

UNIT

3

# A Modern Nation

1919–1940

**Chapter 9**  
**From War to Peace**  
1919–1928

**Chapter 10**  
**The Roaring Twenties**  
1920–1929

**Chapter 11**  
**The Great Depression**  
**Begins**  
1929–1933

**Chapter 12**  
**The New Deal**  
1933–1940

## Themes

### Government and Democracy

The nation struggled with postwar labor unrest, radical political ideas, and later, high unemployment brought on by the Great Depression.

### Economic Development

Americans experienced a period of great productivity and prosperity, followed by a devastating economic downturn.

### Cultural Expressions

The growth of mass media and popular culture, a rebirth in the arts, and the development of a consumer society marked a period of cultural change.

New York City's Times Square is ablaze with electric lights and other signs of progress and prosperity in this 1925 painting.

# Prepare to Read

## Identifying Problems and Solutions

Find practice for **Identifying Problems and Solutions** in the **Skills Handbook**, p. H11

Historical texts frequently discuss problems that people in the past encountered and the solutions they adopted. Identifying problems and solutions can help you understand what you are reading.

### Before You Read

Skim headings to determine a passage's content. What problem do you think will be discussed in this passage?

### While You Read

Note the problem cited in the text and the reasons it occurred.

### After You Read

Review the problem and the solutions offered.

### Bank Failures

As you have read, the collapse of the stock market strained the financial resources of many banks. In the weeks following the crash, a number of banks failed. For ordinary Americans, the collapse of banks was unnerving. Most people did not have money invested in banks, but many had entrusted their savings to banks.

Today, insurance from the federal government protects most people's deposits in the event of bank failure. That is, most Americans do not have to worry that they will lose their savings if their bank goes out of business. In addition, laws today require that a bank keep a greater percentage of its assets in cash, to be paid out to depositors on request.

**READING CHECK** **Identifying Problems and Solutions** What precautions has the federal government taken to safeguard people's money in banks?

#### Identify the problem

If the problem is large, organize it in smaller parts.

**Problem** The collapse of banks unnerved many Americans who had entrusted their savings to them.

**Solution** Federal insurance and laws help protect people's finances today.

## Test Prep Tip

Some tests may require you to identify a problem and its solution. In such instances, first try to recognize the problem and its cause and then to identify possible options and solutions for that problem. Then evaluate the effectiveness of the solution.



# Reading like a Historian

## Interpreting Literature as Historical Evidence

Find practice for **Interpreting Literature as Historical Evidence** in the **Skills Handbook**, p. H32

Literature can be an important source of historical information. It can tell us what life was like in the past and what people believed. But it needs to be read with caution. The author is creating a fictional story not recording facts. Be sure to use your prior knowledge and information from reliable primary and secondary sources when assessing literature as historical evidence.

### Strategies historians use:

- Look for descriptive passages that help you understand what life was like in that time and place.
- Examine the author's point of view and any biases by contrasting the types of words used to describe different events.
- Determine whether the literature is meant to describe a certain historical event or to elicit an emotional response.

Steinbeck is describing the migration of people from the Plains to California in the 1930s along Route 66, "the great cross-country highway."

The cars of the migrant people crawled out of the side roads onto the great cross-country highway, and they took the migrant way to the West. In the daylight they scuttled like bugs to the westward; and as the dark caught them, they clustered like bugs near to shelter and to water. And because they were lonely and perplexed, because they had all come from a place of sadness and worry and defeat, and because they were all going to a new mysterious place, they huddled together; they talked together; they shared their lives, their food, and the things they hoped for in the new country. Thus it might be that one family camped for the spring and for company, and a third because two families had pioneered the place and found it good. And when the sun went down, perhaps twenty families and twenty cars were there.

—from *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck, 1939

Words like *lonely* and *perplexed* describe how the migrants heading west to California felt. You could check these words against other sources.

The description of families gathering together is fairly neutral. It doesn't seem to betray any bias.

### Skills FOCUS

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

**As You Read** List historical evidence found in the literature. Then compare the evidence with known facts to arrive at the most complete account of history.

**As You Study** Use literature to help you understand political and social movements in history. Determine whether the literature recounts history, makes an activist appeal, or has some other purpose.

# From WAR to PEACE

## THE BIG PICTURE

The end of the war brought peace to Americans, but not peace of mind. Dangers seen and unseen troubled the nation—until a new president in the White House and a booming economy seemed to smooth the transition from war to peace.



## California Standards

### History-Social Sciences

**11.5** Students analyze the major political, social, economic, technological, and cultural developments of the 1920s.

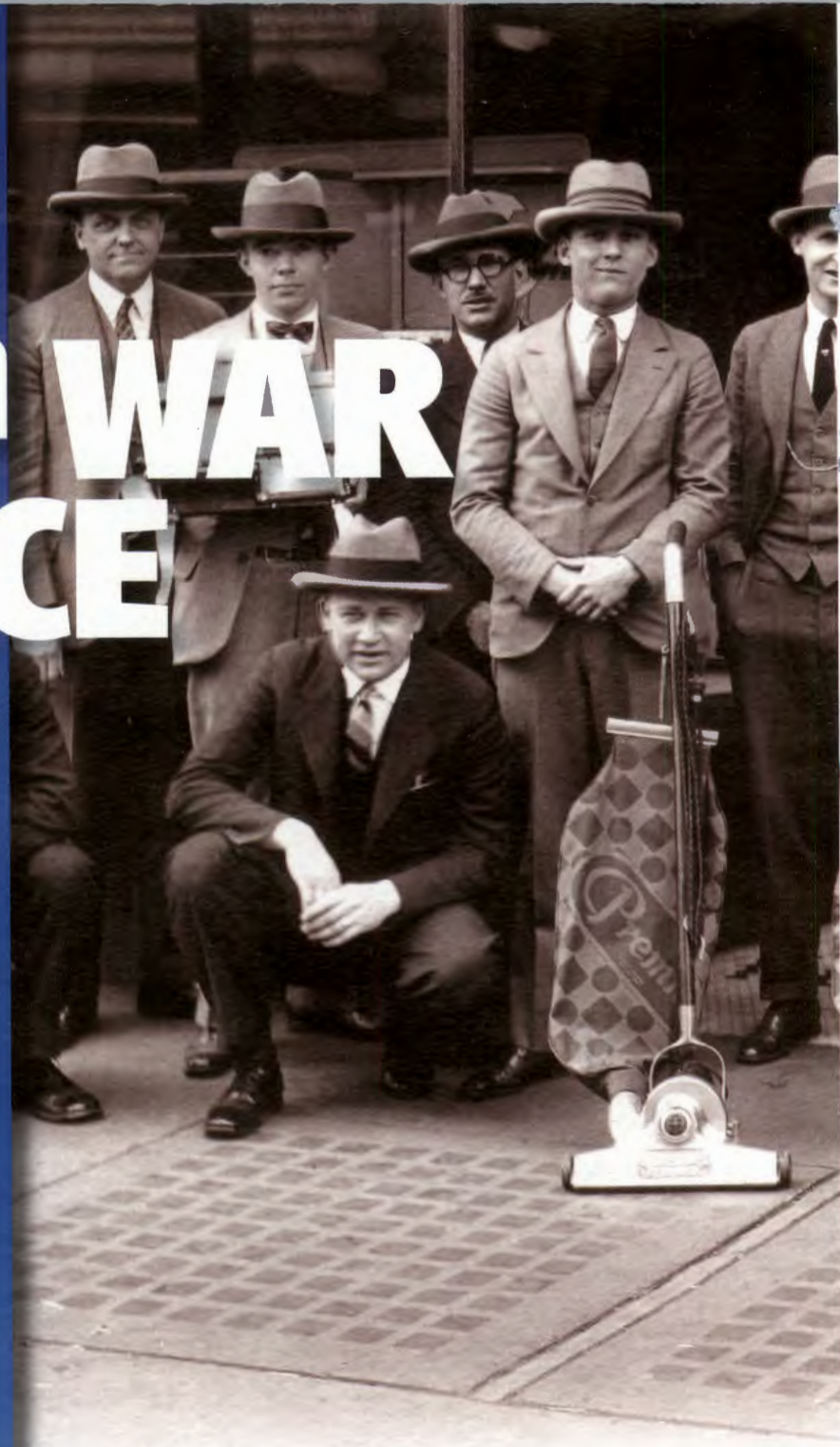


### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

This photo, taken in 1924 by the Electric Club of Louisville, Kentucky, shows a few of this appliance store's products. These people are members of the club or employees of the store.

**Analyzing Primary Sources** What does the fact that Louisville had an Electric Club tell you about how American consumers felt about modern electrical appliances during the 1920s?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29



### U.S.



### 1919

Attorney General Palmer launches anti-radical raids.

### 1918



### WORLD

### 1918–1919

Influenza epidemic kills millions of people worldwide.



## History's Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of women's suffrage.



**1920**

Promising normalcy, Warren G. Harding wins the presidency.



**1924**

The U.S. government imposes strict limits on immigration.

**1928**

Coolidge opts not to seek re-election.

The United States signs the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

**1920**

Bolsheviks win a civil war and take control of Russia.

**1922**

Benito Mussolini establishes a Fascist regime in Italy.

**1924**



**1926**

The German stock market collapses.

**1927**

**1928**

Scottish doctor Alexander Fleming discovers penicillin.



# Postwar Havoc

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

Although the end of World War I brought peace, it did not ease the minds of many Americans, who found much to fear in the postwar years.

