

SECTION 2

Women Enjoy New Careers and Life Styles

GLOSSARY TERM: flappers

President Wilson's New Freedom program became a reality on another level. After a long and difficult struggle (see page 467), women began the decade with a new freedom: the right to vote.

During World War I, women served their country in almost every possible capacity. They took jobs in steel foundries, chemical plants, and munitions factories. Many went overseas as nurses in the newly created Army Corps of Nurses. Their experiences away from home and traditional women's work gave them a strong moral argument for the right to vote. As the war progressed, an increasing number of men joined women in seeing the absurdity of fighting for freedom in Europe but denying full freedom to women at home.

Although women were urged not to disrupt the war effort and to put aside their struggle for the vote until later, some women refused to be put off. They had been told to wait after the Civil War and were reluctant to do so again. In 1914 **Alice Paul** and **Lucy Burns** formed the National Woman's party and began a campaign of parades and picketing patterned after the English suffrage movement to draw attention to the issue. Beginning on January 10, 1917, they took a stand outside the White House and for almost a year—in sunshine, rain, sleet, and snow—they carried purple, white, and gold banners urging passage of the constitutional amendment that would give them the right to vote. This became known as the Anthony amendment. President Wilson invited them into the White House for hot coffee but otherwise did nothing to help. The women were subjected to jeers and even physical abuse by onlookers. Finally, they were carried off to jail as public nuisances. When they went on a hunger strike to protest their treatment, they were force-fed.

Woman's Suffrage Finally Succeeds

The tactics of the women and the shameful way they were treated finally forced Congress to deal with the issue. On January 9, 1918, President Wilson declared himself in favor of woman suffrage, and on January 10 the Anthony amendment



Picturing History Victory at last! When the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified on August 26, 1920, members of the National Woman's party celebrated their hard-won right to vote. These women continued to work for women's rights in general.

passed the House with the bare two-thirds majority. The crowd in the gallery clapped and shouted approval. Women broke into the hymn "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow." Still, it took another year and a half as well as the election of a new Congress to get the amendment through the Senate. Finally, on August 26, 1920, the last of the necessary thirty-seven states ratified the **Nineteenth Amendment** and it became law.

In 1923 **Carrie Chapman Catt**, former president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, described the effort it had taken to secure adoption of the Anthony amendment, which was named after reformer Susan B. Anthony:

To get the word "male" in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of the country 52 years of pauseless campaign. . . . During that

time they were forced to conduct . . . 480 campaigns to get legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get state constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions; 277 campaigns to get state party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; . . . and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses.

For some people, concern over the changing status of women did not center on participation in politics. Instead, it centered on such matters as wearing short skirts, cutting hair, painting faces, and smoking and drinking in public. Many women and men were deeply shocked by such behavior. They believed it was a symptom of moral decay. Others, in contrast, regarded it as a symbol of freedom and progress.

After 1910 women's skirts rose above their traditional street length. That length had been difficult to walk in and had collected street dirt as well. Since fashion is changeable, people predicted skirts would soon go down again. Nevertheless, wartime shortages of fabric and more active occupations kept them nine inches above the ground. Then in the twenties they climbed even higher, finally going just above the knee. During the twenties, too, the whalebone-reinforced corset, which constricted the waist and sometimes damaged the body's internal organs, was thrown into the trash can along with layers of petticoats.

Women's hairstyles were next to undergo drastic changes. The short haircut that swept the nation in the 1920's was called a bob, or a boyish bob if very short. Like the new clothing styles, it was sensible, healthy, and neat—and the subject of loud public outcry.

Linking Past to Present

Because fads and fashions reflect specific attitudes about life, they can reveal a great deal about a particular period of time. The hippies of the 1960's expressed their alienation from society by their choice of clothing in much the same way that women of the 1920's showed their rebellion with short skirts and bobbed hair.

For the Section 2 review, Complete Key Terms and People and Questions 1 through 4. For the terms in Key Terms and People, provide a clear and developed definition in your own words, as well as apply the term directly to the context of the reading with a clear and developed example. The key terms should be in bullet format i.e.

-Sewards Folly:

Also include key dates as they relate to the reading. You may need to use outside sources to find the dates.



Picturing History Flappers were in vogue in the 1920's. The distinguished photographer Edward Steichen photographed them, and magazines portrayed them kicking up their heels doing the Charleston.

imprisoned eight times for violating the Comstock Law, the national law that prohibited the distribution of birth-control information. Nevertheless, the courts of New York State eventually recognized the right of women to obtain such information. The subject of birth control continues to be extremely controversial.

In addition to voting, some women attempted to enter politics. However, the highest elective offices were still closed to them. Most women got their offices because they were chosen as successors to their husbands, such as two women governors, Nellie Ross of Wyoming and Miriam "Ma" Ferguson of Texas. In 1933 Nellie Ross became the first woman director of the United States mint. In 1916 Jeannette Rankin of Montana was elected to the House of Representatives on her own, but her opposition to America's role in World War I brought defeat in 1918. (She would, however, be back in the House in 1941 to vote against the United States entry into World War II.)

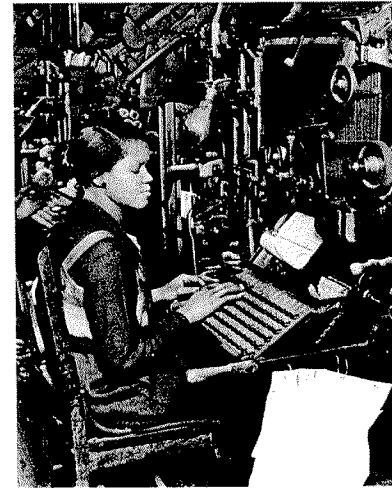
Other political goals of women during the decade ended in disappointment. Florence Kelley led the movement for a constitutional amendment barring child labor, but it was never ratified. An equal rights amendment fared worse; it could not even win the approval of Congress. For most of the public, both measures had become associated with radicalism—a fatal drawback in the 1920's.

Women Assume New Jobs and New Roles

Between 1910 and 1930 the proportion of women in the labor force remained at about 20 percent. However, there was a notable change in the kinds of work some women did. The number of female cooks, dressmakers, household servants, and farmhands dropped. The number of women doctors, bankers, lawyers, police and probation officers, social workers, and hairdressers rose.

Nevertheless, most women remained in the lowest-paying occupations. Unfortunately, in any occupation women were often preferred only because they would work for lower wages than men. As veteran suffragist Anna Howard Shaw explained: "You younger women have a harder task than ours. You will want equality in business, and it will be even harder to get than the vote."

For all the changes in status during the twenties, it was still generally accepted—even by most women—that "woman's place is in the home."



Picturing History In the 1920's, publishing houses employed women who were skilled at operating Linotype keyboards.

Men should earn more than women, it was thought, because usually they supported wives and children. Women workers generally were single. In some states, women teachers who married lost their jobs.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

Explain the significance of: Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, Nineteenth Amendment, Carrie Chapman Catt, flappers

Main Ideas

1. How did women succeed in getting the federal government to recognize their right to vote?
2. How did Americans view the new fashions and hairstyles for women in the 1920's?
3. How did flappers differ from more emancipated women of the 1920's?
4. In the 1920's, what important change took place in the female labor force?

Critical Thinking

5. How did women's suffrage improve American democracy? Explain.

SECTION 3

A Black Renaissance Emerges

GLOSSARY TERMS: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Harlem Renaissance, Mason-Dixon line

Until about 1900 most black people in the United States generally accepted Booker T. Washington's advice, which you read about in Chapter 22. He advised blacks to learn vocational skills, live a quiet life (preferably in the country), and avoid strife and competition with whites. Gradually, however, many blacks grew dissatisfied with a life that seemed to promise little future for them economically or intellectually. Consequently, new movements arose in the black community.

African Americans Migrate Northward

Beginning in 1910 the black population of the United States became more urban than the white population. It also began to shift from the South to the North.

In 1914 Henry Ford opened his assembly line to black workers. The outbreak of World War I and the drop in European immigration increased job opportunities in steel mills, munitions plants, and stockyards. In addition, many cotton fields, where African Americans traditionally had been employed in large numbers, were ruined by the boll weevil, an insect that had come to the United States from Mexico. Floods and drought added to the economic difficulties of black sharecroppers and field hands.

So Southern African Americans boarded railroad trains and headed for the top of the world. Between 1910 and 1920 about 1 million African Americans migrated to such Northern cities as Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. Another 800,000 migrated during the 1920's. This movement is known as the great migration.

Black migrants faced considerable prejudice in their new surroundings. Part of the prejudice was economic. Blacks not only competed with unskilled whites for jobs but also were used as strikebreakers in many Northern industries. Part of the prejudice was racial. Some whites believed they were better than blacks and tried to assert the superiority of the Caucasian race.

Women's Interests and Goals Change

Young women who adopted all or most of the new styles were called **flappers**. However, the truly emancipated or "new" women of the twenties were something more. They had received upbringings and educations similar to those of men. Progressive Era reforms had sharpened their interest in social, economic, and political problems. Victorious in the suffrage struggle, they had gained self-assurance and were beginning to be able to deal with men on equal terms.

