work celebrated what she called the common person's art form—the simple folkways and values of people who had survived slavery through their ingenuity and strength.

Harlem in the 1920s

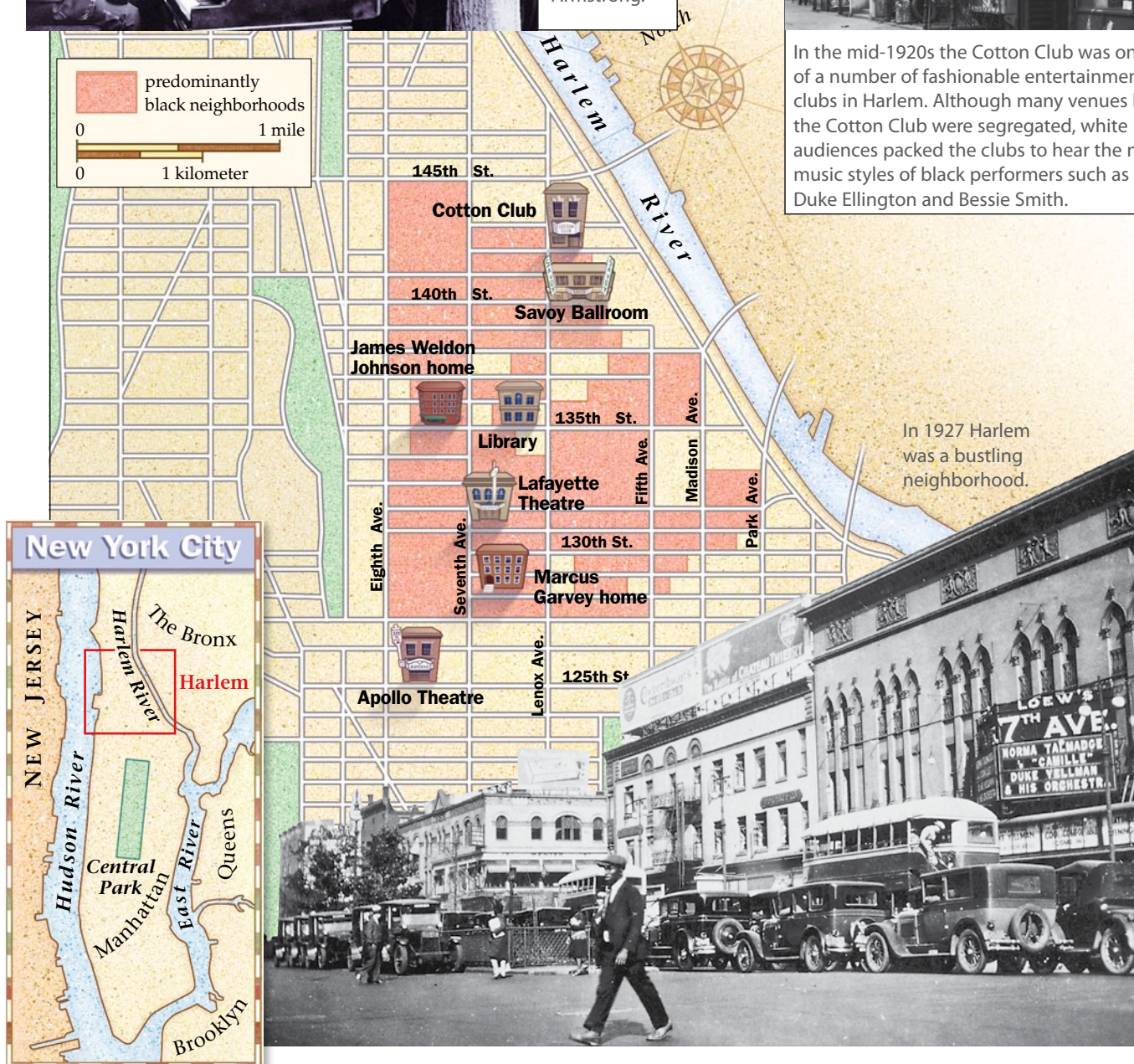
At the turn of the century, New York's Harlem neighborhood was overbuilt with new apartment houses. Enterprising African American realtors began buying and leasing property to other African Americans who were eager to move into the prosperous neighborhood. As the number of blacks in Harlem increased, many whites began moving out. Harlem quickly grew to become the center of black America and the birthplace of the political, social, and cultural movement known as the Harlem Renaissance.



