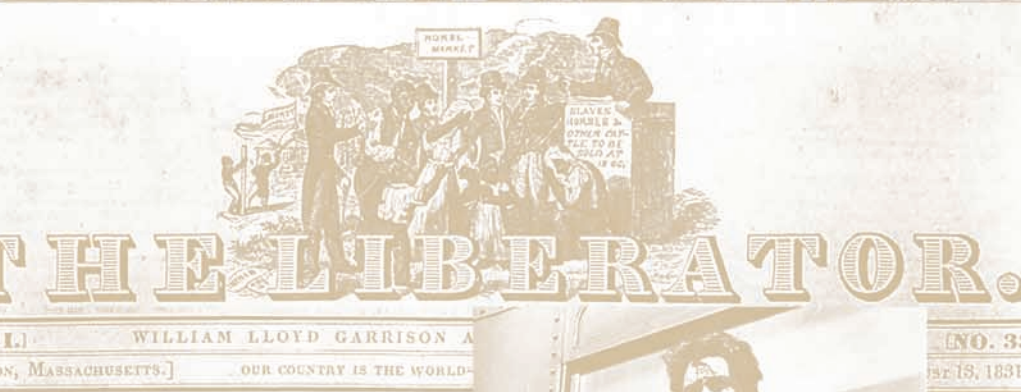


UNITED STATES HISTORY

1930-1950

Creating Economic Citizenship: The Depression and the New Deal— Part I



PLEASE SEE
NOTES ON
THE PDF,
PAGE 5.

LESSONS IN US HISTORY

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THE UCI CALIFORNIA HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE PROJECT

The California History-Social Science Project (CH-SSP) of the University of California, Irvine, is dedicated to working with history teachers in Orange County to develop innovative approaches to engaging students in the study of the past. Founded in 2000, the CH-SSP draws on the resources of the UCI Department of History and works closely with the UCI Department of Education. We believe that the history classroom can be a crucial arena not only for instruction in history but also for the improvement of student literacy and writing skills. Working together with the teachers of Orange County, it is our goal to develop history curricula that will convince students that history matters.

HUMANITIES OUT THERE

Humanities Out There was founded in 1997 as an educational partnership between the School of Humanities at the University of California, Irvine and the Santa Ana Unified School District. HOT runs workshops in humanities classrooms in Santa Ana schools. Advanced graduate students in history and literature design curricular units in collaboration with host teachers, and conduct workshops that engage UCI undergraduates in classroom work. In the area of history, HOT works closely with the UCI History-Social Science Project in order to improve student literacy and writing skills in the history classroom, and to integrate the teaching of history, literature, and writing across the humanities. The K-12 classroom becomes a laboratory for developing innovative units that adapt university materials to the real needs and interests of California schools. By involving scholars, teachers, students, and staff from several institutions in collaborative teaching and research, we aim to transform educational practices, expectations, and horizons for all participants.

THE SANTA ANA PARTNERSHIP

The Santa Ana Partnership was formed in 1983 as part of the Student and Teacher Educational Partnership (STEP) initiative at UC Irvine. Today it has evolved into a multi-faceted collaborative that brings institutions and organizations together in the greater Santa Ana area to advance the educational achievement of all students, and to help them enter and complete college. Co-directed at UC Irvine by the Center for Educational Partnerships, the collaborative is also strongly supported by Santa Ana College, the Santa Ana Unified School District, California State University, Fullerton and a number of community based organizations. Beginning in 2003-2004, HOT has contributed to the academic mission of the Santa Ana Partnership by placing its workshops in GEAR UP schools. This unit on *Creating Economic Citizenship: The Depression and the New Deal—Part I* reflects the innovative collaboration among these institutions and programs.

CONTENT COUNTS: A SPECIAL PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

This is one in a series of publications under the series title Content Counts: Reading and Writing Across the Humanities, supported by a generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Content Counts units are designed by and for educators committed to promoting a deep, content-rich and knowledge-driven literacy in language arts and social studies classrooms. The units provide examples of “content reading”—primary and secondary sources, as well as charts, data, and visual documents—designed to supplement and integrate the study of history and literature.

Additional external funding in 2003-2004 has been provided to HOT by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, UC Links, the Bank of America Foundation, the Wells Fargo Foundation, and the Pacific Life Foundation.



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Creating Economic Citizenship: The Depression and the New Deal—Part I

UNIT INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

This unit explores the changing relationship between the American people and the United States government during the 1930s. During these years, Americans experienced the first major recession of the modern economy, resulting in intensified rural-to-urban migrations, federal regulation of the economy, and the passage of legislation (the National Labor Relations Act) that established workers' right to collective bargaining. The Depression also affected American culture, as New Deal programs celebrated workers and working-class culture, especially in comparison to the consumer-happy culture of the 1920s.

The Depression led to the creation of “economic citizenship,” a phrase that describes the redefined relationship between citizens and the federal government created by the New Deal. [Note: the unit lessons do not use the phrase “economic citizenship”.] Historian Eric Foner, who has examined the definition of “freedom” in the United States beginning with the Revolution, has written that the New Deal caused Americans to redefine “freedom” to include social citizenship, which encompassed social welfare programs such as old age assistance and unemployment insurance in addition to political rights such as the extension of the franchise to African

Americans and women. Foner writes, “the Depression discredited the idea that social progress rested on the unrestrained pursuit of wealth and transformed expectations of government, reinvigorating the Progressive conviction that the national state must protect Americans from the vicissitudes of the marketplace.” Foner notes that, during Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s second New Deal, the “right to work” and the “right to live” became “no less central to citizenship than ‘the right to vote,’” meaning that “the same federal government that protected ‘political freedom’ had an obligation to act against ‘economic slavery.’”

Of course, there was vocal opposition to the New Deal from the Right, which argued that the changes were akin to socialism and would rob Americans of their individualism and self-reliance. Newspaper editors and political cartoonists were frequent critics of the Roosevelt administration. Opposition also appeared on the Left, as some believed that the reforms and regulations did not go far enough to guarantee Americans economic security. Dissenting voices included Huey Long and Father Charles Coughlin, and, in California, Upton Sinclair and Francis Townsend. By the end of the unit, students should be able to write their opinion of whether

the New Deal went too far or not far enough in its reforms.

This unit includes an extensive teaching guide for the Great Depression, though teachers may wish to supplement the lesson plans with an overview of the causes of the Depression as well as videos and music created during the era. In Lesson 1, the only lesson in this unit that focuses on Depression era political leaders, students compare the economic and political solutions proposed by Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt by engaging in a “town hall” debate. Lesson 2 asks students to compare visual and textual sources while introducing them to some of the hardships endured during the Depression. In Lesson 3, students learn how the Depression affected different segments of the population as they read letters and interviews, examine photographs, and answer a series of questions. In Lesson 4, students organize information about New Deal programs and how they affected different segments of the population. In Lessons 5 and 6, students examine criticisms of the New Deal launched from both the Left and Right sections of the political spectrum. Lesson 5 also reviews the gains made by organized labor during the 1930s.

HISTORY STANDARDS COVERED IN THIS UNIT

Skills

■ **Chronological and Spatial Thinking**

- Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.
- Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

■ **Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View**

- Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past, including an analysis of authors' use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications.

■ **Historical Interpretation**

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
- Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

Content standards

■ **11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.**

- 11.6.2. Understand the explanations of the principal causes of the Great Depression and the steps taken by the Federal Reserve, Congress, and Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin Delano Roosevelt to combat the economic crisis.
- 11.6.4. Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal economic policies and the expanded role of the federal government in society and the economy since the 1930s (e.g., Works Progress Administration, Social Security, National Labor Relations Board, farm programs, regional development policies, and energy development projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, California Central Valley Project, and Bonneville Dam).
- 11.6.5. Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor, from the creation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to current issues of a postindustrial, multinational economy, including the United Farm Workers in California.

■ **11.10. Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.**

- 11.10.4. Examine the roles of civil rights advocates.

NOTES ON THE PDF:

1) Please note that in this pdf document the page numbers are two off from the printed curriculum. For example, page 2 in the printed curriculum is now page 4 in this pdf document.

2) We apologize if some of the hyperlinks are no longer accurate. They were correct at the time of printing.

3) Full-page versions of the images in this unit—some in color—can be found at the back of this pdf.

4) You can easily navigate through the different parts of this document by using the “Bookmark” tab on the left side of your Acrobat window.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Overview

* Robert S McElvaine (editor), *Down and Out in the Great Depression: Letters from the “Forgotten Man”* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). McElvaine has collected and organized a cross-section of letters addressed to occupants of the White House during the Great Depression, including Herbert Hoover as well as both Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929-1941* (New York: Times Books, 1984). This survey tells the story of the Depression from the perspective of average Americans using sources such as letters, interviews, and film.

Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998). In his chapter on the Depression, Foner argues that the New Deal caused Americans to redefine “freedom” to include social citizenship rather than simply political rights.

* Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: an Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970, 1986). This source provides excerpts from reporter Studs Terkel’s interviews with a cross-section of Americans about their memories of the Depression.

Labor and Culture

Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Cohen examines how the CIO union encouraged workers to merge their identities as consumers with their shop-floor experiences in order to create a successful union culture.

Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: the Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1996).

KEY TERMS

Collective bargaining—

negotiation between an employer and a labor union especially on issues such as pay, working conditions, and hours.

Depression—

a period of decreased economic activity, often marked by low production and rising levels of unemployment.

Economic history—

history that examines actions that are related to the production, distribution, or consumption of goods or services.

Economic citizenship (also social citizenship)—

the idea that the “right to work” and the “right to live” are central guarantees of American citizenship in need of protection from the federal government. By guaranteeing economic rights as well as political rights, the New Deal changed the relationship between the federal government and its citizens. In this unit, “economic citizenship” and “social citizenship” are used interchangeably.

Political history—

history that examines government and activities related to government (e.g., political parties).

Popular Front—

the Communist Party’s cooperation with the noncommunist liberal left as an effort to combat fascism. The Popular Front made an effort to appeal to a wide

audience through popular culture. It ended in 1939, when the Soviet Union agreed to a non-aggression pact with Germany.

Social history—history that explores the interaction of individuals and groups.

Socialism—a system in which the state (government) owns and controls the production and distribution of goods. Many conservatives argued that the New Deal programs would bring socialism to the United States.

ASSESSMENT

See the final page of the unit for writing prompt.

Denning shows how the Left came to dominate Depression-era culture through the Popular Front, a coalition of progressives and communists who opposed fascism during the 1930s.

Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999). Originally published a few months after John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* in 1939, this work argues that farms in California were in reality “factories in the field” that relied on and abused a steady stream of migrant workers dating back to the nineteenth century.

Race, Deportations, and the Depression

* Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). Balderrama and Rodriguez document the efforts to repatriate Mexicans during the 1920s and 1930s, when white Californians claimed—without evidence—that they were taking jobs away from “native” workers and draining resources by receiving unemployment benefits. In 1931, the city of Los Angeles repatriated about one-third of its Mexican population (approximately 50,000), many of whom were children born in the United States and therefore citizens.

James Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994). Goodman tells the story of the Scottsboro case—the trial of nine black adolescents falsely accused of raping two white women in Alabama in 1931—from multiple perspectives.

* Francisco Jiménez, *The Circuit: Stories from the Life of a Migrant Child* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997). In this collection of short stories, Jiménez recalls his years working on “the circuit” of harvests as a child in California during the 1940s and 1950s.

Robin D.G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990). Kelley examines the activities of the Alabama Communist Party and its organization efforts among African Americans during the years of the Depression.

* Denotes a primary source or a work with primary sources that could be used in the classroom.

Primary sources available on the Web

America in the 1930s: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~1930s/front.html>. This is an online collection of film, print, and radio sources collected by the American Studies program at the University of Virginia.

American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1940: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html>. This site features thousands of life histories collected by the WPA between 1936 and 1940. The collection is searchable.

By the People, For the People: Posters from the WPA, 1936-1943: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaposters/wpahome.html>. This is a searchable collection of posters produced from 1936 to 1943 as part of the New Deal.

The Farm Security Administration-Office of War Information (FSA-OWI) Collection: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fsowhome.html>. This searchable collection of photographs documents both rural and urban life and the negative impact of the Great Depression, farm mechanization, and the Dust Bowl. The FSA-OWI employed photographers such as Dorothea Lange and Russell Lee.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/>. This site offers an extensive (and searchable) array of public domain photographs that document New Deal leaders, programs, and events.

Roland Marchand Collection: <http://marchand.ucdavis.edu/>. This site includes the entire slide collection of historian Roland Marchand. The collection, organized by topic, features some excellent images of working-class culture and New Deal ephemera.

New Deal Network: <http://newdeal.feri.org/>. This website, organized by topic, includes links to photographs, speeches, and letters, as well as several lesson plans for high school teachers.

Prelinger Archive of Moving Images: <http://www.archive.org/details/prelinger>. This is a vast collection of twentieth-century moving image films that are in the public domain. The collection includes footage of the Griffith Park Relief Workers Demonstration and the San Francisco General Strike.

The Presidential Election of 1932: How should the federal government respond to the Great Depression?

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Chronological and Spatial Thinking

- Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.

■ Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

- Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

Content standards

■ 11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.

- 11.6.2. Understand the explanations of the principal causes of the

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

In this lesson, students see how the presidential election of 1932 became one of the most critical in American history. At the time of the election, the United States was in the third year of a serious economic downturn. The incumbent president, Herbert Hoover, and his Democratic challenger, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had different ideas on what government should (and should not) do to combat the Depression. Herbert Hoover believed that Americans should rely on volunteerism to help them during times of crisis. He also believed in a balanced budget and in keeping the gold standard. At the same time, he actually started some public works projects and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which FDR continued. The platform for Roosevelt's ticket called for the repeal of Prohibition and a reduction in federal spending (Roosevelt remained committed to a balanced budget into his second term), but his personal aura appealed to many voters.

