



# CHAPTER 10

## The Roaring Twenties

- SS.912.A.5.1** Discuss the economic outcomes of demobilization.
- SS.912.A.5.2** Explain the causes of the public reaction (Sacco and Vanzetti, labor, racial unrest) associated with the Red Scare.
- SS.912.A.5.3** Examine the impact of United States foreign economic policy during the 1920s.
- SS.912.A.5.4** Evaluate how the economic boom during the Roaring Twenties changed consumers, businesses, manufacturing, and marketing practices.
- SS.912.A.5.5** Describe efforts by the United States and other world powers to avoid future wars.
- SS.912.A.5.6** Analyze the influence that Hollywood, the Harlem Renaissance, the Fundamentalist Movement, and prohibition had in changing American society in the 1920s.
- SS.912.A.5.7** Examine the freedom movements that advocated civil rights for African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and women.
- SS.912.A.5.8** Compare the views of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey relating to the African American experience.
- SS.912.A.5.9** Explain why support for the Ku Klux Klan varied in the 1920s with respect to issues such as anti-immigration, anti-African American, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-women, and anti-union ideas.
- SS.912.A.5.10** Analyze support for and resistance to civil rights for women, African Americans, Native Americans, and other minorities.
- SS.912.A.5.12** Examine key events and people in Florida history as they relate to United States history.
- SS.912.H.1.5** Examine artistic response to social issues and new ideas in various cultures.

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## Names and Terms You Should Know

Roaring Twenties	Washington Naval Conference	Great Migration
Demobilization	Four-Power Treaty	Booker T. Washington
Disarmament	Kellogg-Briand Pact	W.E.B. Du Bois
Red Scare	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	Marcus Garvey
Palmer Raids	Henry Ford	Harlem Renaissance
J. Edgar Hoover	Assembly line	Jazz Age
Sacco and Vanzetti	Consumerism	Universal Negro Improvement Association
Warren Harding	Installment buying	NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
Normalcy	Fundamentalist Movement	Ku Klux Klan
Fordney-McCumber Act	Eighteenth Amendment	100 Percent Americanism
Nativism	Volstead Act	Rosewood
Quota system	Prohibition	Seminole Indians
National Origins Act	Nineteenth Amendment	
Dawes Plan	Flappers	
League of Nations		

## Florida "Keys" to Learning

1. When the war ended in November 1918, Americans had to demobilize—discharge soldiers and return to peacetime production.
2. The triumph of Bolshevism in Russia and strikes and bombings in the United States led many Americans to fear anarchists and Communists during the "Red Scare" of 1919. Foreign-born radicals were arrested and deported in the "Palmer Raids." Two Italian anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, were convicted for murder in 1920 on flimsy evidence.
3. Republican Presidents Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover pursued policies favorable to business: low taxation, high tariffs (Ford-McCumber Act), and lax enforcement of regulations. The Teapot Dome scandal exposed corruption in Harding's administration.
4. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the National Origins Act of 1924 placed new restrictions on immigration in order to preserve America's existing ethnic composition.
5. While refusing to join the League of Nations, Harding attempted to promote world peace. At the Washington Naval Conference, the world's naval powers agreed to limit the numbers of their battleships. In the Kellogg-Briand Pact, countries agreed to give up war except for self-defense.
6. Americans had lent money to the Allies during the war and insisted on being repaid. France and Britain used reparations money from Germany to repay their debts to the United States. The Dawes Plan lent money to Germany and reduced its reparations payments.

...of the automobile and new electric appliances contributed to economic prosperity. Assembly-line production lowered prices, while installment payment plans made buying goods easier. Speculation on the stock market, including buying on margin, added to the prosperity.

8. Traditional values confronted new ones. The inhabitants of small towns and even in many cities supported Prohibition and Fundamentalist Christianity. John Scopes was put on trial for teaching evolution. The Ku Klux Klan experienced a resurgence in these years.

9. Others supported greater freedom for women and young people. The Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote, while flappers wore loose clothing and went out without chaperones. Novelists, Hollywood, aviation, and sports supplied new popular heroes.

10. African Americans continued to face Jim Crow laws, lynchings, and economic inequality in the

South. Booker T. Washington urged them to seek vocational training, but W.E.B. Du Bois favored a struggle for full civil rights. Many moved to north in the Great Migration. Even in Northern cities, they faced racism, discrimination, and violence. One of the worst race riots occurred in Florida at Rosewood in 1923.

11. The Harlem Renaissance saw a flourishing of African-American culture, with jazz music, essays, novels, short stories, and poetry. Marcus Garvey encouraged African Americans to rely more on themselves and to separate from whites.

12. Most minorities did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s. The number of Hispanic Americans increased since immigration from Mexico was unrestricted. American Indians were made citizens in 1924 but continued to suffer from widespread poverty. The Seminoles of Florida increased their interaction with tourists. Asian Americans continued to face discrimination.



After the reforms of the Progressives and the sacrifices of World War I, many Americans embraced the call of Warren Harding, elected President in 1920, for a “return to normalcy.” America needed a rest. Instead of trying to save the world,

Americans would focus on earning money and spending it. But this was a far cry from a simple return to the pre-war days: the Twenties were a period of profound economic, social, and cultural change.

## Demobilization and Adjustment to Peace, 1920

The postwar period opened with the challenge of adjusting to peace. **Mobilization** is the task of directing all resources towards achieving a goal, such as winning a war. **Demobilization** is just the opposite—the transition process during which a nation at war returns to a state of peace. Soldiers retire from active service while economic production reverts back to civilian purposes. When World War I ended, the federal government no longer needed to buy vast quantities of guns, bullets, uniforms, and battleships. Factories temporarily shut their doors to convert from wartime to peacetime

production. Farmers could no longer sell the same amounts of food to the army and navy.

Some Progressives had hoped that President Wilson would continue federal control of the railroads and other businesses into peacetime, but these restraints on industry were quickly lifted. Railroads, for example, were no longer needed to move armies and wartime supplies and went back into private hands.

Meanwhile, soldiers began returning home and looking for work. Men accustomed to receiving army pay suddenly found themselves without work

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American Americans, and others who had filled their jobs on the home front while these men were absent at war suddenly were no longer needed. Making matters worse, a great epidemic of a deadly



Nurses attend to an influenza victim

struck the country in the winter of 1918–1919. This actually killed more Americans than the war itself. These factors combined to throw the country into an economic slowdown, known as the **Depression of 1920–1921.**

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## The “Red Scare”

A group of Russian Communists, at first known as the **Bolsheviks**, seized power in Russia in November 1917, while World War I was still raging. The Bolsheviks not only pulled Russia out of the war, they also opposed private property, religious beliefs, and free enterprise. They were therefore viewed as anti-American. President Wilson authorized troops in Russia to intervene on the side of the “Whites,” the opponents of the Bolsheviks (or “Reds”) in the Russian Civil War. American troops stayed in Siberia until 1920, but failed to prevent a Bolshevik victory. American leaders nevertheless refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the new Russian government. Meanwhile, Communists also threatened to seize power in both Germany and Hungary.

In the United States, many workers were concerned about their futures now that the war was over. In 1919, a wave of strikes took place across the United States. In Boston, police went on strike; in Seattle, workers staged a general strike. Ever since the collapse of the Homestead Strike, steel workers had lacked unions and were working 12-hour shifts, seven days a week.



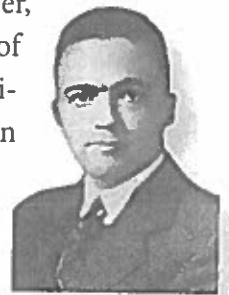
Workers at U.S. Steel, many of whom were immigrants from Eastern Europe, now demanded the right to organize into unions and went on strike. So did coal workers in Indiana.

The success of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Communist attempts in Central Europe, and the wave of

strikes across the United States made many Americans fearful of a Communist revolution in their own country. Because Communists had adopted the color red as their symbol, this popular fear became known as the “**Red Scare.**”

**The “Palmer Raids.”** A. Mitchell Palmer, a Pennsylvania Quaker and a Progressive Democrat, was appointed as Attorney General by President Wilson in March 1919. Only a month after his appointment, several letter bombs, sent by Italian-born anarchists, were found in the mail. One of them was addressed to Palmer. In June, a bomb exploded on Palmer’s porch while other bombs exploded in several cities.

Palmer created a new group inside the Justice Department, led by an energetic young lawyer, **J. Edgar Hoover**. In November, Hoover supervised the arrest of Russian workers suspected of radical activity in 12 cities: more than 200 of them were deported (*sent out of the country*). In January 1920, Hoover directed simultaneous raids in 30 cities, known as the “**Palmer Raids.**” About 6,000



J. Edgar Hoover

suspects were arrested. Most of them were foreign-born residents from Russia and Germany, who could be deported after only a short hearing and without a jury trial. Palmer would have deported most of them, but the Department of Labor believed that many of the arrests were illegal and refused to

deport more than 556. Activist Emma Goldman was one of those deported. Palmer further predicted that there would be a Communist pris-



ing in the United States, but this never occurred. Nevertheless the Palmer Raids weakened the labor unions and other worker organizations.

## The Historian's Apprentice



*"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 workmen . . . burning up the foundations of society. Robbery, not war, is the ideal of communism. This has been demonstrated in Russia, Germany, and in America. . . . Obviously, it is the creed of any criminal mind . . . By stealing, murder and lies, Bolshevism has looted Russia, not only of its material strength but of its moral force . . . My information showed that communism in this country was an organization of thousands of aliens who were direct allies of Trotsky [a Russian Communist leader]. . . The Government is now sweeping the nation clean of such alien filth . . ."*

—A. Mitchell Palmer, "The Case against the Reds" (1920)

*"Every human being is entitled to hold any opinion that appeals to her or him without making herself or himself liable to persecution. . . . It requires no great prophetic gift to foresee that this new governmental policy of deportation is but the first step towards the introduction into this country of the old Russian system of exile for the high treason of entertaining new ideas of social life and industrial reconstruction. Today so-called aliens are deported, tomorrow native Americans will be banished."*



—Emma Goldman, speaking at her deportation hearing (October 1919)

Imagine you are a newspaper editor in 1920. First read the excerpt from Palmer's pamphlet and from Goldman's speech above. Then write your own editorial on whether the Palmer Raids were justified.

**Sacco and Vanzetti** Two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (a shoemaker and a fish seller) were arrested in 1920 for murders committed during a payroll truck robbery. Not only were they immigrants, Sacco and Vanzetti were also **anarchists** (*radicals who opposed organized government*). The trial judge showed extreme bias in his conduct of the trial, continu-



Nicola Sacco

Bartolomeo Vanzetti

ally stressing the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti had shown disloyalty during the war by going to Mexico to escape the draft. Although the evidence was unclear, Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted and sentenced to death. Despite new evidence and multiple appeals, all requests for a retrial were denied. After a legal battle that lasted seven years, Sacco and Vanzetti were finally executed in 1927.

