

Foner 2/e  
Chapter 20  
Chapter Outline

- I. Decade of prosperity
  - A. Prevalence of business values
  - B. Industrial boom
    - 1. Surging productivity and output
    - 2. Emergence of new industries
    - 3. Central role of automobile
  - C. A new society; consumerism
    - 1. Consumer goods
      - a. Proliferation
      - b. Marketing
      - c. Impact on daily life
        - i. Telephone
        - ii. Household appliances
    - 2. Leisure activities
      - a. Vacations
      - b. Movies
        - i. Popularity of
        - ii. Hollywood's rising dominance of global film industry
      - c. Sporting events
      - d. Radio and phonograph
      - e. Celebrity culture
    - 3. New values
      - a. Growing acceptance of consumer debt
      - b. Shifting ideas of purpose and value of work
  - D. The Limits of prosperity
    - 1. Unequal distribution of wealth, income
    - 2. Ongoing concentration of industry
    - 3. Scale of poverty, unemployment
    - 4. Deindustrialization in the North
    - 5. The farmer's plight; rural depression
      - a. Passing of wartime "golden age" for agriculture
      - b. Drop in farm incomes, rise in foreclosures
      - c. Decline in number of farms and farmers
      - d. Rural outmigration
  - E. The image of business
    - 1. Themes
      - a. "American way of life"
      - b. Permanent prosperity
      - c. Christ as business prototype
    - 2. Promoters
      - a. Hollywood
      - b. Photographers and painters
      - c. Writers
      - d. Corporate public relations departments
    - 3. Signs of impact
      - a. Idolization of business figures
      - b. Growing trust for business, stock market
  - F. Decline of labor
    - 1. Postwar business campaign against unions
      - a. Appropriation of "Americanism," "industrial freedom"
      - b. "Welfare capitalism"

- c. American Plan
        - i. Open shop
        - ii. Rejection of collective bargaining
        - iii. Depiction of unionism and socialism as sinister, alien
      - d. Use of strikebreakers, spies, blacklists
    - 2. Ebbing of labor movement
      - a. Decline in numbers organized
      - b. Union concessions to employers
      - c. Fading of union strongholds
      - d. Diminishing prospects of labor strikes
  - G. Fragmentation of feminism
    - 1. Aftermath of suffrage amendment
    - 2. Social and ideological fault lines
    - 3. Debate over Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
      - a. Terms of ERA
      - b. Feminist support
        - i. Alice Paul, National Women's Party
        - ii. Commitment to individual autonomy, equal opportunity
      - c. Feminist opposition
        - i. Other leading women's organizations
        - ii. Commitment to motherhood, protective legislation for women
      - d. Defeat of ERA
  - H. "Women's freedom" in the Twenties
    - 1. Mixed legacy of prewar feminism
      - a. Fading of links to political and economic radicalism, social reform
      - b. Survival and recasting of call for personal freedom
    - 2. Themes and images
      - a. Consumer lifestyle
      - b. Sexual freedom as individual autonomy, rebellion
      - c. Youthful "flapper"; Clara Bow
      - d. "Modernizing Mothers"
    - 3. Continued stress on marriage, homemaking as ultimate goals
- II. Business and government
  - A. Retreat from progressivism
    - 1. Themes of disillusionment
      - a. Popular ignorance, irrationality, disengagement
      - b. Shift from public concerns to private (leisure, consumption)
    - 2. Voices of disillusionment
      - a. Walter Lippmann (*Public Opinion*, *The Phantom Public*)
      - b. Robert and Helen Lynd (*Middletown*)
  - B. The Republican era
    - 1. Pro-business agenda
      - a. Content of
        - i. Low income and business taxes
        - ii. High tariffs
        - iii. Support for employer antiunionism
        - iv. Business-friendly appointees to regulatory agencies
      - b. Support for in Washington
        - i. Presidents Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge
        - ii. Supreme Court
    - 2. Harding administration—corruption in government
      - a. Harding's indifference, lack of dignity
      - b. Rampant corruption; Teapot Dome
    - 3. Election of 1924
      - a. Coolidge victory over divided Democrats

- b. Robert La Follette's third-party Progressive campaign
    - C. Economic diplomacy
      - 1. Retreat from Wilson's foreign policy principles
        - a. Internationalism
        - b. Free trade
      - 2. Close interlinking of business interests and foreign policy
        - a. Government initiatives
          - i. Diplomatic pressure for access to foreign markets
          - ii. Increased tariffs; Fordney-McCumber Act
          - iii. Military interventions to protect U.S. business interests
        - b. Private initiatives
          - i. Loans to foreign governments
          - ii. Expansion of industrial production overseas
          - iii. Acquisition of raw materials overseas
- III. The birth of civil liberties
  - A. Persistence of WWI-era repression, censorship into 1920s
    - 1. Targets of
      - a. Political dissent
      - b. Sexual themes in the arts
    - 2. Agents of
      - a. Mob violence
      - b. Government agencies
      - c. Local crusades
      - d. Self-censorship; Hollywood's Hays code
    - 3. Disaffection of Lost Generation
  - B. Wartime formation of Civil Liberties Bureau
    - 1. Reaction to Espionage and Sedition Acts
    - 2. Predecessor to American Civil Liberties Union
  - C. The Supreme Court and civil liberties
    - 1. Initial blows to civil liberties
      - a. Upholding of Espionage Act (*Schenck* case); Oliver Wendell Holmes's "clear and present danger" doctrine
      - b. Upholding of Eugene V. Debs conviction
      - c. Further cases
    - 2. Signs of a shift
      - a. Defenses of free speech by individual justices
        - i. Holmes: marketplace of ideas doctrine
        - ii. Louis Brandeis: democratic citizenship doctrine
      - b. Pro-civil liberties rulings
- IV. The culture wars
  - A. Fundamentalist reaction against modern urban culture
    - 1. Sources of alarm
      - a. Religious and ethnic pluralism
      - b. Urban vice
        - i. Mass entertainment
        - ii. Alcohol
        - iii. New sexual mores
      - c. Entry of "modernist" outlook into Protestant mainstream
    - 2. Manifestations
      - a. Billy Sunday
      - b. Nationwide presence
      - c. Prohibition
  - B. The Scopes trial
    - 1. Clash of traditional and modern perspectives
      - a. Fundamentalism vs. secularism

