

A Unique, Prosperous, and Discontented Time, 1919-1929

Advertisements, (1925, 1927)

The advertising industry achieved much prominence in the 1920s as the American economy began focusing more strongly on consumption. In newspapers and magazines and on the radio, advertising messages used sophisticated techniques to attract consumers to various products.

Advertisement for Berkey & Gay Furniture Company (1925)

Do they know Your son at MALUCIO's?

There's a hole in the door at Malucio's. Ring the bell and a pair of eyes will look coldly out at you. If you are known you will get in. Malucio has to be careful.

There have been riotous nights at Malucio's. Tragic nights, too. But somehow the fat little man has managed to avoid the law.

Almost every town has its Malucio's. Some, brightly disguised as cabarets - others, mere back street filling stations for pocket flasks.

But every Malucio will tell you the same thing. His best customers are not the ne'er-do-wells of other years. They are the young people - frequently, the best young people of the town.

Malucio has put one over on the American home. Ultimately he will be driven out. Until then
THE HOME MUST BID MORE INTELLIGENTLY FOR MALUCIO'S BUSINESS.

There are many reasons why it is profitable and wise to furnish the home attractively, but one of these, and not the least, is - Malucio's.

The younger generation is sensitive to beauty, princely proud, and will not entertain in homes of which it is secretly ashamed.

But make your rooms attractive, appeal to the vaulting pride of youth, and you may worry that much less about Malucio's - and the other modern frivolities that his name symbolizes.

A guest room smartly and tastefully furnished - a refined and attractive dining room - will more than hold their own against the tinsel cheapness of Malucio's.

Nor is good furniture any longer a luxury for the favored few. **THE PRESCOTT** suite shown above, for instance, is a moderately priced pattern, conforming in every detail to the finest Berkey & Gay standards.

In style, in the selection of rare and beautiful woods, and in the rich texture of the finish and hand decorating, it reveals the skill of craftsmen long expert in the art of quality furniture

making.

The PRESCOTT is typical of values now on display at the store of your local Berkey & Gay dealer. Depend on his showing you furniture in which you may take deep pride - beautiful, well built, luxuriously finished, and moderately priced.

There is a Berkey & Gay pattern suited to every home - an infinite variety of styles at prices ranging all the way from \$350 to \$6,000.

Advertisement for Eveready Flashlight and Battery (1927)

The Song that STOPPED!

A child of five skipped down the garden path and laughed because the sky was blue. "Jane," called her mother from the kitchen window, "come here and help me bake your birthday cake." Little feet sped. "Don't fall," her mother warned.

Jane stood in the kitchen door and wrinkled her nose in joy. Her gingham dress was luminous against the sun. What a child! Dr. and Mrs. Wentworth cherished Jane.

"Go down to the cellar and get mother some preserves . . . the kind you like."

"The preserves are in the cellar," she chanted, making a progress twice around the kitchen. "Heigh-ho a-derry-o, the preserves are . . ." her voice grew fainter as she danced off. ". . . in the . . ."

The thread of song snapped. A soft thud-thud. Fear fluttered Mrs. Wentworth's heart. She rushed to the cellar door.

"Mother!" . . . a child screaming in pain. Mrs. Wentworth saw a little morsel of girlhood lying in a heap of gingham and yellow hair at the bottom of the dark stairs.

The sky is still blue. But there will be no birthday party tomorrow. An ambulance clanged up to Dr. Wentworth's house today. Jane's leg is broken.

If a flashlight had been hanging on a hook at the head of the cellar stairs, this little tragedy would have been averted. If Jane had been taught to use a flashlight as carefully as her father, Dr. Wentworth, had taught her to use a toothbrush, a life need not have been endangered.

An Eveready Flashlight is always a convenience and often a life-saver. Keep one about the house, in the car; and take one with you wherever you go. Keep it supplied with fresh Eveready Batteries - the longest-lasting flashlight batteries made. Eveready Flashlights, \$1.00 up.

**NATIONAL CARBON CO., INC. EVEREADY FLASHLIGHTS & BATTERIES
A THOUSAND THINGS MAY HAPPEN IN THE DARK**

Anna Howard Shaw, Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, 1917

World War I proved a boon for the woman suffrage movement. With the American entry into the fighting, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) urged its members to find ways to aid mobilization, and by 1919 NAWSA's membership had doubled to over two million. Only reluctantly, under pressure from NAWSA and the more radical National Woman's Party, did President Woodrow Wilson come to support woman suffrage. At the 1917 NAWSA convention, its former President Anna Howard Shaw outlined the importance of war work for women.

*SOURCE: Anna Howard Shaw, NAWSA Convention, 1917, in Mari Jo and Paul Buhle eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*(University of Illinois Press, 1978), pp. 438—440.*

In a stirring address Dr. Shaw showed what the country expected of women at this critical time, saying:

We talk of the army in the field as one and the army at home as another. We are not two armies; we are one—absolutely one army—and we must work together. Unless the army at home does its duty faithfully, the army in the field will be unable to carry to a victorious end this war which you and I believe is the great war that shall bring to the world the thing that is nearest our hearts—democracy, that “those who submit to authority shall have a voice in the government” and that when they have that voice peace shall reign among the nations of men.

The United States Government, learning from the weaknesses and the mistakes of the governments across the sea, immediately after declaring war on Germany knew that it was wise to mobilize not only the man power of the nation but the woman power. It took Great Britain a long time to learn that—more than a year—and it was not until 50,000 women paraded the streets of London with banners saying, “Put us to work,” that it dawned upon the British government that women could be mobilized and made serviceable in the war. And what is the result? It has been discovered that men and women alike have within them great reserve power, great forces which are called out by emergencies and the demands of a time like this.

Dr. Shaw described the forming of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense by the Government and her selection as its chairman. She said she had no idea what the committee was expected to do, so she went to the Secretary of the Navy to find out, and continued: “I learned that the Woman's Committee was to be the channel through which the orders of the various departments of the Government concerning women's war work were to reach the womanhood of the country; that it was to conserve and coordinate all the women's societies in the United States which were doing war work in order to prevent duplication and useless effort. This was very necessary, not because our women are not patriotic but because they are so patriotic that every blessed woman in the country was writing Washington, or her organization was writing for her, asking the Government what she could do for the war and of course the Government did not know;

it has not yet the least idea of what women can do.”

An amusing picture was given of men supervising a department of the Red Cross where women were knitting, making comfort bags, etc. She showed how for the past forty years women in their clubs and societies had been going through the necessary evolution, “until today,” she said, “they are a mobilized army ready to serve the country in whatever capacity they are needed. So when the Council of National Defense laid upon the Woman’s Committee the responsibility of calling them together to mobilize women’s war work, we knew exactly how to do it.... It is not a question of whether we will act or not, the Government has said we *must* act; it is an order as much as it is an order that men shall go and fight in the trenches. It is an order of the Government that the women’s war work of the country shall be coordinated, that women shall keep their organizations intact, that they shall get together under directed heads. I said to the gentlemen here in Washington, when at first they feared our women might not be willing to cooperate: ‘If you put before them an incentive big enough, if you appeal to them as a part of the Government’s life, not as a by-product of creation or a kindergarten but as a great human, living energy, ready to serve the country, they will respond as readily as the men.’ ”

We must remember that more and more sacrifices are going to be demanded but I want to say to you women, do not meekly sit down and make all the sacrifices and demand nothing in return. It is not that you want pay but we all want an equally balanced sacrifice. The Government is asking us to conserve food while it is allowing carload after carload to rot on the side tracks of railroad stations and great elevators of grain to be consumed by fire for lack of proper protection. If we must eat Indian meal in order to save wheat, then the men must protect the grain elevators and see that the wheat is saved. We must demand that there shall be conservation all along the line. I had a letter the other day giving me a fearful scorching because of a speech I made in which I said that we women have Mr. Hoover looking into our refrigerators, examining our bread to see what kind of materials we are using, telling us what extravagant creatures we are, that we waste millions of money every year, waste food and all that sort of thing, and yet while we are asked to have meatless days and wheatless days, I have never yet seen a demand for a smokeless day! They are asking through the newspapers that we women shall dance, play bridge, have charades, sing and do everything under the sun to raise money to buy tobacco for the men in the trenches, while the men who want us to do this have a cigar in their mouth at the time they are asking it! I said that if men want the soldiers to have tobacco, let them have smokeless days and furnish it! If they would conserve one single cigar a day and send it to the men in the trenches the soldiers would have all they would need and the men at home would be a great deal better off. If we have to eat rye flour to send wheat across the sea they must stop smoking to send smokes across the sea.

There is no end to the things that women are asked to do. I know this is true because I have read the newspapers for the last six months to get my duty before me. The first thing we are asked to do is to provide the enthusiasm, inspiration and patriotism to make men want to fight, and we are to send them away with a smile! That is not much to ask of a mother! We are to maintain a perfect calm after we have furnished all this inspiration and enthusiasm, “keep the home fires burning,” keep the home sweet and peaceful and happy, keep society on a level, look after business, buy enough but not too much and wear some of our old clothes but not all of them or what would happen to the merchants?...

We are going to rise as women always have risen to the supreme height of patriotic

service...

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense now asks for your cooperation, that we may be what the Government would have us be, soldiers at home, defending the interests of the home, while the men are fighting with the gallant Allies who are laying down their lives that this world may be a safe place and that men and women may know the meaning of democracy, which is that we are one great family of God. That, and that only, is the ideal of democracy for which our flag stands.

1. *What does it mean for women to be "soldiers at home"?*
2. *What sense does Shaw give of being dissatisfied with the position of American women?*
3. *Why doesn't Shaw specifically link women's war service with the right to vote?*

Inaugural Address, Calvin Coolidge (March 1925)

Calvin Coolidge became president with the death of William Harding. Famous for his epigrams, Coolidge believed that he did not need to govern over the nation but preside over it in a compassion nature. Due to the prosperity of the 20s, he would be re-elected for a full term in 1924. Below is an excerpt of his inaugural address.

The essence of a republic is representative government. Our Congress represents the people and the States. In all legislative affairs it is the natural collaborator with the President. In spite of all the criticism which often falls to its lot, I do not hesitate to say that there is no more independent and effective legislative body in the world. It is, and should be, jealous of its prerogative. I welcome its cooperation, and expect to share with it not only the responsibility, but the credit, for our common effort to secure beneficial legislation.

These are some of the principles which America represents. We have not by any means put them fully into practice, but we have strongly signified our belief in them. The encouraging feature of our country is not that it has reached its destination, but that it has overwhelmingly expressed its determination to proceed in the right direction. It is true that we could, with profit, be less sectional and more national in our thought. It would be well if we could replace much that is only a false and ignorant prejudice with a true and enlightened pride of race. But the last election showed that appeals to class and nationality had little effect. We were all found loyal to a common citizenship. The fundamental precept of liberty is toleration. We can not permit any inquisition either within or without the law or apply any religious test to the holding of office. The mind of America must be forever free.