### READING FOCUS

1. What were the causes and effects of the first Red Scare?
2. How did labor strife grow during the postwar years?
3. How did the United States limit immigration after World War I?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Bolshevik	deportation
communism	anarchist
Red Scare	
A. Mitchell Palmer	
Palmer raids	
alien	



**HSS 11.5.2** Analyze the international and domestic events, interests, and philosophies that prompted attacks on civil liberties, including the Palmer Raids, the Ku Klux Klan, and immigration quotas and the responses of organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Anti-Defamation League to those attacks.

## A DEADLY Epidemic

▼ In March 1918, soldiers in Camp Funston, Kansas, became the first U.S. influenza victims.



in 1918 and 1919 that would kill some 10 times as many Americans as died in battle in World War I.

Even in the early 1900s, the flu was not generally a serious disease. It caused unpleasant symptoms, and it could be dangerous to the very old and very young. Healthy adults might feel ill for a few days, but they usually recovered quickly. In 1918, however, a powerful new strain of influenza struck with deadly force, eventually infecting more than 1 in 4 Americans. It took an especially heavy toll on men and women in their twenties and thirties. Some victims died within a day or two of getting sick.

The nation's hospitals, already strained with large numbers of wounded soldiers, suddenly had thousands of new patients at their doorsteps. Cities and towns suffered shortages of doctors, nurses, and beds for the sick.

As the winter of 1919 passed, the number of new flu cases began to drop. The crisis had passed, but more than half a million Americans had perished.

As society began to return to normal in the postwar world, many people remained fearful and uneasy. The world was at peace, but Americans were not. As you will read, this feeling would continue for some time. ■

## The First Red Scare

The end of World War I in 1918 brought great rejoicing in America, but it was just the beginning of new problems at home. Besides a terrifying medical crisis, the nation faced economic and political turmoil that cast a dark shadow over the postwar recovery.

Farms and factories that had buzzed with activity during the war now lay silent, as demand for their products suddenly fell. In the slowing economy, returning soldiers had difficulty finding jobs. People began to

### THE INSIDE STORY

*How did peace in Europe bring death to the United States?* Influenza found breeding grounds in the military camps and the trenches, where soldiers lived in close quarters. It invaded the United States, traveling on troop ships among the healthy and the wounded. In the streets, as hopeful Americans gathered to celebrate the end of World War I, the infection spread quickly. Soon, many were sick and dying—victims of a worldwide influenza epidemic

## Terrorism in the United States

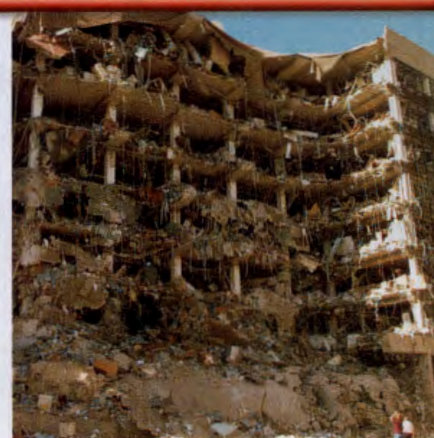
Around noon on September 16, 1920, a horse-drawn cart stopped in front of the offices of financier J.P. Morgan, on Wall Street in New York City. Suddenly, the cart—which had been packed with dynamite—exploded. More than 30 people were instantly killed, and some 300 were injured. Of the cart and horse, only hooves remained.

Detectives took the horseshoes to thousands of stables, but they found no more evidence. Some officials suspected labor organizers and political radicals. Although many people were questioned and even arrested, no one was ever brought to trial.

At about 9 a.m. on April 19, 1995, a homemade bomb exploded inside a truck parked in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. Nearly 170 people were killed, including children, and more than 500 were injured.

Investigators learned that the Oklahoma City bombing was carried out by two men who opposed earlier government actions against an armed group in Texas. Both were tried and convicted. One received the death penalty, and the other was sentenced to life in prison.

**Contrasting** How did the outcomes of the two investigations differ?



The 1995 Oklahoma City bombing collapsed the front of the federal building. At the time the bombing was the worst terrorist attack that had occurred on American soil.

realize that in many ways, they had traded a painful war for a troubling peace.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“I felt that when peace came we’d all be so joyful that nothing would weigh upon us again. I find, however, the problems of reconstruction loom so large that we are as much occupied with them as we have been with the problems of war.”

—Illinois governor Frank Lowden, quoted in *The Harding Era* by Robert K. Murray

The emotional turmoil of the times had disturbing political effects. While World War I had stirred deep feelings of patriotism, it had also ignited hatred toward Germans. These sentiments gave rise to a movement known as 100 Percent Americanism. It celebrated all things American while it attacked ideas—and people—it viewed as foreign or anti-American.

**The rise of the Bolsheviks** Americans worried about a new foreign enemy. In 1917 a violent revolution had ripped across Russia. The Red Army of the **Bolsheviks**, which was led by Vladimir I. Lenin, eventually gained control. Five years later Russia would become part of a new nation called the Soviet Union.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks dreamed of establishing a new social system for their

people—and for the world. This system, called **communism**, would have no economic classes and no private property. Lenin believed all people should share equally in society’s wealth.

**American reaction** Many Americans were baffled and frightened by communism. The Soviets called for the overthrow of capitalism. But most Americans embraced the ideals of capitalism, including the freedom to own property. They valued the opportunity to better themselves by hard work or ingenuity.

Lenin predicted that communism would inspire workers throughout the world to rise up and crush capitalism. To some Americans, the threat seemed more ominous than the traditional conflicts of the past.

Throughout World War I, the American public had focused its fear and hatred on “the Hun.” Now, public anxiety became fixed on a new target: Communists and others who held radical ideas. They were known as Reds.

Communist parties formed in the United States after the war. Some of their members promoted the violent overthrow of the government. In fact, radicals may have played a role in a 1919 plot in which bombs were mailed to government officials. The plot failed, however. Most historians agree that an internal

## Political Cartoon

Hundreds of political cartoons, including this one titled "Put Them Out and Keep Them Out," fueled Red Scare fears. This cartoon originally appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in October 1919, when the U.S. government was trying to deport many suspected Communist sympathizers.

Political cartoonists often portrayed Communist sympathizers as bearded, sinister-looking characters carrying torches and sometimes weapons.



THE CRANER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

The torch of anarchy represents the destructive nature of communism. The knife represents the dangers of Bolshevism.

### Skills Focus

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Drawing Conclusions** What do you think the title "Put Them Out and Keep Them Out" means?
- 2. Interpreting Political Cartoons** Why do you think the artist showed the character peeking out from under the American flag?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H12, H31

Communist threat to the nation was probably never great. Yet at the time, the threat seemed very real.

A **Red Scare**, or widespread fear of communism, gripped the nation. One official noted, "I believe it has been 'scared up' considerably by the newspapers, which relate every arrest and incident . . . by printing large scary headlines."

The government took the threat seriously. New York state legislators voted to bar five legally elected socialists from office. New York also passed a law making it a crime to call for the overthrow of the government. The Supreme Court found the law unconstitutional in the 1925 case of *Gitlow v. New York*.

**The Palmer raids** A. Mitchell Palmer, a former Progressive, had been one of the targets of the 1919 bombing plot. Later that year, as attorney general of the United States, Palmer became a key leader of the federal government's anti-Communist campaign. He led an attack on suspected radicals known as the **Palmer raids**.

To justify the raids, Palmer used wartime laws that gave the government broad powers against suspected radicals. For **aliens**—citizens of other countries living in the United States—just belonging to certain groups considered radical could lead to deportation. **Deportation** means removing an alien from one country and sending him or her to another country.

In late 1919 Palmer's forces arrested thousands of members of suspected radical groups. In December 1919, a naval vessel named the *Buford* set sail carrying nearly 250 aliens who were being deported. Many Americans cheered Palmer's actions. Said Leonard Wood, a Republican leader, "I believe we should place them all in ships of stone, with sails of lead."

In time, the Red Scare died down. It became clear that predictions about the radical threat to the country were not coming true. At the same time, Communist movements in Germany and Hungary were failing. These failures dampened fears of worldwide revolution. The nation's anxiety was reduced, but it was not eliminated.

### READING CHECK

**Sequencing** Who replaced "the Hun" as the object of American fear and hatred?

### THE IMPACT TODAY

#### Government

Between 1917 and 1920, many Americans were willing to give up some civil liberties in order to achieve security. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), founded in 1920, works to defend the constitutional rights of citizens. The ACLU has fought to protect civil liberties, even in times of national emergencies.



## Labor Strife Grows

The year 1919 was one of the most explosive times in the history of the American labor movement. Some 4 million workers took part in more than 3,000 strikes nationwide. In nearly every case, labor lost. Wartime successes and peacetime disappointments set the stage for this catastrophic year for workers.

**Postwar difficulties** Workers' raised expectations helped create the crisis. During the war, President Wilson had sought good relations with workers who were keeping the troops clothed and equipped. Organized labor won many gains, including shorter hours and higher wages. When the war ended, labor leaders hoped to build on what they had achieved. They were disappointed.

A number of factors combined to frustrate labor's high hopes. Wilson, now focused on promoting his peace plan, paid less attention to events at home and did little to promote workers' causes. Meanwhile, the sinking postwar demand for factory goods hurt many industries. Returning soldiers expected to take their place on the factory floor, but the jobs just weren't there. Unhappy workers, especially strikers, were replaced.

The Red Scare further weakened labor by damaging its reputation. Communism's call to

workers to rise up and overthrow their government made many people suspicious of organized labor. Opponents linked labor with the radical ideas that so many people feared.

