

# **CONTENTS**

The Twenties (1919–1929)

CHAPTER 21
The Great Depression (1928–1932)

CHAPTER **22 The New Deal**(1932–1941)

Construction of the Dam, by William Gropper, celebrates American workers who struggled through hard times. ▶ CHAPTER

# The Twenties 1919-1929





# WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO



## Kings of Jazz

When he was 14 years old, Louis Armstrong began to haunt the jazz clubs of New Orleans, Louisiana. King Oliver, an experienced musician, took the boy under his wing and bought him his first cornet. Before long, young Armstrong nicknamed Satchmo—was making a name for himself playing in clubs and on riverboats.

Then, he got a telegram from King Oliver asking him to come to Chicago to join his Creole Jazz Band. Armstrong was scared, but he made the move north. Satchmo would become America's ambassador of jazz, and jazz would become the music that made the "Roaring Twenties" roar. Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about jazz.

create the jazz sound.



# **Core Curriculum Preview**

Chapter Focus Question: How did the United States experience both economic growth and social change in the decade after World War I?

#### Section 1

**A Booming Economy** 5.1.B.5, 5.1.C.1a, 5.1.C.1b

#### Section 2

The Business of Government 4.II.D.6, 5.I.A.3, 5.I.B.2, 5.I.B.3

#### Section 3

Social and Cultural Tensions 5.1.C.2a, 5.1.C.2b, 5.I.C.2c

#### Section 4

A New Mass Culture 5.I.C.1d, 5.I.C.3b, 5.II.B.7c

#### Section 5

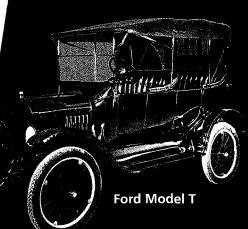
The Harlem Renaissance 5.1.C.3c(2), 5.11.B.7b

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.





Campaign button for Warren G. Harding



# Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nee-0701



■ 1920s magazine ad

#### WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

#### Paying for It?

Folksy comedian Will Rogers was one of the most beloved entertainers of his day. Whether standing onstage twirling a rope or chatting on the radio, he could always be counted on to deliver good-natured, amusing comments on the American scene. In the 1920s—with the nation in the midst of a giant economic boom—Rogers turned his keen eye on Americans' passion for buying things:

66 No nation in the history of the world was ever sitting as pretty. If we want anything, all we have to do is go and buy it on credit. So that leaves us without any economic problems whatsoever, except perhaps some day having to pay for them. But we are certainly not thinking of that this early.

-Will Rogers, radio commentary, 1928

# A Booming Economy



## **Core Curriculum Objectives**

▲ Will Rogers

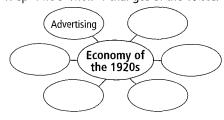
- 5.I.B.5 1920s Economy: Speculative boom: the "big bull market"
- **5.I.C.1a** Mass consumption: The automobile: new industries, products, and services
- **5.I.C.1b** Mass consumption: Installment buying

#### **Terms and People**

Henry Ford mass production Model T scientific management assembly line consumer revolution installment buying bull market buying on margin

# **NoteTaking**

**Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details**Note specific economic changes of the 1920s.



Why It Matters In the decade after World War I, the American economy experienced tremendous growth. Using revolutionary mass-production techniques, American workers produced more goods in less time than ever before. The boom fundamentally changed the lives of millions of people and helped create the modern consumer economy. Section Focus Question: How did the booming economy of the 1920s lead to changes in American life?

# The Automobile Drives Prosperity

Rarely, if ever, has the nation enjoyed such an economic boom as it did in the 1920s. The recession that had followed World War I quickly ended. All signs pointed to economic growth. Stock prices rose rapidly. Factories produced more and more goods and, with wages on the rise, more and more people could afford to buy them.

Much of this explosive growth was sparked by a single business: the automobile industry. Carmaker **Henry Ford** introduced a series of methods and ideas that revolutionized production, wages, working conditions, and daily life.

Ford Pioneers Mass Production Ford did not originate the idea of mass production, the rapid manufacture of large numbers of identical products. It had been used, for example, to make sewing machines and typewriters. But such products involved only hundreds of parts—not the thousands that go into the production of cars. Ford brought mass production to new heights.

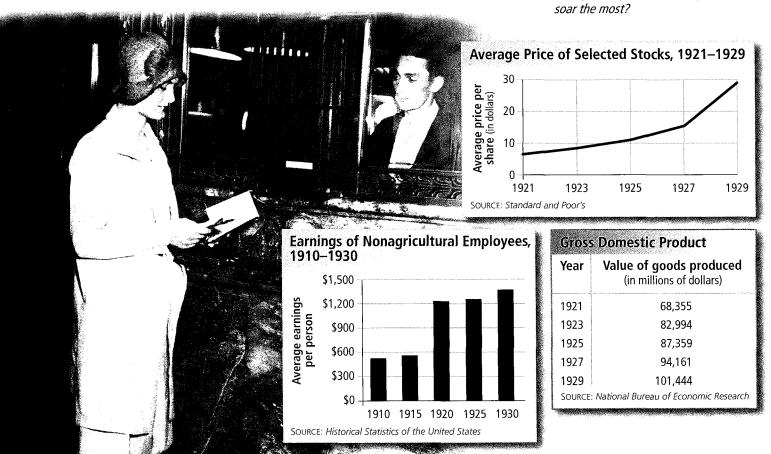
Early in the century, only wealthy city dwellers could afford cars. The automobile was often seen as a symbol of the class divisions in the country. City drivers who ventured out onto country roads frightened horses and cows, coated crops with dust, and rutted dirt roads. "To the countryman," said Woodrow Wilson in 1906, cars "are a picture of the arrogance of wealth."

Ransom Olds had introduced a less expensive car, the Oldsmobile in 1901. But it was Henry Ford who truly brought the automobile to the people. In 1908, he introduced the **Model T**, a reliable car the average American could afford. The first Model T sold for \$850. Soon after, Ford opened a new plant on the Detroit River. The Detroit location gave Ford easy access to steel, glass, oil, and rubber manufactured in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Ford hired **scientific management** experts to improve his mass-production techniques. Scientific management was a relatively new method of improving efficiency, in which experts looked at every step of a manufacturing process to find ways to reduce time, effort, and expense. Ford also studied the techniques of Chicago meatpacking houses, where beef carcasses were moved on chains past a series of meat cutters, each of whom cut off a specific part of the carcass. Ford reversed the process. He put his cars on moving **assembly lines**. At each step, a worker added something to construct the automobile. In two years, assembly line techniques reduced the time it took to manufacture a Model T—from more than 12 hours to just 90 minutes.

The assembly line allowed Ford to keep dropping the sale price. The cost of a Model T fell to \$350 by 1916 and to \$290 by 1927. It was slow, dull, and available only in black. But the Model T was the first car that ordinary people could afford. In 1919, only 10 percent of American families owned an automobile. By 1927, 56 percent did.

**Graph Skills** The economic boom of the 1920s was reflected in many aspects of the economy, from wages to industrial production to stock prices. *By how much did wages increase between 1910 and 1925? During what years did stock prices soar the most?* 





When it came to managing the men who worked along his assembly lines, Ford also proved that he was not afraid of innovation. In 1914, he more than doubled the wages of a large number of his workers, from \$2.35 to \$5 a day. He also reduced their workday from 9 hours to 8 hours. In 1926, he became the first major industrialist to give his workers Saturday and Sunday off. Before Ford, the idea of a "weekend" hardly existed. Ford shrewdly realized that if workers made more money and had more leisure time, they would become potential customers for his automobiles. The combination of the Model T and the "five-dollar day, forty-hour week" made Ford not only a very rich man but also one of the shapers of the modern world.

The Automobile Changes America The boom in the automotive industry stimulated growth in other industries related to car manufacture or use. The steel, glass, rubber, asphalt, wood, gasoline, insurance, and road-construction industries all benefited. For example, one seventh of all steel output was used to make automobiles. The need for gasoline prompted a nationwide search for oil deposits. Oil discoveries in California, Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma brought workers and money to the Southwest.

Road construction boomed, especially when the federal government introduced the system of numbered highways in 1926. The millions of cars on American roads led to the rapid appearance of thousands of service stations, diners, and motor hotels (a term later shortened to motels). The growth in all these industries created new and often better-paying jobs, spurring national prosperity.

The automobile caused additional economic effects. Other forms of ground transportation, such as railroads and trolleys, suffered a decline in use. With cars, people could go where they wanted, when they wanted. They did not have to travel along set tracks on set schedules.

The automobile prompted a new sense of freedom and prosperity. Never had Americans been so mobile. Entire families crowded into their cars for crosscountry vacations or Sunday drives to the country. Ownership of an automobile came to symbolize participation in the American dream of success.

Finally, automobiles altered residential patterns. The ability to drive to work permitted people to live farther from their places of employment. This led to the development of suburban communities linked to cities by arteries of highways and roads. Los Angeles, one of the first cities whose growth was influenced by the automobile, developed in a sprawling, haphazard fashion. It became, according to one observer, "a series of suburbs in search of a city."

Checkpoint How did Henry Ford increase the production and sale of automobiles?

# A Bustling Economy

The 1920s saw what has been called a consumer revolution, in which a flood of new, affordable goods became available to the public. The widespread availability of electrical power supported the consumer revolution. Electric washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and irons made housekeeping easier and less time-consuming. Accessible electricity also contributed to radio and refrigerator sales.

Advertising and Credit Build a Consumer Culture The growing advertising industry also played its part. Using new "scientific" techniques and psychological research, advertisers were able to sell more products to more Americans than ever before. Magazine and newspaper ads often focused on the desires and fears of Americans more than on what people really needed.

#### Vocabulary Builder

innovation-(ihn uh VAY shuhn) n. change in the way of doing something; act of introducing such a change

#### Vocabulary Builder

stimulate-(STIHM yuh layt) v. to excite to action; to cause to grow or Advertisers celebrated consumption as an end in itself, convincing people that they could be the person they wanted to be just by buying the right products. From Kleenex to Listerine, Americans bought products that years earlier they could never have imagined they needed.

Finally, new ways of buying fueled the consumer revolution. People who did not have enough ready cash could buy what they wanted on credit. **Installment buying,** in which a consumer would make a small down payment and then pay off the rest of the debt in regular monthly payments, allowed Americans to own products they might otherwise have had to save up for years in order to buy.

The Big Bull Market Makes Fortunes Consumers were not the only Americans buying and selling in a big way. During the 1920s, the stock market enjoyed a dizzying bull market, a period of rising stock prices. More and more Americans put their money into stocks in an effort to get rich quick. By 1929, around 4 million Americans owned stocks.

The pounding desire to strike it rich often led investors to ignore financial risks. As the market soared, people began **buying on margin**—another form of buying on credit. By purchasing stock on margin, a buyer paid as little as 10 percent of the stock price upfront to a broker. The buyer then paid the broker for the rest of the stock over a period of months. The stock served as collateral, or security, for the broker's loan. As long as the price of the stock rose, the buyer had no trouble paying off the loan and making a profit. But if the price fell, the buyer still had to pay off the loan. Buyers gambled that they would be able to sell the stock at a profit long before the loan came due.

In truth, the big bull market stood on very shaky ground. But most people ignored the dangers. By the middle of 1929, economic authorities proclaimed that America and the stock market had entered a "new era." Stock prices would continue their march upward, they said, while boom-and-bust economics would become a thing of the past.

Checkpoint How did buying on margin allow more people to invest in the stock market?

# Cities, Suburbs, and Country

The economic boom did not affect all parts of the nation equally. While urban and suburban areas prospered, rural Americans faced hardships.

**People Flock to Cities** In the 1920s, the movement of people was toward cities. Immigrants settled in cities. Farmers left their fields for cities. The direction of the African American Great Migration was toward northern cities. Mexican Americans crossing the border relocated to southwestern cities.

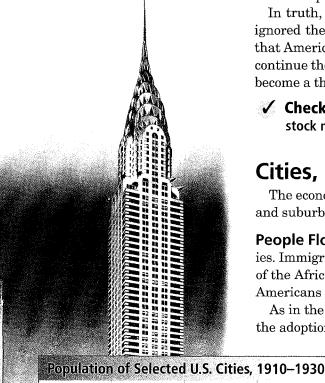
As in the late nineteenth century, cities grew and changed shape. In addition, the adoption of skyscraper technology caused cities to stretch skyward. Steel-

framed skyscrapers with light coverings of masonry and glass began to dominate the skylines of the nation's cities. New York's Empire State Building, finished in 1931, symbolized the power and majesty of the United States.

The Suburbs Grow Improved mass transportation and the widespread use of automobiles caused cities to expand outward. More urban workers moved to the suburbs. Western and southern cities, developed after the automobile revolution, encompassed suburban areas as well as inner cities. Suburbs mushroomed, growing much faster than inner cities.

#### **Urban Growth**

Built by automaker Walter P. Chrysler in 1928, New York's Chrysler Building (below) was the world's tallest skyscraper—but only for a short time. Look at the table below. Why do you think Detroit grew so fast after 1910?



| ropulation  | rorselected | i u.s. Cities, | 1910-1930 |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| City        | 1910        | 1920           | 1930      |
| New York    | 4,766,883   | 5,620,048      | 6,930,446 |
| Chicago     | 2,185,283   | 2,701,705      | 3,376,478 |
| St. Louis   | 687,029     | 772,897        | 821,960   |
| Los Angeles | 319,198     | 576,673        | 1,238,048 |
| Detroit     | 465,766     | 993,078        | 1,568,662 |

SOURCE: U.S. Census Burea

Slowly at first, but more rapidly as the century progressed, suburbs drained people and resources from the cities. Catering to middleand upper-class residents, suburbs tended to be more conservative and Republican. Meanwhile, the inner cities at the heart of older urban areas began a slow but steady decline.

Many Americans Face Hardship In the cities and suburbs, Americans enjoyed prosperity and the fruits of growth. They participated in the consumer economy and in the joys of automobile ownership. The wealthiest

urban residents—owners and managers of businesses—reaped fabulous rewards, which they often pumped back into the bull market. But there were problems looming ahead. America's wealth was poorly distributed. Industrial wages rose at a much slower rate than corporate salaries.

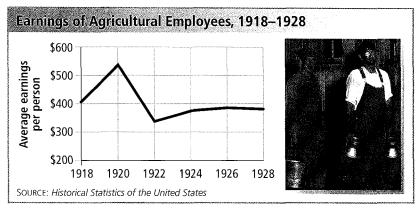
Worst yet, farm incomes declined during the decade. Many people living in the country did not participate in the consumer benefits and economic gains of the decade. They formed part of another America—poorer and outside the economic boom. In particular, farmers suffered from growing debt and falling farm prices. A protest song of 1928 expressed their frustration:

#### Primary Source

66'Leven-cent cotton, forty-cent meat, How in the world can a poor man eat? Mule's in the barn, no crop's laid by, Corncrib empty and the cow's gone dry. ?? -Bob Miller and Emma Dermer, "Eleven Cent Cotton"

If the wealthy believed that the country had entered an age of permanent prosperity, the "other Americans" saw things differently.

✓ **Checkpoint** What impact did the development of suburbs have on American society?



#### Rural Struggles

American farmers did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s. Compare this graph to the economic graphs at the beginning of this section and make a generalization about farm wages versus nonfarm wages in the 1920s.

SECTION

# Assessment

#### **Progress Monitoring Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0702

#### Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining how that person or item was connected with the changing economy of the 1920s.
  - Henry Ford
  - mass production
  - assembly line
  - consumer revolution
  - installment buying
  - bull market
  - buying on margin

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Supporting Details** Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the booming economy of the 1920s lead to changes in American life?

#### **Writing About History**

3. Summarize a Historical **Interpretation** Using information from the text, write a paragraph summarizing the reasons for the historical viewpoint that Henry Ford was one of the chief makers of the modern world.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Analyze Effects How is the rise of the automobile an example of technology affecting attitudes or values?
- 5. Draw Conclusions Why do you think many advertisers began to focus on the benefits of their products rather than on the products themselves?
- 6. Predict Consequences Identify two potential signs of weakness in the economy of the 1920s, and predict what might happen if those problems are not solved.







#### A Fun-Loving President

In 1920, voters turned from the intellectualism and rigid idealism of Woodrow Wilson to someone who presented himself as an average American, Warren G. Harding. "I am a man of limited talents from a small town," Harding admitted. "I don't seem to grasp that I am President." The genial politician from Marion, Ohio, got more pleasure from golf, poker, and music. He once claimed that he could play every band instrument "but the slide trombone and the e-flat cornet." But what Harding loved most was shaking hands with tourists who visited the White House:

<sup>66</sup>I love to meet people. It is the most pleasant thing I do: it is really the only fun I have. It does not tax me. and it seems to be a very great pleasure to them. 99

-Warren G. Harding, U.S. President



▲ President Harding joins a parade.

# The Business of Government



#### **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- 4.II.D.6 Reparations and war debts (United States as a world banker)
- **5.I.A.3** Return to "normalcy": 1918–1921
- **5.I.B.2** Avarice and scandal: Teapot Dome
- 5.I.B.3 Coolidge prosperity; not for everyone

#### **Terms and People**

Andrew Mellon Herbert Hoover Teapot Dome scandal Calvin Coolidge

Washington Naval Disarmament Conference Kellogg-Briand Pact **Dawes Plan** 

What exactly did a "return to normalcy" mean? Different voters saw different things in the vague phrase. Some saw it as a retreat from involvement in world affairs, others as a rejection of Progressive reform efforts or a swing back to laissez-faire economics. Once in office, however, Harding had to give substance to his promise.

Why It Matters In 1920, Warren G. Harding was elected President on a pledge of a "return to normalcy." Rather than pursue

reform, as the Progressives had done, Harding and his successor,

Calvin Coolidge, favored more conservative policies that aided the

growth of business. This pattern—a period of activism followed by

a more laissez-faire approach—would repeat itself in the 1950s and

1980s. Section Focus Question: How did domestic and foreign policy

change direction under Harding and Coolidge?

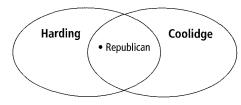
The Harding Administration

New Policies Favor Big Business Harding signaled the economic direction of his administration by naming wealthy banker Andrew Mellon Secretary of the Treasury. Mellon's idea of prudent economic policy was to support legislation that advanced business interests. He disliked the relatively new income tax, favoring instead low taxes on individuals and corporations. Mellon also cut the fat from the budget. By 1925, Congress had reduced spending from a wartime high of \$18 billion to \$3 billion. Instead of sinking deeper into debt, the Treasury actually showed a surplus.

# NoteTaking

# **Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast**

Note similarities and differences between Presidents Harding and Coolidge.



Harding signed a bill raising protective tariff rates by about 25 percent. The tax on imports made it easier for American producers to sell goods at home. However, in retaliation, European nations also hiked tariffs, making American goods harder to sell overseas. This tariff war weakened the world economy.

Under the Progressive leadership of Roosevelt and Wilson, the federal government had passed laws to break up monopolies, protect workers, and restrict the absolute freedom of business leaders. By contrast, Harding favored a return to a more traditional laissez-faire approach. He and Mellon worked to reduce government regulation of business.

Still, the Harding administration did not abandon social goals. Harding's thoughtful and energetic Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, worked with business and labor leaders to achieve voluntary advancements. What the Progressives hoped to achieve through legislation, Hoover attempted to attain with the cooperation of interest groups. He enjoyed great successes at getting people to work together instead of battling one another.

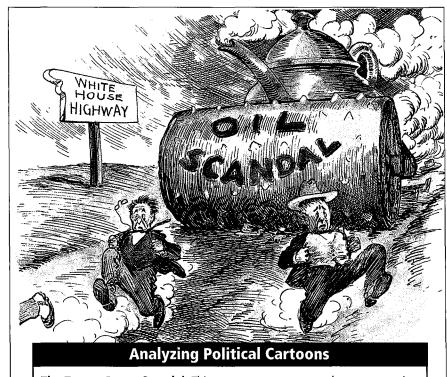
The Ohio Gang Cashes In Harding was a kind, likable man, but he was not especially intelligent. Perhaps no President was friendlier, and few had less sense of what was expected of a President. Faced with a tax issue, Harding lamented, "I listen to one side and they seem right . . . I talk to the other side, and they seem just as right, and here I am where I started. . . . What a job!"

Rather than struggle to master the complexities of the job, Harding trusted others to make decisions. Many were his close friends, men he enjoyed relaxing and gambling with at late-night poker games. Known as the Ohio Gang, they were not honest public servants like Mellon and Hoover. They were mostly greedy, smallminded men who saw government service as a chance to get rich at the expense of the very citizens they were supposed to serve.

Charles Forbes, head of the Veterans' Bureau, practiced graft on an immense scale and wasted hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars. For example, his department bought \$70,000 worth of floor cleaner—enough to last 100 years—at more than 24 times the fair price. Another Harding pal, Attorney General Harry Daugherty, used his position to accept money from criminals.

The Scandal **Teapot** Dome **Explodes** The worst scandal involved Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall. In 1921, Fall arranged to transfer oil reserves in Elk Hills, California, and Teapot Dome, Wyoming, from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. The oil reserves were intended for the navy's use in time of emergency. Harding signed the transfer.

Once Fall had control of the oil, he forgot about the needs of the navy. He leased the properties to private oilmen in return for "loans"—which were actually bribes. Rumors of the deal led to a Senate investigation, and, by 1924, the entire



The Teapot Dome Scandal This cartoon comments on the most notorious scandal of the Harding administration.

- 1. What object is used to represent the scandal? Why?
- 2. According to the cartoon, what is the impact of the scandal?



Silent Cal

In the picture (above right), President Coolidge reenacts the scene when his father swore him in as President. At above left, Coolidge wears a proper business suit to go fishing.



sordid affair was revealed to the public. Later, the oil reserves were returned to the government. Fall was sentenced to a year in prison.

Harding himself never saw the full extent of the **Teapot Dome scandal**. In fact, he only had a growing suspicion that his friends were up to no good. But that was enough, as he said, to keep him "walking the floor nights." In July 1923, he visited Alaska during a speaking tour. On his return voyage, he suffered a heart attack and died on August 2. Americans mourned Harding as they had mourned no other President since Lincoln. When the full extent of the scandals emerged, however, the public formed a different opinion of him.

**Checkpoint** What were the causes and effects of the Teapot Dome scandal?

# **Coolidge Prosperity**

News of Harding's death reached Vice President Calvin Coolidge during a visit to his father's Vermont farm. Almost immediately, the elder Coolidge, a justice of the peace, used the family Bible to swear in his son as President.

In personality, Coolidge was far different from the outgoing, back-slapping Harding. Known as Silent Cal, he was quiet, honest, and frugal—a man who measured his words carefully. He placed his trust in business, and put his administration in the hands of men who held to the simple virtues of an older America. Political sharpies out to make a quick buck had no place in the Coolidge administration. Neither did Progressives who believed in an activist government bent on sweeping reforms.

**Silent Cal Supports Big Business** Coolidge admired productive business leaders. "The man who builds a factory," Coolidge once said, "builds a temple." He believed that the creation of wealth benefited the nation as a whole. In 1925, he expressed this view in his best-known speech:

**Primary Source**\*\*The chief business of the American people is business. They are profoundly concerned with producing, buying, selling, investing, and prospering in the world. . . . We make no concealment of the fact that we want wealth, but there are many other things that we want very much more. We want peace and honor, and that charity which is so strong an element of all civilization. The chief ideal of the American people is idealism.\*\*

—Calvin Coolidge, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors

Coolidge's statement of values and principles has often been oversimplified as "the business of America is business."

In his approach to the economy, Coolidge continued to follow the goals of Secretary of the Treasury Mellon by reducing the national debt, trimming the federal budget, and lowering taxes to give incentives for businesses. Coolidge thus oversaw a spectacular boom in the national economy. For almost six years, the economy soared, generating industrial profits, spectacular growth in the stock market, and general prosperity, especially for urban Americans.

Troubles Brew Beneath the Surface Yet, there were grave problems breeding in the nation. Farmers struggled to keep their land as the prices of their goods fell. Labor unions demanded higher wages and better working conditions. African Americans faced severe discrimination, especially in the South, where Jim Crow laws made enforced segregation a way of life. African American leaders urged Congress to pass an antilynching law. In the Southwest, Mexican Americans confronted shamefully low wages and efforts to force them to return to Mexico.

To all of these concerns, Silent Cal remained silent. Like Harding, he mistrusted the use of legislation to achieve social change. Unlike Progressive Presidents, he believed that it was not the business of the federal government to help create an ideal nation.

Checkpoint What policies did Calvin Coolidge favor to support economic growth?

## America's Role in the World

Under both Harding and Coolidge, America continued to play an increasingly important role in world business and trade. Beyond that, U.S. foreign policy was largely shaped by reaction to World War I. No previous war had been as deadly. Citizens of all nations agreed: It must never happen again. But how could this goal be achieved?

Seeking an End to War One solution was to avoid another arms race, such as the naval rivalry between Germany and Britain that had contributed to the outbreak of the war. In 1921 and 1922, diplomats gathered in Washington, D.C., to halt another naval arms race before it got out of control. World leaders agreed to limit construction of large warships and hammered out a settlement on several problems between Japan and the West. This Washington Naval Disarmament Conference did not end the world's naval problems, but it raised hopes that nations could solve disagreements without resorting to war.

A later attempt to prevent war was the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg and French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand

| The United States in International Affairs, 1920–1929 |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
|   | Goal   | U.S. Action  |  |
| League of Nations                                     | To prevent war and settle disputes between nations                           | U.S. membership favored by<br>Wilson; rejected by Senate   |  |
| World Court   | To make judgments in international disputes voluntarily submitted by nations | U.S. participation favored by<br>Harding; rejected by Senate                                       |  |
| Washington Naval<br>Conference                        | To reduce arms race and size of navies of major powers                       | U.S. agreed with leading naval powers to limit construction of warships.                           |  |
| Kellogg-Briand<br>Pact                                | To "outlaw war as an instrument of national policy"                          | U.S. agreed with many other nations to renounce war as a means of settling international disputes. |  |

#### Vocabulary Builder

incentive – (ihn SEHNT ihv) n. something intended to encourage someone to take action or work harder

#### Vocabulary Builder

mediate-(MEE dee ayt) v. to bring about the settlement of a dispute between two parties

(bree AHN) drew up a treaty to "outlaw" war "as an instrument of national policy." Eventually, 62 nations ratified the pact. But, in reality, the pact was unenforceable. Kellogg knew it, Briand knew it, and so did the rest of the diplomats. No sooner was the ink dry than everyone involved forgot about it.

Although Congress applauded the useless Kellogg-Briand Pact, it refused to join the World Court, an international body which at least promised to help mediate international disputes. As much as possible, most American leaders in the 1920s hoped to avoid another war by keeping the rest of the world at arm's length.

**Collecting War Debts** Money issues were another matter. The United States insisted that Britain and France repay their huge war debts to the United States. For this to happen, though, Germany had to make the reparation payments to Britain and France imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. The complex financial issue threatened to undermine the international economy. Some statesmen suggested reducing or even canceling both war debts and reparations. But the frugal Coolidge insisted that a debt was a debt and had to be paid.

In 1924, an agreement known as the Dawes Plan arranged U.S. loans to Germany. By enabling Germany to make reparation payments to Britain and France, the Dawes Plan helped Britain and France to repay their debts to the United States. Of course, the entire scheme was financed by U.S. money. After the stock market crash of 1929, however, the well of U.S. money went dry. Germany stopped reparation payments, and Britain and France ended war-debt payments to the United States.

In the end, the war-debt situation damaged America's reputation in the eyes of the world. People from England and France thought that it was heartless for American bankers and politicians to insist on repayment of debts and not to take into account the human costs of the war. In the next war, the United States would take a more flexible approach to war loans.



Checkpoint How did the United States support world peace efforts during the 1920s?

# SECTION Assessment

#### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0703

#### Comprehension

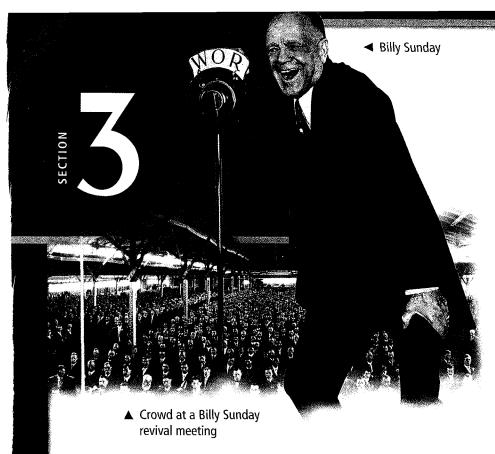
- 1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining its importance to national politics of the 1920s.
  - Teapot Dome scandal
  - Washington Naval Disarmament Conference
  - Kellogg-Briand Pact
  - Dawes Plan
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast Use your Venn diagram to answer the Section Focus Question: How did domestic and foreign policy change direction under Harding and Coolidge?

#### **Writing About History**

3. Comparing Historical **Interpretations** Some people view Coolidge as a moral, idealistic President who restored integrity to government and promoted prosperity. Others see him as a stiff, unimaginative President who retreated from the idealism of the Progressive Era and cared only for the interests of business. Make a Venn diagram comparing these differing historical interpretations.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Make Comparisons How did the approach to government of Harding and Coolidge differ from that of the Progressives?
- **5. Draw Conclusions** Do you think that Harding should be held responsible for the scandals in his administration? Why or why not?
- 6. Evaluate Information Many Americans in the 1920s seemed to support both isolationism and an active role in international affairs. Do you agree?



## WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO

#### Kicking, Fighting, Butting, and Biting

In a time of rapid social change, with a deadly war behind them, many Americans sought a return to more traditional values. They found comfort and strength in the words of preachers such as Billy Sunday. A former pro baseball player, Sunday never lost the dynamic energy of an athlete. Arms flailing, fists punching the air, he railed against the evils of greed, card playing, dancing, and, especially, drinking. He liked to tell audiences:

661'm against sin. I'll kick it as long as I've got a foot, and I'll fight it as long as I've got a fist. I'll butt it as long as I've got a head. I'll bite it as long as I've got a tooth. And when I'm old and fistless and footless and toothless, I'll gum it 'till I go home to Glory. 99

-Billy Sunday, sermon

# Social and Cultural Tensions



# **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- **5.I.C.2a** Threats to civil liberties: Red Scare. Ku Klux Klan, and Sacco and Vanzetti
- 5.I.C.2b Prohibition
- **5.I.C.2c** Science, religion, and education: the Scopes trial

#### **Terms and People**

modernism fundamentalism Scopes Trial Clarence Darrow quota system

Ku Klux Klan Prohibition Eighteenth Amendment Volstead Act bootlegger

# NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Contrast As you read, look for issues that divided Americans in the 1920s.

| Differing Viewpoints |             |  |
|----------------------|-------------|--|
| Education            | Viewpoint 1 |  |
|                      | Viewpoint 2 |  |
| Evolution            |             |  |

Why It Matters In the 1920s, while many city dwellers enjoyed a rising standard of living, most farmers suffered through hard times. Conflicting visions of what the nation should be heightened the urban-rural division. Some of these issues, such as immigration policy and teaching the theory of evolution, still divide Americans today. Section Focus Question: How did Americans differ on major social and cultural issues?

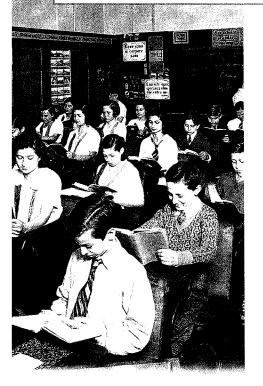
# Traditionalism and Modernism Clash

The 1920 census reported that, for the first time in American history, more people lived in urban areas than in rural regions. This simple fact had profound consequences. The nation had been divided before, but usually along north-south or east-west lines. In the 1920s, however, the split was between urban America and rural America. On virtually every important social and cultural issue, the two groups were divided.

Urban Americans enjoyed new consumer products and a wide array of leisure activities. They generally showed an openness toward social change and the new discoveries of science. The growing trend to emphasize science and secular values over traditional ideas about religion became known as modernism.

By contrast, rural Americans did not participate fully in the consumer bonanzas, and they missed out on many of the new forms of leisure. People in the country generally embraced a more traditional view of religion, science, and culture.

| High School Education, 1900–1930 |   |  |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Year                             | High School Graduates<br>(percentage of 17-year-olds) |  |
| 1900                             | 6.3   |  |
| 1910                             | 8.6   |  |
| 1920                             | 16.3  |  |
| 1930                             | 28.8  |  |
| SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau       |   |  |



**Americans Go to School** 

Although school attendance grew steadily, fewer than half of American children graduated from high school by 1930. *How much did the high school graduation rate increase during the 1920s?* 

**Education Becomes More Important** Rural and urban Americans differed in their attitudes toward formal education. In rural America, prolonged formal education had not seemed vital. Farmers expected their children to master the "Three R's"—reading, writing, and arithmetic. But beyond that, education collided with the many farm tasks that needed to be done. Muscle, endurance, and knowledge of crops and animals seemed more important to farmers than "book learning."

Formal education took on more importance in urban America. Mental ability, not muscular fitness, was seen as the essential ingredient for success. Mastery of mathematics and language could spell the difference

between a low-paying, unskilled job and a higher-paying position as an office worker. By 1930, more American teens were graduating from high school, and more Americans than ever before went to college.