Lesson Goals

This lesson introduces students to the philosophical underpinnings of the New Deal as well as the ideological basis for opposition to the New Deal. The lesson helps build a foundation for the attacks on the New Deal from the Right that students will see later in the unit.

Discussion Guide for Teachers

Format: This lesson was designed for a large group.

This lesson simulates the presidential election of 1932, with students playing the roles of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, and various average Americans who had a stake in the elections. After choosing two students to play the roles of Hoover and FDR (remember to give the students some time to review the speeches and prepare to answer questions), teachers can have the class use materials from earlier lessons, lectures, or reading to develop debate questions for the candidates. Students should try to generate a wide sample of questions by having students assume the perspective of urban Americans, rural Americans, bankers, the unemployed, employed women, etc. This lesson plan includes a list of sample questions, but it is best for students to try to generate what they can.

Before students begin researching their questions, remind them that this election was one of the most critical in our nation's history. The economy was in the worst shape it had ever been in, and many of the nation's farmers had either lost their farms or were failing; one-quarter of workers were unemployed, with factories closing daily; the nation's banks were failing or on the verge of failing; and the poor, particularly in the cities, which now had over half the nation's population, were close to starvation. Their questions should reflect this situation.

Place the students who have been given the roles of Hoover and FDR behind podiums, and begin by having Roosevelt address the audience first. Hoover should follow. Next, have the students engage the candidates with the questions they have prepared. The teacher can decide whether or not to allow the candidates to address or debate each other, as well as whether follow-up questions should come from the audience.

It is important to note that the speeches presented in this lesson are drawn from spoken words and other quotations attributed to both Hoover and FDR and do NOT represent an actual address given by either man.

Hoover and Roosevelt Debate questions (put on index card and distribute to students):

Following the Hoover and Roosevelt speeches, teachers may wish to have the students engage in a debate. Teachers may choose to have students generate questions—based on the speeches as well as previous lessons and readings—or they can allow students to ask the questions. Unless otherwise stated, questions are addressed to both candidates.

Great Depression and the steps taken by the Federal Reserve, Congress, and Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin Delano Roosevelt to combat the economic crisis

- 11.6.4. Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal economic policies and the expanded role of the federal government in society and the economy since the 1930s.

TIME REQUIRED

- One class period. Teachers may wish to give “FDR” and “Hoover” their speeches before class so they can practice reading.

MATERIALS

- Photocopy of speeches to the students delivering them; index card with debate question (if students are not going to write their own questions).

Hoover and Roosevelt Debate questions

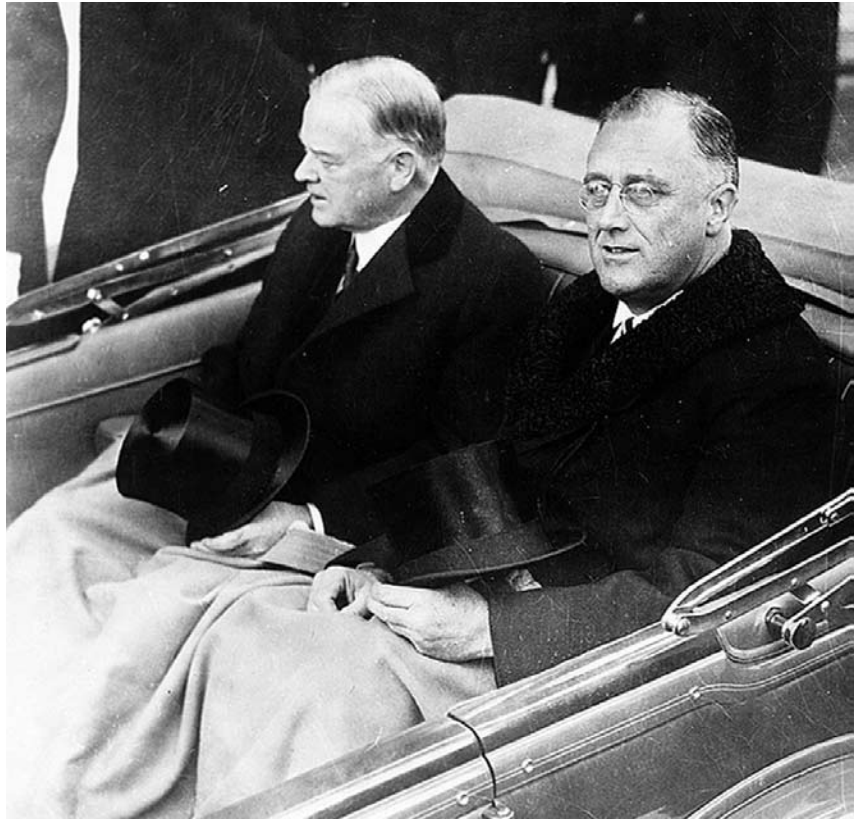
<p>1. “I am a farmer who lost everything to a poor harvest, and now the bank has come and foreclosed on my farm. What will you do to help me?”</p>	<p>5. “Mr. Hoover, why shouldn’t the government take a more active role in helping the people escape the crisis?”</p>
<p>2. “I lost thousands in the market. Will the government do anything to help get me back on my feet?”</p>	<p>6. “I am a single woman who still has a job in the city. Will you promise me that no government program will give my job to a man just because he is unemployed with a family?”</p>
<p>3. “Mr. Roosevelt, this New Deal of yours sounds like socialism. Won’t it make Americans too dependent on government?”</p>	<p>7. “I served in the Army during World War I, and the stock market crash wiped out all of my savings. What will the government do to help me and my family?”</p>
<p>4. “What will you do for the common city man—the workers and the people who lost their jobs?”</p>	<p>8. “My father is old and can’t work anymore, but he lost all of his savings. What can the government do to help him survive? If the government doesn’t help, who will?”</p>

The Presidential Election of 1932: How should the federal government respond to the Great Depression?

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

In today's lesson, you will learn about the presidential election of 1932. The election was important because the economy was in terrible condition: many of the nation's farmers had lost their farms, one-quarter of workers were unemployed, the nation's banks were failing or on the verge of failing, and the poor were close to starvation. The candidates, President Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, disagreed about the ways the federal government should confront these problems. Hoover, a Republican, started a few public works projects to create jobs, but he believed that Americans should primarily rely on charities to help them during times of crisis. Roosevelt, a Democrat, believed that the government should take a larger role in helping Americans hurt by the Depression, but many believe that he won over voters with his optimistic outlook.

This lesson simulates a debate between Hoover and Roosevelt. Two of your classmates will play the role of the candidates. They will



Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover on the way to U.S. Capitol for Roosevelt's inauguration, March 4, 1933

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USA7-18241 DLC]

read speeches that summarize how Hoover and Roosevelt wanted to solve the Depression (note: these are not actual speeches but instead reflect the candidates' general beliefs). Everyone else in the class will pretend to be American voters. These students will use lecture notes and the textbook to develop questions to ask the candidates. Your

teacher may ask students to think how the Depression may have affected different groups of Americans: urban or rural, rich or poor, employed or unemployed, white or nonwhite. When the "candidates" have finished reading their speeches, the "voters" will have a chance to ask them questions.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT SPEECH

(Note: this “speech” is drawn from spoken words and other quotations attributed to FDR. It reflects FDR’s policies, but it was never an actual speech.)

First of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself! I intend to wage a war against the emergency as if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe! But fear not! I have solutions for the three major problems facing the United States here in 1932: the farm problem, the labor problem, and the money problem.

To begin with, I believe in more government control of farms and farmers. For instance, one of my first acts after taking office will be to have Congress give me the power to create the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. This administration, under Henry A. Wallace, will order farmers to plow up surplus crops and to slaughter millions of pigs to keep them off the market and thereby raise prices. It will also establish planting regulations and actually pay farmers for not raising crops. The acts are necessary to raise farm prices—without these regulations, the 60 percent of farmers who have lost their farms will be joined by the other 40 percent, and our wonderful tradition of family farms will be gone forever!

Secondly, I want a Works Progress Administration set up immediately to help the unemployed. This agency would hire those in need of work and then would supervise building public works such as dams, bridges, schools, and libraries. I also want a Civilian Conservation Corps that would voluntarily enlist all the young men between 18-25 who are unemployed, which by some estimates is as high as 70 percent, in a corps devoted to conservation. These young men would live in camps in the national parks or on federal land and would build trails, flood control projects, plant trees, and do other things to enhance our nation’s natural treasures.

Finally, I believe that banks need money

right away. Therefore, when I am elected president, I will lower the amount of gold behind each dollar to 33 cents. Under this plan, we can issue more paper money to loan to banks so that they can pay off their depositors. In addition, I will call for an insurance policy to protect Americans’ deposits in banks through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Most important of all, I will ask Congress to pass a Federal Emergency Relief Act and use this money to provide direct relief payments to the poor and low-cost loans to small businesses to get our economy going again.

Never before in modern history have the essential differences between the two major parties been more striking. Republican leaders have not only failed in material things, they have failed in vision, because in disaster they have held out no hope. They have pointed no path for the people below to climb back to places of security and of safety in American life.

In sum, I promise you a new tomorrow! Give me your help: not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people. With our proposed programs in place, farmers, workers, bankers, the poor—indeed, all Americans except the “economic royalists,” they very rich—will have a “New Deal”! I urge you to vote for a new future!

HERBERT HOOVER SPEECH

(Note: this “speech” is drawn from spoken words and other quotations attributed to Hoover. It reflects Hoover’s policies, but it was never an actual speech.)

If you elect this man president, he will lead the nation into dependency on federal government handouts to an extent unknown in our history! Indeed, he will create a class of people who will be permanently on welfare and who will always vote for the candidate who promises to keep them on the dole and to increase their payments! Let me respond to Roosevelt’s solutions to our major problems in the areas of farming, unemployment, and business conditions, as well as to money supply. Then I will give you my thoughts on what should be done.

First of all, I believe in as little government control of the farmers as possible. I do believe the government should help them help themselves by setting up a loan program for farmers’ cooperatives that would help farmers sell their crops, and for farmers who have had their crops wiped out by the drought, but to set up a program that tells farmers what and how much to plant is totally un-American. And I firmly object to federal handouts for farmers because this act of charity would make them dependent on the government and they would lose their sense of “rugged individualism” which we hold as a cherished American ideal.

In addition, I do not believe the national government should directly offer jobs on public works to the huge number of unemployed. Instead, I want the federal government to loan money to local governments, who would hire contractors to build public projects. In this manner, our capitalist economic system would be preserved. By contrast, Roosevelt wants to hire the unemployed through a government agency which would be in direct, and unfair, competition with private companies. Private companies, with the help of government loans—not handouts—can hire those in need of work, and they will be much better at super-

vising the construction of public works such as dams, bridges, and parks.

Finally, I differ with Mr. Roosevelt on how to solve the shortage of money problem. Our free-market economy will eventually produce the money needed for business expansion and good times. We will simply have to wait for this upturn of the business cycle as we have always done in the past. Putting vast sums of money into people’s hands through direct handouts will create inflated prices, and it will weaken—not strengthen—people’s faith in our money. Leave the gold standard alone and allow the business cycle to work. We will have to tighten our belts some now, but we will soon have a “chicken in every pot” again, if only we have faith in our economic system and keep the federal government out of our lives.

In sum, the proposed New Deal programs would have farmers closely regulated by the government as to what and how much they can grow. The programs would provide handouts to working people, robbing them of their independence. And, above all else, they would create a federal government so strong that it would regulate every facet of our economy and our lives. Make no mistake, these programs will dramatically change our nation’s philosophy. Do we want Americans to think of the president as the “Great White Father” who will take care of them in any emergency? Do we want these programs that will be with us not just during these lean years but also far into the future, all at taxpayer expense? We are all challenged with a choice between the American style of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of paternalism and state socialism. I urge you to vote for me and the traditional American way.

The 1930s: How did the Great Depression affect the lives of Americans? (Part I)

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

- Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

Content standards

■ 11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.

- 11.6.3. Discuss the human toll of the Depression, natural disasters, and unwise agricultural practices and their effects on the depopulation of rural regions and on political movements of the left and right, with particular attention to the Dust Bowl refugees and their social and economic impacts in California.

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

The Great Depression began in the late 1920s, when demand for consumer products sharply declined and factory owners cut production, wages, and workforces. Consumers, in turn, had little or no money to buy products, which caused further cutbacks. By 1932, one-quarter of the American workforce was unemployed. At the same time of this industrial slowdown, the Great Plains was struck by a terrible drought, which meant that many farmers also struggled to survive. Until the mid-1930s, there was no federal relief program like Social Security, so people had to turn to private charities for help.

The Depression had a profound impact on the lives of Americans. Jobless Americans traveled the countryside looking for work, unable to find employment in urban factories or rural agriculture. Those who were able to keep their jobs often had their wages cut.

During the early years of the Depression, many criticized the Hoover Administration for not doing enough to alleviate the suffering of those who were hardest hit by the disaster. The government's inaction led many Americans to question the ideas of American capitalism for the first time: some Americans joined labor unions for the first time, while others participated in marches and demonstrations demanding help from the government. Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) was elected in 1932, and his "New Deal" programs proved responsive to the demands of average people. While the "New Deal" did not end the Depression—World War II ended the nation's economic woes—it restored faith in the economy and the government.

Lesson Goals

Lessons 2 and 3 will examine what happened when the new industrial economy collapsed during the 1930s. Lesson 2 asks students to assess the impact of the Great Depression on different Americans by examining two different kinds of sources: photographs and oral histories. Students are asked to consider the intrinsic biases in each kind of source. Lesson 3 will ask students to think more broadly about the impact of the Depression on different groups of Americans. This will prepare them for a discussion of the New Deal programs and coalitions that developed during the 1930s.

