

# UNIT

## 4

**CHAPTER 12**  
**Politics of the**  
**Roaring Twenties**  
1919–1929

**CHAPTER 13**  
**The Roaring Life**  
**of the 1920s**  
1920–1929

**CHAPTER 14**  
**The Great Depression**  
**Begins**  
1929–1933

**CHAPTER 15**  
**The New Deal**  
1933–1940

UNIT

PROJECT

### **Multimedia Presentation**

Create a multimedia presentation that reflects popular culture in the 1920s. Gather a wide variety of sources including excerpts from vintage radio broadcasts and selections of literature. Use sound, visuals, and text in your presentation.

*Street Scene* by Joe Jones

# The 1920s and the Great Depression 1920–1940





CHAPTER  
**12**

# POLITICS OF THE ROARING TWENTIES

## Essential Question

What political and social changes took place after World War I and through the 1920s?



## What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will learn about the challenges and changes that the nation faced after World War I.

### SECTION 1: Americans Struggle with Postwar Issues

**Main Idea** A desire for normality after the war and a fear of communism and “foreigners” led to postwar isolationism.

### SECTION 2: The Harding Presidency

**Main Idea** The Harding administration appealed to America’s desire for calm and peace after the war, but resulted in scandal.

### SECTION 3: The Business of America

**Main Idea** Consumer goods fueled the business boom of the 1920s as America’s standard of living soared.

Angry mill workers riot after walking off the job during a strike of Tennessee textile plants.



1919–1920  
Palmer Raids

1920  
Warren G. Harding is elected president.

1921 Sacco and Vanzetti are convicted.

1921 Federal-Aid Road Act funds a national highway system.

1923  
President Harding dies and Calvin Coolidge becomes president.

USA  
WORLD

1919

1921

1923



1921  
Chinese Communist Party is founded in Shanghai.

1922  
Benito Mussolini is appointed prime minister of Italy.

1923  
German economic crisis.



## INTERACT WITH HISTORY

World War I has ended. As Americans struggle to rebuild broken lives, the voices of angry workers can be silenced no longer. Despite public criticism, many risk losing their jobs to strike and join unions. The streets become a battleground for fair pay and better working conditions.

### Explore the Issues

- Do city workers have a responsibility not to go on strike?
- Should the government intervene in disputes between labor and business?
- Does the success of a strike depend on you?

**1924** Calvin Coolidge is elected president.

**1925** A. Philip Randolph organizes the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.



**1927** Henry Ford introduces the Model A.

**1928** Herbert Hoover is elected president.

**1925**

**1927**

**1929**

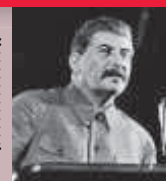


**1924** Vladimir Ilich Lenin, founder of the Soviet Union, dies.

**1926** British laborers declare a general strike.

**1926** Hirohito becomes emperor of Japan.

**1928** Joseph Stalin launches the first of his Five-Year-Plans in the USSR.



**1929** National Revolutionary Party is organized in Mexico.

SECTION  
1

# Americans Struggle with Postwar Issues

## MAIN IDEA

A desire for normality after the war and a fear of communism and “foreigners” led to postwar isolationism.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Americans today continue to debate political isolationism and immigration policy.

## Terms & Names

- nativism
- isolationism
- communism
- anarchists
- Sacco and Vanzetti
- quota system
- John L. Lewis

## One American's Story

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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the aftereffects of World War I.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Irving Fajans, a department store sales clerk in New York City, tried to persuade fellow workers to join the Department Store Employees Union. He described some of the techniques union organizers used.

### A PERSONAL VOICE IRVING FAJANS

“If you were caught distributing . . . union literature around the job you were instantly fired. We thought up ways of passing leaflets without the boss being able to pin anybody down. . . . We . . . swiped the key to the toilet paper dispensers in the washroom, took out the paper and substituted printed slips of just the right size! We got a lot of new members that way—it appealed to their sense of humor.”

—quoted in *The Jewish Americans*



▲ Irving Fajans organized department store workers in their efforts to gain better pay and working conditions during the 1920s.

During the war, workers' rights had been suppressed. In 1919, workers began to cry out for fair pay and better working conditions. Tensions arose between labor and management, and a rash of labor strikes broke out across the country. The public, however, was not supportive of striking workers. Many citizens longed to get back to normal, peaceful living—they felt resentful of anyone who caused unrest.

## Postwar Trends

World War I had left much of the American public exhausted. The debate over the League of Nations had deeply divided America. Further, the Progressive Era had caused numerous wrenching changes in American life. The economy, too, was in a difficult state of adjustment. Returning soldiers faced unemployment or took their old jobs away from women and minorities. Also, the cost of living had doubled. Farmers and factory workers suffered as wartime orders diminished.

Many Americans responded to the stressful conditions by becoming fearful of outsiders. A wave of **nativism**, or prejudice against foreign-born people, swept the nation. So, too, did a belief in **isolationism**, a policy of pulling away from involvement in world affairs.

## Fear of Communism

One perceived threat to American life was the spread of **communism**, an economic and political system based on a single-party government ruled by a dictatorship. In order to equalize wealth and power, Communists would put an end to private property, substituting government ownership of factories, railroads, and other businesses.

**THE RED SCARE** The panic in the United States began in 1919, after revolutionaries in Russia overthrew the czarist regime. Vladimir I. Lenin and his followers, or Bolsheviks (“the majority”), established a new Communist state. Waving their symbolic red flag, Communists, or “Reds,” cried out for a worldwide revolution that would abolish capitalism everywhere.

A Communist Party formed in the United States. Seventy-thousand radicals joined, including some from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). When several dozen bombs were mailed to government and business leaders, the public grew fearful that the Communists were taking over. U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer took action to combat this “Red Scare.”

### A PERSONAL VOICE A. MITCHELL PALMER

“The blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order . . . eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat . . . licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, . . . burning up the foundations of society.”

—“The Case Against the Reds”

**THE PALMER RAIDS** In August 1919, Palmer appointed J. Edgar Hoover as his special assistant. Palmer, Hoover, and their agents hunted down suspected Communists, socialists, and **anarchists**—people who opposed any form of government. They trampled people’s civil rights, invading private homes and offices and jailing suspects without allowing them legal counsel. Hundreds of foreign-born radicals were deported without trials.

But Palmer’s raids failed to turn up evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy—or even explosives. Many thought Palmer was just looking for a campaign issue to gain support for his presidential aspirations. Soon, the public decided that Palmer didn’t know what he was talking about. **A**

**SACCO AND VANZETTI** Although short-lived, the Red Scare fed people’s suspicions of foreigners and immigrants. This nativist attitude led to ruined reputations and wrecked lives. The two most famous victims of this attitude were Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a shoemaker and a fish peddler. Both were Italian immigrants and anarchists; both had evaded the draft during World War I.

In May 1920, **Sacco and Vanzetti** were arrested and charged with the robbery and murder of a factory paymaster and his guard in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Witnesses had said the criminals appeared to be Italians. The accused asserted their innocence and provided alibis; the evidence against them was circumstantial; and the presiding judge made prejudicial remarks. Nevertheless, the jury still found them guilty and sentenced them to death.

## ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

### ROOTS OF COMMUNISM

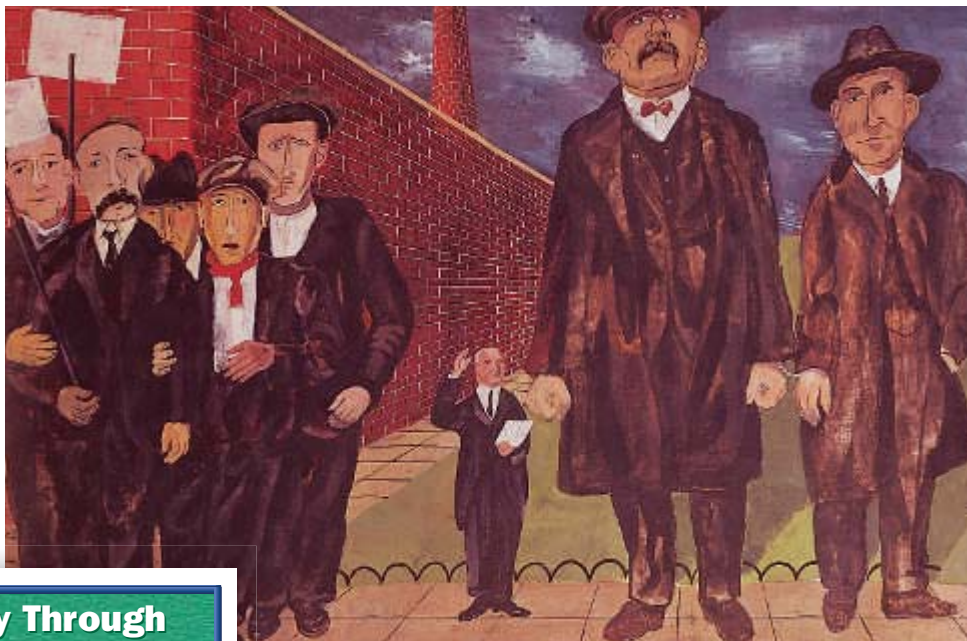
The first Communist government in Russia was based on the teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In 1848, these two had published *The Communist Manifesto*, which outlined a theory of class struggle. It said that a class that had economic power also had social and political power.

It also said that two classes, the “haves” and the “have-nots,” have struggled for control throughout history. During the Industrial Revolution, Communists believed, the struggle was between the capitalists, who owned capital—land, money, and machinery—and workers, who owned only their labor. Marx and Engels urged workers to seize political power and the means of production. Ultimately, they believed, laborers would overthrow capitalism in all industrialized nations.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Motives

**A** Why did Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer launch a series of raids against suspected Communists?



## History Through

### Art

#### SACCO AND VANZETTI (1932)

The painting by Ben Shahn shows (right to left) Nicola Sacco, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a miniature Governor Fuller, and a group of Sacco and Vanzetti supporters.

**Why do you think Shahn depicts Sacco and Vanzetti as so much larger than Governor Fuller?**

Protests rang out in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Many people thought Sacco and Vanzetti were mistreated because of their radical beliefs; others asserted it was because they were immigrants. The poet Edna St. Vincent Millay donated proceeds from her poem “Justice Denied in Massachusetts” to their defense. She personally appealed to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts for their lives. However, after reviewing the case and interviewing Vanzetti, the governor decided to let the executions go forward. The two men died in the electric chair on August 23, 1927. Before he was executed, Vanzetti made a statement.



#### VIDEO

The True Story of Sacco and Vanzetti

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#### A PERSONAL VOICE BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

“In all my life I have never stole, never killed, never spilled blood. . . . We were tried during a time . . . when there was hysteria of resentment and hate against the people of our principles, against the foreigner. . . . I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian and indeed I am an Italian. . . . If you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already.” **B**

—quoted in *The National Experience*

In 1961, new ballistics tests showed that the pistol found on Sacco was in fact the one used to murder the guard. However, there was no proof that Sacco had actually pulled the trigger.

## Limiting Immigration

During the wave of nativist sentiment, “Keep America for Americans” became the prevailing attitude. Anti-immigrant attitudes had been growing in the United States ever since the 1880s, when new immigrants began arriving from southern and eastern Europe. Many of these immigrants were willing to work for low wages in industries such as coal mining, steel production, and textiles. But after World War I, the need for unskilled labor in the United States decreased. Nativists believed that because the United States now had fewer unskilled jobs available, fewer immigrants should be let into the country. Nativist feelings were fueled by

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Events

**B** According to Vanzetti, what were the reasons for his imprisonment?

#### Background

On August 23, 1977, exactly 50 years after the executions, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis declared that Sacco and Vanzetti had not been given a fair trial.

the fact that some of the people involved in postwar labor disputes were immigrant anarchists and socialists, who many Americans believed were actually Communists. Racist ideas like those expressed by Madison Grant, an anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, fed people's attitudes.

### A PERSONAL VOICE MADISON GRANT

**“The result of unlimited immigration is showing plainly in the rapid decline in the birth rate of native Americans . . . [who] will not bring children into the world to compete in the labor market with the Slovak, the Italian, the Syrian and the Jew. The native American is too proud to mix socially with them.”**

—quoted in *United States History: Ideas in Conflict*

#### Vocabulary

**bigot:** a person who is intolerant of any creed, race, religion, or political belief that differs from his own

**THE KLAN RISES AGAIN** As a result of the Red Scare and anti-immigrant feelings, different groups of bigots used anti-communism as an excuse to harass any group unlike themselves. One such group was the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The KKK was devoted to “100 percent Americanism.” By 1924, KKK membership reached 4.5 million “white male persons, native-born gentile citizens.” The Klan also believed in keeping blacks “in their place,” destroying saloons, opposing unions, and driving Roman Catholics, Jews, and foreign-born people out of the country. KKK members were paid to recruit new members into their world of secret rituals and racial violence. Though the Klan dominated state politics in many states, by the end of the decade its criminal activity led to a decrease in power. **C**



#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Issues

**C** What were the main goals of the Ku Klux Klan at this time?

**THE QUOTA SYSTEM** From 1919 to 1921, the number of immigrants had grown almost 600 percent—from 141,000 to 805,000 people. Congress, in response to nativist pressure, decided to limit immigration from certain countries, namely those in southern and eastern Europe.

The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 set up a **quota system**. This system established the maximum number of people who could enter the United States from each foreign country. The goal of the quota system was to cut sharply European immigration to the United States. As the charts on page 622 show, the system achieved that goal.

As amended in 1924, the law limited immigration from each European nation to 2 percent of the number of its nationals living in the United States in 1890. This provision discriminated against people from eastern and southern Europe—mostly Roman Catholics and Jews—who had not started coming to the United States in large numbers until after 1890. Later, the base year was shifted to 1920. In 1927, the law reduced the total number of persons to be admitted in any one year to 150,000.

In addition, the law prohibited Japanese immigration, causing much ill will between the two nations. Japan—which had faithfully kept the Gentlemen's Agreement to limit emigration to the United States, negotiated by Theodore Roosevelt in 1907—expressed anger over the insult.

**▲** In 1925, nearly 60,000 Ku Klux Klan members marched along Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.

## U.S. Patterns of Immigration, 1921–1929

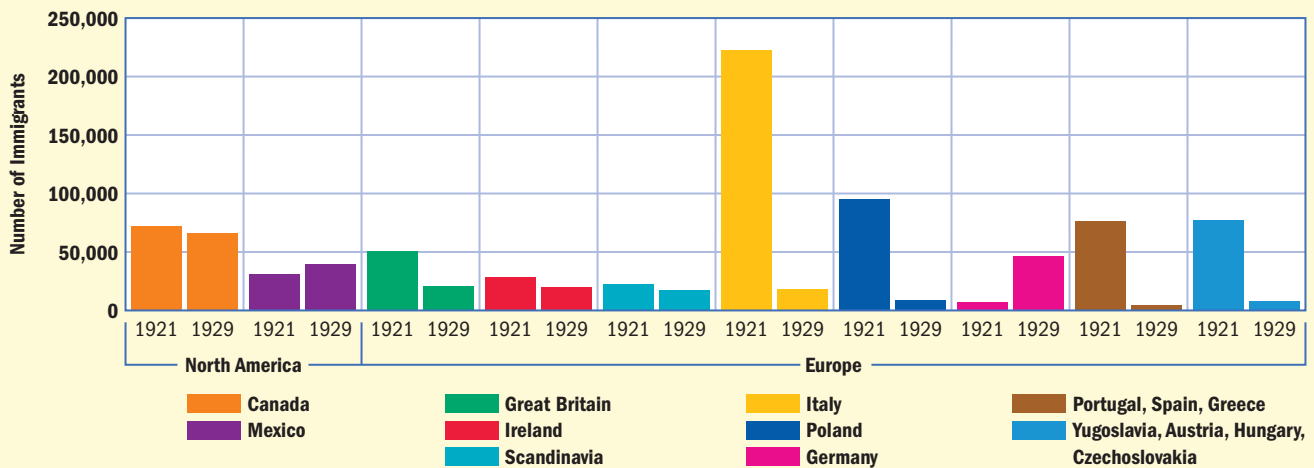
The map and graph below show the change in immigration patterns resulting from the Emergency Quota Act, among other factors. Hundreds of thousands of people were affected. For example, while the number of immigrants from Mexico rose from 30,758 in 1921 to 40,154 in 1929, the number of Italian immigrants dropped drastically from 222,260 in 1921 to 18,008 in 1929.



Ellis Island in Upper New York Harbor was the port of entry for most European immigrants.



### Immigration to the United States, 1921 and 1929



Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970

### SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

- Which geographical areas show the sharpest decline in immigration to the U.S. between 1921 and 1929? What are the only areas to register an increase in immigration to the U.S.?
- How did the quota system affect where immigrants came from?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R28.

**MAIN IDEA****Developing Historical Perspective**

**D** Why did Congress make changes in immigration laws during the 1920s?

The national origins quota system did not apply to immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, however. During the 1920s, about a million Canadians and almost 500,000 Mexicans crossed the nation's borders. **D**

## A Time of Labor Unrest

Another severe postwar conflict formed between labor and management. During the war, the government wouldn't allow workers to strike because nothing could interfere with the war effort. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) pledged to avoid strikes.

However, 1919 saw more than 3,000 strikes during which some 4 million workers walked off the job. Employers didn't want to give raises, nor did they want employees to join unions. Some employers, either out of a sincere belief or because they saw a way to keep wages down, attempted to show that union members were planning a revolution. Employers labeled striking workers as Communists. Newspapers screamed, "Plots to Establish Communism." Three strikes in particular grabbed public attention.

**THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE** The Boston police had not been given a raise since the beginning of World War I. Among their many grievances was that they had been denied the right to unionize. When representatives asked for a raise and were fired, the remaining policemen decided to strike. Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge called out the National Guard. He said, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time." The strike ended but members weren't allowed to return to work; new policemen were hired instead. People praised Coolidge for saving Boston, if not the nation, from communism and anarchy. In the 1920 election he became Warren G. Harding's vice-presidential running mate.

**THE STEEL MILL STRIKE** Workers in the steel mills wanted the right to negotiate for shorter working hours and a living wage. They also wanted union recognition and collective bargaining rights. In September 1919, the U.S. Steel Corporation refused to meet with union representatives. In response, over 300,000 workers walked off their jobs. Steel companies hired strikebreakers—employees who agreed to work during the strike—and used force. Striking workers were beaten by police, federal troops, and state militias. Then the companies instituted a propaganda campaign, linking the strikers to Communists. In October 1919, negotiations between labor and management produced a deadlock. President Woodrow Wilson made a written plea to the combative "negotiators."

### A PERSONAL VOICE WOODROW WILSON

"At a time when the nations of the world are endeavoring to find a way of avoiding international war, are we to confess that there is no method to be found for carrying on industry except . . . the very method of war? . . . Are our industrial leaders and our industrial workers to live together without faith in each other?"

—quoted in *Labor in Crisis*

The steel strike ended in January 1920. In 1923, a report on the harsh working conditions in steel mills shocked the public. The steel companies agreed to an eight-hour day, but the steelworkers remained without a union. **E**



▲ Strikers included working women tailors who fought for improved working conditions.

**MAIN IDEA****Comparing**

**E** Compare the results of the Boston police strike and the steel strike.



**JOHN LLEWELLYN LEWIS**  
1880–1969

John L. Lewis was born in the little mining town of Lucas, Iowa. His family had traditionally been concerned with labor rights and benefits.

Lewis grew up with a fierce determination to fight for what he believed companies owed their employees: decent working conditions and a fair salary. As he said years later,

“I have pleaded your case not in the tones of a feeble mendicant [beggar] asking alms but in the thundering voice of the captain of a mighty host, demanding the rights to which free men are entitled.”

**THE COAL MINERS’ STRIKE** Unionism was more successful in America’s coalfields. In 1919, the United Mine Workers of America, organized since 1890, got a new leader—**John L. Lewis**. In protest of low wages and long workdays, Lewis called his union’s members out on strike on November 1, 1919. Attorney General Palmer obtained a court order sending the miners back to work. Lewis then declared it over, but he quietly gave the word for it to continue. In defiance of the court order, the mines stayed closed another month. Then President Wilson appointed an arbitrator, or judge, to put an end to the dispute. The coal miners received a 27 percent wage increase, and John L. Lewis became a national hero. The miners, however, did not achieve a shorter workday and a five-day workweek until the 1930s.

**LABOR MOVEMENT LOSES APPEAL** In spite of limited gains, the 1920s hurt the labor movement badly. Over the decade, union membership dropped from more than 5 million to around 3.5 million. Membership declined for several reasons:

- much of the work force consisted of immigrants willing to work in poor conditions,
- since immigrants spoke a multitude of languages, unions had difficulty organizing them,
- farmers who had migrated to cities to find factory jobs were used to relying on themselves, and
- most unions excluded African Americans.

By 1929, about 82,000 African Americans—or less than 1 percent of their population—held union memberships. By contrast, just over 3 percent of all whites were union members. However, African Americans joined some unions like the mine workers’, longshoremen’s, and railroad porters’

unions. In 1925, A. Philip Randolph founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to help African Americans gain a fair wage.

While America’s attitude toward unions was changing, so, too, was its faith in the presidency.



## ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- nativism
- communism
- Sacco and Vanzetti
- John L. Lewis
- isolationism
- anarchists
- quota system

### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

In a cause-and-effect chart like the one shown, list examples of the aftereffects of World War I.

Event	Result
1. _____	→ _____
2. _____	→ _____

What event do you think was the most significant? Explain your choice.

### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. EVALUATING

Do you think Americans were justified in their fear of radicals and foreigners in the decade following World War I? Explain your answer.

##### Think About:

- the goals of the leaders of the Russian Revolution
- the challenges facing the United States

#### 4. ANALYZING ISSUES

In the various fights between management and union members, what did each side believe?

#### 5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

What do you think the Sacco and Vanzetti case shows about America in the 1920s?

# The Harding Presidency

## MAIN IDEA

The Harding administration appealed to America's desire for calm and peace after the war, but resulted in scandal.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The government must guard against scandal and corruption to merit public trust.

## Terms & Names

- Warren G. Harding
- Charles Evans Hughes
- Fordney-McCumber Tariff
- Ohio gang
- Teapot Dome scandal
- Albert B. Fall

## One American's Story

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**TAKING NOTES**

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the causes and effects of the major events discussed in the section.

**Warren G. Harding** was described as a good-natured man who “looked like a president ought to look.” When the silver-haired Ohio senator assumed the presidency in 1921, the public yearned for what Harding described as “normalcy,” or the simpler days before the Progressive Era and the Great War. His words of peace and calm comforted the healing nation.

### A PERSONAL VOICE WARREN G. HARDING

“America’s present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; . . . not submergence in internationality, but sustainment in triumphant nationality.”

—quoted in *The Rise of Warren Gamaliel Harding*

Despite Harding’s soothing speeches, his judgment turned out to be poor. The discord among the major world powers and the conduct within his own cabinet would test his politics and his character.



▲ Warren G. Harding, shown here in 1923, looked presidential, but he is considered one of the least successful presidents.

## Harding Struggles for Peace

After World War I, problems surfaced relating to arms control, war debts, and the reconstruction of war-torn countries. In 1921, President Harding invited several major powers to the Washington Naval Conference. Russia was left out because of its Communist government. At the conference, Secretary of State **Charles Evans Hughes** urged that no more warships be built for ten years. He suggested that the five major naval powers—the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy—scrap many of their battleships, cruisers, and aircraft carriers.

Conference delegates cheered, wept, and threw their hats into the air. For the first time in history, powerful nations agreed to disarm. Later, in 1928, fifteen



▲ In 1923, a German man papers his walls with money made nearly worthless by high inflation following World War I.

countries signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which renounced war as a national policy. However, the pact was futile, as it provided no means of enforcement.

**HIGH TARIFFS AND REPARATIONS** New conflicts arose when it came time for Britain and France to pay back the \$10 billion they had borrowed from America. They could do this in two ways: by selling goods to the United States or by collecting reparations from Germany. However, in 1922, America adopted the **Fordney-McCumber Tariff**, which raised taxes on some U.S. imports to 60 percent—the highest level ever. The tax protected U.S. businesses—especially in the chemical and metals industries—from foreign competition, but made it impossible for Britain and France to sell enough goods in the U.S. to repay debts. **A**

The two countries looked to Germany, which was experiencing terrible inflation. When Germany defaulted on (failed to make) payment, French troops marched in. To avoid another war, American banker Charles G. Dawes was sent to negotiate loans. Through what came to be known as the Dawes Plan, American investors loaned

Germany \$2.5 billion to pay back Britain and France with annual payments on a fixed scale. Those countries then paid the United States. Thus, the United States arranged to be repaid with its own money.

The solution caused resentment all around. Britain and France considered the United States a miser for not paying a fair share of the costs of World War I. Further, the U.S. had benefited from the defeat of Germany, while Europeans had paid for the victory with millions of lives. At the same time, the United States considered Britain and France financially irresponsible.

## Scandal Hits Harding's Administration

On domestic issues, Harding favored a limited role for government in business affairs and in social reform. Still, he did set up the Bureau of the Budget to help run the government more efficiently, and he urged U.S. Steel to abandon the 12-hour day.

**HARDING'S CABINET** Harding appointed Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state. Hughes later went on to become chief justice of the Supreme Court. The president made Herbert Hoover the secretary of commerce. Hoover had done a masterful job of handling food distribution and refugee problems during World War I. Andrew Mellon, one of the country's wealthiest men, became secretary of the treasury and set about drastically cutting taxes and reducing the national debt. However, the cabinet also included the so-called **Ohio gang**, the president's poker-playing cronies, who would soon cause a great deal of embarrassment. **B**

**SCANDAL PLAGUES HARDING** The president's main problem was that he didn't understand many of the issues. He admitted as much to a secretary.

### ★ A PERSONAL VOICE WARREN G. HARDING

“John, I can't make a . . . thing out of this tax problem. I listen to one side and they seem right, and then . . . I talk to the other side and they seem just as right. . . . I know somewhere there is an economist who knows the truth, but I don't know where to find him and haven't the sense to know him and trust him when I find him. . . . What a job!”

—quoted in *Only Yesterday*

### Vocabulary

#### reparations:

payments demanded from a defeated enemy

### MAIN IDEA

### Summarizing

**A** What were the reasons European countries were not paying their war debts?

### MAIN IDEA

### Evaluating Leadership

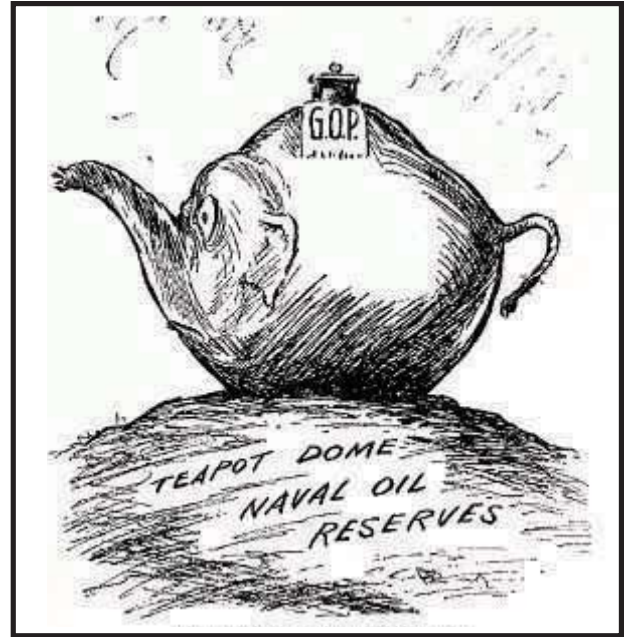
**B** What do Harding's appointments indicate about his judgment?

Harding's administration began to unravel as his corrupt friends used their offices to become wealthy through graft. Charles R. Forbes, the head of the Veterans Bureau, was caught illegally selling government and hospital supplies to private companies. Colonel Thomas W. Miller, the head of the Office of Alien Property, was caught taking a bribe.

**THE TEAPOT DOME SCANDAL** The most spectacular example of corruption was the **Teapot Dome scandal**. The government had set aside oil-rich public lands at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, for use by the U.S. Navy. Secretary of the Interior **Albert B. Fall**, a close friend of various oil executives, managed to get the oil reserves transferred from the navy to the Interior Department. Then, Fall secretly leased the land to two private oil companies, including Henry Sinclair's Mammoth Oil Company at Teapot Dome. Although Fall claimed that these contracts were in the government's interest, he suddenly received more than \$400,000 in "loans, bonds, and cash." He was later found guilty of bribery and became the first American to be convicted of a felony while holding a cabinet post. **C**

In the summer of 1923, Harding declared, "I have no trouble with my enemies. . . . But my . . . friends, they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights!" Shortly thereafter, on August 2, 1923, he died suddenly, probably from a heart attack or stroke.

Americans sincerely mourned their good-natured president. The crimes of the Harding administration were coming to light just as Vice-President Calvin Coolidge assumed the presidency. Coolidge, a respected man of integrity, helped to restore people's faith in their government and in the Republican Party. The next year, Coolidge was elected president.



▲ The elephant, shaped like a teapot here, is the symbol of the Republican Party (Grand Old Party). The cartoonist implies that Republicans were responsible for the Teapot Dome scandal.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Making Inferences**

**C** How did the scandals of the Harding administration hurt the country economically?

**SECTION 2**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Warren G. Harding
- Fordney-McCumber Tariff
- Teapot Dome scandal
- Charles Evans Hughes
- Ohio gang
- Albert B. Fall

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

List five significant events from this section and their effects, using a table like the one shown.

Event	Effects
1.	
2.	

Which event benefited the country the most? Why?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. MAKING INFERENCES**

How do you think the Harding administration viewed the role of America in world affairs? Support your response with examples from the text.

**4. EVALUATING**

How successful was Harding in fulfilling his campaign pledge of returning the country to "normalcy"? Support your opinion with specific examples.

**5. ANALYZING EFFECTS**

How do you think the postwar feelings in America influenced the election of 1920? **Think About:**

- the desire for normalcy
- Harding's image
- the issues Americans wanted to focus on

# The Business of America

## MAIN IDEA

Consumer goods fueled the business boom of the 1920s as America's standard of living soared.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Business, technological, and social developments of the 1920s launched the era of modern consumerism.

## Terms & Names

- Calvin Coolidge
- installment plan
- urban sprawl

## One American's Story



The Model A was a more luxurious car than the Model T. It was introduced at \$495. Model T's were selling for \$290.

In 1927, the last Model T Ford—number 15,077,033—rolled off the assembly line. On December 2, some 1 million New Yorkers mobbed show rooms to view the new Model A. One striking difference between the two models was that customers could order the Model A in such colors as “Arabian Sand” and “Niagara Blue”; the old Model T had come only in black. A Ford spokesman explained some additional advantages of the new automobile.

### A PERSONAL VOICE

“Good-looking as that car is, its performance is better than its appearance. We don't brag about it, but it has done seventy-one miles an hour. It will ride along a railroad track without bouncing. . . . It's the smoothest thing you ever rode in.”

—a Ford salesman quoted in *Flappers, Bootleggers, “Typhoid Mary,” and the Bomb*

The automobile became the backbone of the American economy in the 1920s (and remained such until the 1970s). It profoundly altered the American landscape and American society, but it was only one of several factors in the country's business boom of the 1920s.



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on technology and business changes in the 1920s.

## American Industries Flourish

The new president, **Calvin Coolidge**, fit into the pro-business spirit of the 1920s very well. It was he who said, “the chief business of the American people is business. . . . The man who builds a factory builds a temple—the man who works there worships there.” Both Coolidge and his Republican successor, Herbert Hoover, favored government policies that would keep taxes down and business profits up, and give businesses more available credit in order to expand. Their goal was to keep government interference in business to a minimum and to allow private enterprise to flourish. For most of the 1920s, this approach seemed to work. Coolidge's administration continued to place high tariffs on foreign imports,

which helped American manufacturers. Reducing income taxes meant that people had more money in their pockets. Wages were rising because of new technology and so was productivity.

**THE IMPACT OF THE AUTOMOBILE** The automobile literally changed the American landscape. Its most visible effect was the construction of paved roads suitable for driving in all weather. One such road was the legendary Route 66, which provided a route for people trekking west from Chicago to California. Many, however, settled in towns along the route. In addition to the changing landscape, architectural styles also changed, as new houses typically came equipped with a garage or carport and a driveway—and a smaller lawn as a result. The automobile also launched the rapid construction of gasoline stations, repair shops, public garages, motels, tourist camps, and shopping centers. The first automatic traffic signals began blinking in Detroit in the early 1920s. The Holland Tunnel, the first underwater tunnel designed specifically for motor vehicles, opened in 1927 to connect New York City and Jersey City, New Jersey. The Woodbridge Cloverleaf, the first cloverleaf intersection, was built in New Jersey in 1929. **A**

Gas for cars was cheap and plentiful. Gas stations sprung up on Route 66 charging 25¢ per gallon.



**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Effects**

**A** What was the impact of the automobile?

The automobile liberated the isolated rural family, who could now travel to the city for shopping and entertainment. It also gave families the opportunity to vacation in new and faraway places. It allowed both women and young people to become more independent through increased mobility. It allowed workers to live



Roadside stands offering food, drink, and other items appeared in increasing numbers.

**Route 66**

[hmsocialstudies.com](http://hmsocialstudies.com) INTERACTIVE MAP

- Commissioned on the cusp of the Depression, Route 66 symbolized the road to opportunity. Also known as “the Mother Road,” it became the subject of countless songs, films, books, and legends.
- 1916** Federal-Aid Road Act sets up highway program with the federal government paying half the cost of states’ highway construction.
- 1921** Highway construction in 11 western states begins under administration of Bureau of Public Roads.
- 1926** U.S. Highway 66, which would run 2,448 miles from Chicago to Los Angeles, California, is established.

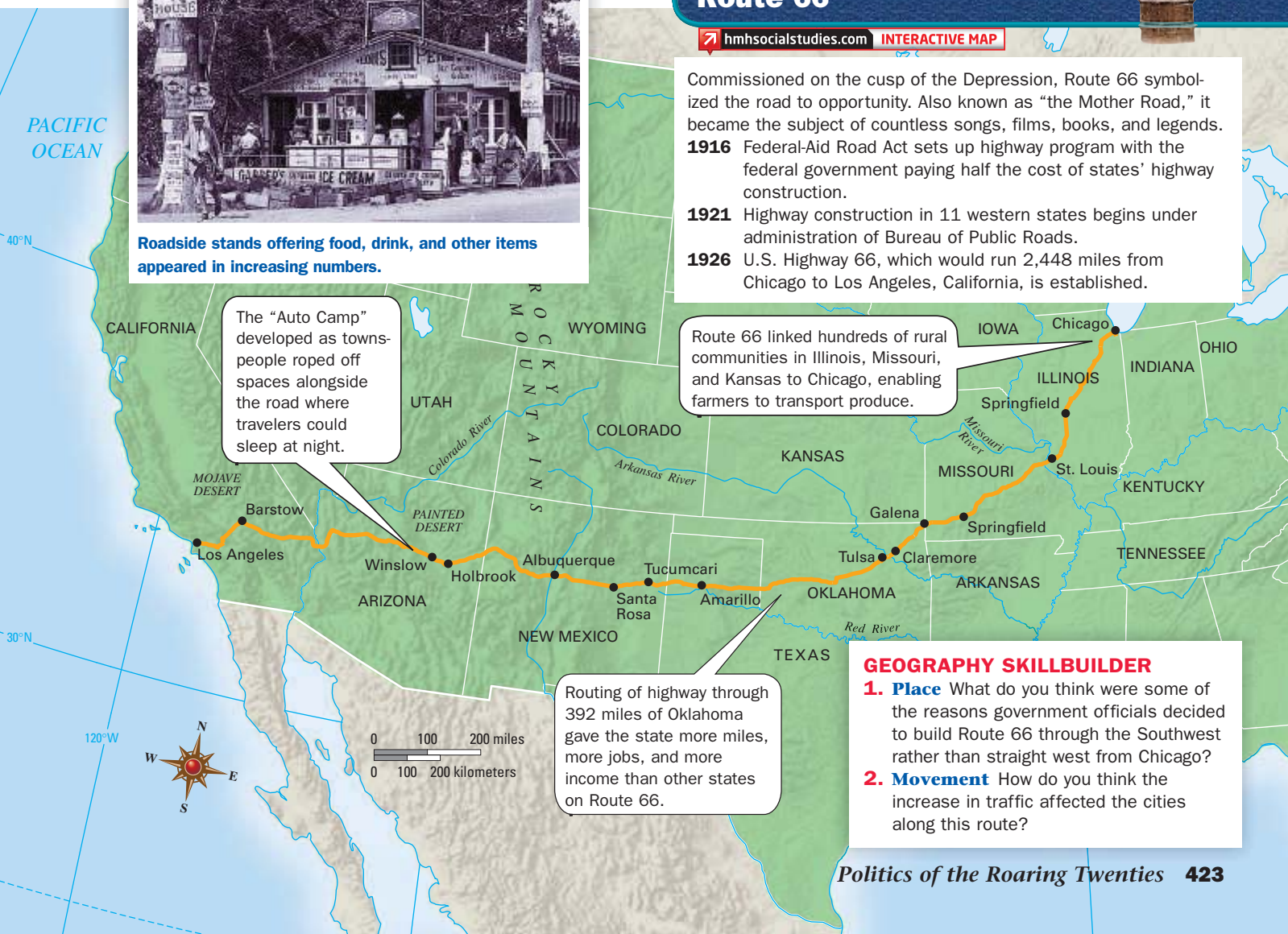
The “Auto Camp” developed as townspeople roped off spaces alongside the road where travelers could sleep at night.

Route 66 linked hundreds of rural communities in Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas to Chicago, enabling farmers to transport produce.

Routing of highway through 392 miles of Oklahoma gave the state more miles, more jobs, and more income than other states on Route 66.

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

- 1. Place** What do you think were some of the reasons government officials decided to build Route 66 through the Southwest rather than straight west from Chicago?
- 2. Movement** How do you think the increase in traffic affected the cities along this route?



## KEY PLAYER



**CALVIN COOLIDGE**  
1872–1933

Stepping into office in 1923, the tightlipped Vermonter was respected for his solemnity and wisdom. Coolidge supported American business and favored what he called “a constructive economy.”

Known for his strength of character, Coolidge forced the resignation of Attorney General Daugherty and other high officials who had created scandal in office.

Shortly after Coolidge was elected, his son died of blood poisoning. Coolidge later wrote, “The power and the glory of the presidency went with him.” When he decided not to seek reelection in 1928, Coolidge stumped the nation. Keeping in character, he said, “Goodby, I have had a very enjoyable time in Washington.”

miles from their jobs, resulting in **urban sprawl** as cities spread in all directions. The automobile industry also provided an economic base for such cities as Akron in Ohio, and Detroit, Dearborn, Flint, and Pontiac in Michigan. The industry drew people to such oil-producing states as California and Texas. The automobile even became a status symbol—both for individual families and to the rest of the world. In their work *Middletown*, the social scientists Robert and Helen Lynd noted one woman’s comment: “I’ll go without food before I’ll see us give up the car.”

The auto industry symbolized the success of the free enterprise system and the Coolidge era. Nowhere else in the world could people with little money own their own automobile. By the late 1920s, around 80 percent of all registered motor vehicles in the world were in the United States—about one automobile for every five people. The humorist Will Rogers remarked to Henry Ford, “It will take a hundred years to tell whether you helped us or hurt us, but you certainly didn’t leave us where you found us.” **B**

**THE YOUNG AIRPLANE INDUSTRY** Automobiles weren’t the only form of transportation taking off. The airplane industry began as a mail carrying service for the U.S. Post Office. Although the first flight in 1918 was a disaster, a number of successful flights soon established the airplane as a peacetime means of transportation. With the development of weather forecasting, planes began carrying radios and navigational instruments. Henry Ford made a trimotor airplane in 1926. Transatlantic flights by Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart helped to promote cargo and commercial airlines. In 1927, the Lockheed Company produced a single-engine plane, the Vega. It was one of the most popular transport airplanes of the late 1920s. Founded in 1927, Pan American Airways inaugurated the first transatlantic passenger flights.

**Vocabulary**  
**status symbol:**  
a possession believed to enhance the owner’s social standing

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

**B** How did the widespread use of the automobile affect the environment and the lives of Americans?

**Flight attendants train for an early United Airlines flight. When commercial airline flights began, all flight attendants were female and white. ▶**



## America's Standard of Living Soars

The years from 1920 to 1929 were prosperous ones for the United States. Americans owned around 40 percent of the world's wealth, and that wealth changed the way most Americans lived. The average annual income rose more than 35 percent during the period—from \$522 to \$705. People found it easy to spend all that extra income and then some.