The Hot Five included (from left) Louis Armstrong, Johnny St. Cyr, Johnny Dodds, Kid Ory, and Lil Hardin Armstrong.



In the mid-1920s the Cotton Club was one of a number of fashionable entertainment clubs in Harlem. Although many venues like the Cotton Club were segregated, white audiences packed the clubs to hear the new music styles of black performers such as Duke Ellington and Bessie Smith.



The Harlem Renaissance

A towering figure of the Harlem Renaissance, Langston Hughes often imbued his poetry with the rhythms of jazz and blues. He was a teenager when he wrote the following poem.

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.

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

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyra-
mids 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

—Langston Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," from *The Crisis* (1921)

Analyze American Literature

What does Hughes achieve by referring to the Euphrates, Congo, and Nile rivers?

AFRICAN AMERICAN PERFORMERS The spirit and talent of the Harlem Renaissance reached far beyond the world of African American writers and intellectuals. Some observers, including Langston Hughes, thought the movement was launched with *Shuffle Along*, a black musical comedy popular in 1921. "It gave just the proper push . . . to that Negro vogue of the '20s," he wrote. The show also spotlighted the talents of several black performers, including the singers Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, and Mabel Mercer.

During the 1920s African Americans in the performing arts won large followings. The tenor Roland Hayes rose to stardom as a concert singer. Actress and singer Ethel Waters debuted on Broadway in the musical *Africana*.

Paul Robeson, the son of a one-time slave, became a major dramatic actor. His performance in Shakespeare's *Othello*, first in London and later in New York City, was widely acclaimed. Subsequently, Robeson struggled with the racism he experienced in the United States and the indignities inflicted upon him because of his support of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. He took up residence abroad, living for a time in England and the Soviet Union.

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND JAZZ Jazz was born in the early 20th century in New Orleans. Musicians blended instrumental ragtime and vocal blues into an exuberant new sound. In 1918 Joe "King" Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band traveled north to Chicago, carrying jazz with them. In 1922 a young trumpet player named **Louis Armstrong** joined Oliver's group, which became known as the Creole Jazz Band. Armstrong's talent rocketed him to stardom in the jazz world.

Famous for his astounding sense of rhythm and his ability to improvise, Armstrong made personal expression a key part of jazz. After two years in Chicago, he joined Fletcher Henderson's band in 1924. At that time it was the most important big jazz band in New York City. Armstrong went on to become perhaps the most important and influential musician in the history of jazz.

Jazz quickly spread to such cities as Kansas City, Memphis, and New York City. It became the most popular music for dancing. In fact, the new musical style became so fashionable that the 1920s are often called the Jazz Age. Harlem pulsed to the sounds of jazz, which lured throngs of whites to the showy, exotic nightclubs there, including the famed Cotton Club. In the late 1920s **Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington**, a jazz pianist and composer, led his ten-piece orchestra at the Cotton Club. In a 1925 essay titled "The Negro Spirituals," Alain Locke seemed almost to predict the career of the talented Ellington.

"Up to the present, the resources of Negro music have been tentatively exploited in only one direction at a time—melodically here, rhythmically there, harmonically in a third direction. A genius that would organize its distinctive elements in a formal way would be the musical giant of his age."

—Alain Locke, quoted in *Afro-American Writing: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry*

Through the 1920s and 1930s, Ellington won renown as one of America's greatest composers. Among his most popular works were "Mood Indigo" and "Sophisticated Lady."

Cab Calloway, a talented drummer, saxophonist, and singer, formed another important jazz orchestra. It played at Harlem's Savoy Ballroom and the Cotton Club, alternating with Duke Ellington. Along with Louis Armstrong, Calloway popularized "scat," or improvised jazz singing using sounds instead of words.

Bessie Smith, a female blues singer, was probably the most outstanding vocalist of the decade. She recorded on black-oriented labels produced by

BIOGRAPHY

Duke Ellington (1899–1974)



Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington, one of the greatest composers of the 20th century, was largely a self-taught musician. He developed his skills by playing at family socials. He wrote his first song,

"Soda Fountain Rag," at age 15 and started his first band at 22.