**Labor's losses** The showdown between labor and management in 1919 devastated organized labor. Unions lost members and national political power. It would take another decade—and another national crisis—to restore organized labor's reputation, status, and bargaining power in the United States.

**Major strikes of the era** Among the thousands of union strikes that rocked the country in 1919, a few hold a place in labor history. In Seattle, Washington, labor unrest at the shipyards spread citywide, igniting what became the nation's first major general strike—one in which workers in all industries take part.

The conflict virtually shut down the city. Yet the Seattle general strike of 1919 failed to achieve any gains for workers. In fact, it did great harm. For years afterward, industry, and its jobs, stayed away from Seattle.

On the opposite coast, the city of Boston descended into chaos when its police force went on strike in September 1919 to protest low wages and poor working conditions. Eventually, Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge called in the state's militia to end the strike.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**status** one's standing in society relative to that of others



### Major Strikes, 1919

- **Seattle general strike**—February 6–11
- **Boston police strike**—September 9–13
- **Nationwide steel-workers strike**—September 22, 1919–January 1920

It was another loss for labor, but a great political boost for the Republican governor. In a telegram to the famous labor leader Samuel Gompers, Coolidge wrote, “There can be no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime.”

The words echoed across a nervous country and made Coolidge a hero. His sudden fame as a champion of law and order elevated his career to the national stage and eventually landed him in the White House.

Other notable strikes hit the steel industry and the coalfields of the eastern United States. The United Mine Workers had kept a “no strikes” pledge during the war. Under the tough new leadership of John L. Lewis, the striking union won a large wage increase.

The workers failed, however, to win other key demands, such as a reduction of their workweek to five days. Lewis recognized the limitations of the union’s power at that time.

“We cannot fight the government,” the labor leader declared. His miners, like union members throughout the country, would have to wait to press their demands for shorter hours and safer workplaces.

**READING CHECK** Summarizing How successful were the postwar labor strikes?

## Limiting Immigration

Competition for scarce jobs, combined with the Red Scare, triggered an ugly backlash against foreigners in the postwar period. The rise of nativism, or distrust of foreigners, produced a culture clash between the nation’s earlier immigrants and its newer ones.

Many nativists were Protestant Christians who had their roots in northern and western Europe, the source of most immigration before 1900. The nativists targeted newer arrivals from southern and eastern Europe, many of whom were Catholics and Jews. Immigrants from these areas of Europe, nativists argued, were less willing to become “Americanized,” and should not be welcomed.

Labor leaders, along with the nativists, pushed for immigration restrictions on these groups. New arrivals, often poor and alone, were willing to work for low wages. Unions saw them as a threat.

**Immigration control** The federal government responded to nativist concern by passing laws to limit immigration. A 1921 law established a quota—an established number—of immigrants to be allowed into the United States from various nations.

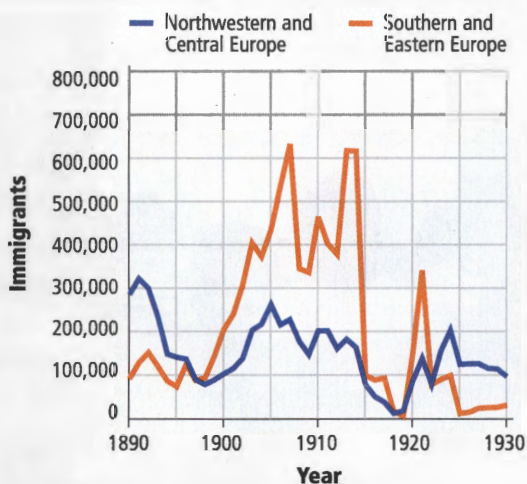
The National Origins Act of 1924 went even further. It set quotas for each country at 2 percent of the number of people from that country living in the United States in 1890. The goal was clearly to reduce immigration to the United States from certain countries—mainly southern and eastern European countries. The act also nearly eliminated all immigration from Asian countries.

Nativism also produced a revival in the 1920s of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan had started as a terror group that targeted African Americans in the South. It reemerged in the postwar years with a broader mission. The hate group now targeted Jews, Catholics, and radicals of all types.

A Klan slogan of the 1920s characterized the group’s vision of the nation: “Native white, Protestant supremacy.” The new Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s also moved out of the South into other parts of the United States.

**Sacco and Vanzetti** In the 1920s a court case in Massachusetts dramatically illustrated

### EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION, 1890–1930



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

**Skills Focus**

#### INTERPRETING GRAPHS

How did the immigration quotas of the 1920s change the pattern of European immigration?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H14

the nation's struggle with nativist and anti-radical feelings. In May 1920, two men, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested for armed robbery and murder. The two men were Italian immigrants. More importantly, they proclaimed that they were **anarchists**—radicals who sought the destruction of government.

At the trial, it became clear that the evidence against the two men was weak. It also was apparent that Sacco and Vanzetti were on trial for their political beliefs as well as for bank robbery and murder.

Amid great publicity and protests in Europe and South America as well as in the United States, the two men were convicted and sentenced to die. They were executed in 1927.

Historians still argue over the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. Many agree, however, that the men's political ideas played a prominent role in the trial.

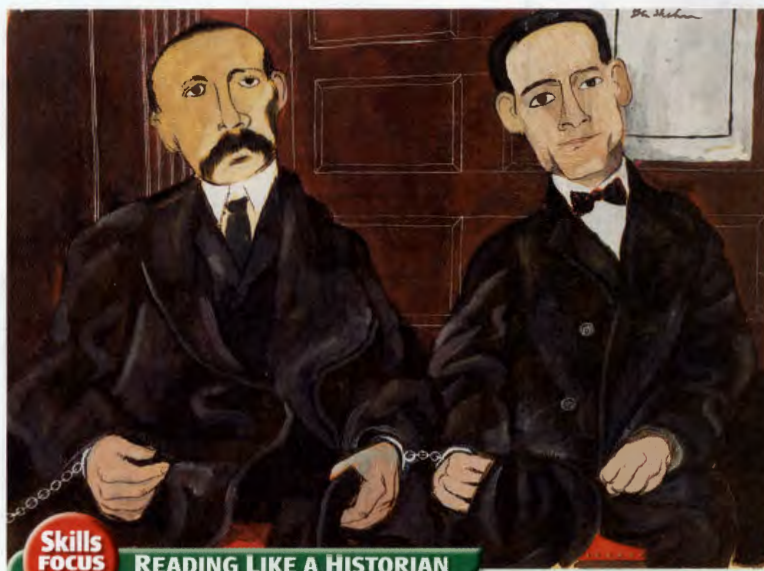
Bartolomeo Vanzetti expressed these same ideas before his trial.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

“My conviction is that I have suffered for things I am guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical, and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am Italian.”

—Bartolomeo Vanzetti in court, 1927

The executions of Sacco and Vanzetti were highly controversial at the time. By then, how-



Skills  
FOCUS

#### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The artist Ben Shahn based this painting of Sacco and Vanzetti, like many subjects of his paintings, on a newspaper photograph.

**Making Inferences** Why do you think Shahn chose to use newspaper images?

ever, the nation had largely recovered from the Red Scare and the turmoil of the postwar years. The 1920s would be very different from the previous decade.

#### READING CHECK

#### Identifying Cause and Effect

How did Congress respond to the growing concern about immigration?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP9

HSS 11.5.2

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Define** What was the Red Scare?
  - Compare** How did American attitudes toward “the Hun” relate to attitudes toward Reds?
  - Evaluate** Why do you think Americans were able to quickly transfer their feelings about Germans to Communists and radicals?
- Describe** Why did labor strife increase after the war?
  - Contrast** How did labor fare after the war compared to during the war?
- Define** Write a brief definition for each of the following terms: alien, anarchist
  - Explain** What change in immigration in recent decades appeared to concern many Americans in the postwar years?
  - Elaborate** How do you think nativism might have related to the Red Scare?

### Critical Thinking

- Comparing and Contrasting** Copy the chart below and compare and contrast the public attitudes about radicals, organized labor, and immigrants in the post-World War I era.



#### FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1, 1.3

- Persuasive** Write a letter to a member of Congress in which you argue for or against the idea that simply holding a “radical” idea should be against the law.

# A New Economic Era

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

New products, new industries, and new ways of doing business expanded the economy in the 1920s, although not everyone shared in the prosperity.

### READING FOCUS

1. What role did the Ford Motor Company and Henry Ford play in revolutionizing American industry?
2. How did both the auto industry and the nation change during the 1920s?
3. What were some qualities of the new consumer of the 1920s?
4. What were some weak parts of the economy in the 1920s?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Henry Ford  
assembly line  
productivity  
welfare capitalism  
suburb  
installment buying  
credit



**HSS 11.5.7** Discuss the rise of mass production techniques, the growth of cities, the impact of new technologies (e.g., the automobile, electricity), and the resulting prosperity and effect on the American landscape.

### THE INSIDE STORY

#### *How did a department store create an American tradition?*

In 1924 Americans were on a shopping spree. The U.S. economy was on the rise, spurred by the American consumer, who was busy spending money on a wide range of exciting new products.

In the middle of this national buying frenzy was Macy's department store in New York City. By 1924 Macy's aisles and displays filled some 1 million square feet of New York real estate. It was said to be the largest store in the world.

In 1924 some Macy's employees came up with the idea to hold a Christmas parade. Many of the employees were recent immigrants from Europe, and they wanted to share their holiday traditions as a gift to the people of their new

country. It wasn't a bad idea for the store, either. The parade would provide an opportunity for Macy's to unveil its enormous Christmas window displays along 34th Street.