One of the most active and controversial women of the period was Margaret Sanger. As an obstetrical nurse in some of the worst slums of New York City, she saw firsthand the burden placed on poor women who had many children in rapid succession. That led her to open the nation's first birth-control clinic in 1916. She was arrested and

Sometimes the prejudice took violent form. The worst race riot in United States history occurred in 1919 in Chicago. Before it ended, some 10,000 persons were involved; 38 were killed (23 blacks and 15 whites), 520 were injured (342 blacks and 178 whites), and 1,000 were left homeless. The riot was sparked on July 27 when a seventeen-year-old black youth swimming in Lake Michigan swam from the water off the so-called black beach to the white beach. There, white bathers threw rocks at him until he drowned. Blacks who were bathing in the area attacked whites in retaliation, and within a few hours mobs were fighting throughout the city. State troops finally restored order after three days.

"We Return Fighting"

Events such as these increased the appeal of more militant black leaders. One was the Massachusetts-born writer and teacher **W. E. B. Du Bois**. The holder of four academic degrees, he was a professor of history and economics at the University of Atlanta from 1897 to 1919. In 1905 he helped found the **Niagara Movement**. According to one historian, this was the "first organized attempt to protest the shameful treatment [African Americans] had suffered since the end of Reconstruction." In 1909 he helped found the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)** and in 1910 he became a director of that association, a position he held for twenty-four years. He was also editor of its official magazine, *The Crisis*.

Du Bois disagreed with Booker T. Washington regarding goals and tactics. He accused Washington of educating African Americans only to be



Picturing History
In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. Du Bois proclaimed, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." He vowed to fight against it.

farmers and artisans. Du Bois wanted black people to strive toward higher education and the industrial mainstream of America. He also was more militant than Washington. In the May 1919 issue of *The Crisis*, he spoke for many returning black soldiers when he wrote: "We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France—and by the Great Jehovah we will save it in the U.S.A. or know the reason why!"

"Black Is Beautiful"

Another important figure was **Marcus Garvey**, who began the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in his native Jamaica in 1914. Two years later, he moved the UNIA to New York City, and by the mid-1920's, he had enrolled more than 500,000 African Americans in its ranks.

Garvey's organization was based on two ideas. First, black people should go back to their African homeland and build a country of their own. This was an idea as old as Paul Cuffe's effort in Sierra Leone in 1815 and the founding of Liberia. (See Chapter 11.) Garvey wanted African Americans to found "a free, redeemed and mighty nation. Let Africa be a bright star among the constellation of nations." The second idea was the slogan "black is beautiful." Blacks should not envy or imitate whites or seek integration. "You are better than white people," Garvey told his followers. He reminded them of their African heritage and urged them to be proud of it.

Linking Past to Present

The slogan "black is beautiful," which first appeared in the 1920's, was revived during the 1960's and 1970's. Then in the 1980's, many black Americans stated that they would rather use the term *African American* than the word *black* to identify themselves, preferring to be known in terms of their origins rather than in terms of their skin color. Today, *African American* is widely used in the United States. Marcus Garvey would have strongly supported its usage.

To finance his colonization scheme, Garvey collected money from his followers and started a successful newspaper, *The Negro World*. However,



Picturing History
Marcus Garvey designed this uniform of purple and gold complete with feathered hat for his role as "Provisional President of Africa."

his plan for a steamship company, the Black Star Line, failed and led to his being sent to prison for mail fraud. Upon release, he was deported to England.

Many African Americans, especially from the working class, were swept along by Garvey's oratory and developed a strong pride in being black. His scheme for resettlement in Africa, however, held no appeal. Black people were, after all, Americans and had been for generations. Instead of trying to redeem Africa, they felt they should redeem their own country by fighting for equal rights.

African Americans Turn to Congress and the Courts

The NAACP attempted to do just that, mostly through legislation and court cases. In 1919 its secretary, poet and lawyer **James Weldon Johnson**, managed to have an antilynching law introduced in Congress. (Between 1889 and 1919, 3,224 black men and women had been shot, burned, or hanged without trial. Between 1919 and 1927, another 400 blacks were lynched, 10 while wearing their World War I uniforms.) The bill passed the House but was filibustered to death in the Senate. (To filibuster means to hold the floor by talking at length, sometimes for days, in an attempt to postpone or avoid a vote being taken on a subject.) However, the NAACP kept up its campaign through numerous antilynching organizations that had been established earlier by **Ida B. Wells-Barnett**. Gradually the number of lynchings diminished.



Picturing History
When **Ida B. Wells-Barnett** began her crusade against lynching, she was a writer and an editor. Later she became a lecturer and community organizer.

The NAACP had little success in its legal battle to do away with white primaries. In most parts of the South, there was virtually no Republican party after Reconstruction. November elections, therefore, were no more than empty formalities. The real decisions were made in Democratic primary elections. Because primaries were open only to party members, it was easy to keep blacks from voting since only whites could join the Democratic party. Although a court victory to bar this practice was obtained in 1927, it proved to be a hollow one. Over time, state officials were able to get around the ruling and find other ways to keep black voters away from the polls.

The Harlem Renaissance Begins

Living conditions in the black ghettos of Northern cities were appalling. Like European immigrants before them, African Americans moved into run-down buildings in slum neighborhoods where they paid high rents for cramped and unsanitary quarters. They were likely to be victimized by landlords and criminal elements, and their children often died of diseases that, in other circumstances, were preventable.

Nevertheless, the move north, especially to New York City's Harlem, released a great burst of creative energy. Harlem was the center of the nation's black intellectual and cultural life, and out of it flooded achievements in literature, music, drama, dance, and painting. These achievements are known collectively as the **Harlem Renaissance**, though some of the best work was done elsewhere.

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-Sewards Folly:

Also include key dates as they relate to the reading. You may need to use outside sources to find the dates.

You do not need to do the questions for this segment



Picturing History Many talented African Americans won recognition during the Harlem Renaissance. Pictured from left to right are poet Langston Hughes; editor and sociologist Charles Johnson, who became the first black president of Fisk University; sociologist E. Franklin Frazer; physician and writer Rudolph Fisher; and lawyer and judge Hubert Delany.

Writers. The most lasting contribution of the Harlem Renaissance may have been in poetry. James Weldon Johnson was already well established in 1920, but **Claude McKay**, **Langston Hughes**, and **Countee Cullen** made their reputations during the decade. Here is part of Cullen's poem "Saturday's Child."

Some are teetted on a silver spoon,
With the stars strung for a rattle;
I cut my teeth as the black raccoon—
For implements of battle
Some are swaddled in silk and down,
And heralded by a star;
They swathed my limbs in a sackcloth gown
On a night that was black as tar
For I was born on Saturday—
"Bad time for planting a seed,"
Was all my father had to say,
And, "One mouth more to feed."

Actors and Musicians. It was in the performing arts that African Americans gained their widest

audiences. Tenor Roland Hayes won renown as a concert singer, as did Paul Robeson, the son of a runaway slave. Robeson, after making a brilliant record as a student and athlete at Rutgers, went on to Columbia University Law School. His magnificent bass voice and commanding presence brought him early fame as an actor. In 1924 he was the original *Emperor Jones* in Eugene O'Neill's play of the same name. His performance in Shakespeare's *Othello*, first in London and later in New York, made stage history. Nevertheless, the slights and indignities he experienced turned him away from the United States. He spent most of his later years in England and the Soviet Union.

Jazz is generally considered America's outstanding musical achievement. It originated in the latter part of the nineteenth century and was based mostly on black work songs and spirituals, or deeply emotional religious songs. In 1915 New Orleans, or Dixieland, jazz found its way to Chicago. There, King Oliver and a small group, including trumpeter **Louis Armstrong**, played

what was probably the first jazz heard north of the **Mason-Dixon line**, the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which had become a symbol of division between North and South. The music quickly spread from Chicago to Kansas City, Los Angeles, and New York. Black composers and performers such as Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Ethel Waters, and Bessie Smith helped create the jazz sound in the 1920's and over time planted it firmly in American culture.

Many black musical artists achieved great fame in Europe. Perhaps the most popular was Josephine Baker, who lived and worked in Paris. She was a star dancer and singer for forty years. After World War II, the French government awarded her the Legion of Honor for her devotion to her adopted land.

Picturing History Duke Ellington, one of the best jazz band leaders, got his start in Harlem in 1923. Singer Bessie Smith was known as Empress of the Blues.



Picturing History The brilliant jazz recorded by Louis Armstrong in the 1920's lives on and on.