It is in such contemplations, my fellow countrymen, which are not exhaustive but only representative, that I find ample warrant for satisfaction and encouragement. We should not let the much that is to do obscure the much which has been done. The past and present show faith and hope and courage fully justified. Here stands our country, an example of tranquillity at home, a patron of tranquillity abroad. Here stands its Government, aware of its might but obedient to its conscience. Here it will continue to stand, seeking peace and prosperity, solicitous for the welfare of the wage earner, promoting enterprise, developing waterways and natural resources, attentive to the intuitive counsel of womanhood, encouraging education, desiring the advancement of religion, supporting the cause of justice and honor among the nations. America seeks no earthly empire built on blood and force. No ambition, no temptation, lures her to thought of foreign dominions. The legions which she sends forth

are armed, not with the sword, but with the cross. The higher state to which she seeks the allegiance of all mankind is not of human, but of divine origin. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favor of Almighty God.

The "Creed of Klanswomen," 1924. The Kluxer, March 8, 1924, p. 20.

The Ku Klux Klan consisted of women as well as men. Women were first initiated into the Klan in 1923. Nationwide, as many as half a million women eventually joined the Klan. Their role was similar to that of men. They supported militant patriotism, racial segregation, national quotas for immigration, and anti-miscegenation laws. They also established rules and beliefs that were to be followed by the members of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan. These beliefs were recorded in the document "Creed of Klanswomen," which appears below. In this document the women focused on heritage, the great and glorious United States, eligibility, and what they believed to be best for their country.

Creed of the Klanswomen

We believe in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of Jesus Christ and the eternal tenets of the Christian religion, as practiced by enlightend Protestant churches.

We believe that church and state should continue separate in administration and organization, although united in their mission and purpose to serve mankind unselfishly.

We believe in the American home as the foundation upon which rests the American republic, the future of its institutions and the liberties of its citizens.

We believe in the mission of emancipated womanhood, freed from the shackles of old world traditions, and standing unafraid in the full effulgence of equality and enlightenment.

We believe in the equality of men and women in political religious, fraternal civic and social affairs wherein there should be no distinction of sex.

We believe in the free public schools, where our children are trained in the principles and ideals that America the greatest of all nations.

We believe the Stars and Stripes the most beautiful flag on earth, symbolizing the purity of race, the blood of martyrs and the fidelity of patriot.

We believe that the current of pure American blood must United States and the several states, and consecrate ourselves to its preservation against all enemies at home and abroad.

We believe that the freedom of speech, of press and of worship is an inalienable right of all citizens whose allegiance and loyalty to our country is unquestioned.

We believe that principle comes before party; that justice should be firm, but impartial, and that partisanship must yield to intelligent co-operation.

We believe that the current of pure American blood must be kept uncontaminated by mongrel strains and protected from racial pollutions.

We believe that the government of the United States must be kept inviolate from the control or domination of alien races and the baleful influence of inferior peoples.

We believe that the people are greater than any foreign power or potentate, prince or prelate and that no other allegiance in America should be tolerated.

We believe that the perpetuity of our nation rests upon the solidarity and purity of our native-born, white, Gentile, Protestant men and women.

We believe that under God the Women of the Ku Klux Klan is a militant body of American freewomen by whom these principles shall be maintained, our racial purity preserved, our homes and children protected, our happiness insured and the prosperity of our community, our state and our nation guaranteed against usurpation, disloyalty and selfish exploitation.

Executive Orders and Senate Resolutions on the Teapot Dome Scandal (1920)

During the administration of William H. Taft, the U.S. government had set aside tracts of oil-rich land to be held in reserve for the U.S. Navy, to be used in case of national emergency. The land was under the control and discretion of the secretary of the Navy. These reserves included Naval Reserve Number One, in Elk Hills, California; Naval Reserve Number Two, in Buena Vista, California; and Naval Reserve Number Three, in Salt Creek, Wyoming, which became known as Teapot Dome due to the shape of the land formation.

When Warren G. Harding's administration came into power in 1921, the potential wealth to be reaped from this land proved too tempting to some members of the administration. Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall sought to have jurisdiction over the naval reserve lands transferred to the Department of the Interior. President Harding supported this effort by signing Executive Order 3474 in May 1921.

The following year, Fall began to lease these lands to private oil companies, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company and Mammoth Oil Company, without competitive bids. For providing use of government reserves worth at least \$100 million, Fall personally received almost \$400,000 in cash and bonds, while neither the U.S. government nor the Navy received a cent. Rumors and suspicions of the deal that Fall struck with the oil companies led the U.S. Senate to begin an investigation (Senate Resolution 282).

Executive Order 3474

Under the provisions of the act of Congress approved February 25, 1920 (41 Stat., 437), authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to lease *producing* oil wells within any Naval Petroleum Reserve; authorizing the President to permit the drilling of additional wells or to lease the remainder or any part of a chain upon which such wells have been drilled, and under authority of the act of Congress approved June 4, 1920 (41 Sta., 912), directing the Secretary of the Navy to conserve, develop, use and operate, directly or by contract, lease, or otherwise, unappropriated lands in Naval Reserves, the administration, and conservation, of all oil and gas bearing lands in Naval Petroleum Reserves Nos. 1 and 2, California, and Naval petroleum Reserve No. 3 in Wyoming, and Naval Shale Reserves in

Colorado and Utah, are hereby committed to the Secretary of the Interior subject to the supervision of the President, but no general policy as to drilling or reserving lands located in a Naval Reserve shall be changed or adopted except upon consultation and cooperation with the Secretary or Acting Secretary of the Navy. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to perform any and all acts necessary for the protection, conservation and administration of the said Reserves subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this order and of the existing laws or such laws as may hereafter be enacted by Congress pertaining thereto.

Warren G. Harding

The White House

May 31, 1921

Senate Resolution

67th Congress, 9th Session—S. RES. 282

RESOLUTION

Directing the Secretary of the Interior to send to the Senate certain detailed information s to oil leases made by the department within naval oil reserves numbered one and two in California and numbered three in Wyoming.

By Mr. La Follette

April 20 (calendar day, April 21), 1922

Amendment

S. Res. 282

In the Senate of the United States

April 20 (calendar day, April 28), 1922

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

(In the Nature of a Substitute)

Intended to be proposed by Mr. La Follette to the resolution (S. Res. 282) directing the Secretary of the Interior to send the Senate certain detailed information as to oil leases made by the department within the naval oil reserves numbered one and two in California and numbered three in Wyoming, via On page 1, line 1, strike out all after the word "Resolved," and insert the following:

That the Secretary of the Interior is directed to send to the Senate:

(a) Copies of all oil leases made by the Department of the Interior within naval oil reserve numbered one, and separately, naval oil reserve numbered two, both in the amount of the rent, royalty, bonus, and all other compensation paid and to be paid to the United States.

(b) All Executive orders and other papers in the files of the Department of the Interior and its bureaus, or copies thereof if the originals are not in the files, authorizing or regulating such leases, including correspondence or memoranda embodying or concerning all agreements, instructions, and requests by the President or the Navy Department as to the making of such leases and the terms thereof.

(c) All correspondence, papers, and files showing and concerning the applications for such leases and the action of the Department of the Interior and its bureaus thereon and upon all the several claims upon which such leases were based or issued, all in said naval reserves.

Resolved further, That the Committee on public Lands and Surveys be authorized to investigate this entire subject of leases upon naval oil reserves, with particular reference to the protection of the rights and equities of the Government of the United States, and the preservation of its natural resources, and to report its findings and recommendations to the Senate.

"If You Believe the Negro Has a Soul", Marcus Garvey, (1921)

Charismatic and flamboyant, Marcus Garvey attracted millions of disillusioned black people. Mostly from the working and lower middle-classes, they rushed to join his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), making it the largest black movement in American history and making Garvey the most popular black leader in America in the early 1920s. Worn out platitudes about democracy and self-determination rang hollow on the ears of thousands of returning African-American who learned that discrimination, segregation, and racial violence was as strong as ever in the land of liberty. But Garvey, who championed racial purity, economic self-sufficiency, and black separatism, instilled a mounting pride in millions of black Americans who enjoyed the pomp, ceremony, and titles of the UNIA. His speech, "If You Believe the Negro Has a Soul," denounced as hopeless interracial coexistence while stressing the inevitability of racial antagonisms in 1921. SOURCE: Courtesy of the Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Papers Project at the University of California, Los Angeles. Recording courtesy of Michigan State University, G. Robert Vincent Voice Library.

Marcus Garvey: Fellow citizens of Africa, I greet you in the name of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League of the World. You may ask, "what organization is that?" It is for me to inform you that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is an organization that seeks to unite, into one solid body, the four hundred million Negroes in the world. To link up the fifty million Negroes in the United States of America, with the twenty million Negroes of the West Indies, the forty million Negroes of South and Central America, with the two hundred and eighty million Negroes of Africa, for the purpose of bettering our industrial, commercial, educational, social, and political conditions. As you are aware, the world in which we live today is divided into separate race groups and distinct nationalities. Each race and each nationality is endeavoring to work out its own destiny, to the exclusion of other races and other nationalities. We hear the cry of "England for the Englishman," of "France for the Frenchman," of "Germany for the German," of "Ireland for the Irish," of "Palestine for the Jew," of "Japan for the Japanese," of "China for the Chinese." We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association are raising the cry of "Africa for the Africans," those at home and those abroad. There are 400 million Africans in the world who have Negro blood coursing through their veins, and we believe that the time has come to unite these 400 million people toward the one common purpose of bettering their condition. The great problem of the Negro for the last 500 years has been that of disunity. No one or no organization ever succeeded in uniting the Negro race. But within the last four years, the Universal Negro Improvement Association has worked wonders. It is bringing together in one fold four million organized Negroes who are scattered in all parts of the world. Here in the 48 States of the American Union, all the West Indies

islands, and the countries of South and Central America and Africa. These four million people are working to convert the rest of the four hundred million that are all over the world, and it is for this purpose, that we are asking you to join our land and to do the best you can to help us to bring about an emancipated race. If anything stateworthy is to be done, it must be done through unity, and it is for that reason that the Universal Negro Improvement Association calls upon every Negro in the United States to rally to this standard. We want to unite the Negro race in this country. We want every Negro to work for one common object, that of building a nation of his own on the great continent of Africa. That all Negroes all over the world are working for the establishment of a government in Africa, means that it will be realized in another few years. We want the moral and financial support of every Negro to make this dream a possibility. Our race, this organization, has established itself in Nigeria, West Africa, and it endeavors to do all possible to develop that Negro country to become a great industrial and commercial commonwealth. Pioneers have been sent by this organization to Nigeria, and they are now laying the foundations upon which the four hundred million Negroes of the world will build. If you believe that the Negro has a soul, if you believe that the Negro is a man, if you believe the Negro was endowed with the senses commonly given to other men by the Creator, then you must acknowledge that what other men have done, Negroes can do. We want to build up cities, nations, governments, industries of our own in Africa, so that we will be able to have a chance to rise from the lowest to the highest position in the African Commonwealth.

