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About the Authors - United States History - Reconstruction - Today

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Chapter 5

How did the decade of the 1920s illustrate social, economic, and political change in the United States?

1. From a political and economic perspective, were the actions of government and business seen as more conservative or innovative during this decade?

2. What part did the League of Nations play in the shift toward isolationism by the U.S. after WWI?

3. At what point can fear lead to infringement upon an individual or group's civil liberties?

4. Did the short-term victories of the labor movement in the 1920s ultimately help or hinder its long-term goals?

5. To what extent did the contradiction between agriculture and business contribute to economic bust by the end of the decade?
United States Politics in the 1920s

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

- Isolationism
- Nativism
- Anarchism
- Red Scare
- Ku Klux Klan

Revolution Overseas Causes Mixed Reactions at Home

America’s involvement in WWI left most Americans exhausted--in more ways than one. Soldiers returning home had suffered huge emotional distress from the war itself as well as from the physical injuries that many had suffered. Americans at home were deeply divided over the issues at the forefront of the League of Nations debate and the impact that the war had on thousands of immigrants with relatives overseas, many suffering in war-torn lands. Many Americans wished to return to what President Harding described as “normalcy.” Because of this desire by the American public, three trends in American society began to develop, both in rural towns and in urban areas across the country:

- A desire to return to the practice of isolationism, in which the U.S. would pull away from any involvement in world affairs
- The return of nativism, in which many Americans would become increasingly suspicious of individuals not born in the U.S.
• The leaning toward political conservatism which would cause governmental activism that had become the norm during the Progressive era to cease

The first result of these trends was the fear by many of the rise of communism in the U.S.

By 1917, the Russian Revolution had begun. Czar Nicholas II, unable to cope with desperate conditions in Russia, combined with the great loss of life of a large number of Russian soldiers to the fighting of WWI, abdicated his throne. The provisional representative government that was put into place was quickly overthrown by the Bolsheviks—a group of revolutionaries led by Vladimir Lenin. Eventually a state based on the economic and social system of communism was put into place. In March of 1919, during the Third Communist International meeting that was held in Moscow, a worldwide revolution was advocated to overthrow all of the tenants of capitalism.

**The Red Scare**

In response to the call for international revolution, approximately 70,000 radicals in the U.S. formed a Communist Party in the U.S. And even though the 70,000 radicals was the equivalent of only one-tenth of 1% of the American population, any talk of communism frightened the American public. In addition, several dozen bombs had been mailed to both government leaders and prominent business leaders in the U.S. thus adding to the panic that the “Reds” or Communists would take over the country. The Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer took decisive action in order to combat the “Red Scare.”

In August of 1919, a new division to the Justice Department had been added and J. Edgar Hoover had been appointed by Palmer to oversee it. (This new division would later become the FBI.) In his essay, *The Case Against the Reds*, Palmer charged that "tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society."
Government agents were sent to hunt down anyone who was suspected of being a socialist or communist, as well as anyone suspected of being an anarchist—a person who opposes any form of government. Suspects were jailed without being entitled to a lawyer and many foreign-born radicals were deported without trials even though no evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy was found. Eventually in 1920, Palmer was discredited when his claim of a communist plot to overthrow the government failed to happen.

The Trial of Sacco & Vanzetti

Fear and distrust of foreigners bled into other facets of society during the 1920s. Groups that endorsed socialism or anarchism bred suspicion amongst citizens and government officials. The 1920s was plagued by what became known as the “Red Scare,” or the fear of a leftist revolution or communist take-over as had happened in Russia in 1917. The trial of Italian immigrants, Sacco and Vanzetti, had come to illustrate the fear of foreigners that gripped the nation at the height of the Red Scare.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were Italian-Americans and anarchists, who were charged with the crimes of robbery and murder in Braintree, Massachusetts in 1920. The trial that ensued was largely sensationalized and some of the evidence used against the men was discredited. However, given the anti-foreign, anti-radical sentiment at the time, Sacco and Vanzetti were both convicted and sentenced to death. On August 23, 1927, the men met their death by electric chair. Their executions sparked protests across Massachusetts and the nation.