SECTION 3 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

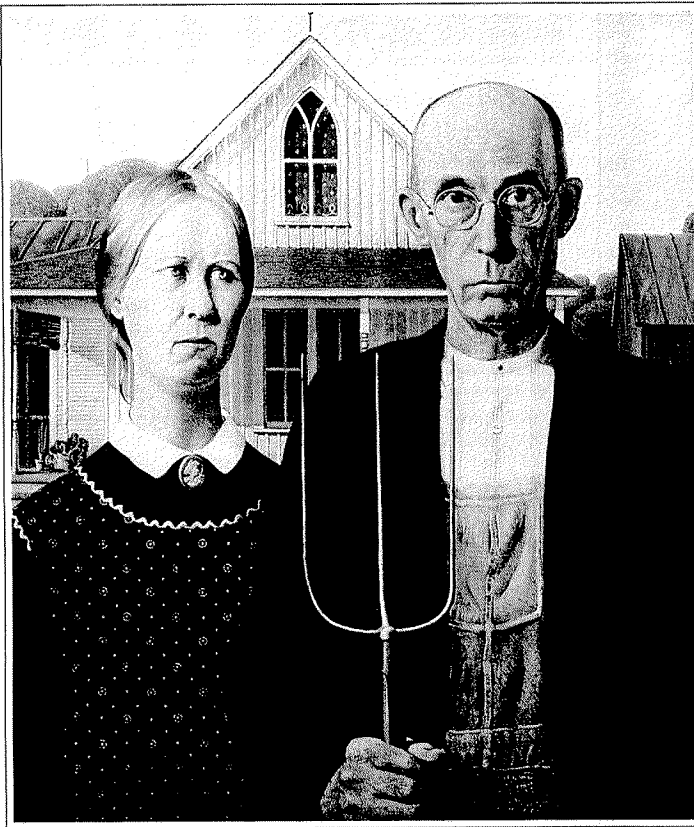
Explain the significance of: W. E. B. Du Bois, Niagara Movement, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Marcus Garvey, James Weldon Johnson, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Harlem Renaissance, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Louis Armstrong, Mason-Dixon line

Main Ideas

1. What was the great migration, and why did it occur?
2. How did W. E. B. Du Bois's views on improving the position of African Americans in America differ from Booker T. Washington's views?
3. On what ideas was Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association based?
4. During the 1920's, what resulted from the NAACP's attempts to bring about change through court cases and legislation?
5. What were the main areas of achievement during the Harlem Renaissance?

Critical Thinking

6. The word *renaissance* means "revival, or rebirth." What was revived or reborn during the Harlem Renaissance? Explain.



Picturing History *American Gothic* by Grant Wood, 1930. Wood is known for his illustrations of the rural Midwest, especially Iowa, his birthplace and home for most of his life.

Politics and a Thin Prosperity

Links to American Literature

*The scar Fritz Rickman received
The night Ku Klux riders
Drove all the Negroes out of Salem, Missouri,
Still shows on the back of his head.
He remembers the hooded figures in his bedroom,
The curses and threats and vulgarities,
The cold muzzle of a forty-four jammed against his temple.
He remembers harassed fugitives
Hurrying along rutty streets
With sacks and baskets and bundles. . . .
The cries and whimpers of little children . . .
The collapse from heart failure of Uncle Jake,
Who loved his good white folk.
He remembers the honking cars and galloping horses
And the brutal curses to move on.
He remembers the daggers of pain ripping through his brain
And his mind becoming blacker than Salem. . . .*

— MELVIN B. TOLSON, "Fritz Rickman"

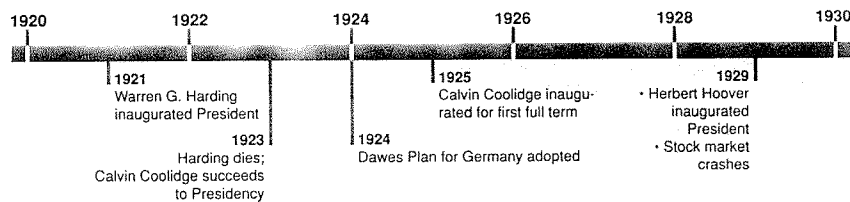
The Republican administrations of the 1920's made a sharp break with the reforms of the Progressive Era. While certain businesses boomed, minorities did not share in the prosperity. This unequal distribution of income was one of the signs that foreshadowed economic troubles. The social climate had already begun to change, as evidenced by the growth of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Such cycles of boom and bust have been constant in our nation's history, prompting George Santayana to note, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

Chapter Overview

In this chapter you will learn about the major domestic problems that faced the United States at the end of World War I. You will also learn about the successes and failures of the Harding administration and about the prosperity that existed during the Coolidge administration. Finally, you will learn about the major economic trends during the last part of the 1920's. To help you understand the course of events that brought an end to an era of prosperity, Chapter 25 is divided into five sections.

Chapter Outline

1. Americans Confront Postwar Controversy
2. The Nation Returns to Normalcy and Isolation
3. Coolidge Conducts the Nation's Business
4. Problems Threaten Economic Prosperity
5. A Slipping Economy Signals the End of an Era



Americans Confront Postwar Controversy

GLOSSARY TERMS: communism, Comintern, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Sacco-Vanzetti case

The police of Boston were angry. They had not had a raise since the beginning of World War I, and by 1919 the cost of living had doubled. They sent a group of representatives to the police commissioner to ask for what they considered might be a living wage. The commissioner promptly fired everyone in the group, and the remaining police responded by going out on strike. In the absence of police protection, some looting took place in downtown Boston, a number of windows were smashed, and people openly rolled dice on Boston Common. After an appeal from the mayor, Governor Calvin Coolidge called out the National Guard. Peace was restored, and the police called off the strike.

The police commissioner, however, refused to allow the men to return to their jobs. Instead he hired a new police force, which, ironically, received everything the strikers had asked for. Months later, when Coolidge received an appeal on behalf of the fired men from AFL president Samuel Gompers, he replied, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, anytime." His statement made headlines throughout the country, and he was praised for saving Boston, if not the nation, from anarchy.

People in the Chapter

Warren Harding was the first President to ride to his inauguration in an automobile. He also made the first radio broadcast to honor the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." The occasion was the dedication of the Francis Scott Key Memorial at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, Maryland.

Albert Fall had been a political opponent of Woodrow Wilson. He visited Wilson after the President had suffered a stroke. "We have all been praying for you, Mr. President," said Fall. "Which way, Senator?" asked Wilson. Later, as a member of Harding's Ohio gang, Fall became the first cabinet member to be sent to jail for accepting bribes.

Communism Frightens Americans

If the public seemed to be overreacting to events in Boston, there were reasons for such behavior. What frightened many Americans was the threat of **communism**, an economic and social system in which there is one political party, the needs of the state are emphasized over those of the individual, and all property is, eventually, owned by all persons in common. (See pages 608–609.)

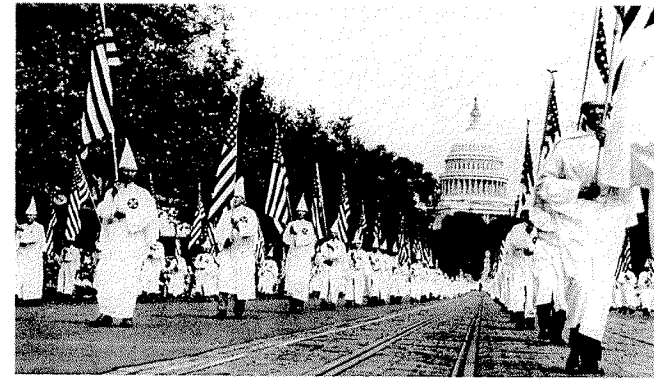
In 1919 there were Communist attempts to overthrow the governments of Germany and Hungary. Also, in March 1919 the Third Communist International—consisting mostly of delegates from the Russian Communist party—convened in Moscow for the stated purpose of encouraging worldwide revolutions. The Communist International, called the **Comintern** for short, advocated the overthrow of the capitalist system and the abolition of free enterprise and private property.

Many radicals in the United States were Communists, but many more were not. The public, however, found it difficult to distinguish between the two. Many Americans feared that radical support of unions was really an attack on the free enterprise system. Their fears were fed by the numerous strikes of 1919.

During World War I, strikes were few because nothing was allowed to interfere with the war effort. However, 1919 saw more than three thousand strikes, during which some four million workers walked off the job at one time or another. Wages had not kept up with prices, but employers did not want

Calvin Coolidge was awakened in the middle of the night by his father, who called up the stairs, "Calvin, wake up. You're President of the United States." Coolidge had been visiting his family when the news came that President Harding had died.

Herbert Hoover took an optimistic view in a speech he delivered the year before the stock market crash ushered in the Great Depression. "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land," he said. "The poorhouse is vanishing among us."



Picturing History The Ku Klux Klan marches down Pennsylvania Avenue in 1925. The Klan's membership rose after World War I, when the organization opposed Catholics, Jews, and "foreigners" as well as African Americans.

to give their employees raises. Nor did they want their employees to join unions. Some employers, either out of sincere belief or because they saw a way to keep wages down, attempted to show that union members were planning revolution. Newspaper headlines screamed: **CRIMES AGAINST SOCIETY, CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, and PLOTS TO ESTABLISH COMMUNISM.**

In April 1919 bombs began turning up in the United States mail. They were hidden in packages addressed to various government and business leaders. Random explosions and outbreaks of violence in a number of cities caused something close to panic to grip the nation. On May 1, or May Day—the international worker's holiday—the violence was intense. It was followed throughout the summer by heavy labor unrest. In the fall, two major strikes closed down the nation's steel mills and coal mines.