The parade kicked off on Thanksgiving Day, 1924, featuring about a thousand employees of the store. Brass bands, clowns, and zoo animals enlivened the scene. Along the route, a quarter million potential shoppers took in the sights and sounds.

The first Macy's parade was a great success. In 1925, on Thanksgiving Day, marchers once again delighted the crowds and welcomed the holiday season. Soon the parade—and the department store itself—was a tradition shared not just by the people of New York but also by visitors from around the world.

Meanwhile, the American consumers who had helped make Macy's a success in New York continued their post-war shopping spree. Indeed, as you will read, for Macy's and other American businesses, the 1920s provided much to be thankful for and to celebrate. ■

▼ **Macy's first big Christmas parade was held on November 27, 1924.**



## Let the PARADE Begin

## Ford Revolutionizes Industry

The black automobiles that chugged and sputtered their way down the streets of New York and other cities represented the latest in American technology. During the 1920s, the Ford Model T automobile, like the Macy's parade, would become a fixture of American life.

The first cars appeared in America in the late 1800s, but they remained a toy for the rich through the early 1900s. That changed when a young entrepreneur, **Henry Ford**, began selling his Model T in 1908. It wasn't much to look at. However, it changed American society forever. Ford spelled out his revolutionary vision:

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“I will build a motor car for the great multitude. It will be large enough for the family but small enough for the individual to run and care for. It will be constructed of the best materials, by the best men to be hired, after the simplest designs that modern engineering can devise. It will be so low in price that no man making a good salary will be unable to own one.”

—Henry Ford, announcing plans for his Model T

**The assembly line** Imagine how expensive cars would be today if every one were custom-made! Ford began by making his cars identical and simple. That brought the cost down, but not enough. So he studied manufacturing processes, from interchangeable parts to the moving belts in meatpacking plants that brought the work to the workers. Then he hired scientific management expert Frederick Winslow Taylor to determine how workers should move, and at what speed, to be most productive.

These ideas combined to produce the first large-scale moving **assembly line**, a production system in which the item being built moves along a conveyor belt to various workstations. On Ford's assembly line, each worker had one of 84 specific jobs, often requiring simple skills.

Ford explained, “The man who puts on a bolt does not put on a nut. The man who puts on the nut does not tighten it.” In its first year, the Ford assembly line produced a car every hour and a half.

The car sold for under \$500, about half the cost of the first Model Ts. The price was not cheap in its day, but many people could afford it. By the 1920s Ford was rolling out a car every

minute, and the price had dropped even lower. By 1929 about 22 million cars bumped along the nation's mostly unpaved roads. People loved the Model T. They wrote songs about it. They formed automobile driving clubs.

Ford realized that his workers also were potential car buyers. He raised his workers' pay to \$5 a day, far above average factory wages. This enabled his workers to buy cars.

Workers did pay a price, however. Ford bitterly opposed unions and dealt ruthlessly with anyone who tried to organize workers. Organizers pointed out the boring, repetitive tasks in Ford's clockworklike assembly lines. One labor leader remarked, “Ford workers are not really alive, they are half dead.”

**The effect on industry** During the first quarter of the century, the Ford Motor Company dominated automaking. In the 1920s, more than half the cars in the United States were Fords. Competitors such as General Motors and Chrysler tried to improve on Ford's formula. In an effort to keep costs low, Ford refused to change the Model T's design until 1927, after some 15 million had rolled off the assembly line. New competitors General Motors and Chrysler arose to challenge that formula, bringing out new designs and colors each year. Competition helped the entire industry grow.

Other industries also learned from Ford. Manufacturers of all kinds of consumer goods

### THE IMPACT TODAY

#### Science and Technology

Automakers still use assembly lines to make cars. Industrial robots, instead of people, perform much of the repetitive work. Each machine performs a specific task, much as in Ford's assembly line.

### FACES OF HISTORY

**Henry  
FORD**

1863–1947



Since he was a young boy, Henry Ford loved to tinker with machines. As a young man, Ford worked as a machinist at the Edison Company

plant in Detroit. In 1896 Ford built his first automobile. A few years later, Ford quit his machinist job to start an automobile company. Ford wanted to make cars more affordable. By developing the assembly line and using standardized parts, Ford drastically lowered the cost of manufacturing cars. In turn, he sold his cars at a price the average American could afford. Ford's strategy worked. In 1908 Ford designed the Model T. By 1927, Ford sold more than 15 million Model Ts, transforming American life.

**Explain** How did Ford build more affordable cars?

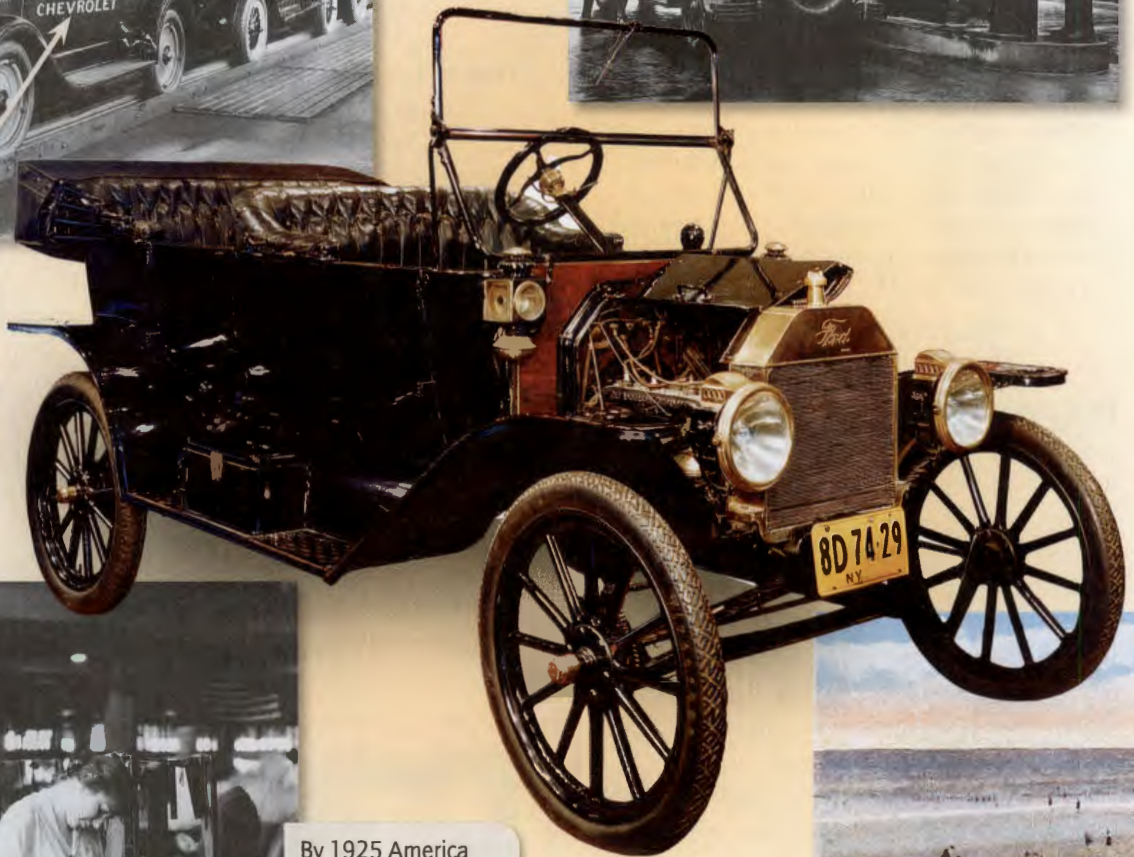
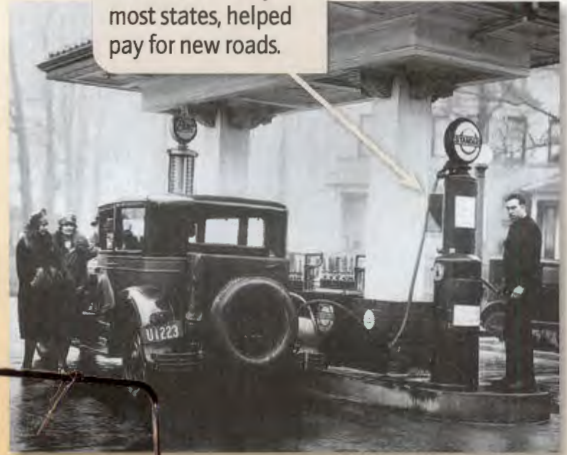
# Autos Drive the Modern Age

The automobile fostered many changes in American industry, business, and culture.

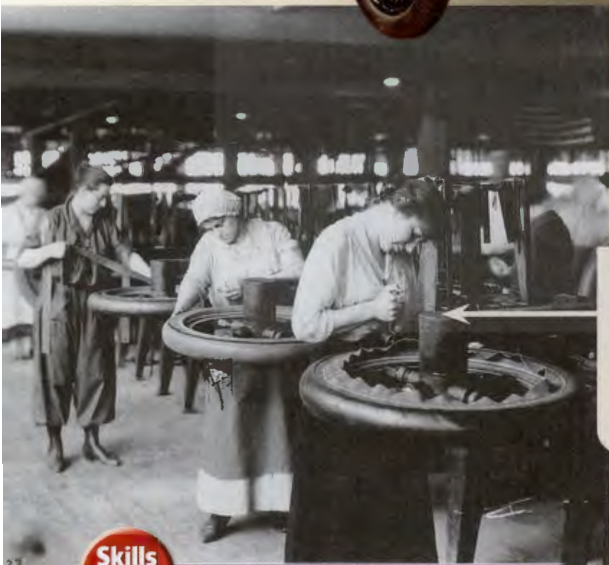


The Model T had its competitors—as many as 107 at one time. By the end of the 1920s, however, three competitors dominated the market: General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford.