Discussion Guide for Teachers

This lesson introduces students to some of the hardships endured during the Depression through two types of primary sources: photographs and oral histories. The lesson begins with two sets of photographs. In each set, students are asked first to write down as many details about the pictures as possible. Since students tend to accept photographs as being inherently “true,” teachers should encourage students to consider how the photographer used their work to influence public opinion. To this end, the lesson asks students to consider the perspective in each photograph: why did the photographer decide to take the picture, and how did the photographer’s beliefs influence the kinds of pictures he or she took? Do photographs tell the “whole” story? The lesson also tries to draw students’ attention to techniques such as juxtaposition that photographers used to highlight their subjects’ obvious suffering.

The first set of photographs shows how the Depression affected Americans in urban centers. The first photograph shows several workers sitting on crates and huddled around what appears to be a small fire in front of a shack at a dump in New York City in January 1938. Students should be able to notice these details, but they may need to be prompted to discuss the subjects’ body language, the irony of the Christmas tree in front of the shack, and the time of day (i.e., why would these workers be sitting around a fire outside during the middle of the day?). The second photograph, by *Life* photographer Margaret Bourke-White, shows black victims of a flood waiting in a relief line in front of a billboard that proclaims “World’s Highest Standard of Living” and “There’s no way like the American way.” When we tested the module, students noted the disparity between the reality of the African Americans in the relief line (although they all look neatly dressed) and the idealized representation of the affluent white family in the billboard. The third photograph captures a hunger line in New York City sometime between 1930 and 1934. In the second set of photographs, students analyze two photographs that depict rural poverty. The first picture is a Dorothea Lange photograph of a Mexican family on the road looking for work. In the picture, a young girl is the sole figure looking at the camera. The second, more famous photograph was taken by Walker Evans of sharecropper Bud Field’s family. Students should think about whether this is a normal family portrait. At the end of this section, students are asked to identify the most powerful photograph (in their opinion).

In the next section, students read brief excerpts of oral histories drawn from Studs Terkels’ *Hard Times*. They are asked to draw a few details out of each account and to answer a question or two about the narrator’s experience. When we tested the lesson, students were particularly affected by the account given by Louis Banks.

In the final discussion, students are asked to compare the advantages and disadvantages of each kind of source. When we tested the lesson, we found that students tended to repeat the cliché that “a picture is worth a thousand words,” so teachers should be ready to play devil’s advocate by arguing the benefits of oral histories. Of course, there is no correct answer; the questions ask students to choose a source so that they can take a side in the discussion.

DISCUSSION FORMAT

This lesson can be run as a class discussion, in small groups, or individually. Students will need to be able to see the photographs clearly. With the exception of the Margaret Bourke-White photograph, all photographs are available on the Library of Congress website. After the lesson, teachers may wish to have students write down short answers to the final discussion questions. Teachers could also ask students to “role play” the photographs by assigning one student (or group of students) to play the role of a figure in one of the photographs and another student to interview them about their experience. This encourages each student to search for telling details in the photograph.

TIME REQUIRED

- One hour, although final discussion questions will require more time.

MATERIALS

- Photocopies of sources

The 1930s: How did the Great Depression affect the lives of Americans? (Part I)

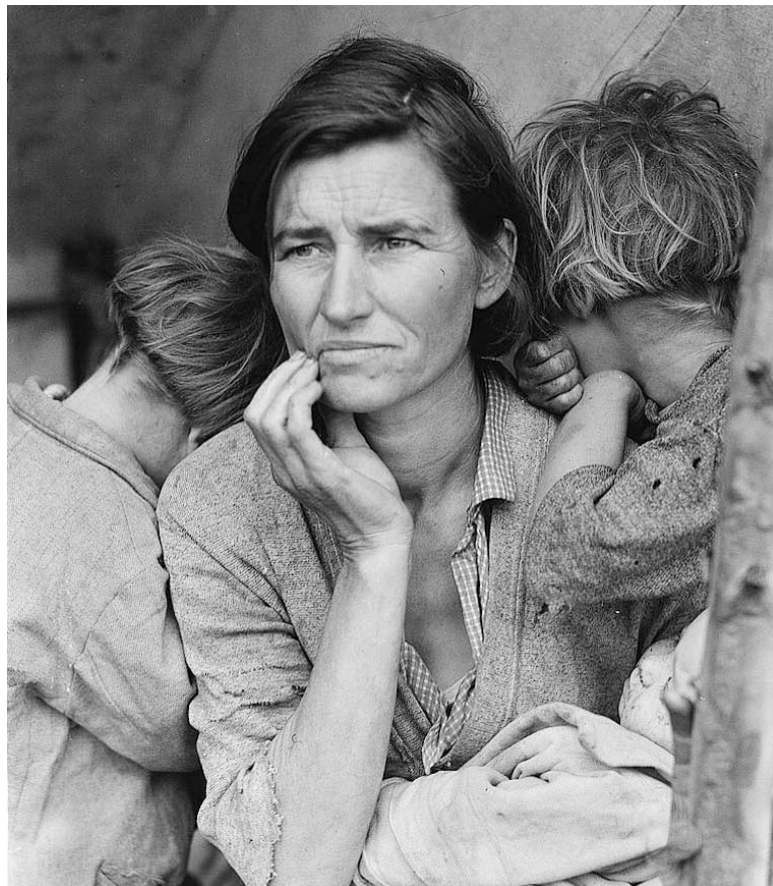
INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

The Great Depression began in the late 1920s, when consumers purchased fewer products and factories cut production, wages, and jobs. Consumers, in turn, had little or no money to buy products. By 1932, one-quarter of the American workforce was unemployed. At the same time of this slowdown, the Midwest was struck by a terrible drought, creating a “Dust Bowl” that ruined farms. Jobless Americans traveled the countryside looking for work, unable to find employment in factories or farms. Those who had jobs often had their wages cut. At the time, there was no federal relief program to help the jobless or elderly, so Americans had to turn to charities for help. The government’s inaction led many Americans to question the ideas of American capitalism. In 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected, and his “New Deal” programs were more responsive to the demands of average people. While the “New Deal” did not end the Depression, it

restored Americans’ faith in the economy and the government.

You will learn more about FDR’s “New Deal” in a later class meeting. Today you will examine the impact of the Depression on various groups of Americans through photographs and oral histories. You

will see the poverty that hit African Americans, Anglo Americans, and Mexican Americans; you will see poverty in the city and in the country and among the young and the old. As you look at these sources, you will compare what pictures and interviews tell you about historical events.



A famous photograph by Dorothea Lange of peapickers in California in Feb. 1936. The woman in the picture was a 32-year-old mother of seven. Lange later recalled that the woman had just sold the tires off her car to buy food.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF34-9058-C].

PHOTOGRAPHS

During the 1930s, the government hired photographers to travel around country to document the impact of the Depression.

Take a look at the pictures below and note as many details about them as possible. Always look at the titles for extra information!

Group 1: The City



Figure 1: Margaret Bourke-White, 1937. At the time of the Louisville Flood, Louisville, Kentucky 1937.

Source: Getty Images



Figure 2: Russell Lee, January 1938. Unemployed workers in front of a shack with Christmas tree, East 12th Street, New York City.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF33-011402-M4 DLC]



Figure 3: Breadline at McCauley Water Street Mission under Brooklyn Bridge, New York (between 1930-1934?).

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [cph 3b37875]

Discussion questions for Group 1 photos, Figures 1 through 3

1. Examine the photographs in Figures 1 through 3 and write down as many details as possible about each picture. You may wish to note clothing, setting, and the appearance of the surroundings. Don't forget to look at the title for clues.

Figure 1 World's Highest Standard of Living	Figure 2 Workers in front of shack	Figure 3 Breadline
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.

2. Why did the photographer take each picture? What makes each scene significant? How does each photograph use juxtaposition [definition: placing two or more dissimilar things side by side] to make his/her point?

Figure 1 World's Highest Standard of Living	Figure 2 Workers in front of shack	Figure 3 Breadline
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.

3. Can you identify a bias in any of these pictures? That is, how is the photographer trying to influence how the viewer feels about the subjects of the picture? (For example: how do you feel toward the people in the line in figure 1? How does the photographer influence the way you see them? Is it possible that the photographer has left something important out of the picture?)

4. What are the differences or similarities of these pictures?

Differences	Similarities

Group 2: Rural



Figure 4: Dorothea Lange, Migrants, family of Mexicans, on road with tire trouble. Looking for work in the peas. California (1936)

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF34-002464-E DLC]



Figure 5: Walker Evans, Sharecropper Bud Fields and his family at home. Hale County, Alabama (1935 or 1936)

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-DIG-ppmsc-00234 DLC]

Discussion questions for Group 2 photos, Figures 4 and 5

1. Examine the photographs in Figures 4 and 5 and write down as many details as possible, including clothing, setting, and the appearance of the surroundings. Make sure to read the photo captions, too.

Figure 4 Migrants on road	Figure 5 Sharecroppers in Alabama
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

2. Why did the photographer take each picture? What makes each picture significant?

Figure 4 Migrants on road	Figure 5 Sharecroppers in Alabama
1.	1.
2.	2.

3. How do these photographs compare to the first three pictures you examined? What differences and/or similarities are there?

Differences	Similarities

4. Of all the photographs you've examined, which picture do you think is the most powerful? Why is it powerful?

ORAL HISTORIES

Oral histories record the memories of a person who lived through a particular time or event. Unlike diaries or journals, which re-

cord a person's feelings during a particular time, oral histories are not recorded until afterwards. The following oral histories of the

Depression were compiled by Studs Terkel in a 1970 book called *Hard Times*.

[Studs Terkel interviewed Dawn and her mother, Kitty McCulloch, about their treatment of the poor.]

“I remember that our apartment was marked. They had a mark, an actual chalk mark or something. You could see these marks on the bricks near the back porch. One mark signified: You could get something at his apartment, buddy, but you can't get anything up there. We'd be out in the alley playing, and we'd hear comments from people: 'Here's one.' They wouldn't go to the neighbors upstairs, 'cause they didn't give them anything. But ours was marked. They'd come out from Chicago and they'd hit our apartment, and they knew they'd get something. Whatever the mark meant, some of them were like an X. They'd say, 'You can't get money out of this place, but there's food here anyway.' My mother was hospitable to people, it didn't matter who they were.”

Excerpted from “Hard Travelin’,” interview with Dawn, in Studs Terkel, *Hard Times*, p. 40.

Interview 1.

1. Write down two or three details about this oral history.
2. What is Dawn talking about? Who does she mean by “they”? What were “they” looking for?

Louis Banks was a hobo who rode the railroads from place to place. He was 14 when the Depression began in 1929.

“...1929 was pretty hard. I hoboed, I bummed, I begged for a nickel to get somethin’ to eat. Go get a job, oh, at the foundry there. They didn’t hire me because I didn’t belong to the right kind of race. ‘Nother time I went into Saginaw, it was two white fellas and myself made three. The fella there hired the two men and didn’t hire me. I was back out on the streets. That hurt me pretty bad, the race part...”

[Banks describes how he rode the railroads in the US]...Black and white, it didn’t make any difference who you were, ‘cause everybody was poor. All friendly, sleep in a jungle. We used to take a big pot and cook food, cabbage, meat and beans all together. We all set together, we made a tent. Twenty-five or thirty would be out on the side of the rail, white and colored. They didn’t have no mothers or sisters, they didn’t have no home, they were dirty, they had overalls on, they didn’t have no food, they didn’t have anything...

...I knocked on people’s doors. They’d say, ‘What do you want? I’ll call the police.’ And they’d put you in jail for [vagrancy]. They’d make you milk cows, thirty or ninety days. Up in Wisconsin, they’d do the same thing. Alabama, they’d do the same thing. California, anywhere you’d go. Always in jail, and I never did nothin’.

...Work on the WPA [Works Progress Administration], earn \$27.50. We just dig a ditch and cover it back up. You thought you was rich. You could buy a suit of clothes. Before that, you wanted money, you didn’t have any. No clothes for the kids. My little niece and my little kids had to have hand-down clothes. Couldn’t steal. If you did, you went to the penitentiary. You had to shoot pool, walk all night and all day, the best you could make was \$15. I raised up all my kids during the Depression. Scuffled...a hard way to go...

Excerpted from “Hard Travelin’,” interview with Louis Banks, in Studs Terkel, *Hard Times*, pp.40-43.

Interview 2.

1. Write down two or three details about this oral history.

2. Why did Louis Banks have such a difficult time finding a job? Who gave him a job, and why is this significant?

3. What does Louis Banks say about the other hoboes?

4. List two ways that the oral history given by Louis Banks differs from the history given by Dawn.
 - 1.

 - 2.

Final discussion questions

In today's lesson, you have examined two kinds of primary sources: photographs and oral histories. The final part of this lesson asks you to consider the differences between these two kinds of sources.

1. Give two reasons why you would want to use photographs as a source if you were writing about the Depression. What do photographs tell you about the Depression?
 - 1.

 - 2.

2. Give two reasons why you would want to use oral histories as a source if you were writing about the Depression. What do oral histories tell you about the Depression?

1.

2.

3. Of all the sources we've examined today, which do you think best describes how the Depression affected Americans?

4. What does a photograph tell you about the Depression that an oral history does not? What does an oral history tell you about the Depression that a photograph does not?

Advantages of photographs:

Advantages of oral histories:

5. If a historian was going to write a book about contemporary life in your area, would you want him/her to use photographs or oral histories?

The 1930s: How did the Great Depression affect the lives of Americans? (Part II)

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

In this lesson, students continue to assess the impact of the Great Depression on several groups: children, Americans who opposed relief efforts, rural and urban Americans, the elderly, and African Americans (the impact of the Depression on Mexican Americans is addressed in Lessons 7 and 8). For more information, please consult the introductions that appear at the beginning of each section.