That same fall, agents of United States Attorney General **A. Mitchell Palmer** raided the offices of anarchists (who oppose all forms of government) as well as Socialist and Communist organizations. Most Americans were unaware that the three were different kinds of radical movements and that not all believed in violent revolution. It scarcely mattered. Many of the members of these groups were recent immigrants or people with foreign-sounding names, and that was enough to prove that they were un-American and undesirable.

In his earnestness, Palmer ran roughshod over people's civil rights. The Palmer raids were often conducted without search warrants. People were kept locked up for long periods without being

allowed to see a lawyer. Many were arrested not because of their actions or affiliations but because they were friends of persons Palmer considered suspicious. Many of those arrested were not American citizens. In December 1919 some 249 of these aliens were deported.

Palmer was a great hero for a time. However, he kept predicting riots that never came. Finally, he said there would be serious trouble on May Day, 1920. After a calm May 1, people began to lose interest in Palmer and his anti-Red crusade.

The Klan Becomes More Powerful

Meanwhile, another group, the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, was growing swiftly. The Klan of Reconstruction days had more or less died out in the 1870's. Revived in 1915, it reached a peak membership of 4.5 million in 1924, a membership it described as white males who were native-born gentle citizens. The old practices of wearing hoods and of burning crosses were still used, but the KKK widened its interests and its appeal. As well as keeping black people "in their place," it sought to drive Catholics, Jews, and other "foreigners" from the land. It opposed union organizers and helped enforce Prohibition.

Klan members, as Grand Wizard Hiram Evans explained, were "plain people . . . the everyday, not highly cultured, not overly intellectualized, but entirely unspoiled and not de-Americanized, average citizens of the old stock." In other words, they were people who felt threatened by the changes taking place in American society. Klan members

resented the small advances made by African Americans during the war. They felt that their moral values were being attacked by urban intellectuals. They feared job competition from immigrants. They were convinced that foreigners were going to overthrow the American way of life.

Klan members expressed some of their frustrations through racial violence. They also tried to influence national and state politics. Klan leaders in Indiana, however—the only state to fall under its control—committed such outrages that the law finally moved against them. After a while, most of the Klan's members drifted away.

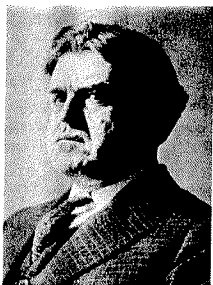
The Steelworkers Strike

The public had been outraged by the Boston police strike. It was equally opposed to the steel strike that began in September 1919.

Most steelworkers put in seven twelve-hour days every week in hot and noisy foundries. Since steel furnaces must operate around the clock, there were two shifts. Once every two weeks, a steelworker "swung" from the day shift to the night shift. This "swing shift" meant that the worker had to put in an incredible twenty-four hours of labor! Furthermore, that was labor as hard, uncomfortable, and dangerous as any in American industry.

The steel industry was not unionized although more than twenty unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor wanted to represent various occupations in the mills. This unwieldy group formed an organizing committee under William Z. Foster, but its efforts were badly coordinated. The AFL unions were jealous of one another, and Foster offended and frightened many with his radicalism. He later joined the Communist party and was its Presidential candidate in 1924, 1928, and 1932.

Picturing History
Labor leader John L. Lewis shown in a 1925 photograph and in a watercolor by William Auerbach-Levy. Lewis's rallying cry for union workers was "No contract, no work." One cartoonist commented that Lewis was "one of God's greatest gifts to cartoonists in the twentieth century."



The steel strike was broken in January 1920, after eighteen workers were killed by a combination of United States Steel security police, state militia, and federal troops. At first, people in general were relieved that another threat by "un-American elements" had been turned back. Then, in 1923, a Protestant interfaith committee published a report on working conditions in the mills. The report shocked the public, and the steel companies agreed to establish an eight-hour workday. Nevertheless, steelworkers remained unorganized.

Lewis Leads the Coal Miners

Unionism was more successful in America's coal fields. In 1919 the United Mine Workers, organized since 1840, got a new president. He was a burly young man who was equally ready to throw an insult or a punch at anyone who got in his way. His family came from Wales, and they had been mining coal and organizing miners for generations.

John L. Lewis called his union's members out on November 1, 1919. On November 9 Attorney General Palmer got a court order sending the miners back to work. Lewis declared the strike over. "We cannot fight the government," he said with uncharacteristic meekness. However, he quietly gave the word for the strike to continue.

The mines stayed closed for another month. Finally, President Wilson promised to have an arbitrator decide the issues between the miners and



Picturing History A photograph shows Bartolomeo Vanzetti (center) and Nicola Sacco (right) chained to their jailer. A panel from Ben Shahn's painting shows the pair in their coffins.

the mine owners. In due course the miners received a 27 percent wage increase, and John L. Lewis became a national figure. He fought often and hard and with great success to get better wages and working conditions for the miners. As a result, he was both one of the most admired and one of the most hated men of his time.

Sacco and Vanzetti Go on Trial

Other figures in the 1920's were even more controversial than Lewis. Two of them, Italian immigrants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, described themselves as "a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler." They were also anarchists who had evaded the draft during World War I.

On May 5, 1920, they were arrested for a payroll robbery in South Braintree, Massachusetts, in which the paymaster and his guard were shot and killed. Although anarchists sometimes committed such crimes to get money for their cause, the evidence in the **Sacco-Vanzetti case** was circumstantial, or indirect. Nevertheless, they were found guilty and sentenced to death. The state supreme court refused to grant a new trial, and the governor refused to pardon them or to change the sentence. He did postpone execution while a committee of three distinguished citizens examined the case. Although the committee strongly criticized the behavior of the judge, who had not remained impartial during the proceedings, it upheld the conviction. In spite of protests and demonstrations in the United States, Europe, and Latin America, Sacco and Vanzetti were electrocuted on August 23, 1927.

SECTION 1 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

Explain the significance of: communism, Comintern, A. Mitchell Palmer, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), John L. Lewis, Sacco-Vanzetti case

Main Ideas

1. During the postwar years, what were the causes of the fear many Americans felt about radical groups?
2. What fears, resentments, and prejudices led some people to support the Ku Klux Klan after the war?
3. What conditions led to the steelworkers' strike in September 1919?
4. What resulted from the United Mine Workers' strike in 1919?
5. What was the outcome of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial?

Critical Thinking

6. Why was the Sacco-Vanzetti trial so controversial?

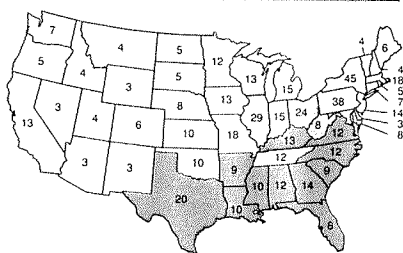
For the Section 1 review, Complete Key Terms and People and Questions 1 through 5. For the terms in Key Terms and People, provide a clear and developed definition in your own words, as well as apply the term directly to the context of the reading with a clear and developed example. The key terms should be in bullet format i.e. -Sewards Folly: Also include key dates as they relate to the

The Nation Returns to Normalcy and Isolation

GLOSSARY TERMS: Ohio gang, naval holiday, arms race, quota system, Teapot Dome scandal

Sometimes when a political party has been out of office for a while and sees a chance for victory, it searches for its best possible candidate. The Republicans in 1920 did not do so. They instead nominated Senator **Warren G. Harding**, whom the *New York Times* called "a respectable Ohio politician of the second class." Some people believed that the *Times* had been too generous; they felt that Harding was not respectable. However, he was handsome, good-natured, and, as one of his followers said, he "looked like a President ought to look." Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, the hero of the Boston police strike, was nominated as his Vice-President.

Presidential Election, 1920



Party	Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	%
Republican	Harding	404	16,143,000	60.4
Democratic	Cox	127	9,130,000	34.2
Minor parties			1,454,000	5.4
531 Total Electoral Vote				

In November 1920 Harding and Coolidge swamped Democratic candidates James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt by 16 million to 9 million votes. The electoral count was even more of a landslide: 404 to 127.

Harding Maintains the Status Quo

The new President favored a two-part policy. On



Picturing History Warren G. Harding (left) and his cabinet. Vice-President Calvin Coolidge is at far right.

the domestic front, it involved a "return to normalcy." By this Harding apparently meant the simpler days before the Progressive Era. He was opposed to the federal government's taking a role in business affairs, and he disapproved of most social reforms. On the foreign front, Harding disagreed with Wilson's ideas about the League of Nations. "We seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World," he said.