There were loud outcries of injustice both at home and abroad. Almost a century later, it remains a subject of controversy whether or not Sacco and Vanzetti were actually involved in the robbery, but there is general agreement that their trial was unfair.

*"I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortunate creature of the earth—I would not wish to any of them what*

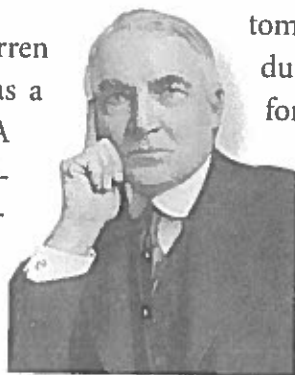
*I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. But my conviction is that I have suffered for things that I am guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I am an Italian and indeed I am an Italian."*

—Bartolomeo Vanzetti,  
shortly before his execution

## The Republican Presidents: Warren Harding

In March 1921, a Republican returned to the White House. Republicans remained in power for the next 12 years, overseeing the prosperity of the Twenties and its sudden demise. The three Republican Presidents who occupied the White House from 1921 to 1933—Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover—generally followed conservative policies favorable to American business.

Good looking and cheerful, Senator Warren Harding from Ohio had been selected as a compromise candidate by party bosses. A former newspaper publisher, Harding captured the national spirit when he called for a **"return to normalcy"**—with a greater emphasis on maintaining prosperity at home and a less ambitious foreign policy abroad.



determined to reverse these policies. High tariff rates, they argued, would keep out foreign products and thus protect both American manufacturers and their workers. A high tariff could also benefit Midwestern farmers, who were concerned about growing competition from Canadian wheat. In 1922, Congress passed the **Fordney-McCumber Act**.

Under the new tariff, those goods subject to customs duties (*taxes on imports*) paid an average duty of 38.5% of their value. Imported wheat, for example, had paid no duty at all between 1913 and 1921; under the new tariff, it now paid 30 cents a bushel. Other countries retaliated by raising their own tariffs on goods from the United States, with a detrimental impact on world trade.

### Policies Favoring American Business

Harding introduced policies reminiscent of Republican governments before the Progressive Era. Businessmen figured prominently in his cabinet. His pro-business policies included higher tariffs, lower taxes, and minimal government interference in business activities. His government also enacted new immigration laws.

**A Higher Tariff** Wilson had dramatically lowered tariff rates in 1913 and had introduced income tax as an alternative source of revenue. Republicans were

**Lower Taxes for the Wealthy** Andrew Mellon, a wealthy banker and industrialist, served as Secretary of the Treasury under Harding and his Republican successors, Coolidge and Hoover. Mellon believed that wealthy Americans were more likely to invest in the economy than other social classes were. He therefore slashed taxes on the rich, reducing income and corporate taxes, abolishing the gift tax, and shifting more of the tax burden onto the shoulders of the average wage earner.

**Lax Enforcement of Business Regulations** Harding thought that government should interfere with busi-

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ness as little as possible, and Coolidge and Hoover later followed his example. They did not overturn existing laws regulating business; they simply failed to enforce them. Businessmen were appointed to regulatory commissions like the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission. The government also invited companies to share information and collaborate on prices. Business was given a free hand, and a large number of business mergers took place in the 1920s.

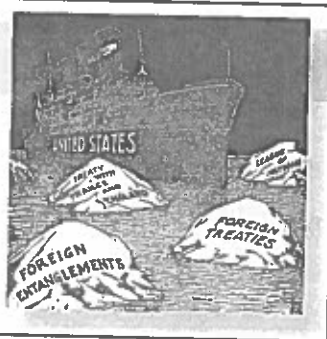
### Restrictions on Immigration

During World War I, submarine warfare made it very dangerous to cross the Atlantic and the great flood of immigration was temporarily halted. In 1917, a literacy test was passed over President Wilson's veto. It required immigrants to read and write in their own language. This was intended to keep out poorer, uneducated, and unskilled immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Even so, about 800,000 newcomers arrived between June 1920 and June 1921. Nativist sentiment, agitation by labor unions

fearing competition from cheap labor, and popular prejudice against Southern and Eastern Europeans had all been growing in intensity for decades. These forces now led to the passage of a series of laws restricting immigration. Harding himself had called for limits on immigration in his election campaign, and soon after he took office Congress passed the **Emergency Quota Act of 1921**. A **quota** refers to any fixed number of people or things permitted to do something. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 limited the total number of immigrants who could enter the United States in any one year to 350,000, fewer than half the number admitted in 1920. Each foreign country was assigned its own quota, or maximum number of immigrants, based on 3% of the number of immigrants from that country living in the United States in 1910. The new quota system was aimed at drastically reducing the number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Immigration from Asia had already been banned in 1917, except for from the Philippines. Immigration from Latin America, however, remained unrestricted.

## The Historian's Apprentice

Write a brief essay explaining how rejection of the League of Nations, higher tariffs, and the creation of new barriers to immigration were all signs of America's increasing isolationism.



### Harding's Foreign Policy

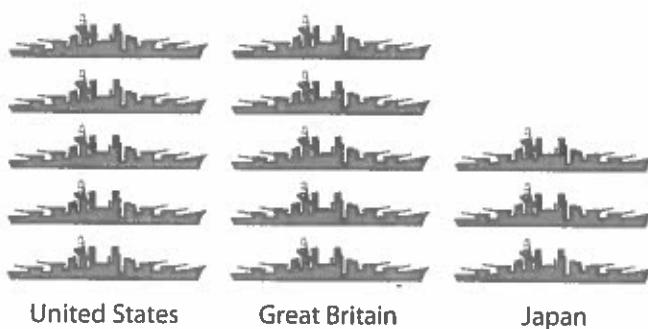
Supporters of the League of Nations still hoped that the United States might someday join the League, even though the Versailles Treaty had been rejected. Shortly after becoming President, Harding dashed these hopes. Many historians nonetheless believe that Harding was not an isolationist but a moderate internationalist at heart. While rejecting League membership, Harding launched his own ambitious efforts to reduce the threat of war; he also worked hard to promote American business overseas.

### The Washington Naval Conference

The dream of world peace was scarcely new. Many American groups favored such peace efforts. For example, the Woman's Peace Party was founded in 1915, before America entered World War I. In 1919, this organization renamed itself as the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**. The Women's International League for Peace condemned the Versailles Treaty as too vengeful, but moved its headquarters to Geneva to be close to the League of Nations, which it admired.

President Harding realized the Senate would never approve U.S. membership in the League of Nations. But in December 1920, a prominent Republican Senator proposed that America attempt a disarmament conference of its own with the other major naval powers: Britain and Japan. Petitions across the country flooded into Congress in support of his proposal. Harding agreed and invited Britain and Japan, as well as Italy, France, and several smaller countries, to a conference in Washington, D.C. in November 1921. In place of joining the League, Harding thus entered into a series of direct negotiations with the other major powers to promote world peace.

On the very first day of the **Washington Naval Conference**, Americans surprised the other delegates by proposing that the United States, Great Britain, and Japan each stop building new battleships and even scrap some of those they already had. It was the world's first proposal for partial **disarmament** (*reducing the number of weapons, or arms*). The United States and Britain eventually accepted parity (*equality*) in the number of battleships they possessed, while the Japanese accepted having slightly fewer. The ratio for the battleships of the three leading maritime powers was set at 5:5:3.



The Japanese only accepted these terms when the Americans promised not to fortify Guam or the Philippines, giving the Japanese superiority in their home waters. The only other naval powers at this time, France and Italy, agreed to limit the number of their battleships to half the number of Japan's. The agreement only covered large battleships, not submarines and smaller warships, so these powers were still left with ample opportunities for competition.

### The Four-Power Treaty

Fear of Russian expansion had led the British to sign an alliance with Japan in 1902. Americans feared that Japan and Britain might someday act together in the Pacific with a greater combined naval power than the United States. While representatives of these countries were at the Washington Naval Conference, the United States, Britain, and Japan therefore also worked out new arrangements for security in the Pacific. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was dissolved and replaced by the **Four-Power Treaty**. The United States, Britain, Japan, and France agreed to respect each other's territories and rights in the Pacific region and to submit any disputes to a "joint conference" of all four powers. This agreement was reached on December 13, 1921. Only two days later, the Japanese agreed to possess fewer battleships at the Naval Conference.

Before leaving Washington, all the delegates to the Naval Conference also signed a **Nine-Power Treaty**, agreeing to respect the independence of China. American diplomats hoped by this means to receive international recognition for their earlier "Open Door" policy" (see Chapter 8, page 151), but the new treaty proved impossible to enforce.

### International Finance: Allied War Debts and German Reparations

One issue that greatly complicated U.S. foreign policy in these years was that of allied war debts. During World War I, the United States had lent \$10 billion to Allied nations, mainly Britain, France, and Italy. These were loans, not grants or gifts, so the Allies were expected to repay the entire amount.

The Allies argued that in the early years of the war, they had sacrificed their soldiers' lives to the common cause at a time when Americans were only giving money. On these grounds, they urged that the war debts be cancelled. But Wilson and the Republican Presidents who followed him adamantly refused to do so. They were influenced by the fact that American taxpayers were still paying interest



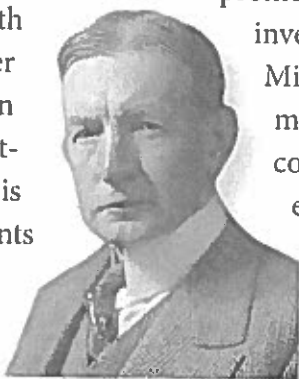
to the holders of the bonds that had raised the vast sums needed for these loans.

Under Harding, the United States did at least extend Britain's repayment period to 62 years and lowered the interest rate; similar arrangements were soon reached with the other debtor nations. The former Allies still did not have enough gold on hand to repay these debts. With higher American tariffs, they were also unable to sell enough goods in the United States to raise the cash or credit needed to make the loan payments. But Britain and France were entitled to reparations from Germany under the "War Guilt" Clause of the Treaty of Versailles. The amount that the Allies demanded from Germany was a staggering \$32 billion (although they never recovered even a fraction of that sum). Britain and France used the money they received from Germany to pay their debts to the United States. The issue of repayment of war debts and of reparations thus became closely intertwined.

### The Dawes Plan

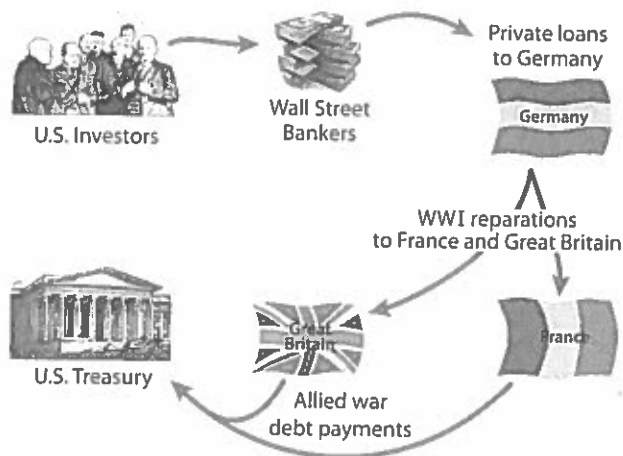
In 1923, Germany was unable to pay its reparations, and France and Belgium occupied a part of western Germany. The German government then printed excessive amounts of paper money to make its reparations payments, leading to a wild **inflation** (*rise in prices*) inside Germany. Middle-class families lost their savings as money lost all value.

