

## Appendix

### SOURCES AND OBLIGATIONS

In the Appendix to *Only Yesterday* I spoke first of all of my debt to Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd for "the extraordinarily varied and precise information collected in *Middletown*," of which I had "made frequent use"; and I added, "I do not see how any conscientious historian of the Post-war Decade could afford to neglect this mine of material." *Mutatis mutandis*, I must now say the same thing of their *Middletown in Transition* (Harcourt, Brace, 1937). I have quoted from it more frequently in the present volume than from any other source, and have leaned more upon it than the number of quotations would suggest.

In writing my first four chapters, I have made much use of *The Hoover Administration, A Documented Narrative*, by William Starr Myers and Walter H. Newton (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), and *Hoover Off the Record*, by Theodore G. Joslin (Doubleday, Doran, 1934). These two books, one formal, the other informal, both have proved helpful for reference and quotation, partisan though they are. Similarly I have found the five volumes of *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Random House, 1938) of great value for the New Deal period. Two other books which came out while mine was in preparation have been useful to me at many points and would be even more useful to writers who could take fuller advantage of them than I was able to: the splendid *America in Midpassage*, by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard (Macmillan, 1939), and Raymond Moley's detailed and searching first-hand account of the New Deal, *After Seven Years* (Harper, 1939). Needless to say, I have made constant use of the successive volumes of the *World Almanac*, and especially the Chronology which appears in it annually and is invaluable to anyone engaged in a project of this sort; and also the files of the *New York Times* in the New York Public Library.

My other sources—books, newspapers, magazines, and ideas and anecdotes and observations picked up throughout the decade—have been so voluminous that it would be wearisome to recite them all. But certain sources I should like to mention either by way of ex-

planation or to express special obligation, and these I shall arrange chapter by chapter for convenience:

In Chapter I ("Prelude: September 3, 1929") the quotations from Gilbert Seldes are from "Talkies' Progress," in *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1929. The paraphrase of F. C. Mills is based on a quotation from him in *Middletown in Transition*, pp. 53-54. The late George W. Wickersham very kindly wrote me shortly before his death and showed me a copy of the Commission minutes for September 4, 1929. From newspaper data, Calvin Coolidge did not move to his larger house in Northampton until 1930, although William Allen White's biography of him would seem to imply an earlier move. The 1929 data about Dr. Francis E. Townsend are based on a letter from Old Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd.; about "Amos 'n' Andy" and Edgar Bergen, on information kindly supplied through Julian Street, Jr., when he was with the NBC; about Garnet Carter and Hervey Allen, on letters from them; about Pearl Buck, on a letter from Richard J. Walsh. For these letters I am grateful.

In Chapter II ("Exit Prosperity") the polls of the National Economic League are from reproductions of them in *The Folklore of Capitalism*, by Thurman W. Arnold (Yale University Press, 1937). The quotation of Denna Frank Fleming is from his book, *The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933* (Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 325. The item about Roosevelt and Farley at election time, 1930, is drawn from James A. Farley's book *Behind the Ballots* (Harcourt, Brace, 1938). Henry Pratt Fairchild's population estimate is from an article by him, "When the Population Levels Off," in *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1938. The concluding pages of this chapter repeat (with some revisions) passages in a talk I gave at Bennington College, Commencement, 1938, which was printed by the Catamount Press at North Bennington, Vt., with the title "In a Time of Apprehension."

In Chapter III ("Down, Down, Down") the item about William McC. Martin, Jr., he kindly gave me himself. The Roosevelt-Farley item is again from Farley's *Behind the Ballots* (see above). The details of my story of the Hoover moratorium are based chiefly on Myers and Newton, Joslin, and Mark Sullivan's article on "President Hoover and the World Depression" in the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 11, 1933. The Peter F. Drucker quotation was taken from the manuscript of his book *The End of Economic Man* (John Day, 1939). The National Credit Corporation item was drawn

from *Three Years Down*, by Jonathan Norton Leonard (Carrick & Evans, 1939), a lively and useful, if bitter, account of the years 1929-33 to which I am also indebted for several items about the effects of the Depression on individuals. The Kuznets figures on interest payments are from "National Income, 1929-32," by Simon Kuznets, which is Bulletin 49 of the National Bureau of Economic Research. The E. D. Kennedy figures are from his valuable book *Dividends to Pay* (Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939), pp. 16-17. The figures on domestic corporate issues are from *The United States, a Graphic History*, by Hacker Modley, and Taylor (Modern Age Books, 1937). The Croxton figures for Buffalo were cited in *The Christian Century*, December 28, 1932. My account of the Lindbergh case is in large degree based upon Sidney B. Whipple's exceptionally interesting and careful account in *The Trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann* (Doubleday, Doran, 1937), to which I am greatly indebted.

