

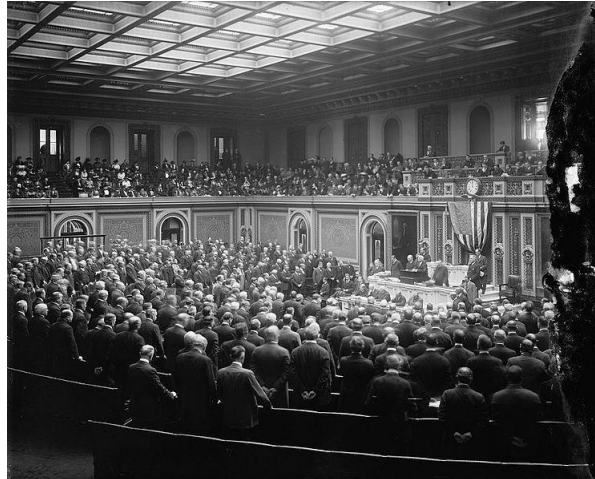
THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



KEY QUESTION 1 : Immigration

INTRODUCTION : How was the United States of America governed?



Source 1: the US Congress in session in 1915ⁱⁱ

The type of government used in the United States of America is called a **federation** – a group of local states that join together under a single national government. The United States of America had started with 13 states in 1776. By 1910 there were 46 states, although this increased to 48 when New Mexico and Arizona joined in 1912.

When the United States of America had won their independence from Britain in the 18th century the **Founding Fathers**, the leading politicians of the new country, wrote a set of rules for their new government called the **Constitution**. If enough states agree then changes could be made to the Constitution later, which were called **amendments**. These rules laid down how the government was to be run, what powers it would have and how it would get its money. They also included a system of ‘checks and balances’ to make sure that no one person or part of the system could become more important than the rest.

There are two important levels of government in the USA –

- **federal government**, which is national
- **state government**, which is local

Federal government

This is the government of the whole of the USA. Many Americans did not consider this to be as important as state government, a view which is known as **federalism**. The federal government is responsible for defence, foreign relations and inter-state trade. It is made up of three branches of government :

1. **The EXECUTIVE BRANCH** [*decision-making*] –
This is headed by the **President** who is elected every four years. The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, the head of government (like the British Prime Minister) and the head of state (like British monarch). The President is advised by the **Cabinet**, a group of advisers known as **Secretaries**, who are chosen by the President but approved by the Senate.
2. **The LEGISLATIVE BRANCH** [*law-making*] –
Congress makes the laws and controls the federal budget. It is made up of two houses - the **Representatives** (made up of 435 representatives elected every two years – 1 per 450,000 people, so New York State had the most with 46 representatives and Wyoming had the least with 1) and the **Senate** (made up of 96 senators elected for six years - 2 per state)
3. **The JUDICIAL BRANCH** [*reviewing decision and laws*] –

The **Supreme Court** is made up of 9 judges, known as justices. They are appointed by the President and approved by the Senate to make sure the President and Congress do not break the US constitution when making decisions or passing laws. It is also the highest appeal court in the USA so important court cases which cannot be decided at state level are decided by the Supreme Court

State government

This is the government of an individual state, run by a locally elected Governor with its own locally elected state Congress and courts. State government is responsible for education, welfare, as well as law and order.

EXECUTIVE : state government headed by elected Governor, elected every 2 or 4 years

LEGISLATURE : each state has a parliament with two houses, except Nebraska which just has one

JUDICIARY : each state has its own court system and Supreme Court

Political Parties

DEMOCRATS (*symbolised by a donkey*) : supported by white people in the Southern states as well as Irish, Jewish and Italian Americans and trade unions – the Democrats believed in the USA getting involved in world affairs, and in stopping businesses from exploiting workers

REPUBLICANS (*symbolised by an elephant*) : supported by most white people outside the South as well as by businessmen – the Republicans believed that American should isolate itself from the rest of the world, and that businesses should be left alone to make as much money as they could

Voting

In 1863 President Lincoln described the system of democracy, voting for the government, in the USA as “government of the people, by the people, for the people”. The 14th Amendment to the Constitution passed in 1868 said that all male citizens, men born in the USA, had the right to vote. However, women could only vote from 1920 and many native and black Americans were excluded from voting because of discrimination.

Why did immigration become such a major issue in American society?

How much did American attitudes to immigration change in this period?

*“Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free...”
From an inscription on the Statue of Liberty*

America has always been proud of being made up of a number of groups of different people; the national motto “*E Pluribus Unum*” means ‘one country made of many people’. Immigration over hundreds of years made the USA a very mixed society that some people called ‘the melting pot’, made up of:

- *White Americans*, older immigrant families from Britain, Germany and Scandinavia whose descendants tended to hold the best jobs, the most money and political power; but increasingly newer immigrant families from Southern and Eastern Europe especially from Russia, Poland and Italy, many of whom were Jews and Catholics
- *Black Americans*, the descendants the millions of Africans had been brought to America to work as slaves; slavery had ended in the 1860s
- *Native Americans*, sometimes known as Indians, what remained of the people originally lived across the whole of the continent; they had they were forced off their land during the 19th century and lived in reservations across America
- *Hispanics*, from central and southern America

- *Asians*, especially from China and Japan

Between 1850 and 1914, 40 million people came to live in the USA, the numbers increasing year on year, although this did slow down after the First World War.

TABLE 1 : Immigration into the USA by decade

Years	Immigrants
1890-1899	3,694,294
1900-1909	8,202,388
1910-1919	6,347,380
1920-1929	4,295,510

People came to America for a variety of reasons and not all immigrants coming in to the USA were the same. Rich immigrants came to enjoy the wealth and business opportunities. Poor immigrants came to escape from persecution or poverty. They were attracted by the *'American Dream'* of living a happy, prosperous life free from oppression. At the start of the 20th century Europe was increasingly overcrowded and many countries had rising unemployment. The USA was seen as a *'Land of Opportunity'* where anyone could succeed with hard work.

Immigration had a huge impact on certain areas of the United States. By 1910 a third of the population of the 12 largest cities in USA were immigrants and another third were the children of immigrants. By 1914 New York had more Italians than Naples; it had twice as many Irish as Dublin; it had 1.4 million Jewish people in a total population of 4.7 million. While the impact was the greatest in New York as it was the first place that many immigrants arrived in America, it could also be important elsewhere, for example by the First World War a tenth of the population of the state of California was Chinese.

European immigrants to the USA arrived in steamships from across the Atlantic Ocean. Ellis Island was the reception point in the bay outside New York where all immigrants to USA were processed before they were allowed in. Immigrants were given health checks to make sure they were not bringing infectious diseases into USA. They queued to have their papers checked and their details taken before. It was commonly known as the *'Isle of Tears'* as in 1911 2% of people rejected on health, age or education grounds.



Source 2: immigrants queuing in the main reception hall of Ellis Island in 1904ⁱⁱⁱ

Once they were allowed into the country most immigrants found themselves living in poverty, in appalling conditions in urban ghettos. They were blamed for rising urban crime and drunkenness and increasingly became the victims of violent racism in the 1920s. As one Italian immigrant put it: *“First the streets weren’t paved with gold, second they weren’t paved at all, and third I was expected to pave them”*.

Jacob Riis, a Danish immigrant writing in 1900, described a tenement block in New York: *“2781 people on 2 acres of land, nearly every bit of which was covered with buildings. There were 46 babies in the block, but no bath tub... Of the 1538 rooms, 441 were dark with no ventilation or outside air. In 5 years 32 cases of tuberculosis had been reported from that block and in that time 660 different families in the block had applied for charity”*.

Most immigrants did not move beyond the cities. They did not have the money to set themselves up in farming. Leaders of immigrant communities got newly-arrived immigrants jobs and housing. They tended to end up in ethnic neighbourhoods like Little Italy in New York. Some cities found that immigrants from particular countries were concentrated in them, such as the Irish in Boston, Italians in New York, Czechs and Poles in Chicago. Many of the poorer immigrants found it hard to adjust to their new country. They were used to the peasant outdoor life which was dominated by the weather and the seasons, but had to adjust to the indoor clock-dominated life of factories. As they were paid such low wages wives and children had to work as well.

“The immigration policy of the US should be to ensure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable speed, and to favour immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.”

Republican Party election campaign literature 1920

Economically immigrants boosted US industry first as workers, then consumers as well. However, while immigrants were cheap and willing labour they were also easy targets for people resentful of

industrialisation: they would do jobs for lower wages than American citizens; they were used as strike breakers; they were blamed for contributing to overcrowding in cities; their religious beliefs, as they were often Catholics or Jews, were seen as a challenge to the Protestant Christianity of many Americans; they were portrayed as un-American. This led to a rise in nativism, the belief that the values of those born in the USA were superior to those of immigrants. This would form the background of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the Red Scare.

Although America technically had an 'open door' policy, allowing anyone into the country, there were already some restrictions on immigration by 1910: in 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, in 1903 anarchists not allowed in, and from 1907 disabled and diseased people not allowed in.

The First World War encouraged opposition to immigration. There were fears for the loyalty of new immigrants especially from Germany and Austria-Hungary who people begun to think might be spies. The Russian Revolution of 1917 added fears about communists coming to the USA to spread their revolutionary ideas. Against President's wishes Congress passed the 1917 Immigration Act which introduced the Literacy Test as a requirement before immigrants could be allowed in to America. Immigrants had to read out a 40 word passage in English which discriminated against poorly educated people from southern and eastern Europe in particular.

After the war the mood of America turned against involvement in the rest of the world. The increased **isolationism** led many to become more concerned about on-going immigration. Senator Parish of Texas in 1921 explained why he felt there should be further restrictions placed on America's immigrant intake: *"The steamship companies haul them over to America, and as soon as they step off the decks of their ships the problem of the steamship companies is settled, but our problem has begun... They fill places that belong to the loyal wage-earning citizens of America... They are of no service whatever to our people. They constitute a menace and a danger to us every day..."* As a result of attitudes like this Congress passed a number of laws to restrict immigration.

The 1921 Emergency Quota Act introduced the quota system which restricted annual immigration from a country to 3% of the people already in USA from that country, according to the 1910 census. This meant that if there were 1,000,000 people from UK in the USA in 1910 they would let in 30,000 more a year, which was 3% of 1,000,000. However, as richer Europeans from northern and Western Europe had been coming to the USA for a lot longer this discriminated against those coming from southern and eastern Europe who had only started coming over more recently. It was aimed at restricting the 'wrong' sort of foreigners from coming to America, and in many ways it worked as can be seen in Table 2 below.

There were many who thought that this did not go far enough. President Calvin Coolidge said in his first address to Congress in 1923, *"New arrivals should be limited to our capacity to absorb them into the ranks of good citizenship. America must be kept American. For this purpose, it is necessary to continue a policy of restricted immigration."* In 1924 Congress passed the National Origins Act (AKA the Johnson-Reed Act) which reduced the quota down to 2% of people from a country based on the 1890 census which discriminated even more harshly against those coming from southern and eastern Europe as they had only just started to come to America at that point.

A cap on the total number of immigrants into the USA was put in place in 1929 restricting total migration to 150,000 a year. Priority was given to the educated and skilled, as well as those from northern Europe as a result of the quotas. However, unregulated immigration from Canada, Mexico and Puerto Rico continued throughout the 1920s. The Mexican population of California rose from 90,000 to 360,000 during the 1920s. It was not until the 1960s that the quota system of immigration was replaced with a system that did not discriminate against immigrants from particular countries.

Table 2 : impact of immigration restrictions

	Immigrants from north and west Europe.	Immigrants from other countries especially south and east Europe.
Average number per year 1907-1914	176,983	685,531
Quotas under Act 1921	198,082	158,367
Quotas under National Origins Act 1924	140,999	21,874
Quotas under National Origins Act 1929	132,323	20,251

How xenophobic were Americans towards immigrants?

“It is my belief that while they have stirred discontent in our midst, while they have caused irritating strikes, and while they have infected our social ideas with the disease of their own minds and their unclean morals we can get rid of them and not until we have done so shall we remove the menace of Bolshevism [communism] for good”

Mitchel Palmer, US Attorney General in 1920

Communism is the belief that everyone is equal, that all wealth should be shared equally amongst all of the people. Richer people were afraid of Communism because they would lose everything, while poorer people supported Communism because it could make their lives better.

Very few people knew what communism really was, and many confused **anarchists** who believed that there should be no government with communists who wanted the government to make everyone equal, even though this was to be done using violent means and by denying citizens their democratic rights. Most Americans believed in capitalism - people should be free to make as much money as they can, however they can. For them the most worrying aspect of communism was that it taught that capitalism leads workers to be exploited by capitalist bosses.

In 1917 there was a violent revolution in Russia in which the emperor – the Tsar - and the Russian aristocracy were exterminated by Communists. Many people believed that the Communists wanted to spread revolution around the world. There was widespread concern that such ideas could spread to the USA via Eastern European immigrants. This fear of communist infiltration was known as the ‘**Red Scare**’. As communism and anarchism were ideas that came to America from Europe it led to an increase in **xenophobia** – fear of foreigners - despite the fact that communists and anarchists made up less than 0.1% of the American population.

Xenophobia was one of the motivations for Congress to pass laws to restrict immigration in the 1920s. As Senator Thomas Helfin of Alabama said in 1921, *“There can be nothing so dangerous as for us to allow the undesirable foreign element to poison our civilisation and thereby threaten the safety of the institutions that our forebears have established for us... Now is the time to keep from our shores forever those who are not in sympathy with the American ideals”*.

There was an indiscriminate association of any ‘un-American’ ideas with Communism. As a result when workers in America went on strike or protested against low wages and poor working conditions those in positions of power assumed it was because communists were encouraging them. The scale of strikes increased after the First World War as demand for goods and prices fell and workers were either sacked or had their wages reduced. 400,000 workers went on strike in 3,600 separate strikes in 1919 alone.

There was a general strike in Seattle, and the Boston police, coal miners, and steel workers all went on strike as well. Employers used heavy handed tactics to break up these strikes. Workers were beaten, sacked or starved into submission. And yet these strikes had nothing to do with foreigners, communists or anarchists. They were protests against the appalling working conditions and low pay that American workers faced in this period.

The American Plan was organised by factory owners and federal government to destroy **trade unions** – organisations that represented workers - and break up strikes by force. Employers were encouraged not to negotiate with unions and the Supreme Court made decisions in favour of business owners. Union membership fell from 6 million in 1920 to just over 3 million by 1923 as a result of this pressure. Some employers like Henry Ford encouraged their workers not to join unions by offering them higher wages and shorter working hours.

After a bomb attack on his house Mitchell Palmer, US Attorney General – the politician in charge of legal system - made it his mission to hunt out “Red” activity. An anarchist pamphlet called ‘Plain Truth’ was found near Palmer’s house. It warned, *“There will have to be bloodshed... there will have to be murder... there will have to be destruction... We are ready to do anything to suppress the capitalist system”*.

In a series of violent raids Palmer sought out everyone he could find with “unusual” political beliefs. 6,000 suspected communists were arrested and 556 “aliens”, who were mostly not communists or anarchists, were deported. There was not a lot of public sympathy for suspected communists and anarchists. Billy Sunday, evangelical preacher in a Seattle newspaper interview in 1919 said about communists, *“If I had my way, I would fill the jails so full with them that their feet would stick out the windows...”*



Source 3: Political radicals waiting at Ellis Island for deportation from the USA in 1920^{iv}

“The Justice Department has been tearing out the communist seeds and their poisonous theories. Robbery is the ideal of communism and the American government must prevent crime. The Justice Department discovered over 60,000 of these supporters of communism in the United States and we are now sweeping the country clean of such filth,” wrote Mitchell Palmer in “The Case Against the Reds” (1920), an essay justifying why communist suspects had to be deported.