Immigration Act of 1924

In response to growing nativist sentiment, the 1924 National Origins Quota Act expanded a 1921 law and severely limited immigration to the United States. Total European immigration was limited to 150,000, and most of those slots were allotted to British, Irish, German, and Scandinavian applicants. Asians were totally excluded. This system survived until the 1960s, though it did unintentionally bring about an increase in Mexican immigration, as Mexico was exempt from the quotas.

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Whereas it is provided in the act of Congress approved May 26, 1924, entitled "An act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes" that "The annual quota of any nationality shall be two per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States Census of 1890, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100 (Sec. 11 a). . . .

"The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, jointly, shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this act, prepare a statement showing the number of individuals of the various nationalities resident in continental United States as determined by the United States Census of 1890, which statement shall be the population basis for the purposes of subdivision (a) of section 11 (Sec. 12 b).

"Such officials shall, jointly, report annually to the President the quota of each nationality under subdivision (a) of section 11, together with the statements, estimates, and revisions provided for in this section. The President shall proclaim and make known the quotas so reported". (Sec. 12 e).

Now, therefore I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America acting under and by virtue of the power in me vested by the aforesaid act of Congress, do hereby proclaim and make known that

on and after July 1, 1924, and throughout the fiscal year 1924-1925, the quota of each nationality provided in said act shall be as follows:

COUNTRY OR AREA OF BIRTH QUOTA 1924-1925

Afghanistan- 100

Albania- 100

Andorra- 100

Arabian peninsula (1, 2)- 100

Armenia- 124

Australia, including Papua, Tasmania, and all islands appertaining to Australia (3, 4)- 121

Austria- 785

Belgium (5)- 512

Bhutan- 100

Bulgaria- 100

Cameroon (proposed British mandate)- 100

Cameroon (French mandate)- 100

China- 100

Czechoslovakia- 3,073

Danzig, Free City of- 228

Denmark (5, 6)- 2,789

Egypt- 100

Estonia- 124

Ethiopia (Abyssinia)- 100

Finland- 170

France (1, 5, 6)- 3,954

Germany- 51,227

Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1, 3, 5, 6)- 34,007

Greece- 100

Hungary- 473

Iceland- 100

India (3)- 100

Iraq (Mesopotamia)- 100

Irish Free State (3)- 28,567

Italy, including Rhodes, Dodecanesia, and Castellorizzo (5)- 3,845

Japan- 100

Latvia-142

Liberia- 100

Liechtenstein- 100

Lithuania- 344

Luxemburg- 100

Monaco- 100

Morocco (French and Spanish Zones and Tangier)- 100

Muscat (Oman)- 100

Nauru (proposed British mandate) (4)- 100

Nepal- 100

Netherlands (1, 5, 6)- 1648

New Zealand (including appertaining islands (3, 4)- 100

Norway (5)- 6,453

New Guinea, and other Pacific Islands under proposed Australian mandate (4)- 100

Palestine (with Trans-Jordan, proposed British mandate)- 100

Persia (1)- 100

Poland- 5,982

Portugal (1, 5)- 503

Ruanda and Urundi (Belgium mandate)- 100

Rumania- 603

Russia, European and Asiatic (1)- 2,248

Samoa, Western (4) (proposed mandate of New Zealand)- 100

San Marino- 100

Siam- 100

South Africa, Union of (3)- 100

South West Africa (proposed mandate of Union of South Africa)- 100

Spain (5)- 131

Sweden- 9,561

Switzerland- 2,081

Syria and The Lebanon (French mandate)- 100

Tanganyika (proposed British mandate)- 100

Togoland (proposed British mandate)- 100

Togoland (French mandate)- 100

Turkey- 100

Yap and other Pacific islands (under Japanese mandate) (4)- 100

Yugoslavia- 671

GENERAL NOTE. -The immigration quotas assigned to the various countries and quota-areas should not be regarded as having any political significance whatever, or as involving recognition of new governments, or of new boundaries, or of transfers of territory except as the United States Government has already made such recognition in a formal and official manner. . . . Calvin Coolidge.

Document Analysis

1. Which countries had the lowest quotas? Which had the highest?
2. What general trend would result from this legislation?
3. The quotas were based upon the 1890 U.S. Census. What are the implications of that policy? Why didn't the government use the 1920 Census instead, given that it was more current?

John F. Carter, "'These Wild Young People' by One of Them" (1920)

As the United States entered the "Roaring Twenties," it was recovering from World War I, as was the rest of the world. Some members of this "Lost Generation" who had lived through, and sometimes participated in, the horrific violence of the war reacted by questioning traditional values and living their lives in ways that their parents and grandparents often found bewildering. Artists and writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and Gertrude Stein were exploring new ideas, and it became more popular to live for the moment and explore life's possibilities. The excerpt below succinctly describes the "generation gap" of this era.

For some months past the pages of our more conservative magazines have been crowded with pessimistic descriptions of the younger generation, as seen by their elders and, no doubt, their betters. Hardly a week goes by that I do not read some indignant treatise depicting our extravagance, the corruption of our manners, the futility of our existence, poured out in stiff, scared, shocked sentences before a sympathetic and horrified audience of fathers, mothers, and maiden aunts--but particularly maiden aunts.

In the May issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* appeared an article entitled "Polite Society," by a certain Mr. Grundy, the husband of a very old friend of my family. In kindly manner he

Mentioned our virtues, it is true,

But dwelt upon our vices, too.

"Chivalry and Modesty are dead. Modesty died first," quoth he, but expressed the pious hope that all might yet be well if the oldsters would but be content to "wait and see." His article is one of the best-tempered and most gentlemanly of this long series of Jeremiads against 'these wild young people.' It is significant that it should be anonymous. In reading it, I could not help but be drawn to Mr. Grundy personally, but was forced to the conclusion that he, like everyone else who is writing about my generation, has very little idea of what he is talking about. . . .

. . . Mrs. Katharine Fullerton Gerould has come forward as the latest volunteer prosecuting attorney, in her powerful 'Reflections of a Grundy Cousin' in the August *Atlantic*. She has little or no patience with us. She disposes of all previous explanations of our degeneration in a series of short paragraphs, then launches into her own explanation: the decay of religion. She treats it as a primary cause, and with considerable effect. But I think she errs in not attempting to analyze the causes for such decay, which would bring her nearer to the ultimate truth.

A friend of mine has an uncle who, in his youth, was a wild, fast, extravagant young blood. His clothes were the amazement of even his fastest friends. He drank, he swore, he gambled, bringing his misdeeds to a climax by eloping with an heiress, a beautiful Philadelphian seraph, fascinated by this glittering Lucifer. Her family disowned her, and they fled to a distant and wild country. He was, in effect, a brilliant, worthless, attractive, and romantic person. Now he is the sedate deacon of a Boston Presbyterian church, very strong on morality in every shape, a terror to the young, with an impeccable business career, and a very dull family circle. Mrs. Gerould must know of similar cases; so why multiply instances? Just think how moral and unentertaining our generation will be when we have emerged from the "roaring forties"!--and rejoice.

There is a story, illustrative of Californian civic pride, about a California funeral. The friends and relatives of the departed were gathered mournfully around the bier, awaiting the arrival of the preacher who was to deliver the funeral oration. They waited and waited and waited, but no preacher appeared. Finally, a messenger-boy arrived with a telegram. It was from the clergyman, and informed

them that he had missed his train. The chief mourner rose to the occasion and asked if anyone would like to say a few kind words about the deceased. No one stirred. Finally a long, lanky person got up, cleared his throat, and drawled, "Wa-a-al, if no one else is goin' to speak, I'd like to say a few things about Los Angeles!"

I would like to say a few things about my generation.

In the first place, I would like to observe that the older generation had certainly pretty well ruined this world before passing it on to us. They give us this Thing, knocked to pieces, leaky, red-hot, threatening to blow up; and then they are surprised that we don't accept it with the same attitude of pretty, decorous enthusiasm with which they received it, 'way back in the eighteen-nineties, nicely painted, smoothly running, practically fool-proof. "So simple that a child can run it!" But the child couldn't steer it. He hit every possible telegraph-pole, some of them twice, and ended with a head-on collision for which we shall have to pay the fines and damages. Now, with loving pride, they turn over their wreck to us; and, since we are not properly overwhelmed with loving gratitude, shake their heads and sigh, "Dear! dear! We were so much better-overwhelmed with loving gratitude than these wild young people. But then we had the advantages of a good, strict, old-fashioned bringing-up!" How intensely human these oldsters are, after all, and how fallible! How they always blame us for not following precisely in their eminently correct footsteps!

Then again there is the matter of outlook. When these sentimental old world-wreckers were young, the world was such a different place. . . . Life for them was bright and pleasant. Like all normal youngsters, they had their little tin-pot ideals, their sweet little visions, their naive enthusiasms, their nice little sets of beliefs. Christianity had emerged from the blow dealt by Darwin, emerged rather in the shape of social dogma. Man was a noble and perfectible creature. Women were angels (whom they smugly sweated in their industries and prostituted in their slums). Right was downing might. The nobility and the divine mission of the race were factors that led our fathers to work wholeheartedly for a millennium, which they caught a glimpse of just around the turn of the century. Why, there were Hague Tribunals! International peace was at last assured, and according to current reports, never officially denied, the American delegates held out for the use of poison gas in warfare, just as the men of that generation were later to ruin Wilson's great ideal of a league of nations, on the ground that such a scheme was an invasion of American rights. But still, everything, masked by ingrained hypocrisy and prudishness, seemed simple, beautiful, inevitable.

Now my generation is disillusionized, and, I think, to a certain extent, brutalized, by the cataclysm which their complacent folly engendered. The acceleration of life for us has been so great that into the last few years have been crowded the experiences and the ideas of a normal lifetime. We have in our unregenerate youth learned the practicality and the cynicism that is safe only in unregenerate old age. We have been forced to become realists overnight, instead of idealists, as was our birthright. 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 seen hideous speculation, greed, anger, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, unmasked and rampant and unashamed. We have been forced to live in an atmosphere of "to-morrow we die," and so, naturally, we drank and were merry. We have seen the rottenness and shortcomings of all governments, even the best and most stable. We have seen entire social systems overthrown, and our own called in question. In short, we have seen the inherent beastliness of the human race revealed in an infernal apocalypse.

It is the older generation who forced us to see all this, which has left us with social and political institutions staggering blind in the fierce white light that, for us, should beat only about the enthroned ideal. And now, through the soft-headed folly of these painfully shocked Grundys, we have that devastating wisdom which is safe only for the burned-out embers of grizzled, cautious old men. We may be fire, but it was they who made us play with gunpowder. And now they are surprised that a great many of us, because they have taken away our apple-cheeked ideals, are seriously considering whether or no their game be worth our candle.