In Chapter IV ("A Change of Government") the account of the Chicago Convention draws much from Farley's *Behind the Ballots* (see above); the incident of the Acceptance Address manuscript is from Raymond Moley's *After Seven Years* (see above). The Elmer Davis quotation is from "The Collapse of Politics" in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1932. My account of the Bonus Army episode is based on a comparison of many versions, including especially Paul Y. Anderson's personal observations in *The Nation* for August 17, 1932. The farmer's remark to Mary Heaton Vorse is from her article, "Rebellion in the Corn Belt," in *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1932. My description of a farmers' protest meeting follows the account of one in *We Too Are the People*, Louise V. Armstrong (Little, Brown, 1938), which is helpful also to an understanding of relief problems. For Hoover's unsmiling demeanor see *42 Years in the White House* by Irwin Hood Hoover (Houghton Mifflin, 1934). My account of Hoover and Roosevelt in the interregnum is based largely on a comparison of the versions Myers and Newton, Joslin, Moley, Farley, and others. In my account of the bank crisis I have used *28 Days: A History of the Banking Crisis*, by C. C. Colt and N. S. Keith (Greenberg, 1933).

In Chapter V ("New Deal Honeymoon") the beginning of Roosevelt's Inaugural is taken from the *New York Times* for March 5, 1933; the version given in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* omits the "national consecration" clause. The quotations from letters embodying plans for recovery are actual quotations from letters I was kindly shown in the NRA files

at the Department of Commerce. The genesis of the NRA is based on many accounts, including chiefly "Whose Child is the NRA?" by John T. Flynn in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1934. Jonathan Mitchell's article, "The Versatility of General Johnson," appeared in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1934.

In Chapter VI ("A Change of Climate") I have made use of a study of *Youth and Sex* by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley and Florence Haxton Britten (Harper, 1938), and at several points have used an especially interesting article on "Youth in College," *Fortune*, June, 1936, which was reprinted in *American Points of View*, edited by William H. Cordell and Kathryn Coe Cordell (Doubleday, Doran, 1937). On bootlegging after Repeal, I have used *After Repeal*, by Leonard V. Harrison and Elizabeth Raine (Harper, 1936). The Virginia book-burning was described in *Ken*, August 28, 1938. My mention of slot machines, pinball, etc., draws heavily from Samuel Lubell's article, "Ten Billion Nickels," in the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 12, 1939; of the Irish Sweepstakes, from an article by John J. McCarthy in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1934; of "Bank Night," from "Bank Night Tonight," by Forbes Parkhill, *Saturday Evening Post*, December 4, 1937; of softball, from "Baseball's Precocious Baby," by Ted Shane, *American Magazine*, June, 1939. The Gallup poll on gambling was cited in the *New York Times* for November 27, 1938.

In Chapter VII ("Reform—and Recovery?") I have quoted from George R. Leighton's article, "In Search of the NRA," which appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1934. On relief, *Spending to Save*, by Harry L. Hopkins (W. W. Norton, 1936) is the source of some facts. On Huey Long I have drawn plentifully from *Huey Long, A Candid Biography*, by Forrest Davis (Dodge, 1935); the White House incident is from Farley's reminiscences (see above). On the Townsend Plan, many facts are from "The Old People's Crusade," by Richard L. Neuberger and Kelley Loe, *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1936.

In Chapter VIII ("When the Farms Blew Away") the opening quotation is from "Life and Death of 470 Acres," by R. D. Lusk, *Saturday Evening Post*, August 13, 1938. The map which I mention is in *Problems of a Changing Population*, National Resources Committee (May, 1938), p. 65. The Neuberger quotation is from *Our Promised Land* (Macmillan, 1938). On the changes in American agriculture I am especially indebted to Paul S. Taylor, from whose "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton

Belt, 1937" (published by the U. S. Department of Labor and Bureau of Labor Statistics, serial No. R 737, Government Printing Office) I have quoted, and to Ladd Haystead's memorandum for Arthur Kudner, Inc., "The Farmer Looks at Himself." On farm tenancy, I am indebted to (and have quoted from) the chapter on "Labor in Evolving Economy" in the Beards' *America in Midpassage*. The Stuart Chase quotation on the flood of 1936 is from *Rich Land, Poor Land* (Whittlesey House, 1936), which was a helpful source also on government conservation measures.