Ellington played at Harlem's glittering Cotton Club for five years. During that time he set a new standard, playing mainly his own stylish compositions. Through radio and the film short *Black and Tan*, the Duke Ellington Orchestra was able to reach nationwide audiences. Billy Strayhorn, Ellington's long-time arranger and collaborator, said, "Ellington plays the piano, but his real instrument is his band."



Josephine Baker found more fame abroad than in America. Born in Missouri, she made her name in Paris for her singing, dancing, and acting.

the major record companies. She achieved enormous popularity and in 1927 became the highest-paid black artist in the world. Her fame continued to the movie screen when she starred in a film based on her wildly popular song “Saint Louis Blues,” composed by blues musician W. C. Handy.

Many of the jazz tunes were published as sheet music by companies on New York City’s West 28th Street. The area came to be called Tin Pan Alley for the sound of conflicting tunes blasting from the street’s businesses.

Some African American musical artists achieved great celebrity in Europe. The most popular was Josephine Baker, who lived in Paris and wowed French audiences with her singing, dancing, and comedy.

AFRICAN AMERICAN ARTISTS Painters and other artists also contributed their talents to the Harlem Renaissance. Sculptor Richmond Barthé’s many works included a monument to Haitian hero Toussaint L’Ouverture and a portrait statue of Booker T. Washington. Aaron Douglas painted murals and illustrated books and magazines. Many of Palmer Hayden’s paintings were inspired by African American folklore. James Van Der Zee used innovative techniques in his photographs of middle-class black New Yorkers. Many other names could be cited as prominent artists of the era.

ENDURING INFLUENCE The Harlem Renaissance put African Americans on the country’s cultural stage. With their increased numbers in the big cities and their significant contributions to the arts, African Americans were inspired to take new pride in their achievements and importance. In addition, the Harlem Renaissance represented a portion of the great social and cultural changes that swept America in the 1920s. The period was characterized by economic prosperity, new ideas, changing values, and personal freedom, as well as important developments in the arts. Most of the social changes were lasting. The economic boom, however, was short-lived.

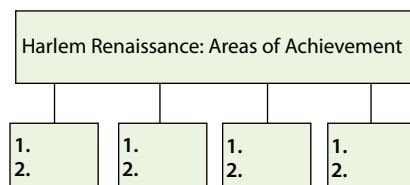
Reading Check

Form Generalizations
How did writers, musicians, and artists of the Harlem Renaissance affect American culture and values?

Lesson 6 Assessment

1. Organize Information

In a tree diagram, identify four areas of artistic achievement in the Harlem Renaissance. For each, name at least two outstanding African Americans.



Write a paragraph explaining the impact of these achievements.

2. Key Terms and People

For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Analyze Causes

Speculate on why an African American renaissance flowered during the 1920s. Support your answer.

Think About:

- racial discrimination in the South
- campaigns for equality in the North
- Harlem’s diverse cultures
- the changing culture of all Americans

4. Form Generalizations

How did popular culture in America change as a result of the Great Migration?

5. Draw Conclusions

What did the Harlem Renaissance contribute to both black and general American culture?

Module 8 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each key term or person below, write a sentence explaining its significance during the 1920s.

1. Teapot Dome scandal
2. Calvin Coolidge
3. Sacco and Vanzetti
4. quota system
5. speakeasy
6. Scopes trial
7. flapper
8. Georgia O'Keeffe
9. Marcus Garvey
10. Langston Hughes

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

The Business of America

1. Why was Harding's promise to return America to "normalcy" popular with voters?
2. What economic ideas drove events during the Harding and Coolidge administrations?
3. How did government actions affect big business?
4. How did Henry Ford affect industry during the 1920s?
5. How did Americans' shopping habits change during the 1920s?

Postwar Issues

6. How did World War I affect the attitudes of many Americans?
7. What groups did the Ku Klux Klan target during the 1920s? How did its actions vary?
8. Describe the primary goal of the immigration quota system established in 1921.
9. What are some attacks on civil liberties that reflected a return to isolationism?
10. How did fears of various groups affect government actions?

Changing Ways of Life

11. Why was heavy funding needed to enforce the Volstead Act?
12. Explain the circumstances, outcome, and legacy of the Scopes trial. How was the Tennessee Supreme Court involved?

The Twenties Woman

13. In what ways did flappers rebel against the earlier styles and attitudes of the Victorian Age?
14. What key social, economic, educational, and technological changes of the 1920s affected women's marriages and family life?