**Religious Fundamentalism Grows** In the 1920s, many devout Americans believed that Christianity was under siege throughout the world. They pointed to Soviet communist attacks on the Orthodox Church in Russia and to the Mexican revolutionary assaults on the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico.

At home, a growing number of Christians were upset by what they saw as secular trends in religion and culture. They reaffirmed their belief in the fundamental, or basic, truths of their religion. This approach, often called **fundamentalism**, emphasized Protestant teachings and the belief that every word in the Bible was literal truth. Fundamentalists believed that the answer to every important moral and scientific question was in their holy book. Their ideas took root all over the country but were especially strong in rural America.

Americans Clash Over Evolution Fundamentalism and modernism clashed head-on in the Scopes Trial of 1925. At issue was the theory of evolution, developed by English scientist Charles Darwin. Darwin believed that complex forms of life, such as human beings, had developed gradually from simpler forms of life. This theory clashed with the description of creation in the Bible.

In 1925, Tennessee passed a law making it illegal to teach Darwin's theory in the state's public schools. The American Civil Liberties Union convinced John Scopes, a high school biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, to challenge the law. When Scopes taught evolution in his classroom, he was promptly arrested.

The Scopes Trial drew nationwide attention. Journalists flocked to Dayton to cover the emotionally charged event, which many dubbed the "Monkey Trial" because of the mistaken belief that Darwin claimed that human beings descended from monkeys. **Clarence Darrow**, the most celebrated defense attorney in America, traveled from his home in Chicago to defend Scopes. Three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, a long-time defender of rural values, served as an expert for the prosecution.

The highlight of the trial came when Darrow called Bryan to the stand as an expert on the Bible. Bryan affirmed that the Bible stated the literal truth. He testified that he believed that God created Adam and Eve and that Joshua made the sun stand still. Darrow tried to use science to cast doubt on such beliefs, but Bryan firmly stated, "I accept the Bible absolutely."

Scopes was found guilty of breaking the law—a fact that was never in question—and fined \$100. While the Scopes Trial showcased a major cultural and religious division, it did not heal the conflict or answer its central questions. When the trial was over, each side still believed in the truth of its position. The conflict over evolution continues today.

Checkpoint How did the Scopes Trial illustrate the urban-rural split in the 1920s?

# **Restricting Immigration**

Another cultural clash involved the ongoing boom in immigration. As in the past, Americans known as nativists argued that the new arrivals took jobs away from native-born workers and threatened American religious, political, and cultural traditions.

Nativists Oppose Immigration Although nativist politicians had been able to restrict immigration from China in 1882, they had failed to push through laws to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe. On the eve of World War I, however, Congress did pass a law requiring immigrants to take a literacy test. Immigrants who could not read or write their own language were prohibited from entering the United States. President Wilson vetoed the law, but Congress overrode Wilson's veto.

During the postwar Red Scare, fear that communists and socialists from eastern Europe were traveling to the United States with their revolutionary doctrines added an emotional edge to the debate. The problem that confronted nativists was traditional immigration policy. All Americans who could trace their ancestry back far enough discovered foreign origins. Many viewed the immigration experience as part of what made an American an American.

**Quota Laws Limit Newcomers** World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the Red Scare strengthened the nativist position. Two important laws—the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the National Origins Act of 1924—established a **quota system** to govern immigration from specific countries.

# Comparing

Viewpoints

# Should a State Ban Teaching of Darwin's Theory of Evolution?

"When Shall We Three Meet Again?"

The Scopes Trial of 1925 revolved around a Tennessee law that banned the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution. The deeper issue involved a clash between traditional religious beliefs and modern science.

#### The Prosecution

William Jennings Bryan believed that Tennessee had a right to protect its children from ideas that violated biblical teachings.

#### **Primary Source**

- Science is a magnificent force, but it is not a teacher of morals. . . . In war, science has proven itself an evil genius; it has made war more terrible than it ever was before.
- "It is for the jury to determine whether this attack upon the Christian religion shall be permitted in the public schools of Tennessee by teachers employed by the state."



### Compare

- 1. How does Bryan's view of science differ from that of Malone?
- **2.** What does each man feel should happen when science clashes with religion?

#### THE DEFENSE

Dudley Field Malone, who joined Clarence Darrow in the defense of Scopes, argued against a state determining what should be taught.

#### **Primary Source**

- We feel we stand with progress.
  We feel we stand with science. We feel we stand with intelligence.
  We feel we stand with fundamental freedom in America.
- 66 Let the children have their minds kept open. Close no doors to their knowledge. Shut no door from them. Make the distinction between theology and science. Let them have both. Let them be taught both. Let them both live.

#### **American Issues** Connector

# **U.S. Immigration Policy**

# TRACK THE ISSUE How should government regulate immigration?

The first major effort to limit immigration to the United States came in the late 1800s. By then, immigrants were streaming into the country. Many Americans worried about losing their jobs or their sense of national identity. Since then, immigration and immigration policy have remained controversial issues. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.



#### **1924 National Origins Act** Law sets quotas on numbers of immigrants from each country.

#### 1952 McCarran-Walter Act Law establishes political beliefs as criteria for exclusion.

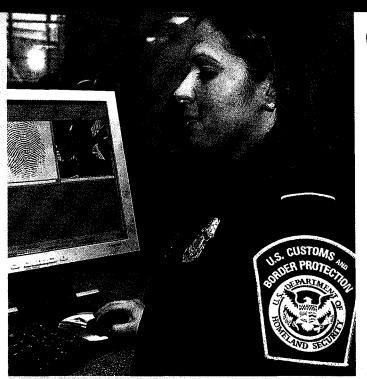
#### 1965 Immigration Act Amended Congress abolishes national quotas but sets ceiling for each hemisphere.

#### 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act Law offers amnesty to some illegal aliens.

2004 Guest Worker Program President Bush proposes law allowing temporary foreign workers.



■ Immigrants enter New York's Ellis Island in the 1920s.





Immigrants and foreign visitors go through a careful check before they are allowed to enter the country.

#### **DEBATE THE ISSUE**

Amnesty for Illegal Immigrants Many immigrants have crossed the U.S. border illegally to find work. Some Americans believe that they should be granted an amnesty, or pardon, to allow them to stay here legally. Critics say this would encourage more illegal immigration.

- \*\*There are significant numbers of [illegal immigrants] living and working and paying taxes in the United States, raising their families here. They're clearly needed in our economy. It makes sense to bring them out of the shadows and give them full access to their rights."
  - —Cecilia Muñoz, Vice President for Policy, National Council of La Raza
- 44 Amnesty for illegal aliens is simply a reward for law-breaking. No system depending on a strict regard for the rule of law can treat law-breaking so casually. Amnesty will be a magnet for further illegal immigrants, who hope to be the future recipients of the nation's 'compassion.' 99
  - Edward J. Erler, Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute

#### **Connect to Your World**

- 1. Compare Why does Muñoz support amnesty for illegal immigrants? Why does Erler oppose it?
- **2. Analyze** How do the issues debated above differ from the issues that led to the passage of the National Origins Act?
- 3. **Debate** Learn more about recent debates on immigration and prepare an argument supporting one viewpoint. Web Code: neh-0704

The National Origins Act set up a simple formula: The number of immigrants of a given nationality each year could not exceed 2 percent of the number of people of that nationality living in the United States in 1890. The year 1890 was chosen because it came before the great wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. For example, the act permitted about 65,721 immigrants from England and Northern Ireland to come to America every year, but it allowed only about 5,802 immigrants from Italy. The act also continued to exclude most Asian immigrants. America had closed its "golden door" to many of the people trying to enter.

More Mexicans Come North The quota system did not apply to Mexico, which was still reeling from the chaos of the 1910 revolution. Mexicans settled in sparsely populated regions of the Southwest and made major contributions to the local economies. Most Mexican newcomers found work harvesting crops in Texas and California. A smaller number sought jobs in the factories and farms of the North or Midwest.

Many Mexican immigrants faced discrimination and hostility in their new homes. They often competed with native-born Americans for jobs and were frequently subjected to brutality and violence.

Checkpoint How did new laws change U.S. immigration policy in the

# The New Ku Klux Klan

Immigration restriction was an attempt to turn back the clock to what many saw as a simpler, better time—a time before the nation became ethnically

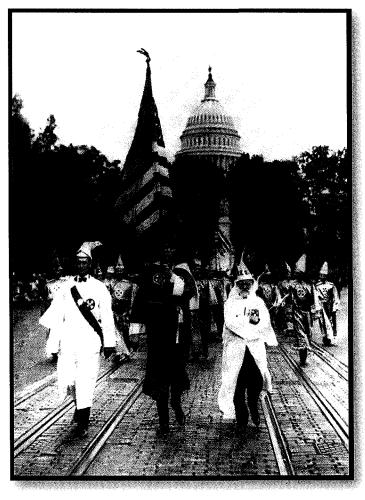
diverse. As rural Americans saw the country become increasingly urban and their own position in the nation slip in relative importance, many lashed out against symbols of change. Some even turned to organizations that supported doctrines of hate and employed violence and terror to achieve their ends.

The Klan Rises Again In 1915, on Stone Mountain in Georgia, a group of angry men revived the Ku Klux **Klan.** The original Klan had been formed in the South during Reconstruction largely to terrorize African Americans who sought to vote. Although the revived Klan continued to promote hatred of African Americans, it was also aimed at the new America taking shape in the cities. It targeted Jews, Catholics, and immigrants. The Klan also claimed to stand against lawbreaking and immorality. One of their leaders claimed that "every criminal, every gambler . . . every crooked politician . . . is fighting the Klan."

At its height, the Klan's "Invisible Empire" had perhaps 4 to 5 million members. Most were in the South, but there were also branches in the Midwest, Northeast, and West-in both rural areas and in small industrial cities. One center of Klan strength was Indiana, where Klan leader David Stephenson ruled with an iron fist and controlled numerous politicians. They burned crosses, boycotted businesses owned by anyone who was Jewish, Catholic, or African American, and terrorized citizens in the darkness of night. Klansmen

The New Ku Klux Klan In 1925, thousands of Klansmen (below) staged a huge march in

Washington, D.C.



#### **Vocabulary Builder**

<u>imperial</u>—(ihm PIR ee uhl) *adj*. relating to an empire or emperor; having supreme authority

usually wore masks to conceal their identities, met to wave flags and preach hate, and followed leaders with such titles as Grand Dragon and <u>Imperial</u> Wizard. But behind the Klan's confident facade were Americans fearful of change.

Americans Oppose the Klan Individuals, as well as organizations such as the NAACP and the Jewish Anti-Defamation League, battled against the Klan and its values. They embraced the idea of racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. For them, the notion of the "melting pot" was as old as America itself, and they drew strength from American traditions and saw hope in the American future. Journalist William Allen White noted:

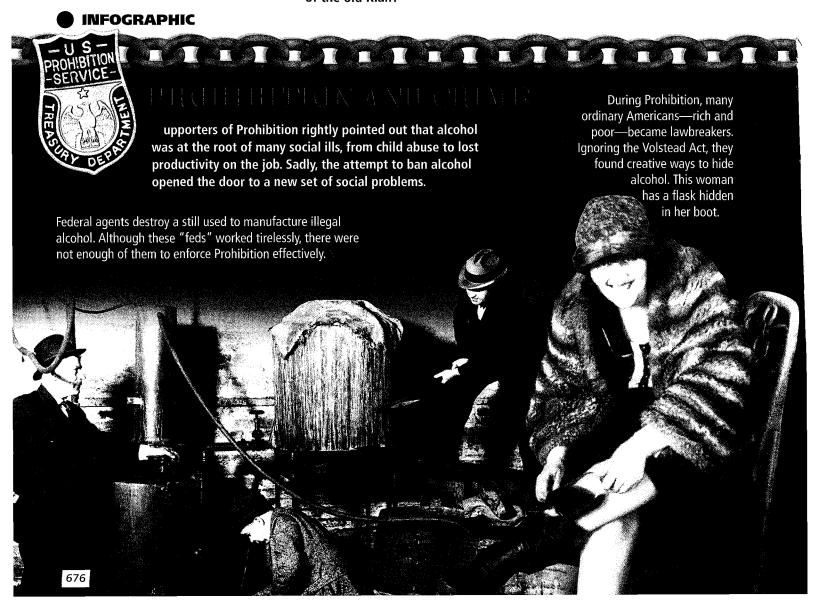
**Primary Source**66 To make a case against a birthplace, a religion, or a race is wickedly un-American and cowardly. The whole trouble with the Ku Klux Klan is that it is based upon such deep foolishness that it is bound to be a menace to good government in any community.

99

-William Allen White, letter to the editor of the New York World, 1921

The Klan itself became thoroughly corrupt. Its leaders bribed politicians, stole from its members' dues, and lied to its members. Stephenson ended up going to prison for assault and second-degree murder. By the late 1920s, the Klan stood exposed. Although it never disappeared, it withered in importance.

Checkpoint How did the goals of the new Ku Klux Klan differ from those of the old Klan?



## **Prohibition and Crime**

Another divisive issue was **Prohibition**, the banning of alcohol use. Since the early 1800s, temperance reformers had crusaded against alcohol. By 1917, some 75 percent of Americans lived in "dry" counties that had banned liquor. World War I increased support for temperance. It seemed unpatriotic to use corn, wheat, and barley to make alcohol when soldiers overseas needed bread.

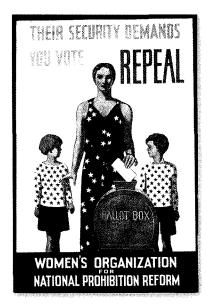
**Government Bans Alcoholic Beverages** In 1919, the states ratified the **Eighteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. It forbade the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcohol anywhere in the United States. The amendment had been passed largely on the strength of rural votes. Congress then passed the **Volstead Act**, a law that officially enforced the amendment.

Advocates of Prohibition, known as "drys," called it a "noble experiment." They argued that Prohibition improved individuals, strengthened families, and created better societies. In fact, drinking—as well as alcoholism and liver disease caused by drinking—did decline during Prohibition.

Opponents of Prohibition, dubbed "wets," countered that the ban on alcohol did not stop people from drinking. Instead, they argued, Prohibition helped create an atmosphere of hypocrisy and increased organized crime.

Americans Break the Law As the wets noted, the Volstead Act did not stop Americans from drinking, but it did prevent them from purchasing drinks Vocabulary Builder advocate—(AD vuh kiht) *n.* supporter; one who argues in favor of something





#### Wets Seek Repeal

Supporters of the Eighteenth Amendment had often used images of mothers and children to press for a ban on alcohol. This propaganda poster uses similar images to press for the repeal.

legally. The gap between the law and individual desires was filled by a large illegal network. People made alcohol in homemade stills or smuggled it in from other countries. Bootleggers sold illegal alcohol to consumers. In cities, secret drinking establishments, known as speakeasies, attracted eager customers.

Government agents worked tirelessly to stop the flow of illegal liquor. However, they were short-handed, and the demand for alcohol was too great. There were millions of dollars to be made by both organized and unorganized criminals. Particularly in cities, policemen and politicians tended to look the other way when liquor was concerned. They rationalized their actions by saying that if people wanted to drink they would drink.

Al Capone, a Chicago gang leader, was the most famous criminal of the Prohibition era. He defended his illegal actions:

Primary Source "I make my money from supplying a public demand. If I break the law, my customers, who number hundreds of the best people in Chicago, are as guilty as I am. The only difference between us is that I sell and they buy. Everybody calls me a racketeer. I call myself a businessman.

—Al Capone, quoted in *Era of Excess* (Sinclair)

The problem was that under the guise of providing a glass of beer or scotch, organized crime spread into other areas of society. Capone's other "businesses" included prostitution, drugs, robbery, and murder. Thus, Prohibition contributed to the growth of organized crime in America.

**Prohibition Divides the Nation** By the mid-1920s, most city politicians clamored for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. But to many rural Americans, liquor and crime were tied to other divisive cultural issues of the day. Thus, like immigration and evolution, the debate over Prohibition became part of a battle over the future of America.

In the culturally divided 1920s, Americans could not reach a satisfactory settlement on the issue. Not until 1933 did the Twenty-first Amendment finally repeal Prohibition.

Checkpoint What were the effects of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act?

**SECTION** Assessment

#### **Progress Monitoring Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0705

#### Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining its importance to the social and cultural clashes of the 1920s.
  - modernism
  - fundamentalism
  - Scopes Trial
  - quota system
  - Ku Klux Klan
  - Prohibition
  - Eighteenth Amendment
  - Volstead Act
  - bootlegger

#### 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

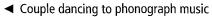
**Contrast** Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Americans differ on major social and cultural issues?

#### **Writing About History**

3. Compare and Contrast Write the opening paragraph for an essay comparing supporters and opponents of Prohibition. Use the information in this section as well as your own thoughts. Consider the goals and values that wets and drys might have had in common as well as the ways in which they differed.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Recognize Ideologies How did the two sides in the Scopes Trial represent conflicting value systems? What did each side value most?
- 5. Identify Points of View Why did both supporters and opponents of immigration quotas believe they were defending American traditions and values?
- 6. Draw Conclusions Why do you think the revived Ku Klux Klan was able to spread beyond the South and even into some urban areas?





#### WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO



#### "Ain't We Got Fun?"

The phonograph had come a long way from that day in 1877 when inventor Thomas Edison had recorded himself reciting "Mary Had a Little Lamb." By the 1920s, Americans were buying thousands of phonographs and millions of shiny phonograph records. In the comfort of their living rooms, they listened and danced to popular songs that reflected the carefree spirit of the age. One hit tune of 1921 told of a young couple who were determined to enjoy themselves even though they didn't have much money:

Night or daytime, it's all playtime, Ain't we got fun? Hot or cold days, any old days, Ain't we got fun? If wifie wishes to go to a play, Don't wash the dishes, just throw them away!"

> -Gus Kahn and Raymond B. Egan, "Ain't We Got Fun?"

# A New Mass Culture



## **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- **5.1.C.1d** Entertainment: radio; motion pictures; advertising and cultural homogenization
- **5.1.C.3b** Women's changing roles
- 5.II.B.7c Art: WPA, fine arts, Hollywood, comic

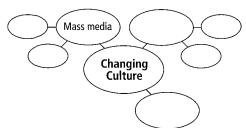
#### Terms and People

Charlie Chaplin The Jazz Singer Babe Ruth Charles Lindbergh flapper

Sigmund Freud "Lost Generation" F. Scott Fitzgerald **Ernest Hemingway** 

# NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Look for ways in which culture changed during the 1920s.



Why It Matters The automobile reshaped American culture, creating new forms of recreation and making it easier for people to travel. Other factors also contributed to changing ways of daily life. Americans listened to the radio, went to the movies, and followed the exploits of sports heroes. In the process, a new mass culture emerged—one whose shape and character closely resemble our own. Section Focus Question: How did the new mass culture reflect technological and social changes?

# **New Trends in Popular Culture**

The 1920s was in many respects the first decade of our modern era. Even as cultural issues divided Americans from different regions or economic levels, technology was beginning to break down other barriers. Nowhere is this more evident than in the leisure interests of the American people.

Americans Enjoy More Leisure Time The growth of cities changed leisure patterns. On farms, people worked from dawn to dusk, with little time to spare. In the evenings, a farm family might play games, read, or sing together around the piano. Occasionally, they joined other farm families and townsfolk for picnics or a game of baseball. They did not have the time or the money for more extensive leisure pursuits.

City life was different. The average workweek in all industries fell from 70 hours in 1850 to 55 in 1910 to 45 by 1930. The workweek itself also changed from seven days a week to six and at last to five. At the same time, salaries and wages were on the rise.



**Silent Movie Stars** 

Each silent movie star had his or her own special appeal. The four shown above were among the most popular not only in the United States but around the world.



**Americans Flock to the Movies** With more free time and disposable income, urban and suburban Americans looked to new sources of entertainment. Motion pictures helped supply that demand.

▲ Mary Pickford, known as America's Sweetheart

The technology to make motion pictures had been around for a generation, but the movie industry rose to new heights in the 1920s. A handful of huge studios in Hollywood, California, established monopolies that controlled the production, distribution, and exhibition of movies. During the 1920s, from 60 to 100 million Americans went to the movies each week. Ornate movie palaces or small local theaters became America's cultural classrooms.

For most of the decade, the studios made silent pictures. They were an ideal entertainment at a time when millions of immigrants spoke little English. Motion pictures transcended languages and even literacy, treating universal themes in familiar ways that allowed any viewer to follow the stories. Motion pictures became America's democratic art. Unlike theatrical productions or classical concerts, movies were available to anyone with a few cents to spare. In addition, the fact that movies were silent made it easier for them to cut across geographic boundaries. Hollywood's biggest movies and stars became nearly as popular in far corners of the world as they were at home.

Many stars of the silent era portrayed ordinary folks. Comedian **Charlie Chaplin**, the most popular silent film star, played the Little Tramp. The character was equal parts hobo, dreamer, and poet but an eternal optomist in his ability to charm his audience and continually reinvent himself. Other stars played more romantic types. Handsome Rudolph Valentino was the sheik, as exotic to ordinary Americans as the deserts of Arabia. William S. Hart was a steely-eyed cowboy who came into town to restore law and order.

In 1927, film history changed, suddenly and forever, with the release of *The Jazz Singer*, the first movie with sound synchronized to the action. Audiences were amazed when Al Jolson said—not pantomimed—"You ain't heard nothin' yet" and then launched into a song. Silent pictures quickly faded out, replaced by "talkies." But whether silent or sound, movies spoke directly to the desires, needs, fears, and fantasies of millions of people in the United States and around the world.

The Radio and Phonograph Break Barriers Like the movies, the phonograph and the radio also became powerful instruments of mass popular culture. Each was the result of both technological advances and business enterprise. Millions of radios and phonographs (as well as phonograph records) were marketed in the 1920s. On a deeper level, the phonograph and radio helped produce a standardized culture. Americans in the East and West and North and South listened to the same songs, learned the same dances, and shared the same popular culture as they never had before.

The radio, or wireless, had been developed in the 1890s by Italian inventor Guglielmo Marconi. Before the 1920s, the radio had been an innovation for a small group of military technicians, telephone operators, and amateur "wireless" operators. Then, in 1920, an executive of the Westinghouse company started radio station KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It was an immediate success. Within three years, there were almost 600 licensed stations broadcasting to more than 600,000 radio sets. Americans listened to music, educational lectures and religious sermons, and news and weather reports. They also heard commercials for a wide variety of consumer products.

Radios brought distant events into millions of homes in a way unmatched by newspapers or magazines. In 1927, much of America listened to a championship boxing match between Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey. That night, theaters and movie houses played to empty seats as Americans huddled next to their sets. Even the men on death row at Sing Sing prison listened to the broadcast. Before the 1920s, such coverage of an event had been impossible.

The phonograph allowed people to listen to the same music they heard on the radio, but whenever they wanted. Early phonographs employed difficult-to-use wax cylinders and suffered from poor sound quality. In the 1920s, grooved disc recordings and superior sound reproduction improved the sound of the earlier machines. Recordings helped spread country and western music from the South and West to the North and East, while pop tunes from New York City's Tin Pan Alley traveled in the other direction. As they listened to the same songs, Americans also learned the same fashionable dances, from the fox trot to the Charleston.

Checkpoint How did movies and the radio cut across geographic barriers?

# An Age of Heroes

Hollywood's chief rivals for the creation of heroes were the nation's baseball parks, football fields, and boxing rings. Before the 1920s, there were relatively few nationally famous athletes, such as boxer John L. Sullivan and all-around athlete Jim Thorpe. Most sports stars were local heroes. This changed by the 1920s, often called the Golden Age of Sports.

**Sports Heroes Win Fans** Thanks to increased newspaper readership and the rise of radio coverage, every major sport boasted nationally famous performers. Perhaps the leading sports hero was baseball home-run king **Babe Ruth**. Others included Red Grange in football, Jack Dempsey in boxing, Bobby Jones in golf, and Bill Tilden in tennis. Women athletes, too, gained fame, from tennis player Helen Wills to Gertrude Ederle, the first woman to swim the English Channel.

#### **HISTORY MAKERS**

#### **Babe Ruth** (1895–1948)

Babe Ruth—also known as the
Bambino and the Sultan of Swat—
towered over major league baseball,
not only while he was playing but for
decades after. Originally a standout
pitcher for the Boston Red Sox, Ruth gained
fame as a slugging outfielder for the New
York Yankees. In 1920, baseball was
suffering from a gambling scandal. Ruth's
amazing home runs and great appeal
helped the sport win back fans. His
record for most home runs in a
season stood for more
than 30 years, and his
record for most home

than 30 years, and his record for most home runs in a career lasted even longer.





#### **Lucky Lindy Crosses** the Atlantic

"Well, I made it," Charles Lindbergh said simply as he landed his airplane, the *Spirit of St. Louis,* in Paris. Moments later, soldiers had to rescue him from the thousands of well-wishers who crowded the airfield.

Why did athletes reach such heights of popularity? Part of the answer is that the Golden Age of Sports was also the Golden Age of the Sportswriter. Such journalists as Damon Runyon and Grantland Rice captured the excitement of sports events in their colorful prose. Turning the finest athletes into seemingly immortal gods, the sportswriters nicknamed Babe Ruth the Sultan of Swat and dubbed Notre Dame's football backfield the Four Horsemen.

The other part of the answer is that the decade needed heroes. World War I had shattered many Americans' faith in progress, making the world seem cheap and flawed. Athletic heroes reassured Americans that people were capable of great feats and lofty dreams. If in our heroes we see our idealized selves, the sports heroes of the 1920s gave Americans a sense of hope.

Lucky Lindy Crosses the Atlantic Even the biggest sports stars could not match the adoration given aviator Charles Lindbergh. In the 1920s, the airline industry

was in its infancy. Flying aces had played a role in World War I, and a few small domestic airlines carried mail and passengers. But airplanes were still a novel sight to most Americans. The pilot became a new breed of hero, a romantic daredevil who risked death with every flight.

Lindbergh outdid them all. In May 1927, he took off from Long Island, New York, in his tiny single-engine plane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, and headed east—to Paris, France. Other pilots had flown across the Atlantic Ocean before, but Lindbergh was the first to do it solo and non-stop. The flight took more than 33 hours, and the lone pilot had to stay awake the entire time. He also recalled, "In the daytime I knew where I was going, but in the evening and at night it was largely a matter of guesswork."

When Lindbergh landed in Paris, he became an instant media celebrity, dubbed Lucky Lindy and the Lone Eagle. The radio reported on his landing, and movie newsreels showed his triumphant return home. The modest young man from the Midwest became the greatest hero of his time.

Checkpoint How did the new mass media contribute to the popularity of heroes?

# **NoteTaking**

**Reading Skill: Summarize** As you read, classify the various types of changes that took place in women's lives in the 1920s.

| Women in the 1920s |                      |                     |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Social<br>Changes  | Political<br>Changes | Economic<br>Changes |
|                    |                      |                     |
|                    |                      |                     |

# **Women Assume New Roles**

In a 1931 book, *Only Yesterday*, journalist Frederick Lewis Allen attempted to make sense of the fads, heroes, and problems of the 1920s. Featured prominently was the New Woman. During the decade, many women challenged political, economic, social, and educational boundaries, to prove that their role was as vital outside the home as inside it.

**Flappers Challenge Older Limits** During the Victorian Age of the late 1800s and early 1900s, women had been expected to center their lives on the home and family. The New Woman of the 1920s, noted Allen, was more liberated. She wore dresses with shorter hemlines, put on more makeup, danced to the latest crazes, and generally assumed that she had the same political and social rights as any man.



#### **Vocabulary Builder**

sociological—(soh see uh LAH jih kuhl) *adj.* having to do with the study of human society and social relations

Popular magazines, <u>sociological</u> studies, novels, and movies all echoed Allen's observations. The rejection of Victorian morality seemed so total and the New Woman so novel that the change amounted to a "revolution in manners and morals." The symbol of all these changes was the **flapper**, a young woman with short skirts and rouged cheeks who had her hair cropped close in a style known as a bob.

There was only a germ of truth in the various observations. The Victorian code of separate spheres for men and women was disappearing but not as rapidly or as completely as Allen indicated. The flapper was undoubtedly more publicized than imitated. Still, the image of the flapper underscores an important aspect of the decade. Not all women aspired to be flappers, but many wanted more control over their lives—and got it.

Women Make Strides The great fight for suffrage had been won with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. What was the next step? Some groups, such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association, called on women to work in reform movements, run for office, or fight for laws to protect women and children in the workplace. Some women had success in public life. In 1925, Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming and Miriam Ferguson of Texas became the first women elected as their state's governor.

The National Women's Party took a more militant position, demanding complete economic, social, and political equality with men. Their primary goal was the passage of an Equal Rights Amendment. Most women, though, believed that a new constitutional amendment was premature. They set more achievable goals and made significant strides in employment. Although most working women continued to toil in domestic service and manufacturing, others moved into clerical, sales, and management positions. Women also won jobs in journalism, aviation, banking, and the legal and medical professions.

**Family Life Changes** Perhaps the most widespread revolution taking place in women's lives was a quiet one. During the decade, women tended to live longer, marry later, and have fewer children, freeing their time to pursue other interests. Some entered the workforce, others devoted more time to charitable work, and still others joined clubs that discussed books and ideas. All these pursuits enlarged the intellectual world of women.

The consumer economy of the 1920s benefited women. Electric vacuum cleaners and irons took some of the labor and drudgery out of household chores. Of course, not all women shared in the blessings of technology. Many homes in rural America had no access to electricity. For women in these regions, household labor continued to involve intense, even painful, work. They drew and carried water from wells, heated irons on stoves, and washed clothes by hand. Here again, the split between urban and rural Americans was distinct.

**Checkpoint** What political gains did American women make during the 1920s?

# **Modernism in Art and Literature**

No area of American life, however, reflected the impact of World War I more than literature and the arts. The war altered the way writers and artists viewed the world, changed the way they approached their craft, and inspired them to experiment with new forms and fresh ideas.

The Arts Reflect a Mood of Uncertainty During the Victorian era, most poets and novelists had expressed a belief in progress, placing boundless faith in human potential. But World War I called the notion of progress into question.

How could a society ruled by the idea of progress embark on a war that killed millions of people, destroyed monuments of civilization, and left survivors hungry, homeless, and hopeless? This was not an action of a rational people, a new generation of writers argued, but the irrational exploits of civilization without a sense of direction. This pessimistic, skeptical worldview sparked an artistic movement known as modernism.

The theories of Austrian <u>psychologist</u> **Sigmund Freud** (SIHG muhnd froid) also contributed to literary and artistic modernism. Freud argued that much of human behavior is driven not by rational thought but by unconscious desires. To live in society, people learn to suppress these desires. But the tension between outward behavior and the subconscious, said Freud, could lead to mental and even physical illness. Freud's theories led writers and artists to explore the subconscious mind.

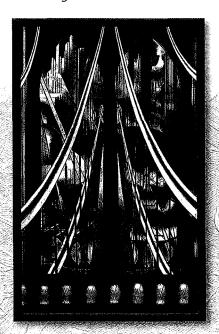
Modern Painting Challenges Tradition Modernism clashed head-on with traditionalism most dramatically in the field of modern art. Since the late 1800s, European painters had led the way in seeking a fresh visual idiom, or language. They moved away from representational paintings that simply reproduced real life and experimented with more abstract styles.

#### **Vocabulary Builder**

<u>psychologist</u>—(sī KAHL uh jihst) *n*. scientist who studies the human mind and the process of thought and emotion

#### **Modern Art**

By the 1920s, many artists had broken away from purely representational styles. The two American artists shown here used vastly different methods in their work. How do these paintings reflect the changing world of the 1920s? How do they express differing moods?



# Joseph Stella: *Brooklyn Bridge*Joseph Stella was one of the few American painters to follow a European style called futurism, which celebrated change and technology. This 1920 painting is

more abstract than Hopper's, but the subject matter is still recognizable.



#### Edward Hopper: Automat

Basically realistic, Edward Hopper's works often reflect the loneliness and anonymity of urban life. In this 1927 painting, a woman dressed in flapper style eats in a restaurant where even the food is dispensed by machine.



▲ Original cover of *Main Street* 

| American Postwar Novelists   ☑ Quick Study |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| Novelist                                   | Major Themes                                 | Representative Work  |
| <b>Willa Cather</b><br>(1873–1947)         | Frontier life on the<br>Great Plains         | My Ántonia (1918) depicts the passing of the American frontier through the life of an immigrant girl in Nebraska.                    |
| William Faulkner<br>(1897–1962)            | Life in the South;<br>inner workings of mind | <b>The Sound and the Fury</b> (1929) uses different narrators to tell the story of the complex inner workings of a Southern family.  |
| F. Scott Fitzgerald<br>(1896–1940)         | The Jazz Age                                 | <b>The Great Gatsby</b> (1925) shows the emptiness of the Jazz-Age world of flappers and bootleggers.                                |
| Ernest Hemingway<br>(1899–1961)            | Disillusionment of postwar generation        | A Farewell to Arms (1929) tells the story of doomed love between a cynical American ambulance driver and a nurse during World War I. |
| Sinclair Lewis<br>(1885–1951)              | Small-town life in the Midwest               | Main Street (1920) paints a satirical portrait of small-minded people in an American town.   |
| <b>Edith Wharton</b> (1862–1937)           | Life among the rich in<br>New York           | The Age of Innocence (1920) depicts a wealthy young man prevented by social conventions from marrying the woman he loves.            |

Most Americans got their first real glimpse of the new European approach at a major art show at New York's 69th Infantry Regimental Armory in 1913. Traditionalists were outraged by the Armory Show, and Theodore Roosevelt said that most of it represented the "lunatic fringe" of the art world. But many American painters were inspired by the bold new styles. They began their own search for artistic honesty in abstract patterns. In the 1920s, paintings by Edward Hopper, Man Ray, Joseph Stella, and Georgia O'Keeffe demonstrated the richness and varied styles of American artists. At the same time, the works of artists such as Archibald Motley and William H. Johnson portrayed African American perspectives on modern life.