An American banker, Charles Dawes, came up with the **Dawes Plan** to fix the problem in 1924. Private American investors lent \$200 million to Germany, while Germany's reparations payments were temporarily reduced to \$250 million (with the plan of gradually increasing them over time). Germany used the American loan to make its reparations payments to Britain and France. Britain and France used this money, in turn, to make their loan payments to the United States. The same money thus circulated from private investors in the United States to Germany, then to Britain and France, and finally back to



Charles Dawes

the United States Treasury. Germany also created a new currency to replace its old one, which had lost its value. The Dawes Plan gave Europe a sense of stability and a return to prosperity. In 1929, a new American plan reduced the German reparations down to \$9 billion, to be paid over a period of 59 years.



The question of the Allied war debts contributed to bad feelings between America and Europe. President Hoover announced a moratorium (*temporary postponement*) on the debt payments in 1931, after the Great Depression struck (see the next chapter). In 1933, all the European governments repudiated their war debts except Finland.

### Promotion of American Investment Overseas.

Although the United States was isolationist in many of its policies, Republican Presidents in the Twenties encouraged American investment abroad. Herbert Hoover, the energetic Secretary of Commerce under both Harding and Coolidge, actively promoted American economic expansion and investment in Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. American businessmen not only made loans to Germany and other European countries, they also invested in Middle Eastern oil.

### Relations with Latin America

During the Twenties, the Caribbean region continued to be treated like an "American lake." U.S. troops had been

occupying Nicaragua since 1912, Haiti since 1915, and the Dominican Republic since 1916. There was also friction between the United States and Mexico. Mexico's revolutionary government declared national ownership of all Mexican oil resources found below the ground. Some of these resources were claimed by American companies.

### Scandal Rocks the Harding Administration

Harding appointed many of the "best minds" of his day to the cabinet, including Andrew Mellon, Herbert Hoover, and Charles Evans Hughes (a former

Governor of New York and Supreme Court Justice). However, Harding also appointed his old friends, the "Ohio Gang," to important cabinet positions. They betrayed his trust by using their posts to make money for themselves. The head of the new Veterans' Bureau, for example, pocketed \$200 million while building veterans' hospitals. The Secretary of the Interior arranged to have oil-rich lands at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, previously reserved for the Navy, transferred to his own department. He then secretly leased them to businessmen in exchange for personal bribes. Harding died of a heart attack in 1923, just before the "Teapot Dome Scandal" became widely reported in the press.

## "Coolidge Prosperity"

Harding's Vice President, Calvin Coolidge, became the next President. Coolidge presented himself as a symbol of old-fashioned American values, like honesty and thrift. As Governor of Massachusetts, he had



put down the Boston police strike in 1919. Continuing Harding's pro-business policies, his motto was: "The business of America is business." Coolidge spoke so seldom in public that he became known as "Silent Cal." He was re-elected in 1924 on the slogan of "Coolidge Prosperity."

Coolidge reduced government expenditures and vetoed a bill to help farmers because he did not think the government should regulate farm prices. A veterans' bill, providing a life insurance policy to World War I veterans, was passed over his veto. Coolidge was given credit at the time for the business expansion of the 1920s, but he took no steps to curb the frenzy of stock market speculation and the continuation of high tariffs and regressive taxation that led to overproduction and under-consumption. Coolidge decided not to run for office again in 1928, without ever explaining why.

### Further Restrictions on Immigration

Coolidge believed that "Nordics," or people from Northern and Western Europe, were superior to all other ethnic and racial groups. During his Presidency, restrictions on immigration were further tightened. Experts testified before Congress that people from Eastern and Southern Europe were genetically inferior. The **Immigration Act of 1924** lowered the total number of legal immigrants per year to 150,000 (2% the number of foreign-born residents living in the United States in 1890).

The quota for each country was also changed. The date on which it was based was pushed back from 1910 to 1890, a time before the large influx of "New Immigrants." The way in which the quota for each country was calculated was changed too. In 1921, this had been based on the percentage of *immigrants of that nationality* compared to *all immigrants* living in the United States. In 1924, it was based on the percentage of people of *that national origin* compared to *all Americans*. Thus, the 1924 law is sometimes known as the "National Origins Act."

The total effect of all these changes was to drastically reduce the number of immigrants to the

United States from Southern and Eastern Europe. For example, before World War I about 200,000 Italians migrated to the United States each year; the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 reduced this number to 40,000; under the 1924 Immigration Act, a mere 4,000 Italians could be legally admitted.

### Coolidge's Foreign policy

#### The Geneva Disarmament Conference

The Washington Naval Conference had only been partially successful. The naval powers honored their pledges with respect to battleship construction but began an arms race in the building of cruisers and other smaller ships. Hoping to repeat Harding's success, Coolidge called for a new disarmament conference in Geneva, Switzerland—also the home of the League of Nations. The conference was held in 1927, but the participants refused to accept further limitations and nothing was achieved.

#### The Kellogg-Briand Pact

If no further progress could be made towards disarmament, what about the elimination of war itself? An American professor sent a letter to the French foreign minister, Aristide Briand, suggesting a treaty to outlaw war. In April 1927, Briand surprisingly responded by writing to the American Secretary of State, Frank



Frank Kellogg



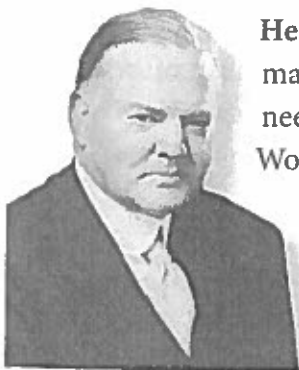
Aristide Briand

Kellogg, with the news that France was ready to enter into a treaty with the United States to outlaw war. His suggestion was widely praised in the American press. A citizens' petition with two million signatures in favor of the proposal was submitted to Congress. Kellogg insisted that the number of nations signing the treaty be expanded beyond just France and the United States. In August 1927, 15 nations signed the Pact of Paris, more commonly known as the **Kellogg-Briand Pact**, promising not to use war as an instrument of policy. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was approved by Congress, and Kellogg won the **Nobel Peace Prize** (*a prize established in 1896 for promoting world peace*). The agreement, however, permitted nations to engage in defensive war and was therefore illusory. Only twelve years later, the most destructive war in human history would take place.

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## Herbert Hoover and “Rugged Individualism”



**Herbert Hoover** was a self-made millionaire and engineer. Before America entered World War I, Hoover had been in charge of distributing relief aid to Belgian children and others in Europe. During the war, he had ably headed the government's Food Administration, overseeing the production and distribution of food. Hoover then served as Secretary of Commerce under both

Harding and Coolidge. He was therefore a logical successor to Coolidge. In his 1928 campaign, Hoover optimistically announced that America was on the verge of ending poverty. Like other Republican leaders, he was greatly impressed by the successes of American business in improving standards of living. He believed this was all the result of the “American system,” which he defined as a society in which individuals are given an education and equal opportunities, benefitting those with a will to succeed. This “**rugged individualism**,” Hoover believed, spurred American progress. Hoover favored

business cooperation to increase efficiency and avoid wasteful competition. He was more willing than Coolidge to use government to give some

direction to the capitalist system—and supported promoting voluntary cooperation among farmers with government funds.

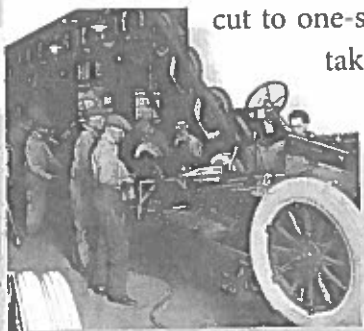
## How the Boom of the Roaring Twenties Altered the American Economy

For many Americans, the 1920s were a prosperous period. Wages and employment opportunities increased. Profits and production soared. The economic boom of the Twenties changed consumers, businesses, manufacturing, and marketing practices.

### Greater Efficiency in Manufacturing

One of the keys to success was the increasing efficiency of American industry. In 1914, Henry Ford introduced electric conveyor belts on his **assembly lines**. Each car moved along the belt to different groups of workers who completed one small portion of its assembly. Production time was astonishingly

cut to one-sixth of what it had previously taken. In the 1920s, the conveyor belt and other new techniques were applied to a number of different industries, making American workers more productive than ever before.

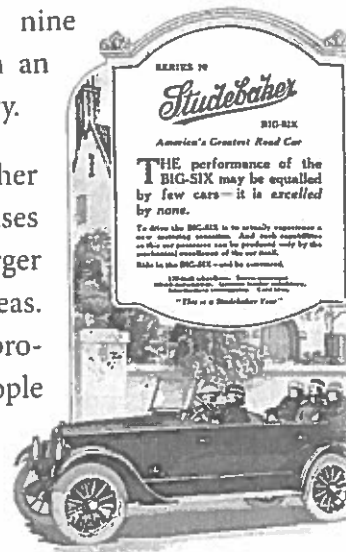


### The Rise of the Automobile

The product that most transformed American life during the Twenties was the automobile, which now came into widespread use. Henry Ford's vision of a complex machine, mass-produced on an assembly-line, brought the price of the automobile low enough to become affordable to middle-class purchasers. In 1920, there were 8 million cars on the road; by 1930, there were three times that number, or one car for every six Americans. The production of automobiles required vast amounts of steel, glass, and rubber, stimulating those industries. Motorists also required paved roads, bridges, garages, and gas stations. By

1929, one out of every nine workers was employed in an automobile-related industry.

The automobile had other effects as well. School buses allowed the creation of larger schools to serve wider areas. Tractors increased farm production. Cars gave people greater mobility, allowing farmers to drive into town for shopping or families to drive away on vacation. The construction of **suburbs** (*more open living areas on the outskirts of cities*) was greatly encouraged by the spread of the car. Real estate values rose. Even "bootlegging" and the rise of organized crime were helped by the availability of cars and trucks, which transported hidden alcohol.



### The Expansion of Other New Industries

The use of electricity more than doubled in the 1920s. New electric household appliances, like the vacuum cleaner, refrigerator, and electric toaster, became available for the first time. The use of petroleum and natural gas increased. The American chemical industry greatly expanded. Commercial broadcasts on radio first began in 1920 and led to the manufacture and purchase of millions of radios. By the end of the decade the new motion picture business had also become one of the largest industries in the United States. The development of all these new industries created new jobs, produced immense profits, and changed the ways in which Americans lived, traveled, communicated, and enjoyed themselves.