Harding made some excellent cabinet appointments. **Charles Evans Hughes**, Secretary of State, was an able and dedicated public servant who went on to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, was a popular figure because of his masterly handling of food supplies and refugee problems during the war. **Andrew Mellon**, Pittsburgh banker and financier, served twelve years as a cabinet member and was considered by many to be the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton. Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, was a pioneer in advanced farming methods.

Unhappily, the cabinet also included the so-called **Ohio gang**, the President's poker-playing cronies from back home. There was Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, a lobbyist for tobacco and meatpacking companies who had been the first to push Harding for the Presidency. Finally, there was Interior Secretary **Albert B. Fall**, a close friend of various oil executives, about whose behavior you will read more.

Nations Agree on Arms Control and Peace

During the Presidential campaign, the Republicans had talked of having some form of interna-

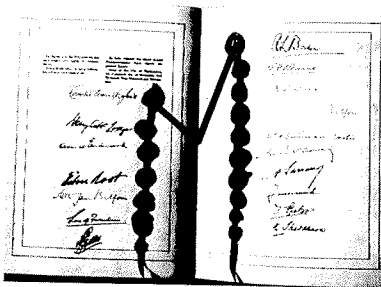
tional cooperation as a substitute for the League of Nations. In August 1921 Harding invited all the major powers except the Soviet Union to a conference in Washington, D.C., to discuss reducing naval armaments and preserving the peace in Asia.

Naval-Force Reductions. When representatives of the major nations gathered in Washington that November, they were expecting a routine speech of welcome from Secretary of State Hughes. Instead, they were startled to hear a series of concrete proposals about arms control.

First, Hughes suggested a ten-year **naval holiday**, during which time the nations would not build any warships. Second, he suggested that the five major powers—the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy—adjust the size of their fleets. The United States, Hughes said, would scrap 845,000 tons of capital ships, that is, battleships and cruisers. Britain would do the same with 583,000 tons and Japan with 480,000 tons. That would leave the United States and Britain with 500,000 tons of capital ships each and the Japanese with 300,000 tons—a ratio of 5:5:3. France and Italy were to restrict themselves to 175,000 tons each.

In the end the conference agreed to accept this proposal. The agreement was called the **Five-Power Treaty**.

Preserving Peace in Asia. The American capital was the setting for the **Washington Naval Conference**, which also attempted to keep things calm in Asia. The United States, Britain, Japan, and France signed the **Four-Power Treaty**, in which they agreed to respect one another's interests in the



Picturing History The Four-Power Treaty protected American, Japanese, British, and French interests.

Pacific. The same nations joined with China, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal to sign the **Nine-Power Treaty**. In this treaty they promised to uphold the **Open Door policy** and to keep China from being carved up further.

The **Five-Power Treaty** probably headed off a costly **arms race**, or competition among nations to build more military weapons. The other agreements may also have eased tensions between the United States and the rising power of Japan. In all, the conference was an admirable first step toward world peace. A second step was never taken, however. Efforts to limit the number of submarines and other small vessels met with no success, nor did efforts to reduce land armaments.

The United States Demands Reparations

Behind the international glow of the Washington Naval Conference, the Harding administration was actually turning its face away from Europe. The United States was trying to defuse trouble spots in Asia and to cut down on the cost of armaments. At the same time, it was not retreating from its stand on war debts.

Through American bankers, Allied nations had borrowed over \$10 billion to finance their war efforts. When the fighting ended, Britain and France expected that some part of that debt would be written off as a contribution to the common struggle. The American government nevertheless insisted on payment in full. The bankrupt Allies could raise the money in only two ways. One was through reparations that Germany had promised to give the Allies. The other was by exporting more goods to the United States.

Higher Tariffs. United States policy in the 1920's was firmly against either solution. From the first moment of peace, America had urged Britain and France not to press their demands on Germany. Then, in 1922, the United States raised its tax on imported goods to the highest level to date. The **Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act** openly aimed at keeping foreign goods out of American markets. It succeeded. European exports to the United States fell from \$5 billion in 1920 to \$2.5 billion in 1922. Since Great Britain and France could not sell their products in the States, they were even less able to pay their debts.

The Dawes Plan. A series of international conferences tried to cope with the tangle of wartime

debts and reparations. Charles G. Dawes, an American banker, and Owen D. Young, chairman of General Electric, were responsible for the system that emerged. Between 1923 and 1930, American investors loaned about \$2.5 billion to the German government and to German corporations. During those same years, Germany paid \$2 billion in reparations to Britain and France, who in turn paid \$2.6 billion on their war debts to the United States.

While this was going on, the United States still officially held that there was no connection between German reparations and Allied war debts. American business at the time was outraged that Britain and France would not pay their debts unless they could get the money from Germany. However, the war had exhausted and bankrupted the two Allied nations who had borne much of the war burden. America's unwillingness to lower or cancel their debts led to great bitterness between them and the United States.

Nativists Want Limited Immigration

Another sign of isolationism that appeared after World War I had to do with immigration. As you know, nativist sentiment had been growing ever since the 1880's, when new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe began coming to the United States in large numbers. (See page 497.) Nativist feelings were strengthened by the fact that many of the people involved in postwar labor disputes were immigrant anarchists and socialists. In addition, demand for unskilled labor decreased after the war. The railroads had been built, and basic industries such as coal mining, steel, and textiles were well developed.

In 1921 the immigration rate—a modest 141,000 in 1919—shot up to 805,000, and Congress decided that the time had come to limit immigration from Europe. (Immigration from China had already been suspended in 1902.) The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 introduced a **quota system** based on national origins. Congress pushed through a series of additional measures, ending with the Immigration Act of 1924.

According to the 1924 law, each European nation was given a quota of 2 percent of the number of its nationals who were living in the United States in 1890. This law discriminated against people from eastern and southern Europe, who did not start coming to America in large numbers until after 1890. The Immigration Act of 1924 also excluded

Japanese immigrants as "aliens ineligible to citizenship." This was an insult to Japan, whose gentlemen's agreement with Theodore Roosevelt had been faithfully kept. (See page 505.) By ignoring that agreement, the United States wiped out much of the goodwill that had resulted from the Four-Power Treaty.

Under the National Origins Act of 1929, the base year was shifted to 1920. This change was offset by reducing to 150,000 the total number of persons to be admitted in any one year. As a result, some national quotas were pitifully small. The national origins system was not applied to immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, however. During the 1920's, about a million Canadians—many of them Catholics—and at least 500,000 Mexicans crossed the nation's borders.

Scandals Plague Harding's Cabinet

Before the Harding administration was well into its third year, it began to come apart. The reason was the same as that which had plagued Grant's administration nearly fifty years before—graft among the President's friends.

In the spring of 1923, Jesse Smith, an assistant to Attorney General Daugherty, was exposed as a "bagman." A bagman carries a bribe from the person giving it to the person getting it. The money is often carried in a black bag, hence the name. Banished from Washington, D.C., Smith committed suicide in May. Shortly thereafter, Charles F. Cramer, principal legal advisor of the Veterans Bureau, took his life for similar reasons.

Next, it turned out that Charles R. Forbes, the head of the Veterans Bureau, had swindled the country of at least \$250 million through kickbacks from contractors building veterans' hospitals. In 1925 Forbes was sentenced to prison for fraud and bribery. Colonel Thomas W. Miller, head of the Office of Alien Property, was also convicted for fraud. In exchange for bribes, he had taken valuable German chemical patents that the government had seized during the war and had sold them to American firms for far less than their worth.

The most daring wrongdoing, however, concerned naval oil reserves and became known as the **Teapot Dome scandal**. As a result of the conservation movement of the Progressive Era, oil-rich public lands at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hill, California, had been set aside for use by the United States Navy. Secretary of the Interior Fall managed to get the reserves transferred from the

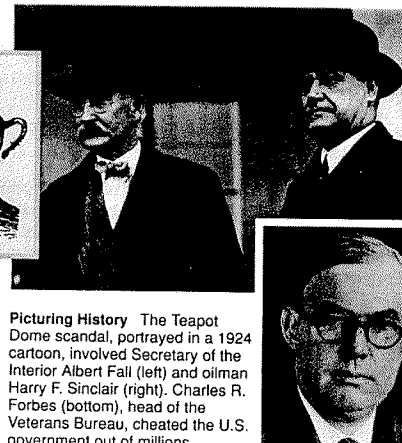
navy to the Interior Department. He then secretly leased the land to two private oil companies. Soon after, Fall, who had been having financial troubles, became the owner of \$325,000 in bonds and cash, as well as a large herd of cattle. Eventually, Fall was charged with bribery, convicted, fined \$100,000, and sentenced to a year in prison.

By the summer of 1923, Harding realized what had been going on. He knew that a day of reckoning was coming. A hurt and confused man, he declared, "I have no trouble with my enemies. . . . But my damned friends, . . . they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights!" At that point he left on a goodwill trip to Alaska. Everyone noticed how tired and distracted he was. Returning from Alaska to San Francisco, he became critically ill. On August 2, 1923, Warren G. Harding died.