Postwar American Literature Flowers American writers of the 1920s are often referred to as the "Lost Generation" because they no longer had faith in the cultural guideposts of the Victorian era. But many were inspired by their "lost" condition to search for new truths and fresh ways of expressing those truths. Never in American history had one decade seen the emergence of so many great literary talents. A list of writers who rose to distinction in the 1920s includes F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Edith Wharton, Sinclair Lewis, William Faulkner, Gertrude Stein, Eugene O'Neill, and T. S. Eliot. Each of these writers remains today on any list of distinguished American authors.

Novelist **F. Scott Fitzgerald** explored the reality of the American dream of wealth, success, and emotional fulfillment. In *This Side of Paradise*, he wrote that his generation had "grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, and all faiths in man shaken." In *The Great Gatsby* (1925), his most accomplished work, Fitzgerald showed the American dream ending in nightmare. In the novel, through hard work and careful planning, James Gatz re-creates himself as Jay Gatsby, a successful tycoon. Gatsby fills his home with wild parties, dancing, bootleg liquor, and endless activity:

Primary Source <sup>66</sup>In the main hall a bar with a real brass rail was set up, and stocked with gins and liquors and with cordials so long forgotten that most of his female guests were too young to know one from another. By seven o'clock the orchestra had arrived, no thin five-piece affair, but a whole pitful of oboes and trombones and saxophones. . . . People were not invited—they went there. They got into automobiles which bore them out to Long Island, and somehow they ended up at Gatsby's door. <sup>29</sup>

— F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* 

But in the end, Gatsby is destroyed by the very things he hoped to achieve. His lofty dreams end in a violent, meaningless death.

Fitzgerald's fellow novelist and good friend Ernest **Hemingway** explored similar themes but in a new idiom. Hemingway felt betrayed, not only by the American dream, but also by literary language itself. In A Farewell to Arms, his 1929 novel about World War I, Hemingway's narrator says:

Primary Source "I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice. . . . I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrifices were like the stockyards at Chicago if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it. . . . Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates. \*\*

—Ernest Hemingway, A Farewell to Arms

In his short stories and novels, Hemingway worked to develop a writing style that reflected his insights.

He wrote in unadorned sentences, stripped of vague adjectives and adverbs. He created a style that was as concrete and as powerful as a rifle shot.

Influenced by Freud, other writers explored the subconscious mind. Playwright Eugene O'Neill experimented with techniques that put the subconscious right on stage. In The Emperor Jones, the title character gets lost in a jungle and is attacked by imaginary beings called Little Formless Fears. In Strange Interlude, characters turn away from their conversations with other people on stage and speak their thoughts directly to the audience.

Certainly, many poets and novelists of the decade were disillusioned. Like Hemingway and Fitzgerald, they wrestled with the meaning of the war and life itself. But in the end, their efforts resulted in the creation of literary masterpieces, not worthless products of aimless despair.

✓ Checkpoint What impact did World War I have on postwar American literature?

SECTION Assessment

# Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0706

#### Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each of the following, write a sentence explaining the importance of that person or item to American culture of the 1920s.
  - Charlie Chaplin
  - The Jazz Singer
  - flapper
  - Sigmund Freud
  - "Lost Generation"
  - F. Scott Fitzgerald
  - · Ernest Hemingway

#### 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

**Summarize** Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the new mass culture reflect technological and social changes?

#### Writing About History

**3. Compare** Write a paragraph comparing the mass culture of today with the mass culture of the 1920s. Consider: What technologies form part of the mass culture? What role do they play in our lives?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Analyze Information How did the increased popularity of sports heroes and the disillusionment of the "Lost Generation" writers represent different responses to the same events?
- 5. Identify Main Ideas How did the political role of American women change in the years after World War I?
- 6. Analyze Literature Reread the selection from The Great Gatsby, on the previous page. How does it reflect other information you have learned about the society of the 1920s?

#### **HISTORY MAKERS**

Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) Gertrude Stein lived for a while in Europe as a child and returned there after college. A poet and writer, her poetry was highly experimental and often difficult to understand. But her Paris home became a gathering place for writers and artists. She supported new styles and encouraged several American writers, including Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald. It was Stein who called this group the "Lost Generation."

# **EXPERIENCE THE** ROARING TWENTIES

Turn on the radio! Let's go to the movies! In the 1920s, Americans were having fun in ways that hadn't even been invented half a century earlier. And, with new forms of mass communication, fads and entertainment were spreading faster and wider than ever before. For a few pennies, a farmer in Indiana could go to the movies and enjoy the same laughs and thrills as a factory worker in New York or a businessman in San Francisco. Practically every American knew ballplayer Ty Cobb, actress Mary Pickford, and singer Rudy Vallee.

Today, the technology and the fads have changed. But the age of mass culture has never left us. Mandio

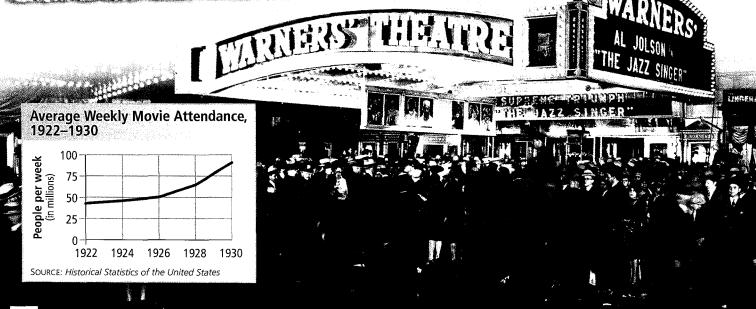


#### ◆ The Charleston

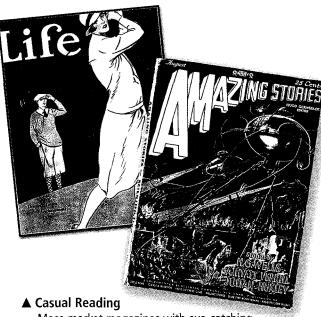
No fad symbolizes the Roaring Twenties more than the Charleston. Here, two young people demonstrate the wild, loose-limbed dance that swept the nation.

#### Saturday Night at the Movies ▼

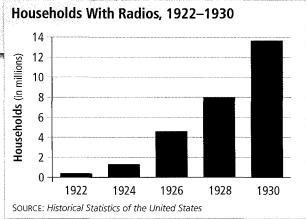
By the 1920s, Americans were going to the movies so often that attendance at other forms of public entertainment, such as theater, suffered. Decades later, the rise of television would have the same effect on movie attendance







Mass-market magazines with eye-catching covers were more popular than ever. This *Life* magazine cover (left) highlights the growing popularity of golf among both men and women. *Amazing Stories* (right) was the first "pulp" magazine devoted exclusively to science fiction.



#### The Great American Pastime

Baseball remained America's favorite sport, but mass media brought it to an entirely new audience. Here, veteran superstar Ty Cobb (below) of the Detroit Tigers greets some young fans. ▼



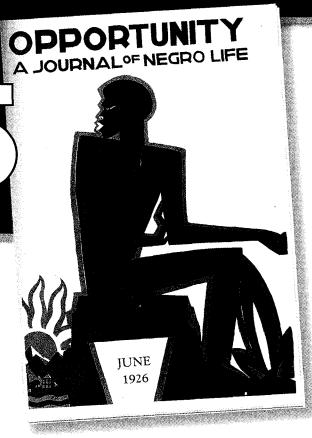
## **Thinking Critically**

- **1. Analyze Visuals** Identify two ways that technology affected leisure activities.
- **2. Draw Conclusions** Do you think mass entertainment, such as movies and radio, would promote greater understanding and unity among Americans? Explain.

**Connect to Today** Many people worry that some of today's leisure activities, such as video games and the Internet, have a negative impact on family togetherness. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.

# History Interactive \*

For: Experience the Mass Culture of the 20s video, audio, and analysis Web Code: nep-0707



■ Magazines like this one focused on African American culture and history.

#### WITNESS HISTORY (\*\*) AUDIO



#### The Excitement of Harlem

In the early 1920s, the New York City neighborhood known as Harlem was the most vibrant African American community in the nation. Teeming with people and teeming with activity, it was also, as one observer noted, "a great magnet for the Negro intellectual." Among those who were drawn to Harlem was a young Missouri-born poet named Langston Hughes. He later recalled what he felt like as he stepped off the subway:

66 can never put on paper the thrill of the underground ride to Harlem. I went up the steps and out into the bright September sunlight. Harlem! I stood there, dropped my bags, took a deep breath and felt happy again."

-Langston Hughes, The Big Sea

# The Harlem Renaissance



#### **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- 5.I.C.3c(2) Shifting cultural values: The literary scene: The Harlem Renaissance
- **5.II.B.7b** Culture of the Depression: Music: jazz, swing

#### Terms and People

Marcus Garvey jazz Louis Armstrong Bessie Smith

Harlem Renaissance Claude McKay Langston Hughes Zora Neale Hurston

# NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read, identify the main ideas.

> I. New "Black Consciousness" A. New Chances, New Challenges 1. Migration to North continues 2. R. H.

Why It Matters As a result of World War I and the Great Migration, millions of African Americans relocated from the rural South to the urban North. This mass migration continued through the 1920s and contributed to a flowering of music and literature. Jazz and the Harlem Renaissance made a lasting impact, not only on African Americans but on the culture all Americans share. Section Focus Question: How did African Americans express a new sense of hope and pride?

# A New "Black Consciousness"

Like the immigrants who traveled from Europe and Asia, African Americans who left the South dreamed of a better future. They had heard stories of economic opportunity, social advancement, and greater political rights. The South, they reasoned, was a dead end. Locked into low-paying rural jobs, barred from decent schools, faced with the reality of Jim Crow oppression and the threat of lynching, they pointed their compasses north.

Migrants Face Chances and Challenges Most African American migrants to the north probably found a better life. Wages in a Detroit auto plant or a Pittsburgh steel mill were far better than what a sharecropper earned in the South. In such cities as New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, African Americans had a growing political voice. In those towns, there also existed black middle and upper classes. African American ministers, physicians, lawyers, teachers, and journalists practiced their professions and served as role models to the younger generation.

But in coming North, African Americans had certainly not escaped racism and oppression. On average, they were forced to live in the worst housing and labor in the lowest paying jobs. In addition, as the race riots of the summer of 1919 demonstrated, violence was a threat to African Americans north as well as south of the Mason-Dixon line. After World War I, African Americans increased their demand for a real solution to the country's racial problems.

New York City's Harlem became the focal point for the aspirations of hundreds of thousands of African Americans. Some 200,000 blacks settled in Harlem. Migrants from the South mixed with recently arrived immigrants from Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica. This dynamic blend of different cultures and traditions bred new ideas.

Garvey Calls for Racial Pride The most prominent new African American leader to emerge in the 1920s was Marcus Garvey. Born in Jamaica, Garvey traveled widely before immigrating to Harlem in 1916. From his travels, Garvey drew one important conclusion: Everywhere blacks were exploited. To combat the problem, he promoted the idea of universal black nationalism and organized a "Back to Africa" movement. Unlike Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. Du Bois, Garvey did not call for blacks and whites to work together to improve America. Instead, Garvey advocated the separation of the races.

Garvey's message found willing converts in American cities. By the mid-1920s, his Universal Negro Improvement Association boasted almost 2.5 million members and sympathizers. His advocacy of black pride and black support of black-run businesses won considerable support.

Garvey's movement fell apart in the second half of the decade.

The federal government sent him to prison for mail fraud and then deported him to Jamaica. Without his powerful leadership, the Universal Negro Improvement Association lost its focus and appeal.

Although Garvey's movement died, his ideas did not fade. The nationalist and separatist aspects of the Nation of Islam and the Black Power movement in the 1960s owed much to Garvey. So, too, did later appeals to black pride, selfreliance, and cultural ties to Africa. Harlem's major newspaper, the Amsterdam News, later wrote, "In a world where black is despised, he taught [African Americans] to admire and praise black things and black people."

Checkpoint How did Marcus Garvey encourage African American pride?

# The Jazz Age

It was F. Scott Fitzgerald who called the 1920s the "Jazz Age." However, it was African Americans who gave the age its jazz. A truly indigenous American musical form, jazz is a musical form based on improvisation. Jazz musicians creatively recombine different forms of music, including African American blues and ragtime, and European-based popular music.

A Unique American Music Emerges Jazz emerged in the South and Midwest, particularly New Orleans, where different cultures and traditions came together and influenced each other. Early jazz artists won fame playing in



#### **Marcus Garvey**

Dressed in a ceremonial uniform, Marcus Garvey rides in a New York City parade on the opening day of a 1922 convention of a group called Negro Peoples of the World.

# **Vocabulary Builder**

indigenous-(ihn DIHJ uh nuhs) adj. native to; growing out of a particular region or country

Storyville, a section of New Orleans known for its night life. From the South, it spread north with the Great Migration of African Americans.

Trumpet player Louis Armstrong became the unofficial ambassador of jazz. After playing with King Oliver's band in New Orleans and Chicago and with Fletcher Henderson's orchestra in New York, Armstrong began to organize his own groups. His ability to play the trumpet and his subtle sense of improvisation made him a legend and influenced the development of jazz. After Armstrong, all jazz bands featured soloists. Many also began to feature vocal soloists, such as Bessie Smith, the "Empress of the Blues."

Jazz Wins Worldwide Popularity Jazz was more than a musical style. It was also a symbol of the Roaring Twenties. It was part of the Prohibition era, played in speakeasies and nightspots in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. It was the sound of the Cotton Club, one of Harlem's most famous attractions, where African Americans played African American music to allwhite audiences. Phonograph records and radio spread the influence of jazz across the country and beyond. By the end of the decade, the popularity of jazz had spread to Europe as well.

But jazz was still more. It was a demonstration of the depth and richness of African American culture. Gerald Early, a modern scholar of English and African American studies, predicted that, in the future, America will be best remembered for three great contributions—the Constitution, baseball, and jazz. All three enriched lives, opened windows to new possibilities, and lifted the human spirit. Jazz announced that the United States was a land of shared cultures and traditions, a place where people came together and created something greater than their parts.

Jazz quickly bridged the races. Trumpeter Bix Beiderbecke (Bī der behk) became the first white musician to contribute to the styles and popularity of jazz. Jazz sounds influenced such white songwriters and composers as Cole

Stars of the Jazz Age (a) AUDIO Not only was Louis Armstrong (below left) an influential trumpeter, he also pioneered "scat," a style in which the singer improvises meaningless syllables that mimic the sounds of musical instruments. The recordings and concerts of blues singer Bessie Smith (below right) made her the highest-paid African American entertainer of the 1920s.



Porter, Irving Berlin, and George Gershwin, whose jazz-inspired orchestral work Rhapsody in Blue premiered in 1924. The title of a song by African American band leader Duke Ellington best captures how jazz changed popular music: "It Don't Mean a Thing If It Ain't Got That Swing."



Checkpoint How did jazz spread from its roots in the South to the North in the 1920s?

#### The Harlem Renaissance

Jazz and blues were expressions of the African American experience. The pain of the African American experience can be heard in the blues, and the joy of that experience in the soaring notes of jazz. The range of such African American musicians as Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway speaks to the varieties of

African American life. But in the 1920s, there were other expressions of African American culture. Novelists, poets, and artists celebrated their culture and explored questions of race in America. This flowering of African American culture became known as the Harlem Renaissance. The Harlem Renaissance helped give a new vocabulary and dynamic to race relations in the United States.

African American Literature Flowers In the 1920s, the term the "New Negro" entered the American vocabulary. It suggested a radical break with the past. No longer would African Americans silently endure the old ways of exploitation and discrimination. The new mood was most vividly expressed in Harlem, which attracted African American novelists, essayists, poets, and journalists from all over the country and beyond. In their work, these writers explored the pains and joys of being black in America, leaving a literary legacy that spoke to all Americans of all times.

Jean Toomer's Cane (1923) set the tone for the Harlem Renaissance. A collection of short stories, poems, and sketches, Cane presented African American life and folk culture in all its richness. It was not a blueprint for where African Americans needed to move politically in the future, but a plea to remember and preserve the past.

Soon, other African American writers joined Toomer at the forefront of the Harlem Renaissance. Jamaican immigrant Claude McKay was the most militant of these writers. In his novels and poems, McKay showed ordinary African Americans struggling for dignity and advancement in the face of discrimination and economic hardships. A poem that McKay wrote after Chicago was stricken by violent race riots captured his sense of anger and militancy:

#### Primary Source

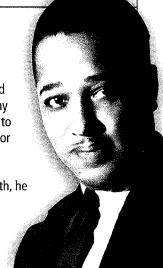
<sup>66</sup>If we must die—let it not be like hogs, Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot. While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs, Marking their mark at our accursed lot. . . . What though before us lies the open grave? Like men we will face the murderous, cowardly pack, Pressed to the wall, dying but fighting back! ---Claude McKay, "If We Must Die"

#### HISTORY MAKERS

Duke Ellington (1899–1974) Duke Ellington became one of the most important early figures in jazz and probably its greatest composer. He gained fame in the 1920s, when his band played in Harlem nightclubs. Hiring many skilled musicians, he arranged his music to showcase their talents. Ellington wrote or arranged about two thousand pieces of music that range from popular songs to ballets and movie music. Before his death, he had been awarded the highest honors

from the governments of both the

United States and France.





▲ Zora Neale Hurston

McKay represented the political and ideological left wing of the Harlem Renaissance. More in the center was Langston Hughes, probably the most powerful African American literary voice of his time. For Hughes, the force of the movement was not politics but a celebration of African American culture and life. (See the American Literature feature on the next page.) In more than 50 works of fiction, poetry, journalism, and criticism, he captured the remarkable diversity of everyday African American life. In the last line of his autobiography *The Big Sea*, Hughes wrote, "Literature is a big sea full of many fish. I let down my nets and pulled. I'm still pulling."

Another powerful voice was **Zora Neale Hurston**. Hurston traveled the rural back roads of her native Florida, collecting folk tales in books such as *Mules and Men*. But Hurston also looked to the future. Her 1937 novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* expressed the new longing for independence felt by many women, black and white.

The Harlem Renaissance Has Lasting Impact The Harlem Renaissance gave a voice to African American culture, just as jazz and blues gave it a tune. It altered the way many white Americans viewed African American culture, and even the way African Americans viewed themselves. James Weldon Johnson, poet and secretary of the NAACP, noted:

**Primary Source** \*\*A great deal has been accomplished in this decade of 'renaissance.' . . . Today, one may see undesirable stories, but one may also read stories about Negro singers, Negro actors, Negro authors, Negro poets. The connotations of the very word *Negro* have changed. A generation ago many Negroes were half or wholly ashamed of the term. Today, they have every reason to be proud of it.\*\*

— James Weldon Johnson, article in Harper's magazine, 1928

The Harlem Renaissance ended with the national financial collapse that also ended the nation's decade of prosperity. But the sense of group identity and African American solidarity that it created would become part of the bedrock on which the later civil rights movement would be constructed.

Checkpoint What themes did Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston explore?

## 5 Assessment

#### **Progress Monitoring Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0708

#### Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following, write a sentence explaining the importance of that person or item to the development of African American culture.
  - Marcus Garvey
  - iazz
  - Louis Armstrong
  - Bessie Smith
  - Harlem Renaissance
  - Claude McKay
  - Langston Hughes
  - Zora Neale Hurston

#### 2. NoteTaking Identify Main

**Ideas** Use your section outline to answer the Section Focus Question: How did African Americans express a new sense of hope and pride?

#### Writing About History

3. Compare and Contrast Write a thesis statement and introductory paragraph for an essay in which you compare the influence of jazz to the influence of the Harlem Renaissance. Consider both the similarities and differences in the two cultural developments.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **4. Identify Points of View** Why do you think Marcus Garvey rejected the goals of earlier African American leaders such as Washington and Du Bois?
- **5. Analyze Information** How did jazz blend cultural influences and crosscultural divides?
- Identify Main Ideas Restate the main idea of Claude McKay's poem "If We Must Die" in your own words.



#### Two Poems by Langston Hughes

Langston Hughes wrote about how it felt to be African American, from the pain of racial prejudice to his deep pride in his culture and heritage. The two poems below are among his most famous.

#### The Negro Speaks of Rivers

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.<sup>1</sup>

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.



Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

#### My People

The night is beautiful, So the faces of my people.

The stars are beautiful, So the eyes of my people.

Beautiful, also, is the sun.

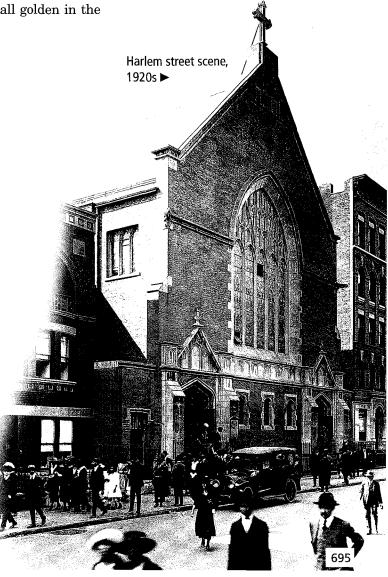
Beautiful, also, are the souls of my people.

#### **Thinking Critically**

- 1. Analyze Literature In "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," what point do you think Hughes is making when he names four rivers at four different periods of history?
- **2. Make Inferences** How would you describe the speaker's attitude toward being African American in these poems?
- **1.** The Euphrates is a river in the Middle East. The Nile and the Congo are rivers in Africa.



▲ Langston Hughes



## **Quick Study Guide**



#### **Progress Monitoring Online**

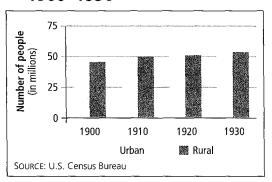
For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0709

#### ■ Rise of the Automobile



## ■ Urban and Rural Population, 1900–1930



#### **☑** Quick Study Timeline

In America

1919 Eighteenth Amendment is ratified

1920 Warren Harding elected President



Investigations into **Teapot Dome** scandal begin

#### **■** Economic Policies of Harding and Coolidge

#### **Goal: Support Economic Growth Policy: Raise Tariffs** Policy: Cut

- Increased sales of domestic goods
- Led to tariff war with foreign nations
- Government Spending
- Cut national debt Created federal
- budget surplus

#### Policy: Support **Business**

- Encouraged business growth through tax incentives and reduced regulations
- Caused organized labor to lose ground

#### ■ New Cultural Trends

| Mass culture          | Radio and movies unite people of different regions.  |
|-----------------------|--|
| Prohibition           | Crime rises as people find ways to avoid the ban on alcohol.   |
| Fundamentalism        | Many Christians promote a literal interpretation of the Bible and return to traditional values.                  |
| Modernism             | Literature and art depict postwar<br>disillusionment and the influence of the<br>subconscious on human behavior. |
| Jazz                  | Musical style blends elements of African American and European forms.  |
| Harlem<br>Renaissance | Literature and art express pride and aspirations of African Americans.   |

**Presidential Terms** 

Around the World

Woodrow Wilson 1913-1921

Warren Harding 1921-1923

1919 Paris peace conference meets

1921 **World Court is** founded in the **Netherlands** 

1923 Reparations

contribute to inflation in Germany

## American Issues •••• Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code**: neh-0710).

#### **Issues You Learned About**

- U.S. Immigration Policy The U.S. government makes decisions about how many immigrants to allow into the country.
- **1.** In the mid-1800s, the United States experienced a wave of immigration. From which countries did the majority of these immigrants come?
- **2.** What measures had been taken to restrict immigration before the 1920s?
- 3. Was the National Origins Act biased? Explain.
- Women in American Society Women's roles in society continue to change and evolve, allowing women greater opportunities.
- **4.** What amendment gave women the right to vote, and when was it ratified?
- **5.** What immediate changes were the result of women's winning the right to vote?
- **6.** How did the role of women in society change in the 1920s?

- **Technology and Society** New technological developments continually change the way Americans work and play.
- **7.** Prior to the automobile, what inventions in transportation transformed the way people and goods traveled in the United States?
- **8.** What social changes did the automobile bring to America?
- **9.** What other technological changes affected American culture in the 1920s?

#### **Connect to Your World**

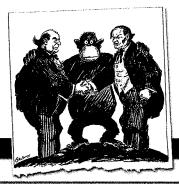
**New York** 

**Technology and Society** By the early 1920s, increasing numbers of Americans were using cars to get around. To ease travel between New Jersey and New York, the two states worked together to build the Holland Tunnel, which connected New York City and Jersey City. Clifford Holland, for whom the tunnel is named, engineered and directed the project, which began in 1920 and was completed in 1927. Running under the Hudson River, the tunnel is more than a mile and a half long. Nearly 52,000 vehicles passed through it the day it opened in November 1927. Research other ways New York changed in the 1920s because of increased automobile use. Use your findings to create a presentation on the effect of cars on New York.



1924
National Origins
Act sets up
quota system
for immigration

1925 Scopes trial begins in Tennessee



History Interactive,

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: nep-0711

1927
The Jazz Singer,
first talking
movie, opens

1929 Stock market crash marks end of 1920s prosperity

Calvin Coolidge 1923-1929

Herbert Hoover 1929-1933

192

1924 Stalin comes to power in the Soviet Union 192*1* 

Civil war begins in China

1928

Major nations sign Kellogg-Briand Pact to ban war

## Chapter Assessment

#### **Terms and People**

- **1.** Define **bull market.** How did it affect the investment activities of Americans?
- 2. Who was **Andrew Mellon**? What economic goals did he achieve?
- **3.** What was the **Eighteenth Amendment**? Which lawmakers supported it?
- **4.** Define **modernism**. Explain how modernist ideas could be viewed in literature.
- **5.** What was the **Harlem Renaissance**? Name and describe the accomplishments of two people who took part in it.

#### **Focus Questions**

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the United States experience both economic growth and social change in the decade after World War !?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 5 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

#### Section 1

**6.** How did the booming economy of the 1920s lead to changes in American life?

#### Section 2

7. How did domestic and foreign policy change direction under Harding and Coolidge?

#### Section 3

8. How did Americans differ on major social and cultural issues?

#### Section 4

**9.** How did the new mass culture reflect technological and social changes?

#### Section 5

**10.** How did African Americans express a new sense of hope and pride?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **11. Analyze Evidence** What evidence supports the conclusion that Henry Ford cared about the quality of life of his workers?
- **12. Predict Consequences** What likely happened in the 1930s to people who, in the 1920s, bought goods they could not afford on the installment plan?
- **13. Analyze Information** Did Harding show good leadership of the country? Explain.
- **14. Draw Inferences** Why did Congress support the Kellogg-Briand Pact even when lawmakers knew that its provision could not be enforced?
- 15. Summarize How could you describe the cultural differences between rural and urban Americans in the 1920s? What issues led to cultural clashes between the two groups?
- 16. Analyze Information What did athletes represent for Americans in the 1920s?
- **17. Evaluate Information** List four changes that affected women in the 1920s. Which of these do you think had the most immediate effect? Which do you think was most important in the long term?
- **18. Identify Central Issues** What did southern African Americans hope to find by moving north? Did they achieve their goals?

#### **Writing About History**

**Writing a Comparison-and-Contrast Essay** Evaluations and interpretations of historical eras often change over time or differ from historian to historian. Write the introductory paragraph and outline for an essay comparing two historical views on one of the following topics: the prosperity of the 1920s; the presidency of Calvin Coolidge; the role of the United States in world affairs after World War I; the "New Woman."

#### Prewriting

- Use Internet or library sources to find two different interpretations or descriptions of one of the topics above. You may use this textbook as one of your sources.
- Make a Venn diagram to identify similarities and differences in the two articles.

#### Drafting

- Develop a working thesis in which you define the differences between the two historical interpretations.
- Write an opening paragraph in which you introduce the topic and summarize the major differences between your two sources.
- Make an outline organizing your supporting details.

#### Revising

 Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your writing.



## Regents DBQ Practice



## Scientific Management and Mass Production

The legacy of Henry Ford included not only the popularly priced automobile but techniques of mass production. What were his goals in introducing these techniques, and what impact did they have? Use your knowledge of the chapter material and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

#### **Document 1**

"If you and your workman have become so skillful that you and he together are making two pairs of shoes in a day, while your competitor and his workman are making only one pair, it is clear that after selling your two pairs of shoes you can pay your workman much higher wages than your competitor who produces only one pair of shoes is able to pay his man, and that there will still be enough money left over for you to have a larger profit than your competitor. . . . The greatest permanent prosperity for the workman, coupled with the greatest prosperity for the employer, can be brought about only when the work of the establishment is done with the smallest combined expenditure of human effort, plus nature's resources, plus the cost for the use of capital in the shape of machines, buildings."

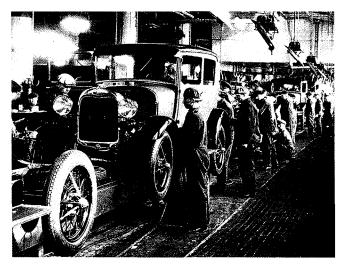
—Frederick Taylor, Principles of Scientific Management, 1911

#### **Document 2**

"[In 1914], Ford announced that he would nearly double the minimum salary paid to his 13,600 workers to \$5 a day, and reduce the workday from nine hours to eight. In a stroke, he transformed the people who manufacture automobiles into the people who buy them. . . . The reaction from business thinkers was generally negative. 'He's crazy, isn't he?' asked Adolph Ochs, publisher of the *New York Times*. . . . The *Wall Street Journal* went even further, accusing Ford of having 'committed economic blunders, if not crimes' and applying 'spiritual' principles where they don't belong.'"

—Kevin Baker, "Ford's Paradox," 2000

#### **Document 3**



Assembly line at Ford auto plant, 1928

#### **Document 4**

"We have decided upon and at once put into effect through all the branches of our industries the five day week. Hereafter there will be no more work with us on Saturdays and Sundays. These will be free days, but the men, according to merit, will receive the same pay equivalent as for a full six day week. . . . It does not pay to put men at work, excepting in continuous operations, from midnight until morning. As a part of low cost production—and only low cost production can pay high wages—one must have a big investment in machinery and power plants. Expensive tools cannot remain idle. They ought to work twenty-four hours a day, but here the human element comes in, for although many men like to work all night and have part of their day free, they do not work so well and hence it is not economical, or at least that is our experience, to go through the full twenty-four hours."

—Henry Ford, "Why I Favor Five Days' Work With Six Days' Pay," 1926

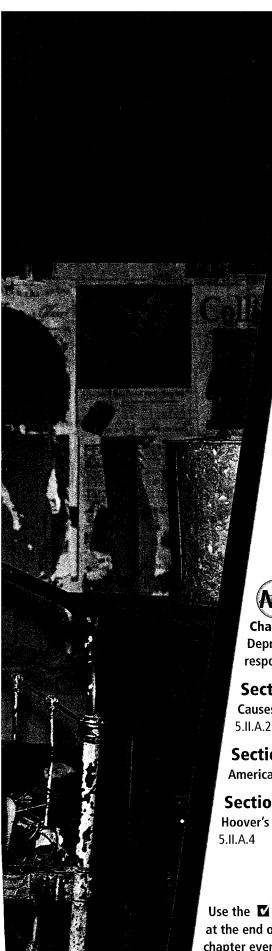
- Documents 3 and 4 provide evidence that Henry Ford (1)applied the principles described in Document 1.
  - (2) disagreed with the principles described in Document 1.
  - (3) had influenced the writer of Document 1.
  - **(4)**had listened to the criticisms of the business leaders quoted in Document 2.
- **2.** According to Document 2, why did many business leaders disapprove of Ford's wage plan?
  - (1)It did not take the well-being of his workers into account.
  - (2) It was not based on accepted business principles.
  - (3) It violated antitrust laws.
  - **(4)**It would give Ford an unfair advantage over his competitors.

- 3. According to Document 4, why did Ford institute the five-day workweek?
  - (1)If his machinery was not used over the weekend, it would last longer.
  - **(2)**His company would save money if he could pay his workers for only five days' work instead of six.
  - **(3)**He was giving in to the demands of labor unions for a shorter workweek.
  - **(4)**The five-day workweek would allow maximum productivity and efficiency.
- 4. Writing Task Who was right: Henry Ford or his critics? Use your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

# 21

## The Great Depression 1928-1932





#### WITNESS HISTORY (\*\*) AUDIO



#### The Depression Descends on America

No one who lived through the Great Depression ever forgot it. Panicked investors watched their fortunes dwindle to nothing overnight. Jobless men trudged anywhere and everywhere looking for work. The hungry lined up for handouts from churches and charitable organizations. Misery stalked Americans at virtually every turn. One survivor of the Depression remembered:

<sup>66</sup>There were many beggars, who would come to your back door, and they would say they were hungry. I wouldn't give them money because I didn't have it. But I did take them in and put them in my kitchen and give them something to eat. 99

-Kitty McCulloch

Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about the Great Depression.

■ A poor family from rural Maryland poses for a photograph.