Service stations gassed up American cars, and the gasoline tax, levied by most states, helped pay for new roads.



By 1925 America was producing about five times the number of car and truck tires that it was making a decade earlier.



**Skills FOCUS**

**INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS**

Mass production of the automobile affected Americans' lives in many ways. **How many can you identify by examining these pictures?**

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30

Like many Americans in the 1920s, these beachgoers in Jacksonville, Florida, took to their cars in pursuit of leisure. America's romance with the open road had its tragic side, too. The rate of traffic fatalities more than doubled during the decade.



began using assembly-line techniques to make goods in large quantities and at lower costs. In the 1920s productivity rose by 60 percent. **Productivity** is a measure of output per unit of input such as labor. American workers were producing more in less time.

The success of business in the 1920s led to a growth of what is called **welfare capitalism**, a system in which companies provide benefits to employees in an effort to promote worker satisfaction and loyalty. For example, many companies offered company-paid pensions—payments made to workers when they retire. Others set up recreation programs for workers. In return, business owners hoped that welfare capitalism would encourage workers to shun unions and accept lower pay. Many did.

**READING CHECK** **Drawing Conclusions**  
What innovation by Henry Ford helped transform American industry?

## Industry Changes Society

Every time motorists turned the crank handle to start their cars, other industries benefited. Demand for steel, glass, rubber, and other automobile materials soared. Automobile repair shops and filling stations sprang up in cities and towns. Motels and restaurants arose to meet the needs of car travelers.



The simple engines ran on gasoline, a by-product of petroleum. A few of the landowners who found petroleum on their property became rich practically overnight.

Automaking put the city of Detroit, Michigan, on the map. Henry Ford based his manufacturing operations there, and other carmakers followed. In 1910 fewer than 500,000 people lived in Detroit. Within 20 years the population had tripled.

The growth in manufacturing caused a boom in other Midwest cities. Akron, Ohio, the center of the rubber and tire industry, grew from fewer than 70,000 people in 1910 to nearly 210,000 in 1920. For the decade, it was the fastest-growing city in the United States.

As cities grew, so did their **suburbs**, the smaller towns located outside urban areas. Many suburbs had been established since the late 1800s, thanks in part to the construction of trolley lines that carried workers back and forth between home and workplace. Car travel, however, allowed people to live at even greater distances from their jobs. Trolley enterprises, however, suffered during the 1920s, even as suburbs expanded.

Freedom to travel also produced a new tourist industry. Before the auto boom, Florida had a few resorts that attracted mainly wealthy visitors. Automobiles brought tourists by the thousands to discover warm, sunny Florida. Buyers snatched up land, causing prices to rise sharply. Some Florida swamps were drained to put up new housing.

**READING CHECK** **Identifying Cause and Effect** How did the growth of the auto industry affect related industries?

## The New Consumer

During the 1920s Americans witnessed an explosion of new products, new experiences, and new forms of mass communication on a scale never seen before. People were getting into the buying habit and liking it. Companies were happy to supply more new products for them to buy.

**New products** Using cost-efficient, new manufacturing processes, factories turned out a variety of new electrical appliances, such as refrigerators and vacuum cleaners. The

electrification of new areas of the country enabled more people to use the latest home conveniences.

Perhaps the favorite new electronic home technology was the radio. By the end of the 1920s, 4 homes in 10 had a radio. Like the televisions and computers that followed it, the radio opened new worlds to American families. Now, families gathered in the evenings to hear news from around the world as well as dramas and comedy shows.

Radio connected the world as never before. So did a new form of public transportation: the airplane. Aviation had made great advances during World War I. The first passenger airlines appeared over American skies in the 1920s.

The early flights offered little comfort—some passengers wore goggles and helmets. Planes were uninsulated and unpressurized; they couldn't fly over mountains or at night. In fact, for cross-country travel, trains were more comfortable as well as cheaper. For some Americans, though, the thrill of air travel outweighed the early discomforts.

**Creating demand** Buy! Buy! Buy! On the sidelines of the great American spending spree, advertisers became the cheerleaders. During the 1920s, persuasive advertising gained a major role in the economy. Advertisers paid for

space in publications. Companies sponsored popular radio shows, such as the Palmolive Hour and the Maxwell House Concert. Advertising money made these publications and shows available to the public, and advertising gave wide exposure to consumer products.

**New ways to pay** In the early 1900s, most Americans paid for items in full when they bought them. They might borrow money to buy a house, a piano, or a sewing machine. But as one economist noted, "People who made such purchases didn't talk about them." Borrowing money was not considered respectable.

Setting the stage for today's credit-card society, the generation of the 1920s turned to **installment buying**—paying for an item over time in small payments. They bought on **credit**, which is, in effect, borrowing money.

Consumers took quickly to installment buying to purchase the new products on the market. By the end of the decade, 90 percent of durable goods, or long lasting goods such as cars and appliances, were bought on credit. Advertisements encouraged the use of credit, telling consumers they could "get what they want now" and assuring them that with small payments they would "barely miss the money."

**READING CHECK Summarizing** How did life change for consumers in the 1920s?

## Consumer Culture



**"Everyone owns a car but us"**

You, too, can own an automobile without missing the money, and now, is the time to buy it—through the easiest and simplest method ever devised:

### Ford Weekly Purchase Plan

Thousands of families, who thought a car was out of the question because of limited incomes, found that they could easily, quickly and surely buy a car of their own under this remarkable plan

You can own an automobile, and you should. It will mean so much to you. It will add much to the happiness of your family that is worth while. It will bring the most glorious pleasures into your life. It will increase your chances for success. It will give you and your family a social and business prestige that will be invaluable—and which you, and every family, should enjoy. A car is a symbol of success—a mark of achievement, and it brings only good to you that you would never secure otherwise. You should have a car of your own, and you can.

The Ford Plan makes it possible for anyone to own an automobile. It is so easy, simple and practical that many who could easily pay "spot cash" take advantage of it—and buy their car from weekly earnings. The plan is simply wonderful! Before you realize it, you are driving your own automobile. If you have felt that you did not make enough to buy a car, you must read *The Ford Plan Book*. Send for it. See how easy it is to get a car of your own, now, and pay for it without missing the money. It seems almost too good to be true, doesn't it? But it is true. Get the book—at once. Simply mail the coupon. Mail it today!

Give your family the advantage which others have. Get a car of your own. The Ford Plan Book tells you "how" you can buy a car and pay for it without missing the money. Get it! Read it!

Mail Coupon Now. This Book Will Be Sent to You Free!



**COUPON**  
FORD MOTOR COMPANY  
Dept. B-3 Detroit, Michigan  
Please send me your book, "The Ford Plan" which tells me how to buy a car and pay for it without missing the money. Get it! Read it!

### Hamilton Beach Vacuum Sweeper

**"Phone Now and Try It"**

Your dusting dollar buys far more in this cleanest that gives most for the money. With its motor-driven brush, it is a thorough vacuum sweeper that the neighbor will envy.

The brush is softening and positive in shaking loose all clinging dirt and lint, and ground-in particles. The motion is more than ample to complete the cleaning.

The sweeper is finely finished throughout—well-balanced and compact; yet nothing has been sacrificed to lightness. It has strength in generous measure, and looks and a slim motor that works without whining.

It is made by Hamilton Beach, Beach, Wiscasset, is the most reliable value in a sweeper that really saves and sweeps and cleans! Modern dusting has been revolutionized. It combines every known cleaning advantage with a motor that is guaranteed. You would expect no less of the world's largest maker of household motors.

Phone Your Dealer for a Free Trial!

The advertising industry expanded after World War I. With the help of psychologists, advertising produced glamorous ads that tempted Americans with exciting new products. New payment methods convinced people they could afford to buy them. **What image of Americans is the advertisers portraying?**



## Weaknesses in the Economy

The era that brought the boom in cars, consumer goods, radio, and advertising earned the nickname the Roaring Twenties. The name captured a certain excitement of the times. Today, however, historians tend to avoid that nickname because it gives the false impression that all Americans were prosperous and free-wheeling. In fact, many Americans suffered deeply in the postwar period.

American farmers had experienced good times during World War I. Demand for their products was high, and competition from European farmers was low. After the war, however, demand slowed. European farmers returned to their fields. A glut of farm products hit the market. As a result, U.S. farm prices plunged, and American farmers entered a decade of extreme hardship. Farm failures increased. The income of farmers and even the value of farmland declined.

The federal government tried to help. A 1921 tariff made foreign farm products more expensive, which helped raise prices for U.S. products. Yet these measures failed to fully relieve the problems.

In some places, nature added to farmers' woes. An infestation of an insect called the boll weevil destroyed cotton crops throughout the

South. As a popular song of the era observed, this plague hit struggling sharecroppers especially hard.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“Well, the merchant got half the cotton.  
The boll weevils got the rest.  
Didn't leave the poor farmer's wife  
but one old cotton dress.  
And it's full of holes, all full of holes.”

—Carl Sandburg, *the Boll Weevil Song*

Disaster also struck the South in 1927, when the great Mississippi River flooded. Up to a thousand people died, and countless more were left homeless.

In Florida the wild land boom came to a sudden and disastrous end. Demand for land peaked, then collapsed. Then came “The Big Blow”—the strongest hurricane recorded up to that time. The hurricane had winds of 150 miles per hour, and it killed 243 people. Few people heard the warning on South Florida's only radio station. The hurricane was one of the most destructive ever. As a result, Florida sunk into an economic depression even as other parts of the nation enjoyed prosperity.