## New Marketing Practices in an Age of Consumerism

Mass production required mass consumption, which in turn required new ways to market goods. How would millions of consumers know what to buy? The growth of advertising informed potential consumers while stimulating their demand for products and services. New advertising agencies specialized in developing slogans and advertisements to attract customers. Advertisements were placed in newspapers and magazines, and on street signs and billboards. Businesses sponsored radio programs, so that they could read their advertisements to listeners. Homes also received mail-order catalogs, while shoppers in cities could visit giant department stores where clothing and household items from different manufacturers were displayed.



Retailers also developed new marketing practices. They had innovative plans to help consumers pay for products, such as **installment buying**. To pay in installments, the buyer had only to pay a small down payment to take home an item. The purchaser then paid the balance owed in small monthly payments (which included interest). People used installment purchasing to buy new products like cars, refrigerators, and household appliances. Customers also bought goods on credit.

American workers had higher average wages than before the war and could buy more products.

Because the work week was shorter, people also had more leisure time. This led them to spend more money on entertainment. By 1930, more than half the population was going to the movies once a week. More than half of all American families also owned radios.



## Speculation in the Stock Market and in Real Estate

**Speculation** is the buying of an item, not for personal use, but with the hope of reselling it later at a higher price. As you already know, **stocks** are shares in companies sold to the public. The owner of a stock has the right to sell it to someone else.

In the 1920s, speculation in stocks reached new heights. Corporate and personal profits were soaring and the federal government had reduced taxes on the rich. Many wealthy people invested part of their profits in the stock market. As the demand for stocks increased, their prices rose. Soon the price of a stock bore no relationship at all to its percentage of ownership in the company that issued it—it only represented what one buyer thought he or she could get from another buyer on the stock exchange.

As stocks went up in value, more and more people became tempted to buy them in the hope of getting rich quickly. This made stock prices climb higher still. By 1929, the prices of stocks were more than three times what they had been at the beginning of the Twenties. To make matters worse, people were buying on “**margin**.” Instead of paying the full price of the stock, they paid only 10% and promised to pay the rest later. Before they paid the balance, they sold the stock to get the cash for the payment. If the stock went up in price, they made a handsome profit—far in excess of what their investment was worth. But if the stock went down in price, they risked losing all their investment and might not even be able to pay the 90% they still owed. With buying on margin, the stock market was quickly turning into a national casino.

People also invested in real estate—especially in Florida—with similar hopes and illusions. As long as stocks and real estate continued to climb in value, people felt rich and spent both cash and credit on other goods too. The frenzy of stock market speculation created an atmosphere of “easy money,” which contributed to the prosperity of the 1920s. It made many individuals feel prosperous. However,

as you will learn in the next chapter, such speculation eventually brought the entire economy down in collapse.

### The Prosperity of the 1920s was Unevenly Distributed

Not all groups shared in the prosperity of the Roaring Twenties. The gap between the rich and poor remained wide. As many as half of all Americans lived at or below the poverty level. Some groups faced special difficulties.

#### Farmers

Farmers' problems were similar in some ways to those they faced in the Populist era. Advances in technology, especially the introduction of the tractor and the spread of electricity, led to overproduction and a catastrophic drop in farm prices. The revival of foreign competition, despite higher tariffs,

also hurt farmers. Total farm income dropped from \$22 billion in 1919 to only \$8 billion in 1928. Many American farmers went bankrupt.

#### Workers in the Railroad, Coal, and Textile Industries

Railroads became increasingly unprofitable because of competition from cars and trucks. The coal industry faced new competition from oil and natural gas. The textile industry faced competition from foreign producers, especially as European manufacturers recovered from World War I.

#### Minority Groups

African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and American Indians shared the common experience of limited job opportunities, low pay, and high levels of unemployment. You will learn more about these groups later in this chapter.

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## Attempts to Preserve Traditional Values

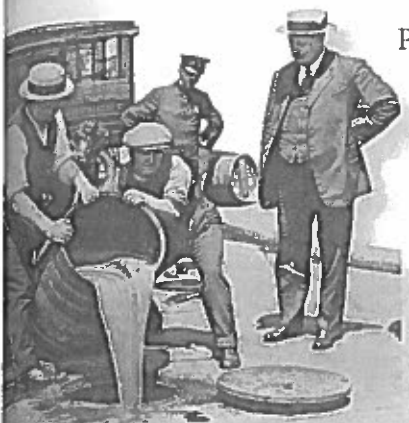
The greater mobility and material comfort afforded by automobiles and electricity had an important impact on social patterns and contributed to the emergence of new values. Some groups felt a new sense of power and freedom. Others felt challenged by new currents of thought and strove to preserve traditional values.

At the start of the 1920s, it was the attempt to preserve traditional values that was most striking. Rural America continued to regard the rise of urban society with suspicion. The “Red Scare” and laws restricting immigration were expressions of this impulse. Two of the best examples of the effort to defend traditional values were Prohibition and the Scopes Trial.

### Prohibition

The movement to ban alcoholic drinks, known as the **Temperance Movement**, began in the early 19th century. Temperance reformers saw alcoholic bev-

erages as the root cause of poverty, crime, the breakdown of families, and sin. Protestant church groups and women reformers were especially active in this movement. Supported by Progressives, temperance especially appealed to small-town America. Several individual states had already banned alcohol in the late 19th century. The **18th Amendment** extended this “noble experiment”—a clear attempt to legislate public morality—to the national level. The amendment was ratified by the states at the beginning of 1919. It prohibited “the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors,” including their importation. The amendment granted both Congress and the state governments powers of enforcement. In October 1919, Congress passed the **Volstead Act**, which defined “intoxicating liquors” to include both wine and beer. The law provided penalties for the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages (but not for their consumption). It also permitted limited production of alcohol for medical or religious purposes.



Authorities disposing of illegal alcohol

Prohibition proved difficult to enforce. There were very few enforcement agents. Most European immigrants and city-dwellers did not believe it was wrong to drink alcoholic beverages, and they refused to obey the law. “Bootleggers” brought beer and whiskey across from Canada. Others made their own brew in secret stills. Illegal nightclubs—known as “speakeasies”—served liquor in cities. Even President Harding secretly served alcohol to his guests in the White House.

As a result of Prohibition, people began to lose their respect for the law in general. The manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcohol was largely taken over by criminal gangs. Criminal bosses like Al Capone in Chicago made fortunes selling bootlegged liquor. Organized crime used its increased wealth and power to move into gambling, prostitution, and the collection of money from local businesses. Although Prohibition reduced social drinking, its side effects turned out to be far worse than its benefits. The “noble experiment” failed and Prohibition was finally repealed by the 21st Amendment in 1933.

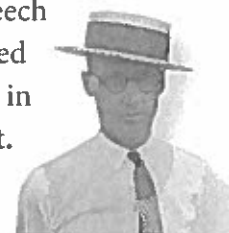


Chicago Police Department mug shot of Al Capone

In reaction to the rise of cities with new cultural values and greater freedom, there was an upsurge of traditional values in rural parts of the country. Some Protestant Christians declared their faith in the “Fundamentals,” a term taken from a twelve-volume study, *The Fundamentals* (published between 1910 and 1915). These Christian Fundamentalists believed that the Bible—including its account of Creation—was to be taken literally. They thought that God had created the world in seven days, and that

people and animals were created in their present form. They therefore opposed Darwin’s theory of evolution—the view that organisms have existed on Earth for millions of years and that they have gradually evolved through a process of natural selection.

John Butler was a Tennessee farmer, a member of the state legislature, and a Christian Fundamentalist. In 1925, Butler was able to pass a bill in the state legislature that prohibited the teaching of evolution in state-funded public schools. Similar laws were passed in other Southern states. The **American Civil Liberties Union** (or ACLU) was formed in 1920 to protect freedom of speech and other civil liberties. It persuaded John Scopes, a high school teacher in Tennessee, to defy the **Butler Act**.



John Scopes

Scopes was arrested for teaching evolution in violation of the law and put on trial. The ACLU brought in **Clarence Darrow**, a famous Chicago trial lawyer, to defend Scopes. **William Jennings Bryan**, the former Democratic candidate for President and President Wilson’s Secretary of State, assisted the prosecution. Darrow cross-examined Bryan as an expert on the Bible, pointing to contradictions that seemed to arise when the Bible was interpreted literally. The confrontation between Darrow and Bryan received national attention in both the newspapers and radio. Scopes was convicted, but his fine of \$100 was later set aside on a technicality. Tennessee never prosecuted any other teacher for giving lessons on evolution, even though the Butler Act was upheld by the Tennessee Supreme Court.



Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan

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### Fundamentalism and the Scopes Trial

In reaction to the rise of cities with new cultural values and greater freedom, there was an upsurge of traditional values in rural parts of the country. Some Protestant Christians declared their faith in the “Fundamentals,” a term taken from a twelve-volume study, *The Fundamentals* (published between 1910 and 1915). These Christian Fundamentalists believed that the Bible—including its account of Creation—was to be taken literally. They thought that God had created the world in seven days, and that

# New Values

Against these traditional rural values were newer urban ones. For the first time, half of all Americans were living in cities. Many sought greater openness and self-expression, and an abandonment of earlier restrictions. These new values were largely a product of the cosmopolitanism of city-life—higher levels of education, exposure to a greater number of ideas (especially from Europe), a greater mix of cultures due to the influx of immigrants, and freedom in general from the restraints of small town life. The sense of greater freedom had an especially strong impact on women, young adults, and African Americans.

wings. It was popularized by the 1920 film, *The Flapper*, about a teenage school girl in Florida.

Because of the greater number of women living in cities and the growing ownership of cars in the countryside, many young women now went out unchaperoned. Female movie stars began serving as popular role models. In general, women enjoyed far greater freedom of self-expression than before the war.



## Women

The decade opened with ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920, which guaranteed women the right to vote. Women's roles in the work force also began to change. Many women found increased employment opportunities as secretaries, sales clerks, telephone operators, nurses, and factory workers.

A small number—graduates of women's colleges—became professional “career women,” asserting their independence from men. New household appliances—such as the refrigerator, electric washing machine, and vacuum cleaner—had only just appeared, giving women in the middle classes more leisure time.

Manners and morals were also changing. In the 1920s, women generally became more assertive. Many smoked and drank in public. They stopped wearing restrictive clothing like petticoats, corsets, broad hats, and long dresses. “Flappers” were fashionable young women who wore lipstick, short hair, and straight simple dresses or pleated skirts that just reached to their knees. The name “Flapper” referred to their greater freedom: they were birds “flapping” their

In the 1920s, greater awareness of birth control methods was also spreading. A woman reformer, Margaret Sanger, played a critical role in this development. In 1914, she wrote a series of articles on birth control that shocked some readers. A federal law made it illegal to send information about birth control in the mail, and Sanger had to flee to England to avoid arrest. She returned to the United States and opened the first birth control clinic in America in 1916, staffed entirely by women doctors. In 1921, Sanger started the American Birth Control League, which later became Planned Parenthood.



## BIRTH CONTROL

EVERY person who is married or is contemplating marriage should have in a word of advice. The only way to avoid the possibility of a "surprise" family is to have the birth control method of your choice. It is the only way to avoid the possibility of a "surprise" family. It is the only way to avoid the possibility of a "surprise" family.