The Ku Klux Klan Rises Again

With a national sentiment that seemed to enhance nativist attitudes, groups like the Ku Klux Klan began to wield their influence and power. Traditionally a group that was prejudiced towards African-Americans, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) began to broaden their target during the decade of the 1920s to include immigrant groups, Catholics and
members of the Jewish faith. With a message of “Americanism” and limits on foreign immigration to the United States, the message of the Ku Klux Klan gained appeal. At its height, Ku Klux Klan membership swelled to four million people during the 1920s.

Labor Conflicts

Another substantial conflict that occurred in postwar America pitted labor against management in the workplace. Poor working conditions, income inequality, and low wages, combined with an increased cost of living led to overwhelming frustration and anger among thousands of workers. During the war, workers had not been allowed to strike as nothing was allowed to interfere with the war effort; however, once the war had ended, labor unions began to look favorably upon striking for better conditions as an effective tactic. Management on the other hand, did not want to provide raises to workers, nor did they want to be seen as catering to organized labor unions as visions of revolt similar to the one in Russia were in forefront of many business owners’ minds. Believing that a strike, or work stoppage by employees in order to gain higher wages and/or better working conditions would yield the most positive benefits for the greatest number of unionized workers, some 3,000 strikes were used in 1919 alone. Of those, three grabbed the attention of the American public.

The Boston Police Strike

When Boston police officers sent representatives to the police commissioner in 1919 to ask for a pay raise, the cost of living had doubled. The police commissioner responded by firing everyone in the group. The remaining officers responded by going on strike.
Calvin Coolidge who was the governor of Massachusetts at the time, called out the National Guard to restore order. The strike was then called off by the police but the commissioner refused to hire back the officers he had fired. When the commissioner hired new officers to replace those he had fired, Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) got involved. Appealing to Governor Coolidge on behalf of the fired men, the governor replied by declaring that, “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, any time.” The public praised Governor Coolidge as many felt he had saved Boston from communism and anarchy.

**The Steel Mill Strike**

Even more upsetting to the American public was the strike at the U.S. Steel Corporation in September of 1919. Union representatives, representing more than 350,000 workers, attempted to meet with management to plead for shorter hours and a living wage. When the company refused to meet with representatives the strike began.

Steel companies had been in the practice of hiring strikebreakers and force was not uncommon. U.S. Steel security police, state militias, and federal troops killed 18 workers and injured hundreds more. The strike was finally broken in January of 1920 but even after a report was published about the harsh working conditions in the steel mills, the steelworkers remained without a union.

**The Coal Miner’s Strike**

In November of 1919, the new president of the United Mine Workers, John Lewis called for his workers to strike in protest of long workdays and low wages. When Attorney General Mitchell Palmer ordered workers back on the job through a court order,
Lewis publicly declared the strike over while quietly telling striking workers to continue to strike. After the mines remained closed a month, President Wilson appointed an arbitrator to decide on the outstanding issues. Although the miners did not receive a shorter work day or a 5-day work week, they did receive a 27% wage increase.

Although gains were made for workers during the 1920s, the decade saw a substantial decline in the labor movement. One reason had to do with the huge influx of immigrants that had come to the U.S. Because of the language barrier, organization into unions was a difficult task. And many immigrants were willing to work in poor conditions because their circumstances were so dire. Farmers who left their farms and moved into cities for work weren’t used to the idea of organized labor; their previous necessity of self-reliance made them reluctant to join unions. Additionally, many unions excluded African Americans which reduced their favorability. Combined with the decline of need for unskilled labor, many Americans changed their attitudes not only about unions but also about immigration.

Isolationism Impacts Immigration

In the wake of the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917, immigration to the United States began to increase. As the influx of immigrants rose, old issues including nativism, made a reappearance. To stem the tide of immigration, primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe, Congress passed the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. This law’s aim was to curb the tide of immigrants by setting a yearly constraint of immigrants entering the country to 350,000. The law further went on to restrict immigration of each nationality to 3 percent of the 1910 U.S. census figures. In 1924 the Emergency Quota Act was strengthened to completely exclude Japanese immigrants to the United States. Laws passed reflecting Anti-Asian sentiment was nothing new.