Lesson Goals

In contrast to Lesson 2, which directed students to examine photographs and oral histories only, this lesson uses a greater variety of sources: letters, ethnographies, interviews, oral histories, and photographs. This lesson gives students an opportunity to explore the perspective of a particular group of Americans in greater depth. After this lesson, students will be prepared to see how the New Deal programs such as the Works Program Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and Social Security targeted relief for specific groups of Americans. The lesson also introduces disagreements over government aid.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Chronological and Spatial Thinking

- Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

■ Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

- Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

Content standards

- **11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression**

and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.

- 11.6.3. Discuss the human toll of the Depression, natural disasters, and unwise agricultural practices and their effects on the depopulation of rural regions and on political movements of the left and right, with particular attention to the Dust Bowl refugees and their social and economic impacts in California.

TIME REQUIRED

- At least one class meeting, plus additional time for students to explain their findings. To save time, teachers can assign reading sections to groups in advance.

MATERIALS

- Each student receives the questions and one section of the packet.

Discussion Guide for Teachers

Format: This lesson is designed for small group discussion. The teacher should divide students into six groups, with each group receiving one set of documents. The teacher could also cut the pages into single excerpts and assign sources to individual students. The groups should read the documents and discuss the problems presented by the Depression. They should also consider possible solutions that the government might offer. Group discussion should end early so that students can present their proposals to the rest of the class. If the teachers want to assign a creative writing assignment, they can either ask students to propose a joint letter from their group members to the President OR students could write a response from FDR that explains how he plans to help them.

This lesson reviews the impact of the Depression on six different kinds of Americans: children, Americans who opposed relief programs, Americans in rural areas, senior citizens, African Americans, and Americans in urban areas. Each section includes a brief introduction to the sources, which are drawn from a variety of places, including letters, sociological studies, life histories, and oral histories. Teachers should divide students into small groups and ask them to answer the questions for group discussion. Through this exercise, students will see how Americans had different problems and different ideas about how to solve the Depression. They will see that the Depression brought some groups into alliances and others into conflicting camps.

NOTE: the letters written to the White House are unedited, meaning that there are often spelling and grammatical errors in the notes. Teachers should remind students to read each letter carefully and, if possible, consider what these attributes tell historians about their authors.

Sources for this lesson

The following sources were used for primary sources in this lesson. The page number for each excerpt is available at the end of each citation.

Children and the Depression: Thomas Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America* (NY: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934).

Americans who opposed relief during the Great Depression, The Depression in Rural Areas, The New Deal and Elderly Americans, African Americans and the Depression, the Depression and the City: Robert S. McElvaine, editor, *Down & Out in the Great Depression: Letters from the 'Forgotten Man'* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

Americans who opposed relief during the Great Depression: Studs Terkel, *Hard Times* (NY: Pantheon, 1970).

The Depression and the City: American Life Histories: *Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1940:* <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html>.

The 1930s: How did the Great Depression affect the lives of Americans? (Part II)

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

In today's class, you will examine a variety of sources, including letters, interviews, oral histories, and photographs. You will see the effect of the Depres-

sion in greater detail on children, rural and urban Americans, the elderly, and African Americans. The government responded to these problems by creat-

ing programs that would help each of these groups. You will also see that some Americans opposed government aid for those hurt by the Depression.

Questions for group discussion

After you look at the documents you were given (one of six sets of documents following in this book), please answer these questions. Be prepared to explain your answers to the entire class.

1. Name three ways that the Depression affected the people in the documents you have been given. If you don't think the Depression affected these Americans, explain why they escaped hard times.
2. What strategies, if any, did these Americans use to survive during the hard times?
3. What kinds of assistance, if any, are these Americans seeking from the government? Why are they seeking this kind of assistance?

4. Has the Depression brought these Americans into conflict (disagreement) with other groups? What kind of conflict? How have they tried to solve their conflicts?

5. Has the Depression brought these Americans into any alliances (positive connection/ associations) with other groups? What kinds of alliances?

6. How do you think the government should respond to these Americans' requests? Name two ways or government programs that could satisfy their concerns.

DOCUMENT 1: CHILDREN AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The readings in this section are taken from a book by Thomas Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*. Minehan was a researcher who, beginning in 1932, traveled among America's homeless to learn the "ideas, attitudes, and viewpoints of the mass of men hit most cruelly by the depression." He soon found that many of the homeless were young people—girls and boys—who traveled the nation's railroads. Disguised as a homeless man, Minehan managed to collect the stories of over five hundred boys and girls. While not all children were homeless, the stories show some of the problems faced by families during the Depression.

Minehan said that, in his experience, about one of every twenty children traveling the rails was a girl. There is a PBS documentary, "Riding the Rails" (1998) that also covers this topic; the filmmakers believe that as many as 250,000 young people lived on the road at the height of the Depression.



Children at city dump (July 1938) Arthur Rothstein

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF33-002831-M2 DLC]

Why Did They Leave Home?

"Did the old man kick you out?" I ask.
"Well, no." Loyal still to his family, Joe does not exactly want to give the wrong impression. "He didn't exactly kick me out, but he gave me plenty of hints. He hasn't worked steady in the last three years," Joe explains. "There's seven of us kids at home, and I'm the oldest. I'm seventeen. I worked for about six months two years ago for a grocer who gave me no wages but, you know, food and stuff. Then he closed up. I couldn't get anything. The old man kept giving hints. Last fall they cut down on our relief. We had to go to bed because our house was so cold. I cut nine cords of wood for a man. He gave us two. That wasn't so bad, and I thought I'd stay until Christmas. I got the kids a duck, too, for Christmas, but I ain't saying how I got it. Then, before the old man could start giving any more hints, I scrams."

Source: Minehan, pp.37-38

Kay is fifteen. Her blue eyes, fair hair, and pale cheeks are girlish and delicate...Sickly and suffering from chronic undernourishment, she appears to subsist almost entirely upon her finger nails which she gnaws habitually.

"There wasn't"—she takes a finger away from her mouth long enough to join the discussion—"much else for me to do but go. There are eight younger kids at home and one older sister out of work. Dad hasn't worked steady for four years. Sis, for two. Mother got a job scrubbing—\$7 a week, and that's all we had to live on except for some clothes we got from a ledge. We wouldn't take charity. So when a farmer offered me a chance to work all summer for potatoes and vegetables for the family last winter I took it. I could have stayed with his wife, but I thought maybe if I skipped around through the country I could earn some cash and send a few bucks home. But it don't look much like it now..."

Source: Minehan, pp.45-46

Ragged, smiling Texas, merry as usual, is returning with a knapsack full of bread which he has begged up-town. He recounts his experiences and success gustily and with the pardonable braggadocio of one who has accomplished something.

"...and one woman asked me why did I leave home, and I answers, 'Hard times, lady!' Just like that. 'Hard times, lady, hard times!'"

His auditors laugh. And hard times it seems to be, lady.

Three hundred and eighty-seven out of four-hundred and sixty-six boys and girls stated definitely that hard times drove them away from home. Yet there were other reasons. Twenty-six of the remaining seventy-nine were on the road because of some trouble with a girl.

Source: Minehan, pp.47-48

Their New Education

Not all young tramps have honest rackets. One girl I knew bought a small basket of assorted vegetables. With this on her arm she went from house to house. Of a woman coming to the back door, she asked prices so high that she never sold anything. She did not intend to sell anything. Her racket was to find a back door open—and the woman not at home.

Source: Minehan, pp.131-132

While the necessities of life are forcing many young tramps to beg and steal or to starve, many clever ones are doing neither. They are learning rackets. A racket in the child tramp's parlance is merely a legal method of making a living under pressure. It may be a personal talent that can be exploited. More often it is something that can be sold or traded for board and meals....

"Every town is soft for me," boasted another youth as our train slowed up in the yards of Indianapolis and we prepared to jump [off the train]. "Watch me hit this one for a meal in ten minutes. Come along, and I'll get you one too," he offered.

I came. My friend entered the first saloon we encountered after we left the [railroad yard].

"Listen," he said to the proprietor. "I am an artist. I can draw any kind of picture on your window you want. Let me clean off that old stuff and draw something new. All it will cost you is a couple of forty-cent dinners."

The proprietor agreed, reserving the right to reject the work. We cleaned the windows. My friend went to work. He drew a picture of a foaming stein, a fat German, a dachshund, and a Gibson girl, in five minutes. We got the dinners.

"You see, Shorty," he bragged, and not without justice, "you gotta have a racket. Then it is a snap."

Source: Minehan, pp.129-131

Begging is the first thing they learn. But a few years ago it was almost a profession. Good panhandlers in 1929 made \$4 or \$5 a day in any city. Today [in 1934], the best seldom make forty cents. It takes a good tale, a new approach, and Spartan-like fortitude and persistence to get a dime. Sharp wits and nimble feet are needed now to hit the stem in any city. Cops are hostile; the public is hard-boiled; and jails are waiting. Various deceptions are necessary. The child tramp learns all of them....

...house-to-house begging is an art in itself.

"Look for a yard with a lot of kids' playthings in it," coached a youngster from Schenectady, who five years ago was playing with toys himself. "And a place where they keep the grass cut in front, play-toys in the back yard. You're sure to get something if it is only a meal.

"A good day to hit a house is when there is a lot of washing on the line," he continued. "You're sure the woman is at home and got something ready to eat...."

Source: Minehan, pp.121, 126

DOCUMENT 2: AMERICANS WHO OPPOSED RELIEF DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

One-quarter of Americans were unemployed during the Depression. Many people wrote to the President asking for help. However, not everyone was affected by the Depression. Some rich Americans did not think the government

should try to solve economic problems. You are about to read some of the letters they wrote to the President urging him not to get involved. The first source was written to Herbert Hoover in 1931. The

other letters were written to Senator Robert Wagner of New York and to Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The final source is an oral history with William Benton.

Contractor and Builder Real Estate Insurance Mortgages
W.H.H.

Annapolis, Maryland

September 10, 1931

President Herbert Hoover
Washington, D.C.
My dear Mr. Hoover,

It is my purpose to write you a short letter and to cheer you along with your trying undertakings....

....In these days of unrest and general dissatisfaction it is absolutely impossible for a man in your position to get a clear and impartial view of the general conditions of things in America today. But, of this fact I am very positive, that there is not five per cent of the poverty, distress, and general unemployment that many of your enemies would have us believe. It is true, that there is much unrest, but this unrest is largely caused,—by the excessive prosperity and general debauchery through which the country has traveled since the period of war. The result being that in three cases out of four, the unemployed is looking for a very light job at a very heavy pay, and with the privilege of being provided with an automobile if he is required to walk more than four or five blocks a day.

National Relief Director Walter S. Gifford and his committee are entirely unnecessary at this time, as it has a tendency to cause communities to neglect any temporary relief to any of their people, with the thought of passing the burden on to the National Committee. I am also of opinion that the suggested five billion dollar loan, that the Hearst papers have been agitating, is an impractical, foolish, and unnecessary burden and obligation that they would place upon the shoulders of future prosperity to pay off....

Yours Sincerely,
W.H.H. [male]

Source: McElvaine, pp.38-39

Hornell, New York

March 7, 1934

My Dear Senator [Wagner]:

It seems very apparent to me that the Administration in Washington is accelerating its pace towards socialism and communism. Nearly every public statement from Washington is against stimulation of business which would Everyone is sympathetic to the cause of creating more jobs and better wages for labor; but, a program continually promoting labor troubles, higher wages, shorter hours, and less profits for business, would seem to me to be leading us fast to a condition where the Government must more and more expand its relief activities, and will lead in the end to disaster to all classes.

I believe that every citizen is entitled to know the policy of the Government, and I am so confused that I wish you would write me and advise me whether it is the policy of this Administration, of which you are a very important part, to further discourage business enterprise, and eventually set up a program which eliminates private industry and effort, and replaces it with Government control of industry and labor,—call it what you will: socialism, fascism, or communism, or by any other name...

With kindest personal regards,

Yours truly,
W.L.C. [male]

Source: McElvaine, pp.150-152

Not all Americans who opposed relief were wealthy.
This woman lived on a Midwestern farm.

Dec. 14—1937.
Columbus, Ind.
Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Roosevelt: I suppose from your point of view the work relief, old age pensions, slum clearance and all the rest seems like a perfect remedy for all the ills of this country, but I would like for you to see the results, as the other half see them.

We have always had a shiftless, never-do-well class of people whose one and only aim in life is to live without work. I have been rubbing elbows with this class for nearly sixty years and have tried to help some of the most promising and have seen others try to help them, but it can't be done. We cannot help those who will not try to help themselves and if they do try a square deal is all they need, and by the way that is all this country needs or ever has needed: a square deal for all and then, let each one paddle their own canoe, or sink...

...You people who have plenty of this worlds goods and whose money comes easy [the Roosevelts were wealthy], have no idea of the heart-breaking toil and self-denial which is the lot of the working people who are trying to make an honest living, and then to have to shoulder all these unjust burdens seems like the last straw....

...Is it any wonder the taxpayers are discouraged by all this penalizing of thrift and industry to reward shiftlessness, or that the whole country is on the brink of chaos?

M.A.H. [female]
Columbus, Ind.

Source: McElvaine, pp.145-147

This excerpt is an oral history. At the beginning of the Depression, William Benton worked at a large advertising agency. He later became a Senator from Connecticut. He was also the publisher of *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

“...We didn’t know the Depression was going on. Except that our clients’ products were plummeting, and they were willing to talk to us about new ideas. They wouldn’t have let us in the door if times were good. So the Depression benefited me. My income doubled every year. When I left Benton & Bowles, it must have been close to half a million dollars. That’s the kind of money great motion picture stars weren’t earning. That was 1935. The Depression just passed me right over. I’m not a good man to talk to about the Depression...”