But, in justice to my generation, I think that I must admit that most of us have realized that, whether

or no it be worth while, we must all play the game, as long as we are in it. And I think that much of the hectic quality of our life is due to that fact and to that alone. We are faced with staggering problems and are forced to solve them, while the previous incumbents are permitted a graceful and untroubled death. All my friends are working and working hard. Most of the girls I know are working. In one way or another, often unconsciously, the great burden put upon us is being borne, and borne gallantly, by that immodest, unchivalrous set of ne'er-do-wells, so delightfully portrayed by Mr. Grundy and the amazing young Fitzgerald. A keen interest in political and social problems, and a determination to face the facts of life, ugly or beautiful, characterizes us, as it certainly did not characterize our fathers. We won't shut our eyes to the truths we have learned. We have faced so many unpleasant things already,--and faced them pretty well,--that it is natural that we should keep it up.

Now I think that this is the aspect of our generation that annoys the uncritical and deceives the unsuspecting oldsters who are now met in judgment upon us: our devastating and brutal frankness. And this is the quality in which we really differ from our predecessors. We are frank with each other, frank, or pretty nearly so, with our elders, frank in the way we feel toward life and this badly damaged world. It may be a disquieting and misleading habit, but is it a bad one? We find some few things in the world that we like, and a whole lot that we don't, and we are not afraid to say so or to give our reasons. In earlier generations this was not the case. The young men yearned to be glittering generalities, the young women to act like shy, sweet, innocent fawns toward one another. And now, when grown up, they have come to believe that they actually were figures of pristine excellence, knightly chivalry, adorable modesty, and impeccable propriety. But I really doubt if they were so. Statistics relating to, let us say, the immorality of college students in the eighteen-eighties would not compare favorably with those of the present. However, now, as they look back on it, they see their youth through a mist of muslin, flannels, tennis, bicycles, Tennyson, Browning, and the Blue Danube waltz. The other things, the ugly things that we know about and talk about, must also have been there. But our elders didn't care or didn't dare to consider them, and now they are forgotten. We talk about them unabashed, and not necessarily with Presbyterian disapproval, and so they jump to the conclusion that we are thoroughly bad, and keep pestering us to make us good.

The trouble with them is that they can't seem to realize that we are busy, that what pleasure we snatch must be incidental and feverishly hurried. We have to make the most of our time. We actually haven't got so much time for the noble procrastinations of modesty or for the elaborate rigmarole of chivalry, and little patience for the lovely formulas of an ineffective faith. Let them die for a while! They did not seem to serve the world too well in its black hour. If they are inherently good they will come back, vital and untarnished. But just now we have a lot of work, "old time is still a-flying," and we must gather rose-buds while we may.

Oh! I know that we are a pretty bad lot, but has not that been true of every preceding generation? At least we have the courage to act accordingly. Our music is distinctly barbaric, our girls are distinctly not a mixture of arbutus and barbed-wire. We drink when we can and what we can, we gamble, we are extravagant--but we work, and that's about all that we can be expected to do; for, after all, we have just discovered that we are all still very near to the Stone Age. The Grundys shake their heads. They'll make us be good. Prohibition is put through to stop our drinking, and hasn't stopped it. . . . A Draconian code is being hastily formulated at Washington and elsewhere, to prevent us from, by any chance, making any alteration in this present divinely constituted arrangement of things. The oldsters stand dramatically with fingers and toes and noses pressed against the bursting dykes. Let them! They won't do any good. They can shackle us down, and still expect us to repair their blunders, if they wish. But we shall not trouble ourselves very much about them any more. Why should we? What have they done? They have made us work as they never had to work in all their padded lives--but we'll have our cakes and ale for a' that.

For now we know our way about. We're not babes in the wood. . . . We're men and women, long before our time, in the flower of our full-blooded youth. We have brought back into civil life some of the recklessness and ability that we were taught by war. We are also quite fatalistic in our outlook on the tepid perils of tame living. All may yet crash to the ground for aught that we can do about it. Terrible mistakes will be made, but we shall at least make them intelligently and insist, if we are to

receive the strictures of the future, on doing pretty much as we choose now.

Oh! I suppose that it's too bad that we aren't humble, starry-eyed, shy, respectful innocents, standing reverently at their side for instructions, playing pretty little games, in which they no longer believe, except for us. But we aren't, and the best thing the oldsters can do about it is to go into their respective backyards and dig for worms, great big pink ones--for the Grundy tribe are now just about as important as they are, and they will doubtless make company more congenial and docile than 'these wild young people,' the men and women of my generation.

Document Analysis

1. What role does World War I play in Carter's explanation of the differences between the older and younger generations?
2. How would you describe the overall tone of Carter's article? Make a list of appropriate adjectives.
3. How does this portrayal of the "generation gap" compare with today's differences between your generation and your parents'?

Motion Picture Diaries (1920s)

*During the 1920s the Hollywood-based movie industry became the most popular form of mass culture in America. A national audience in the tens of millions went to the movies regularly and followed the lives of the stars with an almost religious fervor. Young people in particular responded to the allure of motion pictures. The following excerpts from diaries kept by young movie goers during the 1920s provide a look at how they felt about and responded to the new medium. SOURCE: Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* (Macmillan, 1933), 220 - 223, 232-247, 251-257.*

STUDENTS' "MOTION PICTURE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES" A GIRL OF 22, COLLEGE SENIOR, NATIVE WHITE PARENTS

I have tried to remember the first time that I went to a movie. It must have been when I was very young because I cannot recall the event. My real interest in motion pictures showed itself when I was in about fourth grade at grammar school. There was a theater on the route by which I went home from school and as the picture changed every other day I used to spend the majority of my time there. A gang of us little tots went regularly....

Goodness knows, you learn plenty about love from the movies. That's their long run; you learn more from actual experience, though! You do see how the gold-digger systematically gets the poor fish in tow. You see how the sleek-haired, long-earringed, languid-eyed siren lands the men. You meet the flapper, the good girl, 'n' all the feminine types and their little tricks of the trade. We pick up their snappy comebacks which are most handy when dispensing with an unwanted suitor, a too ardent one, too backward one, etc. And believe me, they observe and

remember, too.

I can remember when we all nudged one another and giggled at the last close-up in a movie. I recall when during the same sort of close-up when the boy friend squeezes your arm and looks soulfully at you. Oh, it's lotsa fun! No, I never fell in love with my movie idol. When I don't know a person really, when I know I'll never have a chance with 'em, I don't bother pining away over them and writing them idiotic letters as some girls I've known do. I have imagined playing with a movie hero many times though; that is while I'm watching the picture. I forget about it when I'm outside the theater. Buddy Rogers and Rudy Valentino have kissed me oodles of times, but they don't know it. God bless 'em!

Yes, love scenes have thrilled me and have made me more receptive to love. I was going with a fellow whom I liked as a playmate, so to speak; he was a little younger than me and he liked me a great deal. We went to the movie - Billie Dove in it. Oh, I can't recall the name but Antonio Moreno was the lead, and there were some lovely scenes which just got me all hot 'n' bothered. After the movie we went for a ride 'n' parked along the lake; it was a gorgeous night. Well, I just melted (as it were) in his arms, making him believe I loved him, which I didn't. I sort of came to, but I promised to go steady with him. I went with him 'til I couldn't bear the sight of him. Such trouble I had trying to get rid of him, and yet not hurt his feelings, as I had led him to believe I cared more than I did. I've wished many times that we'd never seen the movie. Another thing not exactly on the subject but important, I began smoking after watching Dolores Costello, I believe it was, smoke, which hasn't added any joy to my parents' lives.

COLLEGE GIRL, 18, NATIVE BORN OF WEALTHY SWEDISH PARENTS

Upon going to my first dance I asked the hairdresser to fix my hair like Greta Garbo's. Of course I did not tell the hairdresser that I was copying this intriguing and fascinating actress or she would think I had gone insane. I, the "nicest" girl, whom mothers to this day set as an example to their daughters and young sons. Oh, the unconscious cruelty of father when he forbade me pleasures other children had and have, and I partly made up this injustice to myself by seeing a picture once or twice a year and living them over and over again. I lived the life of the heroine and used my little sister for the rival or unpleasant character, very seldom the good character. The rival afforded me more opportunity to be dramatic. In speaking on graduation day I did my best to finish with the swaying-like curtsy which Pola Negri taught me from the stage.

Somehow or other Dolores Costello has not taught me mannerisms, but what beauty is. When I see her I cannot help but truly believe that there is a God, creator of the beautiful. She brings to me that deep feeling of beauty and all that goes with beauty - love, truth, sympathy, etc.

Only at one time did the movies decide my yielding to a temptation which my better self condemned. I regret it very much. I had been fond of a dark boy, somewhat like John Gilbert, who had proposed many times while I was a sophomore in high school. He seemed perfect to me at the time. His family are among the best known aristocrats and he was supposedly intelligent. How I dislike him for this lack of the "supposed intelligence." He did not realize what he was asking me to do but they are not all of that type. One evening after he had built more alluring castles than usual, I decided it would be romantic to run away with him. No longer would I be

under my dear but misunderstanding father's strict rules.

At that time we lived some distance from here in an enormous home with a beautiful garden surrounding it. My "hero" was to wait near the thick bushes, and to help me to get out through the windows as soon as it was dark. I had scarcely flashed the light as the signal, when father came into my room. He had been told by the gardener or someone else that somebody was lurking among the trees. He came to warn me about closing my windows, and found me with my clothes packed. No one outside of father, the boy, and I will ever know this, but it hurt all of us.

Because my father had been very strict in his beliefs, regarding marriage, rights of women, and these beliefs gave me many chances to rebel unsuccessfully, I was in a mood to listen and see other beliefs. Sometimes before this again unsuccessful rebellion I had seen a runaway marriage which had impressed me tremendously - I did think that having a hero like this dark boy to protect me from father's anger and strictness would be heaven. Curiously enough I was more interested in the details of escaping - how the girl got her clothes down, how she got down, what he did to help her down - all these details I watched more carefully than the rest of the play in the runaway marriage....

A BOY OF 17, HIGH SCHOOL SENIOR, NATIVE BLACK PARENTS

The earliest movie stars that I can remember were Wm. S. Hart and Tom Mix who played entirely in Western stories. I liked to see them shoot the villain and save the girl and "live happily ever after." It caused me to shout as loudly, or louder, than the rest. Following them came Douglas Fairbanks, who seemed so carefree and light that he won nearly everyone with his personality. He would jump, use a lasso, thrust a sword, and fight in a way to satisfy any child's desire for action. Now I have no special star but I think Emil Jannings is a great actor because he seems to put his heart and soul into his work.

As a boy, I went with nearly every one to the theater; my mother, father, sister or brother, relatives, and friends. Usually I went in the afternoon or evening, anywhere from one to five times a week. Now I still go with my relatives occasionally but mostly with friends or alone.

I cannot recall anything that I have done that I had seen in the movies except try to make love. It happened that when I was small there were no boys in my neighborhood and I had to go several blocks before I could play with some my size or age. But there were a few girls in my neighborhood my size. Seeing Douglas Fairbanks woo his maiden I decided to try some of "Doug's stuff" on one of the girl friends. I know I was awkward and it proved more or less a flop.

Several times on seeing big, beautiful cars which looked to be bubbling over with power and speed, I dreamed of having a car more powerful and speedier than all the rest. I saw this car driven by myself up to the girl friend's door and taking her for a ride. (I was then eight years old and in my dreams I was no older.)