Stock ticker machine

Magazine cover from the early 1930s



#### **VY)** Core Curriculum Preview

**Chapter Focus Question:** How did the Great Depression happen and how did Americans respond to it?

#### Section 1

Causes of the Depression 5.II.A.1a, 5.II.A.1b, 5.II.A.2

#### Section 2

Americans Face Hard Times 5.II.A.4

#### Section 3

Hoover's Response Fails 5.II.A.3a, 5.II.A.3b,

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



victory medal worn by Bonus Army veteran

#### Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nee-0801





#### WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO



#### Stock Market Prosperity

As the 1920s roared along, millions of Americans poured their savings into the soaring "bull" market. Excited investors bought and sold stocks based on "tips" from friends or brokers. Many investors amassed huge fortunes on the strength of rising stock prices. Families who had to scrimp and save at the beginning of the decade found themselves fabulously wealthy by its end. In 1929, a prominent magazine printed a poem that captured the essence of America's market fever:

66Oh, hush thee, my babe, granny's bought some more

Daddy's gone out to play with the bulls and the bears, Mother's buying on tips and she simply can't lose, And baby shall have some expensive new shoes!

— The Saturday Evening Post, 1929

## Causes of the Depression



#### **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- **5.II.A.1a** Weakness in the economy: Overproduction/underconsumption
- **5.II.A.1b** Weakness in the economy: Overexpansion of credit
- 5.II.A.2 The stock market crash

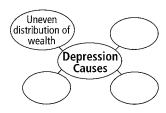
#### **Terms and People**

Herbert Hoover speculation Black Tuesday

business cycle **Great Depression** Hawley-Smoot Tariff

#### NoteTaking

**Reading Skill: Recognize Multiple Causes** Identify the causes of the Great Depression.



Why It Matters During the Roaring Twenties, many Americans enjoyed what seemed like an endless era of prosperity. Then, in October 1929, the mighty bull market crashed. As production fell and unemployment rose, the U.S. economy lurched into a period of dramatic decline. Years after the Great Depression began, many Americans came to see this contraction as a regular feature of the nation's business cycle. Section Focus Question: How did the prosperity of the 1920s give way to the Great Depression?

#### **Prosperity Hides Troubles**

In 1928, Republican leaders exuded confidence about both their party and their country. The Roaring Twenties had been a Republican decade. In 1920, Americans sent Warren G. Harding to the White House, and four years after that they sent Calvin Coolidge. Neither election had been close.

Once in office, both Presidents watched the country grow increasingly prosperous. As the decade passed, consumption went up, the gross national product went up, and the stock market went up. No matter what index an economist chose to consult, the conclusion was always the same: Times were good in America—and they were getting better. Republicans took credit for the bullish economy, and Americans heartily agreed.

**Optimism Sweeps Hoover to Victory** When the Republicans met at their 1928 nominating convention, they chose **Herbert Hoover**—an accomplished public servant—to run for the White House. Born in Iowa, Hoover was orphaned as a child. But he overcame this personal tragedy and eventually graduated from Stanford University with a degree in geology. He became a mining engineer and worked all over the world. By 1914, after amassing a vast fortune, he retired from engineering and devoted himself to public service.

Herbert Hoover came to the attention of Americans during World War I, first as the brilliant coordinator of the Belgium relief program and then as head of the Food Administration. During the Harding and Coolidge administrations, Hoover served as Secretary of Commerce. His philosophy was simple but effective. He stressed the importance of competition, but he also believed in voluntary cooperation between labor and management. American greatness showed itself, Hoover maintained, when owners, workers, and government officials converged on common goals.

With a solid record of accomplishments behind him and seemingly endless prosperity in front of him, Hoover was a formidable presidential candidate in 1928. While his campaign ads noted how Republicans had "put the proverbial 'chicken in every pot," Hoover spoke glowingly of ending poverty in America:

—Herbert Hoover, campaign speech, 1928

Hoover's contest with Democratic nominee Alfred E. Smith of New York was, in the end, no contest at all. Americans voted overwhelmingly for Hoover, prosperity, and the continuation of Republican government. When the new President took office in March 1929, America was awash in a sea of confidence. Few imagined that an economic disaster lay just seven months in the future.

But even as Hoover delivered his victory speeches, economic troubles were beginning to worry some Americans. The prosperity of the 1920s was not as deep or as sturdy as Hoover claimed. Throughout the U.S. economy, there were troubling signs.

Problems Plague the Agricultural Sector American farmers faced difficult times during the 1920s. Farmers made up one fourth of the American workforce during the decade. To meet the unprecedented crop demands created by World War I, they had increased harvest yields and bought more land to put under the plow. They also bought costly tractors and other mechanized farm equipment. Farmers contracted huge debts doing this, and the additional mortgage payments followed them into the 1920s.

After the war, the demand for American crops fell sharply. Despite this drop, postwar production remained high because of increasingly mechanized farm equipment and more intensive farming methods. Farms were getting bigger and yielding bumper crops at harvest. However, farmers were failing to sell off their huge crop surpluses and to pay the debts they owed banks and other institutions.

The result was a rural depression that affected millions of Americans. Hard-pressed to pay their debts, forced to sell in a glutted and competitive world market, and confronted by several natural disasters, farmers did not share in the boom times of the 1920s. They did not have the cash to buy the new consumer goods produced by

#### Vocabulary Builder

converge—(kuhn VERJ) v. to move
or be directed toward the same
purpose or result

#### Farmers Struggle to Get By

Farmers who could not meet their debts faced bank foreclosures on their land, equipment, and livestock. Here, a horse is paraded in front of prospective buyers at a Missouri farm sale.



#### INFOGRAPHIC

Lured by luxury and easy credit, many Americans bought expensive new cars during the 1920s. ▼

## Causes of the Great Depression

History remembers the 1920s as a decade of bull markets and new fortunes. However, by 1929, the surging American economy was on the brink of financial collapse. Soaring stock prices made rich people richer and concentrated more wealth into fewer hands. Excited by a stream of new products and buyer-friendly payment plans, consumers piled up huge debts as they purchased goods on credit. Everywhere, the economy expanded, soaring toward its peak in the summer of

economic chaos. (See the diagram below.)

1929 and then pausing on the verge of contraction—and

The Business Cycle

Peak

Peak

Peak

Peak

Peak

Peak

Peak

Rising

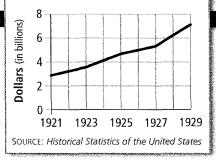
production, employment, and income

Trough

Trough

Trough

Consumer Debt, 1921–1929



American consumers racked up more than \$6 billion of debt by 1929—more than double what they owed at the beginning of the decade. American industries. They lived largely on credit from month to month, often teetering on the brink of financial ruin. Any downward slide in the economy was likely to hit America's struggling farmers first and hardest.

Wealth Is Distributed Unevenly Unlike farmers, industrial workers participated in the great national success story. During the 1920s, their wages rose steadily, as did their disposable income. Many purchased Model T Fords along with a variety of other consumer products. Though they were certainly not wealthy, industrial laborers were in a better financial position than their fathers had been a generation before.

But the problem was that while wages rose gradually, worker productivity increased astronomically. Between 1923 and 1929, output per person-hour jumped 32 percent, but workers' wages inched up only 8 percent. During that same period, corporate profits from worker output skyrocketed 65 percent. All these figures pointed to the fact that during the 1920s, the rich became much, much richer, while industrial workers simply became less poor. In few periods of the country's history have so small a number of rich Americans dominated such a large percentage of the country's total wealth. In 1929, for example, the wealthiest 1 percent of the population earned about the same amount of money as the bottom 42 percent.

This uneven distribution of the nation's wealth created economic problems. More than 60 percent of all American families had yearly incomes of less than \$2,000 per year. Twenty-four thousand of the country's wealthiest families enjoyed annual incomes of more than \$100,000, which was 50 times more than what most families were earning. But these wealthy families did not eat 50 times more food than lower-income families. The wealthiest households did not

As the pie chart below shows, income was distributed unevenly among Americans in the 1920s. The wealthiest 1 percent of the population, like the women at right, could afford luxurious homes and expensive clothing. But most Americans earned considerably less. The poorest segment of the population was sometimes reduced to begging for money, like the man below. Income Distribution, 1929 Stock Prices, 1923-1929 26.25 Standard and Poor's ndex of common stocks 22.50 18.75 15.00 11.25 ■ \$1,999 and under \$5,000-\$9,999 7.50 \$2,000-\$4,999 ■ \$10,000 and over 3.75 SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States 1923 1925 1927 1929 Easy credit and a steep rise in stock SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the prices encouraged investors to borrow United States money to buy stock on margin.

purchase 50 times more automobiles or radios or ovens. The rich undoubtedly spent a lot on consumer products. The problem was that the wealthiest few did not buy enough to keep the economy booming.

A healthy economy needs more people to buy more products, which in turn creates even more wealth. In this way, a healthy economy avoids underconsumption that can limit economic growth. The uneven distribution of wealth in the 1920s pointed to an uncertain future for the American economy.

From the overproduction of the struggling farmer to the underconsumption of the lower-income industrial worker, deep-seated problems created economic instability. Too many Americans did not have enough money to buy what they needed or wanted.

**Easy Credit Hides Problems** For a time, the expansion of credit partially hid this problem. Americans bought automobiles, appliances, radios, and other goods on credit. Using the installment plan, they paid a small percentage down and the rest over a period of months or years. By the end of the decade, 80 percent of radios and 60 percent of cars were purchased on installment credit. Americans even bought stock on credit, making such stock purchases on margin. Every year, Americans accumulated more debt. In the past, they had feared debt and put off buying goods until they had the cash to pay for those items. However, easy credit changed this behavior during the 1920s. The growing credit burden could mask the problem of Americans living beyond their means for only so long before the economy imploded.

**Checkpoint** What economic problems lurked beneath the general prosperity of the 1920s?

#### Thinking Critically

- 1. Make Generalizations Is it fair to suggest that the American economy stood "on thin ice" in 1929? Why or why not?
- 2. Analyze Costs and **Benefits** How did easy credit and buying stock on margin provide both costs and benefits to the U.S. economy?



#### The Panic Spreads

The sudden collapse of stock prices sent brokers and investors into a panic throughout New York's financial district and across the country. A cartoonist for the New York World captured the feelings of many Americans in the aftermath of the Great Crash.

#### The Stock Market Crashes

By 1929, some economists observed that soaring stock prices were based on little more than confidence. Prices had no basis in reality. Although other experts disagreed, it became clear that too much money was being poured into stock speculation. Investors were gambling, often with

money they did not even have, on stock increases to turn quick profits. If the market's upward climb suddenly reversed course, many investors would face economic devastation.

On September 3, 1929, the stock market began to sputter and fall. Prices peaked and then slid downward in an uneven way. At the end of October, however, the slide gave way to a free fall. After the Dow Jones average dropped 21 points in one hour on October 23, many investors concluded that the boom was over. They had lost confidence—the very thing that had kept the market up for so long.

The next day, October 24, came to be known as Black Thursday. With confidence in the stock market failing, nervous investors started to sell. Stock in General Electric that once sold at \$400 a share plunged to \$283. Across the United States, investors raced to pull their money out of the stock market. On October 29, Black Tuesday, the bottom fell out. More than 16 million shares were sold as the stock market collapsed in the Great Crash. Billions of dollars were lost. Whole fortunes were wiped out in hours. Many speculators who had bought stock on margin lost everything they had. President Hoover tried to soothe Americans by insisting that the "business of the country is on a sound and prosperous basis." But by November 13, the Dow Jones average had dropped like a brick from its September high of 381 to 198.7. The Great Crash represented another hallmark of the nation's business cycle, which explained the periodic growth and contraction of the economy.

Checkpoint What happened on October 29, 1929?

LATE NEWS

Coolidge Driv

#### The Great Depression Begins

The stock market crash marked the beginning of the Great Depression, a period lasting from 1929 to 1941 in which the economy faltered and unemployment soared. Though it did not start the depression by itself, the crash sparked a chain of events that quickened the collapse of the U.S. economy.

**The Banks Collapse** One of the first institutions to feel the effects of the stock market crash was the country's banking system. The crisis in confidence continued as frightened depositors feared for their money and tried to withdraw it from their banks. Few banks could survive a sustained "run" of requests by depositors for their money. In 1929, 641 commercial banks failed. A year later, 1,350 failed. And a year after that, 1,700 went under. By 1932, many Americans believed that no banks would be left standing.

Another cause of many bank failures was misguided monetary policy. During the 1920s, the Federal Reserve, which regulates the amount of money in circulation, cut interest rates to stimulate economic growth. But in 1929, worried about investor overspeculation, the "Fed" limited the money supply to discourage lending. As a result, there was too little money in circulation to help the economy after the stock market crash. When plummeting stock prices sent investors to the banks to secure whatever hard money they had left, the banks were cleaned out of currency and forced to close.

Businesses Close and Unemployment Rises Banks were not the only institutions to face the harsh financial realities of the depression. The collapse of stock prices, combined with reduced consumer spending, spelled trouble for American businesses. Business leaders believed that the survival of their companies depended on production cutbacks, to maintain price levels, and layoffs, to reduce payroll. While their stocks were still falling, companies began closing plants and forcing workers onto the growing lists of the unemployed. In August 1931, Henry Ford closed several of his Detroit automobile factories, putting nearly 75,000 people out of work.

Like a snowball rolling down a hill, the problem of production cuts kept getting bigger and bigger. As businesses closed plants and fired workers to save money, more Americans lost their jobs. As unemployment grew and incomes shrank, consumers spent less money. So businesses cut production even more, closing more plants and firing more workers. By 1933, nearly 25 percent of all American workers had lost their jobs.

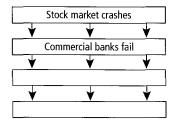
**Tariffs Add to the Woes** Hoping to reverse the downward slide, the government moved to protect American products from foreign competition. In June 1930, Congress passed the **Hawley-Smoot Tariff**, which raised prices on foreign imports to such a level that they could not compete in the American market. The tariff inspired European countries to retaliate and enact protective tariffs of their own.

Far from solving the problems of the depression, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff added to them. At a time when American manufacturers and farms had a glut of unsold products, the international move toward high protective tariffs closed markets. This closure was not just harmful to American producers. It was equally disastrous to the global economy. The ripple effect caused by the Hawley-Smoot Tariff helped to destroy international trade.

The Depression Goes Global The Hawley-Smoot Tariff was only one of the causes of a depression spreading across the globe. As we saw earlier, the European problems of reparation payments, war debt payments, and international imbalance of trade had already created a shaky economic structure. In the early 1930s, the structure collapsed. Germany ceased their reparation payments, and the United States agreed to suspend France and Britain's war debt payments. The international economy had largely been funded by American loans to Europe, but the crisis in the United States drastically curtailed those loans. As a result, European nations

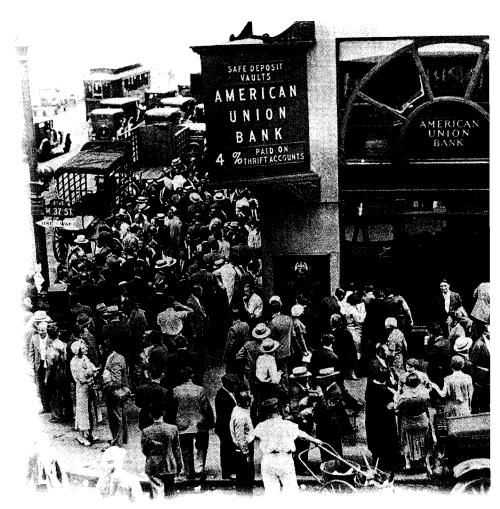
#### **NoteTaking**

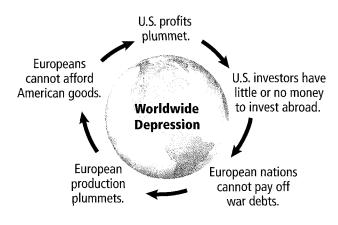
**Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence** Use a flowchart to note what happened in the wake of the stock market crash.



#### **Banks Fail**

In 1931, more than 1,500 banks ran out of money and closed their doors. Depositors lost untold savings. Here, a crowd gathers outside the closed doors of a bank in New York City. How might Americans react today if hundreds of banks failed?





**Diagram Skills** The diagram above shows how the stock market collapse contributed to a global economic crisis. *How did European war debts affect the U.S. economy?* 

experienced the same cycle of business failures, bank collapses, and high unemployment as the United States. The depression had become a global nightmare.

Checkpoint How did the stock market crash contribute to the onset of the depression?

#### What Caused the Great Depression?

Historians and economists disagree on the exact causes of the Great Depression. Some have stressed a single root cause in their explanations of the financial crisis. Milton Friedman, one economist, believed that the depression resulted from a

contraction in the money supply. The twin events of the stock market crash in 1929 and the run of bank failures in 1930 left too little money in circulation for the nation's economic needs.

John Maynard Keynes was one of the most influential economists of the depression. He argued that the lack of government interference in the economy led to the depression. Critical problems in money supply, distribution of wealth, stock speculation, consumer spending, productivity, and employment could have been controlled, he said, by proactive government policies. Keynes's work points to a fundamental difference between many economists regarding the depression. While Keynes recommended that governments spend more money to keep people employed when the economy slows, other noted economists like Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich von Hayek criticized centralized economic planning and management.

There will never be a fully accepted answer to the question of what caused the Great Depression. But clearly, problems in consumption contributed heavily to it. Economic hardships before 1929 in Europe and rural America, coupled with an uneven distribution of wealth and overspeculation in the stock market, created dangerous economic conditions. When this was combined with poor or misinformed economic decisions by Congress and President Hoover, the Great Depression resulted.

✓ Checkpoint What were the primary causes of the Great Depression?

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online* 

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0802

#### Comprehension

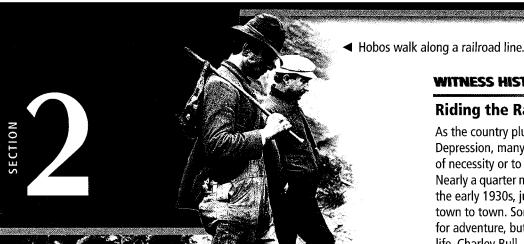
- **1. Terms** For each term below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
  - speculation
  - business cycle
  - Great Depression
  - Hawley-Smoot Tariff
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Causes Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the prosperity of the 1920s give way to the Great Depression?

#### **Writing About History**

3. Quick Write: Define a Problem
Choose one topic from this section that
you could use to write a problemsolution essay. For example, you could
write about the weaknesses in the
agricultural sector of the economy.
Make a list of details, facts, and examples that define the problems that this
weakness poses to a stable economy.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **4. Explain Causes** How did the uneven distribution of the nation's wealth weaken the American economy?
- **5. Analyze Information** Why was recovery so difficult after the stock market crash?
- 6. Draw Conclusions Do you think the nation would have experienced an economic depression even if the stock market had not crashed? Why or why not?



#### WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

#### **Riding the Rails**

As the country plunged deeper into the Great Depression, many young people left home, either out of necessity or to follow their dreams of a better life. Nearly a quarter million teenagers hit the road during the early 1930s, jumping freight trains to ride from town to town. Some looked for work, others thirsted for adventure, but all faced the dangers of the hobo life. Charley Bull, who left his California home at 18, recalled:

You could ride on top of a freight car and then you just had to be careful. If a train is going sixty or seventy miles an hour and hits a curve and you're walking and your back's to the turn and you don't see it coming—a little tiny turn can throw you right off the train. A lot of people have been killed like that.99

> —Charley Bull, from a PBS presentation "The American Experience—Riding the Rails"

## **Americans Face Hard Times**



#### **Core Curriculum Objectives**

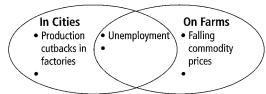
5.II.A.4 The Great Depression: Unemployment

#### **Terms and People**

bread line Hooverville tenant farmer **Dust Bowl** Okies repatriation Why It Matters The stock market crash signaled the end of boom times and the beginning of hard times. As investors mourned their losses, Americans watched the economy stagger into the Great Depression. In the cities and on the farms, desperate poverty gripped the nation. Even after prosperity returned, those who lived through the crisis would remember the pain and worries of the depression. Tested by extreme hardship, this generation of Americans forged a character and will strong enough to overcome economic ruin and restore prosperity. Section Focus Question: How did the Great Depression affect the lives of urban and rural Americans?

#### **NoteTaking**

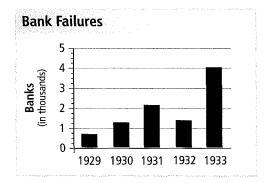
Reading Skill: Categorize As you read, use a Venn diagram to note how the depression affected both urban and rural America.

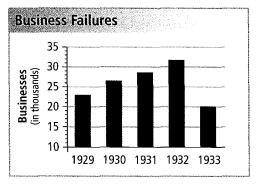


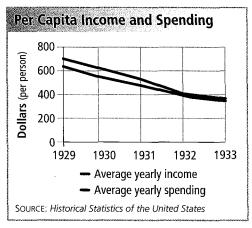
#### Misery and Despair Grip America's Cities

The Great Depression had a deep and lasting impact on the lives of the people who lived through it. Few Americans grasped the underlying problems of the 1920s economy or the subtle reasons for the stock market crash. Fewer still comprehended how the crash led to the Great Depression. But they did understand the *impact* of the economic crisis. Workers understood having a job one day and being unemployed the next. Whole families knew the shame and fear of losing their homes.

The Great Depression touched every American because every American either experienced or knew someone who experienced the hardships and loss caused by the economic catastrophe. For many, their lives were never the same again.







**Graph Skills** The year 1929 marked the start of a pronounced downturn in the American economy. *In what year* did the largest number of banks fail? By roughly how much did Americans' average yearly income decrease between 1929 and 1933?

Searching for a Job and a Meal The threat of unemployment and destitution haunted workers in cities and towns across the United States. Between 1921 and 1929, annual average unemployment rates had never risen above 3.7 percent. But then, the depression hit, and the rate shot up. By 1933, it had climbed to a shocking 24.9 percent.

Despite this high rate, millions of workers were able to keep their jobs. However, most had their wages or hours cut. Many workers brought home paychecks that were 10, 20, sometimes 30 percent less than their pre-depression checks.

Yet statistics tell only part of the story. The human drama of unemployment unfolded over and over again, in city after city across the nation. For a man employed as a factory worker, the 1920s had promised a chance at upward economic mobility. He had been able to provide for his family, enjoy a decent standard of living, and save something for retirement. Then, the depression hit. The man saw his hours cut and his workweek shortened. Eventually, he was laid off. Looking for another job, he trudged from one factory to the next. "No help wanted here" or "We don't need nobody" greeted him at every turn. The man's clothes began to look worn. His collars and cuffs became frayed, and his pants became shiny at the knees. He said less, stared more, moved slower.

Maybe his wife was able to find work washing and ironing clothes or laboring as a maid. But those jobs were hard to find, too. At home, children ate smaller meals. Water replaced milk. Meat disappeared from the table. Hunger lurked about the home like an unwanted guest. Sometimes, the parents and children received free meals in public soup kitchens. Often, the only place for the family to get a free scrap of food was in a bread line, where people lined up for handouts from charities or public agencies.

**Descending Into Poverty** Men like the factory worker just described moved from unemployed to unemployable. Whole families descended into hunger and homelessness. Their dreams of success and prosperity turned into nightmares of failure and poverty.

This feeling of loss—this sense of the "American Dream" betrayed wove through the cultural fabric of the Great Depression. The widespread despair found expression in an early-1930s song by E. Y. Harburg. It tells the story of an American "Everyman," a worker who

labored to build the country and a citizen soldier who fought to defend it. However, the depression has left him out of work, out of money, and out of dreams:

#### Primary Source

<sup>66</sup>They used to tell me I was building a dream And so I followed the mob. When there was earth to plow or guns to bear, I was always there, right on the job. They used to tell me I was building a dream With peace and glory ahead— Why should I be standing in line, Just waiting for bread? Once I built a railroad, I made it run, Made it run against time. Once I built a railroad, now it's done-Brother can you spare a dime? 99

—song lyrics, "Brother Can You Spare a Dime?"

#### INFOGRAPHIC

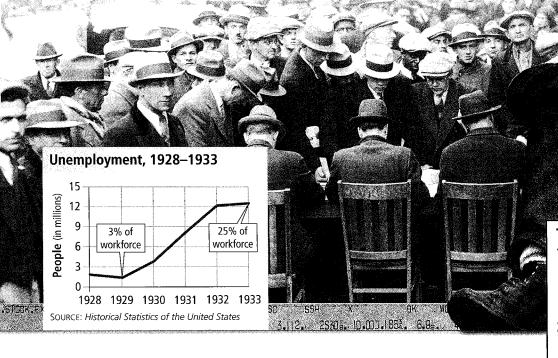
Effects of the

## Great Depression

 $oldsymbol{\mathsf{A}}$ fter the stock market crash, the American economy slowed to a crawl in the face of a devastating global Depression. Bank failures more than quadrupled from 1929 to 1933. Companies fired thousands of workers to keep from going out of business. As a result, unemployment soared, condemning a quarter of the American workforce to poverty. (See the line graph below.) Jobless people crowded outside employment offices, clamoring for work to put food on their tables. Life became a daily struggle for many Americans during these lean times.

Unemployed men wait for a chance to register for municipal jobs in New York City in 1933. ▼ Top: Women and children wait in a bread line set up by a religious mission. Center: This 1932 cartoon summarized the feelings of many depositors when their banks failed.

Bottom right: Unable to support their families, some men gave in to despair.



Harburg said the song asked a simple question about the nature of the depression. "This is a man who says: I built the railroads. . . . I fought your wars.... [Why] should I be standing in line now? What happened to all this wealth I created?"

**Looking for a Place to Live** As Americans lost their jobs and ran through their savings, they had to scrounge wherever they could to keep from going hungry. They sold furniture, pawned jewelry, and moved to cheaper lodgingsanything to keep their pantries stocked and rents paid. In many cities, they ran out of money, were evicted from their homes, and ended up on the streets.

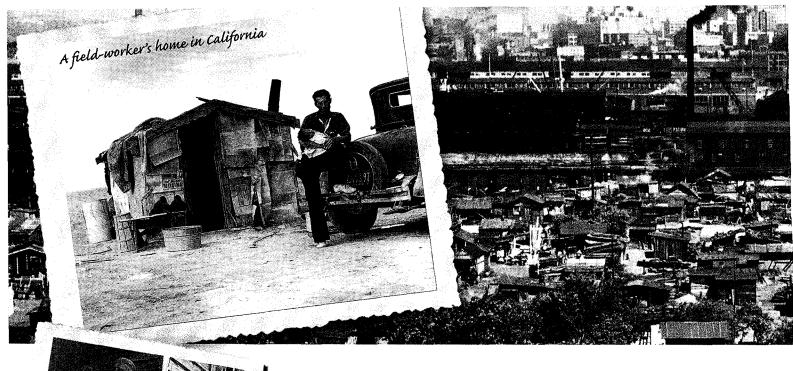
**Thinking Critically** 

1. Analyze Information How did the shrinking economy lead to increased layoffs of workers?

MONEY FOR THE FUTURE. WHEN

2. Draw Conclusions What effect might a high unemployment rate have on the wages of Americans who still had jobs?

1014 3059





#### Americans Face Hard Times

Photographs of the 1930s conveyed the gritty realism of daily life under the boot heels of hunger, homelessness, and destitution. Cartoonists of the time criticized political leaders, President Hoover foremost among them, for the parts they played in bringing about, or failing to prevent, the depression. *Judging from these* images, what would it have been like to live in a Hooverville?

Homeless people slept on park benches, in empty railway cars, or in cardboard boxes. Many grouped together in **Hoovervilles**, makeshift shantytowns of tents and shacks built on public land or vacant lots. Homeless people, some of whom had worked as skilled carpenters before the crisis, cobbled houses together out of lumber scraps, tar paper, tin, and glass. One of the largest Hoovervilles in the country sprang up in the middle of Central Park in New York City. There, the homeless covered themselves with newspapers, called Hoover blankets, to stay warm at night. They walked around looking for jobs with their empty pants pockets turned inside out, a sign of poverty known as Hoover flags.

Despite the difficulties of life during the depression, many Americans did what they could to boost morale and help their neighbors. During a New York City newspaper strike, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia read comic strips to children over the radio. In Reading, Pennsylvania, members of the Taxpayers Protection League staged nonviolent protests to thwart evictions. Nevertheless, thousands of other Americans found no such escapes from their misery.

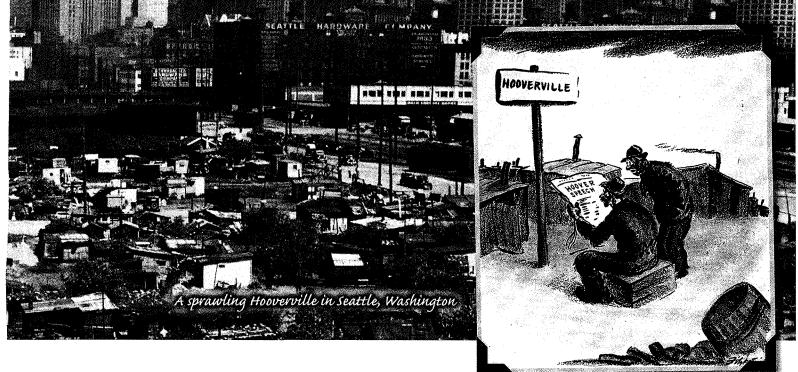


**Checkpoint** How did the Great Depression affect American cities in the early 1930s?

#### **Poverty Devastates Rural America**

In cities and towns across the nation, Americans faced a terrible plight. The numbers of the unemployed, homeless, and hopeless increased like a casualty list in some great war. In rural America, people fared no better. In fact, sometimes their condition was even worse. Farmers had been suffering even before the Great Depression. Falling commodity prices and accumulating debt had made it a struggle for farmers to keep their heads above water. Many failed to stay afloat and sank so deep that they lost their farms.

**Commodity Prices Plunge** But then the bottom fell out of the economy and the depression added more woes. Crop prices fell even further, and new debts were added to old debts. To make matters even worse, the Great Plains was suffering through a choking drought, an ecological disaster that lasted for years. As a result, many more farmers lost their farms and moved. They traveled about the country, looking for work and fighting for survival.



The basic reality of farm life was the low prices paid to farmers for crops they grew for market. In 1919, a bushel of wheat sold for \$2.16; in 1932, it sold for 38 cents. A pound of cotton fetched 35.34 cents in 1919; the same pound fetched 6.52 cents in 1932. The sharp fall in prices was evident with other farm products—corn and beans, cattle and hogs. The income farmers generated was not enough to allow them to continue farming. They could not pay their debts, purchase more seed, repair equipment, and buy what their families needed to survive. Overburdened by the diminishing returns for their labor, some farmers buckled under the stress.

In Sioux City, Iowa, in 1932, the Sioux City Milk Producers Association threatened to strike if its members did not see higher profits for their milk. When the association's threats were ignored by local storeowners, farmers dumped 1,000 gallons of milk on a road outside the city. Despite such a drastic-and for many Americans unthinkable-action like this, farmers everywhere feared losing everything.

Farmers Lose Their Farms Between 1930 and 1934, nearly one million farmers failed to pay their mortgages and lost their farms. Banks foreclosed on their lands and houses and repossessed their farming equipment. The bankers sold what they could at public auctions. Some farmers remained on the land as tenant farmers, working for bigger landowners rather than for themselves. Others drifted away from their communities, looking for some other kind of work.

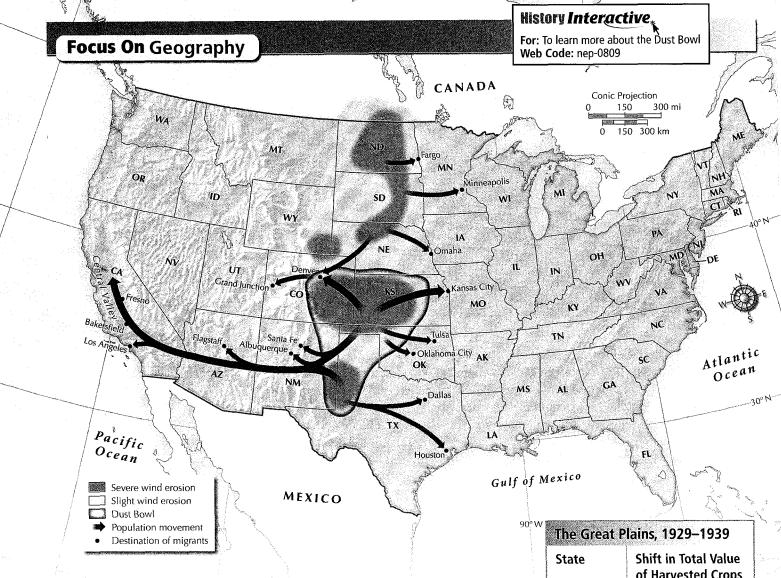
Cesar Chavez, who later became a well-known labor organizer, recalled the troubles his proud father had during the depression. A California bank repossessed his father's small ranch, and the family was evicted from their house. Chavez remembered how it felt to lose his home:

Primary Source We had been poor, but we knew every night there was a bed there, and this was our room. . . . But that all of a sudden changed. When you're small, you can't figure these things out. You know something's not right and you don't like it, but you don't . . . let that get you down. You sort of just continue to move."