...*The Encyclopedia Britannica* lives off installment buying, this is our whole business. We don’t think about credit as a problem, particularly when we think about a Depression. With more men out of work, we’d have an easier time finding good salesmen. The more men out of work, the more applicants we have. By multiplying our salesmen, we’d have an offset to the fact that there are fewer people to whom to sell. Progress through catastrophe.”

Source: Terkel, pp.60-65

DOCUMENT 3: THE DEPRESSION IN RURAL AREAS

The collapse of the economy in 1929 happened at the same time as a drought that affected Americans who lived on farms. As a

result of the Depression, these Americans were also in need of help. In addition, before the New Deal, few rural areas had electric

power. The following letters were written to President Franklin D. Roosevelt or his wife, Eleanor.



Floyd Burroughs and Tenge children, Hale County, Alabama.

Credit: Walker Evans (summer 1936)
Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF3301-031306-M5 DLC]

To the President of the U.S.A.
Washing D.C.

Dear President I am writing you to let you know we are a family in Need. and are not getting the proper attention. I am a widow left without any thang. I have a boy who was hurt in school he is cripple. We are left with[out] support of any kind we are on the relief but the people here want give us any thang. we cant get any fuel Nothing a long food line they won't give us any consideration at all. Just give us a little money not enough to buy food. Some weeks we don't have anything to get food. My children need every thang to wear. Money is so short I would appreciate all the help I can get I have four children three boys and on girl and havnt a home

[Anonymous]
Parsons Kansas

Source: McElvaine, pp.76-77

November 24, 1935

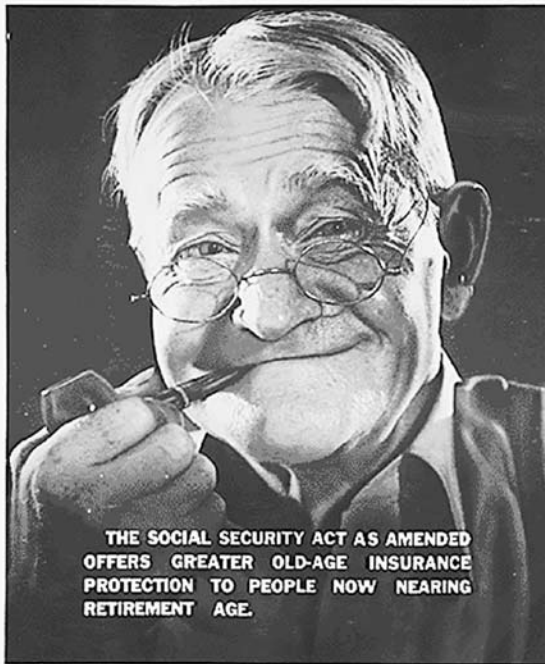
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I will take the most pleasure in writing to you. I am writing to see if you have any cloths that you could give me. I live in the country and I haven't got enough money to buy for my family and I need a coat if you have an old coat or swetar you can give me. I will be glad to get them. We have had a lot of bad luck. We are on one of the rehabilitation farms and we have made some food this year. We have just been on it one year and are still going to stay on it. I think it is grand and I appreciate every thing the president has done for us. If you have a picture of yourself and Mr. Roosevelt please send me one for I sure do want one. I am wishing the president the best of health and good luck and also you. if you have any thing you can give me please sent it to me.

Sincerely
Mrs. J.N.T.
Athens, Ga

DOCUMENT 4: THE NEW DEAL AND ELDERLY AMERICANS

MORE SECURITY FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY



FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR CALL AT THE NEAREST FIELD OFFICE OF THE
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

During the Depression, many elderly Americans lost their life savings. As a result, many called for some form of “old age insurance” that would help elderly Americans survive when they no longer worked.

Social Security poster, 1930s

Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt
Library Digital Archives
<http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/>

Mancelona, Mich
Aug 6 1934

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am writing to you to ask you to help me and my old Father to live I am in a farm which he owns and has planted or farmed all he was able to do we havnt any stock nothing to feed them until his corn is through growing we have a fuw chickens this is what I would like to ask of you and the President if I could have a small pinsion each month so we could not starve my father is seventy six to old to work at the Antriim Co furnace I cant go away and leave him alone for work and to stay here in such poverty I am so disturbed trying to know what to do I could write more of this but I think both you and the big boss meaning our President will understand:
Thank you

Mrs. E.R.
Mancelona, Michigan

Source: McElvaine, pp.100-101

My Dear Mrs Roosevelt:

Akron, Ohio
February 1936

I thought I would write a letter hoping you would find time to read it, and if you thought it was worth answering it, I would be glad of any advice you would care to give me. A few weeks ago, I heard your talk over the air, on the subject of the Old age pension, and I got to thinking what a blessing it would be to my mother, if it was possible for her to receive that pension, if the bill should pass. My mother has been in this country since April 1914 but she has never made herself a American Citizen, as she was sixty years old when she came here, and now she is eighty...

...I thought as long as I lived there was no need to worry about her being taken care of, but I never dreamed of a depression like we have had well it has changed the whole course of our lives we have suffered, and no one knows but our own family...and we have had the awfulest time trying to get the bare necessary things in life.

I am in no position to do the right thing for mother, I cant give her anything but her living but I thought if it was possible for her to get that pension it would be like a gift from heaven, as in all the years she has been in this country she has never had a dollar of her own...

Mrs. Roosevelt you might think I have lots of nerve writing to you when you have so much to attend to but I could not help admiring you for the splendid way you talked about the old people of this nation I feel sorry for all of them, they seem to be forgotten, and most young people think they have had there day and should be glad to die. but this is not my idea, I think that their last few years should be made as pleasant for them as possible....Well whither my mother ever gets anything or not, I hope all the other old people that is intilted to it gets it soon, because there is nothing sadder than old people who have struggled hard all there lives to give there family a start in life, then to be forgotten, when they them self need it most...

Yours Respectfully,
Mrs. J.S.
Akron, Ohio

Source: McElvaine, pp.99-100

Dear Mr. President:

Along with my brethren of the clergy I wish to reply to your courteous letter asking our contribution of thought for the welfare of the nation.

Conditions are much better among the people whom I serve and whom I observe [in] this section. Practically all of the jobless in our large congregation are again employed. The unemployment situation is much better throughout our community. There is a new spirit of optimism and I feel with others that perhaps the depression conditions are passing.

Some kind of an old age pension is becoming absolutely necessary. Medical science is enabling people to live twenty years longer than they did a century ago. The machine age is creating technological unemployment which makes it impossible seemingly for all people to work. The old people are the ones who are squeezed out first because they are the least desirable of the workers. I find that it is hard for my people who are past fifty years of age to find reemployment if they are jarred loose from the economic order. Something must be done to meet this actuality. The Townsend Plan is fantastic and impossible. I bid you God-speed in the working out of a workable plan.

Economic security must be achieved. Our present system of alternate cycles of prosperity and depression is demoralizing to the whole social order and tragic for the vast area of our population who do not have large enough income to develop a savings account....

....Wishing you health, joy and good success in the high office which has been give you, I am

Cordially and respectfully,
Jesse H. Baird, Pastor
First Presbyterian Church
Oakland, CA
October 19, 1935

Source: New Deal Network--<http://newdeal.feri.org/index.htm>

DOCUMENT 5: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE DEPRESSION

African Americans were deeply affected by the Depression, and they benefited from much of the New Deal. However, many African Americans were not able to get government jobs or relief because of discrimination, though many whites believed that African Americans received most of the relief.



Negro Man Entering Movie Theatre by "Colored" Entrance. Belzoni, Mississippi (October 1939).

Marion Post Wolcott
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division,
FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF33-03067-M3 (8-3)]

Camp Hill, Alabama April 22, 1935

Mr Roosevelt the President of the unite State I want to Explain the condition of the poor farmer and the unemployed people. Mr Roosevelt I know that the government has ProBale enough Money to Feed all Negro and Poor White and to Day they are suffering For Food and clothes We know that you has prepare Money enough to give every one a Decent living But to Day the relief offices and other who has a plenty to live on is getting this money and slaving the Poor People.

[Anonymous]

Source: McElvaine, p. 86

October 27, 1935
Marietta. Ga

The President Roosevelt:

You honor sir and your royalty. Majesty. This is the one of the most honorable Colored workers of America who has been faithful and true law abiding Citizens of this Cob County & City of Marietta, Ga. Your honor sir I am down now is very feeble and isn't able to work for my living I've been keep up by the relief but now have fail They haven't help me any in a month I am very poor and needing Condition I am not able to support my self so dear sir you honor I begging you please sir for food and raimnot dear sir. I am very much in need now They are helping white but are not me poor Colored man my wife has been going there times after times but refused give her anything to eat. So I am hoping through your highness and good natured and kindness that I succeed. So dear sir I am Thanking you in Advance and your benevolence will never be forgotten here after For I know have the power to Correct such matters if you will.

Those of the Community Chest and the state of Releif and the food Administration and distributors.

Your honorable
President Roosevelt.
Colored
Cob Co. Marietta. Ga.

Source: McElvaine, pp.90-91

This letter was written by a white woman in the South who was concerned about government aid for African Americans.

[Canton, Georgia
July 22, 1935]

[President Franklin D. Roosevelt:]

dear Sur as you are the president of our State it looks like you could do something to help out the poor white people the negroes can get work where the poor white man cannot and his family are one starvation. The Negroes are in post offices getting \$1000 dollars a month and white families suffering and it is not write just look at it your self if it was your family in Canton Ga there is a Negro working in the post office and white men cant get a job to feed his family and a white woman up holding for just such as that and negroes being worked ever where instead of white men it don't look like that is rite and is not rite and lay off white men where there is a large family and keep men with big farms and just a man and wife and both at work unless there are something done the poor people will push to death will you please help the poor people out this relief work is not helping the poor out just make \$300 a week them that uses the pick and shovel and the office men and woman gets the rest there is to many in office for the poor working man to get any pay. Rote by a woman that has a large family and is on Sufference

[Anonymous]

Source: McElvaine, p. 94

DOCUMENT 6: THE DEPRESSION AND THE CITY

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Americans moved to cities to find

work. The factory closings and business failures deeply affected urban workers, especially since there was

no federal unemployment program.



The Unemployed Union: marchers south on Broadway in Camden, NJ

Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Digital Archives
<http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu>

Many New Yorkers found that they could not afford their high rents, so they invented "rent parties." In this interview, conducted by a WPA worker in 1938, a woman named Bernice describes the parties, which were popular in Harlem.

When I first came to New York from Bermuda, I thought rent-parties were disgraceful. I couldn't understand how any self-respecting person could bear them, but when my husband, who was a Pullman porter, ran off and left me with a sixty-dollar-a-month apartment on my hands and no job, I soon learned, like everyone else, to rent my rooms out an' throw these Saturday get-togethers.

I had two roomers, a colored boy and white girl named Leroy and Hazel, who first gave me the idea. They offered to run the parties for me if we'd split fifty-fifty. I had nothing to lose, so that's how we started.

We bought corn liquor by the gallon and sold it for fifty cents a small (cream) pitcher. Leroy also ran a poker and black-jack game in the little bedroom off the kitchen. An' on these two games alone, I've seen him take in as much as twenty-eight dollars in one night. Well, you can see why I didn't want to give it up, once we had started. Especially since I could only make six or seven dollars at the most as weekly part-time worker (domestic).

The games paid us both so well, in fact, that we soon made gambling our specialty. Everybody liked it, and our profit was more that way so our place soon became the hangout of all those party-goers who liked to mix a little gambling with their drinking and dancing.

Bernice, New York City (October 2, 1938)

Source: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, WPA Federal Writers' Project Collection

Battle Creek Mich

April 5, 1936

President Roosevelt:

Please continue this W.P.A. program. It makes us feel like an American citizen to earn our own living. Being on the dole or relief roll makes us lazy and the funds are not enough to live decent on. We are thankful for what we receive though.

So we as W.P.A. workers in Battle Creek Michigan, appeal to you as our Great Leader to continue this great cause for Better citizens in Battle Creek Michigan.

Your Faithful,
W.P.A. workers of Battle Creek

Source: McElvaine, p. 127

In this interview, conducted by a WPA worker in 1939, a packinghouse worker talks about the difficulty that urban workers had unionizing. A packinghouse is a place where livestock is slaughtered, packed, and shipped to stores.

The bosses in the yards never treat Mexican worker same as rest. For 'sample, they been treatin' me, well, ever since I start wearin' the button they start to pick an' 'scriminates. I was first to wear CIO button.

I start in as laborer. Get 62 1/2 cents hour. I get laid-off slip from fellow who has to leave town, that's how I get in employment office. Now I work as beef lugger, carryin't the beef on cuttin' floor. Work is heavier than laborer, make 72 hour.

I can butcher, but they won't give me job. They fired me on account of CIO union one time. I started organize the boys on the gang. I was acting as steward for CIO union. We had so much speed up and I was advisin' the boys to cut the speed and so when I start tellin' the boys we have a union for them they all join up. Almos' all join right away. So we talk all the time what the union goin' to do for us, goin' raise wages, stop speed-up, an' the bosses watch an' they know it's a union [comin'?!].

So every day they start sayin' we behin' in the work. They start speedin' up the boys more an' more every day.

The boys ask me, what you gonna do? Can't keep on speed-up like this. We made stoppage. Tol' bosses we workin' too fast, can't keep up. The whole gang, thirteen men, they all stop. Bosses come an' say, we ain't standin' for nothin' like this. So 4 days later they fire the whole gang, except 2. So we took the case in the labor board and they call the boys for witness. Labor board say we got to get jobs back. Boss got to promise to put us back as soon as they can. That time was slack, but now all work who was fired. All got work.