A young clerk called J. Edgar Hoover was put in charge of the Palmer Raids, as they became known. The interstate organisation that was set up to do this became the F.B.I, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The first main task of the FBI was to hunt down “Reds” and stop “Un-American” activity, although later in the 1920s they were used to tackle the problems caused by prohibition.

There were Palmer Raids in 33 cities. Those arrested were held in filthy over-crowded temporary prisons, beaten up and forced to sign confessions. After all of those investigations the FBI only found 3 pistols between the 6,000 suspects arrested. Palmer had not followed the proper legal due process in the raids, and had spread anti-communist propaganda to newspapers to inflame public opinion.

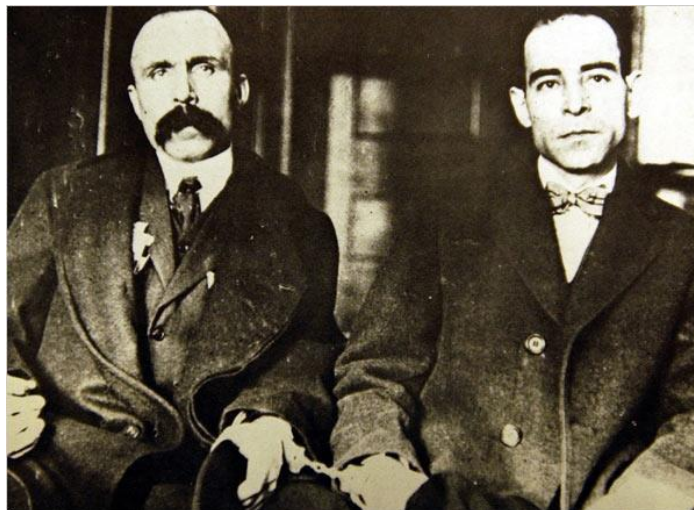
Palmer ordered raids on magazine offices, private houses, union headquarters and public meetings without warrants, personally leading the May 1920 raids in New York. Five elected members of the New York Assembly were disqualified from taking their seats because they were suspected of being communists, an example that other states followed. However, Congress refused to pass an extreme sedition bill that Palmer demanded.

These raids led to police and mobs attacking socialist May Day parades, while newspapers carried headlines like "Reds Planned May Day Murders". Palmer had claimed that these May Day parades would be the start of a communist uprising and had put the police and army on alert. When the parades had finished peacefully people came to realize that Palmer had exaggerated the 'red' threat to increase his own power and influence and he was sacked. However the violence continued. In 1920 the Wall Street bombing killed 30 people.

*"Judge Thayer told his friends around
He would cut the radicals down;
Anarchist bastards was the name
Judge Thayer called these two good men"*
Lyrics from 'Two Good Men', a song by Woody Guthrie, recorded in 1946.

In 1920 known anarchist Andrea Salsedo was arrested in New York City. He was denied his constitutional right to a fair trial and a lawyer, which was guaranteed by the 5th Amendment, and imprisoned for 8 weeks without contact with his family or a lawyer. One day his crushed body found dead 14 floors below where he was being held by the FBI. The official explanation was suicide. This was the reason why many anarchists started carrying guns, including two of Salsedo's friends called Sacco and Vanzetti.

On 15th April 1920, Allesandro Berdelli and Frederick Parmenter were robbed and murdered near the Slater and Morrill shoe factory in South Braintree, Massachusetts. They had been carrying the company payroll of \$15,776. Before he died from gunshot wounds the factory guard said he had been shot by two slim 'olive-skinned foreigners'. Sacco and Vanzetti were accused. They were already under suspicion of being anarchists having opposed American involvement in the First World War, avoided the military draft and supported strikes. Judge Thayer, a conservative Republican, had already tried Vanzetti on a charge of armed robbery.



Source 4: Sacco and Vanzetti in 1923^v

The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti was controversial right from the start. 875 jury members were considered before both sides agreed on the final 12 as it was so difficult to find unbiased citizens to serve in the trial. Judge Thayer was clearly very biased against Sacco and Vanzetti, referring to them during the trial as 'sons of bitches' and 'dagos'. After a 45 day trial the jury delivered its verdict of 'guilty' in one day. This was very quick for such a complex case. They were both sentenced to death. Both men were finally executed in 1927 after

the public outcry about their verdict had led to several appeals and demands for re-trials. They were posthumously pardoned in the 1970s by the Governor of Massachusetts.

Many people thought that Sacco and Vanzetti did not have a fair trial, that they were victims of xenophobia. After the trial was over, Judge Thayer was heard saying, *“Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards the other day?”* Felix Frankfurter, a lawyer who campaigned for a re-trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, described Judge Thayer in 1930 as *“a narrow-minded man; he is an unintelligent man; he is full of prejudice; he is carried away by fear of Reds”*.

There were a lot of problems with the evidence:

- 61 eyewitnesses identified them as the killers but 107 people supported their alibis – that Sacco was at work (supported by his timecard) and Vanzetti was getting a passport and out with his friends at the time of the murders – however most of these witnesses were Italian immigrants who did not speak very good English and their evidence at the trial was difficult to follow
- Both men were carrying loaded guns when they were arrested and forensic experts said the gun used in the murder matched Sacco’s pistol, even though the bullets used in the attack were a different calibre to the ones carried by Vanzetti and it was not a crime to carry a gun, especially when you were worried about being attacked for being an immigrant as many of their friends had been
- Circumstantial evidence supported the prosecution case - witnesses knew the killers had an Italian accent and Sacco’s friends were known anarchists, as well as Vanzetti having a previous conviction for armed robbery even though there was no proven connection between these things and the murders at the shoe factory.

As he was led to the electric chair Vanzetti said, *“I want to tell you that I am innocent and that I have never committed any crime but sometimes some sin... I wish to forgive some people for what they are now doing to me.”*

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 1

Immigration documentary <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBJcqx17kas> and a short piece about the changing origins of US immigrants <https://youtu.be/behsmaHh2bg> and a film about Ellis Island <https://youtu.be/8X4CypTaOQs> but the varied experience of immigrants is best illustrated by the BBC programme American Voices : Immigration https://youtu.be/txB7_9E1E8Q

Sacco and Vanzetti documentary <https://youtu.be/i613nSopeL4> with songs by Joan Baez <https://youtu.be/nY8uEYsFoJs> and Woody Guthrie <https://youtu.be/dNKg54bvObQ> and a clip on Red Scare and Palmer Raids <https://youtu.be/cOUNmfG9CDo>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/VfOR1XCMf7A>

BBC 20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

BBC American Voices : clips on Timelines TV
<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLvsS9mRi0sXb78FqO8DACjXgoF-sih5K->

BBC American Voices : full episodes

1. Immigration https://youtu.be/txB7_9E1E8Q
2. Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNUHNes>
3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-I>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwylCo>
5. Black America <https://youtu.be/4wiOs5T9go>

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfipirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

federation	a group of local states that join together under a single national government
Founding Fathers	the leading politicians of the new country
constitution	a list of rules a government has to follow
amendments	changes to the Constitution
federal government	national government, responsible for defence, foreign relations and inter-state trade
state government	local government, responsible for education, welfare, as well as law and order
federalism	the belief that state government is more important than national government
President	Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, the head of government and the head of state
Congress	makes the laws and controls the federal budget. It is made up of two houses - the Representatives and the Senate
Supreme Court	the highest appeal court in the USA so important court cases which cannot be decided at state level by the Supreme Court
Democrats	believed in the USA getting involved in world affairs, and in stopping businesses from exploiting workers
Republicans	believed that American should isolate itself from the rest of the world, and that businesses should be left alone to make as much money as they could
Isolationism	being more worried about your own country than what is happening in other countries
communism	the belief that everyone is equal
anarchists	believed that there should not be any government
Red Scare	fear that communists were trying to take over the USA
xenophobia	fear of foreigners
trade unions	organisations that represented workers

REFERENCES :

ⁱ FRONT COVER : immigrants arriving at Ellis Island in 1908 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Brooklyn_Museum_-_Climbing_into_the_Promised_Land_Ellis_Island_-_Lewis_Wickes_Hine.jpg

ⁱⁱ US Congress in session 1915 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:United_States_Congress_circa_1915.jpeg

ⁱⁱⁱ Immigrants queuing at Ellis Island in 1904

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ellis_Island_arrivals.jpg ^{iv} Political radicals waiting to be deported in 1920 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Radicals_awaiting_deportation.jpg

^v Sacco and Vanzetti in 1923 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacco_and_Vanzetti#/media/File:Sacvan.jpg

THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



KEY QUESTION 2 : Religion and race

Was America a country of religious and racial intolerance during this period?

How influential was religious fundamentalism in the USA in this period?

“If anyone wants to teach that God-forsaken hell-born, bastard theory of evolution, then let him... but do not expect the Christian people of this country to go for the teaching of a rotten, stinking professor who gets up there and teaches our children to forsake God and makes our schools a clearing-house for their God-forsaken dirty politics”

Billy Sunday, a fundamentalist preacher, in a sermon in 1925

The **Bible Belt** was a part of rural America in the south east, where very strict Christians lived. They were descended from people who had come to America hundreds of years ago to escape religious persecution. For Americans who lived in towns and cities religion was becoming less important. During the 1920s there was increasing tension between ‘big city’, prosperous, urban America and ‘small town’, farming, rural America as immortalised in “American Gothic” which was painted by Grant Wood in 1930.

Most Americans considered themselves to be church-going and ‘god-fearing’, however the Bible Belt version of Christianity tended to be Protestant and they felt threatened by increasing numbers of Catholics and Jews coming into the country from southern and eastern Europe, as well as the looser morals and consumerism of the ‘Jazz Age’ which they saw as taking young people away from the rural life of hard work, saving and clean living. There were two important movements within the Bible Belt inspired by what they saw as the threat of immigration and the people of the towns and cities turning their back on religion:

- **revivalists** who wanted to increase Church attendance
- **fundamentalists** who believed that the Bible, in particular the Old Testament, was literally true; they set up the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association in 1919 which is how their followers got their name

These people were often keen supporters of Prohibition and the Klan. In the ‘Bible Belt’ states they had a lot of influence in state politics which led to some states banning indecent swimming costumes, kissing in public, gambling on Sundays and contraception advice.

Preachers used the medium of radio to spread their message further in the 1920s. For example, Aimee Semple McPherson quickly gained a large following for her radio show ‘Four Square Gospel Hour’ which was broadcast from the Angeles Temple in Los Angeles, California. She built the temple using \$1 million dollars she had raised herself. It seated 5,200 people. Others preachers toured their religious message, like reformed alcoholic Billy Sunday who told people to follow the Bible and give up the ‘demon drink’.

One of the most contentious subjects was about where humans had come from originally. The Bible said that God created the world and everything in it in six days, which meant that the Earth was only 6,000 years old. In the 19th century, naturalist Charles Darwin developed the **Theory of Evolution** which said that life was shaped by a process of natural selection, which meant that certain species would survive and thrive while others died out and that this process took place slowly over millions and millions of years. **Creationists** believed that Darwin’s theory that Man evolved from apes was a direct attack on their fundamentalist beliefs.

Fundamentalists set up the Anti-Evolution League to control education in 1924. As one fundamentalist writer put it, “We cannot have a system of education that destroys the religious faith of our children”. Six states in the Bible Belt banned the teaching of evolution in their schools. The Governor of Tennessee, one of the states that imposed the ban explained that, “The anti-evolution law is a popular protest against an irreligious tendency to exalt so-called science and deny the Bible”.

John Scopes, a biology teacher, was put on trial in Tennessee for teaching evolution in 1925. He was a member of a group who wanted to modernise education. He deliberately taught evolution in front of the Head teacher. His trial was broadcast live on national radio and was followed closely by the national newspapers. They called it the **Monkey Trial** because it became a public argument about whether or not humans were descended from apes.



Source 1 : Biology teacher John T. Scopes in 1925ⁱⁱ

John Scopes had been encouraged to break the creationism law by the Civil Liberties Union in New York. The trial was held in the small Bible Belt town of Dayton in Tennessee. Scopes was defended by Clarence Darrow one of USA's most famous lawyers. One of the main prosecution witness was fundamentalist and experienced politician William Jennings Bryan, a former Democratic presidential candidate (between 1896 and 1908), and Secretary of State under President Wilson between 1913 and 1917). The World Christian Fundamentalist Association had asked Bryan to take part in the case because, *"It is the greatest opportunity ever presented to educate the public and will accomplish more than ten years' campaigning"*.

Unfortunately for Bryan, Darrow used his cross-examination to highlight the areas of fundamentalist beliefs that many Americans would find difficult to support. For example

DARROW "You have given considerable study to the Bible, haven't you, Mr Bryan?"

BRYAN "Yes, sir, I have tried to..."

DARROW "Do you claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?"

BRYAN "I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there..."

Darrow followed this up by asking specifically about Bryan's views on certain Bible stories, like the Flood and Jonah and the Whale. In particular Darrow focused on Bryan's views on the Creation story. For example

DARROW "Do you think the earth was made in six days?"

BRYAN "Not six days of 24 hours... My impression is they were periods..."

DARROW "Now, if you call those 'periods', they may have been a very long time"

BRYAN "They might have been"

DARROW "The creation might have been going on for a very long time?"

BRYAN "It might have continued for millions of years"

In the end the judge had to stop Darrow's humiliating two hour cross examination of Bryan's ignorance of even the most basic science.

Media coverage convinced many Americans that the views of the Fundamentalists were ridiculous. For example, the Baltimore Sun newspaper reported in July 1925, “Bryan’s face flushed under Mr Darrow’s searching words and when one stumped him he took refuge in his faith and either refused to answer directly or said in effect : ‘The Bible says it : it must be true’”.

Scopes was found guilty and fined \$100 which he was never made to pay. The Tennessee Supreme Court overruled the judgement a year later. Bryan died suddenly not long after the trial from a heart attack. Anti-Evolution laws were not repealed until the 1960s, and only because the teaching of religion was not allowed in state schools.

How racist was the USA in this period?

CASE STUDY 1: the treatment of Native Americans

“Any policy for Indians based on the notion that they can or should be kept permanently isolated from other Americans is bound to fail.”

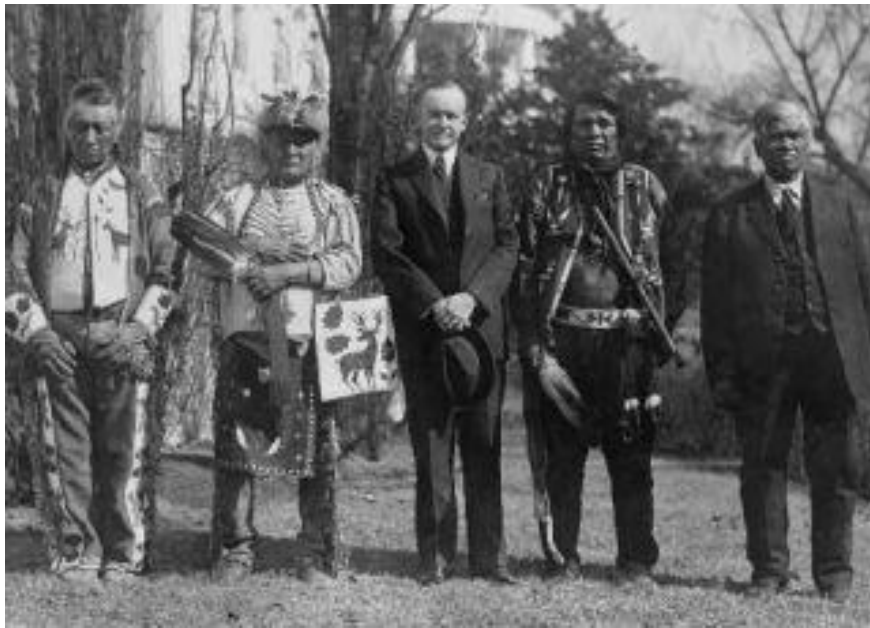
From the Meriam Report published in 1928

Native Americans were referred to at the time, and incorrectly, as ‘Indians’ because Columbus thought he had landed in India when he had actually landed in America. Native Americans were treated badly over several centuries, driven off their land in the east to roam further and further west. Their nomadic lifestyle and nature-based religious beliefs led to them being considered inferior to white Americans.

