

- Election of 1920
 - Wilson not run
 - GOP
 - TR died in 1919
 - Convention, party split
 - Sen. Warren G. Harding (OH)
 - Progressive
 - But nuanced
 - Gov. Calvin Coolidge (MA) = VPOTUS
 - Dems
 - Gov. James Cox (OH)
 - Reformer; progressive
 - Ast. Sec of Navy Franklin Delano Roosevelt, VPOTUS
 - Campaign similar to 1896
 - Election itself rather boring
 - Both men = progressives & neither = controversial
 - Cox made mistake – tied to Wilson
 - Harding = “packaged”
 - Albert Lasker = “humanized” Harding
 - GOP strategy = America First
 - Voters focused on economy

- Recession of 1920
- High taxation
- Results = worst defeat by major party candidate in US history
 - NOTE: Elites blamed ignorant people
- Sadly “normalcy” = unattainable
- Labor & the Red Scare
 - Americans tolerated suppression of dissent
 - Socialists split over Soviets
 - Socialist = intellectuals – not workers
 - Labor linked with violence
 - People support crushing strikes
 - Tensions triggered at war’s end
 - Feb 1919, Seattle dock-workers strike
 - Lead by Central Labor Council
 - Strike “linked” w/ Bolsheviks
 - Mayor Ole Hanson suppresses
 - Sept 1919, Boston Police Strike
 - Police union not recognized
 - Gov. Coolidge calls out National Guard
 - Sept 1919-Jan 1920, Steel Workers Strike
 - AFL at US Steel plants across country go on strike

- “Security” forces, local police, militia, & Fed troops
- Imported “scab” workers
- One by one, local strikes broke
- Employer associations promote – American Plan
 - No negotiate w/ unions
 - “Open shops”
 - Welfare Capitalism
- Red Scare intensifies
 - Mail bombs
 - Worst = Sept 20, 1920
 - JP Morgan’s HQ by Mario Buda
 - Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer contributes to fears
 - New Year’s Day, 1920 – Palmer Raids
 - 556 aliens convicted
- Fears spread everywhere
 - But soon, the tides turned.
 - Ex. April 15, 1920 Nicola Sacco & Bartolomeo Vanzetti trial
 - Judge Webster Thayer sentences both to death
 - Both electrocuted in 1927 = world-wide protest
- Race Suicide & concerns over immigration
 - Influx of immigrations

- NOTE: Traditional view = US was “melting pot”
 - TR - “We Americans are the children of the crucible”
 - Pre-War = Most Americans agreed
 - Post-war = Americans want restriction
- Anti-immigrant sentiment had slowly been growing since 1880s
- New immigrants from South & East Europe
 - Xenophobia popular
 - Many believed US committing “race suicide”
 - Ex. Kenneth Roberts, journalist for Saturday Evening Post
- Result = quota system
- Immigration Restriction Act of 1921
 - National Origins Act of 1924
 - NOTE: Efforts to restore US failed
 - Flaw = migration from Western Hemisphere
 - Entry through Ellis Island virtually ends
- Great Black Migration
 - Movement alters racial map
 - Creates new tensions
 - Significant factors = Southern racial legacy
 - Most significant = labor demand
 - Stimulated by agents, newspapers & letters

- 1920s = growing racial intolerance
- Violence NOT confined to Old Confederacy
 - July 2, 1917, East St Louis, Illinois
 - July 27, 1919 = Chicago, Illinois
- Whites resist
 - Red Summer of 1919
 - Worst = Sept 30, 1919 Elaine, Arkansas
 - Black form urbab enclaves – *ghettos*
- Ku Klux Klan
 - Klan revival coincides w/ Great Migration
 - New Klan = founded in Georgia 1915
 - Grew rapidly across country
 - Also acted as moral censor
 - New Klan had wider appeal
 - Ex. Hiram Evans, Grand Wizard of Klan
- Dry Decade
 - Prohibition
 - Volstead Act 1919
 - Making liquor illegal nationwide had two immediate results
 - 1) Old saloon replaced by speakeasy
 - 2) Personal habit = illegal