Now the bosses try to provoke strike before CIO get ready, before the men know what to do. Foremen always try to get in argument about work, to make the boys mad so they quit work. We know what they do, we don't talk back, got to watch out they don't play trick like that.

- Jesse Perez, packinghouse worker in Chicago, Illinois
(interviewed by Betty Burke on 6/21/39)

Source: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, WPA Federal Writers' Project Collection.

Who benefited from New Deal programs?

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

Content standards:

■ 11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.

- 11.6.4. Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal economic policies and the expanded role of the federal government in society and the economy since the 1930s.

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

The Great Depression began in the late 1920s, when demand for consumer products sharply declined and factory owners cut production, wages, and workforces. Consumers, in turn, had little or no money to buy products, which caused further cutbacks. By 1932, one-quarter of the American workforce was unemployed. At the same time of this industrial slowdown, the Great Plains was struck by a terrible drought, which meant that many farmers also struggled to survive. Until the mid-1930s, there was no federal relief program like Social Security, so people had to turn to private charities for help.

The Depression had a profound impact on the lives of Americans. Jobless Americans traveled the countryside looking for work, unable to find employment in urban factories or rural agriculture. Those who were able to keep their jobs often had their wages cut.

During the early years of the Depression, many criticized the Hoover Administration for not doing enough to alleviate the suffering of those who were hardest hit by the disaster. The government's inaction led many Americans to question the ideas of American capitalism for the first time: some Americans joined labor unions for the first time, while others participated in marches and demonstrations demanding help from the government. Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) was elected in 1932, and his "New Deal" programs proved responsive to the demands of average people. While the "New Deal" did not end the Depression—World War II ended the nation's economic woes—it restored faith in the economy and the government. In response to the crisis of the Great Depression, President Roosevelt pushed dozens of programs through Congress, many of them within the first one hundred days of his presidency. FDR's programs addressed a variety of goals and constituencies and help explain his ability to build a "grand coalition" of support in subsequent elections. Of course, many New Deal programs encountered vocal opposition from the Supreme Court, business interests, and general critics who viewed the government's actions with suspicion. Moreover, programs did not always reach those who needed them the most. This was particularly true in the South, where segregationist Democrats who were charged with handing out government jobs often refused to offer benefits to African Americans.

Lesson Goals

This is a relatively simple lesson intended to help students learn about some of the most important and famous New Deal programs. Having reviewed the Depression's impact on a variety of Americans, students next learn how the government sought to help different groups. Using their textbooks, students fill out a chart that describes and assesses programs and legislation such as the WPA, Social Security, and the Tennessee Valley Authority. The lesson also gives students the facts necessary to discuss strengths and weaknesses of the New Deal in the next two lessons.

Discussion Format

In pairs, students will complete the matrix of New Deal programs. The first part asks them to complete a brief description of six key New Deal programs, which they can find in their textbook or other classroom resources. Then students should work together to find which constituencies benefited from the programs. Students will look at the possible limits or sources of conflict brought about by each program. The line that describes and evaluates the Civilian Conservation Corps is filled in as an example. If students have learned about the “three R’s” of FDR’s legislative agenda (relief, recovery, and reform), teachers may want to have them include which goal each program addressed.

TIME REQUIRED

- One class period.

MATERIALS

- New Deal program grid and textbook or other classroom resource

Who benefited from New Deal programs?

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

In response to the crisis of the Great Depression, President Roosevelt started a large number of programs. Many of these were established within the first one hundred days of FDR's presidency as a way of restoring Americans' confidence. Each program was designed to achieve a

particular goal and help a particular group of people. At the same time, each program had critics or limits to its usefulness. In today's class, you will use your textbook to find information on several key New Deal programs. You will summarize the program's goals then explain which Americans ben-

efited from it. You will also find each program's critics and explain each program's limits. As you can see, the first line, which describes the Civilian Conservation Corps, has been filled in for you as an example.



Graphic of NRA Blue Eagle, ca. 1933

Records of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), 1927-1937; Records Group 9 (NWDNS-9-X); National Archives



CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) boys at work, Prince George's County, Maryland, August 1935.

Photo: Carl Mydans
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection
[LC-USF33- 000067-M3 DLC]



Training, Work Projects Administration (WPA) vocational school, July 1942.

Photo: Howard Liberman
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection
[LC-USE6-D-006317 DLC]



In sewing class, a WPA (Work Projects Administration) project, at the FSA (Farm Security Administration) labor camp. Caldwell, Idaho, 1944.

Photo: Russell Lee
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF34-039445-D DLC]

New Deal Programs

Program	Description of Program	What groups benefited from this program?	What groups opposed this program? What were the limits of this program's effectiveness?
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) 1933	<i>A program established in the early days of FDR's presidency. Employees worked on environmental projects, often in the National Parks planting trees or building roads/shelters. They lived in barracks, ate in cafeterias, and were paid a monthly salary. The Army oversaw the program.</i>	<i>Young, unemployed, rural men who were able to find jobs with the program.</i>	<i>Some feared that this was a socialist program. The CCC did not hire women, and only a few minorities were hired during its existence.</i>
Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) 1933			
National Recovery Administration (NRA) 1933			
Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) 1933			

Continues on next page

New Deal Programs, continued

Program	Description of Program	What groups benefited from this program?	What groups opposed this program? What were the limits of this program's effectiveness?
Works Project Administration (WPA) 1935			
Wagner Act (1935)			
Social Security Act (1935)			

The Case for the New Deal: How did the New Deal attempt to guarantee “economic freedom” for Americans? How was the New Deal criticized from the Left?

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

- Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past, including an analysis of authors’ use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications.
- Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
- Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.
- Students understand the

INTRODUCTION AND DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

This lesson, Lesson 5, is intended to make “the best case” for the New Deal; the next lesson, Lesson 6, will provide a case against the changes brought about in response to the Depression. At the same time, this lesson will discuss some of the shortcomings of the New Deal as expressed by those on the Left—i.e., some sources will articulate complaints from those who believed that the New Deal did not go far enough to overhaul the inequalities in the American economic system.

Historian Eric Foner, who has examined the definition of “freedom” in the United States beginning with the Revolution, has written that the New Deal caused Americans to redefine “freedom” to include social citizenship, which encompassed social welfare programs such as old age assistance and unemployment insurance in addition to political rights such as the extension of the franchise to African Americans and women. Foner writes, “the Depression discredited the idea that social progress rested on the unrestrained pursuit of wealth and transformed expectations of government, reinvigorating the Progressive conviction that the national state must protect Americans from the vicissitudes of the marketplace.” Rather than simply crediting Franklin Roosevelt with granting economic rights to Americans, social historians have located the movement for “economic freedom” in the grassroots (one could compare this interpretive move to the suggestion that Abraham Lincoln did not free the slaves but that the slaves significantly contributed to their own emancipation). Thus, historians have argued that workers played an important role in achieving gains such as higher wages, steady employment, worker input on production, and the right to bargain collectively.

As the testimony of John L. Lewis demonstrates in this lesson, workers linked their desire for collective bargaining to the fate of the nation. Lewis suggests that industrial leaders’ refusal to observe democracy in the workplace had resulted in economic catastrophe. Lewis uses the language of “rights” to describe workers’ economic situation. This testimony, given in 1933, anticipates the ideas of FDR’s second New Deal, when, as Foner notes, the “right to work” and the “right to live” became “no less central to citizenship than ‘the right to vote,’” meaning that “the same federal government that protected ‘political freedom’ had an obligation to act against ‘economic slavery.’” In a discussion of worker rights and freedoms, workplace actions like the sit-down strike take on a new significance as workers laid claim to input on production

and compensation (the sit-down strike was later declared to be an illegal seizure of property). As workers demanded the “right to work,” supporters of Charles Coughlin and Francis Townsend pushed FDR to create Social Security, which might be interpreted as demands for a “right to live” through the government provision of unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and support for dependent children. As a result of these measures, the federal government ensured that workers, the unemployed, the impoverished, and the old entered into (and remained in) the world of mass consumption, a status that became increasingly important to the American economy in the years after World War II.

Despite the gains made by Americans, especially those in industrial labor unions, there were voices on the Left that criticized the New Deal. Roosevelt continued to try to balance the budget until 1938, when he established a \$5 billion spending program aimed at increasing mass purchasing power. One dissenting voice from the Left during FDR’s first term was Huey Long, who gave a speech outlining his “Share Our Wealth” program in 1935 (included in this lesson). Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest who railed against modern capitalism and became impatient with the slow progress of New Deal reforms, was another voice of opposition (he later discredited himself by expressing sympathy for fascist regimes in Italy and Germany). The demand for greater changes even as the New Deal Coalition extended itself is also evident in the election results provided in the lesson; third parties received a large number of votes in 1932 and 1936, though they never challenged the supremacy of the national parties. Upton Sinclair’s failed bid for governor in 1934 under the EPIC (End Poverty in California) plan offers another opportunity to examine the goals and influences of third parties. A former Socialist nominated as the Democratic candidate for governor in California, Sinclair nearly triumphed in 1934, but last-minute media attacks helped foil his campaign. This lesson also includes an anti-Sinclair advertisement for those who want to focus on Depression programs in California. The New Deal also granted limited assistance to women, who were expected to remain at home, and to African Americans, who were often the victims of discrimination in hiring policies but who nevertheless voted for FDR and the Democratic Party for the first time. A. Philip Randolph’s March on Washington Committee offers some insights into the shortcomings of the New Deal for African Americans.

Lesson Goals

Lesson 5 complements Lesson 6, which discusses big business’ opposition to the New Deal. Teachers may wish to have students simply answer the questions throughout Lesson 5 before comparing the “case for” the New Deal to the “case against” given in Lesson 6. By the end of this lesson, students should understand how the New Deal helped workers make important economic gains in the workplace (later lessons will touch briefly upon Social Security). By bargaining collectively (the Wagner Act is introduced at the beginning of the lesson), workers were able to gain conces-

meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

Content standards

■ **11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.**

■ 11.6.4. Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal economic policies and the expanded role of the federal government in society and the economy since the 1930s.

■ 11.6.5. Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor, from the creation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to current issues of a postindustrial, multinational economy.

■ **11.10. Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.**

■ 11.10.4. Examine the roles of civil rights advocates.

KEY TERMS

Collective bargaining—negotiation between an employer and a labor union especially on issues such as pay, working conditions, and hours.

Strike—an organized work stoppage used to force an employer to meet workers' demands such as higher wages or improved working conditions. In sit-down strikes, which occurred in the mid-1930s but were ruled illegal, laborers stopped work and instead sat down on the job, effectively stopping production while ensuring that strikebreakers could not be hired to take their jobs. The most famous sit-down strike occurred at the main General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, in 1936 and resulted in the company's recognition of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

TIME REQUIRED

- It would be impossible to cover all of this material in a single class meeting. Instead, teachers should select a combination of documents, including both pro-New Deal union information as well as at least one critique of the New Deal from the Left.

MATERIALS

- Photocopies of selected sources.

sions from their employers (see union songs). Students should also understand that the New Deal altered American expectations about the “right to work.” At the same time, students should understand areas that the New Deal borrowed from the programs of its critics without going as far as these groups desired. Thus, the Roosevelt administration did not limit individual income as Huey Long’s “Share Our Wealth” plan had proposed, it did not socialize industry as extensively as Upton Sinclair’s EPIC plan for California had suggested and it did little to address racial discrimination in jobs until the March on Washington Movement threatened protests in 1941.

Discussion Format

This lesson does not exhaustively cover the case “for” the New Deal but rather touches upon a few sources that could be used to support the program. There are parts of this lesson, such as the election results, which might make good homework assignments; teachers may also wish to assign some of the longer reading passages (such as the John L. Lewis testimony or Upton Sinclair’s EPIC plan) ahead of time or cut them out of the lesson entirely. Other sections of the lesson, such as the description of A. Philip Randolph’s March on Washington Movement, may fit well into lecture/discussion format.

The Case for the New Deal: How did the New Deal attempt to guarantee “economic freedom” for Americans? How was the New Deal criticized from the Left?

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

This lesson is intended to make “the best case” for the New Deal, which changed Americans’ expectations of the federal government. During the 1930s, average Americans began to expect the government to intervene in the economy to protect their interests. You will learn how factory workers helped shape New Deal policies by demanding higher wages, steady employment, and the right to have unions like the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) represent them. These demands became possible when Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act (also known as the Wagner Act), which allowed collective bargaining (negotiation between employer and union on

work and pay issues). Social Security was also an important piece of the New Deal agenda because it promised Americans government aid through unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and support for dependent children. As a result of these measures, the federal government ensured that workers, the unemployed, the impoverished, and the old would be able to survive in the modern economy even during economically difficult times.

At the same time, this lesson will discuss some of the shortcomings of the New Deal, since some people believed that the New Deal did not go far enough to help people in need. These critics included politicians like Huey Long, who called

for more taxes on wealthy Americans. Individuals like Dr. Francis Townsend and Father Charles Coughlin also had alternative plans for the New Deal. In California, Upton Sinclair, the author of *The Jungle*, ran for governor under a platform that promised to “End Poverty in California” by having the state take over shutdown factories and unused land as a way of employing jobless workers. In 1941, some African Americans threatened to stage a march on Washington to protest discrimination in federal jobs.