In Chapter IX ("The Voice with the Smile Wins") the figures I have given on Federal deficits are net (after subtracting the amount paid out for statutory debt retirements); I have not attempted to go into the very intricate and debatable question of the extent to which the expenditures in these years represented in part money which should come back to the Federal government. In the discussion of Moley and Corcoran and Cohen I have used chiefly that illuminating little book, *Men Around the President*, by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner (Doubleday, Doran, 1939), and also Moley's *After Seven Years* (see above), checking the latter against the former. For many details in this chapter *In 1936*, by Alvin C. Eurich and Elmo C. Wilson (Henry Holt, 1937), came in handy.

In Chapter X ("With Pen and Camera Through Darkest America") the quotation from Malcolm Cowley is from an advance proof of the *New Republic* for November 8, 1939. My passage on Benny Goodman and swing leans heavily on "The Killer-Diller," by Frank Norris, *Saturday Evening Post*, May 7, 1938, and "No. 1 Swing Man," by Irving Kolodin, *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1939; the Toscanini-Chotzinoff item is from "Toscanini on the Air," *Fortune*, January, 1938; the figures on music appreciation are from an excellent summary, "Music Goes into Mass Production," by Dickson Skinner, *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1939. The data about centralized newspaper control are taken from John Cowles's chapter on "Journalism—Newspapers," in *America Now*, by 36 Americans, edited by Harold E. Stearns (Scribner's, 1938). On the movies, I have taken a number of facts from advance proofs of Margaret Farrand Thorp's fine survey, *America at the Movies* (Yale University Press, 1939).

In Chapter XI ("Friction and Recession") I have made extensive use, in the labor section, of Edward Levinson's valuable *Labor on the March* (Harper, 1938), and am also indebted to Herbert Harris for his *American Labor* (Yale University Press, 1939), another use-

ful source. The account of the meetings between Lewis and Taylor is drawn from "It Happened in Steel," in *Fortune*, May, 1937. My account of the Supreme Court battle follows pretty closely three fine articles by Joseph Alsop and Turner Catledge in the *Saturday Evening Post* for September 18, September 25, and October 16, 1937, entitled "The 168 Days" (later published in book form). The Leon Henderson item is from *Men Around the President* (see under Chapter IX); and I have also leaned somewhat on that book in my account of the Administration shifts of policy during the Recession.

In Chapter XII ("The Shadow of War") the quotation of the international broadcast is from bound volumes of the Columbia Broadcasting System's Broadcasts, at the New York Public Library. As to Studio Nine, I have drawn on H. V. Kaltenborn's *I Broadcast the Crisis* (Random House, 1938). My account of the London Economic Conference of 1933 naturally makes use of Moley's detailed narrative in *After Seven Years*. In this chapter I have made much use of the Gallup public-opinion polls on foreign affairs, as handily collected for reference in F. S. Wickware's "What the Polls Say," in *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1939; such polls sometimes seem to indicate more than they actually do (for much depends on the wording of the questions) but they at least help to show trends, especially when the same question is asked at intervals. E. D. Kennedy's book, from which I have drawn figures on corporate earnings, I have already cited above (under Chapter III).

I cannot list all the people who have been good enough to help me in one way or another, but I should like especially to thank the William Zuills of Orange Grove, Bermuda, for their thoughtful hospitality while I was at work on the opening chapters; and, for assistance of various sorts, Letitia C. Rogers, Oliver Ellsworth Allen, Margaret MacMullen, Charles W. MacMullen, Cathleen Schurr, the David Cushman Coyles, Charles C. Colt, John A. Kouwenhoven, Paul S. Taylor, George R. Leighton, Luther H. Gulick, Remley J. Glass, Daniel I. McNamara, Julian Street, Jr., Deems Taylor, Florence Alonso, and the staff of the New York Public Library (especially in the Newspaper Room and the Economics and Sociology Division). My wife, Agnes Rogers Allen, is to be thanked above all—for helpful ideas and criticism and for much hard work on behalf of this project.

F. L. A.

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