**ELECTRICAL CONVENIENCES** Gasoline powered much of the economic boom of the 1920s, but the use of electricity also transformed the nation. American factories used electricity to run their machines. Also, the development of an alternating electrical current made it possible to distribute electric power efficiently over longer distances. Now electricity was no longer restricted to central cities but could be transmitted to suburbs. The number of electrified households grew, although most farms still lacked power.

By the end of the 1920s, more and more homes had electric irons, while well-to-do families used electric refrigerators, cooking ranges, and toasters. Eunice Fuller Barnard listed prices for electrical appliances in a 1928 magazine article:



Goods and Prices, 1900 and 1928			
1900		1928	
wringer and washboard	\$ 5	washing machine	\$150
brushes and brooms	\$ 5	vacuum cleaner	\$ 50
sewing machine (mechanical)	\$25	sewing machine (electric)	\$ 60

▲ American consumers in the 1920s could purchase the latest household electrical appliances, such as a refrigerator, for as little as a dollar down and a dollar a week.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Forming Generalizations

**C** How did the use of electricity affect Americans' lifestyle?

These electrical appliances made the lives of housewives easier, freed them for other community and leisure activities, and coincided with a growing trend of women working outside the home. **C**

**THE DAWN OF MODERN ADVERTISING** With new goods flooding the market, advertising agencies no longer just informed the public about products and prices. Now they hired psychologists to study how to appeal to people's desire for youthfulness, beauty, health, and wealth. Results were impressive. The slogan "Say it with flowers" doubled florists' business between 1912 and 1924. "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" lured weight-conscious Americans to cigarettes and away from candy. Brand names became familiar from coast to coast, and luxury items now seemed like necessities.

One of those "necessities" was mouthwash. A 1923 Listerine advertisement aimed to convince readers that without Listerine a person ran the risk of having halitosis—bad breath—and that the results could be a disaster.

#### A PERSONAL VOICE

"She was a beautiful girl and talented too. She had the advantages of education and better clothes than most girls of her set. She possessed that culture and poise that travel brings. Yet in the one pursuit that stands foremost in the mind of every girl and woman—marriage—she was a failure."

—Listerine Advertisement

Businesspeople applied the power of advertising to other areas of American life. Across the land, they met for lunch with fellow members of such service organizations as Rotary, Kiwanis, and the Lions. As one observer noted, they sang

## ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

### THE NEEDY

While income rose for many Americans in the 1920s, it did not rise for everyone. Industries such as textile and steel manufacturing made very little profit. Mining and farming actually suffered losses. Farmers were deeply in debt because they had borrowed money to buy land and machinery so that they could produce more crops during World War I. When European agriculture bounced back after the war, the demand for U.S. crops fell, as did prices. Before long there were U.S. farm surpluses.

Many American farmers could not make their loan and mortgage payments. They lost their purchasing power, their equipment, and their farms. As one South Dakota state senator remarked, "There's a saying: 'Depressions are farm led and farm fed.'"

songs, raised money for charities, and boosted the image of the businessman "as a builder, a doer of great things, yes, and a dreamer whose imagination was ever seeking out new ways of serving humanity." Many Americans idolized business during these prosperous times.

## A Superficial Prosperity

During the 1920s, most Americans believed prosperity would go on forever—the average factory worker was producing 50 percent more at the end of the decade than at its start. Hadn't national income grown from \$64 billion in 1921 to \$87 billion in 1929? Weren't most major corporations making fortunes? Wasn't the stock market reaching new heights?

**PRODUCING GREAT QUANTITIES OF GOODS** As productivity increased, businesses expanded. There were numerous mergers of companies that manufactured automobiles, steel, and electrical equipment, as well as mergers of companies that provided public utilities. Chain stores sprouted, selling groceries, drugs, shoes, and clothes. Five-and-dime stores like Woolworth's also spread rapidly. Congress passed a law that allowed national banks to branch within cities of their main office. But as the number of businesses grew, so did the income gap between workers and managers. There were a number of other clouds in the blue sky of prosperity. The iron and railroad industries, among others, weren't very prosperous, and farms nation-

wide suffered losses—with new machinery, they were producing more food than was needed and this drove down food prices.

**BUYING GOODS ON CREDIT** In addition to advertising, industry provided another solution to the problem of luring consumers to purchase the mountain of goods produced each year: easy credit, or "a dollar down and a dollar forever." The **installment plan**, as it was then called, enabled people to buy goods over

## Analyzing Political Cartoons

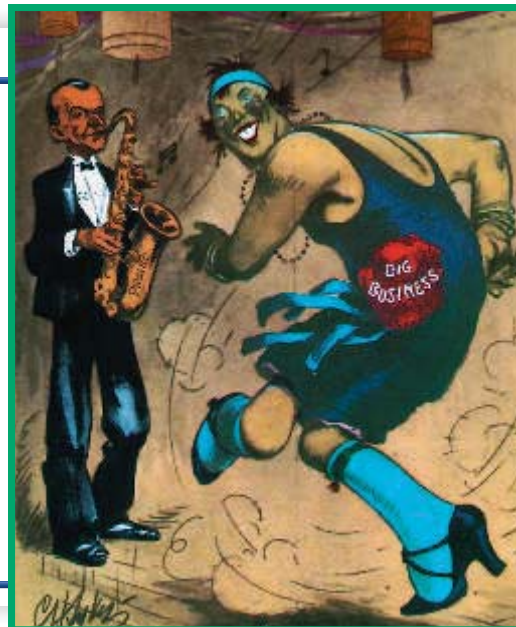
### "YES, SIR, HE'S MY BABY"

This cartoon depicts Calvin Coolidge playing a saxophone labeled "Praise" while a woman representing "Big Business" dances up a storm.

#### SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. The dancing woman is a 1920s "flapper"—independent, confident, and assertive. In what ways was big business in the 1920s comparable to the flappers?
2. What do you think the cartoonist suggests about Coolidge's relationship with big business?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



**MAIN IDEA****Analyzing Issues**

**D** What were the main advantage and disadvantage of buying on credit?

an extended period, without having to put down much money at the time of purchase. Banks provided the money at low interest rates. Advertisers pushed the “installment plan” idea with such slogans as “You furnish the girl, we’ll furnish the home” and “Enjoy while you pay.”

Some economists and business owners worried that installment buying might be getting out of hand and that it was really a sign of fundamental weaknesses behind a superficial economic prosperity. One business owner even wrote to President Coolidge and related a conversation he had overheard on a train. **D**

**A PERSONAL VOICE**

“Have you an automobile yet?”  
 “No, I talked it over with John and he felt we could not afford one.”  
 “Mr. Budge who lives in your town has one and they are not as well off as you are.”  
 “Yes, I know. Their second installment came due, and they had no money to pay it.”  
 “What did they do? Lose the car?”  
 “No, they got the money and paid the installment.”  
 “How did they get the money?”  
 “They sold the cook-stove.”  
 “How could they get along without a cook-stove?”  
 “They didn’t. They bought another on the installment plan.”

—a business owner quoted in *In the Time of Silent Cal*

**MAIN IDEA****Predicting Effects**

**E** How do you think the changes in spending will affect the economy?

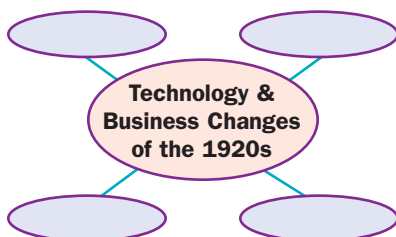
Still, most Americans focused their attention on the present, with little concern for the future. What could possibly go wrong with the nation’s economy? The decade of the 1920s had brought about many technological and economic changes. And yet the Coolidge era was built on paradox—the president stood for economy and a frugal way of life, but he was favored by a public who had thrown all care to the wind. Life definitely seemed easier and more enjoyable for hundreds of thousands of Americans. From the look of things, there was little warning of what was to come. **E**

**SECTION 3****ASSESSMENT**

- 1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Calvin Coolidge
  - urban sprawl
  - installment plan

**MAIN IDEA**

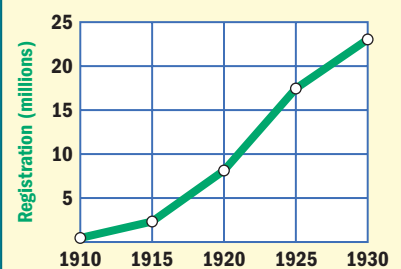
- 2. TAKING NOTES**  
 Re-create the web below on your paper and fill it in with events that illustrate the central idea.



Choose one event from the web and explain its significance in the 1920s.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

- 3. EVALUATING**  
 Do you agree with President Coolidge’s statement “The man who builds a factory builds a temple—the man who works there worships there”? Explain your answer. **Think About:**
- the goals of business and of religion
  - the American idolization of business
  - the difference between workers and management

**Automobile Registration 1910–1930**

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

- 4. INTERPRETING GRAPHS**  
 What trend does the graph show between 1920 and 1930? What were some of the reasons for this trend?

# Economic Opportunity

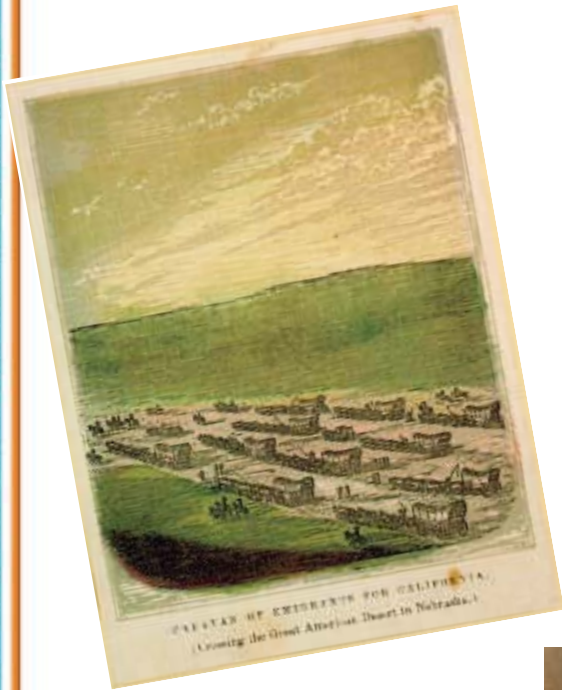
The courage to take risks, the confidence to rely on one's self, the strength to stand in the face of despair, and the resourcefulness to make the most of opportunity—these are all qualities often considered distinctly American. Freedom requires individuals to discover or create opportunities for themselves. However, the government has also played a key role in distributing and creating economic opportunities.

## 1830s–1860s

### ◀ HOMESTEADING

Even before 1763, Americans looked toward the untamed west in search of greater wealth and freedom. In the 1830s, the Mormons went west to escape religious as well as economic persecution. The government helped to expand economic opportunities for whites by first clearing the land of its native inhabitants, relocating them to reservations or killing them.

As the nation claimed ownership of the land, it also gave it away. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided free of charge 160 acres of public land to anyone 21 years of age or older or the head of a family who had inhabited the land for five years and had improved it. This provided Americans a chance to be independent and self-sufficient if they would work hard. From 1862 until 1900, between 400,000 and 600,000 families were provided homesteads.



## 1900s

### IMMIGRATION ▶

While many people have come to the U.S. seeking political and religious freedom, economic opportunity has also been a key reason for immigration. In 1905, for instance, almost half a million people from southern and eastern Europe migrated to the United States in search of economic freedom and opportunity, as well as to escape religious persecution. Many found work at menial jobs for low pay but still were able to save enough money to eventually open their own businesses.



# 1960s–1970s

## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ►

In the 1960s and 1970s, groups pressed for changes in the law to remove barriers to economic opportunity. Laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were passed to prevent discrimination against women and racial and ethnic minorities in order to provide equity in educational and business opportunities.

As well, affirmative action policies were designed to remedy effects of past discrimination. The term affirmative action—first used by Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965—includes efforts to give work and educational opportunities to members of historically disadvantaged groups. Some have labeled affirmative action “reverse discrimination,” while others view it as a means to counterbalance continued discrimination that the law has been unable to prevent.



# 2000s

## ▼ COMPUTERS AND INTERNET STARTUPS

In recent years, many of the brightest college students have chosen to study computer science in hopes of landing a high-paying job. Alternatively, independent-minded computer experts might become entrepreneurs—people who start and run their own businesses. For an initial period of several months to several years, an entrepreneur may work upwards of 70 or 80 hours each week, yet the business will have no income.

Since the late 1990s, both groups have increasingly looked to the Internet for opportunities. Entrepreneurs seek money-making opportunities as they develop ways to expand the capabilities of this developing technology. In turn, the growth of Internet-based businesses creates jobs for people who have specialized computer skills.



### THINKING CRITICALLY

#### CONNECT TO HISTORY

- 1. Identifying Problems** What were some obstacles to achieving equal opportunity in each of the cases described on these two pages? Choose one of the time periods discussed and write a paragraph describing how these obstacles were overcome.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R5.

#### CONNECT TO TODAY

- 2. Evaluating a Business Opportunity** What economic opportunities available to you seem most promising? Discuss with your family and teachers or guidance counselor what jobs and business opportunities they think you might be suited for, then choose one and investigate it. Summarize your research by making a chart listing the pros and cons of the opportunity.



[hmsocialstudies.com](http://hmsocialstudies.com) RESEARCH WEB LINKS



**TERMS & NAMES**

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the decade following World War I.

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. communism               | 7. isolationism        |
| 2. Sacco and Vanzetti      | 8. quota system        |
| 3. Calvin Coolidge         | 9. Teapot Dome scandal |
| 4. John L. Lewis           | 10. installment plan   |
| 5. Warren G. Harding       |                        |
| 6. Fordney-McCumber Tariff |                        |

**MAIN IDEAS**

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

**Americans Struggle with Postwar Issues**

(pages 412–418)

1. Explain how the Red Scare, the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan reflected concerns held by many Americans.
2. Describe the primary goal of the immigration quota system established in 1921.

**The Harding Presidency**

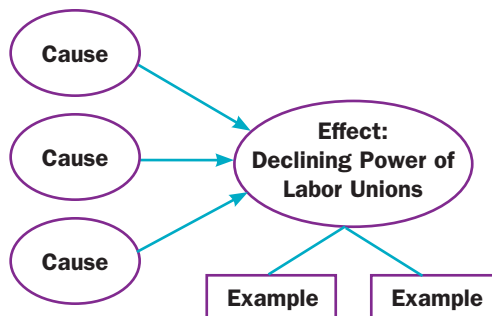
- (pages 419–421)
3. What did Harding want to do to return America to “normalcy”?
  4. Summarize the Teapot Dome scandal.

**The Business of America** (pages 422–427)

5. How did changes in technology in the 1920s influence American life?
6. What evidence suggests that the prosperity of the 1920s was not on a firm foundation?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Create a cause-and-effect web, similar to the one shown, in which you give several causes for the declining power of labor unions in the 1920s and give examples of the unions’ decline.



2. **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** Calvin Coolidge said, “After all, the chief business of the American people is business.” What events and trends of the 1920s support Coolidge’s statement?
3. **INTERPRETING MAPS** Look at the path of Route 66 in the map on page 423. What factors may have influenced where and why the highway was built? Explain your answer.

**VISUAL SUMMARY POLITICS OF THE ROARING TWENTIES**

**LIFE IN POSTWAR AMERICA**

<p style="text-align: center; background-color: #0056b3; color: white; padding: 5px;"><b>ECONOMIC</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a superficial prosperity ensued</li> <li>increased production of consumer goods</li> <li>buying on credit</li> <li>increased standard of living and consumer spending</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center; background-color: #e67e22; color: white; padding: 5px;"><b>GOVERNMENTAL</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>election of pro-business presidents Harding and Coolidge</li> <li>isolationist philosophy</li> <li>immigration quotas</li> <li>tariffs on imports to discourage foreign business competition</li> <li>corruption in Harding’s administration</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center; background-color: #27ae60; color: white; padding: 5px;"><b>SOCIETAL/SOCIAL</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a perceived threat of communism</li> <li>fear and distrust of immigrants</li> <li>fear of the labor movement and faith in business</li> <li>strikes and worker unrest</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center; background-color: #0072bc; color: white; padding: 5px;"><b>TECHNOLOGY/INDUSTRY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>growth of automobile industry</li> <li>introduction of airlines as transportation</li> <li>widespread use of electricity</li> <li>advertising gains popularity</li> </ul>

## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of United States history to answer question 1.



1. The cartoon criticizes President Coolidge by suggesting that —
  - A Coolidge's policies benefited wealthy business owners.
  - B Coolidge was known as "Silent Cal" because he had no economic policy.
  - C Coolidge provided cash assistance to struggling industries.
  - D Coolidge had supported the Immigration Act.

2. After World War I ended, workers in many industries went on strike for wage increases and better working conditions. But in the decade that followed, public support of labor unions declined, as did union membership. Which of the following helps to explain this decline in labor union popularity?
  - F Wages and working conditions in most industries had already improved before the mid-1920s.
  - G Most labor unions actively opposed isolationist policies.
  - H Most labor unions had large immigrant memberships.
  - J Few labor unions would allow unskilled veterans returning from the war to join.
3. Which of the following beliefs did not result from America's desire for "normalcy" after World War I?
  - A isolationism
  - B conservatism
  - C nativism
  - D anarchism

[hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com) TEST PRACTICE

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

### INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Suppose you are a reporter covering the Boston police strike. Write a column for your newspaper that explains why people acted as they did. Also describe the mood and tension created by the strike. Invent realistic quotations from workers, union members, strikebreakers, and management.

### FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine it is the 1920s. Write a persuasive letter to your member of Congress in support of or in opposition to a quota system for controlling immigration. In the first part of your letter, present the evidence that supports your position on immigration. In the second half of your letter, provide a counterargument to address the concerns of the opposing viewpoint.

### MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY



Visit the links for Chapter Assessment to research incomes, prices, employment levels, divorce rates, or other statistics that show how people were affected by the events of the 1920s. Use your findings to create a graph.

- Decide the main purpose of your graph. What statistics will you show?
- Choose the type of graph that would best show your data. Consider using a line graph, bar graph, or circle graph.
- Clearly label the parts of the graph.
- Share your graph with the class.

[hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com) INTERNET ACTIVITY

# Henry Ford

**Henry Ford was a brilliant inventor and industrialist and founder of the Ford Motor Company.** He helped bring about a time of rapid growth and progress that forever changed how people worked and lived. Henry Ford grew up on his family's farm near Dearborn, Michigan. As a child, he disliked life on the farm. He found the clicks and whirs of machinery much more exciting. When Ford

was 16, he went to nearby Detroit to work in a machine shop. From there, he turned his ideas for how to make affordable and well-built cars into one of the world's largest automobile companies.

Explore the amazing life and career of Henry Ford online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, primary sources, activities, and more at [hmhsocialstudies.com](https://www.hmhsocialstudies.com).

"My 'gasoline buggy' was the first and for a long time the only automobile in Detroit. It was considered . . . a nuisance, for it made a racket and it scared horses."

— Henry Ford



### My Life and Work

Read the document to learn more about Henry Ford's life and career in his own words.



CLICK THROUGH  
**INTER / ACTIVITIES**

[hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com)



### Big Plans

Watch the video to learn more about Henry Ford's early career.



### Taking the Low Road

Watch the video to explore Henry Ford's vision for his car company.



### The Assembly Line

Watch the video to see how Henry Ford used the assembly line to produce cars more efficiently and cheaply.

CHAPTER  
**13**

# THE ROARING LIFE OF THE 1920s

## Essential Question

How did newfound prosperity change American life in the 1920s?



### What You Will Learn...

In this chapter you will learn how American life underwent rapid and radical change in the 1920s.

#### SECTION 1: Changing Ways of Life

**Main Idea** Americans experienced cultural conflicts as customs and values changed in the 1920s.

#### SECTION 2: The Twenties Woman

**Main Idea** American women pursued new lifestyles and assumed new jobs and different roles in society during the 1920s.

#### SECTION 3: Education and Popular Culture

**Main Idea** The mass media, movies, and spectator sports played important roles in creating the popular culture of the 1920s—a culture that many artists and writers criticized.

#### SECTION 4: The Harlem Renaissance

**Main Idea** African-American ideas, politics, art, literature, and music flourished in Harlem and elsewhere in the United States.



Blues singer Gertrude “Ma” Rainey performs with her Georgia Jazz Band in Chicago, Illinois, 1923.

**1920** Nineteenth Amendment gives women the right to vote.



**1922** Louis Armstrong plays for King Oliver’s Creole Jazz Band in Chicago.

**1923** *Time* magazine begins publication.



**1924** Calvin Coolidge is elected president.

USA  
WORLD

1920

1922

1924

**1921** China’s Communist Party is founded.



**1922** King Tut’s tomb is discovered in Egypt.

**1923** Mustafa Kemal becomes first president of new Republic of Turkey.



## INTERACT WITH HISTORY

The year is 1920. The World War has just ended. Boosted by the growth of the wartime industry, the U.S. economy is flourishing. Americans live life to the fullest as new social and cultural trends sweep the nation.

### Explore the Issues

- As Americans leave farms and small towns to take jobs in the cities, how might their lives change?
- How will economic prosperity affect married and unmarried women?
- How might rural and urban areas change as more and more families acquire automobiles?

**1925** The Scopes trial takes place in Tennessee.

**1927** Charles Lindbergh makes the first nonstop solo transatlantic flight.

**1928** Herbert Hoover is elected president.

**1926**

**1926** Hirohito becomes emperor of Japan.



**1928**

**1928** President Álvaro Obregón of Mexico is assassinated.

**1930**

# Changing Ways of Life

## MAIN IDEA

Americans experienced cultural conflicts as customs and values changed in the 1920s.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The way in which different groups react to change continues to cause conflict today.

## Terms & Names

- Prohibition
- speakeasy
- bootlegger
- fundamentalism
- Clarence Darrow
- Scopes trial

## One American's Story

### hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on government efforts to address social concerns in the 1920s.

As the 1920s dawned, social reformers who hoped to ban alcohol—and the evils associated with it—rejoiced. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, banning the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcohol, took effect in January of 1920. Billy Sunday, an evangelist who preached against the evils of drinking, predicted a new age of virtue and religion.

### A PERSONAL VOICE BILLY SUNDAY

**“The reign of tears is over! The slums will soon be only a memory. We will turn our prisons into factories and our jails into storehouses and corncribs. Men will walk upright now, women will smile and the children will laugh. Hell will be forever for rent!”**

—quoted in *How Dry We Were: Prohibition Revisited*

Sunday's dream was not to be realized in the 1920s, as the law proved unenforceable. The failure of Prohibition was a sign of cultural conflicts most evident in the nation's cities. Lured by jobs and by the challenge and freedom that the city represented, millions of people rode excitedly out of America's rural past and into its urban future.



▲ 1920s evangelist  
Billy Sunday

## Rural and Urban Differences

America changed dramatically in the years before 1920, as was revealed in the 1920 census. According to figures that year, 51.2 percent of Americans lived in communities with populations of 2,500 to more than 1 million. Between 1922 and 1929, migration to the cities accelerated, with nearly 2 million people leaving farms and towns each year. “Cities were the place to be, not to get away from,” said one historian. The agricultural world that millions of Americans left behind was largely unchanged from the 19th century—that world was one of small towns and farms bound together by conservative moral values and close social relationships. Yet small-town attitudes began to lose their hold on the American mind as the city rose to prominence.

**THE NEW URBAN SCENE** At the beginning of the 1920s, New York, with a population of 5.6 million people, topped the list of big cities. Next came Chicago, with nearly 3 million, and Philadelphia, with nearly 2 million. Another 65 cities claimed populations of 100,000 or more, and they grew more crowded by the day. Life in these booming cities was far different from the slow-paced, intimate life in America’s small towns. Chicago, for instance, was an industrial powerhouse, home to native-born whites and African Americans, immigrant Poles, Irish, Russians, Italians, Swedes, Arabs, French, and Chinese. Each day, an estimated 300,000 workers, 150,000 cars and buses, and 20,000 trolleys filled the pulsing downtown. At night people crowded into ornate movie theaters and vaudeville houses offering live variety shows.

*“How ya gonna keep ‘em down on the farm, after they’ve seen Paree?”*

POPULAR SONG OF THE 1920s

**MAIN IDEA**

**Contrasting**

**A** How did small-town life and city life differ?

For small-town migrants, adapting to the urban environment demanded changes in thinking as well as in everyday living. The city was a world of competition and change. City dwellers read and argued about current scientific and social ideas. They judged one another by accomplishment more often than by background. City dwellers also tolerated drinking, gambling, and casual dating—worldly behaviors considered shocking and sinful in small towns. **A**

For all its color and challenge, though, the city could be impersonal and frightening. Streets were filled with strangers, not friends and neighbors. Life was fast-paced, not leisurely. The city demanded endurance, as a foreign visitor to Chicago observed.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** WALTER L. GEORGE

**“It is not for nothing that the predominating color of Chicago is orange. It is as if the city, in its taxicabs, in its shop fronts, in the wrappings of its parcels, chose the color of flame that goes with the smoky black of its factories. It is not for nothing that it has repelled the geometric street arrangement of New York and substituted . . . great ways with names that a stranger must learn if he can. . . . He is in a [crowded] city, and if he has business there, he tells himself, ‘If I weaken I shan’t last long.’”**

—Hail Columbia!

**History Through**

**Art**

**SONG OF THE TOWERS**

This mural by Aaron Douglas is part of a series he painted inside the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library to symbolize different aspects of African-American life during the 1920s. In this panel, *Song of the Towers*, he depicts figures before a city backdrop. As seen here, much of Douglas’s style was influenced by jazz music and geometric shapes.

**SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Visual Sources**

- 1.** What is the focal point of this panel?
- 2.** What parts of this painting might be symbolic of African Americans’ move north?
- 3.** How does Douglas represent new freedoms in this mural? Support your answer with examples.

 **SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.**



## DIFFICULT DECISIONS

### TO PROHIBIT ALCOHOL OR NOT?

The question of whether to outlaw alcohol divided Americans. Many believed the government should make alcohol illegal to protect the public, while others believed it was a personal decision, and not morally wrong.

1. Examine the pros and cons of each position. Which do you agree with? What other factors, if any, do you think would influence your position?
2. If you had been a legislator asked to vote for the Eighteenth Amendment, what would you have said? Explain.
3. What happens when the government legislates moral values? Give contemporary examples to support your answer.

In the city, lonely migrants from the country often ached for home. Throughout the 1920s, Americans found themselves caught between rural and urban cultures—a tug that pitted what seemed to be a safe, small-town world of close ties, hard work, and strict morals against a big-city world of anonymous crowds, moneymakers, and pleasure seekers.

**THE PROHIBITION EXPERIMENT** One vigorous clash between small-town and big-city Americans began in earnest in January 1920, when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. This amendment launched the era known as **Prohibition**, during which the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages were legally prohibited.

Reformers had long considered liquor a prime cause of corruption. They thought that too much drinking led to crime, wife and child abuse, accidents on the job, and other serious social problems. Support for Prohibition came largely from the rural South and West, areas with large populations of native-born Protestants. The church-affiliated Anti-Saloon League had led the drive to pass the Prohibition amendment. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which considered drinking a sin, had helped push the measure through.

At first, saloons closed their doors, and arrests for drunkenness declined. But in the aftermath of World War I, many Americans were tired of making sacrifices; they wanted to enjoy life. Most immigrant groups did not consider drinking a sin but a natural part of socializing, and they resented government meddling.

Eventually, Prohibition's fate was sealed by the government, which failed to budget enough money to enforce the law. The Volstead Act established a Prohibition Bureau in the Treasury Department in 1919, but the agency was underfunded. The job of enforcement involved patrolling 18,700 miles of coastline as well as inland borders, tracking down illegal stills (equipment for distilling liquor), monitoring highways for truckloads of illegal alcohol, and overseeing all the industries that legally used alcohol to be sure none was siphoned off for illegal purposes. The task fell to approximately 1,500 poorly paid federal agents and local police—clearly an impossible job.

**SPEAKEASIES AND BOOTLEGGERS** To obtain liquor illegally, drinkers went underground to hidden saloons and nightclubs known as **speakeasies**—so called because when inside, one spoke quietly, or “easily,” to avoid detection. Speakeasies could be found everywhere—in penthouses, cellars, office buildings, rooming houses, tenements, hardware stores, and tearooms. To be admitted to a speakeasy, one had to present a card or use a password. Inside, one would find a mix of fashionable middle-class and upper-middle-class men and women.

Before long, people grew bolder in getting around the law. They learned to distill alcohol and built their own stills. Since alcohol was allowed for medicinal and religious purposes, prescriptions



◀ A young woman demonstrates one of the means used to conceal alcohol—hiding it in containers strapped to one's legs. ▶

### MAIN IDEA

#### Developing Historical Perspective

**B** Why do you think the Eighteenth Amendment failed to eliminate alcohol consumption?

for alcohol and sales of sacramental wine (intended for church services) skyrocketed. People also bought liquor from **bootleggers** (named for a smuggler's practice of carrying liquor in the legs of boots), who smuggled it in from Canada, Cuba, and the West Indies. "The business of evading [the law] and making a mock of it has ceased to wear any aspects of crime and has become a sort of national sport," wrote the journalist H. L. Mencken. **B**

**ORGANIZED CRIME** Prohibition not only generated disrespect for the law, it also contributed to organized crime in nearly every major city. Chicago became notorious as the home of Al Capone, a gangster whose bootlegging empire netted over \$60 million a year. Capone took control of the Chicago liquor business by killing off his competition. During the 1920s, headlines reported 522 bloody gang killings and made the image of flashy Al Capone part of the folklore of the period. In 1940, the writer Herbert Asbury recalled the Capone era in Chicago.

#### A PERSONAL VOICE HERBERT ASBURY

**"The famous seven-ton armored car, with the pudgy gangster lolling on silken cushions in its darkened recesses, a big cigar in his fat face, and a \$50,000 diamond ring blazing from his left hand, was one of the sights of the city; the average tourist felt that his trip to Chicago was a failure unless it included a view of Capone out for a spin. The mere whisper: 'Here comes Al,' was sufficient to stop traffic and to set thousands of curious citizens craning their necks along the curbing."**

—*Gem of the Prairie*

By the mid-1920s, only 19 percent of Americans supported Prohibition. The rest, who wanted the amendment changed or repealed, believed that Prohibition caused worse effects than the initial problem. Rural Protestant Americans, however, defended a law that they felt strengthened moral values. The Eighteenth Amendment remained in force until 1933, when it was repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment. **C**

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

**C** How did criminals take advantage of Prohibition?

### HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT



#### AL CAPONE

By age 26, Al Capone headed a criminal empire in Chicago, which he controlled through the use of bribes and violence. From 1925 to 1931, Capone bootlegged whiskey from Canada, operated illegal breweries in Chicago, and ran a network of 10,000 speakeasies. In 1927, the "Big Fellow," as he liked to be called, was worth an estimated \$100 million.

The end came quickly for Capone, though. In 1931, the gangster chief was arrested for tax evasion and went to jail. That was the only crime of which the authorities were ever able to convict him. Capone was later released from jail, but he died several years later at age 48.

### Prohibition, 1920–1933

#### Causes

- Various religious groups thought drinking alcohol was sinful.
- Reformers believed that the government should protect the public's health.
- Reformers believed that alcohol led to crime, wife and child abuse, and accidents on the job.
- During World War I, native-born Americans developed a hostility to German-American brewers and toward other immigrant groups that used alcohol.

#### Effects

- Consumption of alcohol declined.
- Disrespect for the law developed.
- An increase in lawlessness, such as smuggling and bootlegging, was evident.
- Criminals found a new source of income.
- Organized crime grew.

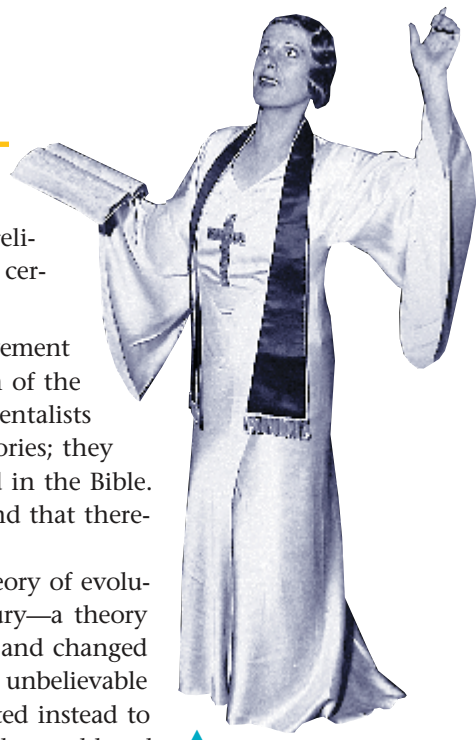
## Science and Religion Clash

Another bitter controversy highlighted the growing rift between traditional and modern ideas during the 1920s. This battle raged between fundamentalist religious groups and secular thinkers over the validity of certain scientific discoveries.

**AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISM** The Protestant movement grounded in a literal, or nonsymbolic, interpretation of the Bible was known as **fundamentalism**. Fundamentalists were skeptical of some scientific discoveries and theories; they argued that all important knowledge could be found in the Bible. They believed that the Bible was inspired by God, and that therefore its stories in all their details were true.

Their beliefs led fundamentalists to reject the theory of evolution advanced by Charles Darwin in the 19th century—a theory stating that plant and animal species had developed and changed over millions of years. The claim they found most unbelievable was that humans had evolved from apes. They pointed instead to the Bible’s account of creation, in which God made the world and all its life forms, including humans, in six days.

Fundamentalism expressed itself in several ways. In the South and West, preachers led religious revivals based on the authority of the Scriptures. One of the most powerful revivalists was Billy Sunday, a baseball player turned preacher who staged emotional meetings across the South. In Los Angeles, Aimee Semple McPherson used Hollywood showmanship to preach the word to homesick Midwestern migrants and devoted followers of her radio broadcasts. In the 1920s, fundamentalism gained followers who began to call for laws prohibiting the teaching of evolution. **D**



▲ The evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson in 1922

### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**D** Summarize the beliefs of fundamentalism.

#### Vocabulary

**culminate:** to come to completion; end

**THE SCOPES TRIAL** In March 1925, Tennessee passed the nation’s first law that made it a crime to teach evolution. Immediately, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) promised to defend any teacher who would challenge the law. John T. Scopes, a young biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, accepted the challenge. In his biology class, Scopes read this passage from *Civic Biology*: “We have now learned that animal forms may be arranged so as to begin with the simple one-celled forms and culminate with a group which includes man himself.” Scopes was promptly arrested, and his trial was set for July.

The ACLU hired **Clarence Darrow**, the most famous trial lawyer of the day, to defend Scopes. William Jennings Bryan, three-time Democratic candidate for president and a devout fundamentalist, served as a special prosecutor. There was no real question of guilt or innocence: Scopes was honest about his action. The **Scopes trial** was a fight over evolution and the role of science and religion in public schools and in American society.

The trial opened on July 10, 1925, and almost overnight became a national sensation. Darrow called Bryan as an expert on the Bible—the contest that everyone had been waiting for. To handle the throngs of Bryan supporters, Judge Raulston moved the court outside, to a platform built under the maple trees. There, before a crowd of several

## NOW & THEN

### EVOLUTION, CREATIONISM, AND EDUCATION

There is still great controversy today over the teaching of evolution in the public schools. Some people believe evolution should be taught as the only theory of the origin of life. Some believe the theories of creationism or intelligent design should also be taught. Others want to focus on the debate surrounding evolution.

The issue of what should be taught about the origin of life—and who should decide this issue—continues to stir up debate. Some have suggested that science and religion are not necessarily incompatible. They believe that a theory of the origin of life can accommodate both the scientific theory of evolution and religious beliefs.

thousand, Darrow relentlessly questioned Bryan about his beliefs. Bryan stood firm, a smile on his face.

### A PERSONAL VOICE

CLARENCE DARROW AND WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

**Mr. Darrow**—“You claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?”

**Mr. Bryan**—“I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there. Some of the Bible is given illustratively. For instance: ‘Ye are the salt of the earth.’ I would not insist that man was actually salt, or that he had flesh of salt, but it is used in the sense of salt as saving God’s people.”

—quoted in *Bryan and Darrow at Dayton*

Darrow asked Bryan if he agreed with Bishop James Ussher’s calculation that, according to the Bible, Creation happened in 4004 B.C. Had every living thing on earth appeared since that time? Did Bryan know that ancient civilizations had thrived before 4004 B.C.? Did he know the age of the earth?

Bryan grew edgy but stuck to his guns. Finally, Darrow asked Bryan, “Do you think the earth was made in six days?” Bryan answered, “Not six days of 24 hours.” People sitting on the lawn gasped. **E**

With this answer, Bryan admitted that the Bible might be interpreted in different ways. But in spite of this admission, Scopes was found guilty and fined \$100. The Tennessee Supreme Court later changed the verdict on a technicality, but the law outlawing the teaching of evolution remained in effect.

This clash over evolution, the Prohibition experiment, and the emerging urban scene all were evidence of the changes and conflicts occurring during the 1920s. During that period, women also experienced conflict as they redefined their roles and pursued new lifestyles.



▲ A 1925 newspaper cartoon portrays Bryan (left) and Darrow (right) at the close of the Scopes “monkey” trial on the teaching of evolution, so-called because of a theory of evolution that humans evolved from apes.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Issues

**E** What was the conflict between fundamentalists and those who accepted evolution?

### SECTION 1

#### ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Prohibition
- speakeasy

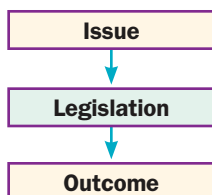
- bootlegger
- fundamentalism

- Clarence Darrow
- Scopes trial

#### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

Create two diagrams like the one below. Show how government attempted to deal with (a) problems thought to stem from alcohol use and (b) the teaching of evolution.



Was the legislation effective? Explain.

#### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. ANALYZING ISSUES

How might the overall atmosphere of the 1920s have contributed to the failure of Prohibition?

#### 4. ANALYZING CAUSES

Why do you think organized crime spread so quickly through the cities during the 1920s? Explain your answer.

#### 5. EVALUATING

Do you think the passage of the Volstead Act and the ruling in the Scopes trial represented genuine triumphs for traditional values?

#### Think About:

- changes in urban life in the 1920s
- the effects of Prohibition
- the legacy of the Scopes trial

# The Twenties Woman

## MAIN IDEA

American women pursued new lifestyles and assumed new jobs and different roles in society during the 1920s.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Workplace opportunities and trends in family life are still major issues for women today.

## Terms & Names

- flapper
- double standard

## One American's Story

### hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on how women's lives changed in the 1920s.

When Zelda Sayre broke off her engagement with would-be writer F. Scott Fitzgerald in 1925, she told him that he would have to become successful on his own. Later, she wrote about how a woman can achieve greatness.

### A PERSONAL VOICE ZELDA SAYRE FITZGERALD

“Rouge means that women want to choose their man—not take what lives in the next house. . . . Look back over the pages of history and see how the loveliness of women has always stirred men—and nations—on to great achievement! There have been women who were not pretty, who have swayed hearts and empires, but these women . . . did not disdain that thing for which paint and powder stands. They wanted to choose their destinies—to be successful competitors in the great game of life.”

—“Paint and Powder,” *The Smart Set*, May 1929 **Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald**



Zelda Sayre and F. Scott Fitzgerald married one week after Scott published his first novel, and Zelda continued to be the model for Scott's independent, unconventional, ambitious female characters. He even copied from her letters and other writings. Ironically, Zelda's devotion to her marriage and to motherhood stifled her career ambitions. Nevertheless, she became a model for a generation of young American women who wanted to break away from traditions and forget the hardships of the war years.

## Young Women Change the Rules

By the 1920s, the experiences of World War I, the pull of cities, and changing attitudes had opened up a new world for many young Americans. These “wild young people,” wrote John F. Carter, Jr., in a 1920 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*, were experiencing a world unknown to their parents: “We have seen man at his lowest, woman at her lightest, in the terrible moral chaos of Europe. We have been forced to question, and in many cases to discard, the religion of our fathers. . . . We have been forced to live in an atmosphere of ‘tomorrow we die,’ and so, naturally, we drank and were merry.” In the rebellious, pleasure-loving atmosphere of the twenties, many women began to assert their independence, reject the values of the 19th century, and demand the same freedoms as men.