Interactive 5.5 Says the Foreigner Is Not Appreciated

Why would labor groups pressure the government to pass laws like the Emergency Quota Act of 1921? Why would the law be geared specifically restrict Asian immigrants?
Did the majority of the social and cultural changes that took place in the 1920s reinforce traditional

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. From a political and economic perspective, were the actions of government and business seen as more conservative or innovative during this decade?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

GNP (Gross National Product)
Installment plans
Superficial prosperity
Speculation
Buying on margin
Bull market
Bear market

The 1920s Version of Business in America

In the immediate years following World War I, the United States, for the first time ever, had a population that was more urban than rural. Though the definition of what is defined as an urban environment has changed throughout the last century, in the 1920s the relative number of people working on farms decreased. During World War I, the price of corn and other foods reached an all-time high. At the start of the 1920s, farmers were earning 70 cents per bushel, but by the end of the decade farmers were reaping only 10 cents per bushel. The term prosperity is often associated with the 1920s, but this does not paint a complete picture when illustrating the economic perspective of the decade. Some farmers had borrowed large quantities of money to supply troops with food in Europe during World War I. At the end of the war, farms harvested large quantities of food with fewer buyers. This overproduction led to an oversupply of food lowering the price of most foodstuffs. Farmers were not making the money they anticipated when they had borrowed money from local banks. By 1924, with decreasing commodity prices—corn, wheat, pork—and the inability to pay back loans to banks, over 2400 farms faced foreclosure. This helped trigger the movement from rural areas to more urban centers as people searched for jobs. The average daily wage rate for a farmworker in 1920 was $2.82, and by 1929 the average was only $2.30.
As soldiers demobilized after World War I, they returned to the United States and looked to enter the workforce. While unemployment rates were relatively low throughout the decade, male participation in the labor force decreased and women’s participation increased. Even though the process of women entering the workplace had started long before the 1920s, there were jobs that were considered by greater society to be “acceptable” for women’s work. World War I saw the need for women to work as secretaries, nurses, and clerks. These so-called “Pink-Collar” professions continued into the 1920s in many industries and were characterized as lower paying jobs since many thought the jobs were to be secondary family income.

**The Economy of the 1920s**

Not all areas of the economy faced the issues confronting the agricultural industry. With the exception of the first few years of the 1920s, as demobilization occurred and veterans of World War I returned home looking for employment, there was great economic prosperity for many Americans. On some levels the US economy, at least in urban areas, benefited the nation’s families--providing more income to spend on consumer products like radios, phonographs and vacuum cleaners. The auto industry grew as millions of cars were produced on assembly lines, providing affordable vehicles for many families to purchase. New financial instruments like purchasing items on credit in installment plans allowed Americans to purchase greater quantities of consumer goods. As consumers bought more goods and as industry met the demand for these goods, there was a general increase in **Gross National Product** (GNP). Typically, a higher GNP per person equates to a higher standard of living for a country, though that is not to imply that this prosperity was
equally distributed amongst all people evenly. As a matter of fact, the gap between the wealthy and poor increased during this time period, leading to a superficial prosperity. Rural farms and the urban poor did not reap the same benefits garnered by a relatively few corporations and wealthy individuals.

Along with the increase in GNP per Capita, the stock market increased during this time period. New businesses and industries like the automobile and home appliance industries prospered while older industries like the coal industry struggled as it was replaced by gasoline, electric, and natural gas industries. Electrification of homes increased as a result of corporations like Westinghouse and General Electric. Americans spent less money on staples like food and utilities and spent a larger percentage of their incomes on at home appliances, new consumer products like radios, and recreation like the going to the movies. The tourist industry also flourished, partly due to the increased affordability of cars. As electrification increased, especially in urban areas, so did the purchasing of new consumer goods like stoves, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and more. The mechanical refrigerator typified this growth. In 1920, only 2500 refrigerators were manufactured. In 1921, 5,000 mechanical refrigerators were manufactured in the US. By the end of the decade, the number grew to over 1 million.

STOP
And Think...