The American people sincerely mourned their good-natured President. Few of them realized at the time the extent to which his friends had betrayed him and the country. Fortunately, Harding's successor, Calvin Coolidge, was respected as a man of integrity. He helped to restore the people's faith in the Republican party.

Linking Past to Present

No government is without its share of scandals. One of the reasons the Teapot Dome scandal has gone down in American history is that it involved a member of President Harding's cabinet, Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. In 1989, the HUD scandal came to light when a House subcommittee began investigating charges that under President Reagan's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Samuel Pierce, HUD had allowed well-connected Republicans to amass huge fees for helping developers land multimillion-dollar federal housing contracts. It was estimated that losses due to the HUD scandal were somewhere around \$6 billion.



Picturing History The Teapot Dome scandal, portrayed in a 1924 cartoon, involved Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall (left) and oilman Harry F. Sinclair (right). Charles R. Forbes (bottom), head of the Veterans Bureau, cheated the U.S. government out of millions.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

Explain the significance of: Warren G. Harding, Charles Evans Hughes, Andrew Mellon, Ohio gang, Albert B. Fall, naval holiday, Washington Naval Conference, arms race, Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act, quota system, Teapot Dome scandal

Main Ideas

1. How did President Harding's foreign and domestic policies attempt to return America to "normalcy"?
2. What were the main results of the Washington Naval Conference?
3. What plan made it possible for Britain and France to pay the majority of their wartime debts to the United States and how did this plan work?
4. What was the main purpose of both the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924?
5. What caused the American public to lose faith in the Harding administration's ability to govern?

Critical Thinking

6. How did the United States, Germany, Britain, and France all benefit from the Dawes Plan?

For the Section 2 review, Complete Key Terms and People and Questions 1 through 5. For the terms in Key Terms and People, provide a clear and developed definition in your own words, as well as apply the term directly to the context of the reading with a clear and developed example. The key terms should be in bullet format i.e.
-Sewards Folly:

SECTION 3

Coolidge Conducts the Nation's Business

GLOSSARY TERMS: installment plan, planned obsolescence

The new President, **Calvin Coolidge**, was sworn into office by his father, a notary public, between two and three o'clock in the morning in the family farmhouse in Plymouth, Vermont. It was a moving scene, lighted by a kerosene lamp. Coolidge took his vow on the family Bible. Americans who had grown up on the farm were deeply touched. In the following months, as one scandal after another came out concerning Harding's administration, the new chief executive looked even more reassuring. He seemed, and was, a simple, honest man who obviously would not steal a nickel.

Business leaders also liked Coolidge because he wanted to keep taxes down and profits up. "The chief business of the American people is business," he intoned. "The man who builds a factory, builds a temple," he declared. Such sentiments seemed to foretell a golden age for business.

To many people, the solemn Coolidge seemed to be an unusual President for the rapidly changing United States. Careful about what he said, he never said much. "I have never been hurt by what I haven't said," he quipped. Many persons called him Silent Cal. Still, America was ready to take it easy for a while and let the good times roll. As one



Picturing History Calvin Coolidge being sworn into office by his father at the family farmhouse in Vermont.

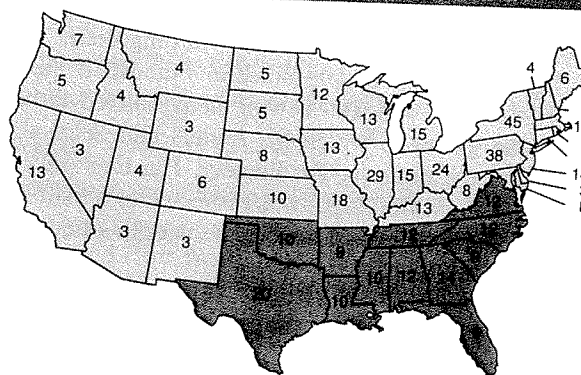
campaign poster put it, "Keep Cool with Coolidge."

The Republicans Win in 1924

Coolidge easily won the Republican nomination in 1924. The Democrats, on the other hand, were divided. Their Southern and rural members favored Prohibition, while their Northern, big-city members wanted it repealed. Those same factions were at odds over the religion of one prominent contender for the nomination. He was Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, a Catholic. The Ku Klux Klan threw its considerable weight against Smith, and the Democratic convention dragged on for an incredible 102 ballots.

The compromise candidate, wealthy corporation lawyer John W. Davis, had no chance against Coolidge. Even the presence on the ballot of Progressive candidate Robert La Follette of Wisconsin did not make a difference. Coolidge got almost 16 million of the 29 million votes cast.

Presidential Election, 1924



Party	Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	%
Republican	Coolidge	382	15,718,000	54.0
Democratic	Davis	136	8,385,000	28.8
Progressive	LaFollette	13	4,831,000	16.6
Minor parties			154,000	0.5

531 Total Electoral Vote

Americans Experience Prosperous Times

Coolidge kept most of those members of the Harding cabinet who had not been involved in its scandals. The kingpin of the group was Andrew Mellon, the only Secretary of the Treasury, as one wit later said, "under whom three Presidents had served." Mellon was a multimillionaire, the head of the aluminum trust, and the owner of several steel mills, oil companies, banks, and utilities. His policies were everything the business community

wanted. He favored cutting the excess profits tax and reducing the public debt left over from the war, which meant keeping government spending down. He also wanted to lower taxes on incomes over \$66,000 a year while raising taxes for poorer citizens. "Let the rich keep their wealth," Mellon said. "They will invest it and so create jobs." He also favored raising postal rates.

The economy responded well to Mellon's policies. Business had never been so good. No less than 40 percent of the world's wealth belonged to Americans. The number of millionaires rose from forty-five hundred in 1914 to eleven thousand in 1926. Low interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board made borrowing easy. Construction of industrial plants, homes, office buildings, and hotels boomed. The soaring 102-story Empire State Building in New York City, the world's tallest building at that time, was the era's architectural triumph.

Household Electricity. Technological developments added to the nation's well-being. The use of alternating electric current made it possible to step up electric power by means of a transformer. Now electricity was no longer restricted to central cities but could be transmitted over great distances to outlying suburbs and even to farms. Between 1913 and 1927, there was a 465 percent increase in the number of electrified households. Such labor-saving devices as vacuum cleaners, washing machines, refrigerators, toasters, and electric irons and stoves became widely used. By the end of the decade, household current made it possible for a radio to look like living-room furniture rather than a piece of laboratory equipment.

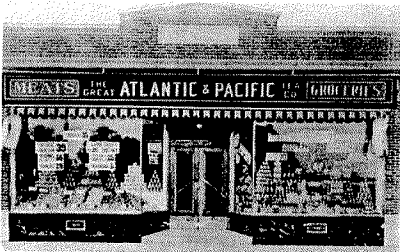


Picturing History The chains acquire more links: by 1929 F. W. Woolworth had 1,825 five-and-tens; Standard Oil of New Jersey had 1,000 filling stations; and the A & P had 15,418 food stores.

Competition for Ford. By the mid-1920's, the Model T began to lose ground. Essentially, it had not changed since 1908. General Motors' Chevrolet had appeared, costing little more than a fully equipped Ford sedan and providing much more comfort. To meet the challenge, Ford shut down his enormous operation for several months to retool. Then he unveiled his 1928 Model A, a well-designed four-cylinder automobile with a standard stick gearshift. A popular song of the day said that "Henry made a lady out of Lizzie." The lady was not lucky, however, for the Model A never captured people's imaginations as had the Model T.

Retailers Try New Sales Techniques

Ever since the Gilded Age, Americans had been familiar with the chain store. Frank W. Woolworth's five-and-tens had set the pattern of buying goods in large quantities, storing them in warehouses, and then selling them in several stores—all



of which looked more or less alike and all of which carried the same merchandise. The technique eliminated wholesalers. During the twenties, the technique was adopted by A & P, United Drug, Thom McAnn, J. C. Penney, and United Cigar, among others.

At the same time, Sears, Roebuck and Company opened retail stores as its customers—mostly farmers—began throwing away their mail-order catalogs and driving to town in their Model T's. Also, Clarence Saunders of Memphis, Tennessee, introduced his Piggly-Wiggly stores. Called grocery-cafeterias, these self-service stores were forerunners of the modern supermarket.

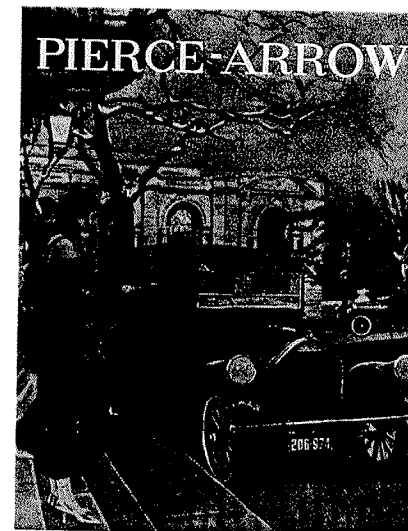
In addition to these methods of distribution, industry came up with several solutions to the problem of finding consumers for the mountain of goods it turned out each year. One solution was easy credit, then called the **installment plan**, or "a dollar down and a dollar forever." It enabled people to buy goods without having to put up much money at the time of purchase. Banks provided the money at low interest rates. Other techniques for moving goods included annual model changes. Automobiles, for instance, were built with **planned obsolescence**, that is, a policy of making goods that last only a few months or years before they must be replaced.