Under Article 1 of the US Constitution only Native Americans who paid taxes were recognised as citizens, which meant that if they did not pay taxes they could not vote or own land. They could also become citizens by joining the Army or marrying an American citizen. The 14th Amendment to the Constitution said that anybody born in the USA was a US citizen but this was not applied to Native Americans as they were considered to have been born into their tribal nations rather than into the USA.

After the Indian wars of the 19th century Native Americans were restricted to living on federal government reservations. The 1887 Dawes Act gave the President the power to divide up and give away Native American land. This led to a reduction in the amount of land lived on by Native Americans from 138 million acres in 1887 to 48 million acres in 1934. All of the rest of their land was sold off to railroad companies, mining and manufacturing industries or was set aside for national parks and military bases.

Attitudes began to change after 12,000 Native Americans fought and died in the First World War. The 1920s saw several investigations into lives of Native Americans to help improve them. The 1924 Indian Citizenship Act (AKA the Snyder Act) made all Native Americans born in the USA full American citizens. The issue of land allocation was not finally settled until 1934 and Native Americans did not get full voting rights until 1948 as some states claimed they still had loyalty to their tribes rather than the USA, or because they were living on federal land as guardians of the state. Some Native Americans were worried that this would mean having to give up their tribal identities and others found it hard to trust a government that had treated them so badly in the past.



Source 2 : President Coolidge outside the White house with some Native American leaders in 1924ⁱⁱⁱ

Native American children had been sent to boarding schools to help them “assimilate” into American society. To achieve this children from the same tribes were split up. The school curriculum tried to teach them to make jokes about or forget their culture and many were forced to convert to Christianity. The 1928 Meriam Report said the programme to assimilate Native Americans through education had failed because schools were underfunded and understaffed. It also said that Native Americans should be taught useful skills rather than European culture.

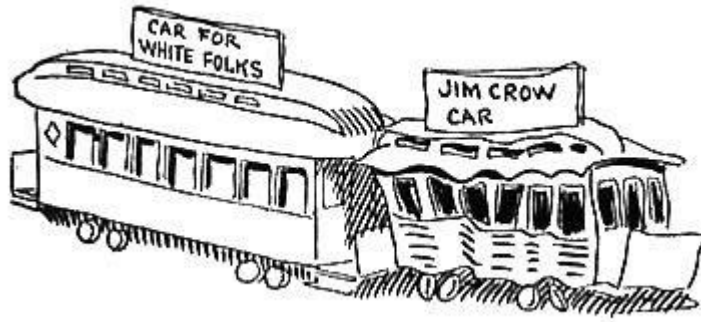
CASE STUDY 2: the treatment of black Americans

“Do you enjoy the same rights as the white people do in America, the land of freedom and democracy, or are you treated over there as second class citizens? Can you go into a restaurant where white people dine? Can you get a seat in the theatre where white people sit? Is lynching a lawful activity in a democratic country?”

From a leaflet aimed at black American soldiers. It was dropped into Allied trenches by the Germans during the First World War

The Declaration of Independence in 1776 said that “all men are created equal”, although most of the Founding Fathers were slave owners and did not consider black Americans to be covered by this. Victory for the US government in the Civil War in 1865 meant that slavery was abolished but black Americans living in the Southern States that had fought to keep slavery still faced racial discrimination and economic inequality.

This discrimination was formalised by the ‘Jim Crow laws’ from the 1890s which said that black Americans had to be treated as “separate but equal”. This was known as **segregation**. Black and white Americans had to be kept apart, which became a way by which black Americans could be treated badly. Segregation made sure black Americans were poor, badly educated, lived in separate neighbourhoods in poor quality housing, were separated on public transport and in some cases not allowed to vote in the southern states of the USA.



Source 3 : a 1904 cartoon showing and highlighting the effects of segregation in public transport^{iv}

Examples of Jim Crow Laws –

- In 1896 the Supreme Court ruled in the Plessey versus Ferguson case that it was acceptable for black people to be kept “separate but equal” on public transport; this was extended to education in 1899 by the Cumming versus Board of Education ruling
- In Alabama bus stations had to have separate waiting rooms
- In Florida there were separate schools for black and white children
- In North Carolina school textbooks could only be used by the first race to use them
- In Georgia black and white people could not be buried in the same place
- In Mississippi marriage between black and white people was illegal
- 400,000 black troops served in France during the First World War but they were kept in special segregated units known as the ‘Jim Crow Army’

The 14th amendment to the US Constitution had given freedom and citizenship to former slaves and the 15th amendment had given them the right to vote. Many southern states considered black Americans to be inferior so they found ways to avoid enforcing these laws. They prevented black Americans from voting by using

- A “grandfather” clause – if your grandfather could vote, so could you (so grandchildren of slaves could not then vote)
- A poll tax – a tax you had to pay to be allowed to vote (poor black people could not afford it)
- A literacy test – poorly educated black people would not pass and even if black people did pass they could still be told they had failed

After the slaves were freed they became sharecroppers. This meant that they had to work on other people’s farms and pay the landowners a share of the crops they grew. The problem was that this did not make much money. They were very poor and could be thrown off the land any time. Because families were so poor many black children had to work on the farms as well, which alongside the poor quality and overcrowded schools for black children meant they were not very well educated when they grew up. Booker T. Washington organised schools to help educate black men and women and many of those who went to his schools were adults.

Lynching was a common way for white people to punish black people who argued with them. There were 2,734 lynchings between 1887 and 1915, and 430 lynchings just between 1915 and 1922. It was often treated as public entertainment. Lynching was an illegal and unofficial execution by a mob usually by hanging someone from a tree. It was very difficult to prosecute, although journalists like Ida B. Wells and organisations like the NAACP did everything to publicise the problem.

Southern democrats opposed a law outlawing lynching in the 1920s. The Dyer Bill of 1921 tried to define lynching as the murder of a US citizen by a group of three or more people and that local officials like the

sheriff would be held responsible if they did not do everything they could to protect the victim. The County in which lynching occurred would have to pay \$10,000 to victim's family. Southern senators argued that lynching was necessary to protect white women from being attacked by black men so the bill never became a law.

The federal government did not do anything to solve this problem as they believed it was a matter for individual states to deal with. President Wilson even extended segregation to government offices in Washington in 1916 and had a screening of 'Birth of a Nation' in the White House. Many politicians were also afraid of losing white votes, such as an Indiana Congressman who admitted in 1924 that he was forced to join the Klan or would not get elected. Democrat politicians mostly represented southern states and opposed any federal laws that would affect segregation.

"To join the KKK answer "yes" – are you a native born white American? Do you believe in clannishness, and will you faithfully practice it towards other Klansmen? Do you believe in, and will faithfully maintain, white supremacy?"

From the Kloran, the Klan book of rules

The **Ku Klux Klan** was a secret organisation created in the southern states during the Civil War to intimidate and control black Americans, to maintain white supremacy. It had been outlawed after the Civil War but was refounded in 1915 by a doctor, William J. Simmons, to combat new threats to white Protestant supremacy posed by Catholic and Jewish immigrants. This revival was inspired by a popular film called "Birth of the Nation" about the Civil War. It showed Klansmen rescuing a town from marauding black troops, a scene that was often greeted with a standing ovation by white audiences.

The Ku Klux Klan got its name from the Greek word 'kuklos' meaning circle. It was organised into local groups called Klaverns. Imperial Wizard Evans was the leader of the Klan hierarchy which included ranks such as Klaliff, Klud, Klabee, Cyclops, Hydra and King Kleagle. Simmons was supported by Edward Young Clarke and Mrs Elizabeth Tyler who were responsible for advertising selling membership with the distinctive white Klan robes for \$10.

Membership rose sharply and peaked at 5 million members in 1924 but included the governors of Oregon and Oklahoma. The Klan expanded quickly in southern cities like Memphis and Atlanta as black workers moved into cities. There was also rising white resentment against arming black soldiers and using immigrant workers. Evans said economic distress and un-American things like bootleggers, unbelievers, marital infidelity, criminals, corruption, and immigration attracted people to the Klan. As one Imperial Wizard, Hiram Wesley Evans, put it, *"It is the way of the world that each race must fight for its life, must conquer or accept slavery or die."*

The Klan promoted the superiority of WASPs – white, Anglo-Saxon [from northern Europe], Protestants. They were originally just against black Americans but this now extended to communists, Catholics and Jews as well. As founder William J Simmons explained it, *"America is a garbage can! When hordes of aliens walk to the ballot box and their votes outnumber yours, then that alien horde has got you by the throat"*.

The Klan had a variety of methods to intimidate people – encouraging **boycotts** of unsympathetic businesses, putting burning crosses outside their houses, blowing up the churches and houses of people they wanted to scare, beating up or even killing black people and those who try to help them. This description of some of the Klan's activities comes from 'Current History' written by RA Patton in 1929 *"A lad whipped with branches until his back was ribboned flesh; a negress beaten and left helpless to contract pneumonia from exposure and die... a naturalised foreigner flogged until his back was pulp because he married an American woman; a negro lashed until he sold his land to a white man for a fraction of its value"*.

The Ku Klux Klan was able to get away with these activities in the southern states because many state and law enforcement officials, from governors down to judges and sheriffs, were members. They were so

confident in their political power that on 8th August 1925 50,000 Klan members marched in Washington. When the Attorney General of Maine spoke out against the Klan they had him removed from office. The Klan even ran a very successful hate campaign against the Democrat candidate for President, Alfred E. Smith, in 1927 because he was a Catholic and Republican Herbert Hoover won the election.



Source 4 : Klan members marching through Washington DC in 1928^v

Support for the Klan declined rapidly towards the end of the 1920s. By 1929 there were less than a million members. Immigration acts had reduced the threat from foreign workers and a number of high profile scandals made the Klan seem less than perfect. The most famous example involved the Grand Dragon of Indiana, DC Stephenson. He tried to use his Klan influence to avoid being convicted for the rape and brutal murder of his assistant.

“We believe that black people should have a country of their own where they should be given the fullest possible opportunity to develop politically, socially and industrially.”

Marcus Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, writing in 'The Negro's Greatest Enemy' in 1923

Many black Americans responded to the difficulties by migrating to the cities of the north. Between 1915 and 1925 1.5 million black Americans moved north. The black American population of Chicago rose from 44,000 in 1910 to 234,000 in 1930. In the same period the black American population of New York increased from 91,000 to 328,000. They lived in poor quality overcrowded housing in ghettos like South Side in Chicago and Harlem in New York. In Harlem black Americans were living 335 to an acre by the 1920s.

It is easy to see why black Americans wanted to move north. As a newspaper produced for black Americans in 1921 said *“Look around at your cabin, look at the dirt floor and windows without glass. Then ask your folks already up North about the bathrooms with hot and cold water. What chance has the average black man to get these back home? And if he does get them, how can he be sure that some night some poor white man won't get his gang together and come round and drive him out?”* There were a number of other reasons for this migration:

- Some were trying to escape discrimination, intimidation and poverty
- Some were leaving behind the damage done to their farms by the boll weevil infestation of farms in the South in 1914 as well as frequent flooding that was making cotton farming very difficult

- Some were travelling up to take jobs in factories that needed more workers to meet increased demand because of the First World War

There was widespread rioting against the growing black communities in the northern towns and cities. White workers thought that black workers were driving down wages and causing housing shortages. One of the most serious was the Chicago race riot of 1919. A black teenager on Lake Michigan got too close to the whites only beach and was stoned until he sank under water. The riots lasted 5 days and had to be broken up by the army. In the end 23 black Americans and 15 white Americans were killed and 537 people were wounded.

Life in the north was better in some ways. There was more work and higher wages. New churches were quickly built and became a focus for the black community. The towns and cities of the north enabled black Americans to own their own businesses, newspapers, banks and houses.

As black Americans moved north they brought jazz music with them and introduced it to young white Americans. Venues like the Cotton Club in Harlem became the centre of the jazz movement showcasing band leaders like Duke Ellington and musicians like Louis Armstrong. There was some irony in the demand for black performers in northern cities as black Americans were banned from being in the audience. The 'Harlem Renaissance', as it became known, saw many black American writers like Langston Hughes artists such as Augusta Savage, as well as musicians, comedians and actors, move to the black district of Harlem in New York to write or make works of art about the suffering of black people in America.



Source 5 : Black American troops in France in 1919^{vi}

During the First World War segregated units were only usually allowed to do menial tasks. Those who did get to fight were given medals, but only by the French. This experience increased the awareness of the need for equality. As one black veteran said, *"I'm glad I went. I done my part and I'm going to fight right here until Uncle Sam does his"*. There were several organisations that began to campaign to improve civil rights for black Americans:

- W.E.B. Dubois founded the **NAACP** (National Association for the Advancement of Colored people) in 1909. This organisation tried to help black people to overcome segregation laws where-ever possible, without actually breaking the law. They produced information leaflets to show how black people were being treated so badly and went on marches to publicise their cause. They sent lawyers to help defend black and white people who had broken the segregation laws. In 1915 they organized boycotts of the pro-Klan film 'Birth of a Nation'. The NAACP's first court success was in the 1915 Guinn versus USA case when Oklahoma's grandfather clause was declared unconstitutional, followed by the 1917 Buchanan versus Warley case when segregation in housing policies were declared unconstitutional. Dubois also published

the NAACP journal "The Crisis" to highlight discrimination and black achievements. The NAACP had 91,000 members by 1919.

- Marcus Garvey founded **UNIA** (the Universal Negro Improvement Association) in 1914 to help send black people back to Africa, the land of their ancestors: *"Every American Negro and every West Indian Negro must understand that there is but one fatherland for the Negro, and that is Africa"* (Marcus Garvey in 1919). UNIA encouraged black people to set up their own businesses which led to the beginnings of a black middle class, both in the professions like law or medicine and in business. It also started its own shipping line, the Black Star Line, to transport people and goods to Africa. UNIA had 2 million members by 1920, but in 1923 Garvey was convicted of mail fraud and deported as an 'undesirable alien' in 1927.