Which effects had the greatest impact on the trend shown in the graph?
Stock Market Boom

Many corporations grew at staggering rates especially with sales of new goods geared toward consumer and the growth of electricity. These corporations’ stocks drove the stock boom of the 1920s. Even though many corporations like RCA did not pay dividends to shareholders, the expectation of growth helped increase stock value. This mirrors the internet “.com” boom of the late 1990s and the housing market boom of the 2000s where the value of internet corporations or real estate increased as a result of speculation. In the 1920s, the use of credit to purchase consumer goods expanded to some employing the same tactic to purchase stocks. **Buying on margin**—borrowing money to purchase stocks—became a favorable practice by some. For example, Investors would purchase a stock with only having 10% of the value in their own money. They would borrow the rest of the value of the stock. In a **bull market**, where stocks prices are rising, an investor could make money on the stock as its value increased greater than what they paid for it. They could pay back the loan and still reap the monetary reward.

What happens when stock prices remain stagnant or decrease—This is known as a **bear market**. Investors need to pay back loans plus any interest accrued. If the stocks purchased on margin decrease in value, investors run the risk of losing any sort of equity they had invested and still owe money from whom they borrowed the money. When the stock market crashed in October 1929, the ripple effects of these practices would have tremendous impact on the American and global economy.
In what ways did the emergence of the double standard reflect the broader struggle for women?

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Did the majority of the social and cultural changes that took place in the 1920s reinforce traditional values or represent a shift more reflective of modern thoughts and ideas?

2. In what ways did the emergence of the double standard reflect the broader struggle for women between traditional and modern societal and cultural standards?

3. To what extent did growing venues of mass media shape a mass culture?

4. In what ways did the arts of the Harlem Renaissance break down racial boundaries?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Urban Fundamentalism
Rural Flappers
Temperance Jazz
Prohibition Bootleggers
“Rum-runners” Speakeasies

At the start of the 1920s, the United States had a population of approximately 106 Million people. People were moving to more urban environments—places such as Detroit where the 15 millionth Model T would roll off Henry Ford’s assembly line in the suburb of Highland Park, Michigan in May of 1927. The economy grew at 4.2% Gross National Product (GNP) on average, each year of the decade. America had become an urban nation where urban centers and cities were the place many wanted to be. As cities rose to prominence in the eyes of many, small town attitudes had lost their hold on the predominating culture. As many moved into the booming cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, changes in thinking had to accompany changes to everyday living. This was difficult for many as they experienced a moral and sometimes cultural tug-of-war between small town safety and close ties to others, hard work, and strict morals and that of anonymous crowds, money makers, and pleasure seekers of larger cities. The conflicts of the 1920s pitted a more modernist, urban culture against a more traditionalist, rural culture.
The Experiment of Prohibition

One robust clash between cultures began in 1920 when the 18th amendment. Temperance groups such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were common in the early Twentieth Century. These groups had been in existence since the late 1800s. Members of these organizations saw alcohol as a social evil that was leading to a decline in American society, causing destruction of families, and threatening morality. Partially influenced by pressure from temperance societies, big business, progressives reformers, and other groups, the United States Congress passed the 18th Amendment in 1919. The prohibition amendment banned the sale, manufacture, transportation and distribution of alcohol nationwide. It did not prohibit the consumption of alcohol.

Although the purpose behind the passage of the 18th Amendment may have been a worthy one to many Americans, problems developed from the onset of the law. The enforcement of this unpopular amendment became problematic. Government officials at the National, State and local levels fought to enforce prohibition through the Volstead Act, but due to the enormous profit to be made, Gangsters, “bootleggers,” and “rum-runners” began to smuggle and distribute alcohol. Some law enforcement officials also found they could make a profit, by turning a blind-eye to smuggling operations. Violence began to consume and terrorize cities like Chicago and Detroit, as powerful liquor gangs vied for territory to distribute illegal alcohol.
In Detroit alone, there was an estimated number of illegal bars between 15,000 to 25,000 known as *speakeasies* by 1925. Detroit’s location, situated on the international border with Canada, with only the Detroit River separating the two countries, provided the perfect opportunity for organized crime to flourish. Seventy-five percent of all alcohol smuggled into the United States during prohibition, came across the Detroit River from Canada. The Purple Gang, led by the Bernstein brothers, took advantage of the situation and controlled smuggling and distribution operations in Detroit throughout the decade of the 1920s. Al Capone, one of the most infamous gangsters during the prohibition era, counted on Detroit’s Purple Gang to supply his mob with illegal alcohol. Instead of curing many of society’s ills, it soon became clear that prohibition was having the opposite effect, leading to a rise in violence and crime and a breakdown of order.