Like the Chavez family, other farmers moved on after their losses. But for those who remained, Mother Nature dealt a cruel blow to already cruel times.

▲ A 1935 political cartoon criticizing Hoover

**Vocabulary Builder** drastic-(DRAS tihk) adj. harsh or severe



## The Dust Bowl

By the middle of the 1930s, drought and wind had cut a huge swath of destruction down the middle of the continental United States. The "black blizzards" of the Dust Bowl soared to heights of 8,000 feet and swept like waves across towns and farms. Outside, rabbits, birds, and field mice suffocated and died in the swirling dust. Inside, dirt seeped through every crack and covered everything and everyone in layers of grit. "We live with the dust, eat it, sleep with it," observed one witness. A single storm could carry more than 300 million tons of dust, and constant storms in the "dirty thirties" destroyed as many as 5 million acres of wheat. Much of the Great Plains "breadbasket" simply blew away:

Whole harvests could be destroyed wherever dust storms struck.

Many farmers went out of business as a result of their crop failures.

A massive dust storm threatens the town of Stratford, Texas, in this photograph from 1935.

#### of Harvested Crops Colorado -51% Kansas -53% Nebraska -61%New Mexico -32%North Dakota -47% Oklahoma -49% South Dakota -57% -45% Texas -40% Wyoming

#### **Geography and History**

How did environmental change affect farmers living on the Great Plains during the 1930s?

The Great Plains Becomes a Dust Bowl Farmers who survived the tumble in prices were still not safe. Through the mid-1930s, a drought in the Great Plains added to their problems. Water was a constant problem in the region. Normal rainfall seldom exceeded the 20 inches a year that traditional American agricultural practices demanded. As a result, droughts on the Great Plains were often more devastating than those in the East and Midwest. In the years before America's western rivers were dammed and irrigation practices became widespread, there were few answers to the drought threat.

New farming methods made drought conditions worse. Intensive farming came to prominence throughout the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Farmers then had moved onto the plains and plowed under much of the natural grasses in order to plant oceans of winter wheat. The land-scape shift tipped the ecological balance of the region. In the past, plains grasses prevented the topsoil from blowing away during periods of drought. By the early 1930s, that dwindling grassy safety net could no longer do the job.

By 1932, the combination of drought, loose topsoil, and high winds resulted in disaster on the Great Plains. The winds kicked up towering dust storms that began to blow east. These gigantic clouds of dust and dirt could rise from ground level to a height of 8,000 feet. The dust storms moved as fast as 100 miles per hour and blotted out the sun, plunging daylight into darkness.

Most of the dust storms started in the southern Great Plains, especially the high plains regions of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico, and Colorado. This swath of parched earth became known as the **Dust Bowl**. For people living in these hardest hit regions, depression and dust storms defined the misery of the "dirty thirties."

Those unfortunate enough to be caught in a dust storm were temporarily choked and blinded by the swirling dirt. The storms killed cattle and birds, blanketed rivers, and suffocated fish. Dirt seeped into houses, covering everything with a thick coat of grime. Some dust clouds blew east as far as the Atlantic coast, dumping acres of dirt on Boston, New York, and Washington. Altogether, dust storms displaced twice as much dirt as Americans had scooped out to build the Panama Canal.

Desperation Causes Migration Many farm families trapped in the Dust Bowl had no choice but to migrate out of the region. They had lost their farms to the banks. Dust storms had destroyed most remaining opportunities. They were low on everything except despair. Although only some came from Oklahoma, Dust Bowl refugees were generally referred to as Okies, regardless of their states of origin.

Okie families packed onto rickety trucks and headed toward California or Oregon or Washington, any place where a job might be found. Before the pace slowed, 800,000 people migrated out of Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas alone.

Agricultural collapse and the Great Plains Dust Bowl forced millions of Americans to leave the midwestern and southern regions where they had been born. Many moved to California, lured by the promise of jobs, but were crushed when that promise too often proved empty. Others headed to the cities of the Northeast and Midwest, again looking for jobs, shelter, and relief. As a result of the migration, rural states lost population while states with large cities gained population.

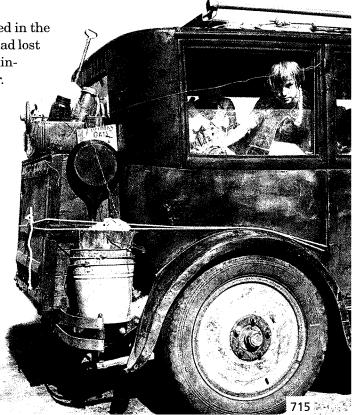
#### WITNESS HISTORY DVD

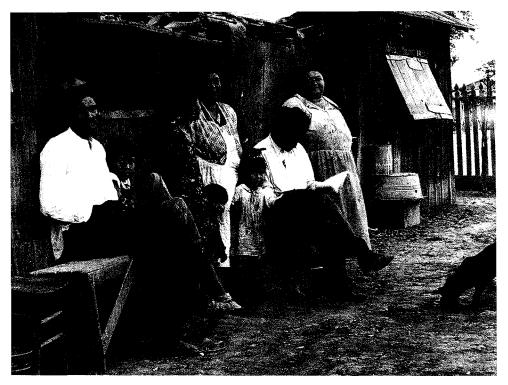
Watch **The Dust Bowl** on the **United States Witness History DVD** to learn more about the causes and effects of the Dust Bowl.



#### Okies Flee the Dust Bowl

The Okie exodus from the Great Plains carried thousands of Americans west to the rich farmlands of California. Okies also packed up and headed east to great industrial centers like Chicago, Pittsburgh, and New York. Here, a migrant family arrives in California.





There were other effects of the Dust Bowl. The farmers best able to survive the Great Depression were the ones with the biggest operations. They often bought repossessed land at rock-bottom prices and expanded their holdings into large commercial farms. The Dust Bowl also motivated the government to help Great Plains farmers. After the initial crisis, immense federal projects dammed western rivers. Dams eventually provided irrigation that made farm profits possible on the Great Plains.

Checkpoint How did the Dust Bowl make life even more difficult for farmers on the **Great Plains?** 

#### Fierce Job Competition in California

As Okies flowed into California. Mexican and Mexican American migrants already there faced stiff new competition for scarce jobs. Here, a family of migrant farmworkers gathers outside their home in California's Imperial Valley. What does the photograph suggest about the economic status of migrant workers in California?

#### **Few Americans Escape Hard Times**

One of the ironies of the depression was the word itself. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an economic slump was called a "panic" or a "crisis." President Hoover used the word depression to describe the state of affairs because he thought it sounded less severe than the other terms. But before long, Hoover's "depression" gave way to the "Depression" and then the "Great Depression." The term described not only a state of mind, but also an economic reality. It showed a despondent America, filled with people overwhelmed by seemingly inescapable poverty. Not only did the depression make victims of the men and women who lost jobs, it also was an economic and emotional crisis that profoundly affected Americans in all walks of life.

The Depression Attacks Family Life For millions of Americans, the depression was an intensely personal affair. Men who lost their jobs and could not find other work often felt that they had betrayed their families. They had been the "breadwinners," the providers, the ones whose paychecks fed and clothed the family and kept a roof over everyone's head. The loss of a job meant a reduction in status. Different men reacted differently to unemployment. Many labored tirelessly to find a new job, while others sank into shame and despair. Some even deserted their families.

The unemployed were not the only ones who suffered. Men lucky enough to have jobs lived in constant fear that the next paycheck would be their last. They often felt guilty for being employed while so many of their relatives and friends were suffering. Few Americans were spared from the crisis.

Wives and children experienced the pain of their husbands and fathers. Birthrates plummeted to the lowest marks in American history—a sure sign of family distress. Mothers worked constantly to stretch meager family incomes. They sewed clothes, searched for odd jobs, and valiantly tried to meet their families' needs. With both parents preoccupied with making something out of nothing, family discipline often declined. Some children quit school. Others ran away from home. Families coped with the depression as best they could. Some huddled together, working to survive the hard times. Others broke apart, making those times even harder and lonelier.

Minorities Suffer Hardships The depression affected everyone, but it did not affect them equally. Americans on the bottom rung of the economic ladder—the poorest of the poor, often minorities with no financial resources—felt the sting of the depression the keenest. A Howard University sociologist noted early in the crisis that African Americans were "the last to be hired and the first to be fired." In the South, landowners threw African American sharecroppers off the plots they had been farming. Many of these workers migrated to northern cities, but there were no jobs waiting there. Only more poverty greeted them. In 1932, unemployment among African Americans hovered around 50 percent, nearly double the national rate.

However, African Americans had long stood firm against the challenges of poverty. They relied on the emotional resources of family and religion to cope with grim times. During his interview with a depression historian, an African American man explained what the depression meant to African Americans:

**Primary Source**"The Negro was born in depression. It didn't mean too much to him, The Great American Depression, as you call it. There was no such thing. The best he could be was a janitor or a porter or shoeshine boy. It only became official when it hit the white man."

-Clifford Burke, quoted in Hard Times, 1970

Hard times came upon Mexican Americans as well. As more Okies headed west out of the Dust Bowl, the competition for jobs between those migrants and Mexican American farmworkers in states like California heated up. A flood tide of workers struggled to find and keep farm jobs. Often, Mexican Americans faced the additional burden of discrimination when competing with white farmhands for those jobs. In the Southwest, many white Americans clamored for Mexican American **repatriation**. Repatriation involved efforts by local, state, and federal governments to encourage or coerce Mexican immigrants and their naturalized children to return to Mexico. Hundreds of thousands of people of Mexican ancestry—many of them U.S. citizens—were pushed out of the United States. Even so, many more remained. By the end of the 1930s, Mexican Americans were working in most industries of the Southwest, including farming, ranching, and industry.

Checkpoint How did the depression take a toll on women, children, and minorities in America?



#### Poverty in the South

African Americans who had long faced discrimination and segregation were especially hard-hit by the depression. Many moved from the South to seek jobs in the North. Here, a man sits forlornly outside his home in Atlanta, Georgia.

## Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online
For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0803

#### Comprehension

- Terms and People What do each of the following terms have in common? Explain.
  - bread line
  - Hooverville
  - tenant farmer
  - Okies
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Categorize Use your Venn diagram to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the Great Depression affect the lives of urban and rural Americans?

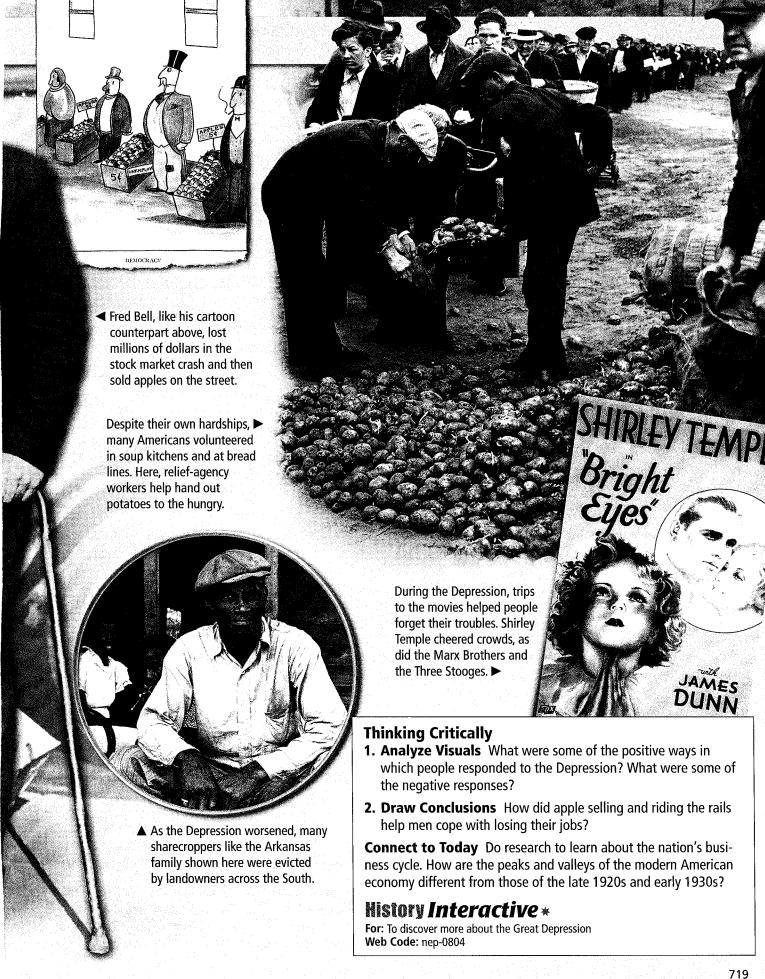
#### **Writing About History**

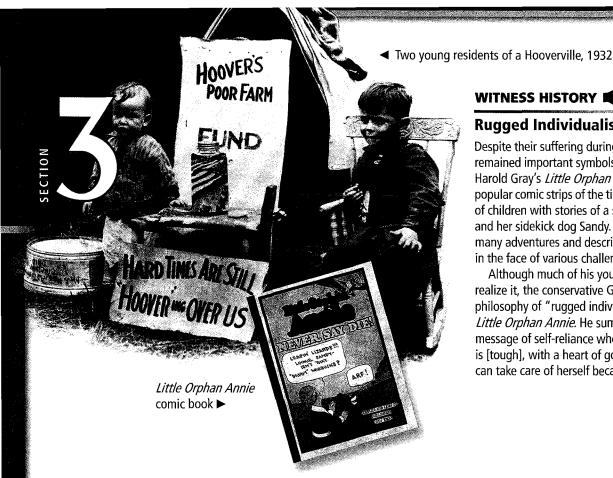
3. Quick Write: Brainstorm for Possible Solutions Choose one topic from this section, such as skyrocketing unemployment in American cities, about which you could write a problem-solution essay. Use the text and your own knowledge to list possible solutions to the problem. Next, organize your list by ranking the solutions from most effective to least effective.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **4. Compare and Contrast** How were the experiences of the urban unemployed and the rural poor similar? How were they different?
- **5. Recognize Effects** How do you think the arrival of so many Okies affected native Californians?
- **6. Draw Inferences** Where might Americans have laid the blame for their difficulties during the early 1930s?







#### WITNESS HISTORY (\*\*) AUDIO



#### Rugged Individualism

Despite their suffering during the 1930s, children remained important symbols of hope and resilience. Harold Gray's Little Orphan Annie, one of the most popular comic strips of the time, entertained millions of children with stories of a strong-willed orphan and her sidekick dog Sandy. Gray depicted Annie's many adventures and described her determination in the face of various challenges.

Although much of his young audience did not realize it, the conservative Gray was preaching a philosophy of "rugged individualism" through Little Orphan Annie. He summed up his heroine's message of self-reliance when he noted that "Annie is [tough], with a heart of gold and a fast left, [and] can take care of herself because she has to."

## Hoover's Response Fails



#### **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- **5.II.A.3a** President Hoover's response: Rugged individualism; "trickle-down" economics
- **5.II.A.3b** President Hoover's response: **Reconstruction Finance Corporation**
- **5.II.A.4** Unemployment, the Bonus Army, Hoovervilles

#### **Terms and People**

localism RFC trickle-down economics

Hoover Dam **Bonus Army** 

Douglas MacArthur

#### **NoteTaking**

#### **Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details**

As you read, fill in the outline with details about President Hoover's response to the depression.

- I. Cautious Response to Depression Fails A. Hoover Turns to Volunteerism
  - 1. Calls on business leaders to maintain employment, wages, prices
- B. Volunteerism Fails to Bring Relief
- **II. Hoover Adopts More Activist Policies**

Why It Matters From big cities to small towns, the Great Depression spread misery far and wide across America. The unemployed and the homeless crowded into shantytowns. Giant dust storms swallowed the Great Plains. Yet as the crisis deepened, Herbert Hoover struggled to respond to the nation's problems. As a result of Hoover's failed response, in 1932 Americans would turn to a new leader and increased government intervention to stop the depression. Section Focus Question: Why did Herbert Hoover's policies fail to solve the country's economic crisis?

#### **Cautious Response to Depression Fails**

Herbert Hoover did not cause the Great Depression. But Americans looked to him as their President to solve the crisis. He tried. Hoover was an intelligent man, familiar with business methods and economic theory. He labored long hours, consulted a wide range of experts, and tried to marshal the resources of the country to solve the problems of the depression. As the economic situation worsened, he tried several different approaches. In the end, he failed to discover the right formula, but it was not because of a lack of effort.

Hoover Turns to Volunteerism At the start of the economic downturn, Hoover followed a hands-off policy. Like most economists of the day, Hoover viewed the upswings and downswings of business cycles as natural occurrences. He felt that government should not interfere with such events. Periodic depressions were like storms. They could not be avoided, but strong businesses could weather them without the support of the government.

A policy of doing nothing, however, was no policy at all. Hoover soon recognized this fact and turned to a policy he had used in the past. As Secretary of Commerce during the 1920s, Hoover had motivated businessmen and laborers to voluntarily work toward common goals. To address the current crisis, he asked business and industrial leaders to keep employment, wages, and prices at current levels. He simultaneously called for the government to reduce taxes, lower interest rates, and create public-works programs. The plan was to put more money into the hands of businesses and individuals to encourage more production and consumption. This, Hoover said, would reverse the cycle that led to the depression.

Lastly, Hoover requested that wealthier individuals give more money to charity. Millions of Americans gave money, clothing, and food to private and religious charities, which in turn distributed the goods to those in need. The idea was for all Americans to voluntarily join forces to combat the depression.

Volunteerism Fails to Bring Relief Although the ideas behind the plan were sound, Hoover's program relied too much on voluntary cooperation. The President believed he could persuade Americans to act not in their own best interests but in those of the country as a whole. He was cautious to encourage, not legislate, America's recovery. But volunteerism did not work. Businesses cut wages and laid off workers because it was in their own best interests. Farmers boosted production because it was in the best interests of their families. Most Americans followed individual, not cooperative, courses.

Hoover had also asked state and local governments to provide more jobs and relief measures. He had faith in localism, the policy whereby problems could best be solved at local and state levels. However, towns and states simply did not have the financial or human resources to successfully combat the crisis. Making matters worse, the President strongly resisted using federal resources to provide direct relief to individuals. Believing it to be unconstitutional, Hoover opposed public assistance and instead favored "rugged individualism" so that people could better themselves through their own efforts. Yet as the months

wore on, unemployment increased, charities ran low on money, and local and state governments could no longer plug the leaks in the economy. The crisis demanded decisive federal action.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why was Hoover reluctant to have the federal government interfere with the economy?

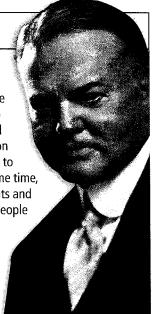
#### **Hoover Adopts More Activist Policies**

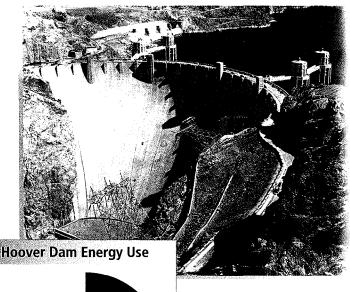
With Hoovervilles and homelessness on the rise, the President's failed policies were laid bare. Poor Americans called trucks pulled by horse or mule "Hoover wagons," campfires "Hoover heaters," and cardboard boxes "Hoover houses." The association of the President's name with suffering and want indicated Americans' negative feelings about their leader.

Vocabulary Builder simultaneously-(sī muhl TAY nee uhs lee) adv. done at the same

#### HISTORY MAKERS

Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) After the depression hit, President Hoover eventually embraced an active economic plan. He urged Congress to fund construction projects that would provide jobs and pushed for legislation that would loan money to businesses to kick-start the economy. Yet at the same time, Hoover insisted that local governments and charities should provide direct aid to people out of work. "Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement," he said. As a result, many Americans blamed him for their troubles.





Arizona 19% California SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of Reclamation

#### **Hoover Dam Powers** the West

Hoover Dam contains 325 million cubic yards of concrete—enough to pave a highway 16 feet wide from New York City to San Francisco—and provides power to more than a million people each year. It also irrigates millions of acres of farmland in western states.

Hoover decided to reverse course and use federal resources to battle the depression. Believing the economy suffered from a lack of credit, Hoover urged Congress to create the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). Passed in 1932, the RFC gave more than a billion dollars of government loans to railroads and large businesses. The act also lent money to banks so that they could extend more loans to struggling businesses. Hoover believed that if the government lent money to bankers, they would lend it in turn to businessmen. Businessmen would then hire workers, production and consumption would increase, and the depression would end. This theory, known as trickle-down economics, held that money poured into the top of the economic pyramid will trickle down to the base.

Although the RFC put the federal government at the center of economic life, it did not work well under Hoover's guidance. The RFC lent out billions, but all too often bankers did not increase their loans to businesses. Additionally, businesses often did not use the loans they received to hire more workers. In the end, the money did not trickle down to the people who needed it the most.

Despite the failings of the RFC, Hoover succeeded with one project that made a difference. During the 1920s, Secretary of Commerce Hoover had called for the construction of a dam on the Colorado River. By the time Hoover became President in 1929, Congress had approved the project as part of a massive publicworks program. Workers broke ground on Boulder Dam (later renamed **Hoover** Dam) in 1930. Construction brought much-needed employment to the Southwest during the early 1930s.

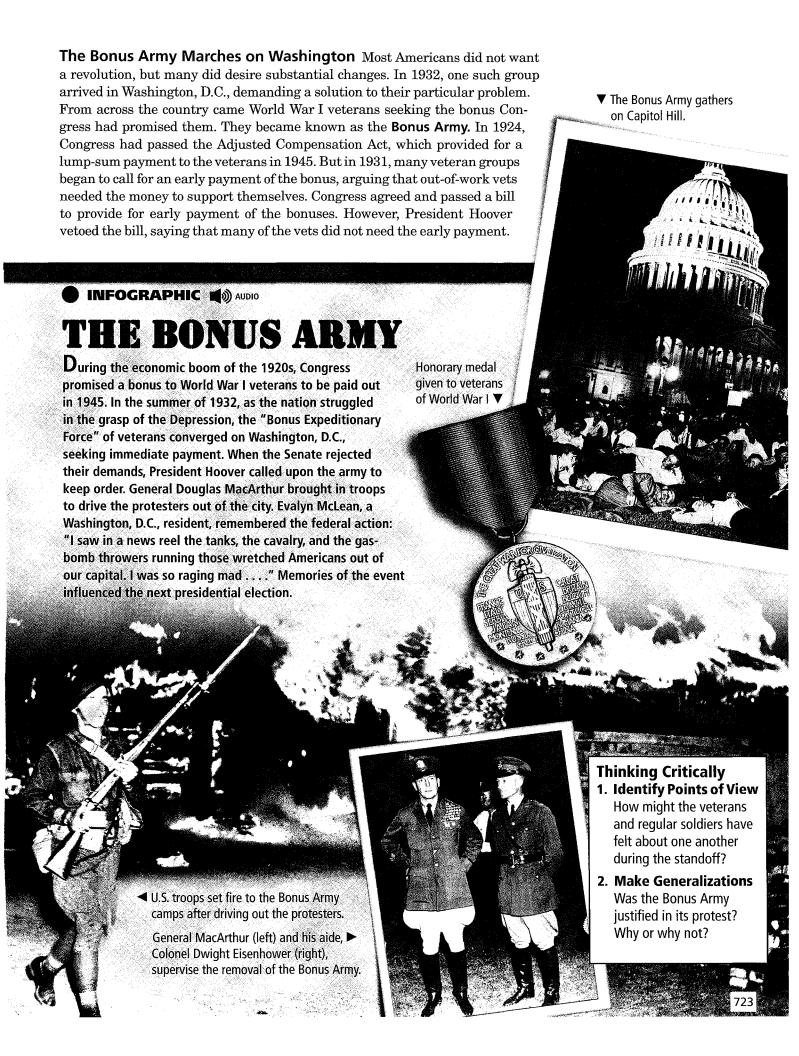
Checkpoint What actions did Herbert Hoover take to fight the effects of the depression?

#### Americans Protest Hoover's Failures

From the Oval Office, Hoover worked hard to end the depression. But to many out-of-work Americans, the President became a symbol of failure. Some people blamed capitalism, while others questioned the responsiveness of democracy. Many believed the American system was due for an overhaul.

Some Urge Radical Change Some Americans thought the answer to the country's problems was the rejection of capitalism and the acceptance of socialism or communism. They argued that capitalism created great inequities of wealth and an unhealthy atmosphere of competition in society. In fact, they saw the depression as a sign that capitalism was about to collapse. Looking at the Soviet Union, they maintained that a state-run economy was the only avenue out of the depression. Even during the worst of the crisis, though, communist calls for revolution proved no match for American dreams of progress, opportunity, and individual freedom.

Fascist appeals from the political right also failed to hold any attraction. Economic troubles in Europe contributed to the rise to power of fascist leaders like Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany. Despite this political shift abroad, no fascist gained power in the United States. Although some questioned the ability of America's capitalistic and democratic institutions to overcome the crisis, most Americans never lost faith in their country.



In protest, veteran groups marched on Washington. In the summer of 1932, almost twenty thousand veterans arrived in the capital, setting up camps and occupying empty government buildings. A riot broke out in July when police tried to evict the marchers from their makeshift settlements.

Hoover Orders the Bonus Army Out Although President Hoover sympathized with the marchers, he called for General Douglas MacArthur and federal troops to "[s]urround the affected area and clear it without delay." MacArthur exceeded his order, deciding to move the marchers out of the city altogether. He ordered his troops to ready tear gas and fix bayonets.

The Army force that pushed the marchers out included not only MacArthur but also the future World War II generals Dwight Eisenhower and George Patton. While Eisenhower regretted the use of the Army to solve a political problem, Patton ordered his troops to brandish their sabers in a show of force. Force, perhaps excessive, was exactly what MacArthur used. More than one thousand marchers were tear-gassed, and many were injured, some very badly.

After the removal, MacArthur said that the marchers were a gang of revolutionaries bent on taking over the government:

**Primary Source**\*\*They had come to the conclusion, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that they were about to take over... direct control of the government.... It is my opinion that had the president let it go on another week the institutions of our government would have been very severely threatened.\*\*

—Douglas MacArthur, 1932

The Aftermath Dooms Hoover Hoover had not ordered the use of such force against the veterans. Nevertheless, photographs of American troops marching with fixed bayonets against ragged veterans shocked the nation. Any chance that Hoover had for winning reelection in November ended after the summer of 1932. With unemployment nearing 25 percent, stomachs grumbling from hunger, and the number of homeless people increasing every day, Hoover's policies had failed completely. Americans were ready for a change.

Checkpoint Why did Hoover order the removal of the Bonus Army from its camps?

3 Assessment

#### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0805

#### Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following terms, write a sentence explaining its significance.
  - localism
  - RFC
  - Hoover Dam
  - Bonus Army
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:
  Identify Supporting Details Use
  your outline to answer the Section
  Focus Question: Why did Herbert
  Hoover's policies fail to solve the
  country's economic crisis?

#### **Writing About History**

3. Quick Write: Analyze Solutions
Based on what you have read, list
supporting information—such as
details, data, and facts—for the
following thesis statement of a
problem-solution essay: Although
President Hoover responded to the
developing economic crisis, he
ultimately failed to stop it.

#### **Critical Thinking**

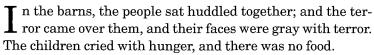
- **4. Recognize Ideologies** How did Hoover's views on government influence his response to the depression? Give two examples.
- 5. Analyze Evidence What facts show that Hoover's policies to reverse the depression failed?
- **6. Recognize Effects** How did MacArthur's tactics in removing the Bonus Army affect Hoover's political future?



#### The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck

Published during the depths of the depression, The Grapes of Wrath won its author the Pulitzer Prize in 1940. Steinbeck's sympathetic portrayal of dispossessed Okies, along with his searing criticism of the rich and powerful who profited from their plight, caused an immediate sensation. The novel tells the story of the Joad family, hardy Dust Bowl farmers who are forced off their land by the bank. The Joads join the mass migration west, to the "promised land" of California. There, instead of opportunity, they find low wages, harsh conditions, discrimination—and finally, after years of drought,

the cruel irony of a killing flood.



Then the sickness came, pneumonia, and measles that went to the eves and to the mastoids.<sup>1</sup>

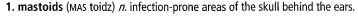
And the rain fell steadily, and the water flowed over the highways, for the culverts<sup>2</sup> could not carry the water.

Then from the tents, from the crowded barns, groups of sodden men went out, their clothes slopping rags, their shoes muddy pulp. They splashed out through the water, to the towns, to the country stores, to the relief offices, to beg for food, to cringe and beg for food, to beg for relief, to try to steal, to lie. And under the begging, and under the cringing, a hopeless anger began to smolder. And in the little towns pity for the sodden men changed to anger, and anger at the hungry people changed to fear of them. Then sheriffs swore in deputies in droves, and orders were rushed for rifles, for tear gas, for ammunition. Then the

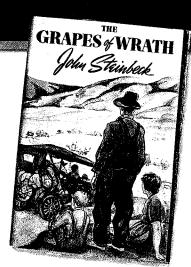
hungry men crowded the alleys behind the stores to beg for bread, to beg for rotting vegetables, to steal when they could.

Frantic men pounded on the doors of the doctors; and the doctors were busy. And sad men left word at country stores for the coroner to send a car. The coroners were not too busy. The coroners' wagons backed up through the mud and took out the dead.

And the rain pattered relentlessly down, and the streams broke their banks and spread out over the country.



<sup>2.</sup> culverts (KUHL vertz) n. drainage ditches crossing under roads.



▲ First edition cover of the novel



▲ The Joads, from the 1940 film *The Grapes* of Wrath, starring Henry Fonda

#### Thinking Critically

- 1. Draw Inferences Why did the townspeople's pity for the hungry migrant workers change to anger and then to fear?
- 2. Analyze Literature Notice the words Steinbeck uses to describe the rain and flooding. What might the flood symbolize in the story?

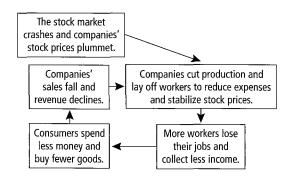
## **Quick Study Guide**



#### **Progress Monitoring Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0806

#### ■ The Cycle of Production Cutbacks



#### ■ Causes of the Dust Bowl

## Cause and Effect: The Great Depression

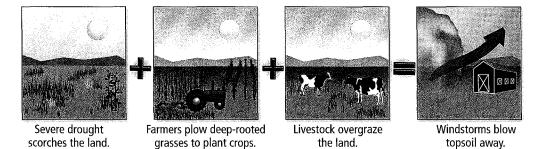
#### Causes

- Overproduction and underconsumption of agricultural crops
- Uneven distribution of income
- Gradual accumulation of consumer debt
- Widespread stock market speculation

#### The Great Depression

#### **Effects**

- Banks and businesses fail.
- · Unemployment soars.
- · Personal incomes shrink.
- Countries enact high tariffs to protect their products from foreign competition; world trade declines.
- · American loans to Europe dry up.



#### **Quick Study Timeline**

1928

Hoover elected President



1929

October 1929 Stock market crashes June 1930 Hawley-Smoot Tariff

In America

**Presidential Terms** 

Calvin Coolidge 1923-1929

Herbert Hoover 1929-1933

Around the World

1928 Stalin launches first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union 1930 Haile Selassie becomes emperor of Ethiopia

## American Issues •••• Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code**: neh-0807).

#### **Issues You Learned About**

- **Government's Role in the Economy** Like other Presidents, Hoover sought the right balance between free enterprise and government intervention in the economy.
- 1. Think about the problems that emerged in society during the Great Depression and Hoover's response to them. Write a paragraph suggesting what Hoover might have done to improve the nation's economic situation and morale. Consider the following:
  - the depression's impact on families, businesses, industries, agriculture, and the banking system
  - the rising unemployment rate
  - the falling prices for farm products
  - Hoover's belief in volunteerism
  - · responses to Hoover's policies
- **Migration and Urbanization** Economic changes often lead to migration around the country.
- **2.** Why did thousands of people who lived in the Great Plains leave the region in the 1930s?
- **3.** How did the drought on the Great Plains change population distribution in the country?
- **4.** What other migrations took place as a result of the Great Depression?

- **Global Interdependence** The economies of nations around the world are impacted by distant events.
- **5.** What economic practice of the 1920s contributed to the weakening of European economies?
- **6.** What happened to European economies as a result of the Great Depression in the United States?

#### **Connect to Your World**

**New York** 

**Poverty and Prosperity** The stock market crash of 1929 created a frantic atmosphere in New York City's financial district. Crowds gathered on the street outside the New York Stock Exchange, and extra policemen were ordered to the neighborhood to keep order. Buses gave sightseeing tours of the area to tourists interested in seeing, as one tour bus conductor put it, "where all that money was lost last week." Restaurants stayed open well past their usual hours to feed the brokers and clerks who worked late into the night to deal with the repercussions of the crash. Find out more about the mood in New York City after the stock market crash, and write a first-person account as though you witnessed these events.

1931
Bank failures
cause panic

January 1932 Congress sets up the RFC July 1932 Bonus Army driven from Washington, D.C.

History Interactive.