The two organisations did not get along very well, despite the aim of both being to improve the lives of black Americans. UNIA accused the NAACP of being ashamed of black Americans' ancestry and of giving into white Americans while the NAACP criticised UNIA for concentrating on race and separatism.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 2

Monkey Trial documentary <https://youtu.be/IVD4TjxnJ0M> or and court rooms scenes from the 1950s reconstruction of the trial in 'Inherit the Wind' <https://youtu.be/vtNdYsoool8> or https://youtu.be/MPfhOhx3x_w and the argument between creationism and evolution resolved in a silent film of a train crash (!) https://youtu.be/K6SsYh_Gr-A as well as looks at creationism in Futurama <https://youtu.be/TT0la3TyfqQ> and the Simpsons <https://youtu.be/-5WNULhDVOY>

Clip about a 1916 lynching <https://youtu.be/CiyQFG6uHgg> and about the origins of lynching culture <https://youtu.be/hPdh46k7b38> the impact of Birth of a Nation <https://youtu.be/Vz5p9VE0JAK> with the full version of the film in HD available at <https://youtu.be/ubFfoFIHOpy> and the series the Rise and Fall of Jim Crow episodes 2 (NAACP and WW1) <https://youtu.be/utwE5ZPd7Gk> and episode 3 (1920s racial violence) <https://youtu.be/FWEbqU9Cfyl> with Marcus Garvey documentary <https://youtu.be/wycPDPuaNWk> and short clip about WEB DuBois <https://youtu.be/wemGETdix0w>. There are also a few relevant BBC Classroom clips on how the USA treated black soldiers in the First World War <http://www.bbc.co.uk/education/clips/z3x8wmn> the Great Migration <http://www.bbc.co.uk/education/clips/zcc6yrd> and the Klan in the 1920s <http://www.bbc.co.uk/education/clips/z44tvcw> and the varied experience of African Americans is best illustrated by the BBC programme American Voices : Black America https://youtu.be/_4wiOs5T9go and a wider look at the issue of segregation is covered in Many Rivers to Cross Episode 4- Making a way Out of no way 1897-1940 <https://youtu.be/JIOH8QvalSQ>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/vfOR1XCMf7A>

BBC 20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

BBC American Voices : clips on Timelines TV
<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLvsS9mRi0sXb78FqO8DACjXgoF-sih5K->

BBC American Voices : full episodes

1. Immigration https://youtu.be/txB7_9E1E8Q
2. Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNUHNes>
3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-l>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwylCo>
5. Black America https://youtu.be/_4wiOs5T9go

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfiPirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

Bible Belt	part of rural America in the south east, where very strict Christians lived
revivalists	wanted to increase Church attendance
fundamentalists	believed that the Bible, in particular the Old Testament, was literally true
Theory of Evolution	said that life was shaped by a process of natural selection
creationists	believed the theory that Man evolved from apes was an attack on religious beliefs.
Monkey Trial	a public argument about whether or not humans were descended from apes.
segregation	black and white Americans had to be kept apart in public places
lynching	Illegally killing black Americans by a white mob
	Ku Klux Klan was a secret organisation created in the southern states during the Civil War to intimidate and control black Americans, to maintain white supremacy.
boycotts	Refusing to use a business so that it loses money
NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored people)	tried to help black people to overcome segregation laws where-ever possible, without actually breaking the law
UNIA (the Universal Negro Improvement Association)	Encouraged black Americans to have pride in their African heritage, helped send black people back to Africa

REFERENCES :

- ⁱ FRONT COVER : Klan members burn a cross in 1921
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ku_Klux_Klan#/media/File:Ku_Klux_Klan_members_and_a_burning_cross_Denver,_Colorado,_1921.jpg)
- ⁱⁱ Source 1 : Biology teacher John T Scopes in 1924
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_T_Scopes#/media/File:John_t_scopes.jpg
- ⁱⁱⁱ Source 2 : Native Americans meeting President Coolidge at the White House in 1924
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Citizenship_Act#/media/File:IndianAct2.jpg
- ^{iv} Source 3 : John T McCutcheon cartoon illustrating segregation in public transport in 1904
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jim_Crow_laws#/media/File:JimCrowCar2.jpg
- ^v Source 4 : Klan members marching in Washington DC 1928
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ku_Klux_Klan#/media/File:Ku_Klux_Klan_members_march_down_Pennsylvania_Avenue_in_Washington,_D.C._in_1928.jpg
- ^{vi} Source 5 : Black American troops in 1919
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racial_segregation_in_the_United_States_Armed_Forces#/media/File:How_they_did_it_over_there_\(African_American\)_troops_of_the_505th_Engineers_that_returned_on_S.S._. . . . - NARA - 533525.tif](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racial_segregation_in_the_United_States_Armed_Forces#/media/File:How_they_did_it_over_there_(African_American)_troops_of_the_505th_Engineers_that_returned_on_S.S._. . . . - NARA - 533525.tif)

THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



KEY QUESTION 3 : Crime and corruption

Was the 1920s a decade of organised crime and corruption?

How successful was prohibition?

“After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.”

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America passed in 1919

Prohibition, as set out in the 18th **Amendment** to the US **Constitution** passed in 1919 was the complete ban on the manufacture, sale and transportation of alcohol. This was clarified by the Volstead Act which defined ‘intoxicating liquors’ as anything more than ½% alcohol. Republican President Herbert Hoover called it, *“a great social and economic experiment”*. And yet, fourteen years later the 21st Amendment ended Prohibition in 1933.

In 1851 Maine became first state to pass prohibition. By 1917 two thirds of states, mostly in the South and West, had passed prohibition laws, and many of the other states were divided into ‘wet’ and ‘dry’ districts. For **temperance** (anti-alcohol) campaigners this was not enough as state prohibition laws could be changed any time and alcohol could easily be moved from wet to dry areas. Campaigners wanted prohibition written into the in US Constitution so it would be enforced nationally.

There were several influential organisations that campaigned for prohibition of alcohol, such as

- The Women’s Christian Temperance Union, which campaigned for national prohibition but also focused on suffrage (getting women the vote), the 8-hour working day, and prison reform; Carrie Nation (AKA ‘The Saloon Smasher’) was a member of the WCTU and was known for bursting into bars wielding a hatchet or hammer and smashing them up; between 1900 and 1910, Nation was arrested thirty times for her aggressive tactics
- The Anti-Saloon League, which printed anti-drinking brochures, appealed to church members for support, and lobbied both Congressmen and businessmen; the ASL were given \$350,000 for their campaign by millionaire J.D. Rockefeller.



Source 1: Carrie Nation and her axeⁱⁱ

The First World War contributed to turning public opinion against alcohol. Many of the most well-known beers brewed in America were manufactured by German immigrants. When America entered

the War in 1917, the 'dries' ran a patriotic campaign arguing that anyone who bought and drank German beer was not a true American. This turned the American public against brewers like Pabst and Busch. The Food and Fuel Control Act helped the 'dry' campaign by making it illegal to use grain for making alcohol as it could go to feed America's Allies. When Germany lost the War it seemed as if the "dries" had been right all along.

In 1919 the 18th Amendment passed through Congress. President Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act on constitutional grounds but his veto was overridden by Congress. The 18th Amendment had very quickly got enough support from individual states to become law by 1920. The era of Prohibition had begun.

It was a great victory for rural **WASPs** (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). There had been a lot of arguments in favour of stopping people from drinking alcohol – that it would bring about “a new era of clear thinking and clean living”; that it would reform poor people's lives, that it would stop father's wasting money on alcohol that they could be spending on their families; that it would reduce absenteeism from work and increase worker's productivity; that it would reduce crime and violence; and that it would improve people's health.

There were a lot of people engaged in providing ways to avoid Prohibition. **Bootleggers** were people who illegally made and sold alcohol. The expression came from 18th century Americans who smuggled bottles of alcohol inside their long leather boots to avoid paying British taxes. The illegal homemade alcohol they often sold was known as **moonshine**. It was often poorly made and could blind or paralyse people. More people died from alcohol poisoning after Prohibition than before it. By 1927 deaths from alcohol were up 600% usually because of some poisonous home brewed alcohol.

Speakeasies were illegal bars where people could go to get alcohol. Speakeasies in the cities often became night clubs. The new, exciting music - jazz - was played to young men and women throwing off the old constraints of behaviour and trying out new lifestyles including dangerously high hemlines for women as well as new faster dances like the Charleston. Manhattan's 21 Club had 4 emergency buttons so that some member of staff would be bound to reach one in a raid. Bars could be fitted out with elaborate anti -detection devices like drop-down shelves and alarm buttons. The Cotton Club in Harlem, New York, was famous because it was the best place to see black American jazz musicians playing.



Source 2: Prohibition agents destroying liquor in 1921ⁱⁱⁱ

The new law was enforced by Prohibition Agents. John Kramer was first Prohibition Commissioner. Congress gave him enough money to hire 1500 prohibition agents. This money rose from \$2 million

in 1920 to \$12 million in 1929 when new Commissioner James Doran estimated that it would cost \$300 million to get the job done. One of the most famous Prohibition officers was “two-guns” Hart, He was the brother of Al Capone, the notorious gangster; he was one of the most successful agents in the state of Montana; he was later removed from his job for being too good. A Prohibition agent did not get much pay, so often they took bribes (*‘back-handers’*) and looked the other way and let the gangsters get away with it.

They were lots of trials for breaking the Prohibition law but there were very few convictions. Judge Talley said, “[They] tell me that they will not convict men for offences which they themselves are committing”. A large number of people openly broke the Prohibition laws. Even President Harding was well known to drink alcohol in the White House. When the UK’s heir to the throne the Prince of Wales visited the USA in 1925 he found it very easy to get alcohol. When a reporter asked the Prince what he thought of Prohibition he asked when it was going to begin.

*“Prohibition is an awful flop.
We like it.
It can't stop what it's meant to stop.
We like it.
It's left a trail of graft and slime,
It's filled our land with vice and crime,
It don't prohibit worth a dime,
Nevertheless, we're for it.”*

A poem by Franklin P. Adams, a journalist for the New York World

There were a number of organisations that campaigned for an end to Prohibition:

- The Women’s Organization for National Prohibition Reform had a million members by 1932
- The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment supported by angry hoteliers protesting about lost trade
- The Moderation League wanted the blanket ban on alcohol lifted
- The Voluntary Committee of Lawyers wanted the ban lifted as it was against constitutional freedoms
- The American Legion, which represented US soldiers, said that prohibition was encouraging people to disrespect the law
- The American Federation of Labour said workers resented being made to work without being allowed beer to relax afterwards
- Rich businessmen like the Du Pont brothers who made weapons said that tax on legal alcohol would relax the tax burden on them

These organisations all produced their own anti-prohibition literature and backed ‘wet’ candidates in state and federal elections. The issue split the Democratic Party in the 1928 elections as they struggled to choose between ‘wet’ and ‘dry’ presidential candidates.

In 1929 President Hoover set up the Wickershalm Commission and in 1932 it reported what everyone already knew, that the prohibition law did not work, even though the authorities were getting better at enforcing it (see table below). President Roosevelt repealed Prohibition in 1933 with the 21st Amendment.

Year	Illegal stills seized by police
1921	95,933
1925	172,537

1930	282,122
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Table 1: the number of illegal stills for making alcohol seized by the police

There were a number of reasons why Prohibition came to end:

- It caused more crime than it solved and more alcohol was drunk by Americans during Prohibition than before it was banned (see table for alcohol in Philadelphia below); in Washington DC 3,565 people were arrested for drunkenness in 1919 but in 1923 it was 9,149; in New York there were 32,000 illegal bars, but there had only been 15,000 legal ones before Prohibition
- In the middle of the Great Depression after the Wall Street Crash America needed the extra jobs
- The St Valentine’s Day Massacre had sickened Americans and clearly violence had to stop; by the end of Prohibition 500 prohibition agents and 2000 civilians had been killed
- Ordinary people who liked a drink were willing to make themselves criminals and go against the law rather than give up drink; no attempt had been made to win them over.
- It was a very difficult law to enforce; for example there was 30,000 miles of borders (the east and west coasts, the border in the north with Canada and the border in the south with Mexico) which needed to be policed

Year	Intoxication (being drunk)	Drunk and disorderly conduct	Drunk drivers	Regular drunks
1921	21850	5232	494	33
1925	51361	5522	820	814

Table 2: Alcohol related arrests in Philadelphia

How serious was the threat to the USA posed by organised crime?

“What’s Al Capone done then? He’s supplied a legitimate demand. Some call it bootlegging. Some call it racketeering. I call it business. They say I violate the prohibition law. Who doesn’t?”

Al Capone speaking in 1927

There was a lot of money to be made from the illegal alcohol trade. Organised gangs of criminals established themselves to supply and distribute alcohol. Gangs ended up being run by ruthless leaders like Al Capone and Bugs Moran in Chicago. Gangs regularly fought each other for control of America’s cities.

In Chicago Dion O’Bannion ran the Irish-American gang liquor trade in South Chicago, while John Torrio ran the Italian-American gang in North Chicago. Torrio bribed Chicago mayor Big Bill Thompson so his men would not get arrested. Thompson got the rival gangs in Chicago to agree to divide up the city peacefully. Unfortunately when Thompson was beaten by Judge Dever in 1923 who promised to clean up the city, but ended the truce between the gangs leading to a very competitive gang war. Al Capone eventually got Thompson re-elected as mayor.

Torrio moved his gang to the middle class suburb of Cicero and put his own candidates up to run for the town council. Torrio’s gangsters killed O’Bannion in his shop in a hail of machine gun bullets. The hand-held Thompson machine gun (AKA ‘Tommy gun’) was the favoured weapon by many Prohibition-era gangsters, along with pump-action shot guns. Al Capone, Torrio’s chief enforcer, sent 26 truck-

loads of flowers to O'Bannion's funeral. This killing led to a number of revenge attacks which left Torrio wounded so he retired to Italy and Capone took over.

Al Capone (AKA "Scarface") was from an Italian immigrant family in the South Side of Chicago. He worked his way up to becoming the mob boss of the whole of Chicago. He became a well-known celebrity and appeared on the front page of 'Time' Magazine. Capone said he was not a bootlegger, just a man providing a service to people who wanted a drink. The illegal alcohol trade made Capone \$27 million a year by 1927. He was responsible for more than 100 murders during 1926-7 in Chicago but no one was ever arrested because he bribed officials to keep himself and his men out of trouble. By 1929 his 700-strong gang had killed over 300 people and not one single one of those murders had been solved.



Source 3: Al Capone, Chicago's 'public enemy number one'^{iv}

In the St. Valentine's Day Massacre Capone's gang killed the rival Bugs Moran gang on 14th February 1929. Seven members of the Moran gang were gunned down by Capone's men who were dressed as policemen. This gave Capone the chance to sell his bootleg alcohol without any competition. It was a national media event which gave enormous publicity to Capone. He appeared to be living a very glamorous life, a self-made millionaire who wore expensive jewellery and clothes, but the people of Chicago were sickened by the continuing bloodshed. Even the President got to hear about Capone and ordered that evidence must be found to convict him.

Capone was eventually sent to prison for not paying his income tax. Eliot Ness was head of the "Untouchables", a special Treasury Department unit. Ness' evidence against Capone's illegal liquor business was actually never used at Capone's trial which was for tax evasion. The authorities kept it back in case Capone got off this time. Ness is remarkable for being of outstanding honesty at a time of rampant corruption amongst law enforcers. When assembling a team to crack Capone, Ness carefully chose 50 men. He whittled them down to 15 and after careful investigation was left with just 9 men he felt he could trust. These were the "Untouchables".

How corrupt was the US government in this period?

"I can take care of my enemies all right, but my friends keep me walking the floors at night."

President Warren Harding

Corruption is the abuse of a government position for personal gain. This could be receiving or offering bribes, extortion (forcing people to pay for help), exploiting government resources or giving jobs to friends or family members.