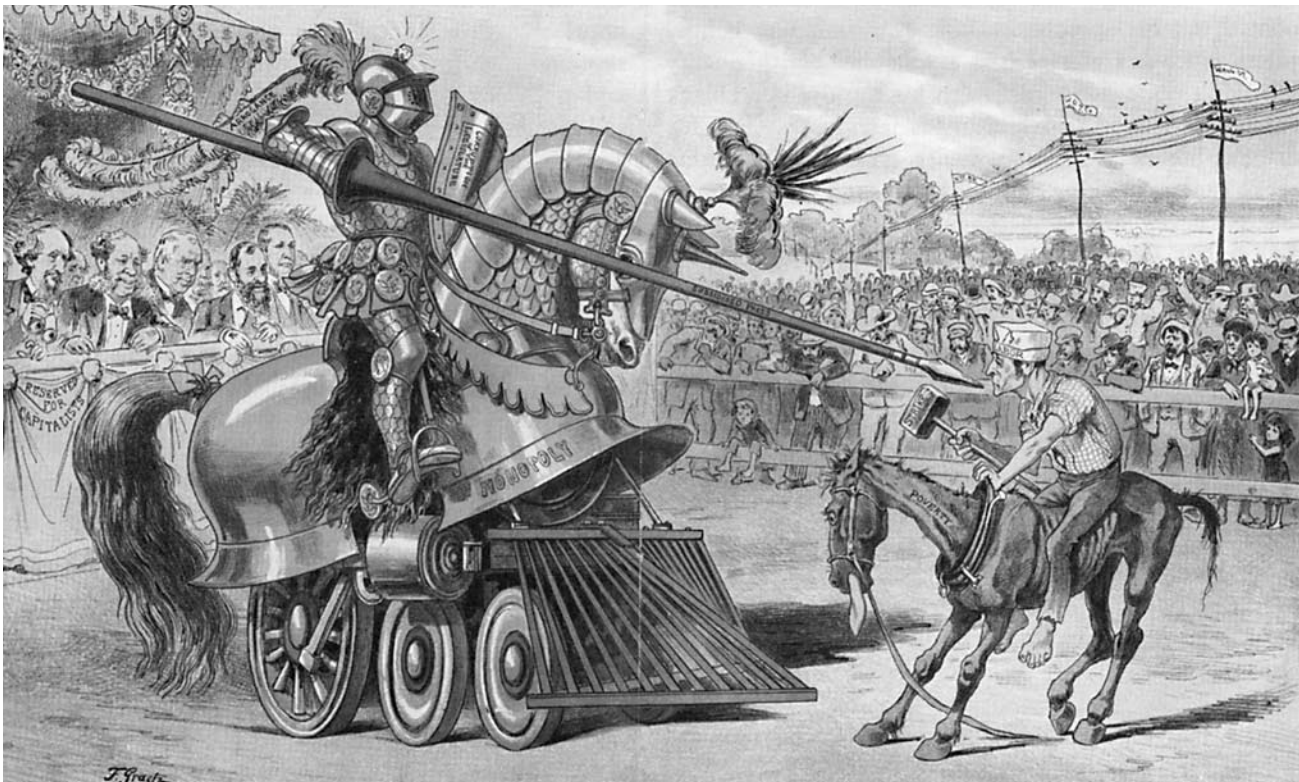
LABOR UNIONS AND THE ECONOMY

Although unions existed before the 1930s, they had a difficult time establishing themselves in the American economy. For the most part, unions like the American Federation of Labor (AFL) tried to organize skilled laborers. Business leaders were able to take advantage of divisions between skilled and unskilled workers as well as white and non-white workers and native-born and non-native-born workers. The Committee

of Industrial Organization (CIO, later the Congress of Industrial Organizations) changed this by recruiting unskilled workers, many of whom worked on assembly lines.

American labor unions were permitted as part of the system established by the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933, but the NRA was later found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In 1934, workers in several cities

across the country, including San Francisco, asserted their right to strike; authorities used the police and National Guard to quell the strikes. Shortly thereafter, Senator Robert Wagner of New York sponsored the National Labor Relations Act, which gave workers the right to organize and created a federal oversight board, the National Labor Relations Board, to oversee/monitor the process.



A pro-labor cartoon from 1883 shows labor and poverty (right) yielding the strike as its weapon. In contrast, the cartoon depicts big business riding atop the horse (labeled "monopoly"), supported by politicians and media. This cartoon provides a contrast to the images on the next pages.

Source: MB Schnapper, *American Labor*, p. 225

John L. Lewis

Before Congress passed the National Recovery Act in 1933, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mineworkers of America, testified before the Senate Finance Committee regarding the need for worker rights.



Female employees of Woolworth's hold a sign indicating they are striking for a 40-hour work week (1937).

New York World-Telegram and The Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection (Library of Congress) [LC-USZ62-124545]

John L. Lewis Testimony:

The **appalling** social and political problems arising from the present emergency are of a fundamentally economic concept. The **restoration** of order in our economic and industrial household is primarily essential to any intelligent **disposition** of the social and political problems of the nation.... A **horde** of small-time leaders in industry and finance like the **freebooters** of old, vied with each other, looted the purse of the population, and **diverted** the proceeds to their own interests. Now that the day of adversity has come, these same leaders are **destitute** of competent suggestion to safeguard the present or the future, and they expect the population of this country to remain **quiescent** while they utter **ponderous platitudes** about balancing the budget, and the necessity for further wage reductions. The very application of their wage-cutting **fallacy** further reduces the national income to a point where the population can not sustain itself and the national budget can not remain balanced....

...If democracy and corporate participation in industry are to survive in America, labor must have

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT

appalling—very bad

restoration—a return to the way something used to be

disposition—control

horde—an intimidating crowd

freebooter—a pirate

diverted—to re-direct or turn from one course to another

destitute—lacking

quiescent—active

ponderous—boring or slow

platitudes—dull remarks

fallacy—a false idea or belief

an opportunity to exercise its industrial rights for the protection of itself and our democratic and economic institutions. An emergency now exists which is more critical than would be the case if a fleet of a foreign power were at this moment bombarding the defenses of one of our major ports. The very foundation of democracy and **integrity** of American institutions is threatened. Labor should be granted the right of **collective bargaining**, with representatives of its own choosing, in those major industries of the Country where this right is now withheld.

In large areas of the coal, textile, lumber and steel industries, workers are denied the rights of collective bargaining and are treated more or less as **serfs**, compelled to accept any wage, no matter how inadequate, declared by a harassed employer existing on the verge of financial bankruptcy. Democracy in these industries is **supplanted** by an industrial **autocracy**.

Legalized collective bargaining will permit the workers of America to exercise their birthright of participation in the fixation of the prices of their services and the conditions of employment.

Labor should be given greater recognition in the affairs of government and its spokesmen should be given representation upon boards and commissions exercising governmental functions....

....If given the right to organize in our major industries, labor can police those industries against **communism**, or any other false and destructive philosophy, more efficiently than can the government itself. American labor has in the past demonstrated its patriotism and its desire to stand behind and protect the accredited institutions of our land...

The foregoing recommendation may be criticized by some as being a form of **dictatorship repugnant** to the American concept of government. Nevertheless, it is the form of procedure **resorted to** by our nation during the crisis of the World War, when the enemy was three thousand miles from our shore. Today the enemy is within the boundaries of the nation, and is stalking through every community and every home, and, obviously, this proposal is the most democratic form of internal **regulation** that can be devised to deal with our economic and industrial collapse.

integrity—honesty

collective bargaining—negotiation between a (workers') union and an employer on work issues like pay and hours

serf—a kind of slave

supplant—take the place of

autocracy—rule by one with total power, as opposed to a democracy

communism—political belief that the government should control production of food and other goods and that there should not be private property

dictatorship—a government in which the leader controls everything

repugnant—offensive

resorted to—used when nothing else will work

regulation—control over

Source: *United Mine Workers Journal* 44, (March 1, 1933): 3–4, as excerpted at <http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu/>

Questions for John L. Lewis speech

1. According to Lewis, what (or who) is the source of the United States' problems?
2. According to Lewis, why are labor unions part of the solution to America's economic problems?
3. How does Lewis connect workers' "industrial rights" to the survival of democracy? Why might it be significant that Lewis uses the language of "rights" to describe the plight of workers?

National Labor Relations Act (1935)

“Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection, and shall also have the right to refrain from any or all such activities except to the extent that such right may be affected by an agreement requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment...”

Source: <http://www.nlr.gov/publicat.html>

1. Briefly summarize this excerpt in your own words. What do you think the excerpt means?
2. Why might businesses object to this act?
3. Why would workers support this act?

Labor organizing: the strike



Steel Workers Organizing Committee drive in the Midwest (1936). In March 1937, US Steel recognized SWOC as bargaining agent, raised wages 10 percent, and established an eight-hour workday.

Source: M.B. Schnapper, *American Labor*, p. 517



Strikers guarding window entrance to Fisher body plant number three. Flint, Michigan.

Dick Sheldon, photographer. (1937).
Library of Congress, Prints &
Photographs Division, FSA-OWI
Collection [LC-USZ62-131616].

Questions for pictures of labor organizing

1. Why would autoworkers stage a sit-down strike in a factory? How might a sit-down strike differ from one in which workers picket a factory?

2. When workers staged a sit-down strike in Flint in 1937, the governor of Michigan and the president refused to intervene because they did not want to use force. What do you think the manufacturers had to do to regain control of the factory?

3. Why do you think the workers carried a picture of Franklin D. Roosevelt along with their other signs?

Union Songs

The CIO frequently borrowed songs from popular culture to create songs for their members to sing during rallies and strikes.

Read (or sing) the songs, taking care to underline any important ideas or goals expressed in the songs.

Solidarity

(to the tune of "Glory Hallelujah")

It is we who lay the wires, it is we
who make them hum
It is we who keep united every land
beneath the sun
Yet how miserably they've paid us
for the wondrous work we've
done
But the union makes us strong
Solidarity for ever, solidarity for
ever
Solidarity for ever
For the union makes us strong.

Source: WPA life history from March 6, 1939;
www.loc.gov

Untitled

(to the tune of "Glory Hallelujah")

Steel workers wives and mothers it's
time to take your stand
A fighting spirit triumphs, and it's
spreading through the land.
We can win without a battle by our
joining hand in hand,
For the union makes us strong
We are the men who make the steel
the iron and the tin
From ore to rail and billet -- out of
blood and bone and skin,
But no more need we labor until we
grow gaunt and thin,
For the union makes us strong.

We have watched a thousand fur-
naces grow dark and
start to glow,

Yet we live in fear of hearing that
our time has come to go,
But now we're organizing in the
surging C. I. O.
For the union makes us strong.
We want a union contract

Signed on the dotted line.
We'll march until we get it
On the union picket line.

Source: WPA life history of Ida Rinas: Labor songs
and yells of Steel Workers (Chicago, Illinois 5/18/39);
www.loc.gov

Untitled (to the tune of “Jingle Bells”)

C. I. O., C. I. O.
Hear the union cry,
Everyone begins to see,
We mean to do or die.
C. I. O., C. I. O.
Sing it good and loud,
Union everyone of us
We’re free and brave and proud.

Source: WPA life history of Ida Rinas: Labor songs and yells
of Steel Workers (Chicago, Illinois 5/18/39); www.loc.gov

Questions about the Union Songs

1. After reading (or singing) a few of the songs, list at least three goals outlined by the union.
2. Why do you think the CIO used songs from popular culture?
3. How/Why did the CIO believe it would meet its goals?
4. Using your knowledge of employment during the Depression, explain what the following lines mean: “We have watched a thousand furnaces grow dark and start to glow/Yet we live in fear of hearing that our time has come to go.”
5. The first line of the “solidarity” song on the top right says, “Steel workers wives and mothers it’s time to take your stand.” Is the union addressing women as steelworkers?

JUDGING THE POPULARITY OF THE NEW DEAL: ELECTION RESULTS

1928 Presidential Election (November 6, 1928)

Republican Party21,392,190 votes
Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis

Democratic Party15,016,443 votes
Alfred Smith and Joseph Robinson

Socialist Party267,420 votes
Norman Thomas and James Maurer

Workers Party (Communist Party) ..48,770 votes
William Foster and Benjamin Gitlow

Socialist Labor Party21,603 votes
Verne L. Reynolds and Jeremiah D. Crowley

Prohibition Party20,106 votes
William Varney and James Edgerton

Farmer Labor Party6,390 votes
Frank Webb and Will Vereen

1932 Presidential Election (November 8, 1932)

Democratic Party22,821,857 votes
Franklin D. Roosevelt and John Garner

Republican Party15,761,845 votes
Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis

Socialist Party881,951 votes
Norman Thomas and James Maurer

Communist Party102,785 votes
William Foster and James Ford

Prohibition Party81,869 votes
William Upshaw and Frank Regan

Liberty Party53,425 votes
William Hope Harvey and Frank Hemenway

Socialist Labor Party33,276 votes
Verne Reynolds and John Aiken

Farmer Labor Party7,309 votes
Jacob Coxey and Julius Reiter

1936 Presidential Election (November 3, 1936)

Democratic Party27,476,673 votes
Franklin D. Roosevelt and John Garner

Republican Party16,679,583 votes
Alfred Landon and Frank Knox

Union Party*892,793 votes
William Lemke and Thomas O'Brien

Socialist Party187,720 votes
Norman Thomas and George Nelson

Communist Party80,159 votes
Earl Browder and James Ford

Prohibition Party37,847 votes
David Colvin and Claude Watson

Liberty Party53,425 votes
William Hope Harvey and Frank Hemenway

Socialist Labor Party12,777 votes
John Aiken and Emil Teichert

* *The Union Party was formed with the help of Father Charles Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice.*

Questions about the Election Results

1. How do the election results for “third parties” (not the Republican or Democratic Parties) in the 1928 election compare to those for the 1932 and 1936 election? Which third party received the most votes in each election?