Self-respecting, intelligent people today are not taking any chances. They are determined and want to have all about BIRTH CONTROL and its derivatives. It is the only way to avoid the possibility of a "surprise" family. It is the only way to avoid the possibility of a "surprise" family.

What a Few Careless Readers Have Written Me I am a married man and I am not taking any chances. I am not taking any chances. I am not taking any chances. I am not taking any chances. I am not taking any chances. I am not taking any chances.

SEND NO MONEY. When the above book arrives by post only \$2.50 plus postage.

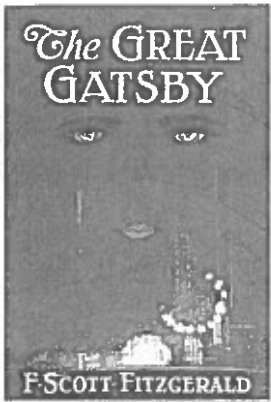
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Send no money on order to be mailed under the Postal Code.

## The “Lost Generation”

Young adults in cities enjoyed greater freedom than ever before and gave the Twenties its reputation for craziness. They turned the materialism of their parents into a frenzied pursuit of pleasure. They were responsible for zany fads—such as goldfish swallowing, marathon dancing, and flagpole sitting. A group of young writers rejected the materialism of American life, which they viewed as superficial.



Young novelist Sinclair Lewis parodied the narrowness and hypocrisy of small-town middle-class American life in *Main Street* and *Babbitt*. F. Scott Fitzgerald revealed the confusions of his generation



in *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby*, showing how the search for purely material success could sometimes lead to tragedy. Some of these writers, including Fitzgerald, left the United States for Europe. Ernest Hemingway, a young American reporter in Paris,



Hemingway

captured the feelings of these Americans living abroad in his novel *The Sun Also Rises*, published in 1926.

### Hollywood and New Popular Heroes

Greater leisure time gave people more time for entertainment. People began attending organized sports in large numbers, where popular heroes like the baseball player Babe Ruth or the boxing champion Jack Dempsey appeared. People also began listening to radio and going to movies. Radio and motion pictures helped to forge a truly national popular culture as millions of Americans listened to the same voices on the radio or saw the same scenes in the movie theater.

Thomas Edison had developed the technology for moving pictures at the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the first film companies set up studios in New York, but several wanted to move away from Edison so that they did not get into disputes over patent rights. In 1910, the director D. W. Griffith took a group of famous actors to Los Angeles. They settled in **Hollywood**, which was then a small village. In 1915, Griffith filmed *Birth of a Nation*, a silent film epic about the Civil War and Reconstruction that was one of the most successful films of all time. Soon several other filmmakers, attracted by the warm and sunny weather, also moved to Hollywood.

In 1927, *The Jazz Singer*, the first "talkie" film with sound, was released. Movie studios like Paramount and Warner Brothers acquired their own movie theaters, where they showed their productions. Writers, directors, actors and actresses signed con-



tracts with particular studios, received salaries, and only made films for that studio.

Hollywood produced westerns, comedies, romances, and musicals. More and more Americans were attracted to the movies as a form of entertainment. Movie stars like Rudolph Valentino, Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, and Greta Garbo became household names. Movie

houses often showed newsreels before the main feature, and thus became places where Americans learned more about current affairs. They also saw how other people lived. Some people believed Hollywood was becoming a corrupt influence. A Republican leader, Will Hays, became a spokesperson for the motion picture industry and later wrote a moral code for movies to prevent states from introducing their own forms of censorship.



Mary Pickford with a movie camera

Movie stars and other popular heroes served as role models for many Americans. The rise of new popular heroes may have been influenced by the need to preserve a sense of personal identity in an increasingly impersonal age of machines. If people felt a loss of individuality on the assembly line or as part of a large corporate organization, they could at least vicariously enjoy the exploits of Charles Lindbergh, who made the first transatlantic flight in 1927, or of Gertrude Ederle, the first woman to swim the English Channel.

## The Historian's Apprentice

Imagine you are a young person living in the Twenties. Write a letter to your cousin describing some aspect of popular culture: the Scopes trial, Prohibition, women's new roles, recent literature, or the movies.

### The African-American Experience and the Harlem Renaissance

African Americans enjoyed new opportunities in the 1920s while continuing to face old prejudices.

#### Booker T. Washington vs. W.E.B. Du Bois

Two leaders who offered alternative responses to the challenges facing African Americans even before the Twenties began were Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois.

**Booker T. Washington** (1856–1915), the elder of the two, had been born into slavery. After the Civil War, Washington and his mother moved to West Virginia. As a boy, he taught himself to read while working in a mine and then as a household servant. Because of his sharp intelligence, he was sent to the Hampton Agricultural Institute, a school for African Americans, but he had to make the 500-mile journey to the school

alone on foot. Washington received vocational training, became a teacher, and later founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which taught agricultural and mechanical skills

and teacher training. He also wrote about his own experiences in his popular autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901). Washington became the most famous African American of his generation, giving speeches,

traveling with a large group of followers, and receiving support from wealthy white philanthropists, including Andrew Carnegie. Presidents like Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft consulted him.

After witnessing the difficulties of Reconstruction and its aftermath, Booker T. Washington thought that African Americans should concentrate on achieving vocational skills rather than on demanding immediate social equality. He felt that racism could best be overcome by demonstrating that African Americans were honest, skilled and industrious. He therefore believed they should stay in the countryside and not attempt to compete with whites, advising them to “cast down your bucket where you are.” In a famous speech given in Atlanta in 1895, he proposed the “Atlanta Compromise”—that African Americans would peacefully submit to segregation and white rule in the South, so long as they were given free vocational training in public schools and enjoyed their most basic legal rights.

**W.E.B. Du Bois** (1868–1963) was born in New England. Thirteen years younger than Booker T. Washington, he came to disagree strongly with the latter's approach. Du Bois believed that African Americans must agitate for full social equality and should not rest content, even temporarily, with an inferior social and economic status. He also believed that the most intelligent and capable blacks—whom he called the “Talented Tenth”—should receive a liberal and



Booker T. Washington



W.E.B. Du Bois

professional education, both to demonstrate their ability and to lead the movement for full civil rights for all African Americans. Du Bois himself studied in the United States and Germany and received a Ph.D. at Harvard. He was Professor of History at the University of Atlanta from 1897 to 1919. He published *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903, in which he opposed Booker T. Washington's views on education. After a meeting with Booker T. Washington in 1904, Du Bois launched the "Niagara Movement." The new movement condemned the "Atlanta Compromise." Its "Declaration of Principles" called for equal economic opportunities for African Americans and the right to vote. In 1909–1910, Du Bois joined with white Progressives in New York City to launch the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**, or "NAACP."

### The Great Migration

When World War I broke out, nine out of ten African Americans were still living in the South, where most of them were sharecroppers or tenant farmers. A wartime shortage of workers led Northern manufacturers to send agents to the South to entice African Americans to move north. Others were encouraged to move by letters from relatives or by advertisements in African-American newspapers, or they just wanted to escape Southern segregation and racism. The spread of the boll weevil (*a beetle*) to cotton fields led to a loss of jobs in the South just when new restrictions on European immigration had created a growing demand for labor in the North. U.S. Steel used African-American workers as strikebreakers during the 1919 strike, while Henry Ford hired African Americans to work alongside white laborers in his auto plants in Detroit. Almost two million Southern blacks migrated to Northern cities—especially New York, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia—over the next two decades, in the "Great Migration."

### Continuing Racism and Violence

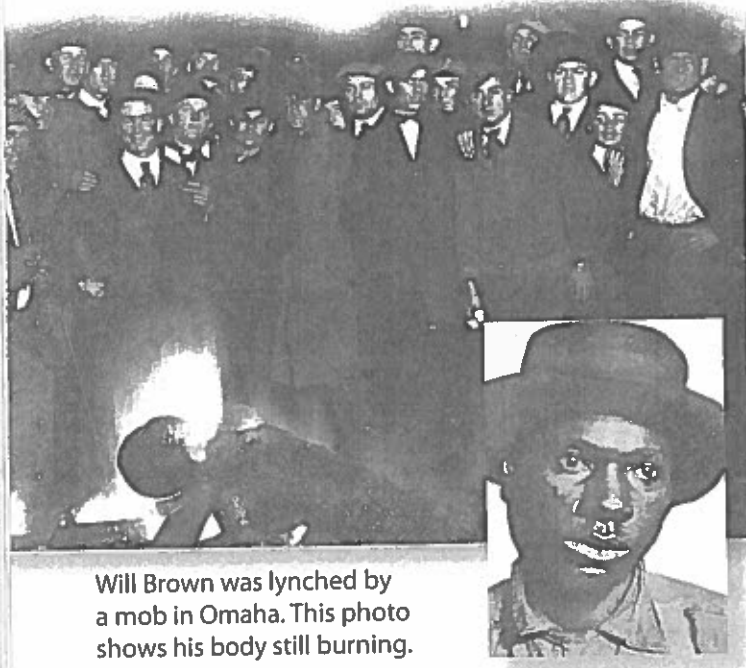
African Americans felt a greater sense of freedom in the North, but they still faced considerable obstacles. They were forced to move to a limited number of neighborhoods because landlords and homeowners elsewhere refused to rent or sell to them. They continued to face racial hatred, discrimination, and even violence. As black veterans returned from World War I, there were increased tensions. In July 1919, an African-American teenager on a raft drifted towards a "white" beach on the shores of Lake Michigan in Chicago. A white bather threw rocks, hitting him on the head and causing him to drown. When police refused to arrest anyone, fighting broke out, which soon spread to rioting in black neighborhoods. White gangs invaded, destroying property and attacking residents. Over the next several days, 38 were killed and 500 were injured. Similar riots occurred in other cities, including Washington, D.C., Omaha, Nebraska, and Elaine, Arkansas, during "Red Summer."

Two years later, one of the worst race riots in the nation's history took place in Tulsa, Oklahoma. An African-American nineteen-year-old was arrested when he fell and grabbed the arm of a white female elevator operator. A white crowd showed up at the jail, ready to lynch the prisoner. But African-American veterans appeared with rifles, forcing the crowd to disperse. However, when news spread of the incident, angry whites attacked the black neighborhood of Greenwood, killing residents and



burning the entire neighborhood to the ground. Estimates of the number who died vary from 39 to several hundred. More than 30 neighborhood blocks were destroyed, and 10,000 people were left homeless.

Meanwhile, lynchings continued across the South, averaging about thirty a year throughout the decade. Victims were often tortured before being murdered, and their dead bodies were frequently mutilated and burned. With the return of African-American veterans in 1919, many Southern whites became especially uneasy, and the number of lynchings briefly increased. Although many of these murders occurred in public, often in broad daylight, not a single person was ever charged under state law.



Will Brown was lynched by a mob in Omaha. This photo shows his body still burning.