Warren Harding was elected President in 1920 with 60% of the popular vote. Harding's campaign focused on getting America back to pre-war "normalcy", in other words back to how it had been before the war. On the surface his short term as President could be seen as being very successful. Amongst his achievements were

- economic recovery after the First World War
- the Washington Naval Conference which limited growth of navies in the Pacific
- the Dawes Plan which solved Germany's serious debt problems

The 'Ohio Gang' were President Harding's friends whom he appointed to positions in his Cabinet. Other than being trusted by the President they had no qualifications for these jobs. Many sold government supplies to private companies. For example

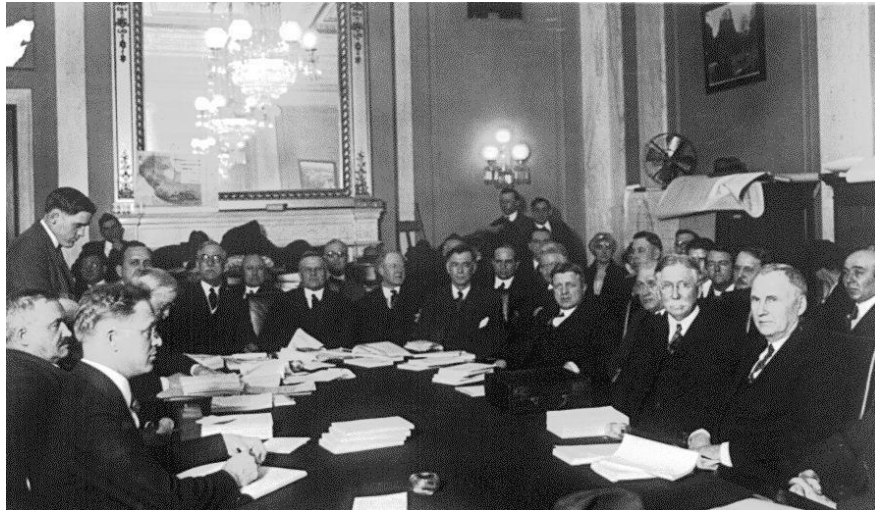
- Harry Daugherty the Attorney General and Harding's political manager traded his influence for cash and was forced to resign
- Charlie Forbes was put in charge of the Veterans Administration; he embezzled money from veteran's medical care, pensions and benefits; he was eventually fined and sent to jail for selling off veteran's hospital supplies for his own financial gain

The most serious of the corruption scandals surrounding Harding's government became known as the 'Teapot Dome Scandal'.

Oil had been discovered at Elk Hills, California and Teapot Dome, Wyoming. President William Taft (1909-1913) decided that these oil reserves should be set aside for the use of the United States Navy. On 4th June, 1920, Congress passed a bill that stated that the Secretary of the Navy would have the power *"to conserve, develop, use and operate the same in his discretion, directly or by contract, lease, or otherwise, and to use, store, exchange, or sell the oil and gas products thereof, and those from all royalty oil from lands in the naval reserves, for the benefit of the United States"*.

Harding had appointed Albert Fall as Secretary of the Interior. Fall persuaded Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy, to take responsibility over the Naval Reserves. Fall then leased part of these oil reserves to his friends Harry F. Sinclair of the Mammoth Oil Corporation and Edward L. Doheny of the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company. Fall became the owner of \$400,000 in bonds and cash, as well as several ranches and some prize livestock. He tried to keep this new wealth secret.

The Teapot Dome scandal was first reported in April 1922. Harding said he knew about it and it was nothing important. He even defended his friend by saying, *"If Fall is not honest, then I'm not fit to be President"*. Fall defended secrecy over the accusations by saying it was a national security requirement. The true extent of the scandals surrounding the Ohio Gang did not come out until after Harding died in San Francisco in 1923 while on a speaking tour of the West. He was still at the height of his popularity. People flocked to see his funeral train as it went past on its way to Washington. Calvin Coolidge, his successor, eventually sacked all those involved in corruption.



Source 4: the Senate Committee investigating the Teapot Dome scandal in 1924^v

The scandal was first revealed to the public in 1924 after findings by a committee of the U. S. Senate, led by Thomas J. Walsh, a democrat from Montana who was put under a lot of pressure by the Republicans, newspapers, and even the FBI who tapped his telephone. The Senate Committee found that Albert Fall had made legitimate leases of the oil fields to the private companies. What he had done wrong was the taking money in return for doing it. He was forced to resign, asked to pay a \$100,000 fine and went to prison for a year. Fall became the first government official to be convicted of a felony while in office. In 1927 the Supreme Court ruled that the leases had been obtained corruptly so the leases were therefore invalidated and the Navy got back Teapot Dome and Elks Hills.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 3

As a good overview of prohibition there is a BBC Documentary https://youtu.be/Z6zFvg3_Ao4 and more specifically a PBS documentary on prohibition focusing on drunkenness <https://youtu.be/Y1LtnUhwCnU> the roots of prohibition <https://youtu.be/4n-s77FFgX4> the Chicago Beer Wars <https://youtu.be/lhQ-eAkeW5E> and the downfall of Capone <https://youtu.be/lqViEXBDUqY>. There is also a St Valentines Day Massacre documentary <https://youtu.be/vpOggnTqMBA> and an Al Capone biography <https://youtu.be/DOPEjyv4LQ8>

Generally about 1920s corruption <https://youtu.be/e0l2orwZnaY> or specifically <https://youtu.be/uXDmazz-xxU>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/VfOR1XCMf7A>

BBC 20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

BBC American Voices : clips on Timelines TV

<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLvsS9mRi0sXb78FqO8DACjXgoF-sih5K->

BBC American Voices : full episodes

1. Immigration https://youtu.be/txB7_9E1E8Q
2. Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNuHNes>
3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-l>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwylCo>

5. Black America https://youtu.be/_4wiOs5T9go

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfiPirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

Prohibition	making the manufacture, sale and transportation of alcohol illegal
constitution	a list of rules a government has to follow
amendment	change to the Constitution
temperance	a religious movement against the drinking of alcohol
WASPs	White Anglo Saxon Protestants
bootleggers	people who illegally supplied alcohol
moonshine	Illegal homemade alcohol
speakeasies	Illegal backstreet bars where people could drink alcohol
corruption	abuse of a government position for personal gain

REFERENCES :

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- ⁱ FRONT COVER : police on a prohibition raid
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prohibition_in_the_United_States#/media/File:Detroit_police_prohibition.jpg)
- ⁱⁱ Carrie Nation and her axe https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carrie_Nation#/media/File:Carrie_Nation.jpg
- ⁱⁱⁱ Prohibition agents destroying liquor
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bureau_of_Prohibition#/media/File:Prohibition_agents_destroying_barrels_of_alcohol_\(United_States,_prohibition_era\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bureau_of_Prohibition#/media/File:Prohibition_agents_destroying_barrels_of_alcohol_(United_States,_prohibition_era).jpg)
- ^{iv} Al Capone https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_Outfit#/media/File:Al_Capone_in_1930.jpg
- ^v The Senate Committee investigating the Teapot Dome Scandal
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teapot_Dome_scandal#/media/File:Edward_Doheny_Testifying_2_crop.jpg

THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



i

KEY QUESTION 4 : Economic boom

What were the causes of the economic boom experienced in the 1920s?

“We in America today are nearer to the financial triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of our land. The poor man is vanishing from us. Under the Republican system, our industrial output has increased as never before, and our wages have grown steadily in buying power.”

President Hoover, speaking in 1928

In 1910 the USA had vast supplies of important natural resources – coal, oil, wood, etc. - oil came from California, Oklahoma and Texas; coal came from Kentucky, Pennsylvania and West Virginia; iron ore came from Minnesota; timber came from the forests of Washington State and Oregon. It also had a large population to provide workers, but also to provide consumers for US products. There were the huge farming areas of the mid-west and south that produced so much food the USA had more than it needed to feed itself. Mining and manufacturing industries were also particularly strong.

Table 1: US economic production compared to its rivals c.1910

Commodity	US Production	Nearest competitor production
Wheat	638 million bushels	552 million bushels (Russia)
Coal	262 million tons	219 million tons (UK)
Oil	9.5 million tonnes	11.5 million tonnes (Russia)
Shipping	4.3 million tonnes	9.3 million tonnes (UK)
Railways	183,000 miles	28,000 miles (Germany)
Iron	28.8 million tons	16.3 million tons (Germany)
Steel	13.5 million tons	6 million tons (Germany)
Cotton	10.6 million bales	3 million bales (India)

The outbreak of the First World War resulted in an economic boom for the USA. America did not join in the First World War until 1917 but was involved in selling food and weapons to the countries that were involved. This led to huge increases in production and exports, as can be seen in the tables below:

Table 2: Increases in production (in millions of tons) during the First World War

	1914	1917
Iron ore	41.4	75.3
Coal	422.7	551
Petrol	265.7	335.3
Wheat	763.4	1025.8

Table 3: Exports (in millions of dollars) during the First World War

	1914	1917
Chemicals	21.9	281
Wheat	87.9	298.2
Iron & steel	251.5	1133.7

There were a number of ways in which the US economy benefitted from the war:

- US banks lent money to Britain, France and Russia to fight the war. This would have to be paid back with interest, but also money borrowed from US banks was spent on buying weapons and supplies from American businesses.
- Food shortages in Europe meant that American farmers could sell their surplus crops for high prices on the international market.
- American businesses were able to gain control of international trade markets while their rivals were busy fighting the war, replacing Germany as world leader in chemical and plastics industries. Increased demand also encouraged manufacturers to mechanize the production process which meant that goods could be made more quickly and more cheaply.

However from 1917 onwards taxes rose sharply to pay for America's direct involvement in the war.

By the early 1920s America led the world economically. Part of this economic advantage was to do with the rise of **consumer** spending on items that were luxuries rather than just necessities. A lot of this consumer spending was linked to newer industries, related to newer technologies, for example motor cars or radios, as can be seen in these tables:

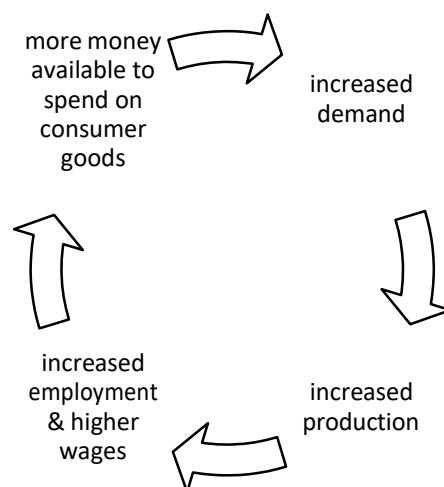
Table 4: numbers of important technological products in the USA

	1919	1929
Cars	9,000,000	26,000,000
Radios	60,000	10,000,000
Telephones	10,000,000	20,000,000

Table 5: the proportion of US houses with these labour-saving and sanitary devices

	1920	1930
Flushing toilets	20%	51%
Vacuum cleaners	9%	30%
Washing machines	8%	24%
Refrigerators	1%	8%

This 'consumer boom' was part of the upward **cycle of prosperity**:



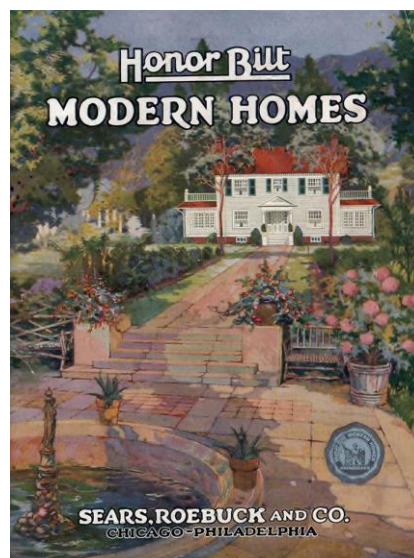
Americans had more money to spend on consumer items in this period. Wages increased by 25% in the 1920s while prices stayed the same or fell. If someone did not have the money to buy an item all in one go there was **hire purchase** which allowed consumers to buy the goods they wanted with a

small deposit, and then pay the rest in weekly or monthly instalments. It was a payment method pioneered by the car industry and 6 out of 10 cars in the USA were bought this way in the 1920s. Credit, borrowing money to be paid back later, was easily available to most people in the USA.

New technology played an important role in this consumer boom. The electrification of America led to a new range of consumer goods such as radios, washing machines, or more specifically the 1926 Hoover vacuum cleaner or the 1927 General Electric Monitor Top refrigerator. Only 33% of American homes in 1920 had electricity but this had increased to 70% by 1929. In 1914 only 30% of American factories had electricity, by 1929 this was 70%. In 1902 the USA had generated 6,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity but by 1929 it was 118,000 million kilowatt hours. Between 1919 and 1929 industrial productivity (per worker per hour) increased 72% due to mechanization. As well as new mechanized production techniques like the production line, there were also new materials from the chemical industry, like rayon, bakelite and cellophane, which made products cheaper to produce so more could be sold at lower prices.

“One reason there’s so much success in America is because there’s so much advertising of things to want, things to work for,” as the National Advertiser put it. Advertising became a much more important way of encouraging consumers to spend their money in the 1920s. Before this, advertising had not been necessary as products were nearly always sold locally. Coca Cola was one of the first companies to show that businesses could increase their sales by advertising their products nationally. In 1918 US companies spent \$58.5 million dollars on advertising, but by 1929 this was \$200 million. Companies began to use glamorous images of their products, sometimes associated with celebrities, that gave people something to aspire to if they had them. Alternatively they could make consumers worry about something - in 1921 the Lambert Company invented a pseudo-scientific term, ‘halitosis’, for bad breath which could be cured by the product Listerine.

New technology also increased the opportunities for advertising. America’s first full time radio station KDKA in Pittsburgh was privately owned but paid for by adverts. Magazines like Vogue could associate products with the lifestyles of the fashionable, the rich and the famous. Another marketing tool was the mail order catalogue. Improving roads and the growth of the truck industry led to the growth of the mail order businesses like Sears, Roebuck and Co of Chicago. There were new shopping experiences to be had as well as the number of department stores like JC Penney increased and Piggy Wiggly introduced the supermarket.



Source 1: front cover of a 1922 Sears Roebuck 'Modern Homes' catalogueⁱⁱ

As the wealth of America's businesses increased, so did people's confidence that they would continue to increase the amount of money they could make. People bought **shares** in industries because as industries made more money the shares became worth more so that in future they would have made a profit on the money they used to buy the shares. This was known as '**speculating**' on the stock market. Between 1919 and 1929 share dividends paid owners 65% more than they paid for the shares. John Jaskob Director of General Motors explained this in 1928: *"Suppose a man begins a regular savings account of \$8 a month. If he invests in common stocks he will, after 20 years, have at least \$80,000. Anyone cannot only be rich, but ought to be rich."* There was even 'buying on the margin' - a way that people could borrow money to buy shares so that when they rose in price and made a profit they could sell the shares, pay back the loan and keep the profits without having spent any of their own money.

Republican presidents in the 1920s did not interfere in the 'business of business.' This is best illustrated by President Coolidge's famous remark, *"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."* They would not force employers to set minimum wages or improve working conditions. Employers could keep wages low and hours long to keep down costs because unions were too weak to oppose them. The growth of trusts, large national companies like the General Electric Company, helped prevent unions from interfering in businesses so that wages were kept low while prices were kept high. The policy of allowing businesses to get on with their work without interference was known as '**laissez faire**', a French phrase that means 'let things happen'. As the Wall Street Journal put it, *"Never before, here or anywhere else, has a government been so completely fused with business."*

Republican presidents in the 1920s cut taxes so that business owners could invest more money in improving their businesses and consumers would have more money to spend on buying consumer products. President Harding's Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon pushed through cuts in government spending and tax cuts to wealthy citizens to encourage them to spend more following the 'trickle down' theory of economics. They believed this this would ultimately benefit everyone as wages would increase in the businesses who benefitted from this money.

Another policy of the Republican presidents was to impose protective **tariffs**. These were taxes on imported goods to make them less competitive with American-made goods, to encourage people to buy American. The most important of these were the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921 and the Fordney McCumber Act of 1922. The aim of these 'protectionist' tariffs was to protect American interests as Europe began to recover from the war and export its goods to the USA again. It made it more difficult for Europe to pay its war debts to America and slowed international trade because European countries put up high tariffs on U.S. exports to them as well.

CASE STUDY : Henry Ford and the production line

"We'd rather go without clothes than give up our car. I never feel as close to my family as I do when we are together in the car."

The view from an American housewife



Source 2: the 1910 Model T Fordⁱⁱⁱ

Henry Ford set out to build a car which everyone could afford to buy. It was slow, ugly and difficult to drive, and was nick named the 'Tin Lizzie'. The attraction of the Model T Ford was that its price never increased. It cost \$1200 in 1909, but only \$295 in 1928. By 1929 Ford was producing more than one car per minute in the River Rouge plant in Detroit, which employed 81,000 men.