### READING CHECK Making Generalizations

What was one group that missed out on the booming economy of the 1920s?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP9

HSS 11.5.7

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Define** What was the assembly line?
  - Explain** How did the assembly line affect Ford's ability to make automobiles?
  - Predict** What potential problems might result from industry's rapid increase in productivity?
- Describe** What was the effect of the boom in the auto industry on other industries?
  - Interpret** Why could industrial changes be said to change the map of the United States?
  - Predict** How do you think the rise of the automobile will affect rural areas?
- Define** Write a brief definition for each of the following terms: **installment buying**, **credit**
  - Contrast** What change occurred in consumer attitudes in the 1920s compared to earlier times?
  - Elaborate** How did the changes in consumer behavior make possible the growth of the American economy in the 1920s?

- Identify** What part of the American economy did not enjoy prosperity in the 1920s?
  - Summarize** What factors explain the economic plight of farmers?

### Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the chart below and then place events in the chapter in the diagram in the order in which they occurred.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1, 1.3

- Persuasive** Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper arguing for or against the use of credit for the purchase of desired goods, such as cars and appliances.

# The Harding and Coolidge Presidencies

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

The nation's desire for normalcy and its support for American business was reflected in two successive presidents it chose—Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge.

### READING FOCUS

1. What political events and ideas marked the Warren G. Harding presidency?
2. What political events and ideas marked the Calvin Coolidge presidency?
3. What were the lingering effects of World War I on politics in the 1920s?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Warren G. Harding  
Teapot Dome  
Calvin Coolidge  
reparation  
arms race  
Charles Evans Hughes  
Billy Mitchell  
Kellogg-Briand Pact



**HSS 11.5.1** Discuss the policies of Presidents Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover.

## A New Time and a New PRESIDENT

### THE INSIDE STORY

*How did one word help Warren G. Harding become president?*

The Ohio senator was not known for being an intellectual giant. But behind his appearance of lazy good humor, Warren G. Harding had political smarts. In 1920 he sensed something about the country. He sensed the longing that people have, in times of fear and chaos, for the things that seem familiar and safe. With typical Harding flair, he used a word coined shortly before the Civil War, *normalcy*, rather than the more accepted word *normality*.

Harding was running in the 1920 presidential race when he made a speech in May, in Boston. To recover from World War I, he said, the nation needed healing, restoration, and . . . “normalcy.” What did he mean by normalcy? What did it mean to Americans?

People were weary of the great sacrifices they had made during World War I. Soldiers had witnessed unspeakable horrors in the trenches and on the battlefields, and many citizens wondered what the country had gained from



▲ In a 1920 speech, Harding spoke about America's need for “normalcy.”

it all. After a year of violent labor conflicts and fears of Communist revolution, with factories and family farms in trouble, normalcy—whatever it meant—sounded good to many Americans.

Democrats made fun of what they called Harding's “pompous phrases.” But voters wanted a “return to normalcy” nonetheless. They swept Harding into office and inaugurated a decade of Republican rule. ■

## The Harding Presidency

In Marion, Ohio, where newspaper publisher **Warren G. Harding** grew up, people were proud of their small-town values. They did not expect or want the government to solve their problems. They believed in taking care of one another and working hard.

In his political career, however, Harding is not remembered for his work ethic. In fact, his notorious love of leisure produced quite a casual approach to governing. Elected as the U.S. senator from Ohio in 1914, Harding actually skipped more sessions than he attended. He missed historic Senate debates on Prohibition and on women's suffrage. As president, he regarded the job as largely ceremonial and told friends that the job was beyond his skills. On the other hand, his friendly, backslapping manner—and his tendency to avoid taking positions on issues—made him quite popular.

**The election of 1920** As Woodrow Wilson's term came to a chaotic end, Republicans knew they had an opportunity to win the White House. At first, Harding was not a leading candidate for his party's nomination. However, he

offered a **coherent** message, one highly appealing to the public. A high point for Harding was inventing the normalcy slogan in his campaign speech in Boston. Harding's candidacy also was aided by the lack of a dominant leader among the Republicans. Theodore Roosevelt, the heart and soul of the party in the early 1900s, had died the year before. Teddy Roosevelt had no clear successor.

Out of this uncertainty, the Republicans named Harding as their candidate. Democrats nominated James Cox, also of Ohio. In the campaign, voters overwhelmingly preferred Harding's vision of normalcy. Harding also helped himself by skillfully avoiding taking a firm stand for or against the League of Nations. The result was a landslide. Harding won more than 60 percent of the vote.

**Harding's policies** President Harding's answer to the nation's postwar economic troubles was his campaign slogan, "Less government in business and more business in government." To help achieve his pro-business goal, Harding sought to cut the federal budget and to reduce taxes on the wealthiest Americans. Harding and his advisers believed that

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**coherent** clear and logical

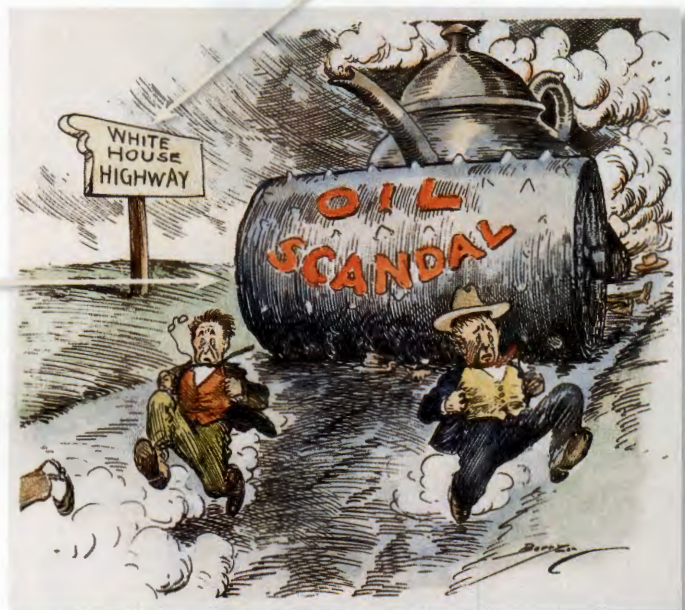
### PRIMARY SOURCES

## Political Cartoon

As the Teapot Dome scandal unfolded, many people began to take a closer look at the illegal activities of the Harding cabinet. This cartoon, titled "Juggernaut," was published in 1924 during the height of the scandal. A "juggernaut" is an indestructible force that crushes everything in its path.

The oil scandal at the heart of Teapot Dome is portrayed as a steamroller.

The steamroller is headed towards the White House.



### Skills FOCUS

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Identifying Points of View** What does the artist's choice of title and imagery say about the power of the scandal?
- 2. Making Inferences** What effect does the artist think the scandal might have on the Republican administration?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H7, H28-H29

THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

it was the wealthy who started and expanded businesses. By taxing them less, the thinking went, business would grow and pull the nation out of the hard times.

To farmers, Harding offered little. He did sign the high Fordney-McCumber Tariff soon after taking office. His **motive** was to help American farmers by raising the cost of foreign-grown farm products. As the costs for foreign products rose, so did the prices for American products. This helped U.S. farmers in the short term. Yet it also hurt Europeans by making it harder for them to pay back war debts.

The tariff was the only measure Harding would take to help American agriculture. “The farmer,” he said, “requires no special favors at the hands of government.”

**Scandal and sudden death** Whatever he lacked in governing skills, Harding attempted to compensate for by appointing highly skilled people to his cabinet. One of his most gifted and respected advisers was Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon, a multimillionaire business person and philanthropist. Mellon proceeded to reform the nation’s tax system during more than a decade in the office. Harding’s cabinet included two other highly respected men: Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover.

Unfortunately, not all of Harding’s choices were so wise. He named a number of old friends from Ohio to lower-level government posts. Some members of this so-called Ohio Gang were later convicted of taking bribes.

The worst Harding-era scandal involved Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall. Fall accepted bribes in return for allowing oil companies to drill federal oil reserves on a piece of federal land known as **Teapot Dome** in Wyoming. Fall was eventually convicted and sent to jail.

Harding was never found to be personally connected to Teapot Dome or the Ohio Gang incidents, and he did not live to see their effects. Distressed by the rumors of scandals, Harding and his wife took a trip to Alaska.

While giving a speech in Seattle at the end of his trip, Harding collapsed. His doctor first diagnosed indigestion. The *New York Times* reassured readers “Harding . . . Rallies From a Slight Indigestion.” He had, however, suffered a heart attack. Harding himself expressed concern. “I am worn out,” he told his sister at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, “can’t stand the heavy responsibilities and physical work too.” In bed that evening, he shuddered and died.

At the time of his death, Harding’s popularity was high. Over time, however, the corruption of his administration and Harding’s own failings soured his reputation.

### READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions

What was Harding’s goal with regard to business when he became president?

## The Coolidge Presidency

“I was awakened by my father coming up the stairs calling my name. I noticed his voice trembled,” **Calvin Coolidge** later recalled. To the vice president and the whole country, the news of Harding’s death was a shock.

Coolidge received the message after he had gone to bed on the evening of August 2. He walked across town to the nearest telephone to call Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, who urged Coolidge to take the oath of office. In the early hours of the morning, by the light of an oil lamp, John Coolidge, a notary public, administered the oath of office to his son, John Calvin Coolidge—now the thirtieth president of the United States.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**motive** reason to take action

### FACES OF HISTORY

## Calvin & Grace COOLIDGE

1872–1933 and 1879–1957



When Calvin Coolidge was only 12 years old, his mother died. Coolidge had to take over many duties on the family farm while going to school. He had another setback when he failed a college entrance exam. He studied hard and finally passed. Coolidge’s determination helped him rise in politics from city council member in Northampton, Massachusetts, to president of the United States.