Nicola Sacco and Barolomeo Vanzetti, Court Statements (1927)

In April 1920, two employees of a Massachusetts shoe company were killed during the execution of a payroll robbery. Three weeks later two Italian aliens, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were

arrested. In 1920 the United States was still caught up in the hysteria of the Red Scare, and the two men, neither of whom had any previous criminal record, were held primarily because they were admitted anarchists. After a six-week trial, in July 1921 the jury found both men guilty of robbery and murder, in spite of unreliable eyewitnesses and the lack of evidence. The defense continued to fight using motions, appeals, and petitions until 1927, when both men were sentenced to death. They were both executed on August 23, 1927.

To many people, the Sacco and Vanzetti case came to symbolize social injustice. The more vocal of the two, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, frequently corresponded with supporters throughout the world. He issued the statement below at the sentencing phase of his trial in 1927.

Even today, historians continue to debate the guilt or innocence of the two men. At issue is not only the validity of the evidence, but the fairness of the trial. Even modern ballistics tests have been unable to clearly prove guilt or innocence. In 1977, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis pardoned both men.

Statement of Bartolomeo Vanzetti

Now I should say that I am not only innocent of all these things, not only have I never committed a real crime in my life—though some sins but not crimes—not only have I struggled all my life to eliminate crimes, the crime that the officials and the official moral condemns, but also the crime that the official moral and the official law sanctions and sanctifies—the exploitation and the oppression of the man by the man, and if there is a reason why I am here as a guilty man, if there is a reason why you in a few minutes can doom me, it is this reason and none else...

We were tried during a time that has now passed into history. I mean by that, a time when there was a hysteria of resentment and hate against the people of our principle, against the foreigner, against slackers...

Well, I have already said that I not only am not guilty...but I never commit a crime in my life—I have never stole and I have never killed and I have never spilt blood, and I fought against crime and I have fought and have sacrificed myself even to eliminate the crimes the law and the church legitimate and sanctify.

This is what I say: I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortunate creature of the earth—I would not wish to any of them what I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. But my conviction is that I have suffered for things I am guilty of. 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; I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that 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.

I have finished. Thank you.

Statement by Nicola Sacco

. . . I am not an orator. It is not very familiar with me the English language, and as I know, as my friend has told me, my comrade Vanzetti will speak more long, so I thought to give him the chance.

I never know, never heard, even read in history anything so cruel as this Court. After seven years prosecuting they still consider us guilty. And these gentle people here are arrayed with us in this court

today.

I know the sentence will be between two class, the oppressed class and the rich class, and there will be always collision between one and the other. We fraternize the people with the books, with the literature. You persecute the people, tyrannize over them and kill them. We try the education of people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality that hates each other. That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor.

You know it, Judge Thayer,--you know all my life, you know why I have been here, and after seven years that you have been persecuting me and my poor wife, and you still today sentence us to death. I would like to tell all my life, but what is the use? . . . Among that peoples and the comrades and the working class there is a big legion of intellectual people which have been with us for seven years, but to not commit the iniquitous sentence, but still the Court goes ahead. And I think I thank you all, you peoples, my comrades who have been with me for seven years, with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and I will give my friend a chance. . . .

When Historians Disagree

Harding, Coolidge and Mellon Cause the Great Depression

When he was in office Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon was hailed as “the greatest Secretary of the Treasury ever.” He served three Republican presidents who were all elected by landslides based in large part on the prosperity that the United States experienced during the 1920s. With the coming of the Great Depression in the 1930s, politicians and later historians began to take another look at the policies of the Republican leaders of the 1920s. Did the great prosperity of the 1920s lead to the great crash of the 1930s? Should the nation’s leaders have seen it coming and done something different? Even if they did not see it coming, did the laissez-faire policies of the Harding and Coolidge administrations lead to the Great Depression? Was the Depression their fault? Such questions have been debated from the 1930s to the present and are very much on the minds of the two historians represented here.

David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: the American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 33-35, 51-52.

The conservative Republicans who recaptured the Congress in 1918 and the White House in 1920 had small use for any form of government activism...

No one better represented the hoary

Amity Shlaes, *Coolidge*. New York: HarperCollins, 2013, pp. 11-12, 438.

From time to time historians—more than economists—try to blame Coolidge for the Great Depression and therefore downgrade his policies. A market correction was due in 1929. Coolidge himself anticipated that drop. In fact, he fretted over its possible consequences. The country would endure trouble, he knew, yet he remained

precepts of laissez-faire that were now reenshrined in policy than the unfortunate Harding's phlegmatic successor, Calvin Coolidge. "Mr. Coolidge was a real conservative, probably the equal of Benjamin Harrison," said Herbert Hoover, who was frequently at odds with his chief. "He was a fundamentalist in religion, in the economic and social order, and in fishing," added Hoover, who had a fly fisherman's disdain for Coolidge's artless reliance on worms. Famously mum, Coolidge occasionally emitted pithy slogans that summarized conservative Republican orthodoxy, "The chief business of the American people is business," he legendarily pronounced in 1925...

Orthodox economic theory held that business downturns were inevitable parts of the business cycle... Conspicuous among what Hoover called the "leave it alone liquidationists" was Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon. "Mr. Mellon had only one formula," Hoover later wrote, "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate," Mellon preached to the president. "It will purge the rottenness out of the system. High costs of living and high living will come down. People will work harder, lead a more moral life." ... Liberal journalist Stuart Chase also made sport of their intellectual orthodoxy: "[T]he great advantage of allowing nature to take her course," wrote Chase, "is that it obviates thought... There is no need to take concrete action. Just sit and watch with folded hands."

convinced that arbitrary interventions, experiments, would only prolong the downturn. But the contention that Coolidge can be blamed for the extended double-digit unemployment of the 1930s is a stretch. Many of the events that converted the 1929 break in the Dow Jones Industrial Average from a serious market crash into the decade-long Great Depression took place after Coolidge's presidency or in places far away...

It is hard for modern students of economics to know what to make of a government that treated economic weakness by raising interest rates 300 basis points, cutting tax rates, and halving the federal government, so much at odds is that prescription with the antidotes to recession our own experts tend to recommend. It is harder still for modern economists to concede that that recipe, the policy recipe for the early 1920s advocated by Coolidge and Harding, yielded growth on a scale to which we can aspire today...

Coolidge might have predicted Hoover's reaction to the crash ... Hoover was exhorting businesses to keep wages high so that workers could spend their money and keep the economy going. This was different from past policies... Coolidge believed that for markets to find their level, businesses had to choose their own wages and prices. Yet worse than any specific action Hoover took was the general alarm that Hoover struck, so different from the calming policy of Coolidge, Harding, or Mellon. "The cure for such storms is action," Hoover told the country in a speech on December 5. These new policies were strange to Coolidge ...

Living in Hard Times, 1929-1939

Father Charles E. Coughlin, "A Third Party" (1936)

Charles Coughlin, ordained as a Roman Catholic priest, used the new technology of radio to spread what he said was the word of God. By the 1930s, however, Father Coughlin's messages had expanded to include economics and politics. Capitalizing on the tone of the Depression, Coughlin developed his theory of achieving "social justice" through monetary reforms. Coughlin was originally a supporter of Roosevelt, whom he viewed as a radical social reformer. However, he later became one of the president's most vocal critics when Roosevelt failed to be as radical as Coughlin felt was necessary to solve the nation's problems. By 1936, Coughlin was advocating a third-party challenge to Roosevelt, calling for the nationalization of the banking system. This brief speech, delivered in 1936, outlines his concerns.

The power of radio and the emotion of his message made Father Coughlin popular and influential throughout the country. His weekly broadcasts commanded the attention of millions of listeners. Because his efforts seemed increasingly secular and controversial, his superiors insisted that he return to his work as a parish priest in 1940. He was forced to retire in 1966.

By 1932 a new era of production had come into full bloom. It was represented by the motor car, the tractor and power lathe, which enables the laborer to produce wealth ten times more rapidly than was possible for his ancestors. Within the short expanse of 150 years the problem of production had been solved, due to the ingenuity of men like Arkwright and his loom, Fulton and his steam engine, and Edison and his dynamo. These and a thousand other benefactors of mankind made it possible for the teeming millions of people throughout the world to transfer speedily the raw materials into the thousand necessities and conveniences which fall under the common name of wealth.

Thus, with the advent of our scientific era, with its far-flung fields, its spacious factories, its humming motors, its thundering locomotives, its highly trained mechanics, it is inconceivable how such a thing as a so-called depression should blight the lives of an entire nation when there was a plenitude of everything surrounding us, only to be withheld from us because the so-called leaders of high finance persisted in clinging to an outworn theory of privately issued money, the medium through which wealth is distributed.

I challenged this private control and creation of money because it was alien to our Constitution, which says "Congress shall have the right to coin and regulate the value of money." I challenged this system of permitting a small group of private citizens to create money and credit out of nothing, to issue it into circulation through loans and to demand that borrowers repay them with money which represented real goods, real labor and real service. I advocated that it be replaced by the American system—namely, that the creation and control of money and credit are the rights of the people through their democratic government....

No man in modern times received such plaudits from the poor as did Franklin Roosevelt when he promised to drive the money changers from the temple—the money changers who had clipped the coins of wages, who had manufactured spurious money and who had brought proud America to her knees.

March 4, 1933! I shall never forget the inaugural address, which seemed to re-echo the very words of Christ Himself as He actually drove the money changers from the temple.

The thrill that was mine was yours. Through dim clouds of the depression this man Roosevelt was, as it were, a new savior of his people!...

Such were our hopes in the springtime of 1933.

My friends, what have we witnessed as the finger of time turned the pages of the calendar? Nineteen hundred and thirty-three and the National Recovery Act which multiplied profits for the monopolists; 1934 and the AAA which raised the price of foodstuffs by throwing back God's best gifts into His face; 1935 and the Banking Act which rewarded the exploiters of the poor, the Federal Reserve bankers and their associates, by handing over to them the temple from which they were to have been cast!...

Alas! The temple still remains the private property of the money changers. The golden key has been handed over to them for safekeeping-the key which now is fashioned in the shape of a double cross.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Annual Message to Congress (1941)

Recognizing the need to gain public support for American involvement in World War Two, President Roosevelt outlined the danger that existed and the promise of the future that he felt was based on four freedoms.

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented," because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today. . . .

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world - assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During 16 months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere - many times over.

In times like these it is immature - and incidentally untrue - for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, singlehanded, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the

whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion - or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." . . .

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily - almost exclusively - to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency. . . .

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to allinclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and security of our own Nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom. . . .

I . . . ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations. Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need manpower. They do need billions of dollars' worth of the weapons of defense. The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and will not, tell them they must surrender merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have. . . .

Let us say to the democracies, "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources, and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally

proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. . . .

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world. There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are: Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations. . . .

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants

everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear - which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor - anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. . . .