The NAACP turned its efforts in support of the Dyer Bill, which would have made lynching a federal crime. The bill passed the House of Representatives but was held up in the Senate by filibustering (*giving long speeches so that a bill never comes before the Senate for a vote*). Opponents attacked the Dyer Bill as a violation of states' rights. Supporters pointed out that Congress had already passed laws making the sale of alcohol a federal crime, yet refused to pass a law against the far worse crime of lynching. In fact, the bill never passed.

## The Harlem Renaissance

Despite these setbacks, African Americans developed a greater sense of pride in the 1920s. There were approximately 15 million African Americans living in the United States. More of them were being educated than ever before. The greatest concentration of African Americans was found in **Harlem**, a neighborhood in New York City. Because discrimination prevented them from residing in other parts of the city, African Americans of different occupations mixed together in Harlem where they lived side by side.

### Roots

African-American communities in Northern cities started their own daily newspapers, such as *The Defender* in Chicago, which reached 300,000 subscribers by 1930, and the *Pittsburg Courier* with 100,000 readers. The NAACP published its own monthly magazine, *The Crisis*, edited by W.E.B. Du Bois, while a rival organization, the **National Urban League**, published the magazine *Opportunity*. These magazines not only reported news events and rallied supporters, they also published the work of African-American writers and poets, giving birth to a flourishing of black culture that has since become known as the "**Harlem Renaissance**."

### Writers and Artists

Many of the writers and artists who made up the Harlem Renaissance were veterans of World War I. After fighting for democracy abroad, they resented second-class citizenship and white supremacy at home. The Harlem Renaissance began with the publication of the essay "Enter the New Negro," by **Alain Locke**, an African-American philosophy professor at Howard University. Locke's "New Negro" rejected the timidity and subservience of the "Old Negro"—African Americans who, like Booker T. Washington, attempted to reconcile themselves to white supremacy and were now seen as "Uncle Toms." Instead, the "New Negro" took great pride in being black and would rise above racism—



“from some inner, desperate resourcefulness,” wrote Locke, “has recently sprung up the simple expedient of fighting prejudice by mental passive resistance, in other words, by trying to ignore it.” Harlem, according to Locke, had become the “Mecca of the New Negro.”

One of the writers who participated in the movement was **Countee Cullen**, a poet who had studied English and French literature, and married Du Bois’s daughter. Another, **Jean Toomer**, wrote *Cane* (1923)—a modern novel consisting of short stories, poems and a play, all of which described African-American experiences in both the South and the North. The most celebrated poet of the Harlem Renaissance was

**Langston Hughes**. He aimed to capture “the spirit of the race” and inspire his people: “Most of my poems are racial in theme and treatment, derived from the life I know.” Hughes was fluent in German, Spanish, and

French. He had studied engineering at Columbia University and lived in Paris before returning to Harlem. His poems first appeared in the magazines *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*. In 1926, Hughes published his first complete volume of poetry.

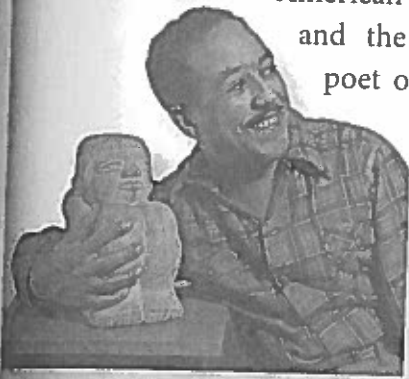
Another writer, **Claude McKay**, came from Jamaica. He wrote *Home to Harlem* in 1928, a novel providing a realistic portrayal of African-American life in Harlem. Du Bois felt that McKay’s description of the hardships of ghetto life actually set back the cause of civil rights since it depicted the conditions of the lowest, and not the most talented. Du Bois believed the aim of African-American literature should be to “uplift” the black community and to depict African Americans in a positive light. But Langston Hughes and other younger writers disagreed, arguing that the aim of the black artist should be to reveal the terrible consequences of racism and discrimination.

One of the underlying aims of the Harlem Renaissance was to disprove racial prejudice by demon-

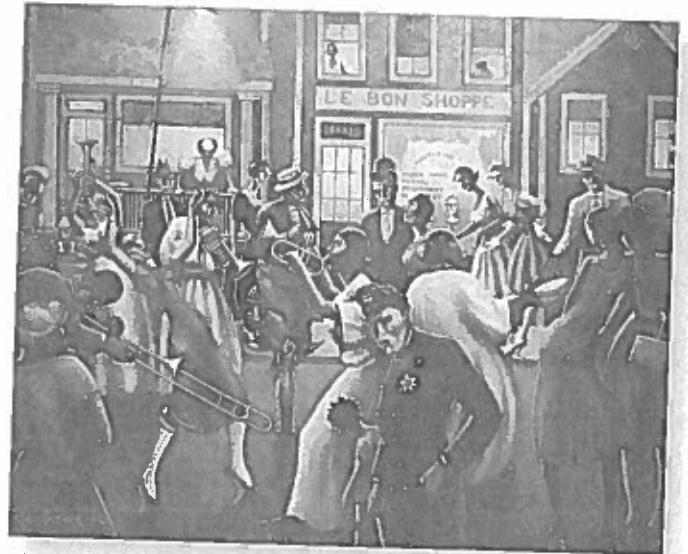
strating that African Americans were capable of creating great works of art and literature. Other important writers of the Harlem Renaissance included **Zora Neal Hurston**, who grew up in Florida, studied anthropology at Columbia University, and published short stories. Another writer, Wallace Thurman, believed that black writers should not have a specific agenda, other than to express themselves. He published a literary journal, *Fire!!!*, with Zora Neal Hurston and Langston Hughes. The painter Archibald Motley is often considered to belong to the Harlem Renaissance, although he lived in Chicago, where he painted African-American portraits and scenes of night life. Other notable painters were Palmer Hayden and Aaron Douglas.



Zora Neal Hurston



Langston Hughes



The painting *Getting Religion* by Archibald Motley

### Jazz

With its syncopated rhythms, use of notes from the blues scale, and emphasis on improvisation, jazz music also became popular. Jazz had its roots in old work songs, blues music from the South, and African-American spirituals. Langston Hughes tried to capture its pulse in his poems: “In many of them I try to grasp and hold some of the meanings and rhythms of jazz. Jazz to me is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America: the eternal



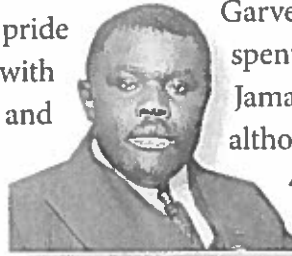
Billie Holiday

tom-tom of revolt against weariness in a white world." Musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Cab Calloway, and Duke Ellington played jazz music in Harlem night clubs. Ella Fitzgerald, Billie Holiday, and Bessie Smith became famous as jazz vocalists.

Jazz became popular across the country. White New Yorkers flocked at night to the Cotton Club in Harlem, where black musicians played to a white audience. F. Scott Fitzgerald popularized jazz in his books.

### Marcus Garvey

The most popular black leader of the early 1920s was another immigrant from Jamaica: **Marcus Garvey**. Born in Jamaica, Garvey traveled to both Latin America and England. Returning to Jamaica in 1914, he established the **Universal Negro Improvement Association**. In 1916, he moved to Harlem. Garvey believed that "black is beautiful," and that all people of African heritage should take pride in their race. He opposed cooperation with whites in organizations like the NAACP and encouraged blacks to form their own businesses and act independently. Garvey set up stores, restaurants, a hotel and his



own newspaper, *The Negro World*. A frequent contributor was Carter G. Woodson, a graduate of Berea College and the second African American to earn a Ph.D. in history at Harvard. A noted scholar, Woodson became known as the "Father of Black History."

Garvey also established his own shipping line—the "Black Star Line," with routes to the Caribbean. Soon he had half a million followers. Garvey emphasized the achievements of African history: "Negroes, teach your children that they are the direct descendants of the greatest and proudest race that ever peopled the earth." He even started a "**Back to Africa**" movement. In 1920, he held the "International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World" in Madison Square Garden, where he was proclaimed as the "Provisional President" of Africa. However, his shipping venture soon failed, and he made the mistake of meeting with Ku Klux Klan leaders in the South, enraging other African-American leaders. In 1923,

Garvey was tried and convicted for mail fraud. He spent two years in prison and was deported to Jamaica in 1927. His movement never recovered, although some of his ideas would re-emerge 40 years later during the Civil Rights Movement.

## The Historian's Apprentice

**Booker T. Washington** told African Americans to limit their ambitions for the moment to obtaining a vocational education and raising their standards of living. **W.E.B. Du Bois** urged African Americans to seek immediate equality with whites in all endeavors. Finally, **Marcus Garvey** told peoples of African heritage to separate from whites and to rely on themselves.

1. Make a chart or Venn diagram comparing the viewpoints of these three leaders on the African-American experience.
2. Select three members of your class to impersonate these three leaders. Then have all three hold a joint press conference in which they present their ideas. The rest of the class should act as reporters, asking them questions about their backgrounds, activities, and views. Each of the three main speakers should then provide a closing statement summarizing his own point of view.
3. Select one of these leaders and prepare a PowerPoint presentation or short biography based on your own research, using materials from the library or the Internet.
4. Select one of the writers from the Harlem Renaissance and read one of his or her works.

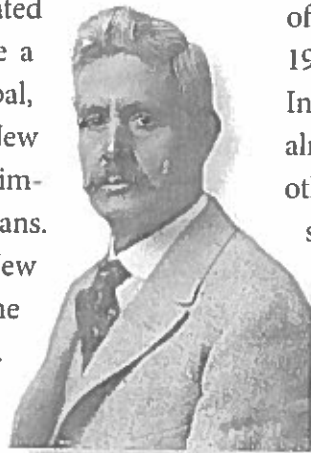
## Other Minority Groups

African Americans were not the only minority group to experience discrimination and hardship in the 1920s. This was an era when most white Americans believed in the superiority of their own race.

### Hispanic Americans

There were Hispanic Americans, especially in the Southwest, whose families had been living in these areas even before they were annexed by the United States. The number of Mexican workers crossing the border into the United States increased dramatically during World War I, when there was a shortage of labor on farms and in cities. There were no restrictions on immigration from Latin America (including Mexico). Landowners from Texas, Arizona, and California needed farm laborers and opposed all proposals to restrict immigration from the south. Their opponents argued that Mexicans were racially inferior and that their increasing numbers threatened American civilization. Although Congress refused to place limits on Latin American immigration, it created the U.S. Border Patrol in 1924, and required those entering America to pay \$10 for a visa. Many Latin Americans could not afford this fee and began to cross the border illegally. Most of those who came worked as migrant farm laborers, picking sugar beets and cotton, or fruits and vegetables.

Some Hispanic immigrants found ways to fight discrimination and establish a place for themselves in American politics and culture. **Octaviano Larrazolo** was born in Mexico and migrated to the United States. He became a school teacher, a school principal, and a lawyer. He helped rewrite New Mexico's constitution to ban discrimination against Mexican Americans. In 1918, he became Governor of New Mexico. In 1928, he became the first Mexican American in the U.S. Senate. In the same year, Daniel Venegas, another Mexican



immigrant, published *The Adventures of Don Chipote*, a novel describing the harsh conditions experienced by migrant laborers.