Instead of stopping the production, sale and distribution of alcohol, prohibition pushed the manufacture and drinking of alcohol underground, often accompanied by devastating outcomes. People began to make their own alcohol, known as “bathtub gin” or “moonshine” in their homes. Bootleggers also tried to stretch their supply of alcohol by diluting it with substances such as wood alcohol, rubbing alcohol, or other lethal chemicals that could lead to ailments from blindness to death.

**Organized Crime**

In addition to disrespect for the law that prohibition helped to create, there were other harmful effects as well. The most harmful effect was the flow of money away from lawful or law-abiding businesses and into organized crime. In almost every major city, the opportunity to make and sell liquor at an enormously high profit rate was seized by underground gangs. Chicago for example, was known as the most corrupt and crime-ridden cities in America not only in the 1920s but the 1930s as well.

What role did geography play in Chicago’s emergence as one of the most corrupt cities in America during the 1920s?
One of the most notorious gangsters in Chicago at this time was Al Capone, whose bootlegging empire netted more than $60 million a year. As a gangster who took control of the Chicago liquor business by killing off his competition, newspaper headlines reported at least 522 gang-related killings during the 1920s.

Interactive 5.7 Al Capone

To view a succinct video of Al Capone and organized crime in the city of Chicago, watch the short video by the Smithsonian

As ordinary citizens began to grow weary of organized crime and the violence that often accompanied it, many began to change their opinions about prohibition. By the middle of the decade, only 19 percent of Americans were still supportive of the 18th amendment--many believed that the rise in the crime rate and the level of disrespect for the law was worse than the problem of prohibition itself and the original


https://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/tribune/trib00000000/trib00000000439.jpg

Based on what is depicted in this cartoon, why does the author think that prohibition is a failure?

http://www.umich.edu/~eng217/student_projects/nkazmers/chicagoskyline1929americanmemory.jpg
problems prohibition was supposed to fix. The outcry to repeal the 18th Amendment began to grow, especially in urban areas after largely publicized murders, such as the 1929 St. Valentine’s Day Massacre in Chicago occurred. By 1933, a Constitutional Amendment to repeal prohibition was being debated in the United States Congress. That same year, Congress sent the 21st Amendment to the states for approval. Michigan became the first state to ratify the 21st Amendment and Prohibition was officially repealed on December 5, 1933.

The Clash Between Science and Religion

Another contentious struggle between traditionally held ideas and modern ones that tended to also run along regional lines was that of religion versus science. More specifically, fundamentalism, a Protestant movement that was grounded in a literal interpretation of the Bible led Fundamentalists to reject the more modern theory of evolution—a theory developed by Charles Darwin in the 19th century that plant and animal species had developed and changed over millions of years. As a result of a widespread Fundamentalist following, many Americans feared the clash between science and religion would rear its head in public schools across the nation—specifically about the teaching of evolution (or the prohibition of it) in public schools. It didn’t take long for the issue to claim national attention.

The Trial of John T. Scopes

The first state in the country to pass a law making it a criminal offense to teach evolution in a public school was in Tennessee in 1925. Almost immediately, the American Civil Liberties Union or ACLU publicly announced that it would defend any teacher who would challenge this law. Founded in 1920, the ACLU already had the reputation as a public-interest law firm that defended rights such as freedom of speech. On May 7, 1925, John Scopes, an Illinois native new to his job as a general science teacher at Rhea County Central High School in Dayton, Tennessee was officially arrested for violation of the Butler Act which forbid the teaching of any theory that denied the biblical story of Creationism. The trial began on July 10th with Clarence Darrow, one of the most famous trial lawyers of the day defending the actions of Scopes. William Jennings Bryan, a
three-time Democratic candidate for President as well as a devout fundamentalist was hired to serve as a special prosecutor for the case.