**THE FLAPPER** During the twenties, a new ideal emerged for some women: the **flapper**, an emancipated young woman who embraced the new fashions and urban attitudes of the day. Close-fitting felt hats, bright waistless dresses an inch above the knees, skin-toned silk stockings, sleek pumps, and strings of beads replaced the dark and prim ankle-length dresses, whalebone corsets, and petticoats of Victorian days. Young women clipped their long hair into boyish bobs and dyed it jet black.

Many young women became more assertive. In their bid for equal status with men, some began smoking cigarettes, drinking in public, and talking openly about sex—actions that would have ruined their reputations not many years before. They danced the fox trot, camel walk, tango, Charleston, and shimmy with abandon.

Attitudes toward marriage changed as well. Many middle-class men and women began to view marriage as more of an equal partnership, although both agreed that housework and child-rearing remained a woman's job. **A**

**THE DOUBLE STANDARD** Magazines, newspapers, and advertisements promoted the image of the flapper, and young people openly discussed courtship and relationships in ways that scandalized their elders. Although many young women donned the new outfits and flouted tradition, the flapper was more an image of rebellious youth than a widespread reality; it did not reflect the attitudes and values of many young people. During the 1920s, morals loosened only so far. Traditionalists in churches and schools protested the new casual dances and women's acceptance of smoking and drinking.

In the years before World War I, when men “courted” women, they pursued only women they intended to marry. In the 1920s, however, casual dating became increasingly accepted. Even so, a **double standard**—a set of principles granting greater sexual freedom to men than to women—required women to observe stricter standards of behavior than men did. As a result, many women were pulled back and forth between the old standards and the new.

## **Women Shed Old Roles at Home and at Work**

The fast-changing world of the 1920s produced new roles for women in the workplace and new trends in family life. A booming industrial economy opened new work opportunities for women in offices, factories, stores, and professions. The same economy churned out time-saving appliances and products that reshaped the roles of housewives and mothers.

▲ Flappers compete in a Charleston dance competition in 1926.

### **MAIN IDEA**

#### **Evaluating**

**A** How was the flapper like and unlike women of today?



▲ A young woman works as a typesetter in a publishing house in 1920.

**NEW WORK OPPORTUNITIES** Although women had worked successfully during the war, afterwards employers who believed that men had the responsibility to support their families financially often replaced female workers with men. Women continued to seek paid employment, but their opportunities changed. Many female college graduates turned to “women’s professions” and became teachers, nurses, and librarians. Big businesses required extensive correspondence and record keeping, creating a huge demand for clerical workers such as typists, filing clerks, secretaries, stenographers, and office-machine operators. Others became clerks in stores or held jobs on assembly lines. A handful of women broke the old stereotypes by doing work once reserved for men, such as flying airplanes, driving taxis, and drilling oil wells. **B**

By 1930, 10 million women were earning wages; however, few rose to managerial jobs, and wherever they worked, women earned less than men. Fearing competition for jobs, men argued that women were just temporary workers whose real job was at home. Between 1900 and 1930, the patterns of discrimination and inequality for women in the business world were established.

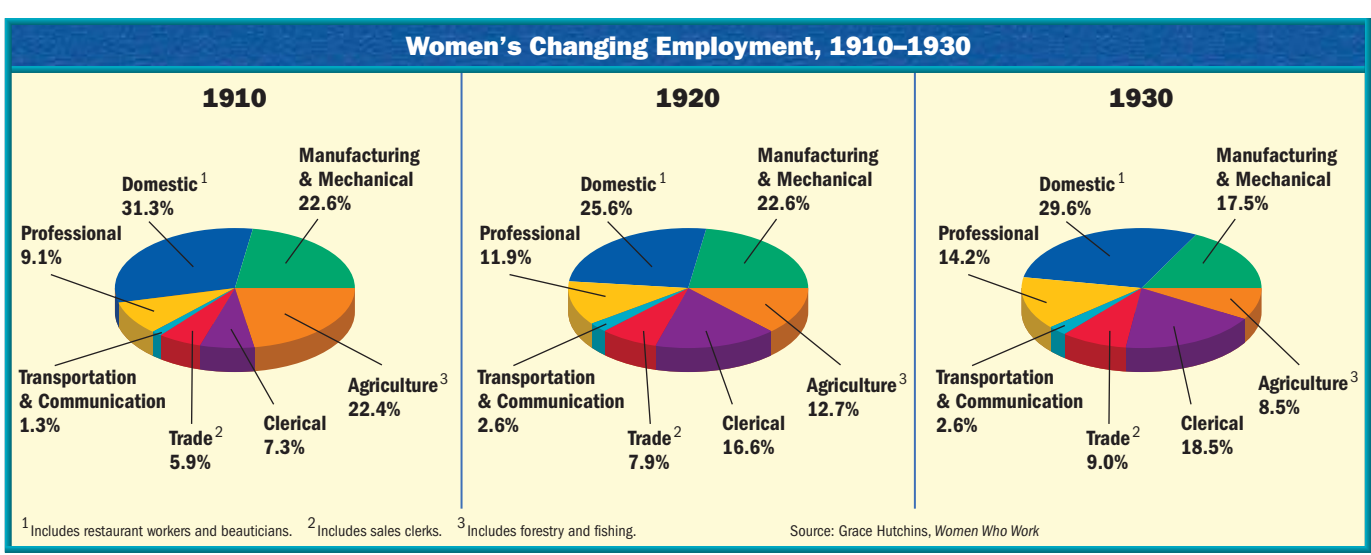
**THE CHANGING FAMILY** Widespread social and economic changes reshaped the family. The birthrate had been declining for several decades, and it dropped at a slightly faster rate in the 1920s. This decline was due in part to the wider availability of birth-control information. Margaret Sanger, who had opened the first birth-control clinic in the United States in 1916, founded the American Birth Control League in 1921 and fought for the legal rights of physicians to give birth-control information to their patients.

At the same time, social and technological innovations simplified household labor and family life. Stores overflowed with ready-made clothes, sliced bread, and canned foods. Public agencies provided services for the elderly, public health clinics served the sick, and workers’ compensation assisted those who could no longer work. These innovations and institutions had the effect of freeing homemakers from some of their traditional family responsibilities. Many middle-class housewives, the main shoppers and money managers, focused their attention on their homes, husbands, children, and pastimes. “I consider time for reading clubs and my children more important than . . . careful housework and I just don’t do it,” said an Indiana woman in the 1920s.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Effects**

**B** How did the growth of business and industry affect women?



As their spheres of activity and influence expanded, women experienced greater equality in marriage. Marriages were based increasingly on romantic love and companionship. Children, no longer thrown together with adults in factory work, farm labor, and apprenticeships, spent most of their days at school and in organized activities with others their own age. At the same time, parents began to rely more heavily on manuals of child care and the advice of experts.

Working-class and college-educated women quickly discovered the pressure of juggling work and family, but the strain on working-class women was more severe. Helen Wright, who worked for the Women's Bureau in Chicago, recorded the struggle of an Irish mother of two.

### A PERSONAL VOICE HELEN WRIGHT

**“She worked in one of the meat-packing companies, pasting labels from 7 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. She had entered the eldest child at school but sent her to the nursery for lunch and after school. The youngest was in the nursery all day. She kept her house ‘immaculately clean and in perfect order,’ but to do so worked until eleven o’clock every night in the week and on Saturday night she worked until five o’clock in the morning. She described her schedule as follows: on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday she cleaned one room each night; Saturday afternoon she finished the cleaning and put the house in order; Saturday night she washed; Sunday she baked; Monday night she ironed.”**

—quoted in *Wage-Earning Women*

As women adjusted to changing roles, some also struggled with rebellious adolescents, who put an unprecedented strain on families. Teens in the 1920s studied and socialized with other teens and spent less time with their families. As peer pressure intensified, some adolescents resisted parental control, much as the flappers resisted societal control. **C**

This theme of adolescent rebelliousness can be seen in much of the popular culture of the 1920s. Education and entertainment reflected the conflict between traditional attitudes and modern ways of thinking.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**C** What changes affected families in the 1920s?



## ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

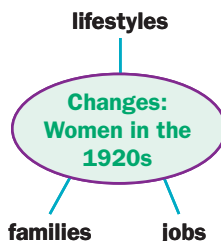
•flapper

•double standard

### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

Copy the concept web shown below and add to it examples that illustrate how women's lives changed in the 1920s.



Write a paragraph explaining how you think women's lives changed most dramatically in the 1920s.

### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. EVALUATING

During the 1920s, a double standard required women to observe stricter codes of behavior than men. Do you think that some women of this decade made real progress towards equality? Support your answer with examples. **Think About:**

- the flapper's style and image
- changing views of marriage

#### 4. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

In 1920, veteran suffragist Anna Howard Shaw stated that equality in the workplace would be harder for women to achieve than the vote.

**“You younger women will have a harder task than ours. You will want equality in business, and it will be even harder to get than the vote.”**

—Anna Howard Shaw

Why do you think Shaw held this belief? Support your answer with evidence from the text.

## Youth in the Roaring Twenties

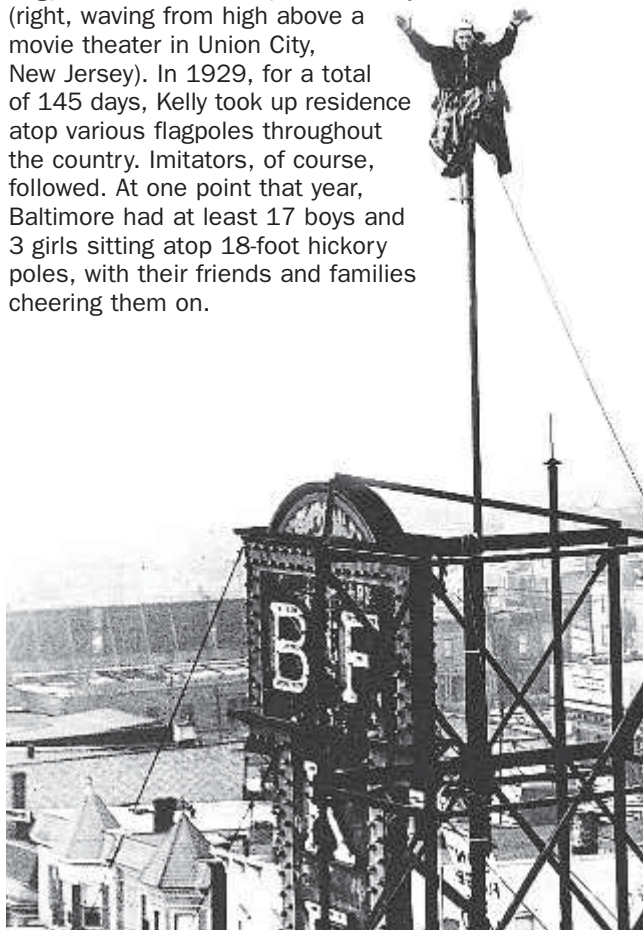
The decade known as the Roaring Twenties was a celebration of youth and its culture. Crazy and frenetic dances, silly songs, and radically new styles of clothing captured the public's fancy.

During this period of relative prosperity, many people questioned the values of the past and were willing to experiment with new values and behavior as well as with new fashions. This was an especially liberating period for women, who received the right to vote in 1920. Many women also opted for a liberating change of fashion—short skirts and short hair—as well as the freedom to smoke and drink in public.



### ▼ FLAGPOLE SITTING

One of the more bizarre fads of the 1920s began in 1924 as a publicity stunt to attract viewers to movie theaters. The most famous flagpole sitter was “Shipwreck” Kelly (right, waving from high above a movie theater in Union City, New Jersey). In 1929, for a total of 145 days, Kelly took up residence atop various flagpoles throughout the country. Imitators, of course, followed. At one point that year, Baltimore had at least 17 boys and 3 girls sitting atop 18-foot hickory poles, with their friends and families cheering them on.



### ► BESSIE SMITH

Bessie Smith was “Empress of the Blues.” In 1923, she sold a million recordings of “Down Hearted Blues.”



# DATA

## FILE

### SCHOOL DAYS, SCHOOL DAYS

During the 1920s, children studied reading, writing, and arithmetic in elementary school. In high school, students also studied history and literature and had vocational training. Girls learned cooking and sewing, and boys learned woodworking.

#### Slang Expressions

<b>crush</b>	an infatuation
<b>gatecrasher</b>	someone who attends an event uninvited or without paying
<b>keen</b>	attractive or appealing
<b>ritzy</b>	elegant
<b>scram</b>	to leave in a hurry
<b>screwy</b>	crazy
<b>bee's knees</b>	a superb person or thing

### RADIO

- KDKA, Pittsburgh, the first commercial radio station, went on the air on November 2, 1920. It was owned by Westinghouse.
- In 1922, 500 radio stations were in operation in the United States.
- In 1924, over 3 million radios were in use throughout the United States. By the end of the 1920s, over 10 million radios were in use. Popular radio shows included *Amos 'n' Andy* and *Jones and Hare*.

### SONG TITLES

"Baby Face"	"I Want to Be Happy"
"Barney Google"	"Let A Smile Be Your Umbrella"
"Blue Skies"	"Makin' Whoopie"
"Bye Bye Blackbird"	"My Blue Heaven"
"Charleston"	"My Heart Stood Still"
"Crazy Rhythm"	"Singin' in the Rain"

### THINKING CRITICALLY

#### CONNECT TO TODAY

- 1. Comparing** With a small group, listen to several of the songs listed above or to others from the period. Discuss their lyrics and melodies, and compare them with those of popular songs today. What commonalities can you find? How does the music from each period reflect its times? Report your findings to the class.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

#### CONNECT TO HISTORY

- 2. Researching Clothing Styles** Find out more about the clothing styles just before the flapper era. How severe were the changes in fashion in the 1920s? How do you think parents of flappers reacted to these changes? If you had lived at this time, would you have chosen to wear the new styles? Why or why not?

### BOBBED HAIR

In keeping with the liberating influence of their new clothing, women bobbed their hair—that is, they had it cut much shorter—freeing themselves of the long tresses that had been fashionable for years. The woman shown is having her hair cut at a barber shop.

### DANCE FADS

The Charleston was the dance craze of the 1920s. An energetic dance that involved wild, flailing movements of the arms and legs, it demanded an appropriate costume for the woman dancer—a short, straight dress without a waistline.

Another craze was the dance marathon, a contest in which couples would dance continuously for days—taking a 15-minute break every hour—with each alternately holding up the other as he or she slept. Needless to say, dancers dropped from exhaustion.

### GENTLEMEN'S FASHIONS

Gentlemen enjoyed some outrageous fashions of their own. This young man, with the aid of two flappers, displays the latest fashion in trousers, sometimes called Oxford bags. He also sports "patent-leather hair," parted on the side or in the middle and slicked down close to the head.



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# Education and Popular Culture

## MAIN IDEA

The mass media, movies, and spectator sports played important roles in creating the popular culture of the 1920s—a culture that many artists and writers criticized.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Much of today's popular culture can trace its roots to the popular culture of the 1920s.

## Terms & Names

- Charles A. Lindbergh
- George Gershwin
- Georgia O'Keeffe
- Sinclair Lewis
- F. Scott Fitzgerald
- Edna St. Vincent Millay
- Ernest Hemingway

## One American's Story



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**TAKING NOTES**

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on key events in 1920s popular culture.

On September 22, 1927, approximately 50 million Americans sat listening to their radios as Graham McNamee, radio's most popular announcer, breathlessly called the boxing match between the former heavyweight champ Jack Dempsey and the current titleholder, Gene Tunney.

### A PERSONAL VOICE GRAHAM MCNAMEE

“Good evening, Ladies & Gentlemen of the Radio Audience. This is a big night. Three million dollars' worth of boxing bugs are gathering around a ring at Soldiers' Field, Chicago. . . .

Here comes Jack Dempsey, climbing through the ropes . . . white flannels, long bathrobe. . . . Here comes Tunney. . . . The announcer shouting in the ring . . . trying to quiet 150,000 people. . . . Robes are off.”

—Time magazine, October 3, 1927

After punches flew for ten rounds, Tunney defeated the legendary Dempsey. So suspenseful was the brutal match that a number of radio listeners died of heart failure. The “fight of the century” was just one of a host of spectacles and events that transformed American popular culture in the 1920s.



▲ Gene Tunney, down for the “long count,” went on to defeat Jack Dempsey in their epic 1927 battle.

## Schools and the Mass Media Shape Culture

During the 1920s, developments in education and mass media had a powerful impact on the nation.

**SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS** In 1914, approximately 1 million American students attended high school. By 1926, that number had risen to nearly 4 million, an increase sparked by prosperous times and higher educational standards for industry jobs.

Prior to the 1920s, high schools had catered to college-bound students. In contrast, high schools of the 1920s began offering a broad range of courses such as vocational training for those interested in industrial jobs.

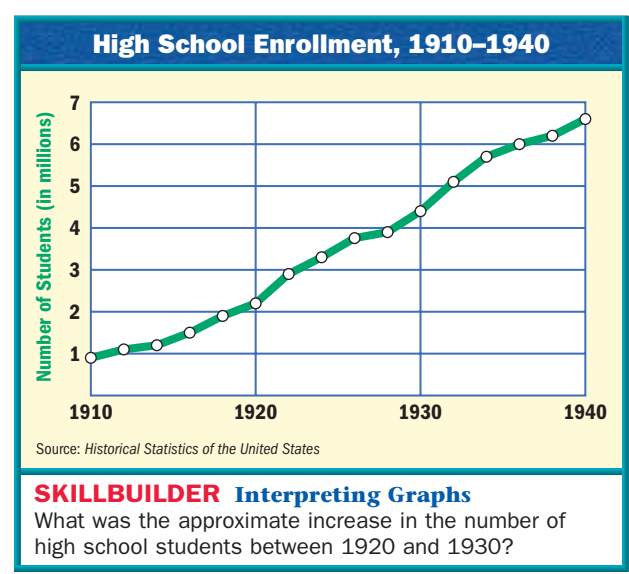
The public schools met another challenge in the 1920s—teaching the children of new immigrant families. The years before World War I had seen the largest stream of immigrants in the nation’s history—close to 1 million a year. Unlike the earlier English and Irish immigrants, many of the new immigrants spoke no English. By the 1920s their children filled city classrooms. Determined teachers met the challenge and created a large pool of literate Americans. **A**

**MAIN IDEA**  
**Summarizing**  
**A** How did schools change during the 1920s?

Taxes to finance the schools increased as well. School costs doubled between 1913 and 1920, then doubled again by 1926. The total cost of American education in the mid-1920s amounted to \$2.7 billion a year.

**EXPANDING NEWS COVERAGE** Widespread education increased literacy in America, but it was the growing mass media that shaped a mass culture. Newspaper circulation rose as writers and editors learned how to hook readers by imitating the sensational stories in the tabloids. By 1914, about 600 local papers had shut down and 230 had been swallowed up by huge national chains, giving readers more expansive coverage from the big cities. Mass-circulation magazines also flourished during the 1920s. Many of these magazines summarized the week’s news, both foreign and domestic. By the end of the 1920s, ten American magazines—including *Reader’s Digest* (founded in 1922) and *Time* (founded in 1923)—boasted a circulation of over 2 million each.

**RADIO COMES OF AGE** Although major magazines and newspapers reached big audiences, radio was the most powerful communications medium to emerge in the 1920s. Americans added terms such as “airwaves,” “radio audience,” and “tune in” to their everyday speech. By the end of the



By 1930, 40 percent of U.S. households had radios, like this 1927 Cosser three-valve Melody Maker.

## Radio Broadcasts of the 1920s

Prior to the 1920s, radio broadcasts were used primarily for transmitting important messages and speeches regarding World War I. After the first commercial radio station—KDKA Pittsburgh—made its debut on the airwaves in 1920, the radio industry changed forever. Listeners tuned in for news, entertainment, and advertisements.



Radio dance parties were common in the 1920s.



In the 1920s, radio was a formal affair. Announcers and musicians dressed in their finest attire, even without a live audience.

decade, the radio networks had created something new in the United States—the shared national experience of hearing the news as it happened. The wider world had opened up to Americans, who could hear the voice of their president or listen to the World Series live. **B**

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Effects**

**B** Why did radio become so popular?

## America Chases New Heroes and Old Dreams

During the 1920s, many people had money and the leisure time to enjoy it. In 1929, Americans spent \$4.5 billion on entertainment, much of it on ever-changing fads. Early in the decade, Americans engaged in new leisure pastimes such as working crossword puzzles and playing mahjong, a Chinese game whose playing pieces resemble dominoes. In 1922, after explorers opened the dazzling tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen, consumers mobbed stores for pharaoh-inspired accessories, jewelry, and furniture. In the mid-1920s, people turned to flagpole sitting and dance marathons. They also flooded athletic stadiums to see sports stars, who were glorified as super-heroes by the mass media.



**VIDEO**

Did You Know:  
Babe Ruth

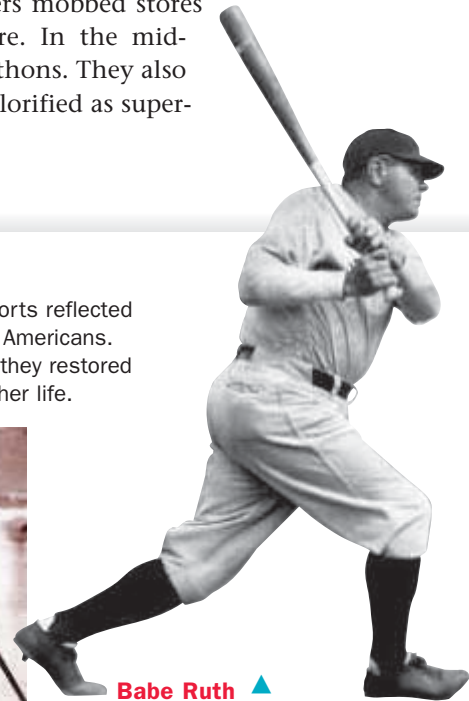
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## Sports Heroes of the 1920s

Although the media glorified sports heroes, the Golden Age of Sports reflected common aspirations. Athletes set new records, inspiring ordinary Americans. When poor, unknown athletes rose to national fame and fortune, they restored Americans' belief in the power of the individual to improve his or her life.

**Gertude Ederle** ▶

In 1926, at the age of 19, Gertrude Ederle became the first woman to swim the English Channel. Here, an assistant applies heavy grease to help ward off the effects of the cold Channel waters.



**Babe Ruth** ▲

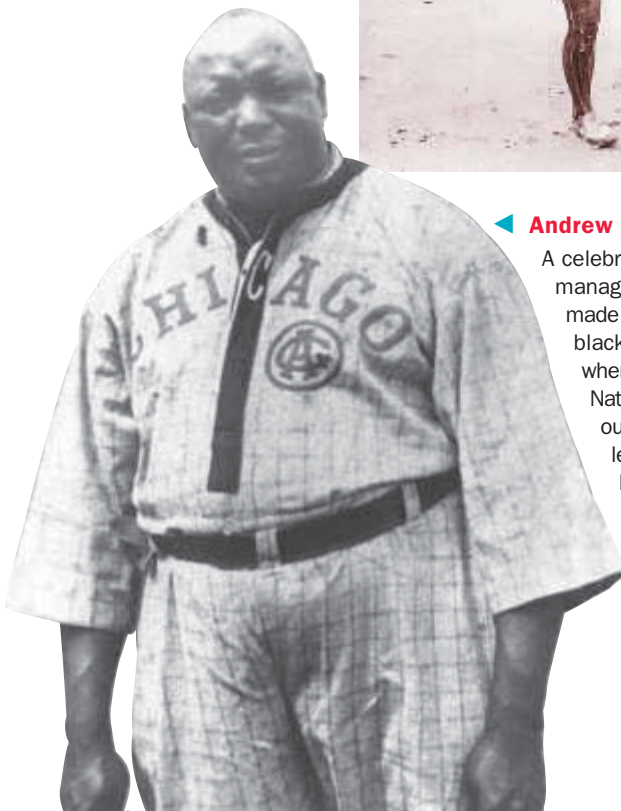
New York Yankees slugger Babe Ruth smashed home run after home run during the 1920s. When this legendary star hit a record 60 home runs in 1927, Americans went wild.

◀ **Andrew "Rube" Foster**

A celebrated pitcher and team manager, Andrew "Rube" Foster made his greatest contribution to black baseball in 1920 when he founded the Negro National League. Although previous attempts to establish a league for black players had failed, Foster led the league to success, earning him the title "The Father of Black Baseball."

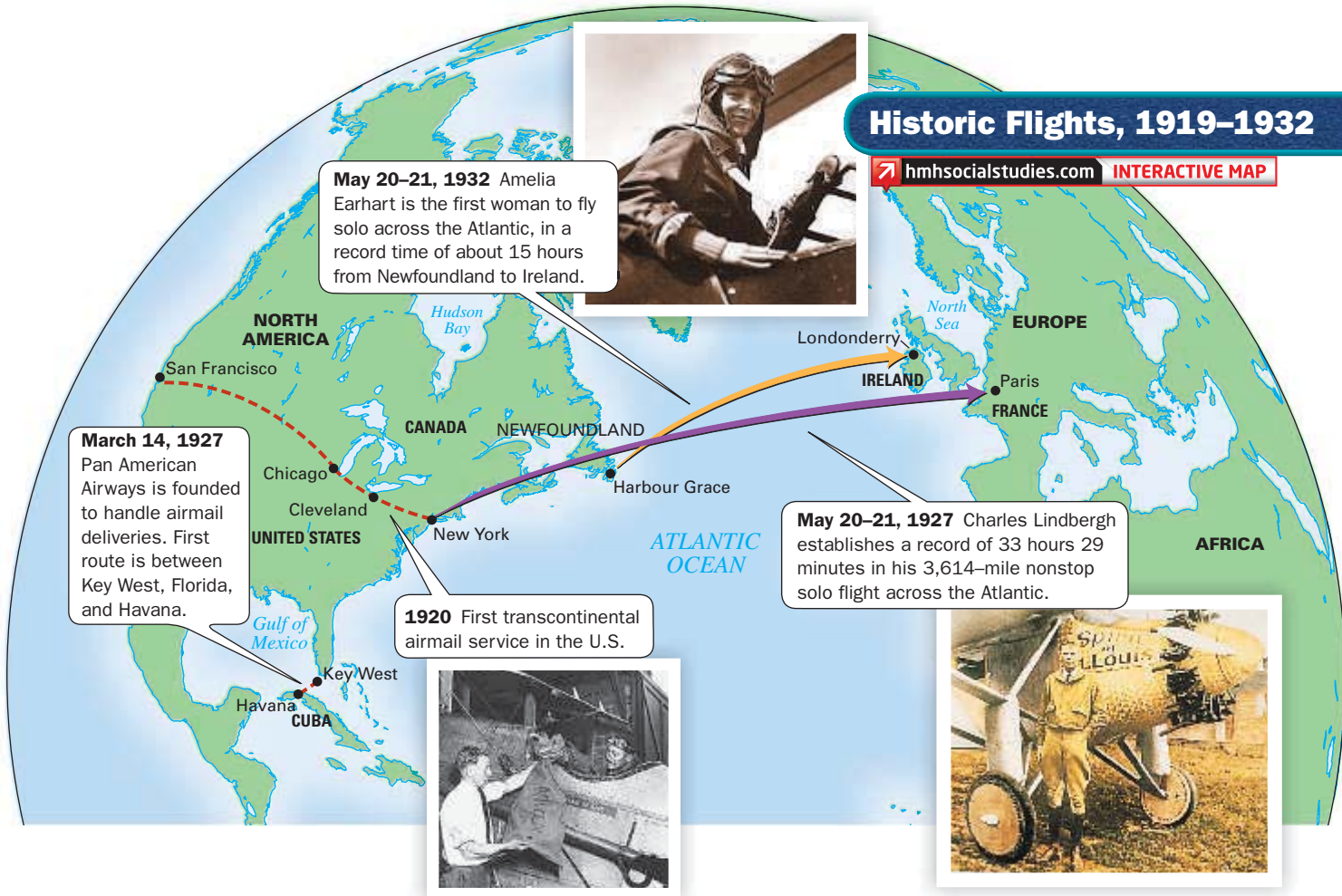
**Helen Wills** ▶

Helen Wills dominated women's tennis, winning the singles title at the U.S. Open seven times and the Wimbledon title eight times. Her nickname was "Little Miss Poker Face."



## Historic Flights, 1919–1932

hmhsocialstudies.com INTERACTIVE MAP



**LINDBERGH'S FLIGHT** America's most beloved hero of the time wasn't an athlete but a small-town pilot named **Charles A. Lindbergh**, who made the first nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic. A handsome, modest Minnesotan, Lindbergh decided to go after a \$25,000 prize offered for the first nonstop solo transatlantic flight. On May 20, 1927, he took off near New York City in the *Spirit of St. Louis*, flew up the coast to Newfoundland, and headed over the Atlantic. The weather was so bad, Lindbergh recalled, that "the average altitude for the whole . . . second 1,000 miles of the [Atlantic] flight was less than 100 feet." After 33 hours and 29 minutes, Lindbergh set down at Le Bourget airfield outside of Paris, France, amid beacons, searchlights, and mobs of enthusiastic people.

Paris threw a huge party. On his return to the U.S., New York showered Lindbergh with ticker tape, the president received him at the White House, and America made him its idol. In an age of sensationalism, excess, and crime, Lindbergh stood for the honesty and bravery the nation seemed to have lost. The novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald, a fellow Minnesotan, caught the essence of Lindbergh's fame.

### A PERSONAL VOICE F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

"In the spring of 1927, something bright and alien flashed across the sky. A young Minnesotan who seemed to have nothing to do with his generation did a heroic thing, and for a moment people set down their glasses in country clubs and speakeasies and thought of their old best dreams."

—quoted in *The Lawless Decade*

Lindbergh's accomplishment paved the way for others. In the next decade, Amelia Earhart was to undertake many brave aerial exploits, inspired by Lindbergh's example.



▲  
Edward Hopper's  
*Night Windows*  
(1928).

## ENTERTAINMENT AND THE ARTS

Despite the feats of real-life heroes, America's thirst for entertainment in the arts and on the screen and stage seemed unquenchable in the 1920s.

Even before the introduction of sound, movies became a national pastime, offering viewers a means of escape through romance and comedy. The first major movie with sound, *The Jazz Singer*, was released in 1927. Walt Disney's *Steamboat Willie*, the first animated film with sound, was released in 1928. By 1930, the new "talkies" had doubled movie attendance, with millions of Americans going to the movies every week. **C**

Both playwrights and composers of music broke away from the European traditions of the 1920s. Eugene O'Neill's plays, such as *The Hairy Ape*, forced Americans to reflect upon modern isolation, confusion, and family conflict. Fame was given to Jewish composer **George Gershwin** when he merged popular concert music with American jazz, thus creating a new sound that was identifiably American.

Painters appealed to Americans by recording an America of realities and dreams. Edward Hopper caught the loneliness of American life in his canvases of empty streets and solitary people, while **Georgia O'Keeffe** produced intensely colored canvases that captured the grandeur of New York.

**WRITERS OF THE 1920s** The 1920s also brought an outpouring of fresh and insightful writing, making it one of the richest eras in the country's literary history.

**Sinclair Lewis**, the first American to win a Nobel Prize in literature, was among the era's most outspoken critics. In his novel *Babbitt*, Lewis used the main character of George F. Babbitt to ridicule Americans for their conformity and materialism.

### ★ A PERSONAL VOICE SINCLAIR LEWIS

"A sensational event was changing from the brown suit to the gray the contents of his pockets. He was earnest about these objects. They were of eternal importance, like baseball or the Republican Party. They included a fountain pen and a silver pencil . . . which belonged in the righthand upper vest pocket. Without them he would have felt naked. On his watch-chain were a gold penknife, silver cigar-cutter, seven keys . . . and incidentally a good watch. . . . Last, he stuck in his lapel the Boosters' Club button. With the conciseness of great art the button displayed two words: 'Boosters—Pep!'"

—*Babbitt*

It was **F. Scott Fitzgerald** who coined the term "Jazz Age" to describe the 1920s. In *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby*, he revealed the negative side of the period's gaiety and freedom, portraying wealthy and attractive people leading imperiled lives in gilded surroundings. In New York City, a brilliant group of writers routinely lunched together at the Algonquin Hotel's "Round Table." Among the best known of them was Dorothy Parker, a short story writer, poet, and essayist. Parker was famous for her wisecracking wit, expressed in such lines as "I was the toast of two continents—Greenland and Australia."

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Making Inferences

**C** Why were Americans so delighted by movies in the 1920s?

Many writers also met important issues head on. In *The Age of Innocence*, Edith Wharton dramatized the clash between traditional and modern values that had undermined high society 50 years earlier. Willa Cather celebrated the simple, dignified lives of people such as the immigrant farmers of Nebraska in *My Ántonia*, while **Edna St. Vincent Millay** wrote poems celebrating youth and a life of independence and freedom from traditional constraints.

Some writers such as Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and John Dos Passos were so soured by American culture that they chose to settle in Europe, mainly in Paris. Socializing in the city's cafes, they formed a group that the writer Gertrude Stein called the Lost Generation. They joined other American writers already in Europe such as the poets Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, whose poem *The Waste Land* presented an agonized view of a society that seemed stripped of humanity. **D**

Several writers saw action in World War I, and their early books denounced war. Dos Passos's novel *Three Soldiers* attacked war as a machine designed to crush human freedom. Later, he turned to social and political themes, using modern techniques to capture the mood of city life and the losses that came with success. **Ernest Hemingway**, wounded in World War I, became the best-known expatriate author. In his novels *The Sun Also Rises* and *A Farewell to Arms*, he criticized the glorification of war. He also introduced a tough, simplified style of writing that set a new literary standard, using sentences a *Time* reporter compared to "round stones polished by rain and wind."

During this rich literary era, vital developments were also taking place in African-American society. Black Americans of the 1920s began to voice pride in their heritage, and black artists and writers revealed the richness of African-American culture.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**D** Why did some writers reject American culture and values?

#### Vocabulary

**expatriate:** a person who has taken up residence in a foreign country

## KEY PLAYER



**F. SCOTT FITZGERALD**  
1900–1940

F. Scott Fitzgerald married vivacious Zelda Sayre in 1920 after his novel *This Side of Paradise* became an instant hit. He said of this time in his life:

"Riding in a taxi one afternoon between very tall buildings under a mauve and rosy sky, I began to bawl because I had everything I wanted and knew I would never be so happy again."

Flush with money, the couple plunged into a wild social whirl and outspent their incomes. The years following were difficult. Zelda suffered from repeated mental breakdowns, and Scott's battle with alcoholism took its toll.



## ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each of the following names, write a sentence explaining his or her significance.

• Charles A. Lindbergh  
• George Gershwin

• Georgia O'Keeffe  
• Sinclair Lewis

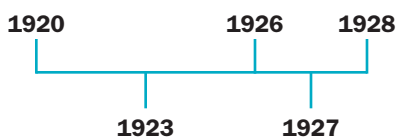
• F. Scott Fitzgerald  
• Edna St. Vincent Millay

• Ernest Hemingway

### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

Create a time line of key events relating to 1920s popular culture. Use the dates below as a guide.



In a sentence or two, explain which of these events interests you the most and why.

### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. SYNTHESIZING

In what ways do you think the mass media and mass culture helped Americans create a sense of national community in the 1920s? Support your answer with details from the text. **Think About:**

- the content and readership of newspapers and magazines
- attendance at sports events and movie theaters
- the scope of radio broadcasts

#### 4. EVALUATING

Do you think the popular heroes of the 1920s were heroes in a real sense? Why or why not?

#### 5. SUMMARIZING

In two or three sentences, summarize the effects of education and mass media on society in the 1920s.

# The Harlem Renaissance

## MAIN IDEA

African-American ideas, politics, art, literature, and music flourished in Harlem and elsewhere in the United States.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Harlem Renaissance provided a foundation of African-American intellectualism to which African-American writers, artists, and musicians contribute today.

## Terms & Names

- Zora Neale Hurston
- James Weldon Johnson
- Marcus Garvey
- Harlem Renaissance
- Claude McKay
- Langston Hughes
- Paul Robeson
- Louis Armstrong
- Duke Ellington
- Bessie Smith

## One American's Story



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the achievements of the Harlem Renaissance.

When the spirited **Zora Neale Hurston** was a girl in Eatonville, Florida, in the early 1900s, she loved to read adventure stories and myths. The powerful tales struck a chord with the young, talented Hurston and made her yearn for a wider world.

### A PERSONAL VOICE ZORA NEALE HURSTON

“My soul was with the gods and my body in the village. People just would not act like gods. . . . Raking back yards and carrying out chamber-pots, were not the tasks of Thor. I wanted to be away from drabness and to stretch my limbs in some mighty struggle.”

—quoted in *The African American Encyclopedia*

After spending time with a traveling theater company and attending Howard University, Hurston ended up in New York where she struggled to the top of African-American literary society by hard work, flamboyance, and, above all, grit. “I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less,” Hurston wrote later. “I do not weep at [being Negro]—I am too busy sharpening my oyster knife.” Hurston was on the move, like millions of others. And, like them, she went after the pearl in the oyster—the good life in America.



▲ Zora Neale Hurston

## African-American Voices in the 1920s

During the 1920s, African Americans set new goals for themselves as they moved north to the nation's cities. Their migration was an expression of their changing attitude toward themselves—an attitude perhaps best captured in a phrase first used around this time, “Black is beautiful.”

**THE MOVE NORTH** Between 1910 and 1920, in a movement known as the Great Migration, hundreds of thousands of African Americans had uprooted

themselves from their homes in the South and moved north to the big cities in search of jobs. By the end of the decade, 5.2 million of the nation's 12 million African Americans—over 40 percent—lived in cities. Zora Neale Hurston documented the departure of some of these African Americans.

### A PERSONAL VOICE ZORA NEALE HURSTON

**“Some said goodbye cheerfully . . . others fearfully, with terrors of unknown dangers in their mouths . . . others in their eagerness for distance said nothing. The daybreak found them gone. The wind said North.”**

—quoted in *Sorrow's Kitchen: The Life and Folklore of Zora Neale Hurston*

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

**A** How did the influx of African Americans change Northern cities?

However, Northern cities in general had not welcomed the massive influx of African Americans. Tensions had escalated in the years prior to 1920, culminating, in the summer of 1919, in approximately 25 urban race riots. **A**

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN GOALS** Founded in 1909, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) urged African Americans to protest racial violence. W. E. B. Du Bois, a founding member of the NAACP, led a parade of 10,000 African-American men in New York to protest such violence. Du Bois also used the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*, as a platform for leading a struggle for civil rights.

Under the leadership of **James Weldon Johnson**—poet, lawyer, and NAACP executive secretary—the organization fought for legislation to protect African-American rights. It made antilynching laws one of its main priorities. In 1919, three antilynching bills were introduced in Congress, although none was passed. The NAACP continued its campaign through antilynching organizations that had been established in 1892 by Ida B. Wells. Gradually, the number of lynchings dropped. The NAACP represented the new, more militant voice of African Americans.

**MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIA** Although many African Americans found their voice in the NAACP, they still faced daily threats and discrimination. **Marcus Garvey**, an immigrant from Jamaica, believed that African Americans should build a separate society. His different, more radical message of black pride aroused the hopes of many.

In 1914, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In 1918, he moved the UNIA to New York City and opened offices in urban ghettos in order to recruit followers. By the mid-1920s, Garvey claimed he had a million followers. He appealed to African Americans with a combination of spellbinding oratory, mass meetings, parades, and a message of pride.