Grace Coolidge’s warm, outgoing personality greatly benefited her husband’s political career. As first lady, Grace had a striking memory for names and faces. She enjoyed entertaining artists, actors, and writers at the White House. Grace’s colorful personality was a welcome contrast to Calvin’s quiet demeanor.

**Summarize** What challenges did Calvin Coolidge overcome?

## **Native Americans and Citizenship**

Citizenship and voting rights have expanded throughout U.S. history. By 1869 nearly everyone born in the United States, except Native Americans, was a citizen.

The 1887 Dawes Act granted citizenship to some Native Americans, and the Indian Naturalization Act, passed in 1890, allowed Indians to apply for citizenship. In 1901 Congress granted citizenship to Native Americans living on reservations in Oklahoma.

At this time, possibly one-third of Native Americans were not U.S. citizens. In spite of this, thousands of Indians served in the U.S. military during World War I or supported the war effort at home. Still it was not until 1924 when President Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act, that all Indians born in the United States were granted citizenship.

President Coolidge (left) poses with members of the Blackfoot nation.



**Sequencing** What steps did Congress take toward granting citizenship to all Native Americans?

**Coolidge's background** The Coolidges' rural Vermont home was modest. Calvin Coolidge's father ran a store and was active in the local Republican Party. These two interests, business and politics, would stick with Calvin Coolidge throughout his life.

After graduating from college in Amherst, Massachusetts, Coolidge took up law and politics, working his way up the ranks of the Republican Party. Elected governor of Massachusetts in 1918, he achieved national fame for his role in the Boston police strike, as you read in Section 1. The event ignited Coolidge's national career, earning him the vice presidential slot on the 1920 Republican ticket with Harding.

**Coolidge in office** Coolidge's reputation for honesty helped him deal with the erupting Harding administration scandals. He quickly got rid of officials suspected of corruption. His success overcoming the scandals was proven when he easily defeated Democrat John W. Davis in the 1924 election.

Coolidge's presidency was characterized by his unshakable faith in the power of business and industry. "Those who build a factory build a temple of worship," he said. "Those who work in the factory, worship there."

Business, he believed, would provide the energy and resources to fuel America's growth. Business would promote the arts and sciences. It would fund charities to help society.

The president's faith in the positive power of business was matched by his strong belief that the role of government should be strictly limited. Government, he thought, did not produce things of value and only took away resources that could be used to build businesses. Coolidge believed in lowering taxes and reducing the federal budget. In fact, there were no major budget increases between 1923 and 1929.

One observer noted Coolidge's "active inactivity." Indeed, the president proposed few laws or policies. Among his chief initiatives were efforts to stop congressional plans to help farmers. He also vetoed a bill to provide a bonus to World War I veterans. The costs, he felt, were too great. Coolidge also worked to weaken regulations on industry.

**Coolidge the man** Serious and straightforward, Coolidge was known as "Silent Cal." He hated small talk, although he did enjoy playing practical jokes on White House staff. His style—and the fairly good times of his era—made him popular at the time.

In his quiet, no-nonsense fashion, Coolidge stunned the nation as the presidential election of 1928 approached. While on vacation he declared, "I do not choose to run for President in 1928."

**READING CHECK** **Comparing** How did Coolidge's basic beliefs compare to Harding's?



This 1918 poster expressed the hope of many Americans that postwar life would soon return to normal.

**QUICK FACTS**

## EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR I

### IMMEDIATE EFFECTS

- Nation desires "normalcy."
- Farmers struggle to recover from postwar slump.
- European countries unable to pay war debts.
- Desire to avoid future wars remains strong.



### LONG TERM EFFECTS

- Harding and then Coolidge—who each harken back to an earlier, simpler time—are elected.
- Harding and Congress pass the Fordney-McCumber Tariff. European countries unable to pay war debts.
- United States becomes banker to the nations of Europe.
- United States sponsors Washington Naval Conference and signs the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

## The Lingering Effects of World War I

The fighting on the battlefields of World War I ended in 1918, yet the war's effects on national and international politics endured throughout a whole generation and several presidencies. The fight over Wilson's peace plans and the League of Nations consumed the final years of Wilson's presidency. Other questions about the peace played a major role in 1920s politics.

**The question of war debt** During World War I, the warring nations of Europe had borrowed more than \$10 billion from the United States. Americans expected that, when the fighting stopped, the Europeans would repay the money. For the war-torn nations of Europe, this proved very difficult.

The high Fordney-McCumber Tariff made the task that much harder. Europeans had trouble selling their goods in the United States and so could not earn the dollars they needed to pay off their debts. Instead, countries turned to Germany and demanded that it pay extremely high **reparations**, or payments designed to make up for the damage of the war.

Germany was unable to pay what the Allies demanded. This, in turn, left the Allies unable to pay off their war debts. To solve this problem, the United States began to lend money to Germany. In this way, the United States assumed the role of banker to Europe. The loans continued throughout the 1920s, until the German reparations were sharply reduced.

### The Washington Naval Conference

Peacetime brought considerable public pressure to reduce the size of U.S. armed forces to save money and reduce the threat of war. On the other hand, people feared that the naval powers of the world, especially Great Britain and Japan, were on the verge of a naval arms race. In an **arms race**, competing nations build more and more weapons in an effort to avoid one nation gaining a clear advantage.

Hoping to head off an arms race, the U.S. government organized the Washington Naval Conference in 1921. The major naval powers of the world were invited. At the conference, the parties agreed to cut back sharply on the size of their navies. Countries actually scrapped existing ships and some that were under construction. The conference also led to agreement

on several issues that threatened world peace. These included plans to avoid competition among the world's military powers for the control of China.

Many Americans considered the conference a great success. Secretary of State **Charles Evans Hughes** reported, "We are taking perhaps the greatest forward step in history to establish the reign of peace." As you will read, however, it would not be long before world tensions were rising and nations were again building ships of war.

### Billy Mitchell argues for air power

While the United States was scuttling some of its fleet, Brigadier General **Billy Mitchell** was arguing that the United States should invest more in building up its air power. Mitchell had commanded the U.S. air combat operations in World War I. He was a firm believer in the military potential of aircraft.

To demonstrate his point, Mitchell conducted tests in which he used planes to sink two battleships. This, Mitchell thought, proved the superiority of air power over naval power. Other military officials were not convinced. Mitchell's confrontational style hurt him. He was eventually punished for accusing them of "almost treasonable administration of the national defense." He left the military and continued to promote air power until his death in the 1930s.

**The Kellogg-Briand Pact** Though the United States had refused to join the League of Nations, a strong interest remained in preventing another catastrophic war. So, when the French proposed a treaty with the United States that would outlaw war between two nations, the United States responded with a bigger idea. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg proposed an agreement that would involve many countries.

The **Kellogg-Briand Pact** was the result. It stated the following:

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

“The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it, as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.”

—Kellogg-Briand Pact, Article I, 1928

In a world where war had raged across continents throughout human history—a world that had viewed war as a necessity, even a game—the pact represented a high ideal. More than 60 nations signed on. Yet the pact had no system for enforcement. The only thing holding nations to their promise was their word. As you will read, that would not be enough.

#### READING CHECK

**Summarizing** How did America demonstrate its wish to disarm in the 1920s?

#### THE IMPACT TODAY

##### Science and Technology

Today the U.S. Air Force is central to the nation's military capability and security. Air power has been a decisive factor in military conflicts such as Afghanistan and Iraq.

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP9

HSS 11.5.1

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify** What was Teapot Dome?

**b. Analyze** What do you think Harding meant when he said that the United States needed "normalcy"?

**c. Evaluate** Why do you think so many voters were drawn to Harding's message of normalcy and a return to values of the past?
- a. Recall** Why is Calvin Coolidge known as "Silent Cal"?

**b. Compare** How did Coolidge's policies compare to those of Harding?

**c. Rank** Who do you think would have had a more positive impression of Coolidge: a farmer or a business owner? Explain.
- a. Define** Write a brief definition for the following term: reparation

**b. Make Inferences** Why do you think **Billy Mitchell** was unable to get a strong commitment to air power in the 1920s?

- c. Evaluate** Why do you think the United States signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact but did not join the League of Nations?

### Critical Thinking

- 4. Sequencing** Copy the chart below, using information from the chapter to complete the diagram.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W.1.1, 1.3

- 5. Persuasive** Write a memo to the president in which you argue for or against the agreements made in the Washington Naval Conference.

## Tactics of the Red Scare



HSS 11.5.2

**Historical Context** The documents below provide several different perspectives on the U.S. government's actions during the Red Scare.

**Task** Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then, you will be asked to write an essay about the government's tactics during the Red Scare, using facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

### DOCUMENT 1

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer led the government's attack on suspected radicals. He was one of several public officials who had been targeted by bombs suspected of being sent by violent radicals. Among his more controversial policies was the jailing or deportation of people for speech or writings that might lend support for radical actions. In the following magazine article, he explained why people should be arrested for speech, not just actions, against the government.

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues or revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes . . . burning up the foundations of society . . .

Upon these two basic certainties, first that the "Reds" were criminal aliens, and secondly that the American Government must prevent crime, it was decided that there could be no nice distinctions between the theoretical ideals of the radicals and their actual violations of our national laws. . . . Any theory which excuses crime is not wanted in America.