### American Indians

During the 1920s, the goal of federal policy towards American Indian tribes remained the same as under the Dawes Act—to assimilate their members into “mainstream” society and turn them into small farmers. The government provided limited assistance, but only to those who held jobs, which were scarce on reservation land. Indians were only permitted to leave the reservation with the permission of the reservation agent. Because of the sale of reservation lands after passage of the Dawes Act, conditions on the remaining reservation lands were wretched, with high rates of alcoholism, crime and suicide. Ninety-six percent of Indian families had incomes of less than \$200 a year (when an average family had twelve times as much). In 1928, a panel of sociologists reported that the Indians were “extremely poor,” most of their homes were shacks without fresh water or toilets, their schools were inadequate, and diseases like tuberculosis and measles were killing thousands of them each year.

Some American Indian groups fought to preserve their traditions. The American Indian Defense Association was organized in 1921 to protect their rights. The new association successfully opposed a bill in Congress that would have taken away most of the land of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. In 1924, the **Indian Citizenship Act** made all American Indians into United States citizens. In fact, many were already citizens after serving in World War I or for other reasons. The main effects of the Indian Citizenship Act were that Indians could vote in federal elections and became subject to federal income tax. Several states with reservation lands, including Arizona, New Mexico, and South Dakota, continued to bar American Indians from voting in state elections until the 1950s.

American Indians were excited in the 1920s by **Jim Thorpe** (1888–1953), a member of the Sac and Fox tribe. Thorpe attended an Indian agency school and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, where he played football. Thorpe was so talented that his school team defeated both Harvard and the Army. In the 1912 Olympics, Thorpe won several events and was honored with a parade down Broadway. Later, he became a major league baseball player and then a football player in the new NFL. Because he had played a season in baseball, he was not considered an amateur and lost his Olympic medals, but Thorpe continued to play professional football until 1928. He is widely considered as one of the best athletes of the century. His Olympic medals were returned to his family in 1987.



### Asian Americans

Just over 330,000 Asian Americans were living in the United States in 1920, making up less than

one percent of the population. Most lived in the West—especially in California. The largest groups of Asian Americans were Japanese (220,596), Chinese (85,202), and Filipino (26,634). Asian immigrants could not become naturalized citizens, and further Asian immigration was barred by the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924. Those already living here continued to face discrimination. The Asiatic Exclusion League, formed in San Francisco in 1905, aimed to end Asian immigration and to segregate Asian children in public schools. California passed a law in 1913 that prohibited Asian residents from owning land because they could not become citizens. Other states quickly followed this example. In the 1920s, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld these laws as well as the general ban on naturalized citizenship for Asians. Asian Americans born in the United States, however, were citizens.



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## The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan, dead since the 1870s, was suddenly revived as an anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-black movement. It especially represented the fears of the residents of the small towns of the Midwest and South, who saw themselves as the true “one hundred percent” Americans, but its membership also grew in some cities.

### Rebirth of the Klan

William Simmons launched this resurgence of the Klan in 1915 when a Jewish convict in Georgia was lynched after his sentence to death for rape and murder was changed by the governor to life imprisonment. In the same year, the movie *The Birth of a Nation* glorified the Klan in its early history. The images of the film, which included the costumes and heroics of the Klan, became a popular propaganda tool for recruiting new Klan members.

### The Klan in its Heyday

In the 1920s, the Klan organized on a national scale. It grew larger than it had been after the Civil War. Its structure stretched from coast to coast, with its strongest representation in the South and Midwest. In some areas, Klan membership constituted as much as 20% to 40% of the white male adult population. Klan members dressed in hooded robes, burned crosses, held parades and meetings, and spread their gospel of hatred.

In these years, the Klan’s ideological stance also expanded. It not only included its traditional racism against African Americans but also embraced hatred of Jews, Catholics, unions, immigrants, and all





those advocating voting rights for women. The Klan's resurgence occurred in the aftermath of large-scale immigration to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mostly from Eastern and Southern Europe. These immigrants were, for the most part, Jews and Catholics. They competed for jobs and housing during an uneasy time of rapid urbanization and industrialization. Women seeking equality ran counter to the traditional views of a male-dominated Anglo-Saxon society. Unions were progressive and were seen to be advancing the interests of immigrant laborers. Klan members championed white Anglo-Saxon Protestants as superior to everyone else. They claimed to represent "one hundred percent Americanism," which became their motto. African Americans, Catholics, Jews, and others who did not fit their ideal racial and cultural profile were considered outsiders and became the targets of the Klan's hatred.

With growing popular support, the Klan was able to play a greater role in politics nationwide. Klan members generally supported the Democratic Party.

Klan members were elected to national, state and municipal offices. In Indiana, Klan member Edward Jackson was elected as Governor in 1924. In the same year, the Klan became a divisive element at the Democratic National Convention, forcing the supporters of William McAdoo, a Protestant, and Al Smith, a Catholic, to settle for a compromise candidate. Eventually, criminal activities, internal struggles, loss of public support, and new laws prohibiting some of the Klan's activities led to a collapse of its membership. By 1930, the number of its members had fallen back down to 30,000 (see chart).

#### The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan has actually occupied the national stage in three different periods: during and just after Reconstruction, from 1915 through the 1930s, and lastly, in the 1950s and 1960s, when it opposed the Civil Rights Movement.

Year	Membership
1868	550,000
1920	4,000,000
1924	6,000,000
1930	30,000
1965	35,000
2008	6,000
2012	5,000

## Focus on Florida

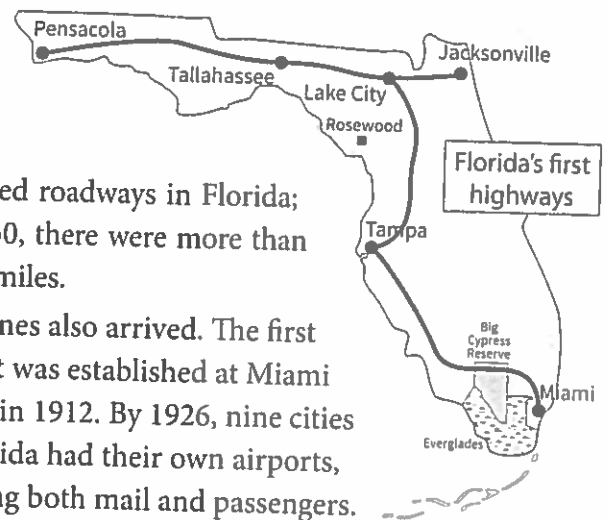
By 1920, many Americans had come to think of Florida as a desirable place to visit or live. Advertisements, magazine articles, and the memories of those who had visited for business, pleasure, or military service had all done their part in promoting the state. Americans were aware of Florida's luxury hotels, parks, beaches, and other recreational opportunities. The state eliminated its inheritance and income taxes to provide additional appeal. Between 1923 and 1925, more than 300,000 Americans moved to Florida.

The increasing use of automobiles put pressure on the state to construct a roadway system. Florida's first highway department was established in 1915. The state's first concrete highway, between Jacksonville and Lake City, was completed in 1923. The Tamiami Trail, connecting Tampa and Miami, was completed in 1928. It was 273 miles long and took five years to build. In 1920 there had been fewer than 1,000 miles

of paved roadways in Florida; by 1930, there were more than 3,800 miles.

Airplanes also arrived. The first airport was established at Miami Beach in 1912. By 1926, nine cities in Florida had their own airports, carrying both mail and passengers.

With trains, planes, and cars, "snow birds" found they could escape the winter cold by coming south. Florida became a place where many people wanted to buy land. In the early Twenties, speculation in real estate led to a land boom in Miami Beach, which spread along the coasts and moved as far west as



Tallahassee and Pensacola. Properties were bought and resold only a few days later at a profit. Land on Miami Beach, which the developer Carl Fisher had been willing to give away for free in 1915, was worth \$26,000 an acre by 1925.

During these years, the land boom dominated Florida's economy. It affected transportation, construction, labor, and the allocation of resources. Architects designed luxurious mansions in the Mediterranean style for wealthy buyers, with tile roofs, wrought-iron balconies, fountains, and patios. Banks made speculative loans to developers and speculators without strict requirements. Inevitably, some loans went unpaid and a few banks began to fail. In 1925, a strike on the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad temporarily halted the movement of passengers and freight. A natural disaster struck a year later on September 18, 1926, when a deadly hurricane smashed Miami, Coral Gables, Fort Lauderdale, Dania, and Pompano. In Miami alone, as many as 2,000 buildings were destroyed, the city docks were demolished, and all the boats in the harbor were lost.

Real estate prices collapsed almost as rapidly as they had risen. Some people began to exit the state and more banks began to fail. The boom became a bust. There was a slight revival in 1927 and 1928, followed by another destructive hurricane in September 1928. The Mediterranean fruit fly arrived in 1929, destroying 80% of Florida's citrus crop. The stock market crash in October later the same year marked the beginning of the Great Depression, which would soon envelop the entire nation.

### The Seminole Indians

The Seminole Indians are related to the Creek. Most once lived in Georgia and Alabama, but they were driven south into Florida by the Creek Wars. Several thousand Seminoles were living in Florida at the start of the Second Seminole War (1835–1842). Many were killed, but a few hundred survivors escaped into the Everglades. By the 1890s, the Seminoles were living peacefully in the Everglades and Big Cypress, surviving as hunters who traded their otter pelts, deerskins,

egret plumes, and alligator hides with whites. The state and federal governments set aside reservation lands in Florida for the Seminoles, but few moved into them. As the scale of tourism and real estate development increased in the 1920s, the Seminole way of life became endangered. The Tamiami Trail, connecting Tampa and Miami, became the first road through the Everglades. Efforts to drain parts of the wetlands to create more farmland and build homes further threatened the Seminoles. The demand for their alligator hides and furs fell. The Seminoles began selling their patchwork art, baskets, and other crafts to tourists, who visited their roadside homes. The Seminoles themselves divided into two groups still existing today: the Miccosukee and the Seminoles.