- Congress never appropriates enough funds
- Criticism of Prohibition gradually mounted
 - Dems make it campaign issue in 1928
 - Alfred E. Smith proposes repealing Volstead Act
 - Hebert Hoover didn't take stand
 - Hoover named commission to study
 - Dem landslide in 1932
 - Congress adopted 21st Amendment, repealing 18th
- Fundamentalism
 - Leading assault = fundamentalists; Klansmen, & the "Drys"
 - 1925, TN passes Butler Law
 - Law forbade teaching of evolution
 - ACLU wanted to test law in court
 - Same year = John T. Scopes violated law
 - Trial known as Scopes Monkey Trial
 - Defending the Bible = William Jennings Bryan
 - Scopes defended by Clarence Darrow
 - Trial = truly historic
 - NOTE: Post trial = Fundamentalists subjected to ridicule
- Civil Liberties
 - Ex. *Schenck v. United States* (1919)

- Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.
- “Clear and Present Danger test”
- Ex. *Abrams v. United States*
 - Holmes & Louis Brandies apply C&PD test in dissent
- Politics of Complacency
 - Americans quickly come to like to Harding
 - Promised less government in business & more business in government.
 - Brought in “best minds”
 - Charles Evan Hughes = Sec of State
 - Herbert Hoover = Sec of Commerce
 - Henry C. Wallace = Sec of Agriculture
 - Andrew Mellon = Sec of Treasury
 - Also brought “Ohio Gang”
 - Ex. Harry Daugherty = Attorney General
 - Ex. Charles R. Forbes = Director of Veteran’s Bureau
 - Ex. Thomas W. Miller = Alien-Property Custodian
 - Worst = Sec. of Interior Albert Fall
 - » Teapot Dome Scandal
 - » Teapot Dome Reservation leased to Harry Sinclair
 - » Elks Hill Reservation leased to Edward Dohney
- From start, Harding overwhelmed by presidency

- Became ill while; died Aug 2, 1923
- Coolidge prosperity
 - When Harding died, Coolidge not in DC
 - Transition from Harding to Coolidge = smooth
 - To Coolidge = business values sacred
 - Expanded business revival begun by Harding
 - Coolidge gradually won confidence of GOP
 - Election of 1925
 - GOP - “Keep Cool with Coolidge.”
 - Democrats were badly divided
 - Settled on John Davis
 - Progressive Party revived
 - Robert La Follette
 - Results = not even close
 - **Coolidge Prosperity**
 - Good times justified Harding’s policies
 - Andrew Mellon – Sec of Treasury; 3 pronged approach
 - Revenue Act 1921
 - As taxes went down, tariffs went up
 - Fordney-McCumber Act
 - Tariff wars begin

- Principal regulatory agencies staffed by men = probusiness
- SCOTUS clear way for cooperation & combination
 - *Standard Oil v. United States* (1911)
 - Creates doctrine - “rule of reason”
 - Proof = *United States v. United States Steel Corp* (1920)
- Message clear: Fed Gov’t again = pro-business
- Organized labor lost ground
- Progressive legislation overturned
 - SCOTUS
 - Undid Clayton Act of 1914
 - *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.* (1922)
 - *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*
- GOP’s greatest trouble = distress of farmers
 - Debt from wartime overexpansion
 - New products; dietary changes
 - Harmed by high tariffs
 - Congress passes McNary-Haugen Bill
 - Coolidge vetoes
- Coolidge prosperity boosted by new techniques & new consumer industries.
 - Electricity applied to machines
 - Frederick Winslow Taylor

» Four Rules of Management

» Result = industrial efficiency & production

- Industrial output doubled
- Triggered housing boom
- Electro-chemical Revolution

• Best Example = Auto industry

- Gottlieb Daimler
- By 1910, 60 American car companies
 - » William Durant formed General Motors
 - » Henry Ford refused

- Ford's Model T = game changer
- 1914 opened opens Highland Park plant
- 1920 = 9 million registered automobiles; By 1930 = 30 million
- Americans viewed automobile as part of minimum standard of living
- Automobile = new status symbol

• Coolidge Prosperity on slippery footing

- Election of 1928
 - Coolidge decided not to seek reelection
 - GOP turned to Sec of Commerce – Herbert Hoover
 - Democrats united behind Alfred Smith
 - Advantage = Hoover