Education and Popular Culture

15. How did high schools change in the 1920s?
16. Who were some of the popular culture heroes of the 1920s?
17. What are some 1920s fads that were part of youth culture?
18. Cite examples of the flaws of American society that some famous 1920s authors attacked in their writing.

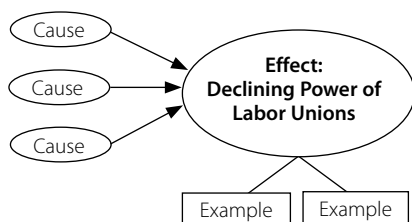
The Harlem Renaissance

19. Where is Harlem? What distinction did it earn in the 1920s?
20. What roles did *The Crisis* and the Silent Protest play in African American history?
21. What do the growth of the NAACP and UNIA reveal about the African American experience in this period?
22. What did Marcus Garvey propose to African Americans?
23. What were some of the important themes treated by African American writers during the Harlem Renaissance?

Module 8 Assessment, continued

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **Analyze Events** Create a cause-and-effect web, similar to the one shown below, in which you give several causes for the declining power of labor unions in the 1920s and give examples of the unions' decline.



2. **Analyze Issues** Calvin Coolidge said, "After all, the chief business of the American people is business." What events and trends of the 1920s support Coolidge's statement?
3. **Compare and Contrast** Why can it be said that the Great Migration resulted in both positive and negative effects?
4. **Develop Historical Perspective** What were some ways in which the conflict between rural, traditional values and urban, modern values were expressed throughout the 1920s?
5. **Make Inferences** How might the popularity of radio during the 1920s have challenged traditional values?
6. **Evaluate** What were some of the events and trends that were a reflection of and a reaction to changes in American society of the 1920s?
7. **Predict** How do you think the Harlem Renaissance would affect American politics in the years after the 1920s?

Engage with History

Imagine that you are a young man or woman in the 1920s who has moved to New York City from a small Midwest farming town. How are your days and nights different from what they were like before? What employment and entertainment opportunities are available to you? What ideas conflict with what you learned in your rural community? What previously unknown dangers may threaten your thrilling new urban life? Are you living the "American Dream"? Write a letter to your family in which you describe not just the excitement, but also the conflicts and difficulties of your life in the big city. Conclude by saying if you want to stay or go back home, and why.

Focus on Writing

Imagine it is the 1920s. Write a persuasive letter to your member of Congress in support of or in opposition to a quota system for controlling immigration. In the first part of your letter, present the evidence that supports your position on immigration. In the second half of your letter, acknowledge the opposing viewpoint and provide a counterargument to address it.

Multimedia Activity

Use the Internet and other sources to research the impact of mass production and the widespread availability of automobiles on the American economy and society. Work with a group to produce a multimedia presentation on the topic. Incorporate video, maps, art, graphs, or similar formats into your presentation.