### A PERSONAL VOICE MARCUS GARVEY

**“In view of the fact that the black man of Africa has contributed as much to the world as the white man of Europe, and the brown man and yellow man of Asia, we of the Universal Negro Improvement Association demand that the white, yellow, and brown races give to the black man his place in the civilization of the world. We ask for nothing more than the rights of 400 million Negroes.”**

—speech at Liberty Hall, New York City, 1922

### KEY PLAYER



**JAMES WELDON JOHNSON**  
1871–1938

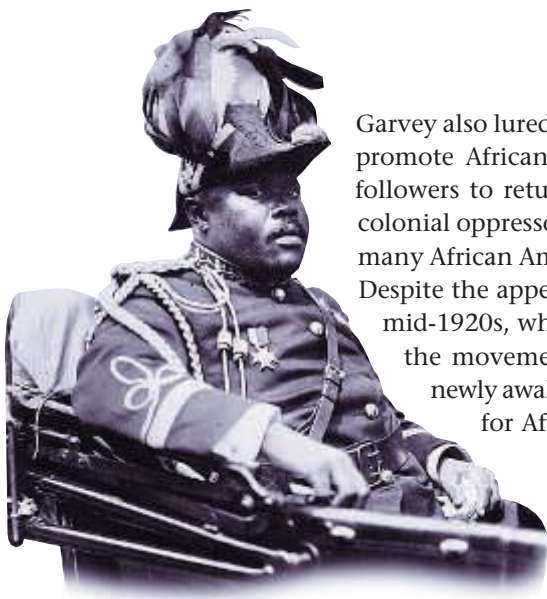
James Weldon Johnson worked as a school principal, newspaper editor, and lawyer in Florida. In 1900, he wrote the lyrics for “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” the song that became known as the black national anthem. The first stanza begins as follows:

“Lift every voice and sing  
Till earth and heaven ring,  
Ring with the harmonies of  
Liberty;  
Let our rejoicing rise  
High as the listening skies,  
Let it resound loud as the  
rolling sea.”

In the 1920s, Johnson straddled the worlds of politics and art. He served as executive secretary of the NAACP, spearheading the fight against lynching. In addition, he wrote well-known works, such as *God's Trombones*, a series of sermon-like poems, and *Black Manhattan*, a look at black cultural life in New York during the Roaring Twenties.

#### Vocabulary

**oratory:** the art of public speaking



▲ Marcus Garvey designed this uniform of purple and gold, complete with feathered hat, for his role as “Provisional President of Africa.”

Garvey also lured followers with practical plans, especially his program to promote African-American businesses. Further, Garvey encouraged his followers to return to Africa, help native people there throw off white colonial oppressors, and build a mighty nation. His idea struck a chord in many African Americans, as well as in blacks in the Caribbean and Africa. Despite the appeal of Garvey’s movement, support for it declined in the mid-1920s, when he was convicted of mail fraud and jailed. Although the movement dwindled, Garvey left behind a powerful legacy of newly awakened black pride, economic independence, and reverence for Africa. **B**

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**

**B** What approach to race relations did Marcus Garvey promote?

## The Harlem Renaissance Flowers in New York

Many African Americans who migrated north moved to Harlem, a neighborhood on the Upper West Side of New York’s Manhattan Island. In the 1920s, Harlem became the world’s largest black urban community, with residents from the South, the West Indies, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Haiti. James Weldon Johnson described Harlem as the capital of black America.

### A PERSONAL VOICE JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

“Harlem is not merely a Negro colony or community, it is a city within a city, the greatest Negro city in the world. It is not a slum or a fringe, it is located in the heart of Manhattan and occupies one of the most beautiful . . . sections of the city. . . . It has its own churches, social and civic centers, shops, theaters, and other places of amusement. And it contains more Negroes to the square mile than any other spot on earth.”

—“Harlem: The Culture Capital”

Like many other urban neighborhoods, Harlem suffered from overcrowding, unemployment, and poverty. But its problems in the 1920s were eclipsed by a flowering of creativity called the **Harlem Renaissance**, a literary and artistic movement celebrating African-American culture.

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN WRITERS** Above all, the Harlem Renaissance was a literary movement led by well-educated, middle-class African Americans who expressed a new pride in the African-American experience. They celebrated their heritage and wrote with defiance and poignancy about the trials of being black in a white world. W. E. B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson helped these young talents along, as did the Harvard-educated former Rhodes scholar Alain Locke. In 1925, Locke published *The New Negro*, a landmark collection of literary works by many promising young African-American writers.

**Claude McKay**, a novelist, poet, and Jamaican immigrant, was a major figure whose militant verses urged African Americans to resist prejudice and discrimination. His poems also expressed the pain of life in the black ghettos and the strain of being black in a world dominated by whites. Another gifted writer of the time was Jean Toomer. His experimental book *Cane*—a mix of poems and sketches about blacks in the North and the South—was among the first full-length literary publications of the Harlem Renaissance.

Missouri-born **Langston Hughes** was the movement’s best-known poet. Many of Hughes’s 1920s poems described the difficult lives of working-class African Americans. Some of his poems moved to the tempo of jazz and the blues. (See Literature in the Jazz Age on page 458.)



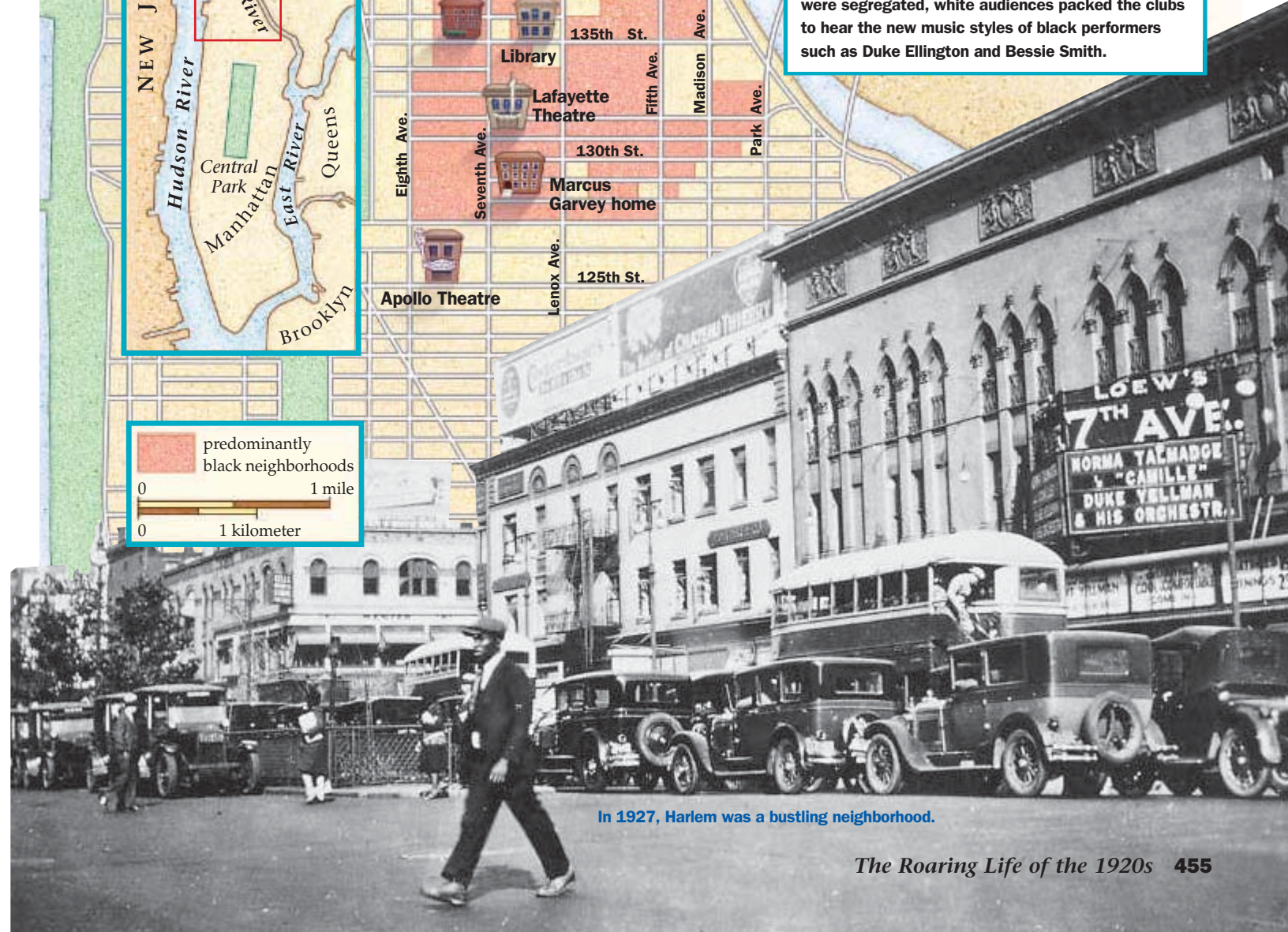
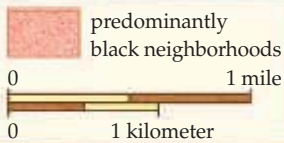
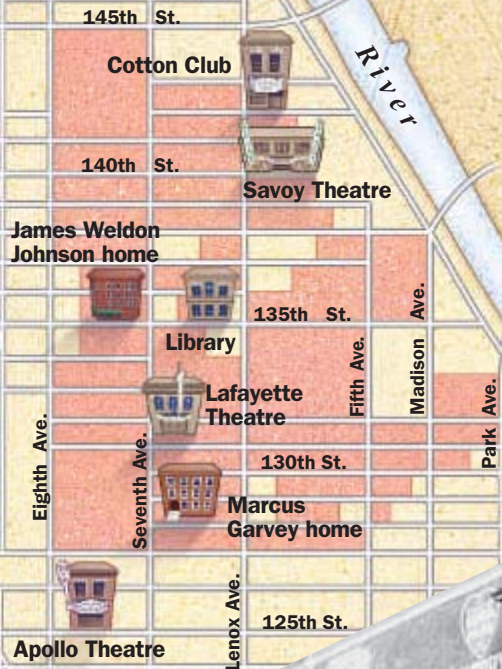
The Fletcher Henderson Orchestra became one of the most influential jazz bands during the Harlem Renaissance. Here, Henderson, the band's founder, sits at the drums, with Louis Armstrong on trumpet (third from left).

## Harlem in the 1920s

At the turn of the century, New York's Harlem neighborhood was overbuilt with new apartment houses. Enterprising African-American realtors began buying and leasing property to other African Americans who were eager to move into the prosperous neighborhood. As the number of blacks in Harlem increased, many whites began moving out. Harlem quickly grew to become the center of black America and the birthplace of the political, social, and cultural movement known as the Harlem Renaissance.



In the mid 1920s, the Cotton Club was one of a number of fashionable entertainment clubs in Harlem. Although many venues like the Cotton Club were segregated, white audiences packed the clubs to hear the new music styles of black performers such as Duke Ellington and Bessie Smith.



In 1927, Harlem was a bustling neighborhood.

In many of her novels, short stories, poems, and books of folklore, Zora Neale Hurston portrayed the lives of poor, unschooled Southern blacks—in her words, “the greatest cultural wealth of the continent.” Much of her work celebrated what she called the common person’s art form—the simple folkways and values of people who had survived slavery through their ingenuity and strength. **C**

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN PERFORMERS** The spirit and talent of the Harlem Renaissance reached far beyond the world of African-American writers and intellectuals. Some observers, including Langston Hughes, thought the movement was launched with *Shuffle Along*, a black musical comedy popular in 1921. “It gave just the proper push . . . to that Negro vogue of the ‘20s,” he wrote. Several songs in *Shuffle Along*, including “Love Will Find a Way,” won popularity among white audiences. The show also spotlighted the talents of several black performers, including the singers Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, and Mabel Mercer.

During the 1920s, African Americans in the performing arts won large followings. The tenor Roland Hayes rose to stardom as a concert singer, and the singer and actress Ethel Waters debuted on Broadway in the musical *Africana*. **Paul Robeson**, the son of a one-time slave, became a major dramatic actor. His performance in Shakespeare’s *Othello*, first in London and later in New York City, was widely acclaimed. Subsequently, Robeson struggled with the racism he experienced in the United States and the indignities inflicted upon him because of his support of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. He took up residence abroad, living for a time in England and the Soviet Union.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Synthesizing**

**C** In what ways did writers of the Harlem Renaissance celebrate a “rebirth”?

**The Hot Five** included (from left) Louis Armstrong, Johnny St. Cyr, Johnny Dodds, Kid Ory, and Lil Hardin Armstrong.

**Background**

See Historical Spotlight on page 617.



**AFRICAN AMERICANS AND JAZZ** Jazz was born in the early 20th century in New Orleans, where musicians blended instrumental ragtime and vocal blues into an exuberant new sound. In 1918, Joe “King” Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band traveled north to Chicago, carrying jazz with them. In 1922, a young trumpet player named **Louis Armstrong** joined Oliver’s group, which became known as the Creole Jazz Band. His talent rocketed him to stardom in the jazz world.

Famous for his astounding sense of rhythm and his ability to improvise, Armstrong made personal expression a key part of jazz. After two years in Chicago, in 1924 he joined Fletcher Henderson’s band, then the most important big jazz band in New York City. Armstrong went on to become perhaps the most important and influential musician in the history of jazz. He often talked about his anticipated funeral.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** LOUIS ARMSTRONG

“They’re going to blow over me. Cats will be coming from everywhere to play. I had a beautiful life. When I get to the Pearly Gates I’ll play a duet with Gabriel. We’ll play ‘Sleepy Time Down South.’ He wants to be remembered for his music just like I do.”

—quoted in *The Negro Almanac*

Jazz quickly spread to such cities as Kansas City, Memphis, and New York City, and it became the most popular music for dancing. During the 1920s, Harlem pulsed to the sounds of jazz, which lured throngs of whites to the showy, exotic nightclubs there, including the famed Cotton Club. In the late 1920s, **Edward Kennedy “Duke” Ellington**, a jazz pianist and composer, led his

ten-piece orchestra at the Cotton Club. In a 1925 essay titled “The Negro Spirituals,” Alain Locke seemed almost to predict the career of the talented Ellington.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** ALAIN LOCKE

“Up to the present, the resources of Negro music have been tentatively exploited in only one direction at a time—melodically here, rhythmically there, harmonically in a third direction. A genius that would organize its distinctive elements in a formal way would be the musical giant of his age.”

—quoted in *Afro-American Writing: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry*

Through the 1920s and 1930s, Ellington won renown as one of America’s greatest composers, with pieces such as “Mood Indigo” and “Sophisticated Lady.”

Cab Calloway, a talented drummer, saxophonist, and singer, formed another important jazz orchestra, which played at Harlem’s Savoy Ballroom and the Cotton Club, alternating with Duke Ellington. Along with Louis Armstrong, Calloway popularized “scat,” or improvised jazz singing using sounds instead of words.

**Bessie Smith**, a female blues singer, was perhaps the outstanding vocalist of the decade. She recorded on black-oriented labels produced by the major record companies. She achieved enormous popularity and in 1927 became the highest-paid black artist in the world. **D**


The Harlem Renaissance represented a portion of the great social and cultural changes that swept America in the 1920s. The period was characterized by economic prosperity, new ideas, changing values, and personal freedom, as well as important developments in art, literature, and music. Most of the social changes were lasting. The economic boom, however, was short-lived.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**

**D** Besides literary accomplishments, in what areas did African Americans achieve remarkable results?

KEY PLAYER



DUKE ELLINGTON  
1899–1974

Edward Kennedy “Duke” Ellington, one of the greatest composers of the 20th century, was largely a self-taught musician. He developed his skills by playing at family socials. He wrote his first song, “Soda Fountain Rag,” at age 15 and started his first band at 22. During the five years Ellington played at Harlem’s glittering Cotton Club, he set a new standard, playing mainly his own stylish compositions. Through radio and the film short *Black and Tan*, the Duke Ellington Orchestra was able to reach nationwide audiences. Billy Strayhorn, Ellington’s long-time arranger and collaborator, said, “Ellington plays the piano, but his real instrument is his band.”



**ASSESSMENT**

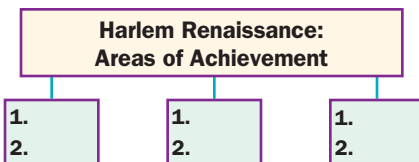
**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Zora Neale Hurston
- Harlem Renaissance
- Paul Robeson
- Duke Ellington
- James Weldon Johnson
- Claude McKay
- Louis Armstrong
- Bessie Smith
- Marcus Garvey
- Langston Hughes

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

In a tree diagram, identify three areas of artistic achievement in the Harlem Renaissance. For each, name two outstanding African Americans.



Write a paragraph explaining the impact of these achievements.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. ANALYZING CAUSES**

Speculate on why an African-American renaissance flowered during the 1920s. Support your answer. **Think About:**

- racial discrimination in the South
- campaigns for equality in the North
- Harlem’s diverse cultures
- the changing culture of all Americans

**4. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS**

How did popular culture in America change as a result of the Great Migration?

**5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS**

What did the Harlem Renaissance contribute to both black and general American history?

# Literature in the Jazz Age

**1920–1929** After World War I, American literature—like American jazz—moved to the vanguard of the international artistic scene. Many American writers remained in Europe after the war, some settling in London but many more joining the expatriate community on the Left Bank of the Seine River in Paris, where they could live cheaply.

Back in the United States, such cities as Chicago and New York were magnets for America's young artistic talents. New York City gave birth to the Harlem Renaissance, a blossoming of African-American culture named for the New York City neighborhood where many African-American writers and artists settled. Further downtown, the artistic community of Greenwich Village drew literary talents such as the poets Edna St. Vincent Millay and E. E. Cummings and the playwright Eugene O'Neill.

## F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

The foremost chronicler of the Jazz Age was the Minnesota-born writer F. Scott Fitzgerald, who in Paris, New York, and later Hollywood rubbed elbows with other leading American writers of the day. In the following passage from Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby*, the narrator describes a fashionable 1920s party thrown by the title character at his Long Island estate.



By seven o'clock the orchestra has arrived, no thin five-piece affair, but a whole pitful of oboes and trombones and saxophones and viols and cornets and piccolos, and low and high drums. The last swimmers have come in from the beach now and are dressing up-stairs; the cars from New York are parked five deep in the drive, and already the halls and salons and verandas are gaudy with primary colors, and hair shorn in strange new ways, and shawls beyond the dreams of Castile. The bar is in full swing, and floating rounds of cocktails permeate the garden outside, until the air is alive with chatter and laughter, and casual innuendo and introductions forgotten on the spot, and enthusiastic meetings between women who never knew each other's names.

The lights grow brighter as the earth lurches away from the sun, and now the orchestra is playing yellow cocktail music, and the opera of voices pitches a key higher. Laughter is easier minute by minute, spilled with prodigality, tipped out at a cheerful word. The groups change more swiftly, swell with new arrivals, dissolve and form in the same breath; already there are wanderers, confident girls who weave here and there among the stouter and more stable, become for a sharp, joyous moment the center of a group, and then, excited with triumph, glide on through the sea-change of faces and voices and color under the constantly changing light.

Suddenly one of these gypsies, in trembling opal, seizes a cocktail out of the air, dumps it down for courage and, moving her hands like Frisco, dances out alone on the canvas platform. A momentary hush; the orchestra leader varies his rhythm obligingly for her, and there is a burst of chatter as the erroneous news goes around that she is Gilda Gray's understudy from the Follies. The party has begun.

—F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (1925)



#### ◀ EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY

In the 1920s, Edna St. Vincent Millay was the quintessential modern young woman, a celebrated poet living a bohemian life in New York's Greenwich Village. The following quatrain memorably proclaims the exuberant philosophy of the young and fashionable in the Roaring Twenties.

My candle burns at both ends;  
It will not last the night;  
But ah, my foes, and oh, my friends—  
It gives a lovely light!

—Edna St. Vincent Millay, “First Fig,”  
from *A Few Figs from Thistles* (1920)

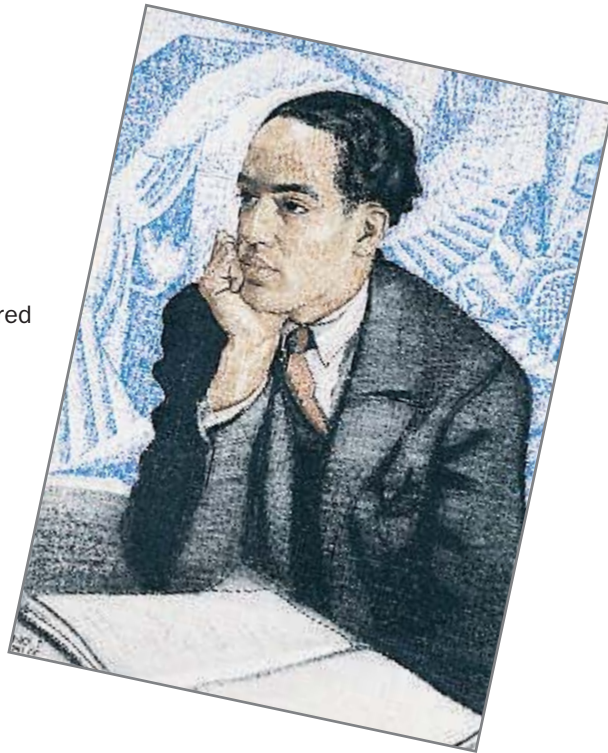
#### LANGSTON HUGHES ▶

A towering figure of the Harlem Renaissance, Langston Hughes often imbued his poetry with the rhythms of jazz and blues. In the poem “Dream Variations,” for example, the two stanzas resemble improvised passages played and varied by a jazz musician. The dream of freedom and equality is a recurring symbol in Hughes’s verse and has appeared frequently in African-American literature since the 1920s, when Hughes penned this famous poem.

To fling my arms wide  
In some place of the sun,  
To whirl and to dance  
Till the white day is done.  
Then rest at cool evening  
Beneath a tall tree  
While night comes on gently,  
Dark like me—  
That is my dream!

To fling my arms wide  
In the face of the sun,  
Dance! Whirl! Whirl!  
Till the quick day is done.  
Rest at pale evening . . .  
A tall, slim tree . . .  
Night coming tenderly  
Black like me.

—Langston Hughes, “Dream Variations,”  
from *The Weary Blues* (1926)



#### THINKING CRITICALLY

1. **Comparing** What connections can you make between the literary and music scenes during the Jazz Age?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

2.  [hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com) INTERNET ACTIVITY



Visit the links for American Literature to research writers of the Jazz Age. Then, create a short report on one writer's life. Include titles of published works and an example of his or her writing style.

# 13

## VISUAL SUMMARY

### THE ROARING LIFE OF THE 1920s

#### NEW FORMS OF ENTERTAINMENT



- Movies become a national pastime.
- Radio is a prime source of news and entertainment.
- Americans celebrate sports heroes.

#### NEW MOVEMENTS IN THE ARTS

- Composers create distinctly American music.
- Writers explore new topics.
- Artists depict life in the 1920s.
- Harlem Renaissance flourishes.



#### PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION



- Industrialization leads to growth of big cities.
- African Americans continue to move North.
- Cities struggle with prohibition and organized crime.

#### NEW ATTITUDES AND FASHION

- Changing attitudes toward women allow them greater freedoms.
- Americans adopt radical new fashions and style.
- Traditional and modern ideals collide.



## TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its historical significance or contribution to the 1920s.

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. bootlegger           | 6. George Gershwin     |
| 2. fundamentalism       | 7. F. Scott Fitzgerald |
| 3. flapper              | 8. Zora Neale Hurston  |
| 4. double standard      | 9. Harlem Renaissance  |
| 5. Charles A. Lindbergh | 10. Paul Robeson       |

## MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

### Changing Ways of Life (pages 434–439)

1. Why was heavy funding needed to enforce the Volstead Act?
2. Explain the circumstances and outcome of the trial of the biology teacher John Scopes.

### The Twenties Woman (pages 440–443)

3. In what ways did flappers rebel against the earlier styles and attitudes of the Victorian age?
4. What key social, economic, and technological changes of the 1920s affected women’s marriages and family life?

### Education and Popular Culture (pages 446–451)

5. How did high schools change in the 1920s?
6. Cite examples of the flaws of American society that some famous 1920s authors attacked in their writing.

### The Harlem Renaissance (pages 452–457)

7. What do the Great Migration and the growth of the NAACP and UNIA reveal about the African-American experience in this period?
8. What were some of the important themes treated by African-American writers in the Harlem Renaissance?

## CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Create a concept web like the one below, and fill it in with trends in popular culture that emerged in the 1920s and continue to influence American society today.



2. **EVALUATING** In “Literature in the Jazz Age,” on pages 458/459, you read excerpts from works written in the 1920s by F. Scott Fitzgerald, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Langston Hughes. How might a phrase current at the time—“flaming youth”—be an appropriate and accurate phrase to describe the young people and voices in these excerpts?

## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the visual below and your knowledge of United States history to answer question 1.



1. The woman shown on this magazine cover represents a lifestyle championed by which of the following 1920s figures?
- A Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald
  - B Edna St. Vincent Millay
  - C Anna Howard Shaw
  - D Aimee Semple McPherson

2. The great flowering of African-American artistic activity in the 1920s is known as —
- F the Jazz Age
  - G the speakeasy
  - H the Harlem Renaissance
  - J American fundamentalism

Use the quotation and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 3.

**“No more fear, no more cringing, no more sycophantic begging and pleading; but the Negro must strike straight from the shoulder for manhood rights and for full liberty. Africa calls now more than ever.”**

3. The quotation supports the “Back to Africa” movement. One important leader of this movement in the 1920s was —
- A Marcus Garvey
  - B James Weldon Johnson
  - C Zora Neale Hurston
  - D Paul Robeson

[hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com) TEST PRACTICE

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

### INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Think about the issues you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Now that you have read about life in the 1920s, what do you think was the most significant cultural development during this time? Write a paragraph describing how this change affected society and how it evolved. Share your paragraph with your class.

### FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine that you live in a small town in the year 1920. Prepare a persuasive speech that you will deliver at a town hall meeting in favor of or in opposition to Prohibition. Be sure to support your position with evidence and specific details. Use words and phrases that engage your audience. Additionally, you may want to anticipate the arguments of the opposing viewpoint and respond to them.

### MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY



Organize into small groups. Use the Internet and other sources to research the changes in American films during the 1920s that contributed to their growing popularity. Then create a multimedia presentation that describes these changes, including references to important films, actors, and directors.

CHAPTER  
**14**

# THE GREAT DEPRESSION BEGINS

## Essential Question

What were the causes and consequences of the Great Depression?



## What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will learn about the weaknesses in the American economy and how they helped to bring about the Great Depression.

### SECTION 1: The Nation's Sick Economy

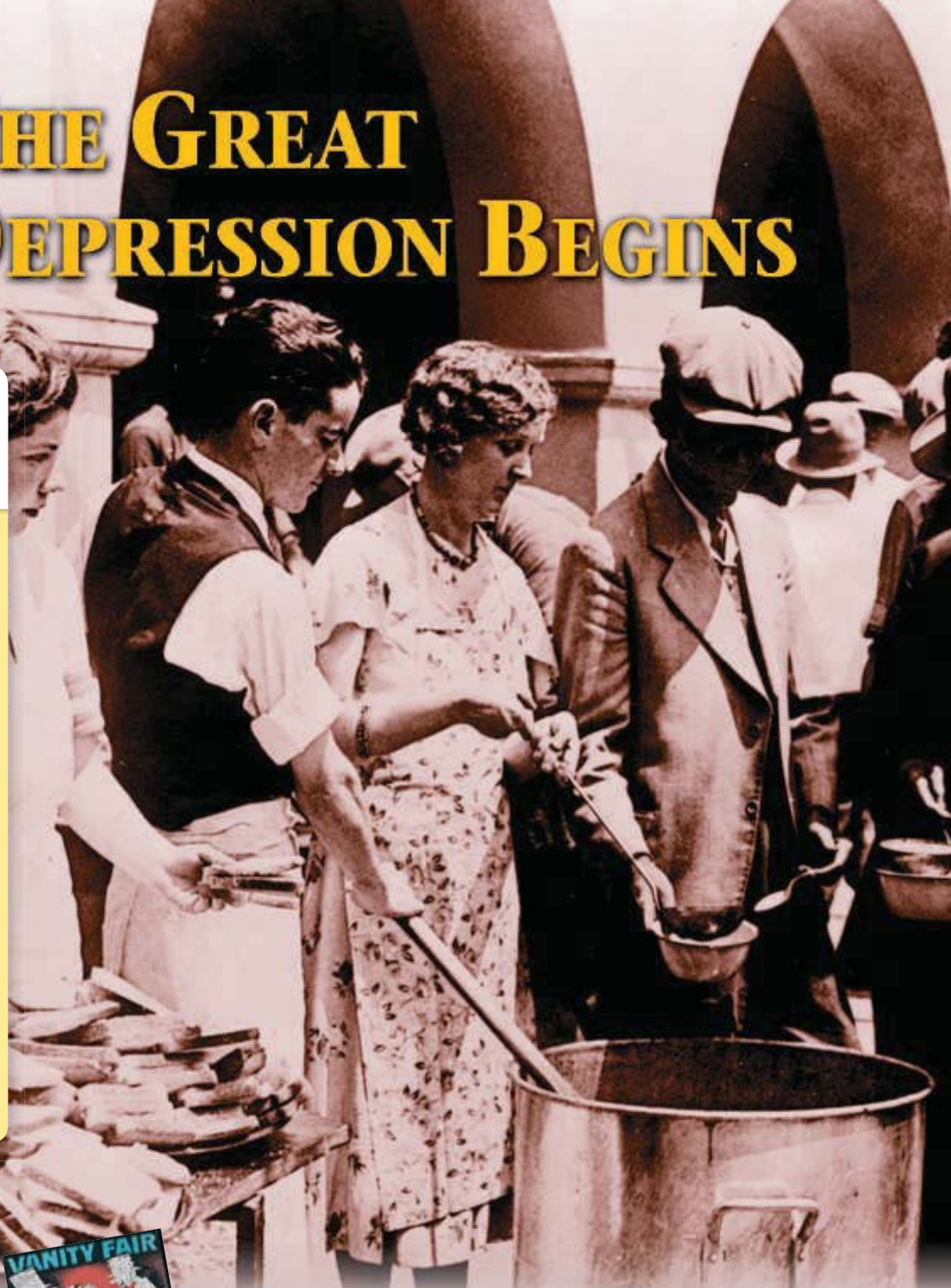
**Main Idea** As the prosperity of the 1920s ended, severe economic problems gripped the nation.

### SECTION 2: Hardship and Suffering During the Depression

**Main Idea** During the Great Depression Americans did what they had to do to survive.

### SECTION 3: Hoover Struggles with the Depression

**Main Idea** President Hoover's conservative response to the Great Depression drew criticism from many Americans.



**1929** The first Academy Awards are presented.

**1929** The stock market crashes.

**1930-1933** More than 40% of the nation's banks fail.

**1931** Jane Addams shares the Nobel Peace Prize.

**1931** 8.02 million Americans are unemployed.



USA  
WORLD

**1929**

**1930**

**1931**

**1930** Army officers led by José Uriburu seize control of the government of Argentina.

**1931** Japan invades Manchuria.



## INTERACT WITH HISTORY

The year is 1929. The U.S. economy has collapsed. Farms, businesses, and banks nationwide are failing, causing massive unemployment and poverty. You are out of work with little prospect of finding a job.

### Explore the Issues

- What groups of people will be most hurt by the economic crash?
- What can you do to find a paying job?
- What can unemployed and impoverished people do to help each other?

Women serve soup and slices of bread to unemployed men in an outdoor breadline in Los Angeles, California during the Great Depression.

**1932** The Bonus Army arrives in Washington, D.C.

**1932** Franklin Delano Roosevelt is elected president.



**1933** "Century of Progress Exposition" begins.

**1933** The Twenty-first Amendment ends Prohibition.

**1933** More than 13 million Americans are unemployed.

**1932**

**1932** Ibn Sa'ud becomes king of newly-united Saudi Arabia.

**1932** From prison, Mohandas K. Gandhi leads a protest against British policies in India.



**1933**

**1933** Adolf Hitler takes power in Germany.

**1933** Japan withdraws from the League of Nations.

**1934**



SECTION 1

# The Nation's Sick Economy

### MAIN IDEA

As the prosperity of the 1920s ended, severe economic problems gripped the nation.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Great Depression has had lasting effects on how Americans view themselves and their government.

### Terms & Names

- price support
- credit
- Alfred E. Smith
- Dow Jones Industrial Average
- speculation
- buying on margin
- Black Tuesday
- Great Depression
- Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act

## One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com  
**TAKING NOTES**

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the causes of the 1929 stock market crash.

Gordon Parks, the well-known photographer, author, and filmmaker, was a 16-year-old high school student in the fall of 1929. He supported himself as a busboy at the exclusive Minnesota Club, where prosperous club members spoke confidently about the economy. Parks, too, looked forward to a bright future. Then came the stock market crash of October 1929. In his autobiography, Parks recalled his feelings at the time.

### A PERSONAL VOICE GORDON PARKS

**“I couldn’t imagine such financial disaster touching my small world; it surely concerned only the rich. But by the first week of November . . . I was without a job. All that next week I searched for any kind of work that would prevent my leaving school. Again it was, ‘We’re firing, not hiring.’ . . . I went to school and cleaned out my locker, knowing it was impossible to stay on. A piercing chill was in the air as I walked back to the rooming house.”**

—*A Choice of Weapons*



▲ Gordon Parks, shown here in 1968 discussing the movie version of his autobiographical novel, *The Learning Tree*.

The crash of 1929, and the depression that followed, dealt a crushing blow to the hopes and dreams of millions of Americans. The high-flying prosperity of the 1920s was over. Hard times had begun.

## Economic Troubles on the Horizon

As the 1920s advanced, serious problems threatened economic prosperity. Though some Americans became wealthy, many more could not earn a decent living. Important industries struggled, and farmers grew more crops and raised more livestock than they could sell at a profit. Both consumers and farmers were steadily going deeper into debt. As the decade drew to a close, these slippages in the economy signaled the end of an era.

**INDUSTRIES IN TROUBLE** The superficial prosperity of the late 1920s shrouded weaknesses that would signal the onset of the Great Depression. Key basic industries, such as railroads, textiles, and steel had barely made a profit. Railroads lost business to new forms of transportation (trucks, buses, and private automobiles, for instance).

Mining and lumbering, which had expanded during wartime, were no longer in high demand. Coal mining was especially hard-hit, in part due to stiff competition from new forms of energy, including hydroelectric power, fuel oil, and natural gas. By the early 1930s, these sources supplied more than half the energy that had once come from coal. Even the boom industries of the 1920s—automobiles, construction, and consumer goods—were weakened. One important economic indicator that declined during this time was housing starts—the number of new dwellings being built. When housing starts fall, so do jobs in many related industries, such as furniture manufacturing and lumbering. **A**

**MAIN IDEA**

**Identifying Problems**

**A** What industrial weakness signaled a declining economy in the 1920s?

**FARMERS NEED A LIFT** Perhaps agriculture suffered the most. During World War I, prices rose and international demand for crops such as wheat and corn soared. Farmers had planted more and taken out loans for land and equipment. However, demand fell after the war, and crop prices declined by 40 percent or more.

Farmers boosted production in the hopes of selling more crops, but this only depressed prices further. Between 1919 and 1921 annual farm income declined from \$10 billion to just over \$4 billion. Farmers who had gone into debt had difficulty in paying off their loans. Many lost their farms when banks foreclosed and seized the property as payment for the debt. As farmers began to default on their loans, many rural banks began to fail. Auctions were held to recoup some of the banks' losses.

Congress tried to help out farmers with a piece of legislation called the McNary-Haugen bill. This called for federal **price-supports** for key products such as wheat, corn, cotton, and tobacco. The government would buy surplus crops at guaranteed prices and sell them on the world market.

President Coolidge vetoed the bill twice. He commented, "Farmers have never made money. I don't believe we can do much about it."

**CONSUMERS HAVE LESS MONEY TO SPEND** As farmers' incomes fell, they bought fewer goods and services, but the problem was larger. By the late 1920s,

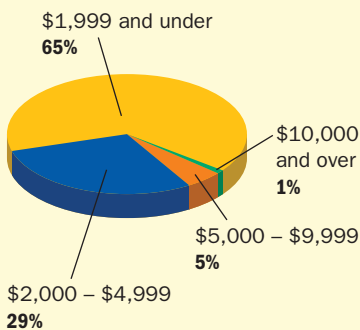
Farm equipment is auctioned off in Hastings, Nebraska.



## ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

### UNEVEN INCOME DISTRIBUTION, 1929

The 1920s were an era that favored big business. Life was good for the rich. They made up just 0.1 percent of the population and had yearly incomes of more than \$100,000. Conversely, much of the population had to scrape to get by. Many earned so little that everyone in the family, including children, had to work. Nearly 80 percent of all families had no savings.



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Americans were buying less—mainly because of rising prices, stagnant wages, unbalanced distribution of income, and overbuying on credit in the preceding years. Production had also expanded much faster than wages, resulting in an ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor.

**LIVING ON CREDIT** Although many Americans appeared to be prosperous during the 1920s, in fact they were living beyond their means. They often bought goods on **credit**—an arrangement in which consumers agreed to buy now and pay later for purchases. This was often in the form of an installment plan (usually in monthly payments) that included interest charges.

By making credit easily available, businesses encouraged Americans to pile up a large consumer debt. Many people then had trouble paying off their growing debts. Faced with debt, consumers cut back on spending.

**UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME** During the 1920s, the rich got richer, and the poor got poorer. Between 1920 and 1929, the income of the wealthiest 1 percent of the population rose by 75 percent, compared with a 9 percent increase for Americans as a whole.

More than 70 percent of the nation's families earned less than \$2,500 per year, then considered the minimum amount needed for a decent standard of living. Even families earning twice that much could not afford many of the household products that manufacturers produced. Economists estimate that the average man or woman bought a new outfit of clothes only once a year. Scarcely half the homes in many cities had electric lights or a furnace for heat. Only one city home in ten had an electric refrigerator.

This unequal distribution of income meant that most Americans could not participate fully in the economic advances of the 1920s. Many people did not have the money to purchase the flood of goods that factories produced. The prosperity of the era rested on a fragile foundation. **B**

### MAIN IDEA

#### Forming Generalizations

**B** What did the experience of farmers and consumers at this time suggest about the health of the economy?

## Hoover Takes the Nation

Although economic disaster was around the corner, the election of 1928 took place in a mood of apparent national prosperity. This election pitted Republican candidate Herbert Hoover against Democrat **Alfred E. Smith**.

**THE ELECTION OF 1928** Hoover, the secretary of commerce under Harding and Coolidge, was a mining engineer from Iowa who had never run for public office. Smith was a career politician who had served four terms as governor of New York. He was personable and enjoyed being in the limelight, unlike the quiet and reserved Hoover. Still, Hoover had one major advantage: he could point to years of prosperity under Republican administrations since 1920. Many Americans believed him when he declared, “We in America are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before.”

It was an overwhelming victory for Hoover. The message was clear: most Americans were happy with Republican leadership.

**DREAMS OF RICHES IN THE STOCK MARKET** By 1929, some economists had warned of weaknesses in the economy, but most Americans



*“We in America are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before.”*

HERBERT HOOVER

### Vocabulary

**stock:** a share of ownership in a company

maintained the utmost confidence in the nation's economic health. In increasing numbers, those who could afford to invest in the stock market. The stock market had become the most visible symbol of a prosperous American economy. Then, as now, the **Dow Jones Industrial Average** was the most widely used barometer of the stock market's health. The Dow is a measure based on the stock prices of 30 representative large firms trading on the New York Stock Exchange.

Through most of the 1920s, stock prices rose steadily. The Dow had reached a high of 381 points, nearly 300 points higher than it had been five years earlier. Eager to take advantage of this "bull market"—a period of rising stock prices—Americans rushed to buy stocks and bonds. One observer wrote, "It seemed as if all economic law had been suspended and a new era opened up in which success and prosperity could be had without knowledge or industry." By 1929, about 4 million Americans—or 3 percent of the nation's population—owned stocks. Many of these investors were already wealthy, but others were average Americans who hoped to strike it rich.

However, the seeds of trouble were taking root. People were engaging in **speculation**—that is, they bought stocks and bonds on the chance of a quick profit, while ignoring the risks. Many began **buying on margin**—paying a small percentage of a stock's price as a down payment and borrowing the rest. With easy money available to investors, the unrestrained buying and selling fueled the market's upward spiral. The government did little to discourage such buying or to regulate the market. In reality, these rising prices did not reflect companies' worth. Worse, if the value of stocks declined, people who had bought on margin had no way to pay off the loans. **C**

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Events

**C** How did speculation and margin buying cause stock prices to rise?

## The Stock Market Crashes

In early September 1929, stock prices peaked and then fell. Confidence in the market started to waver, and some investors quickly sold their stocks and pulled out. On October 24, the market took a plunge. Panicked investors unloaded their shares. But the worst was yet to come.

### Analyzing

### Political Cartoons

#### DAY OF WRATH

After the apparent prosperity of the 1920s, virtually few were prepared for the devastating effects of the stock market crash. This cartoon by James N. Rosenberg, which shows Wall Street crumbling on October 29, 1929, is titled *Dies Irae*, Latin for "day of wrath."

#### SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What does the cartoonist suggest will happen to individuals because of the crash?
2. How does the cartoonist convey the sense of fear and shock?
3. What do the looks on people's faces indicate about the impact of the crash?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



**BLACK TUESDAY** On October 29—now known as **Black Tuesday**—the bottom fell out of the market and the nation’s confidence. Shareholders frantically tried to sell before prices plunged even lower. The number of shares dumped that day was a record 16.4 million. Additional millions of shares could not find buyers. People who had bought stocks on credit were stuck with huge debts as the prices plummeted, while others lost most of their savings.

## NOW & THEN

### NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

In the twenty-first century, the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) remains at its core what it has been since it opened its doors in 1792: the nation’s premier marketplace for the buying and selling of stocks. There, stockbrokers known as “members” take orders from their customers to buy and sell shares of stock in any one of more than 3,000 companies.

To execute their customers’ orders, the members offer and receive bids in what resembles a loud and fast-paced auction. In general, customers submit two types of orders. A limit order tells the broker to buy or sell only if the stock reaches a certain price. A market order tells the broker to execute a transaction immediately, no matter what the price.

Despite remaining close to its roots, the NYSE is today undergoing perhaps the most significant changes in its long history, in large part due to the use of computers and the Internet.

### A Pen and Paper Operation

In the 1920s, orders to buy or sell a stock arrived at brokers’ telephone booths located around the edge of the trading floor. They were then carried by hand or sent by pneumatic tube to the trading post where that stock would be traded.

NYSE employees called reporters had to record every transaction. For each new sale, they wrote out a slip of paper containing the stock’s abbreviation, the number of shares, and the price, and then transmitted it to the ticker room. Market information was typed into a keyboard that converted the keystrokes into electrical impulses that drove the clattering print wheels in ticker machines along the network. People would read the current display at the trading posts.



The trading floor in 1914. ▲

### Technological Changes

With the introduction of computer technology, the activities of the exchange are less and less centered on human interaction. For example, some 99 percent of trades on the NYSE now go through an electronic database known as the Super Display Book system. With this system, a trade can be completed in milliseconds. Further, electronic communications networks now allow individuals to buy and sell stocks themselves over the Internet at a fraction of what it would cost to use a specialist.

Such innovation has prompted some to insist that all future trading will be done via computers, thus eliminating the need for physical exchanges such as the NYSE.

The trading floor in 2000. ▼



### SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Hypothesizing** What scenarios can you imagine that might prompt someone to submit a market order on a certain stock?
- 2. Comparing** How has technology on the trading floor changed since the 1920s?

By mid-November, investors had lost about \$30 billion, an amount equal to how much America spent in World War I. The stock market bubble had finally burst. One eyewitness to these events, Frederick Lewis Allen, described the resulting situation.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN

**“The Big Bull Market was dead. Billions of dollars’ worth of profits—and paper profits—had disappeared. The grocer, the window cleaner, and the seamstress had lost their capital [savings]. In every town there were families which had suddenly dropped from showy affluence into debt. . . . With the Big Bull Market gone and prosperity going, Americans were soon to find themselves living in an altered world which called for new adjustments, new ideas, new habits of thought, and a new order of values.”**

—Only Yesterday

## Financial Collapse

The stock market crash signaled the beginning of the **Great Depression**—the period from 1929 to 1940 in which the economy plummeted and unemployment skyrocketed. The crash alone did not cause the Great Depression, but it hastened the collapse of the economy and made the depression more severe.

**BANK AND BUSINESS FAILURES** After the crash, many people panicked and withdrew their money from banks. But some couldn’t get their money because the banks had invested it in the stock market. In 1929, 600 banks closed. By 1933, 11,000 of the nation’s 25,000 banks had failed. Because the government did not protect or insure bank accounts, millions of people lost their savings accounts.

The Great Depression hit other businesses, too. Between 1929 and 1932, the gross national product—the nation’s total output of goods and services—was cut nearly in half, from \$104 billion to \$59 billion. Approximately 90,000 businesses went bankrupt. Among these failed enterprises were once-prosperous automobile and railroad companies.

As the economy plunged into a tailspin, millions of workers lost their jobs. Unemployment leaped from 3 percent (1.6 million workers) in 1929 to 25 percent (13 million workers) in 1933. One out of every four workers was out of a job. Those who kept their jobs faced pay cuts and reduced hours.

Not everyone fared so badly, of course. Before the crash, some speculators had sold off their stocks and made money. Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of future president John F. Kennedy, was one who did. Most, however, were not so lucky or shrewd. **D**

**WORLDWIDE SHOCK WAVES** The United States was not the only country gripped by the Great Depression. Much of Europe, for example, had suffered throughout the 1920s. European countries trying to recover from the ravages of World War I faced high war debts. In addition, Germany had to pay war reparations—payments to compensate the Allies for the damages Germany had caused. The Great Depression compounded these problems by limiting America’s ability to import European goods. This made it difficult to sell American farm products and manufactured goods abroad.



This British ▲ election poster shows that the Great Depression was a global event.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Effects**

**D** What happened to ordinary workers during the Great Depression?

# Depression Indicators

Economic indicators are measures that signal trends in a nation's economy. During the Great Depression several trends were apparent. Those indicated at the right are linked—the conditions of one can affect another. For instance, when banks fail **1**, some businesses may have to close down **2**, which can cause unemployment to rise **3**. Thus, people have less money and spending declines **4**.

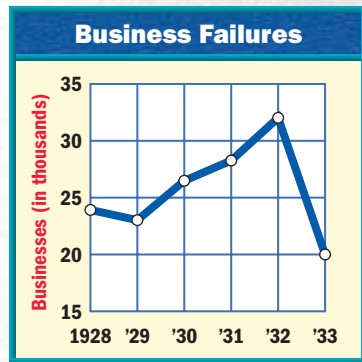
## SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

1. In what year did the biggest jump in bank failures occur?
2. What measure on the graphs seems to indicate an improvement in the U.S. economy during the Depression? What might explain this?

**1**



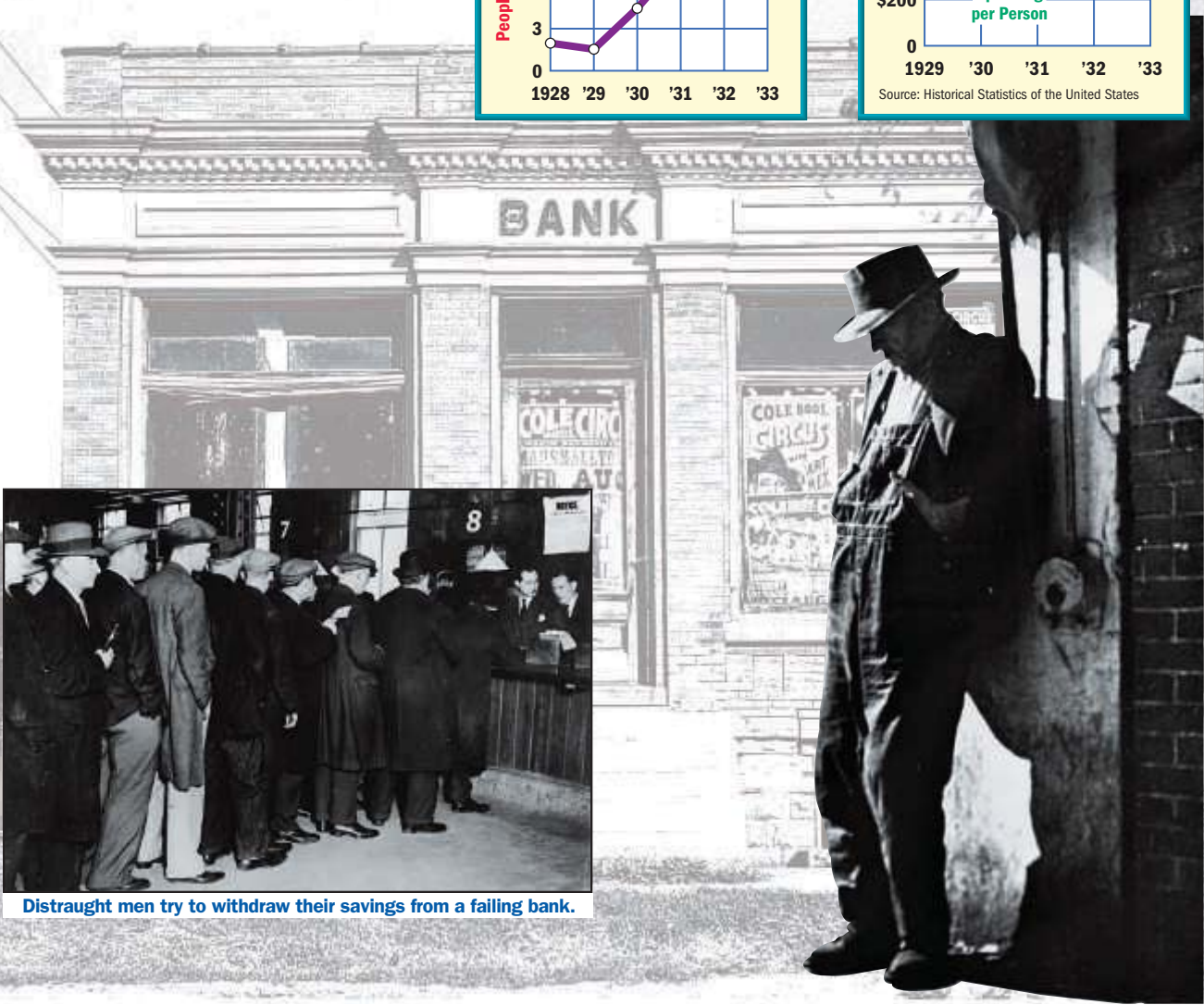
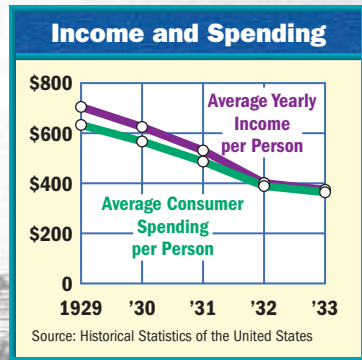
**2**



**3**



**4**



Distraught men try to withdraw their savings from a failing bank.

In 1930, Congress passed the **Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act**, which established the highest protective tariff in United States history. It was designed to protect American farmers and manufacturers from foreign competition. Yet it had the opposite effect. By reducing the flow of goods into the United States, the tariff prevented other countries from earning American currency to buy American goods. The tariff made unemployment worse in industries that could no longer export goods to Europe. Many countries retaliated by raising their own tariffs. Within a few years, world trade had fallen more than 40 percent. **E**

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**

**E** How did the Great Depression affect the world economy?

**CAUSES OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION** Although historians and economists differ on the main causes of the Great Depression, most cite a common set of factors, among them:

- tariffs and war debt policies that cut down the foreign market for American goods
- a crisis in the farm sector
- the availability of easy credit
- an unequal distribution of income

These factors led to falling demand for consumer goods, even as newly mechanized factories produced more products. The federal government contributed to the crisis by keeping interest rates low, thereby allowing companies and individuals to borrow easily and build up large debts. Some of this borrowed money was used to buy the stocks that later led to the crash.

At first people found it hard to believe that economic disaster had struck. In November 1929, President Hoover encouraged Americans to remain confident about the economy. Yet, the most severe depression in American history was well on its way.

**WORLD STAGE**

**GLOBAL EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION**

As the American economy collapsed, so too did Europe's. The world's nations had become interdependent; international trade was important to most countries. However, when the U.S. economy failed, American investors withdrew their money from European markets.

To keep U.S. dollars in America, the government raised tariffs on goods imported from other countries. World trade dropped. Unemployment rates around the world soared. Germany and Austria were particularly hard hit. In 1931 Austria's largest bank failed. In Asia, both farmers and urban workers suffered as the value of exports fell by half between 1929 and 1931. The crash was felt in Latin America as well. As U.S. and European demand for Latin American products like sugar, beef, and copper dropped, prices collapsed.

**SECTION 1**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- price support
- credit
- Alfred E. Smith

- Dow Jones Industrial Average
- speculation

- buying on margin
- Black Tuesday

- Great Depression
- Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

In a diagram like this, record the causes of the 1929 stock market crash.



Which do you see as the biggest cause? Why?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. MAKING INFERENCES**

How did the economic trends of the 1920s help cause the Great Depression? **Think About:**

- what happened in industry
- what happened in agriculture
- what happened with consumers

**4. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS**

Judging from the events of the late 1920s and early 1930s, how important do you think public confidence is to the health of the economy? Explain. **Think About:**

- what happened when overconfidence in the stock market led people to speculate and buy on margin
- how confidence affects consumer borrowing

# Hardship and Suffering During the Depression

## MAIN IDEA

During the Great Depression Americans did what they had to do to survive.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Since the Great Depression, many Americans have been more cautious about saving, investing, and borrowing.

## Terms & Names

- shantytown
- soup kitchen
- bread line
- Dust Bowl
- direct relief

## One American's Story

Ann Marie Low lived on her parents' North Dakota farm when the stock market crashed in 1929 and the Great Depression hit. Hard times were familiar to Ann's family. But the worst was yet to come. In the early 1930s, a ravenous drought hit the Great Plains, destroying crops and leaving the earth dry and cracked. Then came the deadly dust storms. On April 25, 1934, Ann wrote an account in her diary.

### A PERSONAL VOICE ANN MARIE LOW

"[T]he air is just full of dirt coming, literally, for hundreds of miles. It sifts into everything. After we wash the dishes and put them away, so much dust sifts into the cupboards we must wash them again before the next meal. . . . Newspapers say the deaths of many babies and old people are attributed to breathing in so much dirt."

—*Dust Bowl Diary*

The drought and winds lasted for more than seven years. The dust storms in Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Oklahoma, and Texas were a great hardship—but only one of many—that Americans faced during the Great Depression.

## The Depression Devastates People's Lives

Statistics such as the unemployment rate tell only part of the story of the Great Depression. More important was the impact that it had on people's lives: the Depression brought hardship, homelessness, and hunger to millions.

**THE DEPRESSION IN THE CITIES** In cities across the country, people lost their jobs, were evicted from their homes and ended up in the streets. Some slept in parks or sewer pipes, wrapping themselves in newspapers to fend off the cold.



▲ Ann Marie Low

### hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the impact of the Great Depression on farmers and city dwellers.

Others built makeshift shacks out of scrap materials. Before long, numerous **shantytowns**—little towns consisting of shacks—sprang up. An observer recalled one such settlement in Oklahoma City: “Here were all these people living in old, rusted-out car bodies. . . . There were people living in shacks made of orange crates. One family with a whole lot of kids were living in a piano box. . . . People were living in whatever they could junk together.”

Every day the poor dug through garbage cans or begged. **Soup kitchens** offering free or low-cost food and **bread lines**, or lines of people waiting to receive food provided by charitable organizations or public agencies, became a common sight. One man described a bread line in New York City.



### Background

Relief programs largely discriminated against African Americans. However, some black organizations, like the National Urban League, were able to give private help.

### ▲ A PERSONAL VOICE HERMAN SHUMLIN

“Two or three blocks along Times Square, you’d see these men, silent, shuffling along in a line. Getting this handout of coffee and doughnuts, dealt out from great trucks. . . . I’d see that flat, opaque, expressionless look which spelled, for me, human disaster. Men . . . who had responsible positions. Who had lost their jobs, lost their homes, lost their families . . . They were destroyed men.”

—quoted in *Hard Times*

Conditions for African Americans and Latinos were especially difficult. Their unemployment rates were higher, and they were the lowest paid. They also dealt with increasing racial violence from unemployed whites competing for the same jobs. Twenty-four African Americans died by lynching in 1933.

Latinos—mainly Mexicans and Mexican Americans living in the Southwest—were also targets. Whites demanded that Latinos be deported, or expelled from the country, even though many had been born in America. By the late 1930s, hundreds of thousands of people of Mexican descent relocated to Mexico. Some left voluntarily; others were deported by the federal government. **A**

**THE DEPRESSION IN RURAL AREAS** Life in rural areas was hard, but it did have one advantage over city life: most farmers could grow food for their families. With falling prices and rising debt, though, thousands of farmers lost their land. Between 1929 and 1932, about 400,000 farms were lost through foreclosure—the process by which a mortgage holder takes back property if an occupant has not made payments. Many farmers turned to tenant farming and barely scraped out a living.

▲ Unemployed people built shacks in a shantytown in New York City in 1932.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**A** How did the Great Depression affect minorities?

### ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

#### AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN VIEW OF THE DEPRESSION

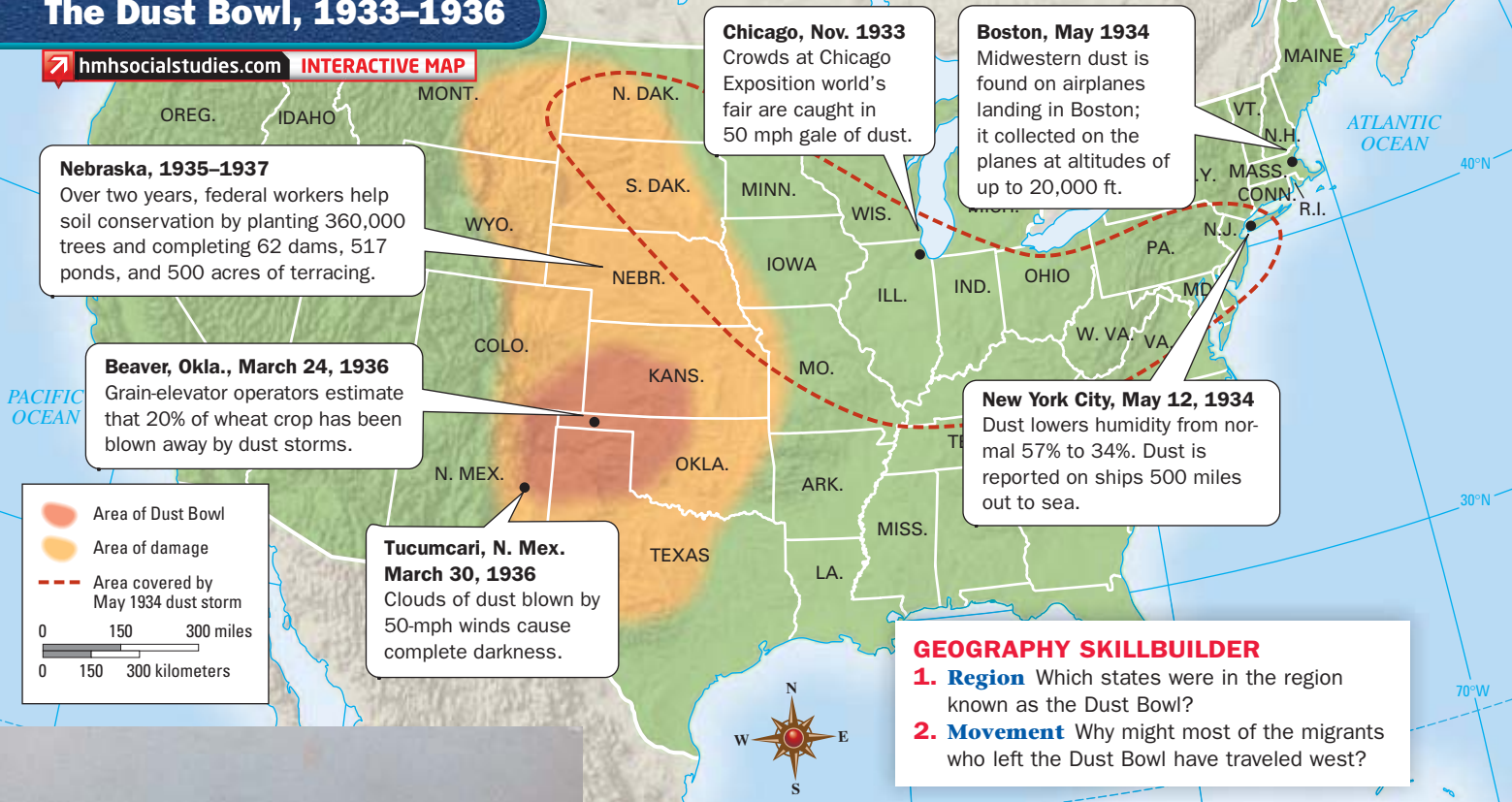
Although the suffering of the 1930s was severe for many people, it was especially grim for African Americans. Hard times were already a fact of life for many blacks, as one African-American man noted:

“The Negro was born in depression. It didn’t mean too much to him, The Great American Depression. . . . The best he could be is a janitor or a porter or shoeshine boy. It only became official when it hit the white man.”

Nonetheless, the African-American community was very hard hit by the Great Depression. In 1932, the unemployment rate among African Americans stood at over 50 percent, while the overall unemployment rate was approximately 25 percent.

# The Dust Bowl, 1933–1936

hmhsocialstudies.com INTERACTIVE MAP



**A farmer and his sons brave a dust storm in 1936.**

**THE DUST BOWL** The drought that began in the early 1930s wreaked havoc on the Great Plains. During the previous decade, farmers from Texas to North Dakota had used tractors to break up the grasslands and plant millions of acres of new farmland. Plowing had removed the thick protective layer of prairie grasses. Farmers had then exhausted the land through overproduction of crops, and the grasslands became unsuitable for farming. When the drought and winds began in the early 1930s, little grass and few trees

were left to hold the soil down. Wind scattered the topsoil, exposing sand and grit underneath. The dust traveled hundreds of miles. One windstorm in 1934 picked up millions of tons of dust from the plains and carried it to East Coast cities.

The region that was the hardest hit, including parts of Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, came to be known as the **Dust Bowl**. Plagued by dust storms and evictions, thousands of farmers and sharecroppers left their land behind. They packed up their families and few belongings and headed west, following Route 66 to California. Some of these migrants—known as Okies (a term that originally referred to Oklahomans but came to be used negatively for all migrants)—found work as farmhands. But others continued to wander in search of work. By the end of the 1930s, hundreds of thousands of farm families had migrated to California and other Pacific Coast states.

### Background

The most severe storms were called “black blizzards.” They were said to have darkened the sky in New York City and Washington, D.C.

## Effects on the American Family

In the face of the suffering caused by the Great Depression, the family stood as a source of strength for most Americans. Although some people feared that hard times would undermine moral values, those concerns were largely unfounded. In

general, Americans believed in traditional values and emphasized the importance of family unity. At a time when money was tight, many families entertained themselves by staying at home and playing board games, such as Monopoly (invented in 1933), and listening to the radio. Nevertheless, the economic difficulties of the Great Depression put severe pressure on family life. Making ends meet was a daily struggle, and, in some cases, families broke apart under the strain.

**MEN IN THE STREETS** Many men had difficulty coping with unemployment because they were accustomed to working and supporting their families. Every day, they would set out to walk the streets in search of jobs. As Frederick Lewis Allen noted in *Since Yesterday*, “Men who have been sturdy and self-respecting workers can take unemployment without flinching for a few weeks, a few months, even if they have to see their families suffer; but it is different after a year . . . two years . . . three years.” Some men became so discouraged that they simply stopped trying. Some even abandoned their families.

During the Great Depression, as many as 300,000 transients—or “hoboes” as they were called—wandered the country, hitching rides on railroad boxcars and sleeping under bridges. These hoboes of the 1930s, mainly men, would occasionally turn up at homeless shelters in big cities. The novelist Thomas Wolfe described a group of these men in New York City. **B**

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Causes**

**B** Why did so many men leave their homes during the Depression?

**A PERSONAL VOICE** THOMAS WOLFE

“These were the wanderers from town to town, the riders of freight trains, the thumbers of rides on highways, the uprooted, unwanted male population of America. They . . . gathered in the big cities when winter came, hungry, defeated, empty, hopeless, restless . . . always on the move, looking everywhere for work, for the bare crumbs to support their miserable lives, and finding neither work nor crumbs.”

—*You Can't Go Home Again*

During the early years of the Great Depression, there was no federal system of **direct relief**—cash payments or food provided by the government to the poor. Some cities and charity services did offer relief to those who needed it, but the benefits were meager. In New York City, for example, the weekly payment was just \$2.39 per family. This was the most generous relief offered by any city, but it was still well below the amount needed to feed a family.

**WOMEN STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE** Women worked hard to help their families survive adversity during the Great Depression. Many women canned food and sewed clothes. They also carefully managed household budgets. Jeane Westin, the author of *Making Do: How Women Survived the '30s*, recalled, “Those days you did everything to save a penny. . . . My next door neighbor and I used to shop together. You could get two pounds of hamburger for a quarter, so we’d buy two pounds and split it—then one week she’d pay the extra penny and the next week I’d pay.”

Many women also worked outside the home, though they usually received less money than men did. As the Depression wore on, however, working women became the targets of enormous resentment. Many people believed that women, especially married women, had no right to work when there were men who were unemployed.

**HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT**

**HOBO SYMBOLS**

Hoboes shared a hidden language that helped them meet the challenges of the road. Over time a set of symbols developed for hoboes to alert each other as to where they could get food or work or a place to sleep, and what houses to avoid. They often marked the symbols, such as those shown below, on the sides of houses and fences near railroad yards.

	Sit down meal
	Only bread given here
	Good place for a handout
	Sleep in barn
	Good water
	Danger

In the early 1930s, some cities refused to hire married women as schoolteachers.

Many Americans assumed that women were having an easier time than men during the Great Depression because few were seen begging or standing in bread lines. As a matter of fact, many women were starving to death in cold attics and rooming houses. As one writer pointed out, women were often too ashamed to reveal their hardship.

### A PERSONAL VOICE MERIDEL LE SEUER

“ I’ve lived in cities for many months, broke, without help, too timid to get in bread lines. I’ve known many women to live like this until they simply faint in the street. . . . A woman will shut herself up in a room until it is taken away from her, and eat a cracker a day and be as quiet as a mouse. . . . [She] will go for weeks verging on starvation, . . . going through the streets ashamed, sitting in libraries, parks, going for days without speaking to a living soul, shut up in the terror of her own misery.”

—*America in the Twenties*

**CHILDREN SUFFER HARDSHIPS** Children also suffered during the 1930s. Poor diets and a lack of money for health care led to serious health problems. Milk consumption declined across the country, and clinics and hospitals reported a dramatic rise in malnutrition and diet-related diseases, such as rickets. At the same time, child-welfare programs were slashed as cities and states cut their budgets in the face of dwindling resources.

Falling tax revenues also caused school boards to shorten the school year and even close schools. By 1933, some 2,600 schools across the nation had shut down, leaving more than 300,000 students out of school. Thousands of children went to work instead; they often labored in sweatshops under horrendous conditions. **C**

Many teenagers looked for a way out of the suffering. Hundreds of thousands of teenage boys and some girls hopped aboard America’s freight trains to zigzag the country in search of work, adventure, and an escape from poverty. These “wild boys” came from every section of the United States, from every corner of society. They were the sons of poor farmers, and out-of-work miners, and wealthy parents who had lost everything. “Hoover tourists,” as they were called, were eager to tour America for free.

From the age of eleven until seventeen, George Phillips rode the rails, first catching local freights out of his home town of Princeton, Missouri.

“There is no feeling in the world like sitting in a side-door Pullman and watching the world go by, listening to the clickety-clack of the wheels, hearing that old steam whistle blowing for crossings and towns.”

While exciting, the road could also be deadly. Many riders were beaten or jailed by “bulls”—armed freight yard patrolmen. Often riders had to sleep standing up in a constant deafening rumble. Some were accidentally locked in ice cars for days on end. Others fell prey to murderous criminals. From 1929 to 1939, 24,647 trespassers were killed and 27,171 injured on railroad property.

### Background

Rickets is caused by a vitamin D deficiency and results in defective bone growth.

### MAIN IDEA

### Analyzing Effects

**C** How did the Great Depression affect women and children?

“If I leave my mother, it will mean one less mouth to feed.”

EUGENE WILLIAMS,  
AGE 13



◀ Two young boys, ages 15 and 16, walk beside freight cars in the San Joaquin Valley.

## SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

The hardships of the Great Depression had a tremendous social and psychological impact. Some people were so demoralized by hard times that they lost their will to survive. Between 1928 and 1932, the suicide rate rose more than 30 percent. Three times as many people were admitted to state mental hospitals as in normal times.

The economic problems forced many Americans to accept compromises and make sacrifices that affected them for the rest of their lives. Adults stopped going to the doctor or dentist because they couldn't afford it. Young people gave up their dreams of going to college. Others put off getting married, raising large families, or having children at all.

For many people, the stigma of poverty and of having to scrimp and save never disappeared completely. For some, achieving financial security became the primary focus in life. As one woman recalled, "Ever since I was twelve years old there was one major goal in my life . . . one thing . . . and that was to never be poor again."

During the Great Depression many people showed great kindness to strangers who were down on their luck. People often gave food, clothing, and a place to stay to the needy. Families helped other families and shared resources and strengthened the bonds within their communities. In addition, many people developed habits of saving and thriftiness—habits they would need to see themselves through the dark days ahead as the nation and President Hoover struggled with the Great Depression. These habits shaped a whole generation of Americans.



▲ This Ozark sharecropper family was photographed in Arkansas during the 1930s by the artist Ben Shahn.

### Vocabulary

**stigma:** a mark or indication of disgrace



## ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- shantytown
- soup kitchen

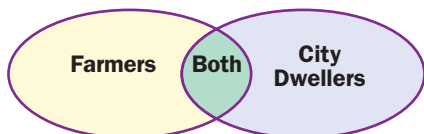
- bread line
- Dust Bowl

- direct relief

### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

In a Venn diagram, list the effects that the Great Depression had on farmers and city dwellers. Find the differences and the similarities.



Which group do you think suffered less?

### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. CONTRASTING

How was what happened to men during the Great Depression different from what happened to women? children? **Think About:**

- each group's role in their families
- the changes each group had to make
- what help was available to them

#### 4. ANALYZING EFFECTS

How did Dust Bowl conditions in the Great Plains affect the entire country?

#### 5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

In what ways did the Great Depression affect people's outlook?

# Hoover Struggles with the Depression

## MAIN IDEA

President Hoover's conservative response to the Great Depression drew criticism from many Americans.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Worsening conditions in the country caused the government to become more involved in the health and wealth of the people.

## Terms & Names

- Herbert Hoover
- Boulder Dam
- Federal Home Loan Bank Act
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation
- Bonus Army

## One American's Story

### hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on President Hoover's response to the Great Depression.

Oscar Ameringer was a newspaper editor in Oklahoma City during the Great Depression. In 1932, he traveled around the country collecting information on economic and social conditions. Testifying in unemployment hearings that same year, Ameringer described desperate people who were losing patience with the government. "Unless something is done for them and done soon you will have a revolution on hand." Ameringer told the following story.

### A PERSONAL VOICE OSCAR AMERINGER

"The roads of the West and Southwest teem with hungry hitchhikers. . . . Between Clarksville and Russellville, Ark., I picked up a family. The woman was hugging a dead chicken under a ragged coat. When I asked her where she had procured the fowl, first she told me she had found it dead in the road, and then added in grim humor, 'They promised me a chicken in the pot, and now I got mine.'"

—quoted in *The American Spirit*

The woman was recalling President Hoover's empty 1928 campaign pledge: "A chicken in every pot and a car in every garage." Now many Americans were disillusioned. They demanded that the government help them.



▲ A Depression-era family from Arkansas walks through Texas, looking for work in the cotton fields along the Rio Grande.

## Hoover Tries to Reassure the Nation

After the stock market crash of October 1929, President **Herbert Hoover** tried to reassure Americans that the nation's economy was on a sound footing. "Any lack of confidence in the economic future . . . is foolish," he declared. In his view, the important thing was for Americans to remain optimistic and to go about their business as usual. Americans believed depressions were a normal part of the business cycle. According to this theory, periods of rapid economic growth were naturally followed by periods of depression. The best course in a slump, many

experts believed, was to do nothing and let the economy fix itself. Hoover took a slightly different position. He felt that government could play a limited role in helping to solve problems.

**HOOVER'S PHILOSOPHY** Herbert Hoover had been an engineer, and he put great faith in the power of reason. He was also a humanitarian, as he made clear in one of his last speeches as president.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** HERBERT HOOVER

**“Our first objective must be to provide security from poverty and want. . . . We want to see a nation built of home owners and farm owners. We want to see their savings protected. We want to see them in steady jobs. We want to see more and more of them insured against death and accident, unemployment and old age. We want them all secure.”**

—“Challenge to Liberty,” October 1936

Like many Americans of the time, Hoover believed that one of government’s chief functions was to foster cooperation between competing groups and interests in society. If business and labor were in a conflict, for example, government should step in and help them find a solution that served their mutual interests. This cooperation must be voluntary rather than forced, he said. Government’s role was to encourage and facilitate cooperation, not to control it.

On the other hand, Americans also valued “rugged individualism”—the idea that people should succeed through their own efforts. They should take care of themselves and their families, rather than depend on the government to bail them out. Thus, Hoover opposed any form of federal welfare, or direct relief to the needy. He believed that handouts would weaken people’s self-respect and “moral fiber.” His answer to the needy was that individuals, charities, and local organizations should pitch in to help care for the less fortunate. The federal government should direct relief measures, but not through a vast federal bureaucracy. Such a bureaucracy, he said, would be too expensive and would stifle individual liberties. **A**

However, when the Depression took hold, moral fiber wasn’t what people were worried about. Hoover’s response shocked and frustrated suffering Americans.

**HOOVER TAKES CAUTIOUS STEPS** Hoover’s political philosophy caused him to take a cautious approach to the depression. Soon after the stock market crash, he called together key leaders in the fields of business, banking, and labor. He urged them to work together to find solutions to the nation’s economic woes and to act in ways that would not make a bad situation worse. For example, he asked employers not to cut wages or lay off workers, and he asked labor leaders not to demand higher wages or go on strike. He also created a special organization to help private charities generate contributions for the poor.


None of these steps made much of a difference. A year after the crash, the economy was still shrinking, and unemployment was still rising. More companies went out of business, soup kitchens became a common sight, and general misery continued to grow. Shantytowns arose in every city, and hoboes continued to roam.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**

**A** What were some of Hoover’s key convictions about government?

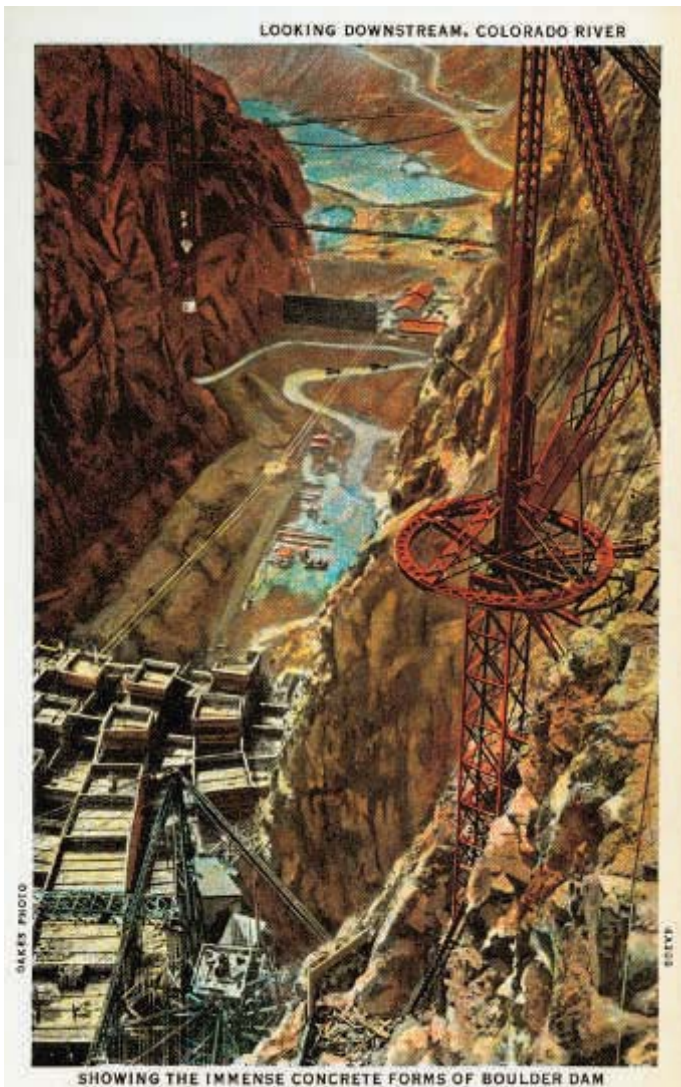
**KEY PLAYER**



**HERBERT HOOVER**  
1874–1964

Born to a Quaker family in Iowa, Herbert Hoover was orphaned at an early age. His life was a rags-to-riches story. He worked his way through Stanford University and later made a fortune as a mining engineer and consultant in China, Australia, Europe, and Africa. During and after World War I, he coordinated U.S. relief efforts in Europe, earning a reputation for efficiency and humanitarian ideals.

As president, Hoover asserted, “Every time we find solutions outside of government, we have not only strengthened character, but we have preserved our sense of real government.”



▲ This 1930s postcard, displaying a hand-colored photograph, shows the mammoth scale of Boulder Canyon and Boulder Dam.

**BOULDER DAM** One project that Hoover approved did make a difference. Years earlier, when Hoover served as secretary of commerce, one of his earliest proposed initiatives was the construction of a dam on the Colorado River. Aiming to minimize federal intervention, Hoover proposed to finance the dam's construction by using profits from sales of the electric power that the dam would generate. He also helped to arrange an agreement on water rights among the seven states of the Colorado River basin—Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming.

By the time the massive project won congressional approval in 1928, as part of a \$700 million public works program, Hoover had been elected to the White House. In the fall of 1929, nearly one year into his presidency, Hoover was finally able to authorize construction of **Boulder Dam** (later called Hoover Dam). At 726 ft. high and 1,244 ft. long it would be the world's tallest dam and the second largest. In addition to providing electricity and flood control, the dam also provided a regular water supply, which enabled the growth of California's massive agricultural

economy. Today, the dam also helps to provide water for cities such as Los Angeles and Las Vegas.

**DEMOCRATS WIN IN 1930 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS** As the country's economic difficulties increased, the political tide turned against Hoover and the Republicans. In the 1930 congressional elections, the Democrats took advantage of anti-Hoover sentiments to win more seats in Congress. As a result of that election, the Republicans lost control of the House of Representatives and saw their majority in the Senate dwindle to one vote.

As Americans grew more and more frustrated by the Depression, they expressed their anger in a number of ways. Farmers stung by low crop prices burned their corn and wheat and dumped their milk on highways rather than sell it at a loss. Some farmers even declared a “farm holiday” and refused to work their fields. A number blocked roads to prevent food from getting to market, hoping that food shortages would raise prices. Some farmers also used force to prevent authorities from foreclosing on farms.

By 1930, people were calling the shantytowns in American cities “Hoovervilles”—a direct slap at the president's policies. Homeless people called the newspapers they wrapped themselves in “Hoover blankets.” Empty pockets turned inside out were “Hoover flags.” Many Americans who had hailed Hoover as a great humanitarian a few years earlier now saw him as a cold and heartless leader.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Making Inferences

**B** Why do you think people blamed Hoover for the nation's difficulties?

Despite public criticism, Hoover continued to hold firm to his principles. He refused to support direct relief or other forms of federal welfare. Some Americans were going hungry, and many blamed Hoover for their plight. Criticism of the president and his policies continued to grow. An anonymous ditty of the time was widely repeated. **B**

“Mellon pulled the whistle  
Hoover rang the bell  
Wall Street gave the signal  
And the country went to hell.”

## Hoover Takes Action

As time went on and the depression deepened, President Hoover gradually softened his position on government intervention in the economy and took a more activist approach to the nation's economic troubles.