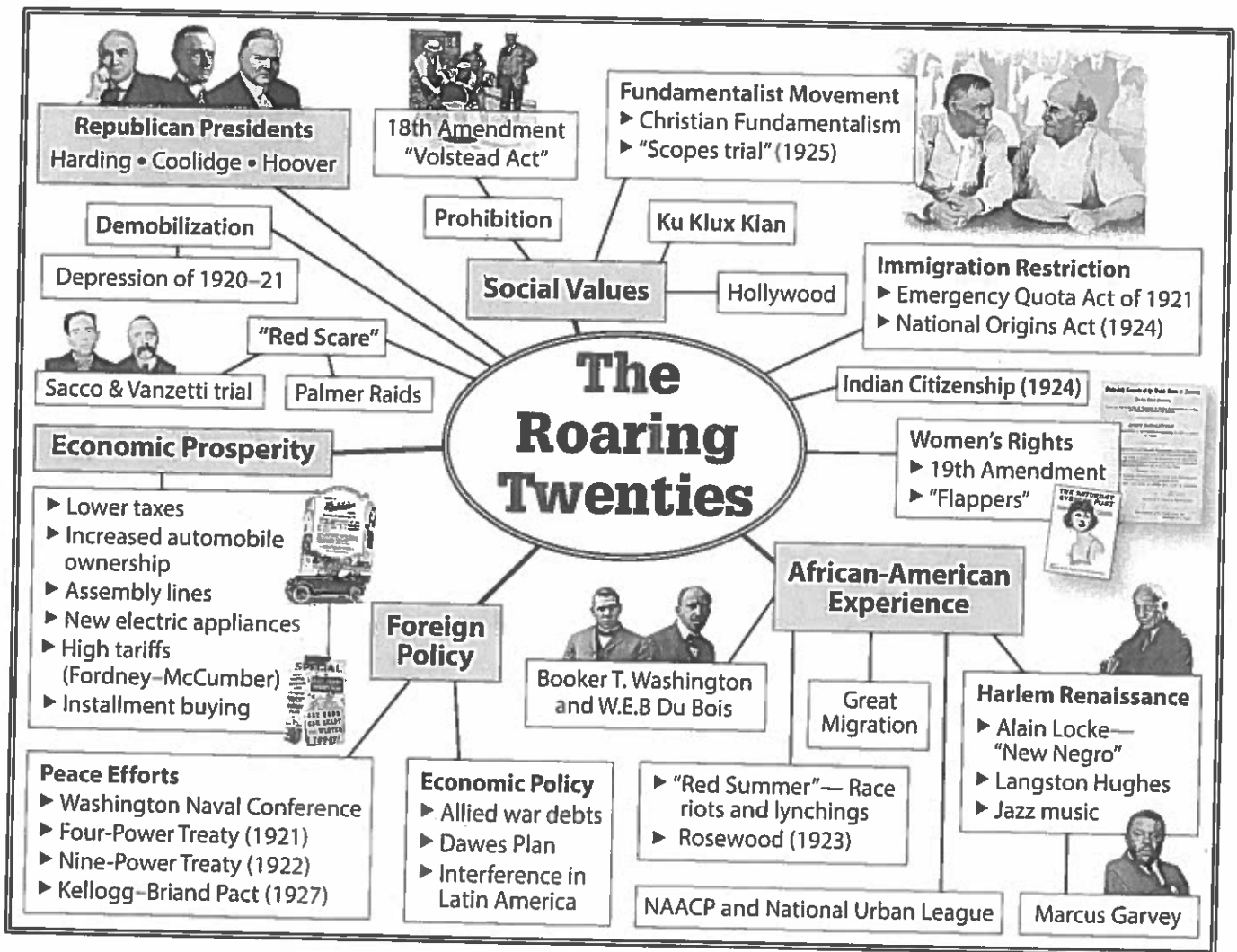
### Rosewood

In the early Twenties, Florida became the scene of some of the nation's worst racial violence. As much as 30% of the state's population was African-American. Most lived inland in the "backcountry," where they were subjected to "Jim Crow" laws, economic exploitation, and terrible abuse. Florida historian Michael Gannon points out that Florida led the country in lynchings. The turpentine camps still relied on the practice of debt peonage, in which African-American workers could not leave because they owed the camp owners for their food and clothes.

Rosewood was a rural African-American community southwest of Gainesville. By 1920, it had about 350 residents, living in neat, wooden plank homes. Most worked in the timber industry: there were several turpentine mills, two pencil mills, and a sawmill nearby. Rosewood had two general stores, three churches, and its own turpentine mill. Early one January morning, a white woman in the nearby town of Sumner was attacked after her husband had gone to work. She claimed her attacker was an unknown African-American man; other witnesses said it was in fact a white train worker who often visited her and may have beaten her. The same day, a black prisoner had coincidentally escaped from a chain gang. The county sheriff organized white volunteers, who began searching for the escaped prisoner as the probable attacker.

Trained dogs led a group of the search party to Rosewood. Under torture, one of the local residents told the men that he had helped to conceal the escaped convict. The unfortunate resident was lynched in the woods. The sheriff tried to disperse the growing mobs of angry white men, some of them drunk, who came pouring in from neighboring communities. They laid siege to one of the homes in Rosewood, which was defended by a resident who was a skilled hunter and marksman. Several were killed in the exchange of gunfire, including children. News of this local resistance spread, and crowds of white men descended on the town, where they burned its churches and houses. Men poured kerosene on the houses, ignited them, and shot those who came out. A few brave whites helped to smuggle some of Rosewood's surviving residents to safety. All of the survivors moved to other towns. On January 7, 1923, the mob returned to burn down all the remaining structures at Rosewood.

Despite coverage in several national newspapers at the time, the attack on Rosewood was quickly forgotten. Neither surviving victims nor neighboring whites spoke publicly of the incident for decades. In the 1980s, a survivor's child told the story to a reporter. At first, others tried to deny its truth. The Rosewood survivors filed for damages based on the state government's failure to protect them from the mob. The suit was dropped, but Florida's state legislature commissioned a special report. Afterwards, they voted to provide the survivors and their descendants with \$1.5 million in compensation. It was the first time a state government had ever voted to compensate victims of racial violence.



## Review Cards

### Economic Outcomes of Demobilization

- ▶ **Demobilization:** Soldiers retire from military service and economic production returns to civilian purposes.
- ▶ Returning soldiers looking for work, a series of strikes, and the end of wartime spending led to the **Depression of 1920–1921**.

### Republican Presidents of the Twenties

Presidents **Warren Harding**, **Calvin Coolidge**, and **Herbert Hoover** each pursued policies favorable to business:

- ▶ Low taxation on companies and the rich
- ▶ High tariffs (**Ford–McCumber Act**)
- ▶ Lax enforcement of regulations

Harding called for a “return to normalcy,” Coolidge said the “business of America is business,” and Hoover favored “rugged individualism.”

Harding died in office in 1923. Shortly after his death, the **Teapot Dome Scandal** exposed corruption in his administration.

### How the Economic Boom Affected Manufacturing and Marketing

- ▶ The spread of automobiles and new electric appliances contributed to the general economic prosperity.
- ▶ **Assembly-line production** lowered prices.
- ▶ Advertising and **installment buying** encouraged greater consumption.
- ▶ **Speculation** on the stock market, including **buying on margin**, added to the feelings of prosperity.
- ▶ Florida experienced a boom from improvements in transportation, rising property values, and real estate speculation; but the state experienced an economic collapse in the late 1920s.

### The “Red Scare”

The triumph of Bolshevism in Russia, a series of strikes, and random bombings by anarchists led many Americans to fear a Communist revolution at home during the “**Red Scare**” of 1919.

“**Palmer Raids**”: Attorney General Palmer, assisted by J. Edgar Hoover, arrested and deported foreign-born radicals, including Emma Goldman.

**Sacco and Vanzetti:** Two Italian anarchists were arrested in 1920 for the murder of a guard during a robbery. After an unfair trial they were convicted on flimsy evidence and executed.

### Immigration

- ▶ The Twenties saw the first restrictions on immigration from Europe. The **Emergency Quota Act of 1921** and the **National Origins Act of 1924** placed new restrictions on immigration to keep out Eastern and Southern Europeans and preserve America’s existing ethnic composition. A quota was set for each country for the number of legal immigrants it could send. The 1921 Act limited total immigration to 350,000; the 1924 Act reduced this to 150,000. The quota system favored countries from Northern and Western Europe.
- ▶ No immigration at all was allowed from East Asia. On the other hand, no restrictions were placed on immigration from the Americas.

### Minorities during the Twenties

Most minorities did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s.

- ▶ The number of Hispanic Americans increased since immigration from Mexico was still unrestricted. Many worked as migrant farm laborers.
- ▶ American Indians were made citizens in 1924 but continued to suffer from widespread poverty. The **Seminoles** of Florida increased their interaction with tourists to survive changes to the Everglades.
- ▶ Asian Americans were few in number and continued to face discrimination: for example, Asian immigrants could not own property.

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## U.S. Foreign Economic Policy in the Twenties

- ▶ While refusing to join the League of Nations, the Republican Presidents still attempted to promote world peace and U.S. business interests.
- ▶ **Washington Naval Conference (1921)**: The world's leading naval powers agreed to limit the numbers of their battleships to fixed ratios proposed by the United States: United States = 5; Britain = 5; Japan = 3
- ▶ **Four-Power Treaty**: Guaranteed peace in the Pacific region.
- ▶ **Nine-Power Treaty**: Promised to respect China's sovereignty.
- ▶ **Kellogg-Briand Pact (1927)**: Fifteen countries pledged to give up war except for self-defense.
- ▶ American Presidents also promoted U.S. business overseas and intervened in the Caribbean region.
- ▶ **Allied War Debts**: Americans had lent money to the Allies during the war and insisted on being repaid. France and Britain took the reparations money they received from Germany to pay their war debts to the United States. The **Dawes Plan** lent money to Germany while temporarily reducing German reparations payments.

## Traditional Values vs. New Values

The inhabitants of small towns and even some cities supported the prohibition of alcoholic beverages and Fundamentalist Christianity:

- ▶ The **18th Amendment (1919)** and the **Volstead Act** introduced **Prohibition**, but many Americans failed to obey it.
- ▶ **John Scopes** was put on trial and convicted for teaching the theory of evolution in Tennessee. Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan participated in his trial.
- ▶ The **Ku Klux Klan** experienced a rebirth in 1915. Klan members opposed African Americans, immigrants, Catholics, Jews, unions, and women's suffrage.

Others, especially in the growing cities, supported greater freedom for women and young people:

- ▶ The **19th Amendment (1920)** gave women the right to vote, while **flappers** wore looser clothing and went out without chaperones. Women had increased opportunities in employment and education.
- ▶ The writers of the "**Lost Generation**"—such as Hemingway and Fitzgerald—expressed the feelings of many young Americans.

## The African-American Experience

- ▶ African Americans continued to face "Jim Crow" laws, lynchings, racism, and economic inequality.
- ▶ **Booker T. Washington** urged African Americans to seek vocational training for the moment, but **W.E.B. Du Bois** favored an immediate struggle for full civil rights.
- ▶ Many African Americans moved to the North during the **Great Migration**.
- ▶ Even in Northern cities they faced racism, discrimination, and violence. Some of the worst race riots occurred in Chicago in 1919, Tulsa in 1921, and **Rosewood** in Florida in 1923.
- ▶ The **Harlem Renaissance**, based in New York City, saw a flourishing of African-American culture, with jazz music, the essays of **Alain Locke**, the novels of Jean Toomer, the poetry of **Langston Hughes** and Countee Cullen, and the stories of Zora Neal Hurston. African Americans demonstrated they could create great literary works. The "New Negro" took pride in being black and resisting racism. **Marcus Garvey** encouraged African Americans to rely more on themselves and to separate from whites.