The Scopes trial was a conflict over evolution and the role of science and religion in public schools and in a larger sense, American society.

Before a crowd of over 2,000 people, Darrow questioned Bryan about his religious beliefs. Through the onslaught of questions, Bryan’s answers revealed his admission that the Bible might be interpreted in many different ways. He had been publicly humiliated and his fundamentalist beliefs had been disgraced. Even though Bryan had won the case (Scopes was found guilty and fined $100), he was a defeated man. On July 26th, just five days after the trial had ended, Bryan laid down for a Sunday afternoon nap and never woke up. Although the verdict of the trial was later overturned on a technicality (the fine imposed was determined to be too excessive) the law remained until the issue was addressed by the Supreme Court in 1968 where a similar case in Arkansas was found to be unconstitutional.

The 1920s Woman

The 1920s was an era of conflicting views and ideologies as demonstrated over the struggle with prohibition and contrasting views of traditional vs. modern viewpoints. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment became Constitutional law, giving all American women the right to vote. With this sweeping political change, women began to enjoy unprecedented social freedoms as well. Bolstered by a new found sense of independence, many women desired to break free from traditional gender roles. Some women known as flappers, pushed conventional boundaries that defined the way that women were expected to look and act. Flappers
daringly cut their hair short, in a bobbed-off fashion and dyed it jet black. They also wore short, flashy, waistless dresses, often adorned with fringe and beads. According to a 1926 article written by Samuel Crowther of Collier’s Magazine, “Barring size, flappers at a hundred feet are as standardized as Ford cars. As far as dress goes, they are a simplified national product....” Since the 1920s, the flapper has become an iconic symbol of the roaring 20th youth culture and fashion.

Flappers danced the Charleston and frequented nightclubs where jazz music became the norm. In a huge departure from the acceptable behavior of the previous generation, flappers pushed social norms by smoking and drinking in public and conveyed a more casual attitude about the previously taboo topics of dating and sex.

And while magazines, newspapers, and advertisements took advantage of the opportunity to promote the image of the flapper, this image was not reflective of the attitudes and values of many of the nation’s young people. Morals loosened but only to a certain extent and for the first time in the nation’s history, a social double standard for men and women soon developed during this decade. Social morals for men loosened gradually from decade to decade--by the decade of the 1920s, casual dating which also included greater sexual freedom for men became increasingly accepted. For women of this time, however, the expectation was that they were to observe stricter social standards of behavior than men. Because of this double standard, many young women (flappers or not) were pulled back and forth between old standards and new.

Changes to the Home and the Workplace

The challenge of old standards clashing with new was also occurring for women with regard to their roles at work and at home. As soldiers demobilized after World War I, they returned to the United States and looked to enter the workforce. While unemployment rates were relatively low throughout the decade, male participation in the labor force decreased and women's participation increased. Even though the process of women entering the workplace had started long before the 1920s, there were jobs that were considered by greater society to be “acceptable” for women’s work. World War I saw the need for women to work as secretaries, nurses, and clerks. The increasing trend for women to work in professional positions continued in the 1920s with nearly one million female college graduates entering into what were referred to as a category of women’s professions. Many women worked as nurses, teachers, librarians, social workers, bankers, lawyers, and police officers.
But even though by 1930 approximately 10 million women had entered the workforce, most faced discrimination and wage inequality in the workplace.

As a result of the widespread economic change of women in the workplace, social changes as well also contributed to the changing image of the family. While the U.S. birthrate had been slowly declining, it dropped at an even faster rate in the decade between 1920 and 1930. The biggest reason for this was the greater availability of information about birth control. The founding of the American Birth Control League in 1921 by Margaret Sanger. During the same time, social and technological advances helped simplify household labor; ready-made clothes, canned foods and the emergence of public agencies freed many homemakers from the most traditional family responsibilities. This impacted the sphere of influence that women had as many experienced greater equality in their marriages. But although the institution of marriage experienced improvements, many women had a new challenge to deal with: that of the rebellious teen. This was reflected in much of the entertainment of the day.
Section 4

To what extent did growing venues of mass media shape a mass culture?