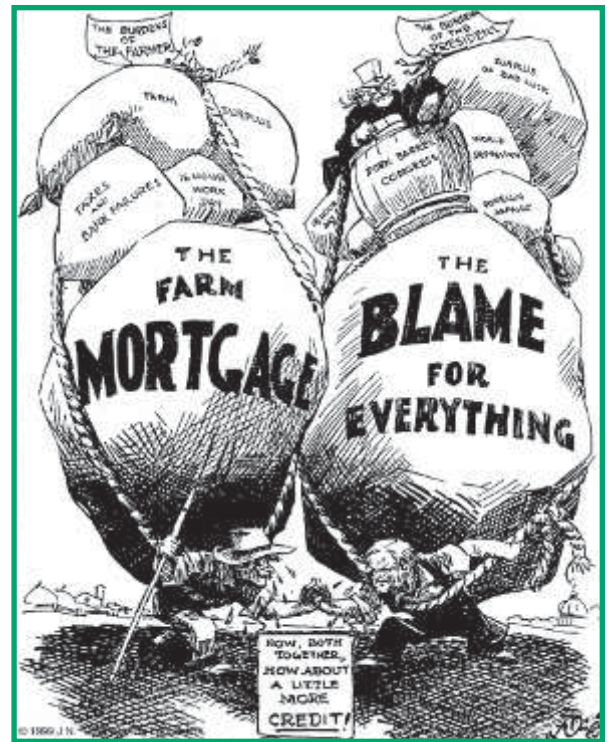
**HOOVER BACKS COOPERATIVES** In Hoover's view, Boulder Dam was a model of how the federal government could encourage cooperation. His attempts to relieve the depression involved negotiating agreements among private entities, again reflecting his belief in small government. For example, he backed the creation of the Federal Farm Board, an organization of farm cooperatives. The Farm Board was intended to raise crop prices by helping members to buy crops and keep them off the market temporarily until prices rose.

In addition, Hoover tried to prop up the banking system by persuading the nation's largest banks to establish the National Credit Corporation. This organization loaned money to smaller banks, which helped them stave off bankruptcy.

**DIRECT INTERVENTION** By late 1931, however, many people could see that these measures had failed to turn the economy around. With a presidential election looming, Hoover appealed to Congress to pass a series of measures to reform banking, provide mortgage relief, and funnel more federal money into business investment. In 1932, Hoover signed into law the **Federal Home Loan Bank Act**, which lowered mortgage rates for homeowners and allowed farmers to refinance their farm loans and avoid foreclosure. It was not until Hoover's time in office was over that Congress passed the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, which separated investment from commercial banking and would, Congress hoped, prevent another crash.

Hoover's most ambitious economic measure, however, was the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)**, approved by Congress in January 1932. It authorized up to \$2 billion for emergency financing for banks, life insurance companies, railroads, and other large businesses. Hoover believed that the money would trickle down to the average citizen through job growth and higher wages. Many critics questioned this approach; they argued that the program would benefit only corporations and that the poor still needed direct relief. Hungry people could not wait for the benefits to trickle down to their tables.

In its first five months of operation, the RFC loaned more than \$805 million to large corporations, but business failures continued. The RFC was an unprecedented example of federal involvement in a peacetime economy, but in the end it was too little, too late. **C**



▲ This cartoon's caption plays on the two different meanings of the word *credit* to suggest that farmers and the president should help each other.

#### Vocabulary

**refinance:** to provide new financing; to discharge a mortgage with a new mortgage obtained at a lower interest rate

### MAIN IDEA

#### Evaluating Decisions

**C** What were some of the projects proposed by Hoover, and how effective were they?

## DIFFICULT DECISIONS

### HOOVER AND FEDERAL PROJECTS

On the one hand, President Hoover opposed federal welfare and intervention in the economy. On the other, he felt that government had a duty to help solve problems and ease suffering. The question was, What kind of assistance would be proper and effective?

1. Consider the pros and cons of Hoover's actions during the Depression. Did he do enough to try to end the Depression? Why or why not?
2. If you had been president during the Great Depression, what policies would you have supported? Explain the approach you would have taken.

## Gassing the Bonus Army

In 1932, an incident further damaged Hoover's image and public morale. That spring, between 10,000 and 20,000 World War I veterans and their families arrived in Washington, D.C., from various parts of the country. They called themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force, or the **Bonus Army**.

**THE PATMAN BILL DENIED** Led by Walter Waters, an unemployed cannery worker from Oregon, the Bonus Army came to the nation's capital to support a bill under debate in Congress. The Patman Bill authorized the government to pay a bonus to World War I veterans who had not been compensated adequately for their wartime service. This bonus, which Congress had approved in 1924, was supposed to be paid out in 1945 in the form of cash and a life insurance policy, but Congressman Wright Patman believed that the money—an average of \$500 per soldier—should be paid immediately.

Hoover thought that the Bonus Marchers were "communists and persons with criminal records" rather than veterans. He opposed the legislation, but he respected the marchers' right to peaceful assembly. He even provided food and supplies so that they could erect a shantytown within sight of the Capitol. On June 17, however, the Senate voted down the Patman Bill. Hoover then called on

In 1932, these veterans from Muncie, Indiana, decided to remain in the capital until their bonus was paid to them.



**MAIN IDEA****Summarizing**

**D** What did the Bonus Army want?

the Bonus Army marchers to leave. Most did, but approximately 2,000, still hoping to meet with the president, refused to budge. **D**

**HOOVER DISBANDS THE BONUS ARMY** Nervous that the angry group could become violent, President Hoover decided that the Bonus Army should be disbanded. On July 28, a force of 1,000 soldiers under the command of General Douglas MacArthur and his aide, Major Dwight D. Eisenhower, came to roust the veterans. A government official watching from a nearby office recalled what happened next.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** A. EVERETTE MCINTYRE

“The 12th infantry was in full battle dress. Each had a gas mask and his belt was full of tear gas bombs. . . . At orders, they brought their bayonets at thrust and moved in. The bayonets were used to jab people, to make them move. Soon, almost everybody disappeared from view, because tear gas bombs exploded. The entire block was covered by tear gas. Flames were coming up, where the soldiers had set fire to the buildings to drive these people out. . . . Through the whole afternoon, they took one camp after another.”

—quoted in *Hard Times*

In the course of the operation, the infantry gassed more than 1,000 people, including an 11-month-old baby, who died, and an 8-year-old boy, who was partially blinded. Two people were shot and many were injured. Most Americans were stunned and outraged at the government’s treatment of the veterans.

Once again, President Hoover’s image suffered, and now an election was nearing. In November, Hoover would face a formidable opponent, the Democratic candidate Franklin Delano Roosevelt. When Roosevelt heard about the attack on the Bonus Army, he said to his friend Felix Frankfurter, “Well, Felix, this will elect me.” The downturn in the economy and Hoover’s inability to deal effectively with the Depression had sealed his political fate.

SECTION  
**3**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Herbert Hoover
- Boulder Dam

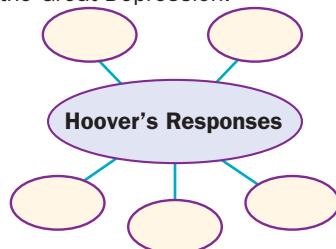
- Federal Home Loan Bank Act

- Reconstruction Finance Corporation

- Bonus Army

**MAIN IDEA****2. TAKING NOTES**

In a cluster diagram, record what Hoover said and did in response to the Great Depression.



Which response was most helpful? Explain your choice.

**CRITICAL THINKING****3. ANALYZING ISSUES**

How did Hoover’s belief in “rugged individualism” shape his policies during the Great Depression?

**Think About:**

- what his belief implies about his view of people
- how that translates into the role of government
- Hoover’s policies

**4. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS**

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt heard about the attack on the Bonus Army, why was he so certain that he would defeat Hoover?

**Think About:**

- the American public’s impression of Hoover
- Hoover’s actions to alleviate the Great Depression
- how people judged Hoover after the attack

**VISUAL SUMMARY**

**THE GREAT DEPRESSION BEGINS**

**CAUSES**

- stock-based economy; superficial prosperity
- unequal distribution of income
- problems in industry and the farm sector
- increasing consumer debt
- stock market speculation and crash

**THE GREAT DEPRESSION**

**EFFECTS**

- people out of work
- rise of shantytowns
- banks fail and schools close
- world economy suffers
- Hoover employs more active governmental involvement

**TERMS & NAMES**

For each term below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the period 1929–1933. For the person below, explain his role in the events of the period.

- |                                 |                     |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. credit                       | 6. Great Depression |
| 2. speculation                  | 7. Dust Bowl        |
| 3. buying on margin             | 8. direct relief    |
| 4. Black Tuesday                | 9. Herbert Hoover   |
| 5. Dow Jones Industrial Average | 10. Bonus Army      |

**MAIN IDEAS**

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

**The Nation’s Sick Economy** (pages 464–471)

1. How did what happened to farmers during the 1920s foreshadow events of the Great Depression?
2. What were some of the effects of the stock market crash in October 1929?

**Hardship and Suffering During the Depression**

(pages 472–477)

3. How were shantytowns, soup kitchens, and bread lines a response to the Depression?
4. Why did minorities often experience an increase in discrimination during the Great Depression?
5. What pressures did the American family experience during the Depression?

**Hoover Struggles with the Depression**

(pages 478–483)

6. How did Hoover’s treatment of the Bonus Army affect his standing with the public?
7. In what ways did Hoover try to use the government to relieve the Depression?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** In a chart like the one shown below, show Hoover’s responses to the Great Depression. Indicate how his philosophy changed and the reasons for that change.

**Herbert Hoover’s Philosophy**



2. **ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY** Do you think it would have been difficult for individuals to recover financially during the Depression without the entire economy recovering? Why or why not?
3. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** How do you think the Great Depression changed Americans’ view of themselves? Consider the roles of men, women, and children in society and in the family.

## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.



1. The cartoon illustrates which event leading to the Great Depression?
- A bank failures
  - B Black Tuesday
  - C Bonus March
  - D the election of Herbert Hoover

2. In the 1930s, some areas of the country suffered from especially harsh environmental conditions. Thousands of farmers and sharecroppers were forced to abandon their land and look for other work. In which of the following areas were these conditions worst?
- F parts of Idaho, Wyoming, and Oregon
  - G parts of Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa
  - H parts of Florida, Alabama, and Georgia
  - J parts of Kansas, Texas, and Oklahoma
3. How did World War I contribute to causing the Great Depression?
- A Soldiers returning from the war were unskilled and so had difficulty finding employment.
  - B Foreign countries had borrowed heavily to pay for the war and so could not afford to buy American goods.
  - C Americans had spent their money on war bonds and so had little savings.
  - D American industry was geared for producing weapons and could not retool to produce consumer goods.

 [hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com) TEST PRACTICE

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

### INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Suppose the year is 1930 and you are the head of your household. Write a letter to a relative overseas in which you describe your family's situation and how you handled the crisis. Discuss the challenges created by the Great Depression and what you've learned as a result of enduring such hardships.

### FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine you are President Hoover's head speechwriter in the year 1931. The president is scheduled to give a radio address and needs a persuasive speech. Write a speech in which you present Hoover's proposed economic policies to help end the Great Depression.

### COLLABORATIVE LEARNING



In a small group read and discuss the "One American's Story" at the beginning of Section 2. Then use the Internet and library resources to research accounts of the Dust Bowl. Use your findings to create an illustrated magazine article about the impact of the Dust Bowl on the lives of Americans in rural areas.




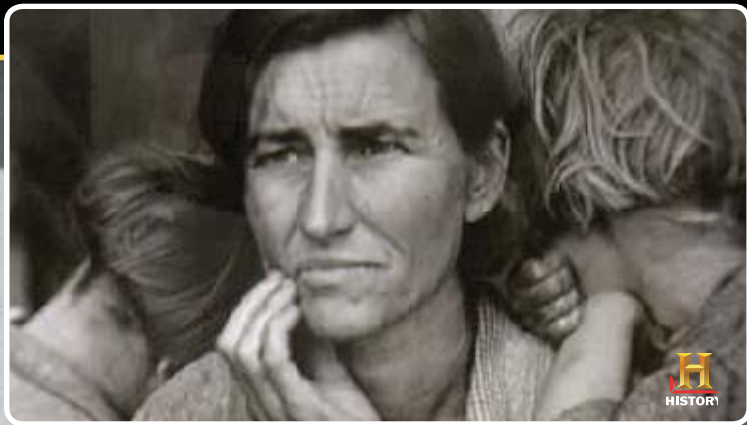
# The Great Depression

**The Great Depression, which lasted from 1929 to 1939, was the most severe economic downturn in the history of the United States.** The boom times of the 1920s concealed severe weaknesses in the American economy. The stock market crash of 1929 exposed the economy's shaky foundations and plunged the country into a deep economic depression. To stimulate the economy, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt introduced a host of

government programs. This New Deal alleviated the worst aspects of the Great Depression. However, it would take a world war to bring the country to full economic recovery.

Explore the impact of the Great Depression online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, primary sources, activities, and more at

 [hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com)



### **A Picture Worth 1,000 Words**

Watch the video to learn about the work of photographer Dorothea Lange, who chronicled the Great Depression.



## CLICK THROUGH INTER/ACTIVITIES

[hmhsocialstudies.com](http://hmhsocialstudies.com)



### **A New Deal**

Watch the video to see how President Roosevelt intended to fight the Great Depression.



### **Public Works**

Watch the video to see examples of the New Deal programs introduced by President Roosevelt.



### **From Depression to War**

Watch the video to see how the American economy finally recovered from the Great Depression.



CHAPTER  
**15**

# THE NEW DEAL

## Essential Question

How did the government's reaction to the Great Depression affect the United States?



### What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will discover the impetus for and the impact of the New Deal.

#### SECTION 1: A New Deal Fights the Depression

**Main Idea** After becoming president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt used government programs to combat the Depression.

#### SECTION 2: The Second New Deal Takes Hold

**Main Idea** The Second New Deal included new programs to extend federal aid and stimulate the nation's economy.

#### SECTION 3: The New Deal Affects Many Groups

**Main Idea** New Deal policies and actions affected various social and ethnic groups.

#### SECTION 4: Culture in the 1930s

**Main Idea** Motion pictures, radio, art, and literature blossomed during the New Deal.

#### SECTION 5: The Impact of the New Deal

**Main Idea** The New Deal affected American society not only in the 1930s but also in the decades that followed.



The Civil Works Administration provided millions of jobs during the Great Depression.



1933 Franklin Delano Roosevelt is inaugurated.

1934 Congress creates the SEC to regulate the stock market.

1934 Indian Reorganization Act is passed.

1935 Congress passes the Social Security Act.



1936 President Roosevelt is reelected.

USA  
WORLD

1933

1934

1935

1936

1933 Hitler and the Nazi party come to power in Germany.

1935 Mussolini leads Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

1935 British Parliament passes the Government of India Act.

1936 Civil war begins in Spain.





## INTERACT WITH HISTORY

It is 1933, the height of the Great Depression. Thousands of banks and businesses have failed, and a quarter of the adult population is out of work. Now a new president takes office, promising to bring relief to the ailing economy.

### Explore the Issues

- How can the government help failing industries?
- What can be done to ease unemployment?
- What would you do to restore public confidence and economic security?
- How would you get money to pay for your proposed recovery programs?

1937 Labor unions begin using sit-down strikes.

1938 Route 66 is completed, linking Chicago, Illinois, to Los Angeles, California.

1939 *The Wizard of Oz* is released in movie theaters.



1940 President Roosevelt is elected a third time.

1937

1938

1939

1940

1937 Japan invades Northern China.

1937 Hindenburg disaster



1939 Germany invades Poland.

# A New Deal Fights the Depression

## MAIN IDEA

After becoming president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt used government programs to combat the Depression.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Americans still benefit from programs begun in the New Deal, such as bank and stock market regulations and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

## Terms & Names

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- New Deal
- Glass-Steagall Act
- Federal Securities Act
- Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
- National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)
- deficit spending
- Huey Long

## One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com  
TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on Roosevelt's proposed solutions to the problems of the Great Depression.

Hank Oettinger was working as a printing press operator in a small town in Wisconsin when the Great Depression began. He lost his job in 1931 and was unemployed for the next two years. In 1933, however, President Roosevelt began creating work programs. Through one of these programs, the Civil Works Administration (CWA), Oettinger went back to work in 1933. As he later recalled, the CWA was cause for great celebration in his town.

### A PERSONAL VOICE HANK OETTINGER

"I can remember the first week of the CWA checks. It was on a Friday. That night everybody had gotten his check. The first check a lot of them had in three years. . . . I never saw such a change of attitude. Instead of walking around feeling dreary and looking sorrowful, everybody was joyous. Like a feast day. They were toasting each other. They had money in their pockets for the first time."

—quoted in *Hard Times*

Programs like the CWA raised the hopes of the American people and sparked great enthusiasm for the new president. To many Americans, it appeared as if the country had turned a corner and was beginning to emerge from the nightmare of the Great Depression.



▲ The Civil Works Administration enabled these men to get jobs repairing typewriters and sewing machines.

## Americans Get a New Deal

The 1932 presidential election showed that Americans were clearly ready for a change. Because of the depression, people were suffering from a lack of work, food, and hope.

**ELECTING FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT** Although the Republicans renominated President Hoover as their candidate, they recognized he had little chance of winning. Too many Americans blamed Hoover for doing too little about the depression and wanted a new president. The Democrats pinned their hopes on **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**, known popularly as FDR, the two-term governor of New York and a distant cousin of former president Theodore Roosevelt.

As governor, FDR had proved to be an effective, reform-minded leader, working to combat the problems of unemployment and poverty. Unlike Hoover, Roosevelt possessed a “can-do” attitude and projected an air of friendliness and confidence that attracted voters.



Indeed, Roosevelt won an overwhelming victory, capturing nearly 23 million votes to Hoover’s nearly 16 million. In the Senate, Democrats claimed a nearly two-thirds majority. In the House, they won almost three-fourths of the seats, their greatest victory since before the Civil War.

**WAITING FOR ROOSEVELT TO TAKE OVER** Four months would elapse between Roosevelt’s victory in the November election and his inauguration as president in March 1933. The 20th Amendment, which moved presidential inaugurations to January, was not ratified until February 1933 and did not apply to the 1932 election.

FDR was not idle during this waiting period, however. He worked with his team of carefully picked advisers—a select group of professors, lawyers, and journalists that came to be known as the “Brain Trust.” Roosevelt began to formulate a set of policies for his new administration. This program, designed to alleviate the problems of the Great Depression, became known as the **New Deal**, a phrase taken from a campaign speech in which Roosevelt had promised “a new deal for the American people.” New Deal policies focused on three general goals: relief for the needy, economic recovery, and financial reform. **A**

**THE HUNDRED DAYS** On taking office, the Roosevelt administration launched a period of intense activity known as the Hundred Days, lasting from March 9 to June 16, 1933. During this period, Congress passed more than 15 major pieces of New Deal legislation. These laws, and others that followed, significantly expanded the federal government’s role in the nation’s economy.

**MAIN IDEA**  
**Summarizing**  
**A** What plans did Roosevelt make in the four months while he waited to take office?

<b>KEY PLAYERS</b>	
 <b>FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT</b> 1882–1945	 <b>ELEANOR ROOSEVELT</b> 1884–1962
<p>Born into an old, wealthy New York family, Franklin Delano Roosevelt entered politics as a state senator in 1910 and later became assistant secretary of the navy. In 1921, he was stricken with polio and became partially paralyzed from the waist down. He struggled to regain the use of his legs, and he eventually learned to stand with the help of leg braces.</p> <p>Roosevelt became governor of New York in 1928, and because he “would not allow bodily disability to defeat his will,” he went on to the White House in 1933. Always interested in people, Roosevelt gained greater compassion for others as a result of his own physical disability.</p>	<p>A niece of Theodore Roosevelt and a distant cousin of her husband, Franklin, Eleanor Roosevelt lost her parents at an early age. She was raised by a strict grandmother.</p> <p>As first lady, she often urged the president to take stands on controversial issues. A popular public speaker, Eleanor was particularly interested in child welfare, housing reform, and equal rights for women and minorities. In presenting a booklet on human rights to the United Nations in 1958, she said, “Where, after all, do human rights begin? . . . [In] the world of the individual person: the neighborhood . . . the school . . . the factory, farm or office where he works.”</p>

Roosevelt's first step as president was to carry out reforms in banking and finance. By 1933, widespread bank failures had caused most Americans to lose faith in the banking system. On March 5, one day after taking office, Roosevelt declared a bank holiday and closed all banks to prevent further withdrawals. He persuaded Congress to pass the Emergency Banking Relief Act, which authorized the Treasury Department to inspect the country's banks. Those that were sound could reopen at once; those that were insolvent—unable to pay their debts—would remain closed. Those that needed help could receive loans. This measure revived public confidence in banks, since customers now had greater faith that the open banks were in good financial shape.

**AN IMPORTANT FIRESIDE CHAT** On March 12, the day before the first banks were to reopen, President Roosevelt gave the first of his many fireside chats—radio talks about issues of public concern, explaining in clear, simple language his New Deal measures. These informal talks made Americans feel as if the president were talking directly to them. In his first chat, President Roosevelt explained why the nation's welfare depended on public support of the government and the banking system. "We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system," he said, "and it is up to you to support and make it work." He explained the banking system to listeners.

*"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."*

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

**A PERSONAL VOICE** FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

**"When you deposit money in a bank the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault. It invests your money. . . . A comparatively small part of the money that you put into the bank is kept in currency—an amount which in normal times is wholly sufficient to cover the cash needs of the average citizen."**

Franklin D. Roosevelt holds his dog Fala and talks to a young family friend.



The president then explained that when too many people demanded their savings in cash, banks would fail. This was not because banks were weak but because even strong banks could not meet such heavy demands. Over the next few weeks, many Americans returned their savings to banks. **B**

**REGULATING BANKING AND FINANCE** Congress took another step to reorganize the banking system by passing the **Glass-Steagall Act** of 1933, which established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). The FDIC provided federal insurance for individual bank accounts of up to \$5,000, reassuring millions of bank customers that their money was safe. It also required banks to act cautiously with their customers' money.

Congress and the president also worked to regulate the stock market, in which people had lost faith because of the crash of 1929. The **Federal Securities Act**, passed in May 1933, required corporations to provide complete information on all stock offerings and made them liable for any misrepresentations. In June of 1934, Congress created the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to regulate the stock market. One goal of this commission was to prevent people with inside information about companies from "rigging" the stock market for their own profit.

In addition, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to approve a bill allowing the manufacture and sale of some alcoholic beverages. The bill's main purpose was to raise government revenues by taxing alcohol. By the end of 1933, the passage of the 21st Amendment had repealed prohibition altogether.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Evaluating Leadership**

**B** How successful was FDR's fireside chat?

## Helping the American People

While working on banking and financial matters, the Roosevelt administration also implemented programs to provide relief to farmers, perhaps the hardest hit by the depression. It also aided other workers and attempted to stimulate economic recovery.

**RURAL ASSISTANCE** The **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)** sought to raise crop prices by lowering production, which the government achieved by paying farmers to leave a certain amount of every acre of land unseeded. The theory was that reduced supply would boost prices. In some cases, crops were too far advanced for the acreage reduction to take effect. As a result, the government paid cotton growers \$200 million to plow under 10 million acres of their crop. It also paid hog farmers to slaughter 6 million pigs. This policy upset many Americans, who protested the destruction of food when many people were going hungry. It did, however, help raise farm prices and put more money in farmers' pockets.

An especially ambitious program of regional development was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), established on May 18, 1933. (See Geography Spotlight on page 520.) Focusing on the badly depressed Tennessee River Valley, the TVA renovated five existing dams and constructed 20 new ones, created thousands of jobs, and provided flood control, hydroelectric power, and other benefits to an impoverished region.

**PROVIDING WORK PROJECTS** The administration also established programs to provide relief through work projects and cash payments. One important program, the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, put young men aged 18 to 25 to work building roads, developing parks, planting trees, and helping in soil-erosion and flood-control projects. By the time the program ended in 1942, almost 3 million young men had passed through the CCC. The CCC paid a small wage, \$30 a month, of which \$25 was automatically sent home to the worker's family. It also supplied free food and uniforms and lodging in work camps. Many of the camps were located on the Great Plains, where, within a period of eight years, the men of the CCC planted more than 200 million trees. This tremendous reforestation program was aimed at preventing another Dust Bowl.

The Public Works Administration (PWA), created in June 1933 as part of the **National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)**, provided money to states to create jobs chiefly in the construction of schools and other community buildings. When these programs failed to make a sufficient dent in unemployment, President Roosevelt established the Civil Works Administration in November 1933. It provided 4 million immediate jobs during the winter of 1933–1934. Although some critics of the CWA claimed that the programs were “make-work” projects and a waste of money, the CWA built 40,000 schools and paid the salaries of more than 50,000 schoolteachers in America's rural areas. It also built more than half a million miles of roads. **C**

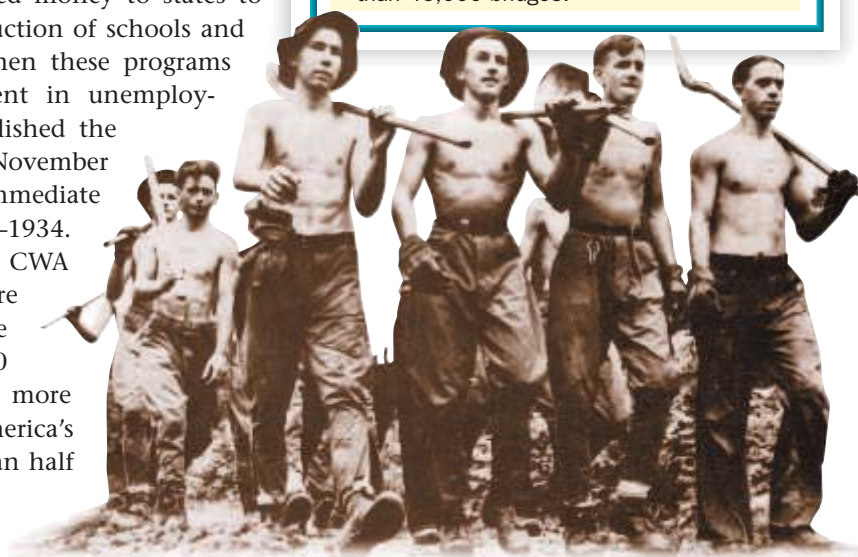
### Civilian Conservation Corps

- The CCC provided almost 3 million men aged 18–25 with work and wages between 1933 and 1942.
- The men lived in work camps under a strict regime. The majority of the camps were racially segregated.
- By 1938, the CCC had an 11 percent African-American enrollment.
- Accomplishments of the CCC include planting over 3 billion trees, developing over 800 state parks, and building more than 46,000 bridges.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

**C** How did New Deal programs affect various regions of the United States?



**PROMOTING FAIR PRACTICES** The NIRA also sought to promote industrial growth by establishing codes of fair practice for individual industries. It created the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which set prices of many products and established standards. The aim of the NRA was to promote recovery by interrupting the trend of wage cuts, falling prices, and layoffs. The economist Gardiner C. Means attempted to justify the NRA by stating the goal of industrial planning.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** GARDINER C. MEANS

**“The National Recovery Administration [was] created in response to an overwhelming demand from many quarters that certain elements in the making of industrial policy . . . should no longer be left to the market place and the price mechanism but should be placed in the hands of administrative bodies.”**

—*The Making of Industrial Policy*

The codes of fair practice had been drafted in joint meetings of businesses and representatives of workers and consumers. These codes both limited production and established prices. Because businesses were given new concessions, workers made demands. Congress met their demands by passing a section of the NIRA guaranteeing workers’ right to unionize and to bargain collectively. **D**

Many businesses and politicians were critical of the NRA. Charges arose that the codes served large business interests. There were also charges of increasing code violations.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Evaluating**

**D** How did the New Deal support labor organizations?

**ECONOMIC BACKGROUND**



**DEFICIT SPENDING**

John Maynard Keynes, an influential British economist, promoted the idea of deficit spending to stimulate economic recovery. In his view, a country should spend its way out of a depression by putting money into the hands of consumers. This would make it possible for them to buy goods and services and thus fuel economic growth. Therefore, even if a government has to go deeply into debt, it should spend great amounts of money to help get the economy growing again. When the Great Depression began, many considered Keynes’s ideas to be revolutionary.

**FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER** A number of New Deal programs concerned housing and home mortgage problems. The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) provided government loans to homeowners who faced foreclosure because they couldn’t meet their loan payments. In addition, the 1934 National Housing Act created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). This agency continues to furnish loans for home mortgages and repairs today.

Another program, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), was funded with \$500 million to provide direct relief for the needy. Half of the money was given to the states as direct grants-in-aid to help furnish food and clothing to the unemployed, the aged, and the ill. The rest was distributed to states to support work relief programs—for every \$3 within the state program, FERA donated \$1. Harry Hopkins, who headed this program, believed that, whereas money helped people buy food, it was meaningful work that enabled them to gain confidence and self-respect.

**The New Deal Comes Under Attack**

By the end of the Hundred Days, millions of Americans had benefited from the New Deal programs. As well, the public’s confidence in the nation’s future had rebounded. Although President Roosevelt agreed to a policy of **deficit spending**—spending more money than the government receives in revenue—he did so with great reluctance. He regarded deficit spending as a necessary evil to be used only at a time of great economic crisis. Nevertheless, the New Deal did not end the depression, and opposition grew among some parts of the population.

## Analyzing Political Cartoons

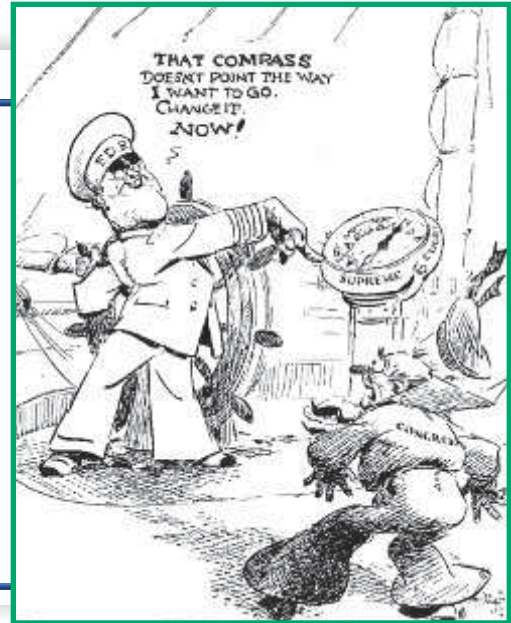
### CHANGING COURSE

With hopes of lessening opposition to his programs, Roosevelt proposed a court reform bill that would essentially have allowed him to “pack” the Court with judges supportive of the New Deal. This cartoon shows Roosevelt as a sea captain ordering a shocked Congress to change course.

### SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What “compass” did Roosevelt want to change? Explain.
2. How does the cartoonist portray FDR’s attitude regarding his power as president?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



### MAIN IDEA

#### Contrasting

**E** How did liberal and conservative critics differ in their opposition to the New Deal?

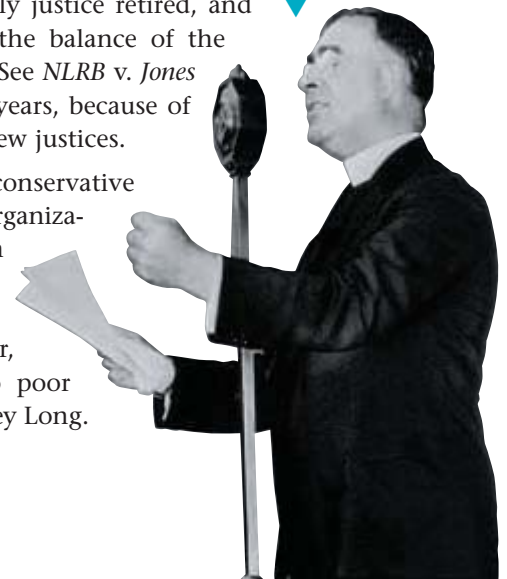
Liberal critics argued that the New Deal did not go far enough to help the poor and to reform the nation’s economic system. Conservative critics argued that Roosevelt spent too much on direct relief and used New Deal policies to control business and socialize the economy. Conservatives were particularly angered by laws such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the National Industrial Recovery Act, which they believed gave the federal government too much control over agriculture and industry. Many critics believed the New Deal interfered with the workings of a free-market economy. **E**

**THE SUPREME COURT REACTS** By the mid-1930s, conservative opposition to the New Deal had received a boost from two Supreme Court decisions. In 1935, the Court struck down the NIRA as unconstitutional. It declared that the law gave legislative powers to the executive branch and that the enforcement of industry codes within states went beyond the federal government’s constitutional powers to regulate interstate commerce. The next year, the Supreme Court struck down the AAA on the grounds that agriculture is a local matter and should be regulated by the states rather than by the federal government.

Fearing that further Court decisions might dismantle the New Deal, President Roosevelt proposed in February 1937 that Congress enact a court-reform bill to reorganize the federal judiciary and allow him to appoint six new Supreme Court justices. This “Court-packing bill” aroused a storm of protest in Congress and the press. Many people believed that the president was violating principles of judicial independence and the separation of powers. As it turned out, the president got his way without reorganizing the judiciary. In 1937, an elderly justice retired, and Roosevelt appointed the liberal Hugo S. Black, shifting the balance of the Court. Rulings of the Court began to favor the New Deal. (See *NLRB v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp.* on page 502.) Over the next four years, because of further resignations, Roosevelt was able to appoint seven new justices.

**THREE FIERY CRITICS** In 1934, some of the strongest conservative opponents of the New Deal banded together to form an organization called the American Liberty League. The American Liberty League opposed New Deal measures that it believed violated respect for the rights of individuals and property. Three of the toughest critics the president faced, however, were three men who expressed views that appealed to poor Americans: Charles Coughlin, Dr. Francis Townsend, and Huey Long.

Father Charles Coughlin speaks to a radio audience in 1935.



Every Sunday, Father Charles Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest from a suburb of Detroit, broadcast radio sermons that combined economic, political, and religious ideas. Initially a supporter of the New Deal, Coughlin soon turned against Roosevelt. He favored a guaranteed annual income and the nationalization of banks. At the height of his popularity, Father Coughlin claimed a radio audience of as many as 40–45 million people, but his increasingly anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) views eventually cost him support.

**Vocabulary**  
**nationalization:**  
 conversion from private to governmental ownership

Another critic of New Deal policies was Dr. Francis Townsend, a physician and health officer in Long Beach, California. He believed that Roosevelt wasn't doing enough to help the poor and elderly, so he devised a pension plan that would provide monthly benefits to the aged. The plan found strong backing among the elderly, thus undermining their support for Roosevelt.

Perhaps the most serious challenge to the New Deal came from Senator **Huey Long** of Louisiana. Like Coughlin, Long was an early supporter of the New Deal, but he, too, turned against Roosevelt. Eager to win the presidency for himself, Long proposed a nationwide social program called Share-Our-Wealth. Under the banner "Every Man a King," he promised something for everyone.



Huey Long

**A PERSONAL VOICE** HUEY LONG

"We owe debts in America today, public and private, amounting to \$252 billion. That means that every child is born with a \$2,000 debt tied around his neck. . . . We propose that children shall be born in a land of opportunity, guaranteed a home, food, clothes, and the other things that make for living, including the right to education."

—Record, 74 Congress, Session 1

Long's program was so popular that by 1935 he boasted of having perhaps as many as 27,000 Share-Our-Wealth clubs and 7.5 million members. That same year, however, at the height of his popularity, Long was assassinated by a lone gunman.

As the initial impetus of the New Deal began to wane, President Roosevelt started to look ahead. He knew that much more needed to be done to help the people and to solve the nation's economic problems.

SECTION 1

ASSESSMENT

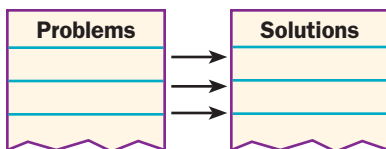
**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each of the terms and names below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Federal Securities Act
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
- deficit spending
- New Deal
- Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
- National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)
- Huey Long
- Glass-Steagall Act

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

In a two-column chart, list problems that President Roosevelt confronted and how he tried to solve them.



Write a paragraph telling which solution had the greatest impact, and why.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. EVALUATING**

Of the New Deal programs discussed in this section, which do you consider the most important? Explain your choice. **Think About:**

- the type of assistance offered by each program
- the scope of each program
- the impact of each program

**4. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

Do you think Roosevelt was wrong to try to "pack" the Supreme Court with those in favor of the New Deal? Explain your answer.

**5. DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The New Deal has often been referred to as a turning point in American history. Cite examples to explain why.

SECTION  
2

# The Second New Deal Takes Hold

## MAIN IDEA

The Second New Deal included new programs to extend federal aid and stimulate the nation's economy.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Second New Deal programs continue to assist homebuyers, farmers, workers, and the elderly in the 2000s.

## Terms & Names

- Eleanor Roosevelt
- Works Progress Administration (WPA)
- National Youth Administration
- Wagner Act
- Social Security Act

## One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com  
**TAKING NOTES**

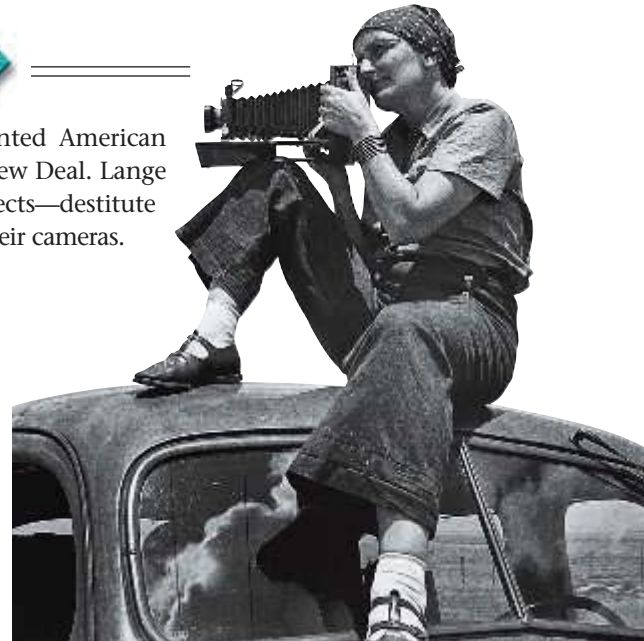
Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on groups helped by the Second New Deal.

Dorothea Lange was a photographer who documented American life during the Great Depression and the era of the New Deal. Lange spent considerable time getting to know her subjects—destitute migrant workers—before she and her assistant set up their cameras.

### A PERSONAL VOICE DOROTHEA LANGE

“So often it’s just sticking around and remaining there, not swooping in and swooping out in a cloud of dust. . . . We found our way in . . . not too far away from the people we were working with. . . . The people who are garrulous and wear their heart on their sleeve and tell you everything, that’s one kind of person. But the fellow who’s hiding behind a tree and hoping you don’t see him, is the fellow that you’d better find out why.”

—quoted in *Restless Spirit: The Life and Work of Dorothea Lange*



▲ Dorothea Lange taking photographs on the Texas plains in 1934.

Lange also believed that her distinct limp, the result of a childhood case of polio, worked to her advantage. Seeing that Lange, too, had suffered, people were kind to her and more at ease.

Much of Lange’s work was funded by federal agencies, such as the Farm Security Administration, which was established to alleviate rural poverty. Her photographs of migrant workers helped draw attention to the desperate conditions in rural America and helped to underscore the need for direct relief.

## The Second Hundred Days

By 1935, the Roosevelt administration was seeking ways to build on the programs established during the Hundred Days. Although the economy had improved during FDR’s first two years in office, the gains were not as great as he had expected. Unemployment remained high despite government work programs, and production still lagged behind the levels of the 1920s.



▲ Eleanor Roosevelt visits a children's hospital in 1937.

Nevertheless, the New Deal enjoyed widespread popularity, and President Roosevelt launched a second burst of activity, often called the Second New Deal or the Second Hundred Days. During this phase, the president called on Congress to provide more extensive relief for both farmers and workers.

The president was prodded in this direction by his wife, **Eleanor Roosevelt**, a social reformer who combined her deep humanitarian impulses with great political skills. Eleanor Roosevelt traveled the country, observing social conditions and reminding the president about the suffering of the nation's people. She also urged him to appoint women to government positions. **A**

**REELECTING FDR** The Second New Deal was under way by the time of the 1936 presidential election. The Republicans nominated Alfred Landon, the governor of Kansas, while the Democrats, of course, nominated President Roosevelt for a second term. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Democrats, who won the presidency and large majorities in both houses. The election marked the first time that most

African Americans had voted Democratic rather than Republican, and the first time that labor unions gave united support to a presidential candidate. The 1936 election was a vote of confidence in FDR and the New Deal.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**

**A** Why did Roosevelt launch the Second Hundred Days?

## Helping Farmers

In the mid-1930s, two of every five farms in the United States were mortgaged, and thousands of small farmers lost their farms. The novelist John Steinbeck described the experience of one tenant farmer and his family.



▲ A poster promotes the movie adaptation of John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath*.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** JOHN STEINBECK

“Across the dooryard the tractor cut, and the hard, foot-beaten ground was seeded field, and the tractor cut through again; the uncut space was ten feet wide. And back he came. The iron guard bit into the house-corner, crumbled the wall, and wrenched the little house from its foundation so that it fell sideways, crushed like a bug. . . . The tractor cut a straight line on, and the air and the ground vibrated with its thunder. The tenant man stared after it, his rifle in his hand. His wife was beside him, and the quiet children behind. And all of them stared after the tractor.”