Advertisers Create Desire

Still another technique was the use of advertising. In the 1920's, businesses advertised almost entirely in print. Of \$1.5 billion spent in 1927 to sell various products, two-thirds went to newspapers and magazines. Another \$300 million was spent on direct mail, and \$200 million went to outdoor advertising, such as signs and billboards.

Advertising people no longer just sold space. They hired psychologists to study the best ways of appealing to the buyer. What colors will be best for what packages? What are the best words to use in an advertisement? The new field of motivational research tried to answer these and similar questions as it studied the reasons why people buy. No executive could fail to be impressed with the results. The slogan "Say It with Flowers," for instance, doubled the florist business between 1921 and 1924. "Even Your Best Friend Won't Tell You" helped to sell a great many deodorants, as well as cures for bad breath and athlete's foot.

While Calvin Coolidge occupied the White House, most Americans believed that good times



Picturing History Ads for the Pierce-Arrow sold glamour, youth, and prosperity. They said little about the product itself.

would last forever. There were gaps in the twenties' booming prosperity, however, and by the decade's end they had begun to worry some careful observers.

SECTION 3 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

Explain the significance of: Calvin Coolidge, installment plan, planned obsolescence

Main Ideas

1. What factors contributed to the Republican landslide in the election of 1924?
2. In what ways was the 1920's a time of prosperity?
3. In general, what was the purpose behind both the introduction of the installment plan and the idea of planned obsolescence?

Critical Thinking

4. Who benefited most from the prosperity of the 1920's, producers or consumers? Explain.

For the Section 3 review, Complete Key Terms and People and Questions 1 through 3. For the terms in Key Terms and People, provide a clear and developed definition in your own words, as well as apply the term directly to the context of the reading with a clear and developed example. The key terms should be in bullet format i.e.

-Sewards Folly:

Also include key dates as they relate to the reading.

Problems Threaten Economic Prosperity

GLOSSARY TERMS: bloc, price supports, buying on margin

Tremendous wealth was being created in the 1920's, but it was not evenly distributed. Many corporations made fortunes but did little for their workers. About half the population lived at or below the Department of Labor's estimated cost of a decent standard of living. As one song proclaimed: "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer." Yet no one seemed to question the economic ideas of Andrew Mellon.

Old Industries Face New Competition

Certain industries were in deep trouble. High on the list of those not enjoying good times were some that had helped build the nation. These included railroads, textiles, and coal mining.

Railroads. America's experience during World War I had shown that railroads could be more efficiently run as a unified system. William G. McAdoo, who had administered the system from 1917 through 1919, proposed a five-year peacetime trial. Glenn E. Plumb, a lawyer for the railroad brotherhoods, drew up a detailed plan.

Continued government ownership of a basic industry, however, smacked of socialism. So the Plumb plan got nowhere. Instead, Congress passed the Esch-Cummins Act of 1920, which placed railroads under government control as to rates and service but left ownership in private hands. However, the railroads were never able to earn the modest 6 percent return on investment that the new act allowed. Part of the reason was that the government was unwilling to allow the railroads to abandon lines that were losing money. A more important reason was the growing competition from trucks, buses, and private automobiles.

Textiles. Even before World War I, the textile industry had begun to shift from New England to the South. It made economic sense to manufacture cotton cloth nearer the source of raw material. A stronger motive was the desire for cheap labor. There were many labor unions in the mills of the

North but few in the South. Also, Southern wage rates were considerably lower than Northern ones.

There was no escape, though, from two other developments. One was foreign competition from Japan, India, China, and Latin America, all of whom produced cheap goods for the world textile market. The second development was the radical change in women's clothing, which eliminated yards of skirt and petticoat material and thus lowered the demand for cloth.

Linking Past to Present

American automobile, steel, and electronic manufacturers faced some of the same changes in the 1970's and 1980's that the Northern textile industry faced in the 1920's. The desire for cheaper labor and overhead moved manufacturing south and west. Foreign competition, chiefly from Japan, caused many industries to restructure operations, lay off workers, and, in some cases, shut down entirely.

Coal Mining. Another industry that felt an economic pinch was coal mining. It had expanded to meet wartime needs. During the twenties, however, the increased demand vanished. In addition, oil, natural gas, and hydroelectric power became widely available. By the early 1930's these sources were filling more than half the energy needs that had once depended on coal. The price of soft coal thus fell to a point at which high-cost mines were forced to close. Since some of the high costs came from paying union wages, it was the nonunion mines that remained open.

Farmers Suffer from Overproduction

Serious though they were, none of these problems threatened the nation's economic welfare as basically as the problems of agriculture. Chief among these was the problem of overproduction.

Overproduction. During the war, farmers had expanded their operations. They had cultivated lands in the West that did not regularly get enough rainfall for planting. They had replaced scarce human labor with new kinds of farm machinery. As



Picturing History In the 1920's, falling prices for farm goods forced many farmers to sell out. Coolidge's response: "Well, farmers never have made money."

a result, they had astonished the world with their productivity.

At the same time, farmers had paid for expansion with borrowed money. Then, in 1920, mostly as a result of world competition, prices of staple crops such as wheat, corn, and cotton tumbled almost 50 percent. To make matters worse, overproduction was coupled with a drop in demand as clothing manufacturers turned from cotton to rayon fabrics and as families began eating less beef, pork, and flour and more fruits and vegetables.

Farmers tried to improve matters through further investments, such as electrifying their farms. This only piled up more debts. By 1930 farmers who raised staple crops owned three times as many tractors as in 1920—and also owed three times as much on mortgages as they did in 1912. Better seeds and fertilizers and still more tractors continued to expand American output. Yet there was no comparable rise in demand.

Price Supports. In 1921 a group of congressmen from the farm states became a unified group of voters known as the **farm bloc**. It included members of both political parties who aimed at improving the economic well-being of their constituents.

In 1924 Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon and Representative Gilbert N. Haugen of Iowa

introduced several pieces of legislation. The McNary-Haugen bills proposed that the federal government buy surplus wheat, corn, cotton, and tobacco at a reasonable price. In that way the government would set a floor, or minimum price, for each crop, since no farmer would be likely to sell it for less. As a result of these **price supports**, government could then unload the surplus abroad for whatever price it would bring. Since the world price would be lower than the domestic price, the difference was to be made up by a special tax on all farm crops. The theory was that while farmers would lose something by paying the tax, on balance they would be better off.

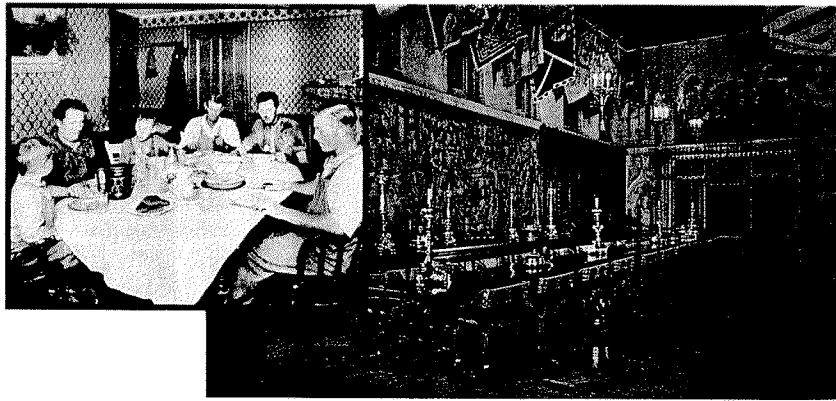
The McNary-Haugen bills were introduced repeatedly from 1924 to 1928. Each time Congress passed them, President Coolidge vetoed them. He believed that they represented an unconstitutional use of federal power. In any event, as he observed, "Farmers have never made money. I don't believe we can do much about it."

The Rich Get Richer, the Poor Get Poorer

In 1929 a national study of family income showed that three-fifths of the nation's wealth was owned by 2 percent of its people: "The 27,500



Picturing History The cover of a 1933 magazine used cutouts from stock-market quotations to compare the fat cat of the 1929 market with his crippled counterpart of 1933.



Picturing History A farm family's simple dining room and William Randolph Hearst's baronial dining room illustrate the uneven distribution of income during the 1920's.

wealthiest families in America had as much money as the twelve million poorest families." Miners and lumbermen, for example, earned \$10 a week. Andrew Mellon paid an income tax of almost \$2 million, and Henry Ford's income tax was \$2.6 million.