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Did the majority of the social and cultural changes that took place in the 1920s reinforce traditional values or represent a shift more reflective of modern thoughts and ideas?

2. In what ways did the emergence of the double standard reflect the broader struggle for women between traditional and modern societal and cultural standards?

3. To what extent did growing venues of mass media shape a mass culture?

4. In what ways did the arts of the Harlem Renaissance break down racial boundaries?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Double standard

The Lost Generation

Great Migration

Harlem Renaissance

Mass Media Shapes Popular Culture

For the first time, the growing mass media in the 1920s greatly shaped a mass culture. Newspaper circulation rose substantially across the nation as did mass-circulation magazines. However, nothing could rival the medium of the radio—both as the main source of entertainment as well as national news brought to the American public as it was happening. And much of the nation’s pop culture was broadcast over radio airwaves.

Thanks to the medium of radio, many sports heroes of the 1920s became household names. Baseball’s most legendary star, New York Yankee, Babe Ruth hit home run after home run in the 1920s. The colorful, hard-drinking Ruth was quite the character earning nicknames such as Sultan of Swat and Colossus of...
Clout. Ruth lived up to his nicknames and in 1927 hit a record 60 home runs; needless to say, Americans went crazy with the utmost certainty that Ruth was a one-of-a-kind baseball player whose accomplishments would never be replicated.

Simultaneously, in 1920, the Negro National League formed as one of the nation’s first in a series of black baseball leagues. Wildly popular in their own right, these leagues produced such talented players as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige up until many entered the major leagues.

Additionally, other sports possessed famous athletes as well. Boxing’s biggest star was Jack Dempsey; in football, Red Grange’s college career at the University of Illinois fascinated thousands, and tennis greats Bill Tilden and Helen Wills and golfing great Bobby Jones all became household names in the 1920s.

Sports were not the only institution to benefit from the ever-expanding news media of newspapers and radio. Small town pilot, Charles Lindbergh became famous with his first nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic in May of 1927. 33 hours and 29 minutes after taking off from New York City, Lindbergh landed his plane, the Spirit of St. Louis at LeBourget airfield outside of Paris. Seen as a hero in the U.S., Lindbergh represented the honesty and bravery that many felt the nation had lost.

Not to be outdone by radio, newspapers, or magazines, the movie industry tapped into America’s desires for excitement and romance in the 1920s as well. By 1925, filmmaking held its place as the fourth largest industry housing more than 20,000 movie houses across the nation with Hollywood as America’s movie capital.

While motion pictures provided escape for thousands, many turned to art for a fresh perspective. Plays and
concerts became popular as playwrights and composers tapped into their creativity to contest the status quo, instantly becoming famous. Art at this time was also wildly dynamic and experimental. Perhaps one of the most famous artists of this decade was Georgia O'Keeffe who became famous for her paintings of the Southwest while capturing urban artistic dramatic styles such as New York City.

In contrast to famous Americans in sports, movies, theatre, music, and art, the writers of the 1920s lived and wrote in sharp contrast to mainstream American society. Much of the work they produced represented their highly critical views of society. Sinclair Lewis, known as one of America's most outspoken critics won a Nobel Prize in literature for his novels, Main Street and Babbitt where he articulately depicted middle-class American life as stifling and shallow. Another famous writer of the time, F. Scott Fitzgerald’s The Great Gatsby brought to life the negative side of high society.

Many more American writers became so disenfranchised with American society that they settled in Europe. Termed the “Lost Generation” by Gertrude Stein, writers such as Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot embraced the literary cultures of Europe and frequently used new forms of literature in their works.

During this time of rich cultural development shaped by the many variations of the theme of “old” conflicting with “new”, important cultural developments were also taking place in African-American society. Messages of pride in their heritage, black writers and artists creatively illustrated the richness of African-American culture.
In what ways did the arts of the Harlem Renaissance break down racial boundaries?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Great Migration
Harlem Renaissance

**The Great Migration**

During the WWI era, many African-Americans had moved to northern cities for job opportunities and to escape racial injustice. This mass movement of African-Americans, called the Great Migration, concentrated large populations of black Americans in large urban areas such as Chicago, New York, and Detroit. By the end of the 1920s, approximately 4.8 million of the country’s 12 million African-Americans lived in cities. And along with the massive influx of African-Americans to large cities came rising tensions, especially in cities in the North. The result was more than 25 urban race riots culminating in the summer of 1919.