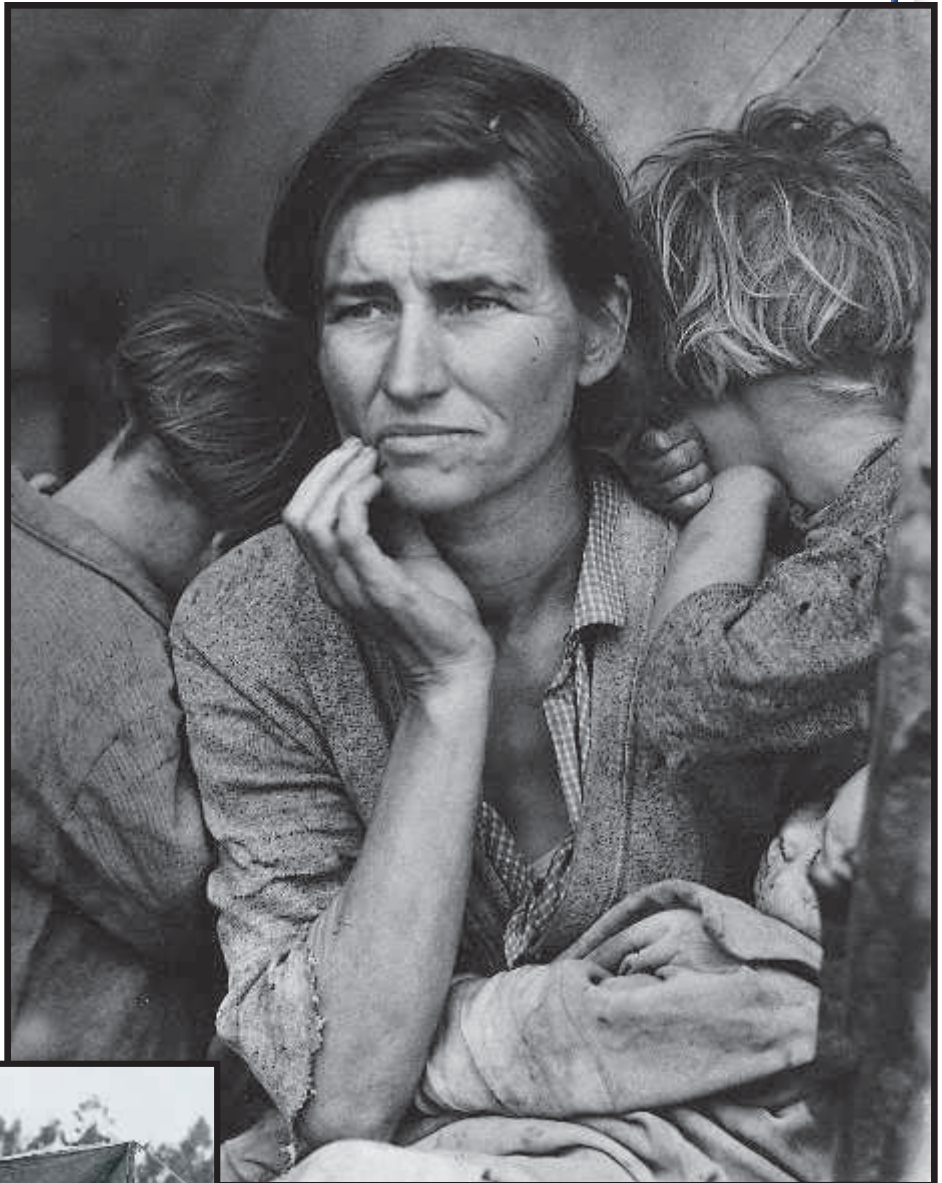
—*The Grapes of Wrath*

**FOCUSING ON FARMS** When the Supreme Court struck down the AAA early in 1936, Congress passed another law to replace it: the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act. This act paid farmers for cutting production of soil-depleting crops and rewarded farmers for practicing good soil conservation methods. Two years later, in 1938, Congress approved a second Agricultural Adjustment Act that brought back many features of the first AAA. The second AAA did not include a processing tax to pay for farm subsidies, a provision of the first AAA that the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional.

**“MIGRANT MOTHER” (1936),  
DOROTHEA LANGE**

In February 1936, Dorothea Lange visited a camp in Nipomo, California, where some 2,500 destitute pea pickers lived in tents or, like this mother of seven children, in lean-tos. Lange talked briefly to the woman and then took five pictures, successively moving closer to her subjects and directing more emphasis on the mother. The last photo, “Migrant Mother” (at right), was published in the *San Francisco News* March 10, 1936.

▶ **“Migrant Mother” became one of the most recognizable symbols of the Depression and perhaps the strongest argument in support of New Deal relief programs. Roy Stryker, who hired Lange to document the harsh living conditions of the time, described the mother: “She has all the suffering of mankind in her, but all the perseverance too. A restraint and a strange courage.”**



◀ **Lange reflected upon her assignment. “I saw and approached the hungry and desperate mother, as if drawn by a magnet. . . . She said that they had been living on frozen vegetables from the surrounding fields, and birds that the children killed. She had just sold the tires from her car to buy food.”**

**SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources**

1. What might the woman be thinking about? Why do you think so?
2. Why do you think “Migrant Mother” was effective in persuading people to support FDR’s relief programs?



**SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.**

The Second New Deal also attempted to help sharecroppers, migrant workers, and many other poor farmers. The Resettlement Administration, created by executive order in 1935, provided monetary loans to small farmers to buy land. In 1937, the agency was replaced by the Farm Security Administration (FSA), which loaned more than \$1 billion to help tenant farmers become landholders and established camps for migrant farm workers, who had traditionally lived in squalid housing.

The FSA hired photographers such as Dorothea Lange, Ben Shahn, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, and Carl Mydans to take many pictures of rural towns and farms and their inhabitants. The agency used their photographs to create a pictorial record of the difficult situation in rural America.

## Roosevelt Extends Relief

As part of the Second New Deal, the Roosevelt administration and Congress set up a series of programs to help youths, professionals, and other workers. One of the largest was the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**, headed by Harry Hopkins, the former chief of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The WPA set out to create as many jobs as possible as quickly as possible. Between 1935 and 1943, it spent \$11 billion to give jobs to more than 8 million workers, most of them unskilled. These workers built 850 airports throughout the country, constructed or repaired 651,000 miles of roads and streets, and put up more than 125,000 public buildings. Women workers in sewing groups made 300 million garments for the needy. Although criticized by some as a make-work project, the WPA produced public works of lasting value to the nation and gave working people a sense of hope and purpose. As one man recalled, "It was really great. You worked, you got a paycheck and you had some dignity. Even when a man raked leaves, he got paid, he had some dignity."

In addition, the WPA employed many professionals who wrote guides to cities, collected historical slave narratives, painted murals on the walls of schools

This photograph by Margaret Bourke-White shows people waiting for food in a Kentucky bread line in 1937.



### MAIN IDEA

#### Evaluating

**B** Do you think work programs like the WPA were a valid use of federal money? Why or why not?

and other public buildings, and performed in theater troupes around the country. At the urging of Eleanor Roosevelt, the WPA made special efforts to help women, minorities, and young people. **B**

Another program, the **National Youth Administration (NYA)**, was created specifically to provide education, jobs, counseling, and recreation for young people. The NYA provided student aid to high school, college, and graduate students. In exchange, students worked in part-time positions at their schools. One participant later described her experience.

#### A PERSONAL VOICE HELEN FARMER

“I lugged . . . drafts and reams of paper home, night after night. . . . Sometimes I typed almost all night and had to deliver it to school the next morning. . . . This was a good program. It got necessary work done. It gave teenagers a chance to work for pay. Mine bought me clothes and shoes, school supplies, some movies and mad money. Candy bars, and big pickles out of a barrel. It gave my mother relief from my necessary demands for money.”

—quoted in *The Great Depression*

For graduates unable to find jobs, or youth who had dropped out of school, the NYA provided part-time jobs, such as working on highways, parks, and the grounds of public buildings.



▲ The NYA helped young people, such as this dental assistant (third from left), receive training and job opportunities.

## Improving Labor and Other Reforms

In a speech to Congress in January 1935, the president declared, “When a man is convalescing from an illness, wisdom dictates not only cure of the symptoms but also removal of their cause.” During the Second New Deal, Roosevelt, with the help of Congress, brought about important reforms in the areas of labor relations and economic security for retired workers. (See the chart on page 500.)

**IMPROVING LABOR CONDITIONS** In 1935, the Supreme Court declared the NIRA unconstitutional, citing that the federal government had violated legislative authority reserved for individual states. One of the first reforms of the Second New Deal was passage of the National Labor Relations Act. More commonly called the **Wagner Act**, after its sponsor, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, the act reestablished the NIRA provision of collective bargaining. The federal government again protected the right of workers to join unions and engage in collective bargaining with employers.

The Wagner Act also prohibited unfair labor practices such as threatening workers, firing union members, and interfering with union organizing. The act set up the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to hear testimony about unfair practices and to hold elections to find out if workers wanted union representation. **C**

In 1938, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, which set maximum hours at 44 hours per week, decreasing to 40 hours after two years. It also set minimum wages at 25 cents an hour, increasing to 40 cents an hour by 1945. In addition, the act set rules for the employment of workers under 16 and banned hazardous work for those under 18.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Issues

**C** Why was the Wagner Act significant?

## New Deal Programs

### EMPLOYMENT PROJECTS

- 1933 **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**
- 1933 **Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)**
- 1933 **Public Works Administration (PWA)**
- 1933 **Civil Works Administration (CWA)**
- 1935 **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**
  
- 1935 **National Youth Administration (NYA)**

### PURPOSE

Provided jobs for single males on conservation projects.  
Helped states to provide aid for the unemployed.  
Created jobs on government projects.  
Provided work in federal jobs.  
Quickly created as many jobs as possible—from construction jobs to positions in symphony orchestras.  
Provided job training for unemployed young people and part-time jobs for needy students.



### BUSINESS ASSISTANCE AND REFORM

- 1933 **Emergency Banking Relief Act (EBRA)**
- 1933 **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**
- 1933 **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**
- 1934 **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**
- 1935 **Banking Act of 1935**
  
- 1938 **Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (FDC)**

Banks were inspected by Treasury Department and those stable could reopen.  
Protected bank deposits up to \$5,000. (Today, accounts are protected up to \$250,000.)  
Established codes of fair competition.  
Supervised the stock market and eliminated dishonest practices.  
Created seven-member board to regulate the nation's money supply and the interest rates on loans.  
Required manufacturers to list ingredients in foods, drugs, and cosmetic products.



### FARM RELIEF AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

- 1933 **Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)**
- 1933 **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**
  
- 1935 **Rural Electrification Administration (REA)**

Aided farmers and regulated crop production.  
Developed the resources of the Tennessee Valley.  
Provided affordable electricity for isolated rural areas.

### HOUSING

- 1933 **Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)**
  
- 1934 **Federal Housing Administration (FHA)**
  
- 1937 **United States Housing Authority (USHA)**

Loaned money at low interest to homeowners who could not meet mortgage payments.  
Insured loans for building and repairing homes.  
Provided federal loans for low-cost public housing.



### LABOR RELATIONS

- 1935 **National Labor Relations Board (Wagner Act)**
  
- 1938 **Fair Labor Standards Act**

Defined unfair labor practices and established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to settle disputes between employers and employees.  
Established a minimum hourly wage and a maximum number of hours in the workweek for the entire country.  
Set rules for the employment of workers under 16 and banned hazardous factory work for those under 18.

### RETIREMENT

- 1935 **Social Security Administration**

Provided a pension for retired workers and their spouses and aided people with disabilities.

**THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT** One of the most important achievements of the New Deal was creating the Social Security system. The **Social Security Act**, passed in 1935, was created by a committee chaired by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. The act had three major parts:

- *Old-age insurance for retirees 65 or older and their spouses.* The insurance was a supplemental retirement plan. Half of the funds came from the worker and half from the employer. Although some groups were excluded from the system, it helped to make retirement comfortable for millions of people.
- *Unemployment compensation system.* The unemployment system was funded by a federal tax on employers. It was administered at the state level. The initial payments ranged from \$15 to \$18 per week.
- *Aid to families with dependent children and the disabled.* The aid was paid for by federal funds made available to the states.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Drawing Conclusions**

**D** Whom did Social Security help?

Although the Social Security Act was not a total pension system or a complete welfare system, it did provide substantial benefits to millions of Americans. **D**

**EXPANDING AND REGULATING UTILITIES** The Second New Deal also included laws to promote rural electrification and to regulate public utilities. In 1935, only 12.6 percent of American farms had electricity. Roosevelt established under executive order the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), which financed and worked with electrical cooperatives to bring electricity to isolated areas. By 1945, 48 percent of America’s farms and rural homes had electricity. That figure rose to 90 percent by 1949.

The Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 took aim at financial corruption in the public utility industry. It outlawed the ownership of utilities by multiple holding companies—a practice known as the pyramiding of holding companies. Lobbyists for the holding companies fought the law fiercely, and it proved extremely difficult to enforce.

As the New Deal struggled to help farmers and other workers overcome the Great Depression, it assisted many different groups in the nation, including women, African Americans, and Native Americans.

**SECTION 2**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Eleanor Roosevelt
- Works Progress Administration (WPA)
- National Youth Administration
- Wagner Act
- Social Security Act

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Create a chart similar to the one below to show how groups such as farmers, the unemployed, youth, and retirees were helped by Second New Deal programs.

Second New Deal	
Group	How Helped

Which group do you think benefited the most from the Second New Deal? Explain.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. EVALUATING DECISIONS**

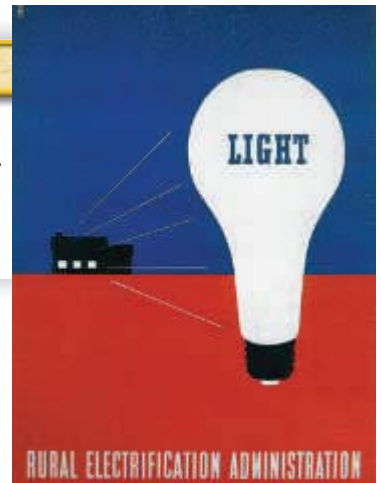
Why might the Social Security Act be considered the most important achievement of the New Deal?

**Think About:**

- the types of relief needed in the 1930s
- alternatives to government assistance to the elderly, the unemployed, and the disabled
- the scope of the act

**4. INTERPRETING VISUAL SOURCES**

Many WPA posters were created to promote New Deal programs—in this case the Rural Electrification Administration. How does this poster’s simplistic design convey the program’s goal?





## NLRB v. JONES AND LAUGHLIN STEEL CORP. (1937)

**ORIGINS OF THE CASE** In 1936, the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation was charged with intimidating union organizers and firing several union members. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) found the company guilty of “unfair labor practices” and ordered it to rehire the workers with back pay.

**THE RULING** The Supreme Court ruled that Congress had the power to regulate labor relations and confirmed the authority of the NLRB.

### LEGAL REASONING

In the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, or Wagner Act, Congress claimed that its authority to regulate labor relations came from the commerce clause of the Constitution. Jones and Laughlin Steel argued that its manufacturing business did not involve interstate commerce—it operated a plant and hired people locally.

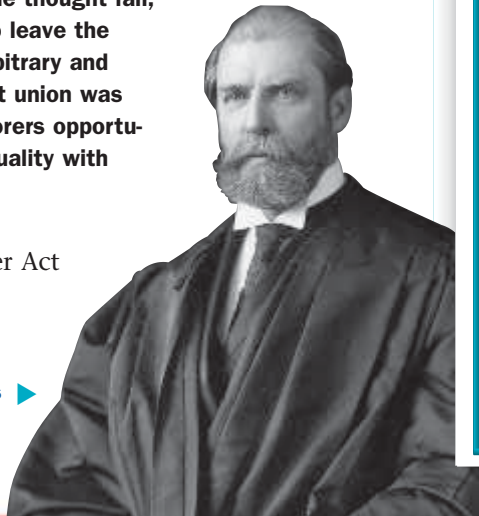
The Court disagreed. Although production itself may occur within one state, it said, production is a part of the interstate “flow of commerce.” If labor unrest at a steel mill would create “burdens and obstructions” to interstate commerce, then Congress has the power to prevent labor unrest at the steel mill.

The Court also explained that the act went “no further than to safeguard the right of employees to self-organization and to select representatives . . . for collective bargaining.” Departing from earlier decisions, the Court affirmed that these are “fundamental” rights.

**“Long ago we . . . said . . . that a single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer; that he was dependent . . . on his daily wage for the maintenance of himself and family; that, if the employer refused to pay him the wages that he thought fair, he was . . . unable to leave the employ and resist arbitrary and unfair treatment; that union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on an equality with their employer.”**

As a result, the Wagner Act was allowed to stand.

Chief Justice Charles  
Evans Hughes



### LEGAL SOURCES

#### LEGISLATION

##### U.S. CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE 1, SECTION 8 (COMMERCE CLAUSE)

“The Congress shall have Power . . . To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations and among the several States.”

##### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (1935)

“The term ‘affecting commerce’ means . . . tending to lead to a labor dispute burdening or obstructing commerce or the free flow of commerce.”

“It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer . . . to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights [to organize unions].”

#### RELATED CASES

##### SCHECHTER POULTRY CORP. v. UNITED STATES (1935)

The Court struck down the National Industrial Recovery Act, a key piece of New Deal legislation.



◀ Choosing to work despite the strike, a storekeeper at the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation tries to pass through picket lines.

## WHY IT MATTERED

The 1935 Wagner Act was one of the most important pieces of New Deal legislation. Conservative justices on the Supreme Court, however, thought New Deal legislation increased the power of the federal government beyond what the Constitution allowed. By the time the Jones and Laughlin case reached the Court in 1937, the Court had already struck down numerous New Deal laws. It appeared to many as if the Wagner Act was doomed.

In February 1937, Roosevelt announced a plan to appoint enough justices to build a Court majority in favor of the New Deal. Critics immediately accused Roosevelt of trying to pack the Supreme Court, thus crippling the Constitution's system of checks and balances.

Two months later, the Court delivered its opinion in *Jones and Laughlin* and at about the same time upheld other New Deal legislation as well. Most historians agree that the Court's switch was not a response to Roosevelt's "Court-packing" plan, which already seemed destined for failure. Nevertheless, the decision resolved a potential crisis.

## HISTORICAL IMPACT

The protection that labor unions gained by the Wagner Act helped them to grow quickly. Union membership among non-farm workers grew from around 12 percent in 1930 to around 31 percent by 1950. This increase helped improve the economic standing of many working-class Americans in the years following World War II.

Most significantly, *Jones and Laughlin* greatly broadened Congress's power. Previously, neither the federal nor the state governments were thought to have sufficient power to control the large corporations and holding companies doing business in many states. Now, far beyond the power to regulate interstate commerce, Congress had the power to regulate anything "essential or appropriate" to that function. For example, federal laws barring discrimination in hotels and restaurants rest on the Court's allowing Congress to decide what is an "essential or appropriate" subject of regulation.

More recently, the Court has placed tighter limits on Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce. In *United States v. Lopez* (1995), the Court struck down a law that banned people from having handguns near a school. The Court said Congress was not justified in basing this law on its power to regulate interstate commerce.

## THINKING CRITICALLY

### CONNECT TO HISTORY

- 1. Developing Historical Perspective** Lawyers for Jones and Laughlin said that the Wagner Act violated the Tenth Amendment. Chief Justice Hughes said that since the act fell within the scope of the commerce clause, the Tenth Amendment did not apply. Read the Tenth Amendment and then write a paragraph defending Hughes's position.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R11.

### CONNECT TO TODAY



- 2.** Visit the links for Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court and read the opening sections of *United States v. Lopez*. There, Chief Justice Rehnquist offers a summary of the Court's interpretation of the commerce clause over the years. Summarize in your own words Rehnquist's description of the current meaning of the commerce clause.



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# The New Deal Affects Many Groups

## MAIN IDEA

New Deal policies and actions affected various social and ethnic groups.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The New Deal made a lasting impact on increasing the government's role in the struggle for equal rights.

## Terms & Names

- Frances Perkins
- Mary McLeod Bethune
- John Collier
- New Deal coalition
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)

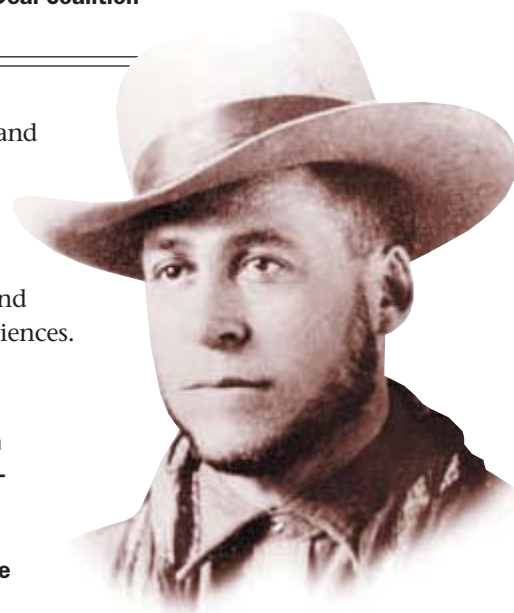
## One American's Story



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**TAKING NOTES**

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the effects of the New Deal on minorities and other groups.

Pedro J. González came to this country from Mexico in the early 1920s and later became a United States citizen. As the first Spanish-language disc jockey in Los Angeles, González used his radio program to condemn discrimination against Mexicans and Mexican Americans, who were often made scapegoats for social and economic problems during the Depression. For his efforts, González was arrested, jailed, and deported on trumped-up charges. Later in life, he reflected on his experiences.



### A PERSONAL VOICE PEDRO J. GONZÁLEZ

“Seeing how badly they treated Mexicans back in the days of my youth I could have started a rebellion. But now there could be a cultural understanding so that without firing one bullet, we might understand each other. We [Mexicans] were here before they [Anglos] were, and we are not, as they still say, ‘undesirables’ or ‘wetbacks.’ They say we come to this land and it’s not our home. Actually, it’s the other way around.”

—quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1984

Pedro J. González became a hero to many Mexican Americans and a symbol of Mexican cultural pride. His life reflected some of the difficulties faced by Mexicans and other minority groups in the United States during the New Deal era.

## The New Deal Brings New Opportunities

In some ways, the New Deal represented an important opportunity for minorities and women, but what these groups gained was limited. Long-standing patterns of prejudice and discrimination continued to plague them and to prevent their full and equal participation in national life.

**WOMEN MAKE THEIR MARK** One of the most notable changes during the New Deal was the naming of several women to important government positions. **Frances Perkins** became America’s first female cabinet member. As secretary of labor, she played a major role in creating the Social Security system and super-

vised labor legislation. President Roosevelt, encouraged by his wife Eleanor and seeking the support of women voters, also appointed two female diplomats and a female federal judge.

However, women continued to face discrimination in the workplace from male workers who believed that working women took jobs away from men. A Gallup poll taken in 1936 reported that 82 percent of Americans said that a wife should not work if her husband had a job.

Additionally, New Deal laws yielded mixed results. The National Recovery Administration, for example, set wage codes, some of which set lower minimum wages for women. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration hired far fewer women than men, and the Civilian Conservation Corps hired only men.

In spite of these barriers, women continued their movement into the workplace. Although the overall percentage of women working for wages increased only slightly during the 1930s, the percentage of married women in the workplace grew from 11.7 percent in 1930 to 15.6 percent in 1940. In short, widespread criticism of working women did not halt the long-term trend of women working outside the home.

## African-American Activism

The 1930s witnessed a growth of activism by African Americans. One notable figure was A. Philip Randolph, who organized the country's first all-black trade union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. His work and that of others laid the groundwork for what would become the civil rights movement.

**AFRICAN AMERICANS TAKE LEADERSHIP ROLES** During the New Deal, Roosevelt appointed more than 100 African Americans to key positions in the government. **Mary McLeod Bethune**—an educator who dedicated herself to promoting opportunities for young African Americans—was one such appointee. Hired by the president to head the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration, Bethune worked to ensure that the NYA hired African-American administrators and provided job training and other benefits to minority students.

Bethune also helped organize a “Black Cabinet” of influential African Americans to advise the Roosevelt administration on racial issues. Among these figures were William H. Hastie and Robert C. Weaver, both appointees to Roosevelt’s Department of Interior. Never before had so many African Americans had a voice in the White House. **A**

Eleanor Roosevelt played a key role in opening doors for African Americans in government. She was also instrumental in bringing about one of the most dramatic cultural events of the



**FRANCES PERKINS**  
1882–1965

As a student at Mount Holyoke College, Frances Perkins attended lectures that introduced her to social reform efforts. Her initial work in the settlement house movement sparked her interest in pursuing the emerging social service organizations. After witnessing the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in 1911 (see Chapter 6, page 249), Perkins pledged to fight for labor reforms, especially those for women. A pioneer for labor and women’s issues, she changed her name from Fannie to Frances, believing she would be taken more seriously in her work.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Synthesizing

**A** Why was the “Black Cabinet” important to the Roosevelt administration?



◀ **Mary McLeod Bethune, a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, was a strong supporter of the New Deal.**



▲  
Marian Anderson sang from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on April 9, 1939.

period: a performance by the African-American singer Marian Anderson in 1939. When the Daughters of the American Revolution chose not to allow Anderson to perform in their concert hall in Washington, D.C., because of her race, Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from the organization. She then arranged for Anderson to perform at the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday. At the concert, Walter White, an official of the NAACP, noticed one girl in the crowd.

#### A PERSONAL VOICE WALTER WHITE

“Her hands were particularly noticeable as she thrust them forward and upward, trying desperately . . . to touch the singer. They were hands which despite their youth had known only the dreary work of manual labor. Tears streamed down the girl’s dark face. Her hat was askew, but in her eyes flamed hope bordering on ecstasy. . . . If Marian Anderson could do it, the girl’s eyes seemed to say, then I can, too.”

—A Man Called White

**THE PRESIDENT FAILS TO SUPPORT CIVIL RIGHTS** Despite efforts to promote racial equality, Roosevelt was never committed to full civil rights for African Americans. He was afraid of upsetting white Democratic voters in the South, an important segment of his supporters. He refused to approve a federal antilynching law and an end to the poll tax, two key goals of the civil rights movement. Further, a number of New Deal agencies clearly discriminated against African Americans, including the NRA, the CCC, and the TVA. These programs gave lower wages to African Americans and favored whites.

African Americans recognized the need to fight for their rights and to improve conditions in areas that the New Deal ignored. In 1934, they helped organize the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, which sought to protect the rights of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, both white and black. In the North, the union created tenants’ groups and launched campaigns to increase job opportunities.

In general, however, African Americans supported the Roosevelt administration and the New Deal, generally seeing them as their best hope for the future. As one man recalled, “Roosevelt touched the temper of the black community. You did not look upon him as being white, black, blue or green. He was President Roosevelt.” **B**

## Mexican-American Fortunes

Mexican Americans also tended to support the New Deal, even though they received even fewer benefits than African Americans did. Large numbers of Mexican Americans had come to the United States during the 1920s, settling mainly in the Southwest. Most found work laboring on farms, an occupation that was essentially unprotected by state and federal laws. During the Depression, farm wages fell to as little as nine cents an hour. Farm workers who tried to unionize

### HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

#### DEPORTATION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

Many Mexican Americans were long-time residents or citizens of the United States. Others came during the 1920s to work on farms in Texas, California, and Arizona. Valued for their low-cost labor during the good times, these migrant workers became the target of hostility during the Great Depression. Many returned to Mexico willingly, while others were deported by the United States government. During the 1930s, as many as 400,000 persons of Mexican descent, many of them U.S. citizens, were deported to Mexico.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Evaluating

**B** Evaluate the actions and policies of the Roosevelt administration on civil rights.

**MAIN IDEA****Identifying Problems**

**C** Why was life difficult for farm laborers during the Depression?

often met with violence from employers and government authorities. Although the CCC and WPA helped some Mexican Americans, these agencies also discriminated against them by disqualifying from their programs migrant workers who had no permanent address. **C**

## Native Americans Gain Support

Native Americans received strong government support from the New Deal. In 1924, Native Americans had received full citizenship by law. In 1933, President Roosevelt appointed **John Collier** as commissioner of Indian affairs. Collier helped create the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This act was an extreme change in government policy. It moved away from assimilation and toward Native American autonomy. It also helped to restore some reservation lands to tribal ownership. The act mandated changes in three areas:

- *economic*—Native American lands would belong to an entire tribe. This provision strengthened Native American land claims by prohibiting the government from taking over unclaimed reservation lands and selling them to people other than Native Americans.
- *cultural*—The number of boarding schools for Native American children was reduced, and children could attend school on the reservations.
- *political*—Tribes were given permission to elect tribal councils to govern their reservations.

Some Native Americans who valued their tribal traditions hailed the act as an important step forward. Others who had become more “Americanized” as individual landowners under the previous Dawes Act objected, because they were tired of white people telling them what was good for them. **D**



▲ **John Collier talks with Chief Richard, one of several Native American chiefs attending the Four Nation Celebration held at Niagara Falls, New York, in September 1934.**

**MAIN IDEA****Summarizing**

**D** What changes occurred for Native Americans as a result of the New Deal?

## FDR Creates the New Deal Coalition

Although New Deal policies had mixed results for minorities, these groups generally backed President Roosevelt. In fact, one of FDR’s great achievements was to create the **New Deal coalition**—an alignment of diverse groups dedicated to supporting the Democratic Party. The coalition included Southern whites, various urban groups, African Americans, and unionized industrial workers. As a result, Democrats dominated national politics throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

**LABOR UNIONS FLOURISH** As a result of the Wagner Act and other pro-labor legislation passed during the New Deal, union members enjoyed better working conditions and increased bargaining power. In their eyes, President Roosevelt was a “friend of labor.” Labor unions donated money to Roosevelt’s reelection campaigns, and union workers pledged their votes to him.

Between 1933 and 1941, union membership grew from less than 3 million to more than 10 million. Unionization especially affected coal miners and workers in mass-production industries, such as the automobile, rubber, and electrical industries. It was in these industries, too, that a struggle for dominance within the labor movement began to develop.

## The Growing Labor Movement, 1933–1940

### Robert F. Wagner

A Democratic senator from New York (1927–1949), Robert F. Wagner was especially interested in workers' welfare. Wagner introduced the National Labor Relations Act in Congress in 1935.



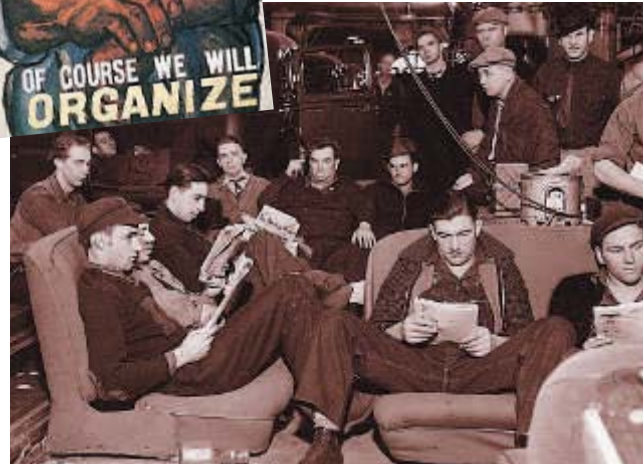
### Sit-down strikes

Union workers—such as these CIO strikers at the Fisher automobile plant in Flint, Michigan, in 1937—found the sit-down strike an extremely effective method for getting their demands met.



### Union membership soars

A Ben Shahn poster from the late 1930s boasted of the rise in union membership.



The American Federation of Labor (AFL) had traditionally been restricted to the craft unions, such as carpenters and electricians. Most of the AFL leaders opposed industrywide unions that represented all the workers in a given industry, such as automobile manufacturing. **E**

Frustrated by this position, several key labor leaders, including John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers, formed the Committee for Industrial Organization to organize industrial unions. The committee rapidly signed up unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and within two years it succeeded in gaining union recognition in the steel and automobile industries. In 1938, the Committee for Industrial Organization was expelled from the AFL and changed its name to the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**. This split lasted until 1955.

**LABOR DISPUTES** One of the main bargaining tactics of the labor movement in the 1930s was the sit-down strike. Instead of walking off their jobs, workers remained inside their plants, but they did not work. This prevented the factory owners from carrying on production with strikebreakers, or scabs. Some Americans disapproved of the sit-down strike, calling it a violation of private property. Nonetheless, it proved to be an effective bargaining tool.

Not all labor disputes in the 1930s were peaceful. Perhaps the most dramatic incident was the clash at the Republic Steel plant in Chicago on Memorial Day, 1937. Police attacked striking steelworkers outside the plant. One striker, an African-American man, recalled the experience.

### A PERSONAL VOICE JESSE REESE

“I began to see people drop. There was a Mexican on my side, and he fell; and there was a black man on my side and he fell. Down I went. I crawled around in the grass and saw that people were getting beat. I’d never seen police beat women, not white women. I’d seen them beat black women, but this was the first time in my life I’d seen them beat white women—with sticks.”

—quoted in *The Great Depression*

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

**E** How did New Deal policies affect organized labor?

Ten people were killed and 84 wounded in this incident, which became known as the Memorial Day Massacre. Shortly afterward, the National Labor Relations Board stepped in and required the head of Republic Steel, Tom Girdler, to negotiate with the union. This and other actions helped labor gain strength during the 1930s.



▲ Chicago police attack strikers at what would become known as the Memorial Day Massacre (1937).

**FDR WINS IN 1936** Urban voters were another important component of the New Deal coalition. Support for the Democratic Party surged, especially in large Northern cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. These and other cities had powerful city political organizations that provided services, such as jobs, in exchange for votes. In the 1936 election, President Roosevelt carried the nation's 12 largest cities.

Support for President Roosevelt came from various religious and ethnic groups—Roman Catholics, Jews, Italians, Irish, and Polish and other Slavic peoples—as well as from African Americans. His appeal to these groups was based on New Deal labor laws and work-relief programs, which aided the urban poor. The president also made direct and persuasive appeals to urban voters at election time. To reinforce his support, he also appointed many officials of urban-immigrant backgrounds, particularly Roman Catholics and Jews, to important government positions.

Women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and workers from all walks of life were greatly affected by the New Deal. It also had a tremendous influence on American society and culture.

SECTION 3

ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each of the following terms and names, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Frances Perkins
- John Collier
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
- Mary McLeod Bethune
- New Deal coalition

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Using a web diagram like the partial one shown here, note the effects of New Deal policies on American women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, unionized workers, and urban Americans.



Write a paragraph explaining the effects of the New Deal on one of the groups.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. SUMMARIZING**

What steps did women take toward equality during the 1930s?

**Think About:**

- the role of women in government
- hiring practices in federal programs
- women's opportunities in business and industry

**4. EVALUATING**

In your opinion, did organized labor become too powerful in the 1930s? Explain your answer. **Think About:**

- why workers joined unions
- how unions organized workers
- the role of unions in politics

**5. ANALYZING MOTIVES**

Why did urban voters support President Roosevelt?

# Culture in the 1930s

## MAIN IDEA

Motion pictures, radio, art, and literature blossomed during the New Deal.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The films, music, art, and literature of the 1930s still captivate today's public.

## Terms & Names

- *Gone With the Wind*
- Orson Welles
- Grant Wood
- Richard Wright
- *The Grapes of Wrath*

## One American's Story



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on cultural figures of the 1930s.

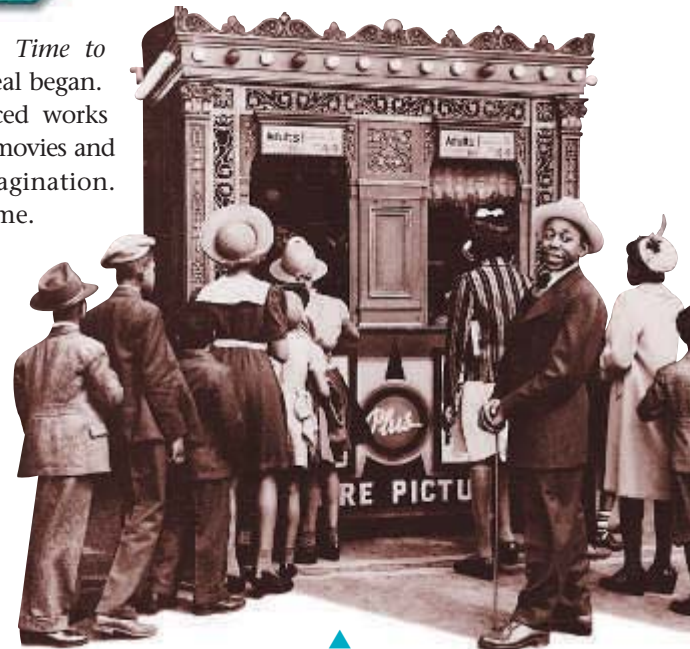
Don Congdon, editor of the book *The Thirties: A Time to Remember*, was a high school student when the New Deal began. While many writers and artists in the 1930s produced works that reflected the important issues of the day, it was the movies and radio that most clearly captured the public imagination. Congdon remembers the role movies played at the time.

### A PERSONAL VOICE DON CONGDON

“Lots of us enjoyed our leisure at the movies. The experience of going was like an insidious [tempting] candy we could never get quite enough of; the visit to the dark theater was an escape from the drab realities of Depression living, and we were entranced by the never-ending variety of stories. Hollywood, like Scheherazade [the storyteller] in *The Thousand and One Nights*, supplied more the next night, and the next night after that.”

—*The Thirties: A Time to Remember*

During the Great Depression, movies provided a window on a different, more exciting world. Despite economic hardship, many people gladly paid the 25 cents it cost to go to the movies. Along with radio, motion pictures became an increasingly dominant feature of American life.



▲ People line up to get into a movie theater during the Great Depression.

## The Lure of Motion Pictures and Radio

Although the 1930s were a difficult time for many Americans, it was a profitable and golden age for the motion-picture and radio industries. By late in the decade, approximately 65 percent of the population was attending the movies once a week. The nation boasted over 15,000 movie theaters, more than the number of banks and double the number of hotels. Sales of radios also greatly increased during the 1930s, from just over 13 million in 1930 to 28 million by 1940. Nearly 90 percent of American households owned a radio. Clearly, movies and radio had taken the country by storm.

**MOVIES ARE A HIT** Wacky comedies, lavish musicals, love stories, and gangster films all vied for the attention of the moviegoing public during the New Deal years. Following the end of silent films and the rise of “talking” pictures, new stars such as Clark Gable, Marlene Dietrich, and James Cagney rose from Hollywood, the center of the film industry. These stars helped launch a new era of glamour and sophistication in Hollywood.

Some films made during the 1930s offered pure escape from the hard realities of the Depression by presenting visions of wealth, romance, and good times. Perhaps the most famous film of the era, and one of the most popular of all time, was *Gone With the Wind* (1939). Another film, *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), was a light romantic comedy featuring Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, who went on to make many movies together, becoming America’s favorite dance partners. Other notable movies made during the 1930s include *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), which showcased the dazzling animation of Walt Disney.

Comedies—such as *Monkey Business* (1931) and *Duck Soup* (1931), starring the zany Marx Brothers—became especially popular. So did films that combined escapist appeal with more realistic plots and settings. Americans flocked to see gangster films that presented images of the dark, gritty streets and looming skyscrapers of urban America. These movies featured hard-bitten characters struggling to succeed in a harsh environment where they faced difficulties that Depression-era audiences could easily understand. Notable films in this genre include *Little Caesar* (1930) and *The Public Enemy* (1931).

Some commentators believed that several films, such as *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) by director Frank Capra, presented the social and political accomplishments of the New Deal in a positive light. These films portrayed honest, kind-hearted people winning out over those with greedy special interests. In much the same way, the New Deal seemed to represent the interests of average Americans. **A**

**RADIO ENTERTAINS** Even more than movies, radio embodied the democratic spirit of the times. Families typically spent several hours a day gathered together, listening to their favorite programs. It was no accident that President Roosevelt chose radio as the medium for his “fireside chats.” It was the most direct means of access to the American people.