This uneven distribution of income might not have been serious if the lowest-income families had been living at a decent level. Nearly half the nation's families, however, earned less than \$1,500 a year, then considered the minimum amount needed for a decent life. Even families earning twice that sum could not afford most of the products that manufacturers were turning out in great numbers and at great speed. It is estimated that the average man or woman bought a new outfit of clothes only once a year. Scarcely half the homes in many cities had electric lights or furnace heat. Only one city home in ten had electric refrigeration.

Low consumer demand was not the only consequence of the uneven distribution of income. Wealthy people can spend only so much, because they can eat just so much food, wear just so many clothes, and the like. So the wealthy people of America invested their surplus funds in the stock market. Less wealthy people did the same, hoping to get rich quickly. Some bought stocks on margin. **Buying on margin** meant that they paid only a

percentage of the stock's cost and borrowed the rest from the stockbroker, intending to pay him back when they sold the stock at a higher price. As more speculators entered the stock market, the prices of stocks rose above their real value.

President Coolidge might say, as he did in a rare public statement: "Everything is fundamentally sound." However, some of the foundations on which prosperity rested were shaky indeed.

SECTION 4 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

Explain the significance of: farm bloc, price supports, buying on margin

Main Ideas

1. Name three industries that suffered during the post-World War I years.
2. How was wealth distributed in the United States at the end of the 1920's?
3. How were Americans who were not wealthy able to invest in the stock market?

Critical Thinking

4. Compare and contrast the plight of the typical American farmer with that of most other Americans after World War I. Use specific examples.

SECTION 5

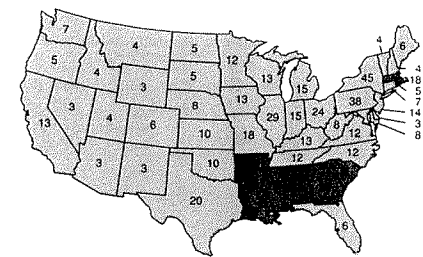
A Slipping Economy Signals the End of an Era

GLOSSARY TERMS: Solid South, Good Neighbor Policy, stocks, Black Tuesday

The decade's last political drama was the election of 1928, which pitted two remarkable men against each other. Personally they were as different as night and day. **Herbert Hoover**, secretary of commerce for eight years, was stiff, serious and reserved, and had never run for office. **Alfred E. Smith**, governor of New York, was a witty, outgoing politician who could get along with anyone.

In some ways, however, the two Presidential candidates were alike. Both had been born poor, Hoover on an Iowa farm, and Al Smith in a slum of New York City known as the Lower East Side. Both had succeeded on their own with brains, guts, and hard work. Each was a superb administrator. Hoover had proved it by making a fortune in the mining engineering business before he was forty. He had also organized efforts to feed and house thousands of refugees during World War I. Smith had given New York the most efficient and up-to-date government of any state in the nation. Both had admired Woodrow Wilson. Both believed in American capitalism but knew it needed reform.

Presidential Election, 1928



Party	Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	%
Republican	Hoover	444	21,392,000	58.2
Democratic	Smith	87	15,016,000	40.9
Minor parties			331,000	0.9

531 Total Electoral Vote

Hoover Wins in 1928

Ordinarily, one would have expected the Republican candidate to be Coolidge. However, in 1927 he announced, without warning or explanation, that he did not choose to run. So party leaders turned to Hoover, "the Great Engineer," who was the favorite choice of forward-looking business leaders.



Picturing History Herbert Hoover's Presidential campaign, Iowa, 1928. Most Americans identified with the rugged individualism of Hoover.

For the Section 4 review, Complete Key Terms and People and Questions 1 through 3. For the terms in Key Terms and People, provide a clear and developed definition in your own words, as well as apply the term directly to the context of the reading with a clear and developed example. The key terms should be in bullet format i.e.

-Sewards Folly:

Also include key dates as they relate to the reading

On the Democratic side, Smith could not again be denied a chance to run. Too many loyal party members had been angered when he lost to Davis in 1924. This time Smith got the nomination on the first ballot.

The weakened Ku Klux Klan roused itself to attack Smith once more because he was a Catholic. Yet, Smith's call for repeal of Prohibition may have cost him as many votes as his religion. In addition, radio was widely used in the campaign. It carried Smith's rasping voice and exaggerated New York City accent straight to the people of rural America. It was a big-city accent they suspected and disliked.

More than anything else, though, Smith lost because the Republicans were in the majority and there was no reason to oust them. The Coolidge prosperity was at its peak. Smith's defeat by 21 million votes to 15 million was all the more stinging because the **Solid South** broke ranks. Five Southern states ignored their one-party tradition and voted Republican for the first time since Reconstruction.

The Nation Tries to Be a Good Neighbor

One of Hoover's solid accomplishments was to continue improving relations with Latin America. In doing so, he was following in the steps of his predecessor.

Coolidge had made a start in that direction. Mexico's 1917 constitution had sharply curbed the activities of foreign oil companies. In 1927 the Mexican government further limited the rights of outsiders in Mexican oil fields. This action led war hawks to call for an invasion of Mexico. Instead, Coolidge appointed Dwight W. Morrow as ambassador and told him to try conciliation. Within a year, economic restrictions on American oil companies were lifted.

Morrow's efforts began a more moderate United States foreign policy that guarded against overreaction to nationalist economic changes in Latin America. Hoover continued the policy and expanded it. Before assuming office, he made a goodwill tour of eleven Latin American nations. In 1930 he repudiated the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which had stated that the United States would act as a policeman in the Western Hemisphere. (See page 530.) Hoover also denounced dollar diplomacy. He withdrew American marines from Nicaragua and started withdrawing those stationed in Haiti. He attempted to treat Latin

American nations as equals. It was he who first used the term "good neighbor," though it is part of his political ill-luck that most people associate the **Good Neighbor Policy** with his archrival Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Economy Turns Downward

Hoover's worst luck, though, was having the Great Depression begin during his first year in office. It is generally agreed today that the Great Depression was not brought about solely by the stock-market crash of October 1929. All through the year there had been signs that the boom was over. A number of the indicators that economists and business leaders carefully watch were pointing to a downturn. (See pages 788–789.)

Beginning in 1926 and continuing through 1929, housing starts and other forms of construction were declining. Construction then, as now, is an important multiplier industry. Not only does it use enormous resources, but it stimulates other businesses. New construction means new furnishings, new equipment, and new appliances. Insurance and other services are needed. Jobs are created. On the other hand, a decline in construction creates a downward spiral in other industries.

In 1929, too, business inventories were three times higher than they had been during the previous year. In other words, people were not buying. Orders were likely to be cut back until products had moved. As predicted, freight shipments fell, indicating that orders were shrinking. Industrial production and wholesale prices soon followed the downward trend. The demand for staple crops had also declined throughout the 1920's, leaving farmers with huge surpluses.

The Stock Market Crashes

Given these signs, shrewd stock-market speculators began to unload their **stocks**, or certificates that guarantee partial ownership in a corporation, and to take their profits. Bernard Baruch, the wartime production head, was one who did so. Joseph P. Kennedy, father of future President John F. Kennedy, was another. Thousands of little and not so little investors went on buying, however, so prices continued to rise. The days of reckoning came in the fall.

After Labor Day the market did not bounce back as had been expected. Instead, it faltered. On October 21 it took a big drop. On October 24 there



Picturing History Three images of the stock-market crash: huge headlines announcing Wall Street panic, a seemingly well-to-do investor trying to raise cash, and crowds of bewildered faces lining both sides of Wall Street.

was a wave of selling orders as people who had bought on margin were forced to sell in order to cover their loans. Almost 13 million shares changed hands. Several banks and insurance companies bought stocks in order to stabilize prices.

Then, on October 29—**Black Tuesday**—the bottom fell out. People and corporations alike frantically tried to sell their stocks before prices went lower still. The number of shares dumped that day was a record sixteen million. Additional millions of shares could not even find buyers. The panic continued for two more weeks. By mid-November, as one historian described it, "\$30 billion had blown away—the same amount of money America had spent on World War I."

A depression had begun, but no one realized it until the stock market crashed. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith summed up conditions that led to the crash in a single sentence. "The end had arrived," he wrote, "but it was not yet in sight."

SECTION 5 REVIEW

Key Terms and People

Explain the significance of: Herbert Hoover, Alfred E. Smith, Solid South, Good Neighbor Policy, stocks, Black Tuesday

Main Ideas

1. What disadvantages did Albert E. Smith have in the 1928 Presidential race?
2. What actions did Hoover take to show he was a "good neighbor" to Latin America?
3. What signs indicated that the economy was on a downward turn toward the end of the 1920's?

Critical Thinking

4. John Kenneth Galbraith wrote of the predepression period: "The end had arrived, but it was not yet in sight." What had ended and why was it invisible?

For the Section 5 review, Complete Key Terms and People and Questions 1 through 3. For the terms in Key Terms and People, provide a clear and developed definition in your own words, as well as apply the term directly to the context of the reading with a clear and developed example. The key terms should be in bullet format i.e.

-Sewards Folly:

Also include key dates as they relate to the reading. You may need to use outside sources to find the dates.