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address (1933)

Franklin Roosevelt took office during the worst economic depression the nation had ever experienced. Unemployment was skyrocketing, almost half of the country's 24,000 banks had failed, inflation was climbing, and the nation's farmers were desperate to sell their goods. Roosevelt's first inaugural address is in many ways typical of his public approach to the problem. He used strong yet optimistic language and spoke of "attacking" the problem head-on. This speech is famous for his statement that Americans had "nothing to fear but fear itself." However, it also began to give shape to a program that would require powers no previous U.S. president had ever wielded.

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself-nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark reality of the movement.

Yet our distress comes from no failure or substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices

of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They have known only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order: there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments, so that there will be an end to speculation with other people's money; and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress, in special session, detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point

of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purpose will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of Executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken Nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clear satisfaction that comes from

the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

Republican Party Platform (1936)

Not all Americans supported the New Deal. In fact, millions of Americans reviled Franklin D. Roosevelt and his policies. The Republican Party Platform of 1936 outlined the essentials of conservative complaints about the New Deal. The campaign that year was filled with bitter, often personal, denunciations of Roosevelt. But the overwhelming Democratic landslide in both the presidential race and in the Congress amounted to a strong vote of confidence in the President's policies. SOURCE: Proceedings, 21st Republican National Convention.

America is in peril. The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity and their character as free citizens, which today for the first time are threatened by Government itself.

For three long years the New Deal Administration has dishonored American traditions and flagrantly betrayed the pledges upon which the Democratic Party sought and received public support.

The powers of Congress have been usurped by the President.

The integrity and authority of the Supreme Court have been flouted.

The rights and liberties of American citizens have been violated.

Regulated monopoly has displaced free enterprise.

The New Deal Administration constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the States and to the people.

It has insisted on the passage of laws contrary to the Constitution.

It has intimidated witnesses and interfered with the right of petition.

It has dishonored our country by repudiating its most sacred obligations.

It has been guilty of frightful waste and extravagance, using public funds for partisan political purposes.

It has promoted investigations to harass and intimidate American citizens, at the same time denying investigations into its own improper expenditures.

It has created a vast multitude of new offices, filled them with its favorites, set up a centralized bureaucracy, and sent out swarms of inspectors to harass our people.

It has bred fear and hesitation in commerce and industry, thus discouraging new enterprises, preventing employment and prolonging the depression.

It secretly has made tariff agreements with our foreign competitors, flooding our markets with foreign commodities.

It has coerced and intimidated voters by withholding relief from those opposing its tyrannical policies.

It has destroyed the morale of many of our people and made them dependent upon Government.

Appeals to passion and class prejudice have replaced reason and tolerance.

To a free people these actions are insufferable. This campaign cannot be waged on the traditional differences between the Republican and Democratic parties. The responsibility of this election transcends all previous political divisions. We invite all Americans, irrespective of party, to join us in defense of American institutions.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND FREE ENTERPRISE WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:

1. To maintain the American system of constitutional and local self government, and to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, the final protector of the rights of our citizens against the arbitrary encroachments of the legislative and executive branches of Government. There can be no individual liberty without an independent judiciary.
2. To preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity, and to seek its constant betterment in the interests of all.

REEMPLOYMENT

The only permanent solution of the unemployment problem is the absorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture. To that end, we advocate: Removal of restrictions on production. Abandonment of all New Deal policies that raise production costs, increase the cost of living, and thereby restrict buying, reduce volume and prevent reemployment. Encouragement instead

of hindrance to legitimate business. Withdrawal of Government from competition with private payrolls. Elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations. Adoption of such policies as will furnish a chance for individual enterprise, industrial expansion, and the restoration of jobs.

RELIEF

The necessities of life must be provided for the needy, and hope must be restored pending recovery. The administration of relief is a major failure of the New Deal. It has been faithless to those who most deserve our sympathy. To end confusion, partisanship, waste and incompetence,

WE PLEDGE:

1. The return of responsibility for relief administration to non-political local agencies familiar with community problems.
2. Federal grants-in-aid to the States and Territories while the need exists, upon compliance with these conditions: (a) a fair proportion of the total relief burden to be provided from the revenues of States and local governments; (b) all engaged in relief administration to be selected on the basis of merit and fitness; (c) adequate provision to be made for the encouragement of those persons who are trying to become self-supporting.
3. Undertaking of Federal public works only on their merits and separate from the administration of relief.
4. A prompt determination of the facts concerning relief and unemployment.

SECURITY

Real security will be possible only when our productive capacity is sufficient to furnish a decent standard of living for all American families and to provide a surplus for future needs and contingencies. For the attainment of that ultimate objective, we look to the energy, self-reliance and character of our people, and to our system of free enterprise. Society has an obligation to promote the security of the people, by affording some measure of protection against involuntary unemployment and dependency in old age. The New Deal policies, while purporting to provide social security, have, in fact, endangered it. We propose a system of old age security.... We propose to encourage adoption by the States and Territories of honest and practical measures for meeting the problems of unemployment insurance. The unemployment insurance and old age annuity sections of the present Social Security Act are unworkable and deny benefits to about two-thirds of our adult population, including professional men and women and all those engaged in agriculture and domestic service, and the self employed, while imposing heavy tax burdens upon all. The so-called reserve fund estimated at forty-seven billion dollars for old age insurance is no reserve at all, because the fund will contain nothing but the Government's promise to pay, while the taxes collected in the guise of premiums will be wasted by the Government in reckless and extravagant political schemes.

LABOR

The welfare of labor rests upon increased production and the prevention of exploitation. We pledge ourselves to: Protect the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source. Prevent governmental job holders from exercising autocratic powers over labor. Support the adoption of State laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages and working conditions. We believe that this can be done within the Constitution as it now stands.

AGRICULTURE

The farm problem is economic and social, not a partisan problem, and we propose to treat it accordingly.... Our paramount objective is to protect and foster the family type of farm, traditional in American life, and to promote policies which will bring about an adjustment of agriculture to meet the needs of domestic and foreign markets. As an emergency measure, during the agricultural depression, Federal benefit payments or grants-in-aid when administered within the means of the Federal Government are consistent with a balanced budget.

WE PROPOSE:

1. To facilitate economical production and increased consumption on a basis of abundance instead of scarcity.
2. A national land-use program, including the acquisition of abandoned and non-productive farm lands by voluntary sale or lease, subject to approval of the legislative and executive branches of the States concerned, and the devotion of such land to appropriate public use, such as watershed protection and flood prevention, reforestation, recreation, and conservation of wild life.
3. That an agricultural policy be pursued for the protection and restoration of the land resources, designed to bring about such a balance between soil-building and soil-depleting crops as will permanently insure productivity, with reasonable benefits to cooperating farmers on family-type farms, but so regulated as to eliminate the New Deal's destructive policy towards the dairy and livestock industries.
4. To extend experimental aid to farmers developing new crops suited to our soil and climate....

REGULATION OF BUSINESS

We recognize the existence of a field within which governmental regulation is desirable and salutary. The authority to regulate should be vested in an independent tribunal acting under clear and specific laws establishing definite standards. Their determinations on law and facts should be subject to review by the Courts. We favor Federal regulation, within the Constitution, of the marketing of securities to protect investors. We favor also Federal regulation of the interstate activities of public utilities....

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

The New Deal Administration has been characterized by shameful waste and general financial irresponsibility. It has piled deficit upon deficit. It threatens national bankruptcy and the destruction through inflation of insurance policies and savings bank deposits.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO:

Stop the folly of uncontrolled spending. Balance the budget - not by increasing taxes but by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately. Revise the Federal tax system and coordinate it with State and local tax systems. Use the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes.

MONEY AND BANKING

We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards. The first requisite to a sound and stable currency is a balanced budget. We oppose further devaluation of the dollar. We will restore to the Congress the authority lodged with it by the Constitution to coin money and regulate the value thereof by repealing all the laws delegating this authority to the Executive. We will cooperate with other countries toward stabilization of currencies as soon as we can do so with due regard for our national interests and as soon as other nations have sufficient stability to justify such action.

CONCLUSION

We assume the obligations and duties imposed upon Government by modern conditions. We affirm our unalterable conviction that, in the future as in the past, the fate of the nation will depend, not so much on the wisdom and power of Government, as on the character and virtue, self-reliance, industry and thrift of the people and on their willingness to meet the responsibilities essential to the preservation of a free society. Finally, as our party affirmed in its first Platform in 1856: "Believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among our citizens, we oppose all legislation tending to impair them," and "we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared." The acceptance of the nomination tendered by this Convention carries with it, as a matter of private honor and public faith, an undertaking by each candidate to be true to the principles and program herein set forth.

Socialist Party Platform (1932)

The Socialist Party of America had suffered setbacks during and after World War I, when many of its leaders and members were arrested or deported during the Red Scare and others left to form the American Communist Party. The party suffered another major blow in 1926 when the charismatic leader Eugene V. Debs died. In the 1932 presidential election Norman M. Thomas was the party's nominee. By the middle of that year 13 million Americans were out of work, and dissatisfaction with

President Herbert Hoover was growing. In the election, which Hoover lost to the Democratic nominee, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Thomas garnered almost 900,000 votes. The official platform of the Socialist Party is excerpted below. After 1932, Roosevelt's New Deal convinced many Socialist Party supporters to shift their allegiance to the Democratic Party. By the 1936 election, the Socialists had lost much of their national momentum, although the party remained powerful in some northeastern cities.

We are facing a breakdown of the capitalist system. . . . Unemployment and poverty are inevitable products of the present system. Under capitalism the few own our industries. The many do the work. The wage earners and farmers are compelled to give a large part of the product of their labor to the few. The many in the factories, mines, shops, offices, and on the farms obtain but a scanty income and are able to buy back only a part of the goods that can be produced in such abundance by our mass industries. . . .

The Socialist Party is to-day the one democratic party of the workers whose program would remove the causes of class struggles, class antagonisms, and social evils inherent in the capitalist system.

It proposes to transfer the principal industries of the country from private ownership and autocratic, cruelly inefficient management to social ownership and democratic control. . . . It proposes the following measures:

. . . A Federal appropriation of \$5,000,000,000 for immediate relief for those in need, to supplement State and local appropriations.

. . . A Federal appropriation of \$5,000,000,000 for public works and roads, reforestation, slum clearance, and decent homes for the workers, by Federal Government, States, and cities. . . .

. . . The 6-hour day and the 5-day week without a reduction of wages. . . .

. . . A compulsory system of unemployment compensation with adequate benefits, based on contributions by the Government and by employers.

. . . Old-age pensions for men and women 60 years of age and over.

. . . Health and maternity insurance.

. . . Improved systems of workmen's compensation and accident insurance.

. . . The abolition of child labor.

. . . Government aid to farmers and small-home owners to protect them against mortgage foreclosures and a moratorium on sales for nonpayment of taxes by destitute farmers and unemployed workers.

. . . Adequate minimum wage laws. . . .

. . . Increased Federal and State subsidies to road building and educational and social services for rural communities. . . .

. . . Proportional representation.

. . . Direct election of the President and Vice President.

. . . The initiative and referendum. . . .