Like movies, radio programs offered a range of entertainment. In the evening, radio networks offered excellent dramas and variety programs. **Orson Welles**, an actor, director, producer, and writer, created one of the most renowned radio broadcasts of all time, “The War of the Worlds.” Later he directed movie classics such as *Citizen Kane* (1941) and *Touch of Evil* (1958). After making their reputation in



▲ Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh starred in *Gone With the Wind*, a sweeping drama about life among Southern plantation owners during the Civil War.

**MAIN IDEA**  
**Developing Historical Perspective**  
**A** Why do you think movies were so popular during the Depression?

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

WAR OF THE WORLDS

On October 30, 1938, radio listeners were stunned by a special announcement: Martians had invaded Earth! Panic set in as many Americans became convinced that the world was coming to an end. Of course, the story wasn't true: it was a radio drama based on H. G. Wells's novel *The War of the Worlds*.

In his book, Wells describes the canisters of gas fired by the Martians as releasing “an enormous volume of heavy, inky vapour. . . . And the touch of that vapour, the inhaling of its pungent wisps, was death to all that breathes.” The broadcast, narrated by Orson Welles (at left), revealed the power of radio at a time when Americans received fast-breaking news over the airwaves.





▲ The comedy couple George Burns and Gracie Allen delighted radio audiences for years, and their popularity continued on television.

radio, comedians Bob Hope, Jack Benny, and the duo Burns and Allen moved on to work in television and movies. Soap operas—so named because they were usually sponsored by soap companies—tended to play late morning to early afternoon for homemakers, while children’s programs, such as *The Lone Ranger*, generally aired later in the afternoon, when children were home from school.

One of the first worldwide radio broadcasts described for listeners the horrific crash of the *Hindenburg*, a German zeppelin (rigid airship), in New Jersey on May 6, 1937. Such immediate news coverage became a staple in society.

## The Arts in Depression America

In contrast to many radio and movie productions of the 1930s, much of the art, music, and literature of the time was sober and serious.

Despite grim artistic tones, however, much of this artistic work conveyed a more uplifting message about the strength of character and the democratic values of the American people. A number of artists and writers embraced the spirit of social and political change fostered by the New Deal. In fact, many received direct support through New Deal work programs from government officials who believed that art played an important role in national life. Also, as Harry Hopkins, the head of the WPA, put it, “They’ve got to eat just like other people.” **B**

**ARTISTS DECORATE AMERICA** The Federal Art Project, a branch of the WPA, paid artists a living wage to produce public art. It also aimed to increase public appreciation of art and to promote positive images of American society. Project artists created posters, taught art in the schools, and painted murals on the walls of public buildings. These murals, inspired in part by the revolutionary work of

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**B** Why did the New Deal fund art projects?



▶ This detail is from the mural *Industries of California*, painted in 1934 by Ralph Stackpole. It decorates San Francisco’s Coit Tower, one of the best preserved sites of WPA mural projects.

**AMERICAN GOTHIC (1930)**

Grant Wood's 1930 painting, *American Gothic*, became one of the most famous portrayals of life in the Midwest during the Great Depression. Painted in the style known as Regionalism, Wood painted familiar subjects in realistic ways. The house in the background was discovered by Wood in Eldon, Iowa, while he was looking for subjects to paint. He returned home with a sketch and a photograph, and used his sister and his dentist as models for the farmer and daughter in the painting's foreground.

**SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources**

1. What is the message Wood portrays in this painting? Explain your answer.
2. Do you think this painting is representative of the Great Depression? Why or why not?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.



Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera, typically portrayed the dignity of ordinary Americans at work. One artist, Robert Gwathmey, recalled these efforts.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** ROBERT GWATHMEY

**“The director of the Federal Arts Project was Edward Bruce. He was a friend of the Roosevelts—from a polite family—who was a painter. He was a man of real broad vision. He insisted there be no restrictions. You were a painter: Do your work. You were a sculptor: Do your work. . . . That was a very free and happy period.”**

—quoted in *Hard Times*

During the New Deal era, outstanding works of art were produced by a number of American painters, such as Edward Hopper, Thomas Hart Benton, and Iowa's **Grant Wood**, whose work includes the famous painting *American Gothic*.

The WPA's Federal Theater Project hired actors to perform plays and artists to provide stage sets and props for theater productions that played around the country. It subsidized the work of important American playwrights, including Clifford Odets, whose play *Waiting for Lefty* (1935) dramatized the labor struggles of the 1930s. **C**

**WOODY GUTHRIE SINGS OF AMERICA** Experiencing firsthand the tragedies of the Depression, singer and songwriter Woody Guthrie used music to capture the hardships of America. Along with thousands of people who were forced by the Dust Bowl to seek a better life, Guthrie traveled the country in search of brighter opportunities, and told of his troubles in his songs.

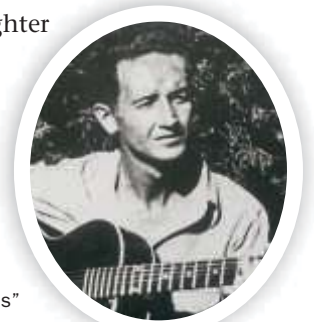
**A PERSONAL VOICE** WOODY GUTHRIE

**“Yes we ramble and we roam  
And the highway, that's our home.  
It's a never-ending highway  
For a dust bowl refugee**

**Yes, we wander and we work  
In your crops and in your fruit,  
Like the whirlwinds on the desert,  
That's the dust bowl refugees.”**

—“Dust Bowl Refugees”

Copyright © Ludlow Music, Inc., New York, New York.



Woody Guthrie

Guthrie wrote many songs about the plight of Americans during the Depression. His honest lyrics appealed to those who suffered similar hardships.

*American Gothic* (1930). Grant Wood. Oil on beaver board, 30 11/16" x 25 11/16" (78 cm x 65.3 cm) unframed. The Art Institute of Chicago, Friends of American Art Collection [1930.934]. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago/All rights reserved by the Estate of Nan Wood Graham/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY

**MAIN IDEA****Summarizing**

**C** In what ways did the New Deal deliver art to the public?

Walker Evans took this photograph of a sharecropper for the influential book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.



**DIVERSE WRITERS DEPICT AMERICAN LIFE** Many writers received support through yet another WPA program, the Federal Writers' Project. This project gave the future Pulitzer and Nobel Prize winner Saul Bellow his first writing job. It also helped **Richard Wright**, an African-American author, complete his acclaimed novel *Native Son* (1940), about a young man trying to survive in a racist world. Zora Neale Hurston wrote a stirring novel with FWP assistance—*Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), about a young woman growing up in rural Florida.

John Steinbeck, one of this country's most famous authors, received assistance from the Federal Writers' Project. He was able to publish his epic novel ***The Grapes of Wrath*** (1939), which reveals the lives of Oklahomans who left the Dust Bowl and ended up in California, where their hardships continued. Before his success, however, Steinbeck had endured the difficulties of the Depression like most other writers. **D**

Other books and authors examined the difficulties of life during the 1930s. James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* trilogy (1932–1935) provides a bleak picture of working-class life in an Irish neighborhood of Chicago, while Jack Conroy's novel *The Disinherited* (1933) portrays the violence and poverty of the Missouri coalfields, where Conroy's own father and brother died in a mine disaster.

Nevertheless, other writers found hope in the positive values of American culture. The writer James Agee and the photographer Walker Evans collaborated on a book about Alabama sharecroppers, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941). Though it deals with the difficult lives of poor farmers, it portrays the dignity and strength of character in the people it presents. Thornton Wilder's play *Our Town* (1938) captures the beauty of small-town life in New England.

Although artists and writers recognized America's flaws, they contributed positively to the New Deal legacy. These intellectuals praised the virtues of American life and took pride in the country's traditions and accomplishments.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Issues**

**D** How did the literature of the time reflect issues of the Depression?

**SECTION 4**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

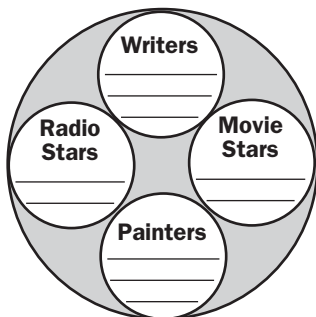
- *Gone With the Wind***
- Grant Wood**
- Richard Wright**
- *The Grapes of Wrath***
- Orson Welles**

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Create a web like the one below, filling in the names of those who contributed to each aspect of American culture in the 1930s.

**Cultural Figures of the 1930s**



What contribution did each group make?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. HYPOTHESIZING**

What type of movies do you think might have been produced if the government had supported moviemaking as part of the New Deal? Use evidence from the chapter to support your response.

**4. ANALYZING EFFECTS**

How did the entertainment industry affect the economy?

**5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS**

In your opinion, what were the main benefits of government support for art and literature in the 1930s? Support your response with details from the text. **Think About:**

- the experiences of Americans in the Great Depression
- the writers who got their start through the FWP
- the subject matter of WPA murals and other New Deal-sponsored art

# The Impact of the New Deal

## MAIN IDEA

The New Deal affected American society not only in the 1930s but also in the decades that followed.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Americans still debate over how large a role government should play in American life.

## Terms & Names

- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)
- parity
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)

## One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com  
**TAKING NOTES**

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the long-term effects of the New Deal.

George Dobbin, a 67-year-old cotton-mill worker, staunchly supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal policies. In an interview for a book entitled *These Are Our Lives*, compiled by the Federal Writers' Project, Dobbin explained his feelings about the president.

### A PERSONAL VOICE GEORGE DOBBIN

"I do think that Roosevelt is the biggest-hearted man we ever had in the White House. . . . It's the first time in my recollection that a President ever got up and said, 'I'm interested in and aim to do somethin' for the workin' man.' Just knowin' that for once . . . [there] was a man to stand up and speak for him, a man that could make what he felt so plain nobody could doubt he meant it, has made a lot of us feel a sight [lot] better even when [there] wasn't much to eat in our homes."

—quoted in *These Are Our Lives*



▲ A coal miner, Zeno Santinello, shakes hands with Franklin D. Roosevelt as he campaigns in Elm Grove, West Virginia, in 1932.

FDR was extremely popular among working-class Americans. Far more important than his personal popularity, however, was the impact of the policies he initiated. Even today, reforms begun under the New Deal continue to influence American politics and society.

## New Deal Reforms Endure

During his second term in office, President Roosevelt hinted at plans to launch a Third New Deal. In his inaugural address, the president exclaimed, "I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day. . . . I see one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."

However, FDR did not favor deficit spending. More importantly, by 1937 the economy had improved enough to convince many Americans that the Depression was finally ending. Although economic troubles still plagued the nation, President

Roosevelt faced rising pressure from Congress to scale back New Deal programs, which he did. As a result, industrial production dropped again, and the number of unemployed increased from 7.7 million in 1937 to 10.4 million in 1938. By 1939, the New Deal was effectively over, and Roosevelt was increasingly concerned with events in Europe, particularly Hitler's rise to power in Germany. **A**

**MAIN IDEA**  
**Analyzing Issues**

**A** Why did industrial production drop and unemployment go up again in 1938?

**SUPPORTERS AND CRITICS OF THE NEW DEAL** Over time, opinions about the New Deal have ranged from harsh criticism to high praise. Most conservatives think President Roosevelt's policies made the federal government too large and too powerful. They believe that the government stifled free enterprise and individual initiative. Liberal critics, in contrast, argue that President Roosevelt didn't do enough to socialize the economy and to eliminate social and economic inequalities. Supporters of the New Deal contend, however, that the president struck a reasonable balance between two extremes—unregulated capitalism and overregulated socialism—and helped the country recover from its economic difficulties. One of Roosevelt's top advisers made this assessment of the president's goals.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** REXFORD TUGWELL

**“He had in mind a comprehensive welfare concept, infused with a stiff tincture of morality. . . . He wanted all Americans to grow up healthy and vigorous and to be practically educated. He wanted business men to work within a set of understood rules. Beyond this he wanted people free to vote, to worship, to behave as they wished so long as a moral code was respected; and he wanted officials to behave as though office were a public trust.”**

—quoted in *Redeeming the Time*

**P O I N T**

**“The New Deal transformed the way American government works.”**

Supporters of the New Deal believe that it was successful. Many historians and journalists make this judgment by using the economic criterion of creating jobs. *The New Republic*, for example, argued that the shortcomings of the WPA “are insignificant beside the gigantic fact that it has given jobs and sustenance to a minimum of 1,400,000 and a maximum of 3,300,000 persons for five years.”

Some historians stress that the New Deal was more than a temporary solution to a crisis. Professor A. A. Berle stated that, “human beings cannot indefinitely be sacrificed by millions to the operation of economic forces.”

According to the historian William E. Luechtenburg, “It is hard to think of another period in the whole history of the republic that was so fruitful or of a crisis that was met with as much imagination.”

To Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Allan Nevins, the New Deal was a turning point in which the U.S. government assumed a greater responsibility for the economic welfare of its citizens.

**C O U N T E R P O I N T**

**“Many more problems have been created than solved by the New Deal.”**

Critics of the New Deal believe that it failed to reach its goals. The historian Barton J. Bernstein accepted the goals of the New Deal but declared that they were never met. To him, the New Deal “failed to raise the impoverished, it failed to redistribute income, [and] it failed to extend equality.”

In Senator Robert A. Taft's opinion, “many more problems have been created than solved” by the New Deal. He maintained, “Whatever else has resulted from the great increase in government activity . . . it has certainly had the effect of checking private enterprise completely. This country was built up by the constant establishment of new business and the expansion of old businesses. . . . In the last six years this process has come

to an end because of government regulation and the development of a tax system which penalizes hard work and success.” Senator Taft claimed that “The government should gradually withdraw from the business of lending money and leave that function to private capital under proper regulation.”

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

**CONNECT TO HISTORY**

**1. Comparing and Contrasting** How did the New Deal succeed? How did it fail? Write a paragraph that summarizes the main points.



**SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.**

**CONNECT TO TODAY**

**2. Draft a Proposal** Research the programs of the WPA and draft a proposal for a WPA-type program that would benefit your community.

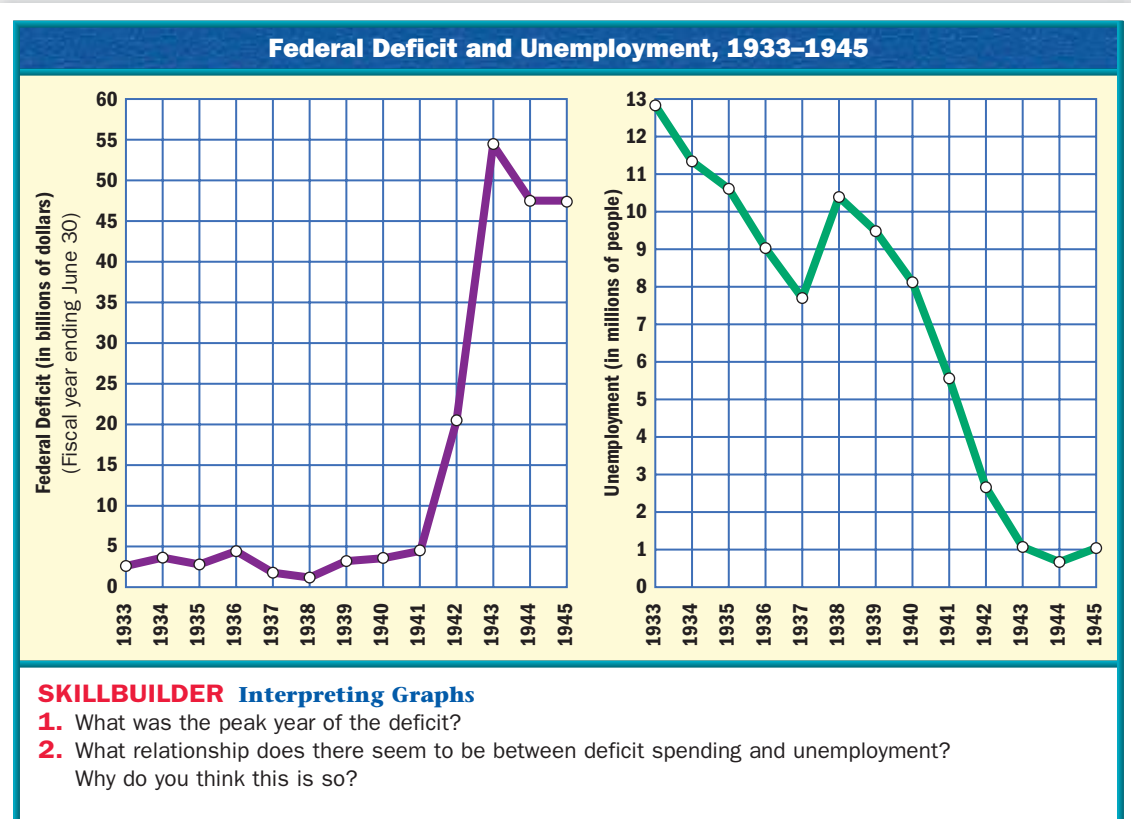
## EXPANDING GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN THE ECONOMY

The Roosevelt administration expanded the power of the federal government, giving it—and particularly the president—a more active role in shaping the economy. It did this by infusing the nation's economy with millions of dollars, by creating federal jobs, by attempting to regulate supply and demand, and by increasing the government's active participation in settling labor and management disputes. The federal government also established agencies, such as the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)** and the **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**, to regulate banking and investment activities. Although the New Deal did not end the Great Depression, it did help reduce the suffering of thousands of men, women, and children by providing them with jobs, food, and money. It also gave people hope and helped them to regain a sense of dignity.

The federal government had to go deeply into debt to provide jobs and aid to the American people. The federal deficit increased to \$2.9 billion in fiscal year 1934. As a result of the cutbacks in federal spending made in 1937–1938, the deficit dropped to \$100 million. But the next year it rose again, to \$2.9 billion. What really ended the Depression, however, was the massive amount of spending by the federal government for guns, tanks, ships, airplanes, and all the other equipment and supplies the country needed for the World War II effort. During the war, the deficit reached a high of about \$54.5 billion in 1943.



▲ Unemployed workers sit on a street in a 1936 photograph by Dorothea Lange.



**PROTECTING WORKERS' RIGHTS** One of the areas in which New Deal policies have had a lasting effect is the protection of workers' rights. New Deal legislation, such as the Wagner Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, set standards for wages and hours, banned child labor, and ensured the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively with employers. Today, the **National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)**, created under the Wagner Act, continues to act as a mediator in labor disputes between unions and employers.

**BANKING AND FINANCE** New Deal programs established new policies in the area of banking and finance. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), created in 1934, continues to monitor the stock market and enforce laws regarding the sale of stocks and bonds. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), created by the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, has shored up the banking system by reassuring individual depositors that their savings are protected against loss in the event of a bank failure. Today, individual accounts in United States federal banks are insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for up to \$250,000.

Today the Social Security system continues to rely on mandatory contributions paid by workers—through payroll deductions—and by employers. The money is invested in a trust fund, from which retirement benefits are later paid. However, several problems have surfaced. For example, benefits have expanded, and Americans live longer than they did in 1935. Also, the ratio of workers to retirees is shrinking: fewer people are contributing to the system relative to the number who are eligible to receive benefits.

## Social and Environmental Effects

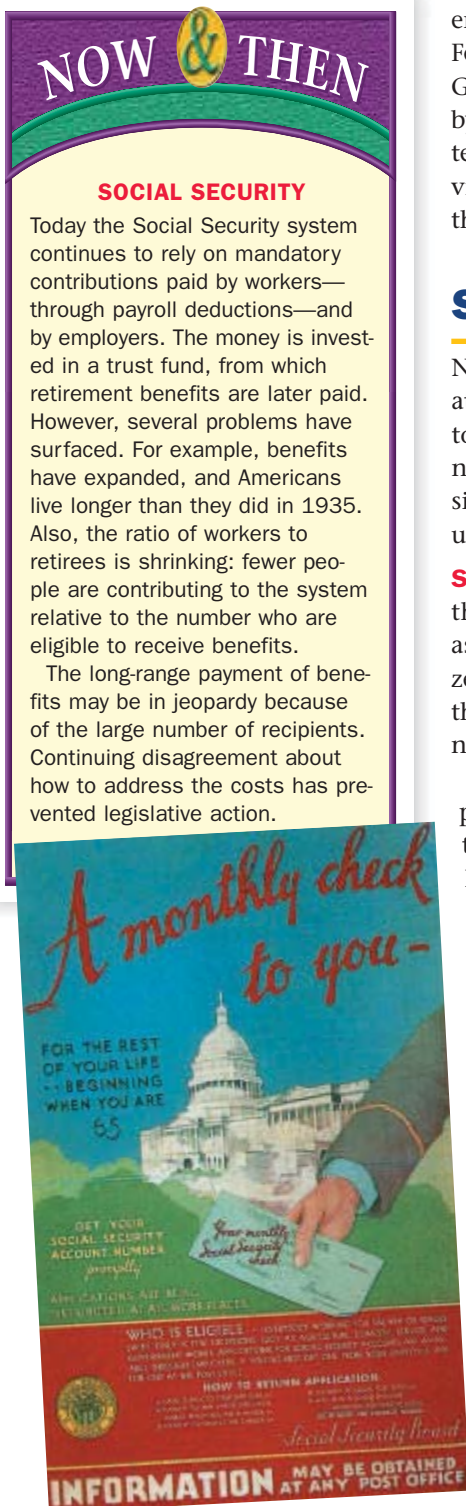
New Deal economic and financial reforms, including the creation of the FDIC, the SEC, and Social Security, have helped to stabilize the nation's finances and economy. Although the nation still experiences economic downturns, known as recessions, people's savings are insured, and they can receive unemployment compensation if they lose their jobs.

**SOCIAL SECURITY** One of the most important legacies of the New Deal has been that the federal government has assumed some responsibility for the social welfare of its citizens. Under President Roosevelt, the government undertook the creation of a Social Security system that would help a large number of needy Americans receive some assistance.

The Social Security Act provides an old-age insurance program, an unemployment compensation system, and aid to the disabled and families with dependent children. It has had a major impact on the lives of millions of Americans since its founding in 1935. **B**

**THE RURAL SCENE** New Deal policies also had a significant impact on the nation's agriculture. New Deal farm legislation set quotas on the production of crops such as wheat to control surpluses. Under the second Agricultural Adjustment Act, passed in 1938, loans were made to farmers by the Commodity Credit Corporation. The value of a loan was determined by the amount of a farmer's surplus crops and the **parity** price, a price intended to keep farmers' income steady. Establishing agricultural price supports set a precedent of federal aid to farmers that continued into the 2000s. Other government programs, such as rural electrification, helped to improve conditions in rural America.

◀ A Social Security poster proclaims the benefits of the system for those who are 65 or older.



### MAIN IDEA

#### Developing Historical Perspective

**B** Why was the establishment of the Social Security system such an important part of the New Deal?

**THE ENVIRONMENT** Americans also continue to benefit from New Deal efforts to protect the environment. President Roosevelt was highly committed to conservation and promoted policies designed to protect the nation's natural resources. The Civilian Conservation Corps planted trees, created hiking trails, and built fire lookout towers. The Soil Conservation Service taught farmers how to conserve the soil through contour plowing, terracing, and crop rotation. Congress also passed the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 to help reduce grazing on public lands. Such grazing had contributed to the erosion that brought about the dust storms of the 1930s.

The **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)** harnessed water power to generate electricity and to help prevent disastrous floods in the Tennessee Valley. The government also added to the national park system in the 1930s, established new wildlife refuges and set aside large wilderness areas. On the other hand, government-sponsored stripmining and coal burning caused air, land, and water pollution. **C**

The New Deal legacy has many dimensions. It brought hope and gratitude from some people for the benefits and protections they received. It also brought anger and criticism from those who believed that it took more of their money in taxes and curtailed their freedom through increased government regulations. The deficit spending necessary to fund New Deal programs grew immensely as the nation entered World War II.



▲ This 1933 cartoon depicts Roosevelt spurring on a slow-moving Congress with his many reform policies.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Effects**

**C** How did New Deal programs benefit and harm the environment?

**SECTION 5**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**
- **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**
- **National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)**
- **parity**
- **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

In a cluster diagram like the one below, show long-term effects of the New Deal.



Which long-term benefit do you think has had the most impact? Why?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. MAKING GENERALIZATIONS**

Some critics have charged that the New Deal was antibusiness and anti-free enterprise. Explain why you agree or disagree with this charge.

**Think About:**

- the expanded power of the federal government
- the New Deal's effect on the economy
- the New Deal's effect on the American people

**4. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

How successful do you think Franklin Roosevelt was as a president? Support your answer with details from the text.

**5. INTERPRETING VISUAL SOURCES**

Look at the political cartoon above. What does it suggest about Roosevelt's leadership and the role of Congress? Explain.

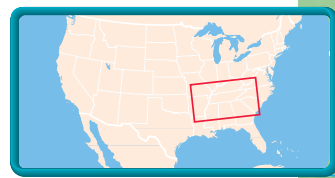
# GEOGRAPHY SPOTLIGHT

**HISTORY** VIDEO  
**The Tennessee Valley Act**  
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## The Tennessee Valley Authority

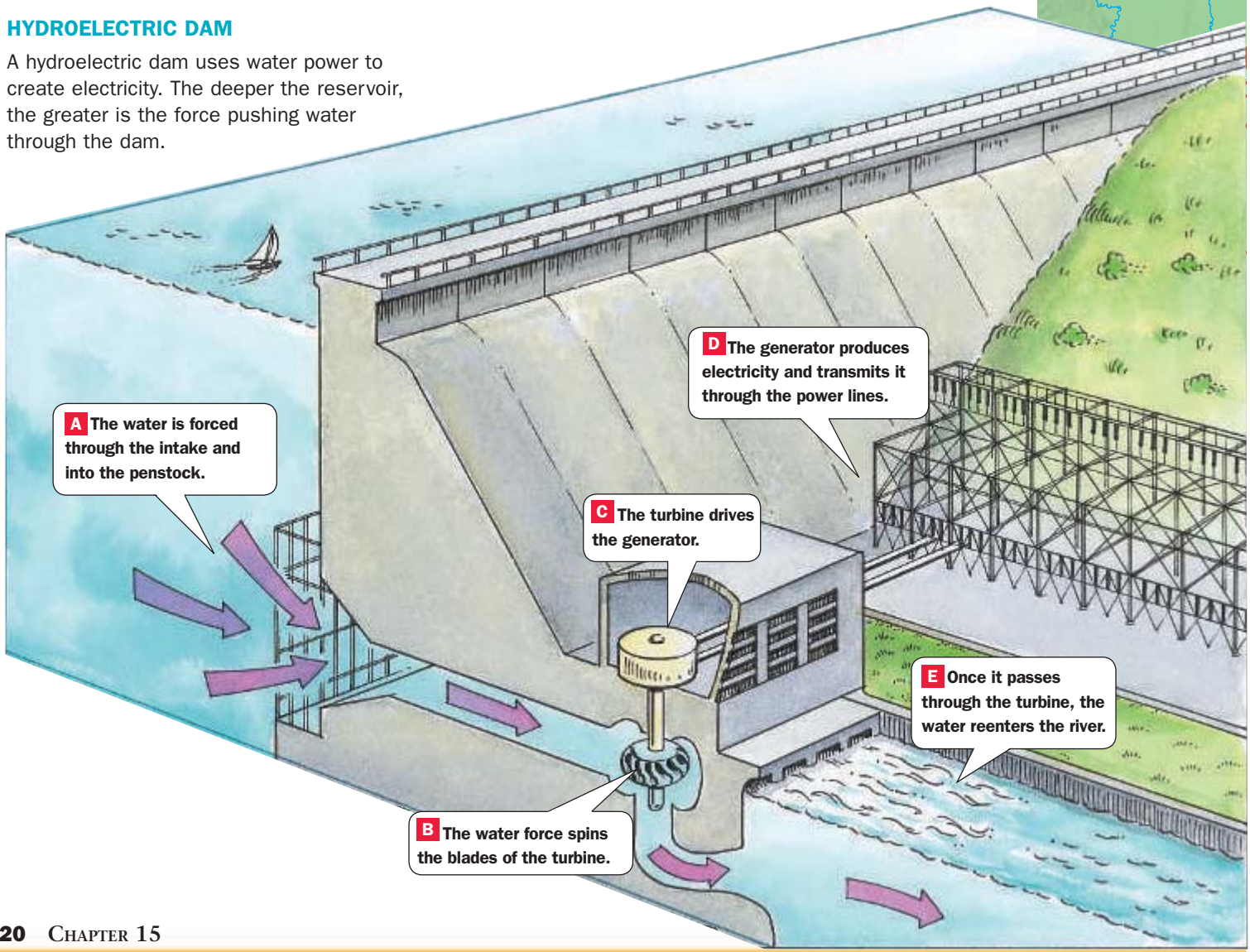
The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) is a federal agency that was established in 1933 to construct dams and power plants along the Tennessee River and its tributaries. The Tennessee River basin is one of the largest river basins in the United States, and people who live in this area have a number of common concerns. The TVA has helped the region in various ways: through flood and navigation control, the conservation of natural resources, and the generation of electric power, as well as through agricultural and industrial development.

The Tennessee Valley covers parts of seven states. Thus, the TVA became an enormous undertaking, eventually comprising dozens of major dams, each with associated power plants, recreational facilities, and navigation aids.



### HYDROELECTRIC DAM

A hydroelectric dam uses water power to create electricity. The deeper the reservoir, the greater is the force pushing water through the dam.

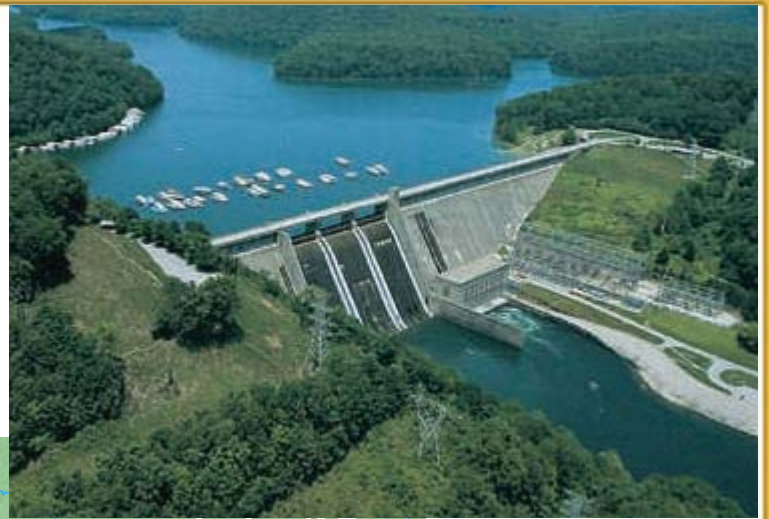


### 1 KENTUCKY DAM

Over a mile and a half long and 206 feet high, the Kentucky Dam created the 184-mile-long Kentucky Lake, a paradise for fishing.

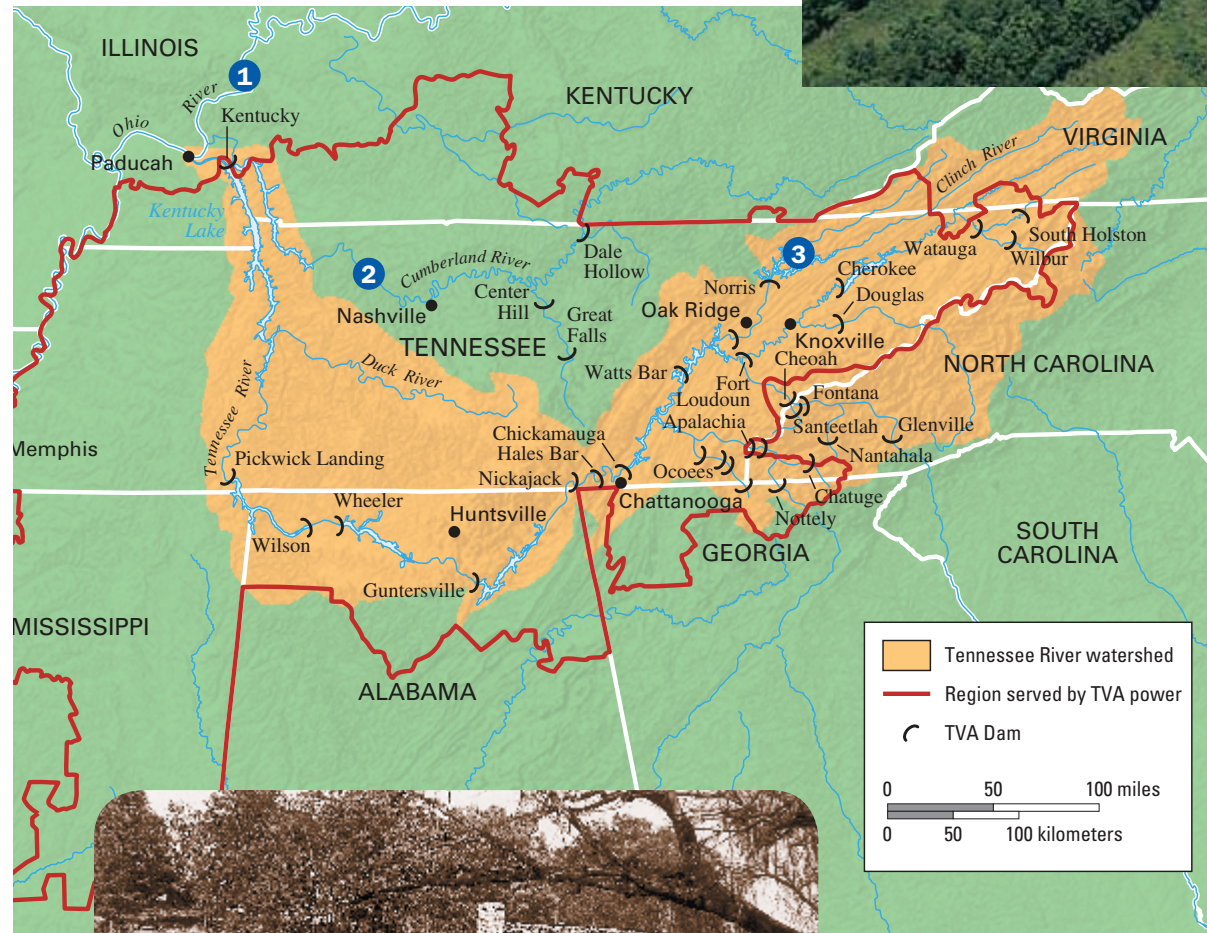
### 2 THE CUMBERLAND RIVER

A similar series of dams, operated by the Corps of Engineers, is found on the Cumberland River. This system cooperates with the TVA.



### 3 NORRIS DAM ▲

Located on the Clinch River, a tributary of the Tennessee River, the Norris Dam is named after Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska. Norris was a progressive leader who called for government involvement in the development of the power potential of the Tennessee River.



▲ Before 1930, most homes in the area had no electricity. Women wash clothes outside this homestead near Andersonville, Tennessee, in 1933. Their estate was submerged when the Norris Dam filled.

#### THINKING CRITICALLY

- Analyzing Distributions** Locate the dams on this map. Why do you think they might have been placed in these particular areas?
- Creating a Model** Create a 3-D model of a dam. Before you begin, pose a historical question your model will answer. Think about environmental changes caused by the construction of a dam.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R31.



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**VISUAL SUMMARY**

**THE NEW DEAL**

**PROBLEMS**

- Industries and farms failed.
- U.S. stock market crashed and banks closed.
- Bankrupt businesses
- Unemployment
- Homelessness

**SOLUTIONS**



- Work projects help the unemployed.
- Money given to farmers, sharecroppers, and migrant workers.
- New opportunities for women and minorities.
- Social Security Act allocates money to the elderly, the unemployed, and the disabled.

- NLRB protects workers' rights.
- SEC monitors stock market.
- FDIC protects individuals' deposits in banks.
- Fireside chats increase public confidence.



**CONTINUING EFFECTS**

- Banking and finance are reformed.
- Government takes a more active role in the economy.
- Workers benefit from labor standards.
- Social Security system continues to provide for the needy.
- Conservation efforts continue to preserve the environment.

**TERMS & NAMES**

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its historical significance or contribution to the New Deal.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Franklin Delano Roosevelt           | 6. Mary McLeod Bethune                        |
| 2. New Deal                            | 7. Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) |
| 3. Eleanor Roosevelt                   | 8. Orson Welles                               |
| 4. Works Progress Administration (WPA) | 9. Richard Wright                             |
| 5. Social Security Act                 | 10. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)          |

**MAIN IDEAS**

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

**A New Deal Fights the Depression** (pages 488–494)

1. How did Franklin Roosevelt change the role of the federal government during his first Hundred Days?
2. Summarize the reasons why some people opposed the New Deal.

**The Second New Deal Takes Hold** (pages 495–501)

3. In what ways did the New Deal programs extend federal aid?
4. How did the Wagner Act help working people?

**The New Deal Affects Many Groups** (pages 504–509)

5. Summarize the impact the New Deal had on various ethnic groups.
6. Why did many urban voters support Roosevelt and the Democratic party?

**Culture in the 1930s** (pages 510–514)

7. What purpose did movies and radio serve during the Great Depression?
8. Explain how the New Deal programs supported artists and writers in the 1930s.

**The Impact of the New Deal** (pages 515–519)

9. List five New Deal agencies that are still in place today.
10. What benefits did the Tennessee Valley Authority provide? What negative impact did it have?

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

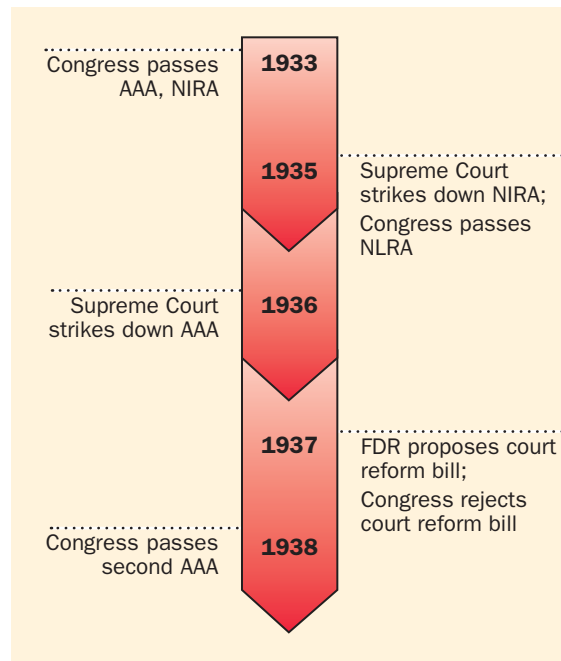
1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Copy the web below and fill it in with actions that Americans took to end the economic crisis of the 1930s.



2. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** What federal programs instituted in the 1930s and later discontinued might be of use to the nation today? Explain and support your opinion in a paragraph or two.

## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the information on the time line and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.



- The Supreme Court killed several New Deal programs by declaring them unconstitutional. Which of the following resulted from those decisions?
  - FDR packed the Court with New Deal supporters.
  - Congress created replacement programs.
  - The New Deal lost popular support.
  - The power of the federal government was expanded.
- What was the purpose of the Glass-Steagall Act?
  - to combat unemployment
  - to provide home mortgage loans
  - to assist farmers
  - to regulate the banking system

Use the quotation and your knowledge of United States history to answer question 3.

“Little by little the American federation is transforming itself into a union, marked by the growth in importance of the role of the federal capital. In the beginning, the United States had only a small federal bureaucracy. Today the central administration is powerful and rich.”

—André Maurois, *This Was America*

- Author André Maurois traveled through the United States in the 1930s and observed a growing unity in the American people. How did the New Deal help to bring Americans closer together?
  - The New Deal involved the federal government trying to fix a national problem.
  - New Deal jobs and public works programs gave people something to agree upon.
  - President Roosevelt, who designed the New Deal, was elected four times.
  - The New Deal encouraged the spread of popular culture through radio and the movies.

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### INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Think about the issues you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Now that you have read the chapter, do you think President Roosevelt adequately addressed the needs of the ailing economy? Do you think his New Deal policies extended far enough to restore public confidence? Support your opinions with examples.

### FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine that you are a journalist during the Great Depression. You are writing a feature about the New Deal, and your editor has asked you to write a sidebar focused on just one program to accompany your piece. Select one New Deal program. Explain who the program is meant to help and how it is supposed to work. Then analyze its effectiveness.

### MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY



Organize into small groups. Use the Internet and other sources to research how photographer Dorothea Lange used her camera to tell stories of life during the Great Depression. Then create a Web site that describes Lange's life and analyzes how her work depicts the Great Depression. Include some of Lange's images, and make sure to credit them properly.