Ford was able to sell cars cheaply because they were mass-produced and every part was standardised - only one colour and one engine size were available, or as he said, "*A customer can have any colour he likes for his car so long as it's black*". Using an idea he borrowed from the meat-packing industry, Ford invented the idea of using an **assembly line** to speed up the process of building a car. This meant that workers stayed at a fixed station along the line and the car was brought to them. They would perform their operation on the car and it would then move on to the next station until it was completed. In 1925 Ford explained that "*the thing is to keep everything in motion and take the work to the man not the man to the work*" or as one worker put it, "*the belt is boss.*" In 1913 it took 14 hours to assemble a Model T using the old system. In 1914 at Ford's Highland Park plant in Michigan using the new assembly line it was 93 minutes.

By producing large numbers of cars on an assembly line Ford needed fewer skilled workers, and that cut the cost of paying wages which helped keep the price of the car low. By 1925 Ford factories were completing a car every 10 seconds. Made quickly and cheaply the cars could be sold in large numbers for a low price and a small profit on each car. This meant that more and more people could buy and enjoy a car, but it also meant more work for more people. By the 1920s other American car companies like Chrysler and General Motors copied Ford's techniques and increased their car sales as well. During the 1920s annual car production in the USA rose from 1.6 million in 1920 to 5.6 million in 1929.

Car production boosted employment in other industries because it used up 20% of America's steel, 80% of her rubber, 75% of her plate glass and 65% of her leather. By the end of the 1920s American cars used seven billion gallons of petrol a year which helped to create jobs in the oil industry and made the oil state of Texas rich. With more jobs there were more people with the money to be able to afford a car.

Increasing car ownership resulted in more roads being built with more roadside diners, motels and petrol stations being built along with them. There was a massive road building programme from 1916. In 1920 there were 620,000 miles of roads and 9,000,000 cars. By 1929 there were 1,000,000 miles of roads and 26,000,000 cars.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 4

A good overview of the economic strengths of the USA in the 1920s is the BBC American Voices : Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNuHNes> as well as the in-depth American Experience : Henry Ford <https://youtu.be/C7kKLRkqvc> and an excellent look at the concept of the production line and its impact not just in the USA but also internationally can be seen in “People’s Century episode 5 : On the Line” at <https://youtu.be/aarFxsGUJSA>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/VfOR1XCMf7A>

BBC 20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

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BBC American Voices : full episodes

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3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-l>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwylCo>
5. Black America https://youtu.be/_4wiOs5T9go

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfiPirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

consumerism	buying non-essential or luxury goods
cycle of prosperity	people buy more goods, businesses make more money, hire more workers and pay higher wages; means more people have money to spend on consumer items
hire purchase	“buy now, pay later”; paying for expensive items in instalments over a period of time
shares	owning part of a company; value increases with the value of the company
speculating	buying shares in the hope that they will rise in value and can be sold for a profit
laissez faire	when the government does not regulate business
tariffs	taxes paid on goods being imported into a country
assembly line	a mechanical process where machines are brought to workers on a timed belt system for them to perform their task before it is moved on to the next station

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ⁱ FRONT COVER : building the Empire State Building
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_New_York_City_\(1898%E2%80%931945\)#/media/File:Old_timmer_structural_worker2.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_New_York_City_(1898%E2%80%931945)#/media/File:Old_timmer_structural_worker2.jpg))

ⁱⁱ 1922 Modern Homes Catalogue cover

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sears_Catalog_Home#/media/File:1922_Sears_Modern_Homes_Catalog.jpg

ⁱⁱⁱ Model T Ford 1910

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ford_Model_T#/media/File:1910Ford-T.jpg

THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



KEY QUESTION 5 : The end of prosperity

What factors led to the end of prosperity in 1929?

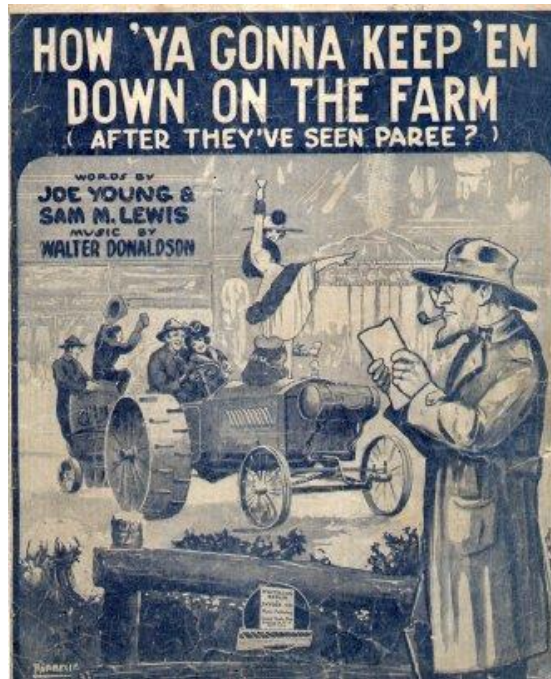
"I confess I was not prepared for what I actually saw. It seemed almost incredible that such conditions of poverty could really exist"

Fiorello LaGuardia, a Congressman, visiting East Harlem, New York City in 1928

The American economy grew in value by billions of dollar throughout the 1920s. Total national income rose from \$74.3 billion in 1923 to \$89 billion in 1929. However, this wealth was not distributed evenly through the population. The richest 1% of Americans received a 75% increase in their disposable income, while the other 99% saw only an average 9%. Disposable income is money a family would have left over after paying for the necessities of life. To make matters worse, 80% of Americans had no savings at all and 50% of Americans lived below the poverty line, the amount of money needed to survive without help from charities or the government.

There were particular groups of people who lived in poverty during the 1920s:

- Black Americans were discriminated against which is why they were often very poor - in towns, black Americans were often the last to get jobs and the first to be sacked and they were also paid lower wages than white Americans for doing the same jobs; in the countryside, black Americans were share-croppers, earning very small amounts of money working on other people's farms; because black Americans were poorly educated compared to white people it was more difficult for them to get well-paid jobs.
- Immigrants often did the lowest paid job; they were usually poorly educated and spoke little English; it took some immigrants many years to work their way up to better jobs; like black Americans they faced a lot of discrimination.
- Workers in the older industries like coal, steel and textiles faced a lot of problems in the 1920s as they were producing too much which meant that prices were low and businesses did not make much profit so wages stayed low as well; some of these industries were also competing with more modern alternatives – artificial fibres like rayon were cheaper than cotton, while electricity and diesel were replacing coal.
- In the rural areas farming families were often large which meant money was spread between more children. Many farmers lived in very basic accommodation that was often little more than plain wooden shacks and could not afford modern farm machinery. Food prices fell during the 1920s. This meant that farmers were making less and less money so many could not afford to pay their rent and lost their farms. There was also a lot of devastation caused by natural disasters in the 1920s, such as the "Great Flood" of the Mississippi River in 1927, the Boll Weevil infestation in southern USA that destroyed cotton crops and the "Big Blow" hurricane that killed 243 people in Florida in 1926. This all led to rural depopulation as 6 million people in the 1920s moved to the cities.



Source 1: front cover of sheet music for a song about men leaving the countryside for the cities in the 1930sⁱⁱ

Most workers were only on low pay, for example at Loray cotton mill in North Carolina men were paid \$18 a week, women were paid \$9 a week but average wages in New York were \$200 a week. By 1929 average wages in the north east were \$881 a year, in the south east it was \$365 a year. Prices had doubled during the First World War but wages hardly rose at all. In 1919 4 million **demobbed soldiers** came back to the USA back just as industry was winding down from wartime production and laying off workers. High prices and high unemployment did not lead to increased wages as bosses could just replace striking workers easily.

It was very difficult for urban worker's to improve their pay or their working conditions. For example, there was a 1921 coal miners' strike in West Virginia over conditions and pay broken up when the governor used state troops to break it up. President Harding had it investigated, found the miners were right but did nothing. Force was also used to break up the 1927 United Textile Workers strike in Tennessee. The situation of workers was made even worse when the Supreme Court overturned two state laws banning child labour and laws setting minimum wages for women workers as unconstitutional. For every year in 1920s 25,000 workers were killed on the job, 100,000 permanently disabled – two million people in New York City living in **tenements** condemned as fire traps

Farmers got no help from the federal government either. The Farm Relief Bill (aka the McNary-Haugen Bill) was introduced into Congress in 1924, 1927 and 1928 to help control farming prices threatened by cheap competition from Canada and Argentina. Each time President Coolidge used his veto to stop it becoming law. He justified this by saying, *"Instead of undertaking a method of marketing which will sell goods at a profit, it plans to sell them at a loss. This goes against the government's economic principles, which require farmers only to produce what can be sold at profit. They should not waste soil producing what can only be sold at a loss"*.

Hoover's winning platform in the 1928 presidential election was based on continued prosperity: *"One of the oldest and perhaps the noblest of human activities has been the abolition of poverty... We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land."*

The poorhouse is vanishing from among us.” Herbert Hoover may have won the election but the Wall Street Crash quickly showed how close to financial disaster America was. There were simply too many people living in poverty to be able to keep the consumer boom going which led to a fall in consumer demand.

“They roared like lions. They hollered and screamed, clawed at one another’s collars. It was a bunch of crazy men. Every once in a while, when shares in Radio or Steel took another tumble, you’d see some poor devil collapse and fall to the floor”

From the Stock Exchange Guardian, October 1929

“Huge crowds surged up and down the narrow streets in search of excitement. Rumours were started. A trader, caught by the falling share prices, jumped from a window.”

From the New York Herald Tribune, October 1929

There had been signs of potential trouble ahead, particularly in regard to the boom in land and property values. The State of Florida saw a huge rise in property prices as speculators bought up land in the hope they would be able to sell it on for a huge profit. Many of these speculators had borrowed money to buy the land, confident that they would be able to pay off the loan and keep a profit. In 1926 there was a sudden fall in property prices in Florida leaving many land and home owners in **negative equity** (owing more than their property was worth). This should have acted as a warning to banks and investors but it was widely ignored.



Source 2: the share trading floor of the New York stock exchange on Wall Streetⁱⁱⁱ

As the US economy boomed in the 1920s people had begun to invest in the **stock market**, buying **shares** in successful companies. As companies made more money their shares increased in value, so at some future point shareholders could sell their shares for a profit. Some people were so confident they bought shares **‘on the margin’** by borrowing money from the banks so that when the shares made a profit they could pay back the loan and pocket the difference without having to risk any of their own money. As a businessman pointed out in 1928, *“The number of inexperienced speculators are being increased by a great many men who have been attracted by newspaper stories. These stories*

tell of the big, easy, profits to be made on the stock exchange and of millions of dollars being made by people overnight.... They discovered that it could be easy to make money in this way”.

With American business protected by tariffs, money easily available through hire purchase and credit and consumer spending high investors had every reason to believe that share prices would continue to increase. There were 20 million shareholders by the summer of 1929 and share prices had reached an all-time high - the total value of shares in 1925 was \$27 billion, but by 1929 it was \$87 billion. It was a 'bull market' and seemed as if it would never fail.

By the late 1920s American businesses were producing more goods than there were American people who could afford to buy them because

- The richest 5% of Americans earned 33% of all the money so only small number who could actually afford the goods being produced, while too many others were forced to buy using hire purchase with loans that they might not be able to pay back
- Factories were producing too much; wages did not increase quickly because large companies like General Electric Company and the Standard Oil Company, kept wages low and prices high, so too few workers could afford to buy what the factory made
- Farm incomes dropped throughout the 1920s because prices for farm products fell; in 1929 the average annual income for an American family was \$750, but for farm families it was only \$273; The price of farm land fell from \$69 per acre in 1920 to \$31 in 1930; problems in the agricultural sector had a large impact since 30% of Americans still lived on farms.

The solution to this problem would have been to sell more products abroad. However, at the end of the First World War European countries owed over \$10 billion to the USA but they had no way of paying the money back. The USA insisted that their former allies pay the money back anyway. This meant that Europe could not afford to buy goods from the America. To make matters worse in 1922, the USA passed the Fordney McCumber Act, which imposed high tariffs on imported industrial products. Other countries did the same to American imports and so USA could not sell its goods abroad even when countries did have the money.

The only way forward was for businesses to lower prices, accept smaller profits, pay lower wages and sack some workers. This began to affect people's confidence in how much more money American businesses could make, which in turn began to affect the share prices of those companies.

By September 1929 falling demand and falling prices meant lower profits and falling share prices. Once investors realised this they began to sell their shares. As more shares were available to buy the price of shares went down and more people started selling. Share prices had been driven up by demand in the 1920s which meant most shares were overvalued. As prices fell to a more realistic level that also caused panic selling by many of the 1 million US shareholders in October 1929. This became known as the Wall Street Crash.

The main events of the Wall Street Crash October 1929:

- **Saturday 19th** - 3.5 million shares sold; prices fell
- **Sunday 20th** – newspaper headline, *“Stocks driven down as wave of selling engulfs market”*
- **Monday 21st** - 6 million shares changed hands, prices fell then rose in the afternoon
- **Tuesday 22nd** - Prices began to rise
- **Wednesday 23rd** - 3 million shares sold in the last hour of trading; margin buyers were told to find more cash
- **“Black Thursday” 24th** - 13 million shares sold but no buyers found; there is widespread panic

- **Friday 25th** - Top bankers decide to support market; banking firms buy millions of shares for more than they are worth
- **Saturday 26th** - President Hoover re-assured people, *“The fundamental business of the country is on a sound and secure basis”*
- **Monday 28th** - massive selling of shares; 3 million sold in the last hour of trading, 9 million sold in total; the banks stop supporting prices
- **“Black Tuesday” 29th** - 16 million shares sold, no buyers found; ticker tape machines that record share transactions break due to overuse

Company	Share price 3 rd September 1929	Share price 13 th November 1929
US Steel	361 cents	150 cents
New York Central Railroad	256 cents	160 cents
Union Carbide Chemicals	137 cents	59 cents
American Telephone & Telegraph	304 cents	197 cents
Anaconda Copper	131 cents	70 cents
Westinghouse Electrical	289 cents	102 cents

Table 1: changing shares prices on the Wall Street stock exchange, autumn 1929

*“They used to tell me I was building a dream, and so I followed the mob,
When there was earth to plow, or guns to bear, I was always there right on the job.
They used to tell me I was building a dream, with peace and glory ahead,
Why should I be standing in line, just waiting for bread?”*

From the song ‘Brother, Can You Spare a Dime’, lyrics by Yip Harburg, music by Jay Gorney (1931)



Source 3: a crowd of people gathering outside the American Union Bank in New York hoping to empty their bank accounts before the bank shuts down^{iv}

There were a number of immediate consequences of the Crash, and its effects were felt in the USA throughout the 1930s:

- within a few years unemployment rose from 1.5 million to over 12 million; out of the 120 million people in USA 40 million were either unemployed or in family where major breadwinner was unemployed
- Thousands of small businesses went bust increasing unemployment; people went bankrupt, lost their houses because they could not pay their debts
- In 1929 alone 659 banks closed and \$200 million of deposits were lost; desperate people ruined banks by taking out all of their savings in cash; banks try to make cash by demanding people re-pay all of their mortgages in full and people lose their homes
- Men roamed city streets on foot and the countryside on trains desperate for work; they were referred to as 'hoboes'.
- Temporary shacks were put up in public parks for unemployed workers to live in; these became known as 'hoovervilles'; as there was no unemployment benefit system so people living in shanty towns built out of rubbish and eating in soup kitchens run by charities
- The value of goods in shops fell 50%, and farm income and wages fell 50%
- GNP (Gross National Product – the total amount of money a country makes in a year) fell by almost 50%
- US foreign trade dropped from \$9 billion to \$3 billion
- Demand continued to fall as fewer people could afford goods so more companies closed down, more people lost their jobs, fewer people had money to spend, so more companies closed down, etc.; this is known as an **economic depression**