### DOCUMENT 2

Not all government officials supported the tactics used to crackdown on suspected Communists. Georgia Senator Thomas W. Hardwick had also been a target of radical bombings. He, his wife, and a maid had all been injured when a mailed bomb exploded in his home. Although Hardwick supported tightening some immigration laws to keep suspected radicals out of the country, he spoke out against Red Scare laws aimed mainly at weakening the power of labor unions, especially the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Laws against radical speech were often used against union members who criticized anything about the capitalist system.

I understand that the real, in fact practically the only, object of this [legislation] is to get some men called I.W.W.s who are operating in a few of the Northwestern states, and you Senators from those states have been exceedingly solicitous [concerned] to have legislation of this kind enacted . . . I dislike to be confronted by a situation in which in the name of patriotism we are asked to justify the fundamental rights and liberties of 100,000,000 American people in order to meet a situation in a few Northwestern states."



## DOCUMENT 3

This political cartoon refers to the deportation of alien radicals that occurred in December 1919. The ship, the USS *Buford*, pictured in the cartoon, was nicknamed the “Soviet Ark.” The bear in the lower left hand corner was a feature that the artist Clifford K. Berryman used in all his cartoons.

A. Mitchell Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover spent four months rounding up alleged alien radicals and others for deportation. In the end, fewer than 300 of the thousands detained were deported. Because they were not citizens, aliens could be deported without a trial or indictment. Most, but not all, of those deported were members of the Union of Russia Workers and supported the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Emma Goldman, a well known radical and publisher of *Mother Earth* magazine, was among those deported.



**Skills  
FOCUS**

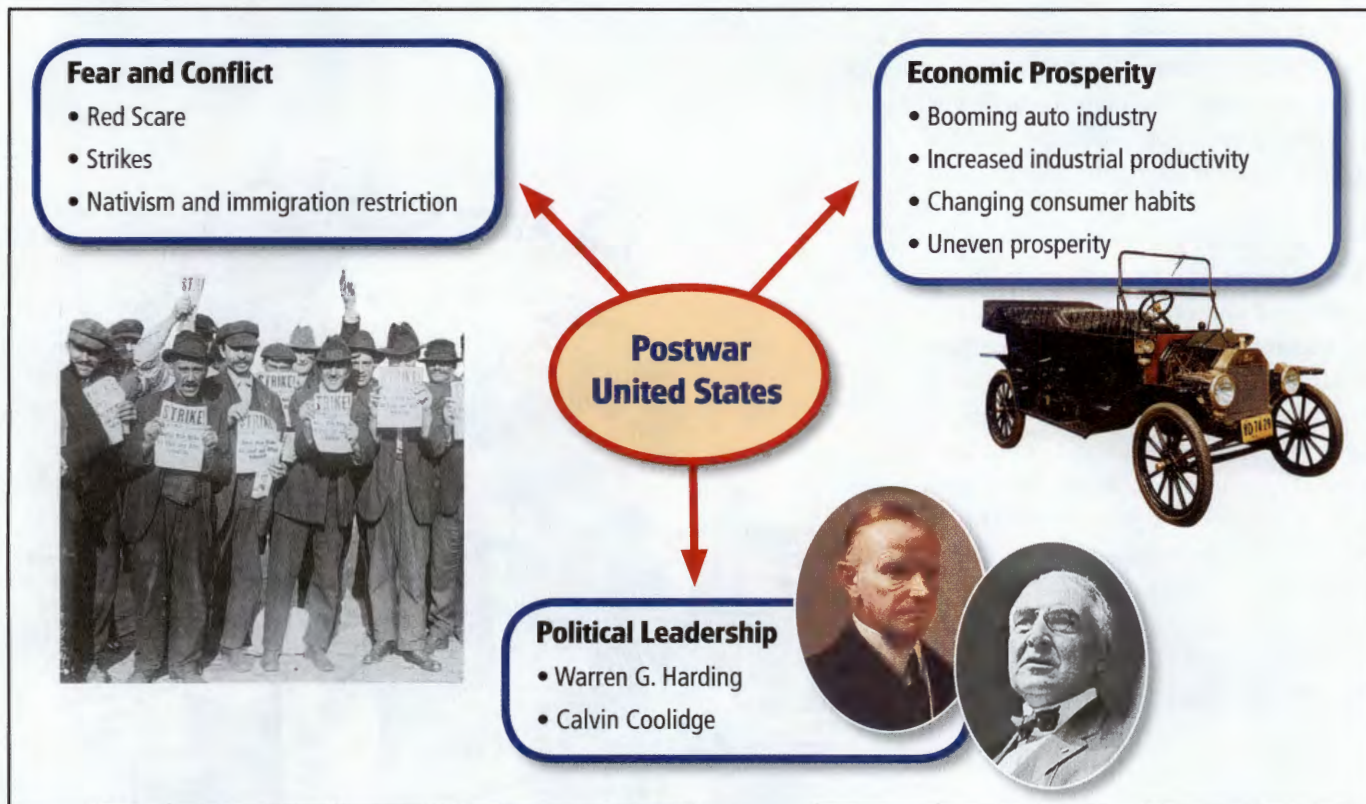
HSS Analysis HI1, 4

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- Describe** Refer to Document 1. To what does Palmer compare the spread of revolution in the United States?
  - Analyze** What is his main justification for the jailing of people for speech?
- Identify** Refer to Document 2. What region of the country does Hardwick argue will be affected the most from Red Scare laws targeted at labor?
  - Analyze** Why does Hardwick oppose such laws?
- Identify** Refer to Document 3. How does the cartoonist depict the people on the boat?
  - Interpret** What is the message the cartoonist is trying to send?
- Document-Based Essay Question** Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, and 3, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. Were the Red Scare policies of the U.S. government appropriate responses to fears of a Bolshevik revolution?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H28–H29, H31

## Visual Summary: From War to Peace



## Reviewing Key Terms and People

Complete each sentence by filling the blank with the correct term or person.

- Following World War I, a heightened fear of radicals, or a \_\_\_\_\_, gripped the nation.
- Increasingly, consumers in the 1920s paid for purchases with \_\_\_\_\_ rather than with cash.
- \_\_\_\_\_ became president in 1920 by promising a return to normalcy.
- The United States government helped Germany pay its high \_\_\_\_\_.
- Vice President \_\_\_\_\_ skillfully avoided being tainted by the scandals of the Harding administration.
- The \_\_\_\_\_ allowed cars to be made in large numbers and at a relatively low cost.
- The \_\_\_\_\_ wanted to establish a new social system in their country and in the world.
- A. Mitchell Palmer's raids led to the \_\_\_\_\_ of many aliens.
- \_\_\_\_\_’s dream was to build a car that the average American could afford.
- Harding’s secretary of the interior was involved in a scandal over a place called \_\_\_\_\_.

Calvin Coolidge  
Bolsheviks  
deportation  
Teapot Dome  
Henry Ford  
credit  
Warren G. Harding  
reparations  
assembly line  
Red Scare



## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

### SECTION 1 (pp. 270–275) HSS 11.5.2

- 11. a. Describe** What are some examples of postwar havoc in the United States?
- b. Summarize** What factors contributed to the postwar havoc?
- c. Evaluate** Why do you think many Americans reacted to the difficulties of the postwar years by targeting immigrants?

### SECTION 2 (pp. 276–281) HSS 11.5.7

- 12. a. Describe** Describe the significance of the following terms in the 1920s economy: assembly line, welfare capitalism, installment buying.
- b. Compare** How did the economic performance of agriculture compare to that of industry in the 1920s?
- c. Evaluate** What was the role of consumer credit in the expansion of the 1920s economy, and why might this pose a problem in the future?

### SECTION 3 (pp. 282–287) HSS 11.5.1

- 13. a. Recall** Who were the two U.S. presidents who served between 1920 and 1928?
- b. Make Generalizations** What kind of relationship did the American political leaders of the 1920s promote between business and government?
- c. Evaluate** Why do you think many people in the United States were so willing to support the pro-business policies of the federal government in the 1920s?

## Using the Internet

- 14.** The decade after World War I was a turbulent one. Americans feared the spread of communism. They also were experiencing many political, social, and economic changes at home. Using the keyword above, do research to learn about the changes that were occurring in the United States during the years 1919–1928. Then create a report that describes how political, social, and economic forces combined to create such a sense of uneasiness in the decade after World War I.

[go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)  
**Practice Online**  
 Keyword: SE7 CH9

## Analyzing Primary Sources HSS HR4

### Reading Like a Historian

The vacuum cleaner was one of the many new products sold to consumers, often on installment plans, in the 1920s.



- 15. Identify** Who was the primary audience for this advertisement?

- 16. Analyze** Based on the woman's facial expression in the ad, what do you think the ad is claiming the vacuum cleaner will do?

## Critical Reading ELA R2.2

Read the passage in Section 1 that begins with the heading “American Reaction.” Then answer the questions that follow.

- 17.** According to the passage, the fear of Reds in the United States was a continuation of
  - A** wartime prosperity.
  - B** the fight over the League of Nations.
  - C** hatred of “the Hun.”
  - D** the rise of labor.
- 18.** In the fourth paragraph of the passage, the text reads, “Some of their members promoted the violent overthrow of the government.” In this sentence, the word *promoted* means
  - A** opposed.
  - B** stopped.
  - C** achieved.
  - D** advocated.

## FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1

**Expository Writing** *Expository writing gives information, explains why or how, or defines a process. To practice expository writing, follow the directions below.*

### Writing Topic The impact of the assembly line

- 19. Assignment** Based on what you have read in this chapter, write a paragraph that explains how Ford's assembly line revolutionized the automobile industry and other industries.