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: nep-0808

Franklin D. Rooseveit 1933-1945

1931

1932

1933

1933

1931 Japanese troops occupy Manchuria 1932 Britain and France agree to suspend German reparations

Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany

## Chapter Assessment

#### **Terms and People**

- **1.** Who was **Herbert Hoover**? What did he represent to the American people in 1928?
- **2.** What is the **business cycle**? If you were to chart the business cycle of 1929, how would you represent the period from mid-October through mid-November?
- **3.** Define **bread line**. Who ran bread lines during the depression?
- **4.** What was Mexican American **repatriation**? How did Mexican Americans respond to this effort?
- Define trickle-down economics. Explain how the depression proved whether or not this theory worked.

#### **Focus Questions**

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the Great Depression happen, and how did Americans respond to it?**Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 3 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

#### Section 1

**6.** How did the prosperity of the 1920s give way to the Great Depression?

#### Section 2

**7.** How did the Great Depression affect the lives of urban and rural Americans?

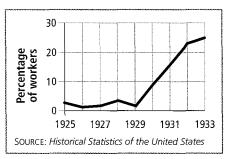
#### Section 3

**8.** Why did Herbert Hoover's policies fail to solve the country's economic crisis?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **9. Identify Central Issues** What weaknesses existed in the U.S. economy before the stock market crash?
- **10. Recognize Causes** How did the Dust Bowl cause Okies to prefer life in California over life on the Great Plains?
- **11. Analyze Line Graphs** Based on the graph below, between which two years did unemployment rise the most? Based on your reading, explain why the increase was especially great during this period.

#### U.S. Unemployment Rate, 1925-1933



- **12. Synthesize Information** Why did some men find their role in the family diminished during the depression? What were some of the different ways these men reacted?
- **13. Identify Central Issues** Do you think the depression changed people's goals and expectations? Why or why not?
- **14. Draw Conclusions** Why did Hoover turn from volunteerism and localism to more activist policies to fight the depression?
- **15. Identify Fact Versus Opinion** What demands did the Bonus Army make? What did General MacArthur think about the Bonus Army?

#### **Writing About History**

**Writing a Problem-Solution Essay** Throughout its history, the United States has experienced periods of economic decline. However, not all these downturns ended in a general depression. In 1929, underlying problems surfaced to sink the American economy in the wake of the stock market crash. Write a problem-solution essay about one of these causes of the depression or choose your own topic relating to the content in this chapter.

#### Prewriting

- Choose the topic that interests you the most. If you have a
  personal interest in a problem and its solution, your essay will
  be easier to develop.
- Narrow your topic.
- Make a list of details, facts, and examples that prove there is a problem. Then, identify the specific parts of your solution.

#### **Drafting**

- Develop a working thesis and choose information to support it.
- Organize the paragraphs in a logical order so that readers can understand the solution you propose.

#### Revising

 Use the guidelines on page SH16 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



# Regents DBQ Practice



# **Worldwide Depression**

In 1929, the stock market crash echoed across the Atlantic Ocean to a European continent still suffering the aftereffects of war. Use your knowledge of the Great Depression and the following documents to answer questions 1 through 4.

#### **Document 1**

"Values decreased, prices fell, production lessened. The American faith began its decline as extremely as had its illusions been created. Simultaneously, with the misfortunes of business in America came the catastrophes of Europe. . . . The [American] government made unheard-of efforts in the last three years to contain the avalanche. . . . But they made the big mistake of believing they could save the nation in isolation."

—El Sol, Madrid newspaper, March 7, 1933

#### **Document 3**

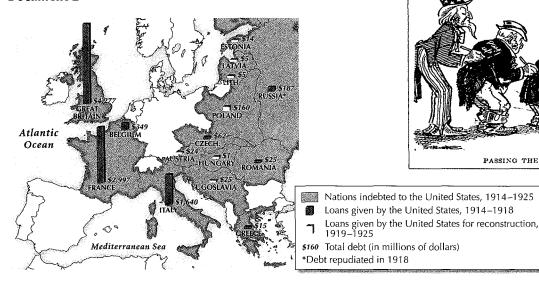
"The Hawley-Smoot Tariff went into effect in June 1930, in the full blast of the depression. Under the circumstances there was great indignation and resentment on the part of the majority of the countries of the world, but that of the debtor countries of Europe was extreme. This intense indignation, coupled with the absolute necessity of securing a favorable trade balance, could result in but one course of action: retaliatory tariff increases against the United States."

—Joseph M. Jones, Jr., Tariff Retaliation: Repercussions of the Hawley-Smoot Bill

#### **Document 4**



#### **Document 2**

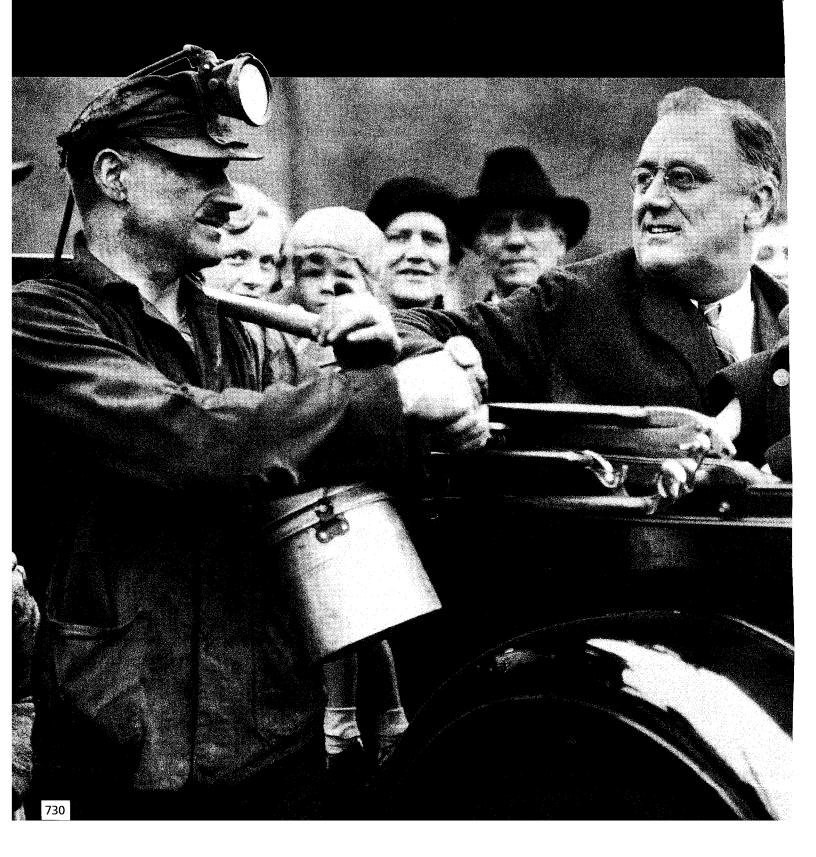


- 1. Which of the documents is a primary source that explains how the stock market crash snowballed into an international economic crisis?
  - A Document 1
  - **B** Document 2
  - C Document 3
  - **D** Document 4
- **2.** In Document 4, how did the cartoonist choose to portray the problem of reparations after World War I?
  - A The United States does not need its loans repaid.
  - **B** Germany has plenty of money available to repay Britain and France.
  - **C** Britain and France cannot repay U.S. loans because Germany is bankrupt.
  - **D** The United States is loaning more money to Germany.

- **3.** According to Joseph Jones, which of the following statements is an accurate assessment of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff?
  - **A** It caused European countries to pass their own protective tariffs.
  - **B** It opened international markets and stimulated world trade.
  - C It put limits on Allied war debts.
  - **D** It established the funds for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.
- 4. Writing Task How did the structure of loans to rebuild Europe after World War I collapse under the weight of economic depression? Use your knowledge of the war, the Great Depression, and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

# 22

# The New Deal 1932-1941





# WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO



#### A New Beginning

Still suffering through the worst economic crisis in the nation's history, depression-weary Americans anxiously awaited Franklin D. Roosevelt's Inaugural Address.

Saturday, March 4, 1933.

Turn on the radio. It's time for the inauguration.

There is a tension in the air today—a sense of momentousness and of expectation. When you went downtown this morning you found the banks shut. . . . But what next? . . . The one thing you want to hear, that everybody wants to hear, is the Inaugural Address. All over the country people are huddled round their radios, wondering what Roosevelt's answer to disaster will be. 99

—Frederick Lewis Allen, Since Yesterday: The 1930s In America

Listen to the Witness History audio to learn more about FDR's inauguration.

 On the campaign trail in West Virginia, Governor Roosevelt greets a coal miner.



## **Core Curriculum Preview**

**Chapter Focus Question:** How did the New Deal respond to the ravages of the Depression and change the role of the federal government?

#### Section 1

FDR Offers Relief and Recovery 5.II.B.1a, 5.II.B.1b, 5.II.B.1c

#### Section 2

The Second New Deal 5.II.B.1c, 5.II.B.3c, 5.II.B.3d, 5.II.B.4, 5.II.B.5a

#### Section 3

Effects of the New Deal 5.II.B.6b, 5.II.B.6d, 5.II.B.6e, 5.II.B.6f

#### **Section 4**

**Culture of the 1930s** 5.II.B.7a, 5.II.B.7b, 5.II.B.7c

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Movie poster for King Kong

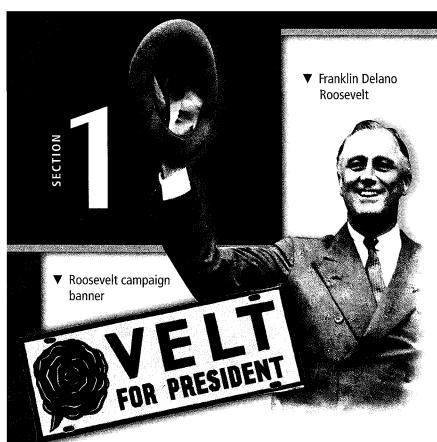


1932 presidential campaign button

The CCC provided government jobs for unemployed young men.

#### Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nee-0901



# WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO

#### **Overcoming Fear**

Franklin D. Roosevelt's March 1933 inauguration came at a somber moment in American history. The U.S. economy had hit rock bottom. Many Americans wondered if they would ever find work again. With the first words of his Inaugural Address, FDR reassured the American people:

\*\*This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.\*\*

— Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933

# FDR Offers Relief and Recovery



## **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- **5.II.B.1a** New Deal relief of suffering: Bank "holiday"; Emergency Banking Act
- **5.II.B.1b** New Deal relief of suffering: Federal Emergency Relief Act
- 5.II.B.1c New Deal relief of suffering: Unemployment

#### **Terms and People**

Franklin D. Roosevelt CCC Eleanor Roosevelt NRA New Deal PWA

fireside chat Charles Coughlin FDIC Huey Long

TVA

# **NoteTaking**

**Reading Skill: Connect Ideas** Fill in a chart like the one below with the problems that FDR faced and the steps he took to overcome them.

| FDR Tackles Tough Problems |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Problem                    | FDR's Policy |
| Failing banks              |              |
|                            |              |

Why It Matters The Great Depression challenged the faith of Americans that democracy could handle the crisis. Faced with similar circumstances, people in Germany, Italy, and Japan had turned to dictators to deliver them from despair. The New Deal had great significance because America's response to the Great Depression proved that a democratic society could overcome the challenges presented by the severe economic crisis. Section Focus Question: How did the New Deal attempt to address the problems of the depression?

# **Roosevelt Takes Charge**

In 1928, Herbert Hoover had almost no chance of losing his bid for the presidency. In 1932 however, Hoover had almost no chance of winning reelection. The depression had taken its toll. About 25 percent of the population was unemployed. Bank failures had wiped out peoples' savings. The hungry waited on long lines at soup kitchens.

Americans were ready for a change. In July of 1932, the relatively unknown governor of New York, **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, accepted the Democratic Party's nomination for President.

Roosevelt Overcame Obstacles Strangely enough, Americans had chosen a presidential candidate who had never known economic hardship. As a child, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had enjoyed all the privileges of an upper-class upbringing, including education at elite schools and colleges. From his parents and teachers, FDR gained a great deal of self-confidence and a belief that public service was a noble calling.

In 1905, Franklin married his distant cousin Eleanor Roosevelt. President Theodore Roosevelt, Eleanor's uncle and Franklin's fifth cousin gave the bride away. In time, Eleanor would become deeply involved in public affairs.

Like Teddy Roosevelt, Franklin rose quickly through the political ranks. After election to the New York State Senate, he served as Woodrow Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In 1920, Roosevelt was the Democratic Party's vice presidential nominee. Although the Democrats lost the election, many considered him the rising star of the party.

Then, in the summer of 1921, tragedy struck. While vacationing, FDR slipped off his boat into the chilly waters of the North Atlantic. That evening, he awoke with a high fever and severe pains in his back and legs. Two weeks later, Roosevelt was diagnosed with polio, a dreaded disease that at the time had no treatment. He never fully recovered the use of his legs.

FDR did not allow his physical disability to break his spirit. With Eleanor's encouragement, Roosevelt made a political comeback. In 1928, he was elected governor of New York and earned a reputation as a reformer. In 1932, he became the Democrat's presidential candidate, pledging "a new deal for the American people."

Voters Elect a New President When FDR pledged a "New Deal," he had only a vague idea of how he intended to combat the depression. Convinced that the federal government needed to play an active role in promoting recovery and providing relief to Americans, he experimented with different approaches to see which one worked best.

<sup>66</sup>The country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the Primary Source country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and to try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something! —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech at Oglethorpe University, May 22, 1932

The 1932 election campaign pitted Roosevelt against President Herbert Hoover. The two men advocated very different approaches to the problems of the Great Depression. Hoover believed that depression relief should come from state and local governments and private agencies. Roosevelt believed that the depression required strong action and leadership by the federal government. As Hoover noted, "This campaign is more than a contest between two men. . . . It is a contest between two philosophies of government."

Hoover's popularity declined as the Great Depression worsened. Even longtime Republicans deserted him. FDR—with the support of those who embraced his ideas as well as those who opposed Hoover's approach—won a landslide presidential victory, defeating Hoover by more than 7 million votes.

Americans had to wait four long months between Roosevelt's election, in November 1932, and his inauguration, in March 1933. Meanwhile, they watched helplessly as thousands of banks collapsed and unemployment soared. What would Roosevelt do to combat the depression? Even the experts did not know what to expect.

Putting Together a Winning Team To help him plan the New Deal, FDR sought the advice of a diverse group of men and women. Among the most influential was a group of professionals and academics whom the press nicknamed the

#### **FDR Not Slowed by Polio**

Despite the debilitating effects of polio, FDR continued to serve in public office. How do you think FDR's earlier jobs and experiences prepared him to serve as President?

- 1903 Earned BA in history from Harvard University
- 1910 Elected to the New York State Senate
- 1913 Appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy
- 1920 Campaigned as Democratic nominee for Vice President
- 1921 Contracted polio, which paralyzed his legs
- 1928 Elected governor of New York State
- 1933 Inaugurated as President of the United States



"Brain Trust." Roosevelt, a Democrat, displayed his openness by nominating two Republicans, Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes (IHK uhs), to serve as his Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Interior. Roosevelt also nominated Frances Perkins, a social worker, to serve as his Secretary of Labor. She became the first woman Cabinet member in U.S. history.

Throughout his presidency, FDR depended heavily on his wife, Eleanor. She traveled widely, interacting with the American people and serving as FDR's "eyes and ears." For example, in 1933, the Bonus Army, which had marched on Washington, D.C., in 1932, returned to the capital, seeking an early payment of its bonus for World War I service. Like Hoover, FDR informed the marchers that the government could not afford to pay them their bonus. But unlike Hoover, who had sent the army to evict the Bonus Army, FDR sent Eleanor. She sang songs with the veterans and made them feel that the government cared.

Checkpoint How did FDR's background and actions help build confidence among the American people?

# The First Hundred Days Provide Instant Action

During his first hundred days in office, Roosevelt proposed and Congress passed 15 bills. These measures, known as the First New Deal, had three goals: relief, recovery, and reform. Roosevelt wanted to provide relief from the immediate hardships of the depression and achieve a long-term economic recovery. He also instituted reforms to prevent future depressions.

FDR Swiftly Restores the Nation's Confidence Roosevelt wasted no time dealing with the nation's number one crisis. Late in 1932, banks had begun to



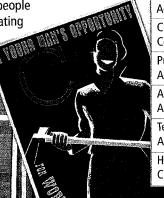


# RELIEF, RECOVERY, AND REFORM THE FIRST 100 DAYS

f W orking together, President Roosevelt and Congress quickly passed many new laws to provide job relief, speed economic recovery, and reform business practices. These New Deal programs marked the beginning of the federal government's increasingly active role in shaping the economy and society.

▲ FDR used his first "fireside chat" to explain reform measures taken to end bank runs.

▼ Low-interest HOLC loans helped people meet mortgage payments, stimulating the housing industry.



#### Achievements of the First Hundred Days

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)

National Recovery Administration (NRA)

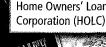
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

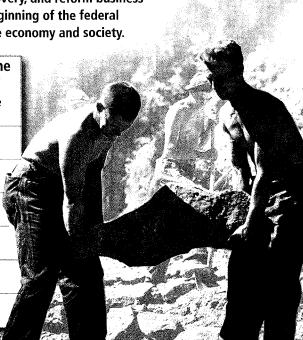
**Public Works** Administration (PWA)

Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)

Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)

Home Owners' Loan





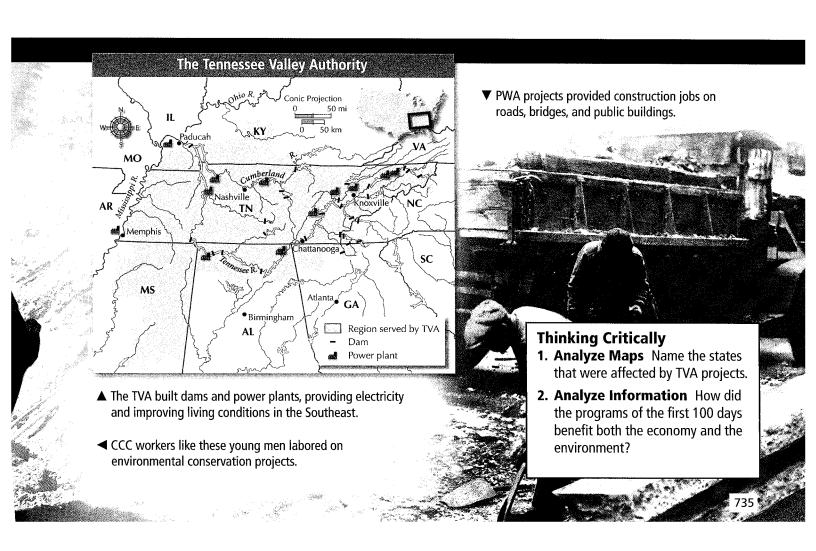
fail in great numbers. A banking panic gripped the nation as frightened depositors lined up outside banks, trying to withdraw their savings.

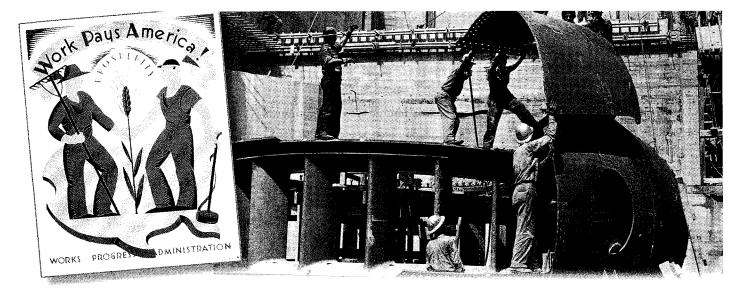
The day after his inauguration, Roosevelt called Congress into a special session and convinced them to pass laws to shore up the nation's banking system. The Emergency Banking Bill gave the President broad powers—including the power to declare a four-day bank "holiday." Banks all over the country were ordered to close. The closings gave banks time to get their accounts in order before they reopened for business.

Eight days after becoming President, Roosevelt delivered an informal radio speech to the American people. This was the first of many presidential **fireside chats**. They became an important way for Roosevelt to communicate with the American people. In the first fireside chat, FDR explained the measures he had taken to stem the run on banks. His calming words reassured the American people. When the bank holiday ended, Americans did not rush to their banks to withdraw their funds. Roosevelt had convinced them that the banks were a safe place to keep their money.

**Reforming the Financial System** A number of Roosevelt's proposals sought to reform the nation's financial institutions. One act created the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**, which insured bank deposits up to \$5,000. In the following year, Congress established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to regulate the stock market and make it a safer place for investments.

These financial reforms helped restore confidence in the economy. Runs on banks ended, largely because Americans now had confidence that they would not lose their lifetime savings if a bank failed. The stock markets also stabilized as regulated trading practices reassured investors.





# Government Puts People to Work

The Works Progress Administration poster (above) promoted the benefits of putting people to work. These TVA workers (right) assembled generators at the Cherokee Dam in Tennessee. If you had been out of work during the depression, what effect might these images have had on you? Why?

Helping Farmers A number of New Deal programs aimed at easing the desperate plight of American farmers. For years, the supply of crops grown by American farmers had far exceeded demand. Prices dropped to the point where it was no longer profitable to grow some crops. To counter this, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which sought to end overproduction and raise crop prices. To accomplish these goals, the AAA provided financial aid, paying farmers subsidies not to plant part of their land and to kill off excess livestock. Many Americans believed it was immoral to kill livestock or destroy crops while people went hungry. However, by 1934, farm prices began to rise.

The TVA Aids Rural Southerners Americans living in the Tennessee River valley were among the poorest in the nation. Few had electricity, running water, or proper sewage systems. In 1933, Congress responded by creating a government agency called the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). The TVA built a series of dams in the Tennessee River valley to control floods and to generate electric power. The agency also replanted forests, built fertilizer plants, created jobs, and attracted industry with the promise of cheap power.

Despite its accomplishments, the TVA attracted a host of critics. Some called the TVA "socialist," because it gave government direct control of a business. Private power companies complained that they could not compete with the TVA, because the agency paid no taxes. However, the TVA's successes in improving life in the Tennessee Valley have ensured its survival to the present.

Providing Relief and Promoting Industrial Recovery During his first hundred days as President, Roosevelt proposed and Congress enacted numerous other relief measures. To counter the depression's devastating impact on young men, FDR created the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The CCC provided jobs for more than 2 million young men. They replanted forests, built trails, dug irrigation ditches, and fought fires. As time went on, programs such as the CCC became more inclusive, extending work and training to Mexican American and other minority youth, as well as to whites. FDR called the CCC his favorite New Deal program.

Congress passed a number of other relief acts. The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) granted federal funds to state and local agencies to help the unemployed. The short-lived Civil Works Administration (CWA) provided jobs on public-works projects. On another front, Congress created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), which loaned money at low interest rates to homeowners who could not meet mortgage payments. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insured bank loans used for building and repairing homes.

These New Deal measures marked a clear break from the policies of the Hoover administration, which had disapproved of direct relief to individuals. The \$500 million appropriated for FERA represented the largest peacetime expenditure by the federal government to that time.

The centerpiece of the early New Deal's recovery program was the National Industrial Recovery Act, which established the National Recovery Administration (NRA). Roosevelt called the NIRA "the most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress." Working with business and labor leaders, the NRA developed codes of fair competition to govern whole industries. These codes established minimum wages for workers and minimum prices for the goods that businesses sold. The idea behind these codes was to increase the wages of workers so they could buy more goods and raise prices so companies could make a profit.

Another New Deal legislative achievement was the Public Works Administration (PWA), which built bridges, dams, power plants, and government buildings. The PWA was responsible for building many important projects still in use today, such as New York City's Triborough Bridge, the Overseas Highway linking Miami and Key West, and the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest. These public-works projects improved the nation's infrastructure and created millions of new jobs for workers.

✓ Checkpoint What actions did Roosevelt take during his first hundred days in office?

# **Opposition to the New Deal Emerges**

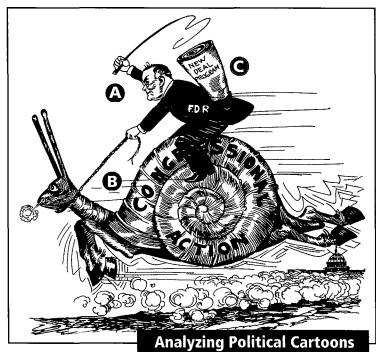
While Roosevelt had little difficulty gaining support from Congress for his proposals, a minority of Americans expressed their opposition to the New Deal. Some thought the changes it brought were too radical. Others thought that the New Deal was not radical enough. Several of FDR's critics attracted mass followings and made plans to challenge him for the presidency in 1936.

The Right Says "Too Much" The chief complaint against the New Deal was that it made the government too powerful. Critics contended that the government was telling business how to operate,

spending large sums of money, and piling up a huge national debt.

To many conservatives, the New Deal was destroying free enterprise and undermining individualism. In a 1934 book entitled *The Challenge to* Liberty, former President Herbert Hoover described the New Deal as "the most stupendous invasion of the whole spirit of liberty" in the nation's history. Robert Taft, the son of former President William Howard Taft and a leading Republican in Congress, claimed Roosevelt's programs threatened individual freedom.

In 1934, these critics formed the American Liberty League. Supporters included prominent business leaders, such as Alfred Sloan and William Knudsen of General Motors. Leading Democrats, such as John W. Davis, the Democrat's presidential nominee in 1924, and Al Smith, the nominee in 1928, joined the Liberty League because they felt Roosevelt had deserted the Democratic Party's principles of a limited federal government.



The Galloping Snail This cartoon represents the relationship between President Roosevelt and Congress during FDR's first hundred days in office.

**President Roosevelt** 



Congress



Roosevelt's New Deal agenda

- 1. Why did the cartoonist use a snail to represent Congress?
- 2. What is the cartoonist saying about the relationship between the President and Congress?

# The New Deal: Too Much—or Not Enough?

Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal raised the issue of how involved the government should be in the economy and in the lives of its citizens. This question divided many Americans.

#### ALFRED E. SMITH

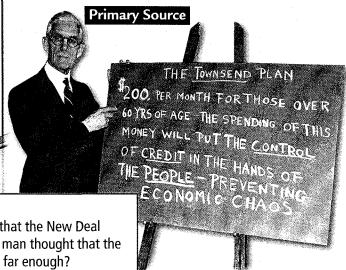
Smith (1873–1944) served as governor of New York and ran for President in 1928. He believed the New Deal made the government too powerful and described it as a "trend toward Fascist control" and "the end of democracy."

#### **Primary Source**

this country—there is a certain kind of foreign 'ism' crawling over [it]. . . . There can be only one Capitol, Washington or Moscow! There can be only one atmosphere of government, [the] clear, pure, fresh air of free America, or the foul breath of Communistic Russia. 27

#### FRANCIS TOWNSEND

Townsend (1867–1960) was a medical doctor who felt the New Deal did not do enough to help older Americans devastated by the depression. He proposed a pension plan funded by a national sales tax.



Compare

- **1.** Which man thought that the New Deal went too far? Which man thought that the New Deal did not go far enough?
- 2. Why does each oppose the New Deal?

**Vocabulary Builder** 

 $\underline{\text{ensure}}\text{-}(\text{ehn SHUR}) \, \textit{v}. \, \, \text{to make} \\ \text{safe; guarantee}$ 

The Left Says "Not Enough" While conservatives accused FDR of supporting socialism, some leading socialists charged that the New Deal did not do enough to end the depression. Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party's presidential candidate, claimed that FDR's only concern was saving the banking system and <u>ensuring</u> profits for big business. The American Communist Party described the New Deal as a "capitalist ruse."

**Populist Critics Challenge FDR** The most significant criticism of FDR came from a cluster of figures whose roots were in the Populist movement. They saw themselves as spokesmen for poor Americans, challenging the power of the elite. Roosevelt's strongest critics were Francis Townsend, Father Charles Coughlin, and Huey Long.

Townsend, a doctor from California, had a simple program. It called for the federal government to provide \$200 a month to all citizens over the age of 60. These funds, he argued, would filter out to the rest of society and produce an economic recovery. To promote this plan, he established "Townsend Clubs" and held meetings that resembled old-time church revivals.

Father **Charles Coughlin** presented an even bigger challenge to FDR. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest, had attracted millions of listeners to his weekly radio show. At first, Coughlin supported the New Deal, but in time he broke with FDR, accusing him of not doing enough to fight the depression. Coughlin

said that Roosevelt had "out-Hoovered Hoover" and called the New Deal "the raw deal."

Coughlin mixed calls for the nationalization of industry with anti-Semitic remarks and attacks on "communists" who, he charged, were running the country. By the early 1940s, Coughlin's views became so extreme that Roman Catholic officials forced him to end his broadcasts.

Canadian by birth, Coughlin could not run against FDR in the 1936 election. However, he threatened to throw his support behind an even more popular New Deal critic, Senator Huey Long of Louisiana. Long was an expert performer whose folksy speeches delighted audiences. Long's solution to the depression was his "Share Our Wealth" program that proposed high taxes on the wealthy and large corporations, and the redistribution of their income to poor Americans.

Primary Source \*\*God invited us all to come and eat and drink all we wanted. He smiled on our land and we grew crops of plenty to eat and wear. . . . [But then] Rockefeller, Morgan, and their crowd stepped up and took enough for 120,000,000 people and left only enough for 5,000,000 for all the other 125,000,000 to eat. And so the millions must go hungry and without those good things God gave us unless we call on them to put some of it back. 99

-Huey Long radio broadcast, 1934

Roosevelt viewed Long as a serious political threat. But unlike Roosevelt, Long did not have a deep faith in democracy. Ruling Louisiana as if he owned the state, he made many enemies. In 1935, a political enemy assassinated Long, ending the most serious threat to Roosevelt's presidency.

✓ Checkpoint What were the two major criticisms of FDR's New Deal economic policies?



#### **Huey Long Challenges the** Roosevelt Administration

Huev Long used his Share Our Wealth Society to promote the redistribution of wealth in the country. How might Long's efforts have influenced FDR's policies?

SECTION

# Assessment

### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0902

#### Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it affected the lives of people during the New Deal.
  - · Eleanor Roosevelt
  - fireside chat
  - TVA
  - PWA
  - Charles Coughlin
  - Huey Long

# 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

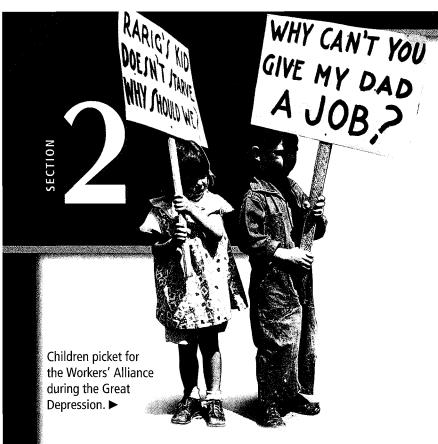
Connect Ideas Use your problemsolution table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the New Deal attempt to address the problems of the depression?

#### **Writing About History**

3. Quick Write: Identify Main Ideas Before you can synthesize, you must understand the main idea, or thesis, of each source. Study the political cartoon in this section and write a sentence summarizing its main idea about FDR. Then, review the Alfred E. Smith primary source quote. Write a sentence summarizing Smith's view of FDR.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Draw Inferences Why did President Roosevelt need his wife, Eleanor, to serve as his "eyes and ears"?
- 5. Make Comparisons How did FDR's economic policies differ from those of Herbert Hoover?
- 6. Identify Central Issues Why do you think the depression led to the development of some extreme proposals?



# WITNESS HISTORY (\*\*\*) AUDIO

#### **Trying to Survive**

During the Great Depression, people found themselves desperate for work. Daily visits to the unemployment office and workplaces often turned up nothing. Some of the jobless lost their homes. Others could not feed their children. One 12-year-old boy wrote to President Roosevelt to ask for help for his family.

66 My father hasn't worked for 5 months. . . . Please you do something. . . . We haven't paid the gas bill, and the electric bill, haven't paid grocery bill. . . . I have a sister she's twenty years, she can't find work. My father he staying home. All the time he's crying because he can't find work.

--- Anonymous 12-year-old boy, Chicago, 1936

# The Second New Deal



## Core Curriculum Objectives

- **5.II.B.1c** New Deal relief of suffering: Unemployment
- 5.II.B.3c Social Security Act
- 5.II.B.3d Labor reform
- 5.II.B.4 Labor's response: Formation of CIO
- **5.II.B.5a** New Deal controversy: Constitutional issues

#### **Terms and People**

Second New Deal WPA John Maynard Keynes pump priming Social Security Act Wagner Act collective bargaining Fair Labor Standards Act CIO sit-down strikes

court packing

# **NoteTaking**

**Reading Skill: Connect Ideas** Complete a table like the one below to record problems and the second New Deal's solutions.

| The Second New Deal |          |
|---------------------|----------|
| Problem             | Solution |
| Unemployment        |          |
|                     |          |

Why It Matters FDR's goals for the first New Deal were relief, recovery, and reform. Progress had been made, but there was still much work that needed to be done. Beginning in early 1935, Roosevelt launched an aggressive campaign to find solutions to the ongoing problems caused by the Great Depression. This campaign, known as the Second New Deal, created Social Security and other programs that continue to have a profound impact on the everyday lives of Americans. Section Focus Question: What major issues did the Second New Deal address?

# **Extending Social and Economic Reform**

In his fireside chats, press conferences, and major addresses, Roosevelt explained the challenges facing the nation. He said that the complexities of the modern world compelled the federal government to "promote the general welfare" and to intervene to protect citizens' rights. Roosevelt used legislation passed during the **Second New Deal** to accomplish these goals. The Second New Deal addressed the problems of the elderly, the poor, and the unemployed; created new public-works projects; helped farmers; and enacted measures to protect workers' rights. It was during this period that the first serious challenges to the New Deal emerged.