President Hoover's belief in self-reliance, the '**rugged individualism**' that had seen him rise from delivering newspapers to President affected how he saw the solution to this crisis. For Hoover it was not up to the government to help people – they had to help themselves. As he put it, "*I do not believe that the power and duty of the General Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering. . . . The lesson should be constantly enforced that though the people support the Government the Government should not support the people.*"

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 5

The reasons for economic instability at the end of the 1920s are covered in BBC American Voices : Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNuHNes> and more specifically the BBC Wall Street Crash Documentary <https://youtu.be/FXNziew6C9A>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/VfOR1XCMf7A>

BBC 20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

BBC American Voices : clips on Timelines TV

<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLvsS9mRi0sXb78FqO8DACjXgoF-sih5K->

BBC American Voices : full episodes

1. Immigration https://youtu.be/txB7_9E1E8Q
2. Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNuHNes>
3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-l>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwylCo>
5. Black America <https://youtu.be/4wiOs5T9go>

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfIPirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

demobbed soldiers	soldiers who have just been released from military service (in this case after the First World War)
tenements	large apartment blocks with many small rooms, often overcrowded
negative equity	a property that is worth less than the money someone owes for it
stock market	where company shares are bought and sold
shares	owning part of a company; value increases with the value of the company
on the margin	when investors borrow money to buy shares, hoping to sell them for a profit and pay the loan back
economic depression	a downward spiral when fewer people are spending money businesses find it harder to sell their goods so they cut wages or make workers unemployed; this then results in a further reduction in spending
rugged individualism	the belief that Americans can overcome any difficulties with hard work

REFERENCES :

ⁱ FRONT COVER : crowds gather outside the Wall Street stock exchange October 1929

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wall_Street_Crash_of_1929#/media/File:Crowd_outside_nyse.jpg)

ⁱⁱ Sheet music 1919

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/05/HowYaGonnaKeepEmDownOnTheFarm.jpg>

ⁱⁱⁱ Wall Street stock exchange https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wall_Street_Crash_of_1929#/media/File:1930-67B.png

^{iv} Crowd outside the American Union Bank in NY

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wall_Street_Crash_of_1929#/media/File:American_union_bank.gif

THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



i

KEY QUESTION 6 : Popular entertainment

How did popular entertainment develop during this period?

“The motion picture industry has achieved a standing and size that makes it impossible for people studying the industry to overlook it. It is already the fourth largest industry in the country, yet it is an industry that has only developed in the last ten or twelve years”

Joseph Kennedy, politician & movie investor in 1927

Cinema was a very popular form of entertainment during this period and audiences continued to grow through the 1920s. In 1927 60 million people a week went to the cinema, but by 1929 it was 110 million people a week. It was a very cheap form of entertainment 5 cents for a ticket to a **nickelodeon** and a wide variety of films were on offer, comedies, tragedies, romances and adventures.

There were 1910 8,000 cinemas in America, by 1930 there were 303,000. Nickelodeons had wooden benches and sometimes referred to as ‘flea pits’ but cinemas could also be very extravagant like the 1927 Roxy Theatre in New York with its plush carpets, luxurious seating for 6,000, and grand arches and marble columns. In smaller cinemas a pianist played accompaniment during silent films, but as cinemas became bigger they were replaced by organs.

Moving pictures, or ‘movies’, were invented at the end of the 19th century in Europe. An industry grew up around film-making in a number of countries, and in the USA it was particularly strong in New York. There were a number of reasons why Hollywood in California came to dominate the film industry not just of America but of the world. The First World War had distracted other countries from movie-making while the USA was free to carry on; the cost of the First World War crippled the economies of foreign countries but the USA still had money to spend watching and making movies. California was seen as an ideal location with large empty spaces to film including deserts and mountains and a warm, dry climate most of the year. In the era of silent films the movies produced in **Hollywood** could be easily enjoyed around the world as there was no language barrier.



Source 1 : engineers demonstrating the Vitaphone sound system for films in 1926ⁱⁱ

There were a number of technological developments that maintained people’s interest in movies. There were early experiments with colour, such as the excerpts of Roman splendour in ‘Ben Hur’, a biblical epic from 1925. The first Walt Disney animated cartoon, ‘Steamboat Willie’, introduced the

world to Mickey Mouse in 1928. But the most spectacular innovation was the introduction of synchronised sound in 1927. The Warner Bros Vitaphone system used a disc with sound recorded on it that played alongside film. It was first used in the film 'The Jazz Singer', starring Al Jolson who turned to the audience after the silent first half of the film and said, *"You ain't seen nothing yet"*. It led to a revolution in film making as companies dropped or altered silent films to add sound tracks. It was the birth of the 'talkies'. Some stars like Mary Pickford underestimated the value of adding sound to movies, claiming that *"adding sound to movies would be like putting lipstick on the Venus de Milo"*.

The 'Star' system boosted the popularity of Hollywood films by promoting actors and actresses that audiences would then choose to go and see. It started in 1909 when producer Carl Laemmle promoted actress Flo Lawrence as the star of one of his films – up to that point actors had been anonymous, for example *"the man with the sad eyes"*. New magazines like Life, Vogue, and Harper's Bazaar helped film companies like Warner Bros, Paramount and MGM promote their stars who became trend-setters and standard-bearers for America. Their personal lives were followed closely by the press, for example the courtship and marriage of the movie stars Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford.

The Oscar film awards started in 1928 to highlight and promote achievement in the film industry. As a result of all of the publicity famous movie stars began to demand higher wages. In 1917 Chaplin signed the first \$1 million contract to star in eight films, and by 1926 Greta Garbo was earning \$5,000 a week. In 1919 the United Artists was set up by D. W. Griffith, Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, and Douglas Fairbanks to make their own films without having to rely on the major film companies.

Brief profiles of some of the Hollywood movie stars of the 1920s:

- Rudolph Valentino - Italian immigrant turned Hollywood sex symbol; Lover to 1,000s of women; 50,000 attended his funeral (several women committed suicide when he died suddenly in 1926); FAMOUS FILM : "The Sheik"
- Douglas Fairbanks – the swash-buckling action adventure hero of the silent movie age FAMOUS FILMS : "The Three Musketeers", "Robin Hood", "The Thief of Bagdad", "The Black Pirate", "The Gaucho"
- Charlie Chaplin - British immigrant famous for his physical comedy, One of the most famous people in the world in the 1920s, FAMOUS FILMS : "The Vagabond", "The Kid", "After the Gold Rush"
- Buster Keaton - actor, director, producer, writer, and stunt performer; best known for his physical comedy with a deadpan expression FAMOUS FILMS : "Sherlock Jr.", "The General", "The Cameraman"
- Harold Lloyd – silent comedian and stunt performer which he performed live and without any safety equipment FAMOUS FILM : "Safety Last!"
- Gloria Swanson - Female sex symbol famous for wearing extravagant costumes and expensive jewels in films, Started her own film production company in 1929, FAMOUS FILM : "Beyond the Rocks"
- Clara Bow - Became a movie star after winning a competition in a magazine, Famous for wild parties, large numbers of "close male friends", extravagant spending (red cars with packs of dogs and a monkey included...), FAMOUS FILM : "It"
- Mary Pickford was famous for playing the role of a child, but went on to be involved in film production and the Oscars FAMOUS FILMS: "The Poor Little Rich Girl", "Pollyanna", "Little Lord Fauntleroy", "Rosita", "My Best Girl"
- Louise Brooks - actress and dancer noted as an iconic symbol of the flapper, and for popularizing the bobbed haircut. FAMOUS FILMS: "Pandora's Box", "Diary of a Lost Girl"

- Greta Garbo - glamorous and popular best known for her portrayals of strong-willed heroines, FAMOUS FILMS: "The Torrent", "Flesh and the Devil", "Love", "A Woman of Affairs", "The Kiss"

Unfortunately film stars were not perfect and the industry was rocked by a number of scandals. Charlie Chaplin married two 16 year old girls (one in 1918 and another in 1924), but he also expressed strong left-wing views and was seen as Un-American. Gloria Swanson married a French Count in 1924 to avoid public scandal of being pregnant and unmarried. Clara Bow was named by her therapist's wife as the reason for her filing for divorce.

Not everyone appreciated the influence that the movie industry had over people. They wanted to see films censored, to make sure that they did not undermine the basic values of American society. The list of **copyright** rules was called the Hays Code which said that, "no film shall be produced which shall lower the moral standards of those that see it. Hence the sympathy of the audience shall never be thrown to the side of crime, wrong-doing, evil or sin". Complete nudity was forbidden; screen kisses could not last more than 10 feet of film; men and women involved in screen kisses both had to have at least one foot on the floor; adultery was not to be presented as attractive and the clergy were not to be shown as comic characters or villains.

"Music is entering more and more into the daily lives of people. The black musicians of America are playing a great part in this change... They have new ideas and constantly experiment. They are causing new blood to flow into the veins of music. The Jazz players make their instruments do entirely new things, things trained musicians are taught to avoid... Jazz has come to stay because it is an expression of the times... the breathless, energetic, super-active times in which we are living"

From an interview with a jazz player in the 1920s

Jazz was a style of music based on black American folk songs from the old slave-owning states in the South. Slave music was based on rhythms that had been brought over from West Africa. Slave owners had often allowed slaves to sing as they believed it helped them work harder. The word 'jazz' became widely used to describe this music as other terms to describe it tended to be black sexual slang like blues, rag or boogie woogie.

Jazz was heavily syncopated, making the strong beats weak and the weak beats strong, which meant it could be danced too. Playing jazz music required a lot of musical skill but it was also based around **improvisation** as many black American musicians had no formal training and could not read music. Unusual combinations of instruments were used by jazz musicians as they did not have the money to buy anything expensive and had to rely on cheaper instruments like guitars, banjos and harmonicas.

Jazz was not a musical revolution as it evolved over time. An early form of jazz was called ragtime, as popularized by pianist Scott Joplin at the start of the twentieth century. Buddy Bolden is considered the first bandleader to play what would come to be called 'jazz', as by the end of the 19th century, he was the self-Proclaimed "King" of the Coronet, known for improvisational style. In 1915 "Jelly Roll Blues" was the first jazz sheet music, and in 1917, The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, a white American group, made the first jazz recording, 'Livery Stable Blues'. Freddy Keppard, a black American bandleader, had been offered the chance to make the first jazz record, but refused because he was afraid others would copy his style.

While jazz music began to be played by black Americans it quickly became widely copied by white musicians, like the jazz bands of Hoagy Carmichael, Paul Whiteman and Bix Beiderbecke. It was also popularised for older white audiences through the jazz-inspired songs of white songwriters like Irving

Berlin and George Gershwin, or white singers like Al Jolson (even though he did “black up” sometimes) as well as Bing Crosby who was part of the Paul Whiteman Band.

Not everyone agreed that jazz music was a good thing. Anne Shaw Faulkner wrote in her article ‘Does Jazz Put the Sin in Syncopation?’ in the Ladies Home Journal in 1921, *“Jazz was originally the accompaniment of the voodoo dancer, stimulating the half-crazed barbarian to the vilest of deeds... it has a demoralizing effect on the human brain has been demonstrated by many scientists... Jazz stimulates to extreme deeds, to a breaking away from all rules and conventions. It is harmful, dangerous and its influence is wholly bad.”*

There were a number of reasons why jazz music spread quickly from the southern states to become popular, especially amongst young people, in towns and cities right across the USA:

- Jazz music travelled with black Americans as they moved north through this period; many early jazz musicians got their start working in brothels, for example in New Orleans’ infamous Storyville District; when Storyville was closed in 1917, many of these musicians made their way to Chicago on the steamboats that travelled the Mississippi river, spreading Jazz northward; the migration of black Americans to the cities in the north during and after the First World War carried jazz music even further
- technology also played its part as in the 1920s jazz could be spread by radio and gramophone records; before this new music was only available as live performances or as sheet music; KDKA in Pittsburgh was the first American radio station and began in 1920. NBC was the first national radio station and started broadcasting in 1926, closely followed by CBS in 1927; there were 60,000 radios in US homes in 1920 and 10 million by 1929, with an estimated audience of 50 million people; as a 1929 newspaper article put it, *“From the feeble wireless telegraph service in 1920, radio had grown swiftly into the billion dollar industry it is today”*; the gramophone industry grew rapidly in 1910s peaking sales of \$106 million in 1921 until radio ate into its profits as people could listen to new records without having to buy them.



Source 2: Louis Armstrong’s gramophone record “Heebie Jeebies” from 1926ⁱⁱⁱ

Jazz was also popularised by the performances and compositions of a number of musicians. For example:

- Louis Armstrong – born in New Orleans, Armstrong moved north to Chicago in 1922; he was a trumpet player and vocalist, nicknamed “Satchmo”; he made his first record with the Hot Five (later Hot Seven) band in 1925 while performing live with the King Oliver band; his famous songs include “Tiger Rag”, “Cornet Chop Suey” and “Potato Head Blues”
- Duke Ellington – born in Washington DC, Ellington moved to Harlem in 1923; he was a jazz composer, conductor, and performer; the Duke Ellington Orchestra was the "house" orchestra for a number of years at the Cotton Club; his shows featured glamorous dancing girls, tap dancers and comedians; his famous songs included "Soda Fountain Rag", "Choo Choo" and "Creole Love Call"
- Fats Waller – born in New York; he was a jazz pianist, organist, composer and singer; he recorded his first record in 1922; many of his songs from the 1920s are still popular in the present day; his most famous songs included “Squeeze Me”, "Ain't Misbehavin'" and "Honeysuckle Rose"
- Jelly Roll Morton – born in New Orleans moved to New York in 1927; he was a pianist and songwriter; he became famous in the 1920s playing with his band Red Hot Peppers; his most famous songs included "Black Bottom Stomp", "Tank Town Bump" and "Smoke-House Blues"
- Bessie Smith - born in Chattanooga, Tennessee moved to Philadelphia in the early 1920s; she was a singer who became known as "Empress of the Blues"; in 1923 she signed a recording contract with Columbia Records and toured with her own travelling band; her most famous songs included "Downhearted Blues" and "Backwater Blues", while "Cold in Hand Blues" and "I Ain't Gonna Play No Second Fiddle" were collaborations with Louis Armstrong

“The parties were bigger, the pace was faster, the shows were broader, the buildings were higher, the morals were looser, the liquor was cheaper”

Writer F. Scott Fitzgerald in ‘Tales of the Jazz Age’ (1922)

Special clubs devoted to jazz music were started in the industrial towns of the North, particularly in Chicago and New York. Dancing was usually allowed and many were used as covers for speakeasies. One of the most famous was the Cotton Club, based in Harlem, New York City. Chicago had famous jazz clubs as well, like the Green Mill where Al Capone used to drink. Gangsters wanted only the best entertainment for their customers, so while waiters danced the Charleston at Small’s Paradise in Harlem, Fred Astaire danced at the Trocadero, and Duke Ellington led the house band at the Cotton Club with tap dancer Bojangles Robinson and jazz singer Ethel Waters. Jazz pianist Fats Waller was even kidnapped at gunpoint to play as a surprise guest at Al Capone’s birthday party.

There were a number of jazz-inspired new dances in the 1920s – the Charleston, the Foxtrot, the Lindy Hop, the Black Bottom, the Vampire, the Shimmy, the Turkey Trot, the Chicken Scratch, the Monkey Glide, the Bunny Hug, and so on. Dance crazes where large groups of people would learn and perform particular dances together were followed by dance marathons where dancers would try to set records for dancing for as long as they could. In 1923 Alma Cummings danced non-stop for 27 hours, wearing out six partners in the process. This then led to organised competitions where individuals and couples competed for financial rewards.