**The NAACP and the Campaign Against Lynching**

As a result of the alarm to African-Americans caused by the race riots, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) undertook an anti-lynching campaign. The NAACP worked through the court system to gain civil rights protections for African-Americans. Under the leadership of Executive Secretary James Weldon Johnson the group supported an anti-lynching bill.
introduced in Congress in 1922. Johnson became the primary Congressional lobbyist for this legislation in the 1920s. The text of the anti-lynching bill called for, “An act to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching.” Although the Senate defeated the bill, the NAACP’s vigilant campaign to end lynching, led to awareness of racial violence directed against African-Americans in the United States. The NAACP continued to gain political power in the decades that followed to help African-Americans gain protections of liberty.

Marcus Garvey and The Universal Negro Improvement Association

During the 1920s, Black nationalist leader, Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). His movement was based in Harlem, and focused on self-reliance of African-Americans. Garvey promoted the idea that “Black is Beautiful” and encouraged African-Americans to be prideful in their culture and heritage. Garvey initiated a “Back to Africa” movement, in an effort to build a separate society from whites. He believed the only way that African-Americans could truly be free of racial prejudice and violence was to unite to form their own society. The downfall of his movement came when Garvey was indicted on charges of mail fraud, however the legacy of his message caused many African-Americans to gain a newfound appreciation for their heritage.
The Harlem Renaissance

The neighborhood of Harlem in New York City, began to attract many talented writers, artists and musicians. Harlem soon became the center of a literary, social and artistic movement that forged a rebirth of black culture. The movement that became known as the Harlem Renaissance showcased the talents of African-Americans in the arts and helped to encourage pride in black heritage.

Writers such as Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston and Claude McKay became large contributors to the movement. Their works focused on African-American themes that addressed the struggles that black Americans endured. In one of his poems titled, If We Must Die, McKay described how African-Americans should band together to contest racial prejudice. Likewise the poet Langston Hughes addressed similar themes. In two of his most famous works, The Negro Speaks of Rivers and I Too, Sing America, Hughes not only described the importance of African-American heritage, but also the triumph of the African-American spirit. Zora Neale Hurston’s most famous novel, Their Eyes Were Watching God, chronicled the difficulties faced by a young African-American woman.

Jazz, a uniquely American form of music, born out of ragtime and blues, also came to epitomize 1920s culture and the Harlem Renaissance. Some of the most influential musicians in the history of American music became famous in Harlem nightclubs. Notable jazz artists including Edward Kennedy “Duke” Ellington and Cab Calloway performed at the Cotton Club, one of Harlem’s most well-known entertainment establishments. Jazz
musician Louis Armstrong, also largely contributed to Harlem Renaissance. Armstrong was known for his raspy sounding voice and the use of improvisation. Armstrong has been referred to as the “most important improviser” in the history of jazz. The influence of Louis Armstrong continues to impact music in the 21st Century.

Blues music evolved from African-American spirituals was also gained notoriety during the Harlem Renaissance. Singer Bessie Smith, was regarded for her strong vocal ability. Although a highly regarded performer in her own right, Smith collaborated with Louis Armstrong on works such as Saint Louis Blues. Bessie Smith was celebrated for songs, such as and Nobody Knows You When You’re Down and Out, and became widely regarded as “The Empress of the Blues.”

The Impact of the 1920s

The decade of the 1920s left a lasting impact on American society. Jazz music paved for more modern forms of music such as rock ‘n’ roll. Literature defined the attitudes of a generation and shared themes of the Lost Generation and the Harlem Renaissance. Conflict over changing attitudes concerning traditionalism vs. modernism shaped new ideas and perspectives. However, the “roar” of 1920s was short lived. The excesses of the 1920s led to the most prolonged economic disaster to face the United States and the world.