. . . Abolition of the power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. . . .

. . . Federal legislation to enforce the first amendment to the Constitution so as to guarantee freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and to penalize officials who interfere with the civil rights of citizens.

. . . The abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, the outlawing of "yellow-dog" contracts and the passing of laws enforcing the rights of workers to organize into unions. . . .

. . . Legislation protecting aliens from being excluded from this country or from citizenship or from being deported on account of their political, social, or economic beliefs, or on account of activities engaged in by them which are not illegal for citizens. . . .

The enforcement of constitutional guarantees of economic, political, and legal equality for the Negro.

The enactment and enforcement of drastic antilynching laws.

W. C. Handy: How the Blues Came To Be, 1941

Born in Alabama in 1873, William Christopher Handy first heard the primitive rhythms and "simple declarations" that would eventually earning him the title "Father of the Blues," in the Mississippi Delta. The son and grandson of Baptist ministers, Handy taught music at A & M College in Huntsville, Alabama and toured the countryside with his nine man band.

SOURCE: *Father of the Blues*, Arna Bontemps, ed., New York, 1941, pp. 71–88.

SOUTHERN NEGROES sang about everything. Trains, steamboats, steam whistles, sledge hammers, fast women, mean bosses, stubborn mules—all become subjects for their songs. They accompany themselves on anything from which they can extract a musical sound or rhythmical effect, anything from a harmonica to a washboard.

In this way, and from these materials, they set the mood for what we now call blues. My own fondness for this sort of thing really began in Florence, back in the days when we were not above serenading beneath the windows of our sweethearts and singing till we won a kiss in the shadows or perhaps a tumbler of good homemade wine. In the Delta, however, I suddenly saw the songs with the eye of a budding composer. The songs themselves, I now observed, consisted of simple declarations expressed usually in three lines and set to a kind of earthborn music that was familiar throughout the Southland half a century ago. Mississippi with its large plantations and

small cities probably had more colored field hands than any other state. Consequently we heard many such song fragments as *Hurry Sundown*, *Let Tomorrow Come*, or

Boll Weevil, where you been so long? Boll Weevil, where you been so long? You stole my cotton, now you want my corn.

Clarksdale was eighteen miles from the river, but that was no distance for roustabouts. They came in the evenings and on days when they were not loading boats. With them they brought the legendary songs of the river.

Oh, the Kate's up the river,
Stack O' Lee's in the ben',
Oh, the Kate's up the river, Stack O' Lee's in the ben',
And I ain't seen ma baby since I can't tell when. . . .

At first folk melodies like these were kept in the back rooms of my mind while the parlor was reserved for dressed-up music. Musical books continued to get much of my attention. There was still an old copy of Steiner's *First Lessons in Harmony*, purchased back in Henderson for fifty cents. While traveling with the minstrels I had bought from Lyon and Healy a copy of Moore's *Encyclopedia of Music*. For a time books became a passion. I'm afraid I came to think that everything worthwhile was to be found in books. But the blues did not come from books. Suffering and hard luck were the midwives that birthed these songs. The blues were conceived in aching hearts.

I hasten to confess that I took up with low folk forms hesitantly. I approached them with a certain fear and trembling. Like many of the other musicians who received them with cold shoulders at first, I began by raising my eyebrows and wondering if they were quite the thing. I had picked up a fair training in the music of the modern world and had assumed that the correct manner to compose was to develop simples into grandissimos and not to repeat them monotonously. As a director of many respectable, conventional bands, it was not easy for me to concede that a simple slowdrag and repeat could be rhythm itself. Neither was I ready to believe that this was just what the public wanted. But we live to learn.

My own enlightenment came in Cleveland, Mississippi. I was leading the orchestra in a dance program when someone sent up an odd request. "Would we play some of our native music," the note asked. This baffled me. The men in this group could not "fake" and "sell it" like minstrel men. They were all musicians who bowed strictly to the authority of printed notes. So we played for our anonymous fan an old-time Southern melody, a melody more sophisticated than native. A few moments later a

second request came up. Would we object if a local colored band played a few dances?

Object! That was funny. What hornblower would object to a time-out and a smoke—on pay? We eased out gracefully as the newcomers entered. They were led by a long-legged chocolate boy and their band consisted of just three pieces, a battered guitar, a mandolin, and a worn-out bass.

The music they made was pretty well in keeping with their looks. They struck up one of those over-and-over strains that seem to have no very clear beginning and certainly no ending at all. The strumming attained a disturbing monotony, but on and on it went, a kind of stuff that has long been associated with cane rows and levee camps. Thumpthump-thump went their feet on the floor. Their eyes rolled. Their shoulders swayed. And through it all that little agonizing strain persisted. It was not really annoying or unpleasant. Perhaps “haunting” is a better word, but I commenced to wonder if anybody besides small town rounders and their running mates would go for it.

The answer was not long in coming. A rain of silver dollars began to fall around the outlandish, stomping feet. The dancers went wild. Dollars, quarters, halves—the shower grew heavier and continued so long I strained my neck to get a better look. There before the boys lay more money than my nine musicians were being paid for the entire engagement. Then I saw the beauty of primitive music. They had the stuff the people wanted. It touched the spot. Their music wanted polishing, but it contained the essence. Folks would pay money for it. The old conventional music was well and good and had its place, no denying that, but there was no virtue in being blind when you had good eyes.

That night a composer was born, an *American* composer. Those country black boys at Cleveland had taught me something that could not possibly have been gained from books, something that would, however, cause books to be written. Art, in the highbrow sense, was not in my mind. My idea of what constitutes music was changed by the sight of that silver money cascading around the splay feet of a Mississippi string band. Seven years prior to this, while playing a cornet solo, Hartman’s *Mia*, on the stage in Oakland, California, I had come to the conclusion, because of what happened in this eleven minute solo, that the American people wanted movement and rhythm for their money. Then too, the Broadway hits *Yankee Grit* and *Uncle Sammy*—two-steps in six-eight time that we featured in Mississippi—did not have this earthy flavor.

Once the purpose was fixed I let no grass grow under my feet. I returned to Clarksdale and began immediately to work on this type of music. Within a day or two I had

orchestrated a number of local tunes, among them *The Last Shot Got Him*, *Your Clock Ain't Right*, and the distinctly Negroid *Make Me a Pallet on Your Floor*. My hunch was promptly justified, for the popularity of our orchestra increased by leaps and bounds. But there was also another consequence. Bids came to us to play in less respectable places. We took these in our stride on the grounds that music, like joy, should be unconfined. Moreover there was money to be made, and who were we to turn up our noses?

Across the tracks of the Y. & M. V. railroad in Clarksdale there was a section called the "New World." It was the local redlight district. To the New World came lush octoroons and quadroons from Louisiana, soft cream-colored fancy gals from Mississippi towns. Just beyond this section lived some of the oldest and most respectable Negro families. On their way to the Baptist or Methodist churches they were required to pass before the latticed houses of prostitution. Occasionally they caught glimpses of white men lounging with the pretty near-white "imports." By using their imaginations they could assume what went on in the dim rooms beyond.

As musicians we didn't have to guess. As musicians, too, hired to play music rather than to discuss morals, we kept our mouths shut. We knew that big shot officials winked at the New World, but that was neither here nor there to the men with the horns and the fiddles. What was important was that these rouge-tinted girls, wearing silk stockings and short skirts, bobbing their soft hair and smoking cigarets in that prim era, long before these styles had gained respectability, were among the best patrons the orchestra had. They employed us for big nights, occasions when social or political figures of importance were expected to dine and dance with their favorite creole belles. Contacts made in these shady precincts often led to jobs in chaste great houses of the rich and well-to-do.

The shuttered houses of the New World called for appropriate music. This led us to arrange and play tunes that had never been written down and seldom sung outside the environment of the oldest profession. Boogie-house music, it was called. Much of it has since been fumigated and played in the best of society, but then Dopy McKnight thumped out the tunes on a rickety piano. We took them up, arranged orchestrations and played them to the wild approval of the richly scented yellow gals and their company. I have intimated that silver money had always been plentiful in the Delta; now at last we began to come in for our share of it.

The Delta had also its share of melodrama. Engagements in the New World plunged us into the tide. One evening a vivid octoroon, who had been winking at our violinist, shared a drink with him. Her ofay (white) company turned and put a pistol to the musician's temple. He promised to pull the trigger if he opened his mouth. He'd just as soon do it immediately, he said, if the boy felt like giving any back talk. When it

was over, I recalled a saying that is almost an axiom among Negroes of the South. The thought of it is that more black men are killed by whites for merely conversing with colored girls of this type than for violating, as the orators like to put it, the sanctity of white womanhood. Ho-hum. The world is powerfully big, and a queer place.

As a sideline in Clarksdale I did a kind of bootleg business in Northern Negro newspapers and magazines. Not only did I supply the colored folks of the town but also got the trade of the farmers, the croppers, and the hands from the outlying country. They would come to my house on their weekly visits to the city, give me the high sign, and I would slip them their copies of the *Chicago Defender*, the *Indianapolis Freeman* or the *Voice of the Negro*. This may sound like a tame enough enterprise to those whose memories are short, but oldsters of those parts will not have to be told that I was venturing into risky business. Negro newspapers were not plentiful in those days, and their circulation in cities like Clarksdale was looked upon with strong disfavor by certain of the local powers. But because I was favorably known to most of the white folks as the leader of the band that gave the weekly concerts on the main street, they never suspected me of such dark business as distributing Northern literature to Negroes of the community. In fact, Clarksdale and I remained on such good terms that when there came a time to call upon the well-to-do townfolk to help us foot the bill for new uniforms, instruments, and other equipment for the men, the needed amount was oversubscribed before the bank closed on the day when the campaign was begun.

When we blossomed forth in the glad rags, the town stuck out its chest proudly. We were theirs, they had helped dress us up and everybody was pleased with the results, including ourselves. Senator John Sharp Williams, a great favorite of the people, came to town, giving us our first opportunity to show our appreciation by welcoming him with good music and gay uniforms. The occasion, as much as it pleased us all, was of no long-range consequence, so far as I recall, but it represents another line of the work that fell to our band during those days and in the years that followed. We were frequently hired, as on this occasion, to furnish music for political rallies.

This meant that we had to absorb a “passel” of oratory of the brand served by some Southern politicians just this side of the turn of the century. We appeared with one gubernatorial candidate who regularly treated his audiences to the following titbit:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I come before you as a candidate for the governorship of the grand old state of Mississippi. And I pledge you my sacred word of honor that if you elect me your governor, I shall not spend one dollar for nigger education.

Now I want to tell you why I will not spend one dollar of the state’s money for nigger education; education unfits the nigger. Let me prove it to you conclusively. I am

right.

When this great country of ours was torn by strife, and we followed the fortunes of the Confederacy, we left behind our mothers, our daughters, our sweethearts, and our wives; and we left them behind with our niggers, and they guarded them like so many faithful watchdogs. Now what kind of nigger did we leave them with? It was the uneducated nigger.