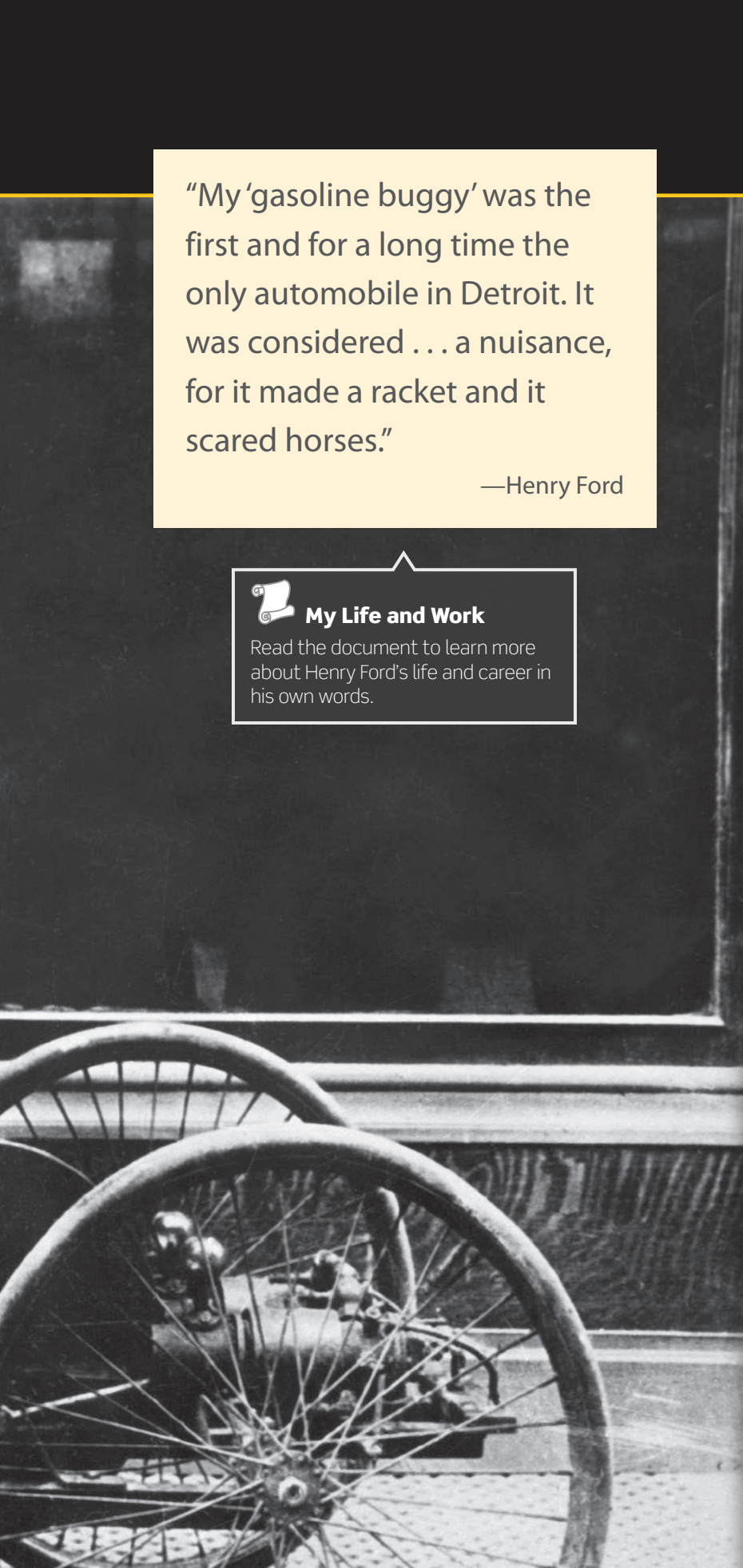
A black and white photograph of Henry Ford sitting in an early 20th-century automobile. He is wearing a dark suit and a bowler hat, looking towards the camera. The car has large spoked wheels and a high seat. The background is dark and out of focus.

Henry Ford

Henry Ford was a brilliant inventor and industrialist and founder of the Ford Motor Company. He helped bring about a time of rapid growth and progress that forever changed how people worked and lived. Henry Ford grew up on his family's farm near Dearborn, Michigan. As a child, he disliked life on the farm. He found the clicks and whirs of machinery much more exciting. When Ford was 16, he went to nearby Detroit to work in a

machine shop. From there, he turned his ideas for how to make affordable and well-built cars into one of the world's largest automobile companies.

Explore the amazing life and career of Henry Ford online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, primary sources, activities, and more through your online textbook.



"My 'gasoline buggy' was the first and for a long time the only automobile in Detroit. It was considered . . . a nuisance, for it made a racket and it scared horses."

—Henry Ford



My Life and Work

Read the document to learn more about Henry Ford's life and career in his own words.

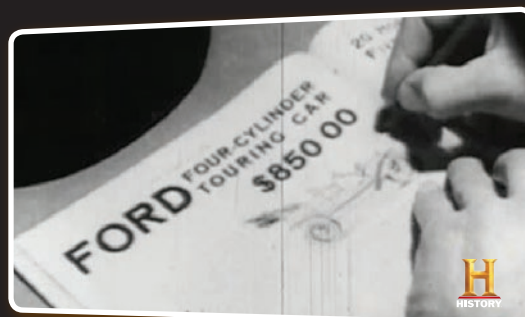


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Big Plans

Watch the video to learn more about Henry Ford's early career.



Taking the Low Road

Watch the video to explore Henry Ford's vision for his car company.



The Assembly Line

Watch the video to see how Henry Ford used the assembly line to produce cars more efficiently and cheaply.

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