New Programs Provide Jobs In the spring of 1935, Congress appropriated \$5 billion for new jobs and created the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to administer the program. Roosevelt placed his longtime associate Harry Hopkins in charge. The WPA built or improved a good part of the nation's highways, dredged rivers and

harbors, and promoted soil and water conservation. The WPA even provided programs in the arts for displaced artists. As Hopkins explained, artists "have to eat just like other people."

By 1943, the WPA had employed more than 8 million people and spent about \$11 billion. Its workers built more than 650,000 miles of highways and 125,000 public buildings. Among the most famous projects funded by the WPA were the San Antonio River Walk and parts of the Appalachian Trail.

All of these programs were expensive, and the government paid for them by spending money it did not have. The federal deficit—\$461 million in 1932 grew to \$4.4 billion in 1936. The enormous expenditures and growing debt led many to criticize the government's public-works projects as wasteful. Some economists disagreed. British economist John Maynard Keynes argued that deficit spending was needed to end the depression. According to Keynes, putting people to work on public projects put money into the hands of consumers who would buy more goods, stimulating the economy. Keynes called this theory pump priming.

Social Security Eases the Burden on Older Americans The United States was one of the few industrialized nations in the world that did not have some form of pension system for the elderly. During the depression, many elderly people had lost their homes and their life savings and were living in poverty. On January 17, 1935, President Roosevelt unveiled his plans for Social Security.

In addition to creating a pension system for retirees, the Social Security Act that Congress enacted established unemployment insurance for workers who lost their jobs. The law also created insurance for victims of work-related accidents and provided aid for poverty-stricken mothers and children, the blind, and the disabled.

The Social Security Act had many flaws. At first, it did not apply to domestics or farmworkers. Since African Americans were disproportionately employed in these fields, they were not eligible for many of the benefits of Social Security. Widows received smaller benefits than widowers, because people presumed that elderly women could manage on less money than elderly men. Despite these shortcomings, Social Security proved the most popular and significant of the New Deal programs.

More Aid Goes to Farmers The Second New Deal included further help for farmers. When the depression began, only 10 percent of all farms had electricity, largely because utility companies did not find it profitable to run electric lines to communities with small populations. To bring farmers into the light, Congress established the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). The REA loaned money to electric utilities to build power lines, bringing electricity to isolated rural areas. The program was so successful that by 1950, more than 80 percent of American farms had electricity.

New Deal programs changed the relationship of the federal government to the American farmer. The government was now committed to providing price supports, or subsidies, for agriculture. Critics attacked price supports for undermining the free market. Others observed that large

#### **Electricity Comes** to Rural Farms

The success of the REA allowed farm families to light their homes, pump water, and run radios, refrigerators, and washing machines.

Farms With Electricity, 1930–1950



farms, not small farmers, benefited most from federal farm programs. Even during the 1930s, many noticed that tenant farmers and sharecroppers, often African Americans, did not fully share in the federal programs. Yet farm prices stabilized, and agriculture remained a productive sector of the economy.

Water Projects Change the Face of the West Many of the New Deal public-works water projects had an enormous impact on the development of the American West. The government funded the complex Central Valley irrigation system in California. The massive Bonneville Dam in the Pacific Northwest controlled flooding and provided electricity to a vast number of citizens. In 1941, the Department of the Interior's Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) hired folk singer Woody Guthrie for one month to write songs for a movie they had made

# **Events That Changed America**

# **Milestones in SOCIAL SECURITY**

During the Great Depression, many elderly Americans had lost their life savings and were struggling to survive. The 1935 Social Security Act created a pension system as well as unemployment insurance for workers who had lost their jobs. Financed through a payroll tax on employers and workers, Social Security is one of the country's most important legislative achievements.



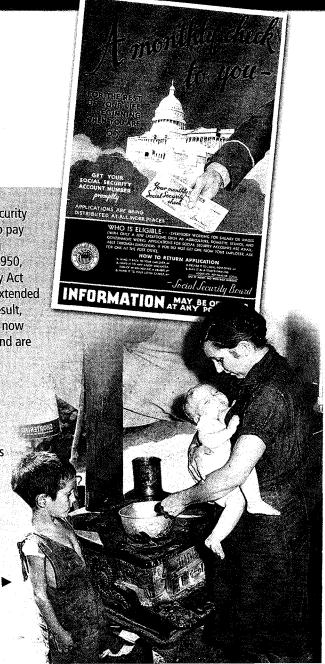
1935—1950 The Social Security program was expanded in 1939 to pay benefits to the widows and young children of deceased workers. In 1950, amendments to the Social Security Act increased benefit payments and extended coverage to more workers. As a result,

almost all working Americans now contribute to Social Security and are eligible for benefits.



 Since 1940, senior citizens have depended on their monthly Social Security retirement checks.

Social Security benefits helped widows feed their children.



promoting the benefits of electricity. Guthrie's song, "Roll on, Columbia," pays tribute to the projects that harnessed the power of the Columbia River.

#### Primary Source

Your power is turning our darkness to dawn, And on up the river is the Grand Coulee Dam, The Mightiest thing ever built by a man, To run the great factories and water the land. -Woody Guthrie, "Roll On, Columbia," 1941

Checkpoint Why did the onset of the depression make it essential to have some form of Social Security?

**1950—1970** During the 1950s and 1960s, Social Security expanded to provide benefits to people with disabilities. In 1965, two new Social Security programs, Medicare and Medicaid, were introduced. Medicare is a healthinsurance program for Americans age 65 and older, and Medicaid provides health insurance to needy persons of any age.



**1970—Today** The Supplemental Social Security Income (SSI) program, begun in 1974, provides monthly payments to the needy elderly and to people who are blind or who have a disability. The Medicare Prescription Drug program, passed in 2003, provides Medicare recipients with voluntary prescription-drug coverage and discounts. President George W. Bush's proposal to allow younger workers to invest Social Security tax money in personal retirement accounts was rejected by the public in 2005.

The Elderly and Poverty, 1940-2000 100 Percentage living in poverty 80 60 40 20 0 1940 1960 1980 2000 SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

▼ Supplemental Security Income benefits help people who are blind.

The Medicare Prescription ▶ Drug program helps seniors manage rising drug costs.

## Why It Matters

For more than 70 years, Social Security has provided basic economic security to millions of Americans. Social Security programs act as a safety net for senior citizens, the poor, and others in financial need. Popular support for Social Security continues, although concern mounts over the program's longterm funding.



Describe four different kinds of benefits that the Social Security system provides today.

#### History Interactive,

For: More about Social Security Web Code: nep-0903



#### **Vocabulary Builder**

 $\underline{\text{upsurge}}$ -(UHP serj) n. a sudden, rapid increase

# Sit-Down Strikes Lead to Union Gains

The success of the UAW's sit-down strike against General Motors led the U.S. Steel Company to recognize the steelworkers' union. *How do you think strikes affected union membership?* 



# **Labor Unions Find a New Energy**

Even before the Great Depression, most industrial workers labored long hours for little pay. Few belonged to labor unions. However, during the Great Depression, there was an <u>upsurge</u> in union activity. New unions enlisted millions of workers from the mining and automobile industries.

Granting New Rights to Workers Roosevelt believed that the success of the New Deal depended on raising the standard of living for American industrial workers. This, he believed, would improve the entire economy. The National Labor Relations Act was the most important piece of New Deal labor legislation. Called the Wagner Act, it recognized the right of employees to join labor unions and gave workers the right to collective bargaining. Collective bargaining meant that employers had to negotiate with unions about hours, wages, and other working conditions. The law created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to look into workers' complaints.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 provided workers with additional rights. It established a minimum wage, initially at 25 cents per hour, and a maximum workweek of 44 hours. It also outlawed child labor. The minimum wage remains one of the New Deal's most controversial legacies. In the years ahead, the minimum wage would be gradually raised. Today, whenever a raise in the minimum wage is proposed, economists and political leaders debate the wisdom of such an increase.

Workers Use Their Newfound Rights The upsurge in union activity came at the same time as a bitter feud within the major labor federation, the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL represented skilled workers—such as

plumbers, carpenters, and electricians—who joined trade or craft unions. Few workers in the major industries belonged to the AFL, and the union made little effort to organize them.

Fed up with the AFL's reluctance to organize, John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, and a number of other labor leaders, established the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).** The workers targeted by the CIO-organizing campaigns tended to be lower paid and ethnically more diverse than those workers represented by the AFL.



| The Second New Deal                           |      |  |
|---|------|--|
| Program                                       | Year | Effects  |
| Social Security Act (SSA)                     | 1935 | Established a pension system and unemployment insurance; provided payments to workers injured on the job, the poor, and people with disabilities                           |
| Works Progress Administration (WPA)           | 1935 | Employed millions of people on government projects ranging from highway construction to arts programs  |
| Rural Electrification<br>Administration (REA) | 1935 | Provided loans to electric companies to build power lines, bringing electricity to isolated rural areas  |
| National Labor Relations Act<br>(Wagner Act)  | 1935 | Outlawed unfair labor practices; granted workers<br>the right to organize unions and to bargain collectively;<br>created the National Labor Relations Board                |
| National Youth Administration (NYA)           | 1935 | Trained and provided jobs and counseling for unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 25  |
| Banking Act of 1935                           | 1935 | Finalized the creation of the FDIC and made insurance for<br>bank deposits permanent; created a board to regulate the<br>nation's money supply and interest rates on loans |
| United States Housing<br>Authority (USHA)     | 1937 | Subsidized construction of low-cost public housing by providing federal loans  |
| Fair Labor Standards Act                      | 1938 | Banned child labor, established a minimum hourly wage, and set the workweek at 44 hours  |
| Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act                  | 1938 | Prohibited the mislabeling of food, drugs, and cosmetics, and ensured the safety and purity of these products  |



This commemorative postage stamp honors the many programs of FDR's New Deal. Critics mocked the abbreviated titles, or acronyms, of the New Deal programs as "alphabet soup." Use the chart to identify five programs from the second New Deal that helped workers.

In December 1936, members of the CIO's newly formed United Automobile Workers Union (UAW) staged a sit-down strike, occupying one of General Motors' most important plants in Flint, Michigan. In a sit-down strike, workers refuse to leave the workplace until a settlement is reached. When the police and state militia threatened to remove them by force, the workers informed Michigan governor Frank Murphy that they would not leave.

**66**We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust Primary Source us many of us will be killed and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the State of Michigan and the country, that if this result follows from the attempt to eject us, you are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths! 99

- Auto workers sit-down committee, Flint, Michigan, January 1936

The strike lasted for 44 days until General Motors, then the largest company in the world, agreed to recognize the UAW. This union success led to others. By 1940, 9 million workers belonged to unions, twice the number of members in 1930. Just as important, union members gained better wages and working conditions.

✓ Checkpoint How did the New Deal affect trade unions?

# Challenges to the New Deal

Franklin Roosevelt won an overwhelming victory in the presidential election of 1936. He received 61 percent of the vote, compared to just 37 percent for his Republican challenger, Alfred M. Landon. Roosevelt carried every state but Maine and Vermont. FDR entered his second term determined to challenge the group that he considered the main enemy of the New Deal—a Supreme Court that had struck down many of his programs.

The Supreme Court Opposes the New Deal A year before the 1936 election, the Supreme Court had overturned one of the key laws of Roosevelt's first hundred days. In the case of *Schechter Poultry* v. *United States*, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that since the President has no power to regulate interstate commerce, the National Industrial Recovery Act was unconstitutional. One pro–New Deal newspaper captured the mood of many Democrats: "AMERICA STUNNED; ROOSEVELT'S TWO YEARS' WORK KILLED IN TWENTY MINUTES."

Not long afterward, the Court ruled a key part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional. Roosevelt charged that the Court had taken the nation back to "horse-and-buggy" days. He expected the Court to strike down other New Deal measures, limiting his ability to enact new reforms.

FDR Proposes "Packing" the Court So on February 5, 1937, in a special address to Congress, FDR unveiled a plan that would dilute the power of the sitting Justices of the Supreme Court. He called for adding up to six new Justices to the nine-member Court. He justified his proposal by noting that the Constitution did not specify the number of judges on the Court. He added that many of the Justices were elderly and overworked. Critics, recognizing that Roosevelt's new appointees would most likely be New Deal supporters, called his plan court packing. They accused him of trying to increase presidential power and upsetting the delicate balance between the three branches of the federal government. Some critics urged Americans to speak out.

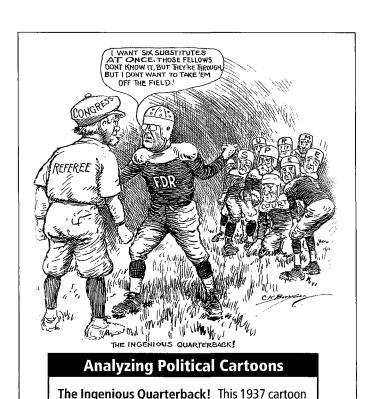
Primary Source <sup>44</sup>If the American people accept this last audacity of the President without letting out a yell to high heaven, they have ceased to be jealous of their liberties and are ripe for ruin.<sup>99</sup>

—Dorothy Thompson, newspaper columnist, 1937

Given Roosevelt's enormous popularity, he might have convinced Congress to enact his plan but he did not have to because the Court began to turn his way. On March 29, 1937, the Court ruled 5 to 4 in favor of a minimum wage law. Two weeks later, again by a vote of 5 to 4, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act. In both cases, Justice Owen J. Roberts provided the deciding vote. Pundits called it the "switch in time to save nine," because Roberts had previously voted against several New Deal programs. Roberts's two votes in support of the New Deal removed FDR's main reason for packing the Court.

Shortly after this switch, Judge Willis Van Devanter, who had helped strike down several New Deal programs, resigned from the Court. This enabled FDR to nominate a Justice friendlier to the New Deal. With more retirements, Roosevelt nominated a number of other new Justices, including Felix Frankfurter, one of his top advisers.

Indeed, 1937 marked a turning point in the history of the Court. For years to come, the Court more willingly accepted a larger role for the federal government. Yet the court-packing incident weakened FDR politically. Before the court-packing plan, FDR's popularity prevented critics from challenging him. Now that Roosevelt had lost momentum, critics felt free to take him on. And even though the Court did not strike down any more laws, after 1937 Roosevelt found the public much less willing to support further New Deal legislation.

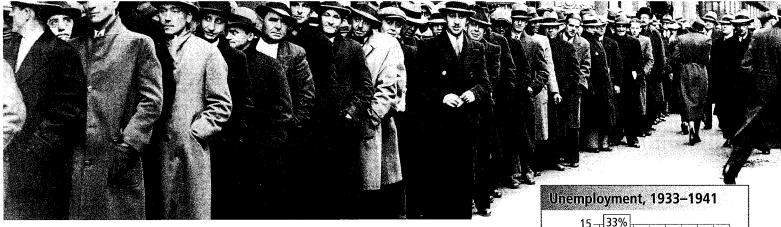


makes fun of FDR's court-packing plan.

back and Congress the referee?

2. What is the cartoonist's message?

1. Why did the cartoonist make FDR the guarter-



A New Downturn Spurs Conservative Gains The turmoil over the Supreme Court had barely faded when the Roosevelt administration faced another crisis. During 1935 and 1936, economic conditions had begun to improve. Unemployment had fallen 10 percent in four years. With the economy doing better, FDR cut back on federal spending in order to reduce the rising deficit. But he miscalculated.

While Roosevelt reduced federal spending, the Federal Reserve Board raised interest rates, making it more difficult for businesses to expand and for consumers to borrow to buy new goods. Suddenly, the economy was in another tailspin. Unemployment soared to more than 20 percent. Nearly all of the gains in employment and production were wiped out.

Largely because of the downturn, the Democrats suffered a setback in the 1938 congressional elections. Republicans picked up 7 Senate and 75 House seats. Although Democrats still maintained a majority in both houses of Congress, Roosevelt's power base was shaken because many southern Democrats were lukewarm supporters of the New Deal. Needing their support for his foreign policies, FDR chose not to try to force more reforms through Congress.

Checkpoint What setbacks did Roosevelt face during his second term as President?



#### Millions Look for Jobs

While New Deal programs employed many Americans, millions of others continued to search for work. What happened to the unemployment rate in 1937?

# SECTION Assessment

# **Progress Monitoring Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0904

#### Comprehension

- 1. Terms For each act or New Deal agency below, explain how it eased conditions during the depression.
  - WPA
  - Social Security Act
  - Wagner Act
  - Fair Labor Standards Act

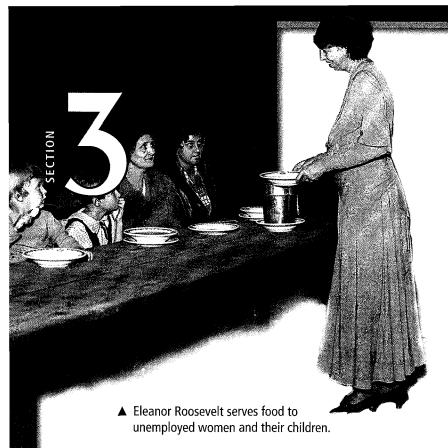
2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Connect Ideas** Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: What major issues did the second New Deal address?

#### Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Compare and **Contrast** In order to synthesize, you need to compare and contrast different sources. List some emotions expressed by the photos on the first and last pages of this section. Do these images convey the same idea as the graph above? Explain in one or two sentences.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Identify Central Issues What were the most important reforms of the Second New Deal?
- 5. Make Comparisons Why did American labor make greater progress during the 1930s than during the prosperous 1920s?
- 6. Demonstrate Reasoned Judgment Do you think that FDR's court-packing plan was justified? Explain your answer.



#### WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

#### The Caring First Lady

Eleanor Roosevelt played a crucial role in the New Deal. She traveled to places FDR could not, advised her husband, and served as an inspiration to millions of Americans. Mrs. Roosevelt also corresponded with thousands of citizens. The following letter reflects the affection that many citizens felt for the first lady.

Kidley Park, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

. . . Just to look at your picture and that of our President seems to me like looking at the picture of a saint. So when you answered my letter and promised to have some one help me it only proved that you are our own Mrs. Roosevelt. I have told everyone what you have done for me. I want them to know you are not too busy to answer our letters and give us what help and advice you can. You hold the highest place any woman can hold still you are not to[o] proud to befriend the poor. . . . Thank you and God bless you both."

-Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, September 1, 1935

# Effects of the New Deal



# **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- **5.11.B.6b** Eleanor Roosevelt as the President's eves and ears
- **5.II.B.6d** The New Deal and women
- 5.II.B.6e The New Deal and minorities
- 5.II.B.6f Indian Reorganization Act

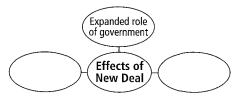
#### **Terms and People**

Black Cabinet Mary McLeod Bethune Indian New Deal

**New Deal coalition** welfare state

# NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read, identify the lasting effects of the New Deal upon American society.



Why It Matters The New Deal provided desperately needed relief from the depression and enacted reforms that guarded against economic catastrophe. It did not end the depression. World War II, with its massive military spending, would do that. Yet, the New Deal mattered enormously because it brought fundamental changes to the nation. It changed the role of the federal government in the economy, the power of the presidency, and the relationship of the American people to their government. Section Focus Question: How did the New Deal change the social, economic, and political landscape of the United States for future generations?

# Women Help Lead the New Deal

The New Deal provided some women with the opportunity to increase their political influence and to promote women's rights. Foremost among them was Eleanor Roosevelt, who transformed the office of First Lady from a largely ceremonial role to a position of action and deep involvement in the political process. Representing the President, she toured the nation. She visited farms and Indian reservations and traveled deep into a coal mine. She helped FDR on his campaigns and offered advice on policy issues. In her newspaper column, "My Day," she called on Americans to live up to the goal of equal justice for all.

"Eleanor Roosevelt is the First Lady of Main Street," explained magazine writer Margaret Marshall. "She occupies the highest social position in the land. Yet she makes friends on a plane or a train even as you and I." Mrs. Roosevelt's causes included advancing public health and education, promoting the arts in rural areas, and even addressing flood control. She exhibited boundless energy, traveling more than 60,000 miles in two years.

Molly Dewson, head of the Women's Division of the Democratic Party, observed that Eleanor Roosevelt provided women with an unprecedented access to the President. "When I wanted help on some definite point, Mrs. Roosevelt gave [me] the opportunity to sit by the President at dinner and the matter was settled before we finished our soup."

The Roosevelt Administration included the first female Cabinet member, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. She played a leading role in establishing Social Security. Perkins also helped win approval of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which ended child labor and established a minimum wage.

However, the New Deal did not fight to end gender discrimination in the workplace. Indeed, some historians have argued that a number of New Deal programs reinforced traditional gender differences. The WPA and other relief programs employed women but made a much greater effort to provide work to men first. For example, women were not eligible to work for the CCC. However, the increased homeownership and insured savings accounts brought by the New Deal were of special benefit to the widows of men who were covered.

Checkpoint What impact did the New Deal have on women?

Vocabulary Builder gender-(JEHN der) n. a person's

# **African Americans Make Advances and Face Challenges**

When the depression hit, African American workers were often the first to lose their jobs. By 1934, the unemployment rate for African Americans was almost 50 percent, more than twice the national average. Eleanor Roosevelt and others urged the President to improve the situation of African Americans.

As the New Deal progressed, Eleanor Roosevelt increasingly used her position to protest against racial discrimination. At a meeting held by the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, a biracial group that sought to promote racial reforms, the first lady sat with the black delegates—a daring move in segregated Birmingham, Alabama. When a white police officer told her that she was violating local segregation laws, Mrs. Roosevelt moved her chair to the space between the black and white sides. She then delivered a rousing and provocative keynote address in favor of racial reform.

**Primary Source** 66 We are the leading democracy of the world and as such must prove to the world that democracy is possible and capable of living up to the principles upon which it was founded. The eyes of the world are upon us, and often we find they are not too friendly eyes."

—Eleanor Roosevelt, November 22, 1938

#### **HISTORY MAKERS**

#### Frances Perkins (1882 - 1965)

After graduating from college, Frances Perkins earned her master's degree in economics. From 1912, until being named Secretary of Labor, she held various jobs in New York State government. She was a strong voice for consumers and workers, especially working women and children.



#### Mary McLeod **Bethune** (1875–1955)

Mary McLeod Bethune was a teacher who worked to improve educational opportunities for African Americans. Bethune served as FDR's special adviser on minority affairs. As the director of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration, Bethune was the first black woman to head a federal agency.



The President invited many African American leaders to advise him. These unofficial advisers became known as the **Black Cabinet**. They included Robert Weaver and William Hastie, Harvard University graduates who rose to high positions within the Department of the Interior. Hastie later became a federal judge, and Weaver was the first African American Cabinet member.

Mary McLeod Bethune was another member of the Black Cabinet. The founder of what came to be known as Bethune Cookman College, she was a powerful champion of racial equality. In her view, the New Deal had created a "new day" for African Americans. She noted that African Americans gained unprecedented access to the White House and positions within the government during Roosevelt's presidency.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt did not always follow the advice of his Black Cabinet. Racial discrimination and injustice continued to plague African Americans. When the NAACP launched an energetic campaign in favor of a federal antilynching law, the President refused to support it. FDR told black leaders that he could not support an antilynching law, because if he did, southern Democrats "would block every bill I ask Congress to pass." Hence, no civil rights reforms became law during the 1930s.

Several New Deal measures also unintentionally hurt African Americans. Federal payments to farmers to produce fewer crops led white landowners to evict unneeded black sharecroppers from their farms. Even though they benefited from the WPA and other relief measures, African Americans often did not receive equal wages. Social Security and the Fair Labor Standards Act exempted domestic workers and farm laborers, two occupations in which African Americans were employed in great numbers.

Checkpoint How did the New Deal affect African Americans?

#### Native Americans Benefit From Building Projects

Navajo medicine men attend the opening of a new hospital in Fort Defiance, Arizona, in 1938. *How was this project part of the Indian New Deal?* 

# The New Deal Affects Native Americans

Attempting to improve the lives of Native Americans, the Roosevelt administration made major changes in long-standing policies. The 1887 Dawes Act had divided tribal lands into smaller plots. By the early 1930s, it was clear that the



act had worsened the condition of the people it was designed to help. Of the original 138 million acres American Indians had owned in 1887, only 48 million remained in American Indian hands, and much of it was too arid to farm. John Collier, the New Deal's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, warned that the Dawes Act was resulting in "total landlessness for the Indians."

To prevent further loss of land and improve living conditions for Native Americans, Collier developed the Indian New Deal, a program that gave Indians economic assistance and greater control over their own affairs. Collier got funding from New Deal agencies for the construction of new schools and hospitals and to create an Indian Civilian Conservation Corps. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in a reversal of previous policies, encouraged the practice of Indian religions, native languages, and traditional customs. Collier also convinced Congress to pass the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, considered the centerpiece of the Indian New Deal. This law restored tribal control over Native American land.

Although it did not immediately improve their standard of living, the Indian Reorganization Act gave Native Americans greater control over their destiny. But some New Deal measures actually hurt Native Americans. For example, federal authorities determined that large herds of sheep tended by the Navajos were causing soil erosion on the Colorado Plateau. As a result, the federal government

enacted a Navajo Livestock Reduction program, which mandated that the Navajo sell or kill thousands of sheep. The Navajo deeply resented this act. They did not believe that their sheep threatened the soil and they did not trust the motives of government agents.

Checkpoint In what ways did the New Deal alter the U.S. policies toward Native Americans?

# The New Deal Creates a New **Political Coalition**

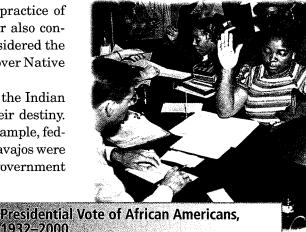
By the time he died in 1945, Roosevelt had been elected to four terms as President. His legendary political skills had united an unlikely group of Americans into a strong political force called the **New Deal coalition.** This coalition brought together southern whites, northern blue-collar workers—especially those with immigrant roots—poor midwestern farmers, and African Americans.

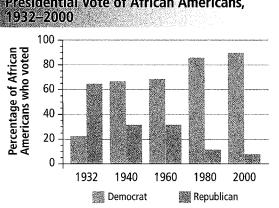
African American voting patterns show the importance of the New Deal coalition. Before the New Deal, most African Americans voted Republican, the party of Abraham Lincoln. Responding to the efforts of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, African Americans began to vote Democratic during the 1930s. This trend was strongest in the West and the North. For example, in 1934, Arthur W. Mitchell, an African American Democrat, defeated Oscar De Priest, an African American Republican, to represent the largely black south side of Chicago. Mitchell became the first African American Democrat elected to Congress.

The New Deal coalition gave the Democratic Party a sizable majority in both houses of Congress. Before FDR's election, the Democrats had been the minority party in the House of Representatives for all but eight years since 1895. But from 1932 to 1995, the Democrats controlled the majority of seats in the House of Representatives for all but four years. The coalition that elected Roosevelt in 1932 went on to secure the White House for the Democrats in six of the next eight presidential elections.

#### **African Americans Join New Deal Coalition**

In Atlanta, African Americans register to vote in a Democratic primary election. What percentage of African American voters voted Democratic in 1932? What was the percentage in 2000?





SOURCES: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; Donald L. Grant, The Way It Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia; Sean J. Savage, Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932-1945

#### Vocabulary Builder

ethnic—(EHTH nīhk) adj. relating to groups of people with a common national, racial, religious, or cultural heritage Besides forging a powerful political coalition, Roosevelt and the New Deal helped to unify the nation. Social and <u>ethnic</u> divisions, so much a part of the 1920s, diminished significantly during the 1930s. Immigrant communities, in particular, gained a greater sense of belonging to the mainstream. Programs such as the CCC and WPA allowed individuals of varied backgrounds to get to know one another, breaking down regional and ethnic prejudices. As one CCC worker observed:

**Primary Source**\*\*The Civilian Conservation Corps is a smaller melting pot within the big one. We are thrown together in such a way that we have to get acquainted whether or not we want to. . . . Different races and nationalities look each other in the face, work and eat together for the first time. And it is a safe bet, we think, that this process many times results in the elimination of traditional prejudices based on ignorance and misinformation.

\*\*Point The Civilian Conservation Corps is a smaller melting pot within the big one. The first time is a safe bet, we think, that this process many times results in the elimination of traditional prejudices based on ignorance and misinformation.

—C. W. Kirkpatrick, CCC worker

Checkpoint How did New Deal policies affect ethnic and social divisions?

# The Role of Government Expands

New Deal programs greatly increased the size and scope of the federal government. "For the first time for many Americans," writes historian William Leuchtenburg, "the federal government became an institution that was directly experienced. More than the state and local governments, it came to be *the* government." Moreover, the government began to do things it had never done before, from withdrawing taxes directly from workers' paychecks to distributing benefits to the elderly.

Though the New Deal did not end the depression, it did help restore the American economy. It created the foundation for sustained and stable growth. According to Pulitzer Prize—winning historian David Kennedy, "the unparalleled economic vitality of the post-1940 decades was attributable to many factors. But the [economic expansion] . . . owed much to the New Deal."

Playing a Larger Role in the Economy With the New Deal, the federal government broke from the tradition of laissez faire, or leaving the economy alone, which had characterized most of American history. Now the federal government accepted responsibility for spurring economic growth, or pump priming. For the first time, the government had acted as an employer of the unemployed and a sponsor of work projects. FDR accepted the idea that the federal government had to do something to get the economy going again, and Democrats and many Republicans agreed.

FDR's rejection of laissez-faire policies led a number of New Deal critics to accuse him of promoting socialism. However, many New Deal measures actually strengthened capitalism and helped make possible the economic boom of the post–World War II era. The FDIC and SEC restored Americans' trust in banks and the stock market. The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) provided low-interest loans, increasing homeownership.

The New Deal affected millions of workers and their families. The Wagner Act boosted union membership, which continued to grow after World War II. Minimum wage increases improved the purchasing power of minorities and those at the bottom rung of the economic ladder. New Deal legislation created child labor laws, workers' compensation laws, and unemployment insurance, programs that had important and enduring impacts on the U.S. economy.

# Government's Role in the Economy

#### TRACK THE ISSUE

# What is the proper balance between free enterprise and government regulation of the economy?

In theory, a free-enterprise system should function with little government interference. In practice, though, our government often plays a strong economic role. How much government regulation of the economy is appropriate? Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1890 Sherman Antitrust Act Congress tries to curb the power of monopolies.

1906 Pure Food and Drug Act Progressive law regulates the safety of food and medicine.

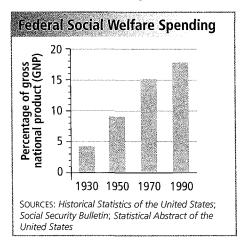
1913 Federal Reserve Act Federal Reserve system is established to control the money supply.

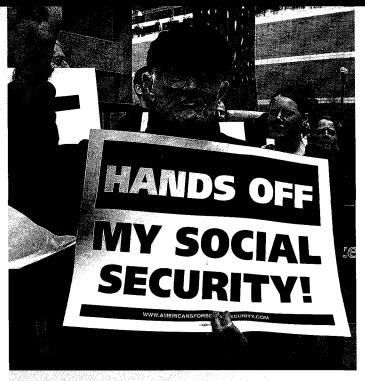
#### 1933 Agricultural **Adjustment Act**

New Deal law pays farmers to reduce production, causing higher crop prices and farm profits.

#### 2001 Tax Cuts

Government lowers taxes in an effort to promote economic growth.







Activists protest plans to privatize Social Security.

#### **DEBATE THE ISSUE**

**Social Security's Effectiveness** The government manages retirement accounts for millions of Americans through the Social Security system. But with the coming retirement of millions of baby boomers, some people believe that Social Security can no longer achieve its original goals.

66Well, the system is facing serious financial problems, but more than that it has become an increasingly bad deal for today's workers. Workers are paying 12 1/2 percent of their income into a system that is providing a poorer and poorer return. It's a system in which workers don't own their assets, have no legal rights to their benefits, don't control their money, and a system Security provides Americans with the that penalizes groups like African Americans and working women. 77

—Michael Tanner, Cato Institute

Social Security is one of the most successful government programs. It has consistently provided a safety net for seniors so that retirees are able to support themselves through their retirement and pay for food, housing, and medical costs. By helping to support the elderly and vulnerable among us, Social guarantee of security for life."