Suppose we again had to go to war, would you trust them with the nigger of today? (A chorus of no's came in answer.) That's why I wouldn't spend one dollar for nigger education.

His voice quavered and a mist came to his eyes as he extended one arm while resting the other dramatically over his heart. Then as the concluding words trailed off, we struck up *Dixie*. Outside we exchanged amazed glances among ourselves and laughed. He was not elected.

Each time we played for him, I was reminded of the first time I had listened to oratory of this sort. As a schoolboy in Florence I had gone home, buried my head in a pillow and wept after listening to sentiments like these uttered from the courthouse steps by a politician of the same stripe. Later I had wandered off alone in the woods across the road from the cabin in which I was born. There, point by point, I had undertaken to answer the man of ill will. Slowly, deliberately, I had torn his arguments to bits. At the top of my voice I had hurled the lie into his teeth. The woodland took up my shouts. The words of my defiance echoed and reechoed. That pleased me. I went home and slept well, a great burden removed. In Clarksdale the members of my band nudged one another with their elbows when we were safely out of the crowd. Then we all laughed—laughed.

But playing for the political campaigns was not always the bitter pill this particular candidate made it. We were engaged for ex-Governor Earl Brewer when he made a delayed entrance into a red-hot, seven-cornered race for the governorship. Here the story was not the same. The ex-governor did not hesitate to touch on the Negro, but no tirade came from him. Instead he gave the finest tribute to Negro music that I had ever been permitted to hear. A tribute deeply felt and moving when he referred to our loyalty. He was not elected that year, but later when the time came for another campaign, he was not even opposed—elected unanimously.

Either way, however, we were undismayed. We could laugh and we could make rhythm. What better armor could you ask?

Negroes react rhythmically to everything. That's how the blues came to be. Sometimes I think that rhythm is our middle name. When the sweet good man packs his trunk and goes, that is occasion for some low moaning. When darktown puts on its

new shoes and takes off the brakes, jazz steps in. If it's the New Jerusalem and the River Jordan we're studying, we make the spirituals. The rounders among us, those whose aim in life is just to become bigger rounders—well, they're the ones we can thank for the Frankie and Johnnie songs. In every case the songs come from down deep. . . .

More than once during my travels in the North and South I had passed through towns with signs saying, "Nigger don't let the sun go down on you here." And once, at least, we played in a town where the boot was on the other foot. Though Mound Bayou had no such words addressed to "peckerwoods" or "rednecks," the sentiment among its all Negro population was perhaps in some ways similar. Yet salesmen and other white visitors who found it necessary to spend the night there received all possible hospitality.

This town, thirty miles south of Clarksdale on the Y. & M. V. railroad, was founded by Isaiah T. Montgomery, former bodyguard and slave of Jeff Davis, President of the Confederacy. The occasion for our band's visit was the dedication of the Bank of Mound Bayou, and we came largely through the instigation of Charles Banks the cashier. A Clarksdale boy himself, Banks had gained his training in the same Planters Bank that now employed our Stack. We carried the band to Mound Bayou to pay our respects to this home town boy, but we stayed on to admire the new Carnegie Library and blink in amazement at colored railroad ticket agents, colored telegraph operators, and pretty brownskins at telephone switchboards.

My personal admiration for the enterprise of the Negroes of Mound Bayou was so great that later, when they held the grand opening of their oil mill, I brought a band from Memphis at my own expense just to help them do the thing up brown. Booker T. Washington was the speaker for this occasion. After the address I dined with him in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Banks and began to feel that the privilege of knowing the educator was ample recompense for my small contribution to the event. Later, however, Banks and his associates insisted on sending us a check in token of their gratitude for our contribution.

A picture of Clarksdale during the years I spent there would be incomplete without the blind singers and footloose bards that were forever coming and going. Usually the fellows were destitute. Some came sauntering down the railroad tracks, others dropped from freight cars, while still others caught rides on the big road and entered town on the top of cotton bales. A favorite hangout with them was the railroad station. There, surrounded by crowds of country folks, they would pour out their hearts in song while the audience ate fish and bread, chewed sugarcane, dipped snuff while waiting for trains to carry them down the line.

They earned their living by selling their own songs—“ballets,” as they called them—and I’m ready to say in their behalf that seldom did their creations lack imagination. Many a less gifted songsmith has plied his trade with passing success in Tin Pan Alley. Some of these country boys hustled on trains. Others visited churches. I remember buying such a ballet (ballad) entitled *I’ve Heard of a City Called Heaven*. It was printed on a slip of paper about the size of a postcard. Fifty years later, after I had published a choral arrangement of that piece, I heard the number sung with great success by the Hall Johnson Singers in *The Green Pastures*.

Mature years and a busy life have not enabled me to shake off a certain susceptibility to these dusky bards. Every time I put by enough money for a trip to Europe, I end up by purchasing a ticket to one of the more remote sections of the deep South, knowing fully in my mind that Europe and all its environs carry no such rich traditions and inspirational fertility as are embodied in this section of our America.

Document Analysis

1. Why did Handy oppose the songs of “cane rows and levee camps”? Why was he slow about accepting them?
2. Describe the life Handy found in the “New World.”
3. What advantages and disadvantages might musicians who played in the “New World” experience?
4. Describe the racism Handy faced, its effect, and how he coped with it the first time he heard it. Compare and contrast Mound Bayou with typical Mississippi towns of the period.

When Historians Disagree

What Was the Impact of the New Deal?

From the fall of 1929 to the present politicians, economists, and historians have joined in the arguments about the causes of the Great Depression, and the value of the New Deal programs that were aimed at ending it. For many conservatives, then and now, the New Deal was a terrible mistake because it undermined traditional American self-reliance and made people dependent on government programs and because it disrupted the self-correcting aspects of the national marketplace. For these critics the New Deal was simply another name for socialism. On the other hand, for many on the left, the New Deal was at best a missed opportunity. At a moment when many Americans would have considered a centrally planned economy—the kind of socialism that emerged in much of Western Europe after World War II—the New Deal merely saved American capitalism. Finally, of course, there were many defenders of the New Deal, including most economists and historians of

the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s who believed that FDR's willingness to experiment with the economy, along with his jaunty optimism, ultimately restored the economy at a time when much of the world was turning to fascism or communism. But that consensus did not last. Many people—including Amity Shlaes, a researcher and reporter for the Wall Street Journal and Anthony Badger, a professor of American History living in England—are still debating both the causes of the Great Depression and the values of the New Deal eighty years later. Indeed the debates are more fierce than many historical debates because so many of the issues—the value of government intervention and the role of government in managing the economy—are not only of historical interest; they are as relevant as the morning news.

Amity Shlaes, *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), pp. 7-9.

Government management of the late 1920s and 1930s hurt the economy. Both Hoover and Roosevelt misstepped in a number of ways. Hoover ordered wages up when they wanted to go down. He allowed a disastrous tariff, Smoot-Hawley, to become law when he should have had the sense to block it. He raised taxes when neither citizens individually nor the economy as a whole could afford the change. After 1932, New Zealand, Japan, Greece, Romania, Chile, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden began seeing industrial production levels rise again—but not the United States.

Roosevelt's errors had a different quality but were equally devastating. He created regulatory, aid, and relief agencies based on the premise that recovery could be achieved only through a large military-style effort. Some of these were useful—the financial institutions he established upon entering office. Some were inspiring—the Civilian Conservation Corps, for example, which created parks, bridges, and roads we still enjoy today... Other new institutions, such as the National Recovery Administration, did damage. The NRA's mandate mistook macroeconomic problems for micro problems—it sought to solve monetary challenges through price setting. NRA rules were so stringent they perversely hurt businesses. They frightened away capital, and they discouraged employers from hiring workers...

Where the private sector could help to bring

Anthony J. Badger, *FDR: The First Hundred Days* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2008), pp. xv-xvi, 172-174.

Critics on the right, ranging from Herbert Hoover to economic historians of the 1980s and 1990s, have argued that ... 1933 was a decisive wrong turn in American history, one that set the nation firmly on the road to collectivism and the creation of a Leviathan that is the modern insatiable, bureaucratic state. As a result, conservative critics argue, the commitment of both ordinary Americans and their leaders to individualism, the free market, and limited government suffered a blow from which the nation has never fully recovered. For Amity Shlaes, writing in 2007, Calvin Coolidge and Andrew Mellon were the heroes of interwar America; the villains were Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt, who both failed because of their penchant for government intervention and their lack of faith in the market place...

The desperate plight of ordinary Americans exposes the wishful thinking that lies behind the criticisms of the economic historians and the lamentations of the right. The immediate prospect of bumper harvests on top of an already glutted market would have destroyed farm income altogether. Angry farmers were taking the law into their own hands to halt foreclosures... How long would the unemployed who had lost their faith in the beneficence and competence of American businessmen remain fatalistic? It is simply unrealistic to think that the government could stand back and concentrate on cutting spending and securing a controlled international deflation alone. The desperate need of ordinary

the economy back—in the arena of utilities, for example—Roosevelt and his New Dealers often suppressed it. The creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority snuffed out a growing—and potentially successful—effort to light up the South.

Such forays prevented recovery and took the country into the depression within the Depression of 1937 and 1938 ... One of the most famous Roosevelt phrases in history, almost as famous as “fear itself,” was Roosevelt’s boast that he would promulgate “bold, persistent experimentation.” But Roosevelt’s commitment to experimentation itself created fear. And many Americans knew this at the time. In autumn 1937, the New York Times delivered its analysis of the economy’s downturn: “The cause is attributed by some to taxation and alleged federal curbs on industry; by others, to the demoralization of production caused by strikes.” Both the taxes and the strikes were the result of Roosevelt policy; the strikes had been made possible by the Wagner Act the year before... The trouble, however, was not merely the new policies that were implemented but also the threat of additional, unknown, policies. Fear froze the economy, but that uncertainty itself might have a cost was something the young experimenters simply did not consider.

The big question about the American depression is not whether war with Germany and Japan ended it. It is why the Depression lasted until that war. From 1929 to 1940, from Hoover to Roosevelt, government intervention helped make the Depression Great.

Americans meant that Roosevelt and Congress did not have the luxury of such a hands-off policy... The key point about the New Deal in the summer of 1933 was that it gave immediate assistance in cash and kind to those on relief. The farm programs may not have solved the problem of over production but they stopped the foreclosures and put money into the hands of southern and Midwestern farmers later that year... The NRA may not have created new jobs, but it did stop the relentlessly downward deflationary spiral and sustain labor standards and wages.

Roosevelt gave indispensable assistance to many Americans in the summer of 1933. He instigated a regulatory regime for financial institutions that prevented a repeat of the Great Crash. He made a start on a massive program of investment in the physical infrastructure of the United States. What he had not found in 1933 was the magic key to economic recovery. But in the Hundred Days Roosevelt demonstrated that a democracy need not be paralyzed in the face of economic catastrophe. He inspired a new generation of public servants for whom government service as an honorable, disinterested calling. They would enable the United States to survive the worst depression in the nation’s history with its democratic institutions intact and with enough social cohesion and government and productive capacity to fight a successful world war.