- b. Darwinian science vs. scripture
      - c. "Moral" liberty vs. freedom of thought
    - 2. Face-off of Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan
    - 3. Outcome and aftermath
  - C. The Second Ku Klux Klan
    - 1. Roots in wartime "Americanism" obsession
    - 2. Profile and influence
      - a. Rapid growth
      - b. Wide following among white, native-born Protestants
      - c. Nationwide presence
    - 3. Diverse range of targets
  - D. Immigration restriction—closing the golden door
    - 1. Earlier legislative precedents
    - 2. 1921 temporary restriction measure
    - 3. 1924 permanent restriction measure
      - a. National quotas for Europeans
      - b. Exclusion of Asians (exception for Filipinos)
      - c. Admittance and curtailing of Mexicans
      - d. Emergence of "illegal alien" classification
    - 4. Ideological underpinnings
      - a. Conservative nativism
      - b. Progressive assumptions about "race"
  - E. Pluralism
    - 1. Scholarly challenges to prevailing racial thought
      - a. Pioneering voices
        - i. Horace Kallen; "cultural pluralism"
        - ii. Anthropologists Franz Boas, Alfred Kroeber, Ruth Benedict
      - b. Minimal immediate impact
    - 2. New immigrants and the pluralist impulse
      - a. Urban ethnic enclaves, community institutions
      - b. Self-reinvention as "ethnic" Americans
      - c. Resentment of cultural hostility and coercion
      - d. Claims to equal rights, mainstream acceptance, cultural autonomy
      - e. Antidiscriminatory campaigns
    - 3. Antidiscriminatory rulings by Supreme Court, federal courts
  - F. The emergence of Harlem
    - 1. Ongoing migration from South, West Indies
    - 2. Emergence of Harlem; "capital" of black America
    - 3. "Exotic" Harlem vs. real Harlem
    - 4. Harlem Renaissance
      - a. Poets, novelists
      - b. Actors, dancers, musicians
      - c. "New Negro"
        - i. In politics
        - ii. In art
    - 5. New black assertiveness; Henry O. Sweet case
  - G. Election of 1928
    - 1. Republican candidate Herbert Hoover
      - a. Background and career
      - b. Embodiment of "new era" of American capitalism
    - 2. Democratic candidate Alfred E. Smith
      - a. Background and career
      - b. Embodiment of urban, Catholic, Progressive outlook
    - 3. Outcome and significance
      - a. Hoover victory

- b. Reflection of "culture wars"
    - c. Preview of new Democratic coalition
- V. The Great Depression
  - A. Stock market crash of 1929
    - 1. Black Thursday
    - 2. Onset of Great Depression
  - B. Precursors of Depression
    - 1. Frenzied speculation
    - 2. Unequal distribution of income, wealth
    - 3. Rural depression
    - 4. Stagnating demand for consumer goods
  - C. Repercussions of crash
    - 1. Magnitude
    - 2. Scope of devastation
      - a. Business and consumer confidence
      - b. Solvency of investment companies, businesses, banks
      - c. Gross national product
      - d. Life savings
      - e. Employment
      - f. Wages
    - 3. Persistence of downward slide
  - D. Americans and the Depression
    - 1. Material hardship
      - a. Hunger; breadlines
      - b. Homelessness; Hoovervilles
      - c. Meagerness of public relief
      - d. Reversal of movement from farm to city
    - 2. Resignation and protest; patterns of popular response
      - a. Collapse of faith in big business
      - b. Personal resignation, self-blame
      - c. Stirrings of protest
        - i. Spontaneous incidents
        - ii. Bonus March
        - iii. Rallies for jobs and relief, against evictions
        - iv. Farmers' Holiday campaign
        - v. Communist party
  - E. Hoover and the Depression
    - 1. Hoover's response
      - a. Acceptance of business cycle
      - b. Aversion to government relief
      - c. Preference for voluntary, "associational" initiatives
      - d. Regular forecasts of recovery
    - 2. Perception of Hoover as indifferent, out of touch
    - 3. Ill-fated remedies
      - a. Hawley-Smoot tariff
      - b. Tax increase
    - 4. Eventual turn to recovery measures
      - a. Reconstruction Finance Corporation
      - b. Federal Home Loan Bank System