—Center for American Progress

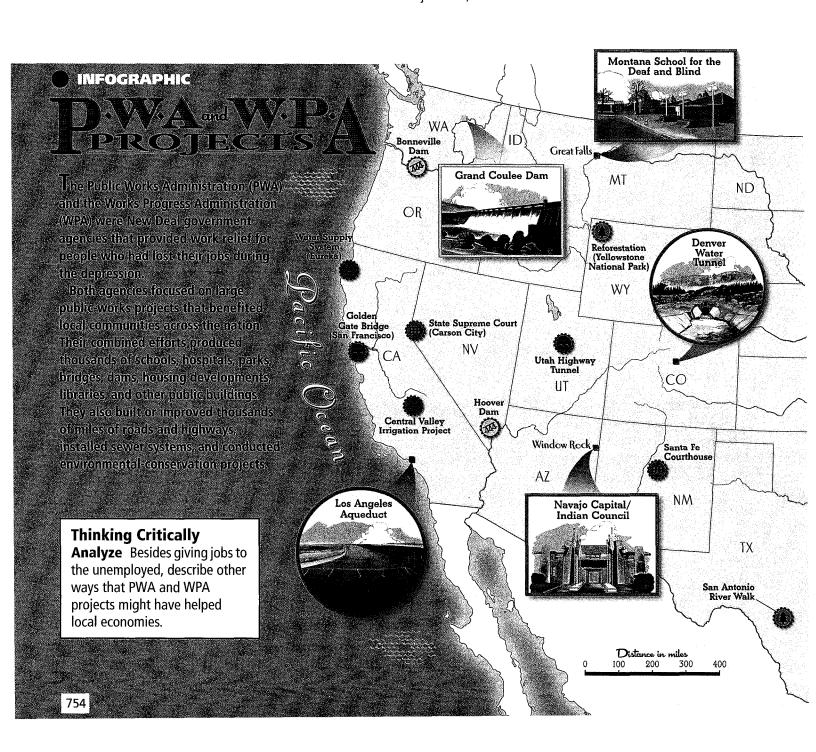
#### **Connect to Your World**

- **1. Compare** Do you think that today's Center for American Progress would support or oppose New Deal laws like the AAA?
- 2. Analyze Costs and Benefits Compare the data on this page to the data in the Section 2 Social Security feature. Do you think that the costs of Social Security outweigh the benefits? Web Code: neh-0905
- **3. Debate** Learn more about recent debates on government's role in the economy and prepare an argument supporting one viewpoint.

The New Deal had a great impact on rural Americans. Regional public-works projects, such as the TVA and Bonneville Dam, reduced flooding and provided water for irrigation. Along with the Rural Electrification Administration, these dams brought electricity to farmers in the Southeast and the Northwest. Rose Dudley Scearce of Shelby, Kentucky, recalled what the REA meant to her farm family:

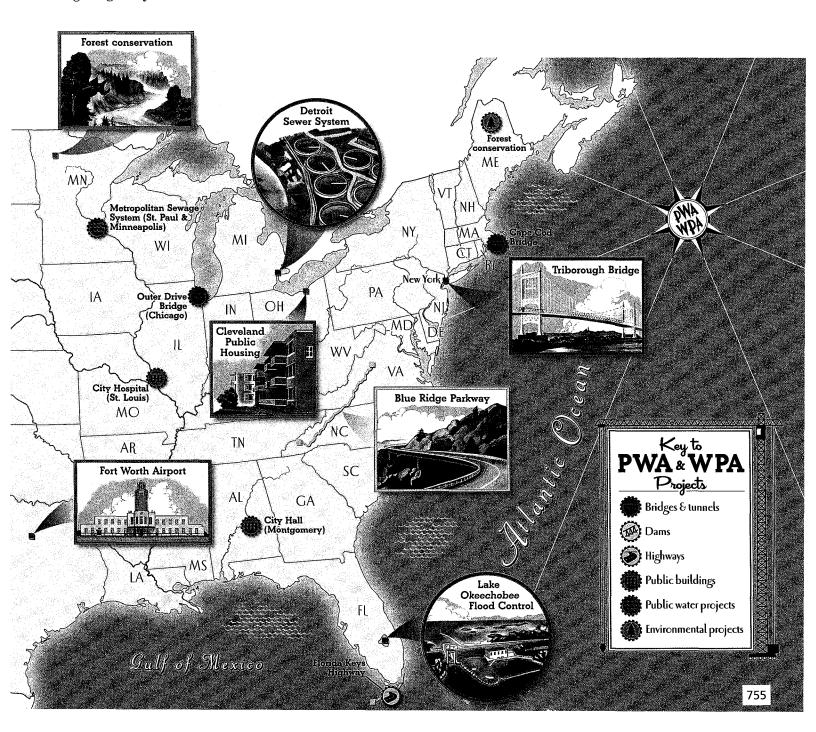
**Primary Source**"The first benefit we received from the REA was light, and aren't lights grand? My little boy expressed my sentiments when he said, 'Mother, I didn't realize how dark our house was until we got electric lights.' . . . Like the rest of the people, we changed our storage-battery radio into an electric radio. . . . Next we bought an electric refrigerator. . . . The next benefit we received from the current was our electric stove. . . . Now with a vacuum cleaner, I can even dust the furniture before I clean the carpet, the carpet gets clean, and I stay in good humor."

--- Rose Dudley Scearce, "What the REA Service Means to Our Farm House"



**Creating a Welfare State** "We are going to make a country in which no one is left out," Franklin Roosevelt once told Frances Perkins. The many programs he enacted to realize this goal led to the rise of a **welfare state** in the United States, a government that assumes responsibility for providing for the welfare of children and the poor, elderly, sick, disabled, and unemployed.

The creation of the American welfare state was a major change in government policy. With the exception of military veterans, most Americans had never received any direct benefits from the federal government. State and local governments, private charities, and families had long served as the safety net for needy Americans. True, the New Deal did not achieve FDR's goal of "a country in which no one is left out," because it exempted many Americans from Social Security and other programs. Still, the New Deal established the principle that the federal government was responsible for the welfare of all Americans. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the reach of government programs would grow greatly.



# **Cause and Effect**

#### Causes

- Stock market crash
- · Failure of farms and businesses
- Sharp decline in prices and production
- Failure of banks
- Massive unemployment and low wages
- Homelessness and Hoovervilles
- Drought, crop failures, and Dust Bowl

#### The New Deal

#### **Effects**

- · Millions employed in new government programs
- · Banking system is stabilized
- · Regulated stock market restores confidence
- Social-insurance programs aid elderly and poor
- · Agricultural subsidies help farmers
- · Government takes more active role in economy

# Commercial ones (a) Totalen

- Social Security and other New Deal programs still exist
- · Size and role of federal government still debated
- Costs and benefits of social welfare programs still debated

**Analyze Cause and Effect** The New Deal brought dramatic changes to the United States. *Identify one economic and one political effect of the New Deal.* 

New Deal reforms provided the framework for the debate over the proper role of the federal government in the private lives of Americans. It energized liberals who would push for an even greater role for the federal government in future years. But it troubled conservatives who would argue that the expansion of the federal government limited American rights. Indeed, this very debate divides liberals and conservatives to this day.

Restoring the Environment Reared in New York State's beautiful Hudson River valley, Franklin Roosevelt had a great love of nature. As a child, FDR also loved outdoor sports and became an expert swimmer and sailor. A number of his New Deal programs, such as the CCC, aimed at restoring forests and preserving the environment. Other federal agencies started soil conservation efforts. Perhaps most visibly, New Dealers worked hard to end the Dust Bowl, a symbol of the degraded state of the land at the beginning of the depression.

Franklin Roosevelt also continued the conservation work of his cousin, President Theodore Roosevelt. Although funds were short, the government set aside about 12 million acres of land for new national parks, including Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, Kings Canyon National Park in California, and Olympic National Park in Washington State.

However, not all New Deal programs helped the environment. Several of the large public-works projects, such as the TVA and the string of dams along the Columbia River, had a mixed impact. The dams controlled floods, generated electric power, and provided irrigation, but they also upset the natural habitats of some aquatic life. Massive reservoirs created by these projects also displaced some people and destroyed some traditional Native American burial, hunting, and fishing grounds.

Changing the Nature of the Presidency In no area did FDR have a greater impact than on the office of the President itself. The expanding role of the government, including the creation of many new federal agencies, gave the executive branch much more power. New Deal administrators, such as Harry Hopkins, head of the WPA, commanded large bureaucracies with massive budgets and little supervision by Congress. Their authority increased Roosevelt's influence. Indeed, some commentators even began to speak of the rise of an imperial presidency, an unflattering comparison to the power exercised in the past by rulers of great empires.

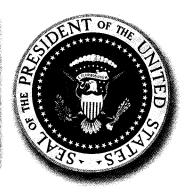
FDR also affected the style of the presidency. His mastery of the radio captivated Americans. His close relations with the press assured a generally popular response to his projects from the major media. Because he served for such a long time and was such an outstanding communicator, FDR set a standard that future Presidents had a hard time fulfilling.

Later, during World War II, FDR's presidential power grew even greater. As commander in chief of the nation's armed forces, he exercised enormous authority over many aspects of life. Most Americans accepted the President's increased

#### FDR's Effect on the Presidency

#### L Quick Study

- Increased power of the President and the executive branch
- Made mass media, such as radio, an essential tool in advertising and promoting policies
- · Expanded role of the President in managing the economy
- Expanded role of the President in developing social policy
- Won third and fourth terms, leading to passage of Twenty-second Amendment, which limited Presidents to two consecutive terms



authority as a necessary condition of wartime. But after the war, they sought to protect the delicate balance between the different branches of government and between the federal and state governments.

One way that Americans sought to guard against the growing power of the President was by amending the Constitution. When Roosevelt ran for an unprecedented third term in 1940, he knew that he had broken an unwritten rule, established by George Washington, that Presidents should serve only two terms. He won that election and then ran and won again in 1944. But after Roosevelt's death in 1945, there was a growing call for limiting a President's term in office. In 1951, the Twenty-second Amendment was ratified, limiting the President to two consecutive terms.

✓ Checkpoint In what ways did the role of the federal government grow during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency?

#### The Presidency After Roosevelt

Franklin Roosevelt had a dramatic impact on the role of the presidency. Was FDR's impact positive or negative?

# SECTION Assessment

#### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0906

#### Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People What is the relationship between each of the following terms or people and the enduring significance of the New Deal?
  - Black Cabinet
  - Mary McLeod Bethune
  - Indian New Deal
  - New Deal coalition
  - · welfare state

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Main Ideas** Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the New Deal change the social, economic, and political landscape of the United States for future generations?

#### Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Draw Conclusions After comparing information from different sources, the next step in synthesizing is to draw conclusions. Compare the photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt with the primary source on the section's opening page. Write a paragraph that describes Mrs. Roosevelt's personality.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Recognize Cause and Effect Why do you think African Americans suffered more extensive discrimination during the depression than during more prosperous times?
- **5. Determine Relevance** Has the New Deal coalition affected politics in your community today? Explain your answer.
- 6. Synthesize Information Did the growth in the powers of the federal government during the New Deal benefit the nation? Explain your answer.



#### The Wizard of Oz's Dorothy, Tin Man, and Scarecrow

#### WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO



#### "Somewhere Over the Rainbow"

Americans eager to escape the gloom of the depression regularly sought refuge in the fantasy world presented by the movies. One of their favorites was The Wizard of Oz, which opened in 1939. In an early scene, the farm girl Dorothy sings of better times:

**66** Somewhere over the rainbow Way up high, There's a land that I've heard of Once in a lullaby.

Somewhere over the rainbow Skies are blue, And the dreams that you dare to dream Really do come true.

Some day I'll wish upon a star And wake up where the clouds are far behind me. Where troubles melt like lemon drops Away above the chimney tops That's where you'll find me."

— "Over the Rainbow," E. Y. Harburg, 1939

# Culture of the 1930s



## **Core Curriculum Objectives**

- 5.II.B.7a Culture of the Depression: Literature
- **5.II.B.7b** Culture of the Depression: Music
- **5.II.B.7c** Culture of the Depression: Art

#### **Terms and People**

The Wizard of Oz Frank Capra War of the Worlds Federal Art Project mural Dorothea Lange John Steinbeck

Lillian Hellman

# NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas and **Details** Complete a table like the one below to record examples of cultural or popular media.

| Cultural or Popular Media | Example |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Movies                    |         |
|                           |         |

Why It Matters Mass entertainment, such as The Wizard of Oz, flourished during the New Deal years as Americans sought escape from the worries of the depression. And, for the first time, the government played an active role in the arts, creating programs that put artists to work. It was a golden age for entertainment, and the movies, music, and works of literature produced during this era hold a unique place in American culture. Section Focus Question: How did the men and women of the depression find relief from their hardships in the popular culture?

# **Movies and Radio Captivate Americans**

Entertainment became big business during the 1930s. Large radio networks, such as NBC and CBS, were broadcasting giants while a cluster of film companies—including MGM, Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, and Paramount-dominated the silver screen. By 1935, two in three homes owned a radio; by the end of the decade, about nine in ten did. In 1939, nearly two thirds of all Americans attended at least one movie a week. Stars in both industries made fortunes and attracted loyal followings. Glossy fan magazines tracked the stars' personal and professional lives.

**Enjoying Escapism** Above all, when Americans went to the movies during the Great Depression, they did so as a means of escapism. They sought relief from their concerns through a good laugh, a good cry, a lyrical song, or by seeing good triumph over evil. The Wizard of Oz, one of the most memorable depression-era films, delivered all four. It promised weary audiences that their dreams really would come true.

The big movie studios churned out musicals, romantic comedies, and gangster films. Children marveled at the colorful animation of Walt Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. For a good scare, teens and young adults flocked to Frankenstein. Adults watched dancers Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers glide effortlessly across the ballroom floor in Top Hat. And millions wept as they watched the stormy love affair between Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh in the Civil War epic Gone With the Wind.

Providing Social Commentary In the early 1930s, many films reflected the public's distrust of big business and government. Gangster movies, such as Public Enemy starring James Cagney, were very popular. These films showed a declining faith in government and law enforcement, with characters turning to crime to survive the depression. But as the New Deal restored confidence, the government regained its glow, and movies began portraying government officials as heroes. In 1935, Cagney portrayed an FBI agent who captured the bad guys in G-Men.

Other films focused on the strength of average Americans. Director Frank Capra was a leader of this genre. The characters in his films were everyday people struggling with the hardships of the time. In Capra's Mr. Smith Goes to Washington, actor James Stewart plays a junior senator who fights against the greed and corruption he finds in the nation's capital. Depression-era audiences cheered Capra's films, which celebrate American idealism and the triumph of the common man over the forces of adversity.

Radio's Golden Age The success of the movie industry was matched by that of radio. The national radio networks broadcast popular shows starring comedi-

#### **Radio Captures the Nation**

Americans united in their love for the radio and its stars, including mainstays George Burns and Gracie Allen (below).

MASTER'S VOICE

Bi-Acoustic Radio



#### **Vocabulary Builder**

episode—(EHP uh sohd) n. television or radio program that is one of a series of programs telling one story

Funding the Arts

The Federal Art Project poster (below) promotes an exhibition of works by WPA artists. William Gropper's mural, *Construction of a Dam,* was a tribute to the strength and dignity of labor inspired by the construction of two western dams.

variety shows, and humorists, such as Will Rogers. Dramatic shows were also popular. *The Lone Ranger* started its run in 1933 and ran for more than 20 years. The detective serial *The Shadow* began each thrilling <u>episode</u> with the haunting line, "Who knows what evil lurks in the hearts of men?"

In addition to providing entertainment, the family radio provided information. FDR used his fireside chats to explain and promote his New Deal programs. Newscasters delivered the daily news and political commentary.

On at least one occasion, radio listeners had a hard time recognizing the difference between news and entertainment. It happened on the night of October 30, 1938, when millions of Americans tuned in to a drama called *War of the Worlds*, directed by Orson Welles. The Mercury Theatre broadcast was so realistic that many people believed that Martians were actually invading. Panic gripped areas of the country until announcers insisted that it was all make-believe.

Swinging to the Sounds of the Era Like films and radio shows, music provided a diversion from hard times. Whether listening to the radio at home or dancing in nightclubs, Americans enjoyed the popular music of the day. "Swing" music played by "big bands" topped the charts. Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, Glenn Miller, and Jimmy and Tommy Dorsey were some of the top swing musicians, a term probably derived from Ellington's tune "It Don't Mean a Thing If It Ain't Got That Swing." Your Hit Parade and Make Believe Ballroom—the program that introduced disc jockeys—were just two of the radio shows that brought the latest tunes to listeners. The most popular vocalist of the era was Bing Crosby.

Latin music was very popular. The rhythms of the rumba and the samba had a special appeal for dancers, and Latin bands were prominently featured in films and on the radio. Folk and ethnic music also gained a following during the 1930s. Black singers focused on the harsh conditions faced by African Americans. Huddie Ledbetter, a folk singer known as Leadbelly, described experiences of African Americans with the songs "Cotton Fields" and "The Midnight Special." Woody Guthrie wrote ballads about the Okies, farmers who fled Dust Bowl states and headed to California. Guthrie's song "Dust Bowl Refugee" helped listeners understand the Okies' plight.

✓ Checkpoint What were some of the most important popular cultural trends of the 1930s?



# The New Deal and the Arts

During the New Deal, the federal government provided funding for the arts for the first time in American history. Recognizing that many artists and writers faced dire circumstances, WPA administrator Harry Hopkins established a special branch of the WPA to provide artists with work. Programs such as the **Federal Art Project**, the Federal Writers' Project, and the Federal Theater Project offered a variety of job opportunities to artists.

In federally funded theaters, musicians and actors staged performances that were often free to the public. In a series of new state guidebooks, WPA writers recorded the history and folklore of the nation. Artists painted huge, dramatic **murals** on public buildings across the nation. These paintings celebrated the accomplishments of the workers who helped build the nation. Many of the murals can still be seen in public buildings today.

Photographers also benefited from federal arts programs. The Resettlement and Farm Security Administration (FSA) sought to document the plight of America's farmers. Roosevelt's top aide, Rexford Tugwell, told the head of the FSA, "Show the city people what it's like to live on the farm." Walker Evans and **Dorothea Lange** were among the FSA photographers who created powerful images of impoverished farmers and migrant workers, including Lange's famous photo "Migrant Mother."

**Primary Source** "When Dorothea took that picture that was the ultimate. She never surpassed it. . . . She has all the suffering of mankind in her but all the perseverance too. A restraint and a strange courage."

-Roy Stryker, FSA, on Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother"

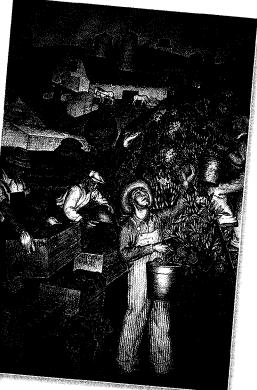
Some members of Congress attacked the Federal Art programs for promoting radical values. Congressman J. Parnell Thomas described the Federal Writers' and Theater projects as "a hotbed for Communists." Eleanor Roosevelt and others defended the Federal Art programs on the grounds that they did not "believe in censoring anything." Nonetheless, congressional support for the programs declined. Although the Federal Art programs ceased to exist in the early 1940s, they set a precedent for further federal funding of the arts and humanities in the 1960s.

Checkpoint In what ways did the New Deal support American arts?

#### California

One of several WPA murals in San Francisco's Coit Tower, *California* was painted by Maxine Albro, an artist who painted many scenes of Mexican life after studying with noted Mexican muralist Diego Rivera.





Chapter 22 Section 4 761



#### **Native Son**

Richard Wright's novel about the psychological pressures that lead a young black man to commit murder sold more than 200,000 copies in one month. During the 1930s, the author worked as a writer and editor for the Federal Writers' Project in Chicago.

# The Literature of the Depression

The literature of the 1920s, from authors such as F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway, sometimes overshadowed the literature of the 1930s. Still, the depression era produced some memorable works.

During the depression, many writers drifted to the left and crafted novels featuring working-class heroes. They believed that the American economic system no longer worked and they blamed this failure on political and business leaders. Many artists of the 1930s saw "ordinary Americans" as the best hope for a better day.

The most famous novel of the 1930s was **John Steinbeck**'s *The Grapes of Wrath*. Steinbeck follows the fictional Joad family from their home in Oklahoma, which has been ravaged by Dust Bowl conditions, to California, where they hope to build a better life. But instead of the Promised Land, the Joads encounter exploitation, disease, hunger, and political corruption.

African American writers captured the special plight of blacks, facing both the depression and continuing prejudice. Richard Wright's *Native Son* explored racial prejudice in a northern urban setting. Wright was an outspoken critic of racial discrimination.

In New York, some important playwrights had their first successes during the New Deal period. Lillian Hellman, a New Orleans native, wrote several plays featuring strong roles for women. Hellman's plays *The Children's Hour, The Little Foxes*, and *Watch on the Rhine* are also notable for their socially conscious subject matter. Clifford Odets was another dramatist who achieved prominence in the 1930s. His plays *Waiting for Lefty* and *Awake and Sing!* chronicle the struggles of the working class during the Great Depression.

On a lighter note, many Americans devoured comic strips and comic books during the 1930s. Among the most popular comic strips were *Flash Gordon*, a science-fiction saga; *Dick Tracy*, a detective story; and *Superman*, the first great "superhero" comic. The success of *Superman*, which began in 1938, quickly led to a radio show and later to a popular television series and several feature films. *Superman* reassured Americans that ordinary citizens, like mild-mannered Clark Kent, could overcome evil.

✓ Checkpoint Describe the most notable works of literature of the 1930s.

SECTION

Assessment

#### **Progress Monitoring Online**

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-0907

#### Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it affected the people of the era.
  - The Wizard of Oz
  - Frank Capra
  - War of the Worlds
  - Federal Art Project

#### 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: identify Main Ideas and Details Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the men and

Focus Question: How did the men ar women of the depression find relief from their hardships in the popular culture?

#### **Writing About History**

Quick Write: Make Generalizations
 Compare The Wizard of Oz and War of the Worlds. Write a few sentences describing how both were escapist fare that helped people forget their troubles.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Make Generalizations What values did the movies and other popular entertainment of the depression reinforce for Americans?
- **5. Identify Effects** How did federal support of the arts benefit both artists and the public?
- **6. Identify Point of View** How did the work of New Deal era artists and writers contribute to our appreciation today of the New Deal?



# The Golden Age of Hollywood

The 1930s were a Golden Age for Hollywood—and for moviegoers. Depression-era audiences watched the latest Hollywood spectacles in beautiful theaters that were a far cry from today's multiplexes. Advancements in color and sound added even more realism to movies that depicted lives of glamour and adventure unknown to most Americans. But it was the outstanding quality of the movies that made the 1930s Hollywood's Golden Age.



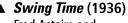
#### ▲ King Kong (1933)

a huge box-office hit.

King Kong was the thrilling adventure tale of a giant ape and the woman he loved. The film's innovative special effects helped make it



■ Gone With the Wind (1939) Clark Gable was Rhett Butler, and Vivien Leigh was Scarlett O'Hara in the Civil War saga adapted from Margaret Mitchell's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel.



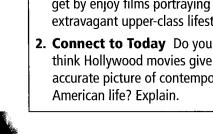
Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers became one of the silver screen's legendary teams as they danced their way through a series of popular musicals.



A gritty social drama about life in a Manhattan slum, Dead End starred Humphrey Bogart and introduced the Dead End Kids.

## Thinking Critically

- 1. Make Inferences Why would people who were struggling just to get by enjoy films portraying extravagant upper-class lifestyles?
- think Hollywood movies give an accurate picture of contemporary American life? Explain.



# **Quick Study Guide**



# Progress Monitoring *Online* For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0908

## ■ New Deal Legislation

| New Deal Program                                      | Effects   |
|---|---|
| Federal Deposit Insurance<br>Corporation (FDIC), 1933 | Guaranteed bank deposits up to \$5,000 to ease banking crisis   |
| National Recovery<br>Administration (NRA), 1933       | Established codes to regulate wages and prices, stimulate consumer activity, and promote fair competition   |
| Securities and Exchange<br>Commission (SEC), 1934     | Regulated the stock market and restored investor confidence   |
| Civilian Conservation Corps<br>(CCC), 1933            | Provided jobs for millions of young, single men on conservation projects  |
| Public Works Administration<br>(PWA), 1933            | Sponsored large-scale government construction projects to create new jobs and improve the nation's infrastructure                                 |
| Agricultural Adjustment<br>Act (AAA), 1933            | Paid subsidies to lower production on farms and raise crop prices   |
| Tennessee Valley Authority<br>(TVA), 1933             | Built dams and hydroelectric plants in the<br>Tennessee River valley to control flooding,<br>generate power, and attract industry to<br>the South |
| Home Owners' Loan<br>Corporation (HOLC), 1933         | Provided low-interest loans to homeowners who were unable to make mortgage payments   |

#### ■ Effects of the New Deal

| Immediate Effects                      |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| Banking system is stabilized.          | - |  |
| • Federal payments help farmers.       |   |  |
| Work-relief programs provide jobs.     |   |  |
| • Social Security provides safety net. |   |  |
| • New Deal helps to unify the nation.  |   |  |
|  |   |  |

#### Long-term Effects

- · Power of the presidency increases.
- · Government takes active role in economy.
- New Deal coalition is powerful political force.
- Wagner Act protects workers and raises standard of living.
- Minorities and women gain positions in government.

# Opposition to the New Deal

| On the Left   | On the Right   |
|---|--|
| New Deal does not do enough to<br>end the depression.                                       | New Deal makes government too<br>powerful.   |
| • FDR's only concern is saving banks and big business.                                      | <ul> <li>Increased government role in economy equals socialism.</li> </ul>                               |
| New Deal does not address redistribution of wealth.     New Deal does not help the elderly. | New Deal destroys free enterprise<br>and individual freedom.     New Deal creates huge national<br>debt. |

# Quick Study Timeline

1932 More than 5,000 banks close



1933 FDR begins **New Deal** 

1934 **Dust Bowl** worsens

1935 **Social Security** Act passed

In America

**Presidential Terms** Herbert Hoover 1929-1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt 1933-1945

Around the World

1932 Aldous Huxley's Brave New World is published

1932

1933 Nazis begin burning of books 1935 Italy invades Ethiopia

1935

# American Issues •••• Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code**: neh-0909).

#### **Issues You Learned About**

- **Government's Role in the Economy** Political leaders disagree on how much control the government should have over the national economy.
- **1.** Do you agree with the statement that many Americans probably thought that Herbert Hoover should have let his administration take a greater role in the economy? Explain.
- **2.** Following the tradition of laissez faire, how did the federal government respond to the downturn of the economy under Hoover? How did it respond under Roosevelt?
- American Indian Policy The U.S. government has followed different policies toward Native Americans.
- 3. What did the Indian Removal Act demand? What action did some Indian tribes, that did not want to follow the Indian Removal Act. take?
- **4.** What was the Dawes Act? Did it achieve its goals?
- **5.** How did John Collier bring changes to American Indian life and culture?

- Federal Power and States' Rights At times, the national government may seem to go beyond its constitutional rights.
- **6.** According to the Constitution, what powers does the national government have over trade? What powers does each state government have?
- 7. In response to the Supreme Court ruling in Schechter Poultry v. United States, one newspaper proclaimed this headline: "ROOSEVELT'S TWO YEARS' WORK KILLED IN TWENTY MINUTES." What did the headline mean?

#### **Connect to Your World**

**New York** 

Government's Role in the Economy The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) worked on approximately 200 projects in New York in the 1930s. One of these was Gilbert Lake State Park, north of Oneonta, New York. When the camp opened in 1933, the area around Gilbert Lake was almost entirely wilderness. About 200 men worked to build walkways, roads and trails, cabins with stone fireplaces, picnic grounds, and dams to create lakes. The CCC workers lived in drafty tents and wooden barracks, receiving \$30 a month, \$25 of which was sent home to their families. Visitors to Gilbert Lake today can still enjoy the projects they completed. Research another site in New York that the CCC worked on, and create a brochure of its history.

1936 UAW stages sit-down strike



1939
Gone With the Wind
breaks box-office
records



1940 FDR reelected to third term

History Interactive,

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: nep-0910

193

1936 Spanish Civil War begins 1937 Pablo Picasso paints *Guernica*  1939 Radio h

Radio broadcasts WWII events

1941

Japanese attack Pearl Harbor

# **Chapter Assessment**

## **Terms and People**

- **1.** What was the **CCC**? How did it help individual Americans as well as the country?
- Define pump priming. Give an example of pump priming in the second New Deal.
- **3.** Define **collective bargaining** and **sit-down strikes.** How effective did workers find these methods?
- **4.** Who was **Mary McLeod Bethune**? How did she feel about the New Deal?
- **5.** What were the Federal Theater Project, the Federal Writers' Project, and the **Federal Art Project**? When and why did they come to an end?

## **Focus Questions**

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the New Deal respond to the ravages of the depression and change the role of the federal government?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

#### Section 1

**6.** How did the New Deal attempt to address the problems of the depression?

#### Section 2

7. What major issues did the second New Deal address?

#### Section 3

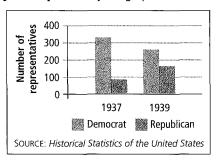
**8.** How did the New Deal change the social, economic, and political landscape of the United States for future generations?

#### **Section 4**

**9.** How did the men and women of the depression find relief from their hardships in the popular culture?

# **Critical Thinking**

- **10. Analyze Information** The first New Deal had three goals: relief, recovery, and reform. Choose one of the laws or programs created by the first New Deal and explain how the program met one, two, or all of these goals.
- **11. Compare Points of View** Why did both the right and the left protest the New Deal?
- **12. Summarize** What impact did New Deal programs and legislation have on the lives of industrial workers?
- 13. Analyze Graphs Study the graph below.



What political shift does this graph show? What caused this change?

- **14. Draw Inferences** Why did New Deal work programs place a greater emphasis on employing men than women?
- **15. Determine Relevance** What does the creation of a welfare state say about the changing priorities of the United States? Does this principle still hold today? Give examples to support your answer.
- **16. Identify Point of View** Why might filmmakers have chosen to produce movies that drew on America's historical past?
- 17. Evaluate Credibility of Sources Do you think the work of depression-era writers can be read for historical value? Explain.

# **Writing About History**

**Synthesize Information** In this chapter there are different images of President Roosevelt. One photograph might present FDR as weak, while another shows him as strong and confident. A cartoon might praise or criticize him. Write a few paragraphs in which you compare several different viewpoints on FDR, and then draw your own conclusion about him.

#### **Prewriting**

- Find four different images of Roosevelt that you will compare and contrast.
- Identify the main idea or viewpoint that is conveyed by each photograph or cartoon.

#### Drafting

• For each image, write a brief paragraph describing the main idea of the image.

- Then, write a paragraph in which you point out how the portrayals of FDR are similar and different.
- Finally, write a concluding paragraph in which you draw your own conclusions and make some generalizations about the nature of FDR.

#### Revising

 Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



# Regents DBQ Practice



The Tennessee Valley Authority

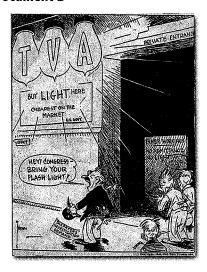
Was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) a federal program that would bring jobs and electricity to rural towns in the region? Or was it an expensive, poorly planned federal program that taxpayers would have to shoulder and that would also cause many environmental problems? Use your knowledge of the TVA and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

#### **Document 1**

"... The continued idleness of a great national investment in the Tennessee Valley leads me to ask Congress for legislation necessary to enlist this project in the service of the people. It is clear that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development; it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry."

-- President Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 10, 1933

#### **Document 2**



#### **Document 3**

"... The TVA has therefore appeared to be on the side of the angels in the controversy between it and the utilities. But the conservation program of the TVA is only a masquerade. It has no functional connection with the power program of the Authority, and the amount spent on it is only an insignificant portion of the Authority's total expenditures. Other departments of government, both state and national, are charged with the duty of caring for soil erosion and are doing such work effectively without the building of dams and power facilities. . . . The American people are paying more than half a billion dollars for eleven dams, chiefly designed to supply power to one area. But this power is to be supplied to this area at less than cost. . . . [The] TVA will operate annually at a deficit, and these deficits must . . . be paid for out of the pockets of the taxpayers."

—From "Political Power" by Wendell L. Willkie from Atlantic Monthly 160 (August 1937) pp. 211–214

#### **Document 4**

"One of TVA's original missions was to manage the region's natural resources, but the agency has long invoked the ire of environmentalists. TVA . . . . was the leading promoter of destructive coal strip-mining. . . . TVA still remains the nation's worst violator of the Clean Air Act. The agency, in fact, is the largest emitter among eastern utilities of nitrogen oxide (NOx), which causes smog. It is the third largest emitter of sulfur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) and carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), which has been identified as the leading cause of global warming. TVA's nuclear program has been so plagued with safety and economic problems that consumer activist Ralph Nader in 1998 declared: 'The TVA . . . has the most expensive set of nuclear reactors, has a debt of \$29 billion, has the poorest safety record with TVA reactors spending more time on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's watch list than any other utility.'"

— "Restructure TVA: Why the Tennessee Valley Authority Must Be Reformed" by Richard Munson (September 17, 2001)

- 1. Which document is a secondary source that criticizes the environmental impact of the Tennessee Valley Authority?
  - (1)Document 1
  - (2)Document 2
  - (3)Document 3
  - (4)Document 4
- **2.** According to Documents 2 and 3, why were taxpayers concerned about the Tennessee Valley Authority?
  - (1) It provided cheap electricity only to people in Tennessee.
  - (2) Taxpayers demanded an investigation because it operated at a deficit.
  - **(3)**Taxpayers in Tennessee wanted the government to promise better flood control.
  - (4) It did not build enough dams to provide adequate electricity.

- **3.** In Document 1, what message is President Roosevelt trying to convey to Congress?
  - (1)He wanted Congress to view the TVA as a way to control the region's environmental problems.
  - **(2)**He wanted Congress to build the TVA only to provide electricity.
  - (3)He wanted Congress to provide money to the region's farmers.
  - **(4)**He wanted Congress to plan many additional watershed projects throughout the country.
- **4. Writing Task** Who was right about the impact of the Tennessee Valley Authority: President Roosevelt or his critics? Use your knowledge of the chapter and evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