Source 3: a Dance Marathon in 1923^{iv}

These new dances and crazes were particularly attractive to young people and so a lot of older, more religious, more small-town and rural people were horrified by it. Reverend Culpepper, a Methodist preacher, said in 1925, *“Dancing is a divorce feeder. It is heathen, animalistic and damnable. It degrades manhood and womanhood. Now is the time to say plainly that it is the most pernicious of modern customs”*. In 1922, The Catholic Telegraph newspaper went further, explaining, *“The music is sensuous, the female is only half dressed and the motions may not be described in a family newspaper. Suffice it to say that there are certain houses appropriate for such dances but these houses have been closed by law.”*

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 6

Good introductions to the beginnings of cinema as popular entertainment in the USA can be seen in Paul Merton’s Birth of Hollywood episode 1 <https://youtu.be/UtCj4ajbNc> or the first episode of the America series Hollywood <https://youtu.be/yS37kyfnGy4>. There is also the excellent but brief video about silent cinema from the Crash Course series at <https://youtu.be/ROOV9tucra0> A video about the impact of the talkies in silent cinema can be found at <https://youtu.be/ZlAt2lcg5ZM>

There is a short video about the stars of silent cinema <https://youtu.be/Uf9qeQ4Rvzk> but for a look in more detail at specific films stars there is Paul Merton’s excellent programme on Charlie Chaplin <https://youtu.be/5Pf3MPqnpMY> the first quarter of a documentary about Clara Bow (with links to the other parts of the documentary) <https://youtu.be/UYNy8hMaDUo> and Hollywood episodes on stars Gloria Swanson and Rudolph Valentino <https://youtu.be/fVqgx20CPVs> and on Douglas Fairbanks <https://youtu.be/8NtoV8WIhI4>

Highly recommended is episode 2 of Ken Burns’ series about Jazz focussing on the rising popularity of Jazz music in the 1920s <https://youtu.be/F9hSmh9nzaA> as well as a BBC documentary on Louis Armstrong <https://youtu.be/WPspHmFoEYs> and the American equivalent at <https://youtu.be/9o-hZBuy5DQ> and even a video on white fears about Jazz music <https://youtu.be/UHBdQVMPaHU>

There is a short video presentation about speakeasy culture at <https://youtu.be/B-ybTyhiaVY> and one of many 1920s dancing videos can be found at <https://youtu.be/yNAOHtmy4j0> as well as a pair

of videos about Duke Ellington and the Cotton Club <https://youtu.be/szHWzomqBMI> and <https://youtu.be/rLNZdovc3PI>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/VfOR1XCMf7A>

BBC 20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

BBC American Voices : clips on Timelines TV

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3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-l>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwylCo>
5. Black America https://youtu.be/_4wiOs5T9go

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfiPirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

nickelodeon	cheap cinemas that cost 5 cents (a nickel) for a ticket
Hollywood	the area of California that became the home of the US movie industry
censorship	controlling the content of films
Jazz	an improvised style of upbeat dance music
improvisation	making up a tune rather than reading from sheet music

REFERENCES :

ⁱ FRONT COVER : a Jazz orchestra 1921

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jazz_Age#/media/File:CarterAndKingJazzingOrchestra.jpg)

ⁱⁱ Source 1 : engineers demonstrating the Vitaphone sound system for films in 1926

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:VitaphoneDemo.jpg>

ⁱⁱⁱ Source 2 : Louis Armstrong's gramophone record "Heebie Jeebies" (1926)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_Armstrong#/media/File:Heebie_Jeebies.jpg

^{iv} Source 3 : a dance marathon in 1923

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dance_marathon#/media/File:Dance_marathon,_1923.jpg

THE USA: A NATION OF CONTRASTS 1910-1929

An Eduqas resource by Rob Quinn



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KEY QUESTION 7 : The role of women

How did the lifestyle and status of women change during this period?

"After twilight, a young lady would not be conducting herself in a becoming manner, by walking alone; and if she passes the evening with any one, she ought, beforehand, to provide someone to come for her at a stated hour; but if this is not practicable, she should politely ask of the person whom she is visiting, to permit a servant to accompany her."

From a 19th Century book of social etiquette for women

In 1900 women

- had few jobs they were allowed to do as they were expected to be wives and mothers; some middle and upper class were teachers or nurses, while the few working class women who worked did low-paid jobs like dress making or cleaning
- were expected to dress in restrictive clothing, tight-waisted and ankle length dresses; they were not encouraged to wear make-up
- were expected to behave politely; they could not smoke or play sports in public; they had to be **chaperoned** (accompanied by an older or married woman) with their gentlemen friends; divorce and sex before marriage were very rare
- were only allowed to vote in a few states

The First World War began to change this situation for some women. 90,000 women enlisted in the US military serving in supporting roles as office clerks, radio operators, telegraphers, electricians, chemists, accountants, police officers, mail deliverers and nurses. They also served in the American Red Cross and Salvation Army and worked as farm labourers attached to the Women's Land Army. However when the war ended women were expected to give these new jobs up and return to their former lives



Source 1: Silent Sentinels picketing the White House in 1917ⁱⁱ

Not all women wanted things to go back to the way they had been before. Women had gradually been gaining the vote on a state by state basis starting in Wyoming in 1869. The National American Women's Suffrage Society was formed by Susan B Anthony in 1890. It attracted support from wealthy

women who had the education, time and money to campaign for the vote. By 1911 six states had given women the right to vote in state and local elections - Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California. In 1913 Alice Paul started the National Women's Party to do more to get publicity for women's right to vote, by obstructing traffic, chaining themselves to railings and so on. The NWP's 'Silent Sentinels' protested outside the White House. It was not long before they had persuaded Oregon, Kansas and Arizona to give women the vote.

By 1912 Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party was supporting the idea of national women's **suffrage** in the election. Even though he lost to Democrat Woodrow Wilson it did help to make women's voting rights a national issue. President Wilson avoided the issue until 1916 when he supported women's suffrage as part of the Democratic Party campaign. A year later Congress set up the Women's Suffrage Committee to look into it and a New York referendum gave women the vote in the state.

Politicians gradually came round to the idea that women should have the vote after women's work in First World War industrial effort was widely recognized. Women's support for prohibition was also appreciated by Congressmen. In 1918 the 'Anthony Amendment' passed the House but failed in the Senate by 2 votes. The National Women's Party campaign to remove anti-suffrage senators in 1918 elections was very successful so the amendment to give all women the vote was finally passed by Congress in 1919.

As with prohibition, the suffrage campaign was aimed at amending the **US Constitution** so that women would be able to vote right across America. The 19th **Amendment** said, *"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."* It was ratified by the minimum number of states on August 18th, 1920 and became law immediately. This gave women the vote in national elections.

The 1920 presidential election was the first election that women across America were all allowed voted in. Jeanette Rankin became the first female Congressman representing the state of Montana. She went on to have a long career of campaigning for social reform and voting rights. In 1924 Mary Howard of Utah and Bertha Knight Landes became the first female mayors. In 1925 Miriam Ferguson in Texas and Nellie Taylor Ross in Wyoming became the first elected female state governors. As well as being represented by women in federal and state government, a new pressure group called the League of Women Voters was founded in 1920 to get women to use their vote to improve women's rights.

After getting the vote many women stopped working for more rights. **Feminism**, the idea that women should be treated equally to men, began in the 1920s but it did not get very far. As the Women's Leader magazine 1928 said, *"Everyone will agree that the foundation of feminism is belief in women as human beings. Women were hampered throughout their lives by dozens of rules for respectable female behaviour."* However, Alice Paul and the Woman's Party introduced an Equal Rights Amendment into Congress in 1923. The amendment would not be adopted by Congress until 1972 and to the present day has still not been supported by enough states in the USA to be included in the Constitution.

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An advert for a vacuum cleaner

More skilled and educated women were hired when jobs shifted from labour-intensive to office work. 30% were involved in clerical office or sales positions. By 1928 women earned 39% of college degrees in America - up from 19% in 1900. Throughout this time women still face limited access to higher education degrees in subjects like Law or Medicine. Women held mostly low-paying occupations, while female professionals were paid less than men for the same job, often working in nursing and teaching. By 1920- 1 in 4 women over the age of 16 worked.

In 1920, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour was established to gather information about the situation of women at work, and to advocate for changes it found were needed. Many suffragists actively lobbied for legislation to protect women workers from abuse and unsafe conditions but with little success. In 1923 the **Supreme Court** decided that a minimum wage for women violated the right to freedom of contract.

There were a number of important breakthroughs for women in the 1920s. Margaret Sanger promoted the use of birth control. Sanger opened the first family- planning clinic in New York in 1916 by asking women if they could afford to keep having large families. In 1921 she started the American Birth Control League. In a traditionally masculine field, Amelia Earhart was a pilot who broke the woman's altitude record in 1922 and by 1928 she was the first woman to fly across the Atlantic. However, there was also a continuation of the idolizing of woman and a focus on female beauty as the first Miss America beauty pageant in 1921 was won by Margaret Gorman from Washington.



Source 2: Amelia Earhart and her aeroplane in 1928ⁱⁱⁱ

In many ways the changes in women's lives in America in this period were superficial. Working class women with large families to look after still struggled through day-to-day life. As the writer Doris Fleischman explained in her book 'America as Americans See It' published in 1932, *"women who live on farms – and they form the largest group in the United States – do a great deal of work besides the labour of caring for their children, washing the clothes, caring for the home and cooking... thousands still labour in the fields... help milk the cows... The other largest group of American women comprises the families of the labourers...of the miners, the steel workers... the vast army of unskilled, semi-skilled*

and skilled workers. The wages of these men are on the whole so small [that] wives must do double duty – that is, caring for the children and the home and toil on the outside as wage earners.”

*“The Playful flapper here we see,
The fairest of the fair.
She's not what Grandma used to be,
You might say, au contraire.
Her girlish ways may make a stir,
Her manners cause a scene,
But there is no more harm in her
Than in a submarine.”*

From ‘The Flapper’, a poem by Dorothy Parker

Flappers were middle class urban women who had more money and more leisure time as a result of consumerism. The motor car gave them more freedom and their fashion was more daring – some dressed in a more masculine way, others in a more sexually provocative way. Flappers broke the old expectations of female behavior by smoking and drinking in public, as well as spending time with men without chaperones. As the New York Times newspaper put it in 1929, *“By sheer force of violence, the flapper has established the feminine right to equal representation in such hitherto masculine fields of endeavour as smoking and drinking, swearing, petting and upsetting the community peace”*.

Flappers seemed to have a lot more freedom than women had enjoyed previously. This can be seen in their revealing bright clothes, in their drinking in illegal speakeasies, in their dancing along to jazz music. As the Daily Illini newspaper explained in 1922, *“The word flapper means to us not a female that smokes, swears and kisses her gentlemen friends goodnight, although there is no harm in any of that. We think of the flapper as the independent young woman who feels like punching someone when called the ‘weaker sex’, who resents being put on a pedestal and who is responsible for the advancement of women’s condition in the world”*.

This freedom extended to relationships as well. Flappers felt less pressure to find a man, settle down, marry, have children. As an article in ‘New Republic’ put it in 1925, *“... not so many girls are looking for a life meal ticket nowadays. Lots of them prefer to earn their own living and omit the home-and-baby act. Well, anyhow, postpone it years and years. They think a bachelor girl can and should do everything a bachelor man does”*. According to the New York Times in 1922, *“She will never make you a husband or knit you a necktie, but she’ll drive you from the station on hot summer nights in her own sports car. She’ll put on trousers and go skiing with you or, if it happens to be summertime, go swimming.”*



Source 3: Louise Brooks in 1927^{iv}

There were a number of flapper icons:

- Louise Brooks was one of the famous flappers of the age; she was an actress and a model starring in films like 'A Social Celebrity', embodying the flapper image with her short hair, short skirts and make-up
- Clara Bow was a movie star, seen as the leading sex symbol of the 'Roaring 20's' with her films like 'It', known to be '*wild, sexy, and carefree...*'.
- Joan Crawford was another actress, famous for kissing, dancing, smoking, drinking in films like 'Our Modern Maidens'; her behaviour widely copied by women; F. Scott Fitzgerald said, "*Joan Crawford is doubtless the best example of the flapper, the girl you see at smart night clubs, gowned to the apex of sophistication, toying iced glasses with a remote, faintly bitter expression, dancing deliciously, laughing a great deal, with wide hurt eyes. Young things with a talent for living*"
- Dorothy Parker was a writer famous for her wit and sharp sarcasm; her poems and stories appeared in The New Yorker and she went on to earn two Oscars for her film scripts; unfortunately, she had a very unhappy private life that included three marriages and many suicide attempts.

In many areas attitudes towards women did not change and flappers were not welcome. This was particularly true in the rural areas of America where the Church still shaped people's attitudes. The President of Florida University said the low cut gowns and short skirts "*are born of the devil they are carrying the present generation to destruction*". In some states female tourists were arrested for wearing bathing costumes that were too revealing. Chicago fined women \$10 to \$100 for wearing short skirts or baring their arms. Mothers formed the Anti-Flirt League to protest against the acts of their daughters.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING – Key Question 7

The issue of women's political rights is covered by Crash Course History : Woman's Suffrage <https://youtu.be/HGEMscZE5dY> and videos showing images of the flapper lifestyle <https://youtu.be/3svvCj4yhYc> and https://youtu.be/IFRG_B--1v8 and about the wider changes to women's lives <https://youtu.be/uDZ93syAQfA> although the best overview about the varied experience of women is BBC American Voices : Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNUHNes>

GENERAL 1920s AMERICA SUPPORTING VIDEO MATERIAL :

Crash Course History - Roaring 20s <https://youtu.be/vfOR1XCMf7A> BBC

20th Century Boom and Bust https://youtu.be/4Xrz69_W4ew

BBC American Voices : clips on Timelines TV

<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLvsS9mRi0sXb78FqO8DACjXgoF-sih5K->

BBC American Voices : full episodes

1. Immigration https://youtu.be/txB7_9E1E8Q
2. Boom and Bust <https://youtu.be/iwy5HNUHNes>
3. Hard Times <https://youtu.be/OenNGPd6n-l>
4. New Deal <https://youtu.be/Re-XsLwyICo>
5. Black America https://youtu.be/_4wiOs5T9go

The Century: America's Time –

1. The Beginning: Seeds of Change <https://youtu.be/dssfiPirT2U>
2. 1914-1919: Shell Shock https://youtu.be/1GBWDQ5cF_U
3. 1920-1929: Boom To Bust <https://youtu.be/RN7ftyZigYs>

GLOSSARY :

chaperoned	Being accompanied in public by an older man or woman
suffrage	The right to vote
Constitution	a list of rules a government has to follow
Amendment	changes to the Constitution
feminism	The idea that women and men should be treated equally
Supreme Court	the highest appeal court in the USA so important court cases which cannot be decided at state level by the Supreme Court
flappers	women who challenged traditionally restricted behaviour to live a more independent lifestyle

REFERENCES :

ⁱ FRONT COVER : Women's suffrage parade 1912

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feminism_in_the_United_States#/media/File:Feminist_Suffrage_Parade_in_New_York_City,_1912.jpeg)

ⁱⁱ Source 1 : the Silent Sentinels protest outside the White House in 1917

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silent_Sentinels#/media/File:Women_suffragists_picketing_in_front_of_the_White_house.jpg

ⁱⁱⁱ Source 2 : Amelia Earhart and her plane in 1928

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amelia_Earhart#/media/File:Amelia_Earhart,_circa_1928.jpg ^{iv}

Source 3: Louise Brooks in 1927

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flapper#/media/File:Louise_Brooks_ggbain_32453u_crop.jpg