1928	1932	1936

2. How can you explain the votes for third party candidates in 1932 and 1936? What kind of issues do you think drew voters to these parties?
3. In the 1936 election, Alfred M. Landon was endorsed by eighty percent of the nation’s newspapers as well as by some conservative Democrats. When the votes were cast, FDR received nearly five million more votes in 1936 than he did in 1932, and the Republicans received just one million more votes. Yet the nation was still mired in the Depression in 1936. How can you explain FDR’s wide margin of victory?
4. What evidence would you use to argue that while the majority of Americans supported FDR and the New Deal in 1936, some people thought it had not made enough changes to the system? How might you show that some people thought the New Deal made too many changes to the system?

LIMITS OF THE NEW DEAL: CRITICISM FROM THE LEFT

Huey Long, a Democrat, became one of the New Deal's critics because he believed it did not make enough changes to the American economic system. A U.S. Senator and former governor of Louisiana, Long proposed a social program called "Share Our Wealth" that proved popular among low-income Americans. Viewed as a potential rival to FDR in the 1936 election, Long was assassinated in 1935.



Senator Huey Long of Louisiana

Source: Marchand Collection, UC Davis

Huey Long

The following excerpt is an outline of Huey Long's Share-Our-Wealth program (1935)

...So in this land of God's abundance we propose laws, viz:

1. The fortunes of multimillionaires and billionaires shall be reduced so that no one person shall own more than a few million dollars to the person. We would do this by a capital levy tax [Long is talking about a tax that would be paid on wealth]...we would not levy any capital levy tax on the first million one owned. But on the second million a man owns we would tax that 1 percent, so that every year the man owned the second million dollars he would be taxed \$10,000. On the third million we would impose a tax of 2 percent. On the fourth million we would impose a tax of 4 percent. On the fifth million we would impose a tax of 8 percent. On the sixth million we would impose a tax of 16 percent.

On the seventh million we would impose a tax of 32 percent. On the eighth million we would impose a tax of 64 percent; and on all over the eighth million we would impose a tax of 100 percent...

2. We propose to limit the amount any one man can earn in 1 year or inherit to \$1,000,000 to the person.
3. Now, by limiting the size of the fortunes and incomes of the big men we will throw the Government Treasury the money and property from which we will care for the millions of people who have nothing, and with this money we will provide a home and the comforts of home, with such common conveniences as radio and automobile, for every family in America, free of debt.
4. We guarantee food and clothing for everyone who should work by

shortening the hours of labor to 30 hours per week, maybe less, and to 11 months per year, maybe less. We would have the hours shortened just so much as would give work to everybody to produce enough for everybody....

5. We would provide education at the expense of the States and the United States for every child, not only through grammar school and high school but through to a college and vocational education...

6. We would give a pension to all persons above 60 years of age in an amount sufficient to support them in comfortable circumstances...

7. Until we could straighten things out—and we can straighten things out in 2 months under our program—we would grant a moratorium on all debts which people owe that they cannot pay.

And now you have our program, none too big, none too little, but every man a king...

Source: Congressional Record, Seventy-Fourth Congress, 1st session (14 January 1935), volume 79, part 1, 410-11, as excerpted in *American Issues: A Documentary Reader* (N.Y.: Random House, 1988), pp.362-4.

Questions about Huey Long’s Share Our Wealth Program

1. Would you say that Long’s plan was primarily economic, social, or political? Explain your choice.
2. How does Long propose to limit the wealth that any one American can have? What does Long think the Treasury should do with the money that it collects from wealthy Americans?
3. What steps does Long vow to take to help the unemployed? The elderly?
4. Why might the phrase “none too big, none too little, but every man a king” be a good way to describe Long’s program?
5. Which required more government involvement in the economy, the New Deal or the “Share-Our Wealth” program?



Upton Sinclair and EPIC (End Poverty in California)

Upton Sinclair, the author of *The Jungle*, was the Democratic candidate for governor in California in 1934. Sinclair proposed the EPIC (End Poverty in California) plan to solve the state's economic problems. Business interests and media outlets throughout the state attacked Sinclair's plan, but his plan was popular among average people. Despite repeated attacks on him and his plan, Sinclair received 37 percent of the vote in the general election; his Republican opponent received 48 percent, and a third-party progressive candidate received another 13 percent of the vote.

Author Upton Sinclair, in white suit with black arm band, picketing Rockefeller Building

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division; LC-B2-3061-2 (b&w glass neg.)

[Sinclair here explains how he would approach the problem of poverty.]

...Just what is to be done? No more important question **confronts** the American people today....I have believed all my life in democracy, the right and ability of the people to govern themselves. I am now offering the people of my home State a plan and a technique of procedure which will **remedy** the depression by gradual stages in a peaceable and human fashion, without violence and the overthrow of our political, industrial, or social system.

The "EPIC" movement proposes that our unemployed shall be put at productive labor, producing everything which they themselves consume and exchanging those goods among themselves by a method of **barter**, using warehouse receipts or labor certificates or whatever name you may choose to give to the paper employed. It asserts that the State must advance sufficient capital to give the unemployed access to good land and machinery, so that they may work and support themselves and thus take themselves off the backs of the taxpayers. The "EPIC" movement asserts that this will not hurt private industry, because the unemployed are no longer of any use to industry.

We plan a new cooperative system for the unemployed. Whether it will be **permanent** depends upon whether I am right in my belief about the

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT:

Confront—to deal with something difficult

Remedy—a successful way of dealing with a problem.

Barter—to trade without using money

permanent—continuing for a long time

prosperity—the condition of having money and being successful

Private industry—businesses owned by private individuals—not by the government

Cooperative system—a state-sponsored organization owned by those who use its services and not run for profit.

permanent nature of the depression. If **prosperity** comes back, the workers will drift back into **private industry**. No harm will have been done, because certainly the unemployed will produce something in the meantime, and the State will be that much to the good...

To meet the immediate emergency in our State and get the money to start our new **cooperative system**, we propose what we call an "EPIC" tax. That is an *ad valorem* tax on property assessed above \$100,000, which means about \$250,000 of actual value. This tax will fall almost entirely upon our great corporations and utilities, and to make it easier for them we shall make it payable at the option of the State, in goods and services. That will give us most of

the raw materials and all of the utility services which the unemployed will need to get production started.

We have a great irrigation and power project known as the Central Valley Project. We propose to send fifty thousand unemployed into this work and ask the farmers of the Central Valleys to bring their surplus food crops, taking credits which will be good for water and power when the project is completed. The "EPIC" tax will give us the needed lumber, cement, rock and gravel, steel, etc., and light, heat, power, and transportation. The project will be carried out by our Public Works Department, and it will bring industry back to life in California.

Source: *The Literary Digest* (October 13, 1934), as excerpted by the Museum of the City of San Francisco (<http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist1/sinclair.html>)

Questions about Upton Sinclair and EPIC

1. What does the EPIC plan propose to do for the unemployed? How will it accomplish these goals? Would the changes be permanent?
2. Does Sinclair's plan involve more or less government intervention than the New Deal? How is it similar or different to John L. Lewis' plan or Huey Long's plan for ending the Depression?

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL

Huey Long was not the only person who criticized the New Deal for failing to deliver on all of its economic promises. As the nation prepared for war, labor leader A. Philip Randolph threatened a mass protest in Washington D.C. on July 1, 1941. To avoid the march, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which banned racially discriminatory employment in defense industries and the federal government. The order also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), which is listed on the shirt of the man in the flyer. By December 1941, Randolph had established a March on Washington Movement, which sought to encourage African Americans to mobilize for rights. The Movement framed itself in terms of the rhetoric of the impending war by using the slogan “winning Democracy for the Negro is winning the war for democracy” in a pamphlet. Despite these protests, African Americans were an important part of the Democratic coalition during the 1930s and 1940s.



above) Flyer for the March on Washington Committee (1941).

Source for flyer: A. Phillip Randolph Exhibit at the George Meany Memorial Archives <http://www.georgemeany.org/archives>


WHY SHOULD WE MARCH?

What Are Our Immediate Goals?

1. To mobilize five million Negroes into one militant mass for pressure.
2. To assemble in Chicago the last week in May, 1943, for the celebration of

"WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO" WEEK

And to ponder the question of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation, and a Mass March On Washington.



15,000 Negroes Assembled at St. Louis, Missouri
20,000 Negroes Assembled at Chicago, Illinois
23,500 Negroes Assembled at New York City
Millions of Negro Americans all Over This Great Land Claim the Right to be Free!

**FREE FROM WANT!
FREE FROM FEAR!
FREE FROM JIM CROW!**

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy!" — A. Philip Randolph

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What Is The March On Washington Movement?

It is an all Negro Mass Organization to win the full benefits of democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro but not anti-white nor anti-American.

What Has The Movement Done?

1. Won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States of America barring discrimination in war industries, government agencies and defense training because of race, creed, or national origin, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.
2. Won the appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce this order.
3. Won thousands of jobs for Negroes in defense industries.
4. Brought together millions of Negroes in key cities all over the United States of America to protest against injustice and to demand redress of their grievances.

What Is Its Purpose?

1. To develop a disciplined and unified program of action for the masses of Negro people directed toward abolishing all social, economic and political discrimination.

2. To develop a strategy for non-violent struggle against jim crow and for the full integration of Negroes into every phase of American life.
3. To develop leadership from the mass of Negro people to struggle in their own behalf.

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our purpose and who wants freedom so much that he is willing to struggle for his own liberation.

Where Can You Join?

There is a Branch of our Movement in your city. If there is not, you and your friends may start one by writing to the national office.

How Much Does It Cost?

The yearly membership fee is ten cents per person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National office.

Who Are Its Officers?

- A. Philip Randolph, National Director
 - B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
 - E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary
-

I enclose my membership fee in the Cause For Freedom—ten cents (10c).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Mail to: E. Pauline Myers, March On Washington Movement, Hotel Theresa Building, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Why Should We March? March on Washington Flier (both sides), 1941

Courtesy of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Washington, D.C.

Library of Congress Manuscript Division

Image online: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/exhibit/aopart8.html#0808>

Questions about the March on Washington Movement

1. What are the complaints of the March on Washington Movement?

2. What does the March on Washington Movement tell you about the New Deal and the New Deal coalition?

The Case Against the New Deal: How was the New Deal criticized from the Right?

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

Very few people were neutral about Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal programs. Millions admired him to the point of adoration, and huge groups of supporters gathered wherever he traveled in the nation. In the elections of 1936, 1940, and 1944, Roosevelt managed to broaden his base of support; FDR voters—disparate segments of the population that included white Southerners, blacks, and white ethnic groups in the North (especially industrial workers)—became known as the “grand coalition.” The previous lesson made the “best case” for New Deal programs from the perspective of its supporters; at the same time, the lesson also showed where socialist critics believed the government could have gone farther to overhaul capitalism in the 1930s. But not everyone was enthralled with the New Deal; indeed, critics on the Right frequently attacked the President and his domestic programs. Many of these critics were representatives of the federal government who opposed FDR’s attempts to expand the role of government and, in particular, feared that Roosevelt was creating an “imperial” role for the executive branch. The Supreme Court frustrated many New Deal programs, leading to Roosevelt’s “court packing” plan, and white Southern congressmen handed FDR several defeats.

Roosevelt’s most enduring opposition, however, came from conservatives of the upper and middle class, especially the business community and the Republican Party. Although FDR enjoyed support from sectors of the business community early in his presidency, opposition increased as he pressed on with additional New Deal programs. Critics charged that the New Deal was an assault on capitalism, on individualism, on private property, and on the Constitution. Public debt, public spending, higher taxes, and a larger federal bureaucracy were viewed as signs of disaster. Many of the critiques of New Deal programs were expressed in editorial cartoons, which depicted the president as a communist, socialist, fascist, or dictator with a thirst for power and New Deal programs as cumbersome animals or dangerous explosives. The attacks on FDR frequently moved beyond the political to the personal: some groups depicted the president as an alcoholic, a liar, or a tool of Jews and/or African Americans.

Lesson Goals

In this lesson, students review a series of political cartoons and editorials that critique the New Deal from the Right. At the end of this lesson, students should be able to identify the major conservative critiques of the New Deal. At the same time, they should understand how political cartoons are used to persuade reading audiences.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

- Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.
- Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

Content Standards

■ 11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.

- 11.6.4. Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal economic policies and the expanded role of the federal government in society and the economy since the 1930s.

TIME REQUIRED

- At least one class period.

MATERIALS

- Photocopies of directions for students, graphic organizer, and cartoons.

SUMMARY OF SOURCES

- **Comparison or analogy**
Source A-D, E (verbal), H
- **Caricature**
Source C, F, I
- **Ad hominem**
F, G
- **Personal Attack**
Source F, G
- **Criticism of New Deal Programs**
Source B, C, D
- **Harm to American Values**
Source D, E, G
- **Opposition to Expansion of Executive Branch's Power**
Source A, H, I

Discussion Guide for Teachers

Format: Teachers may wish to prepare students for the exercise by giving background information in a lecture or by asking them to read a textbook passage. Students will certainly want to have their textbooks for reference during the exercise. It may also be helpful to have them reference the Constitution for certain sections of this assignment.

Teachers should divide students into pairs or groups of three or four. Ask students to discuss the significance of each cartoon or quotation with their partner(s). They should also respond to the questions and be prepared to share their ideas with the rest of the class. After the activity portion of the assignment, teachers may wish to lead a class discussion that explores the critical thinking questions at the conclusion of the activity.

This lesson attempts to introduce students to some of the objections that were raised to FDR's political agenda while teaching them how to read political cartoons. The students chart nine Depression-era cartoons in a step-by-step process. The discussion questions at the end of the lesson offer students an opportunity to think about which approaches and critiques were the most effective.

As a first step for each cartoon, students are asked to describe the action of the cartoon—that is, to identify the figures and captions. Students are then prompted to consider the techniques—such as analogy, comparison, and caricature—that cartoonists use to convey their message. At the beginning of the lesson, teachers may wish to explain to students that cartoonists need to express their ideas quickly and efficiently. There are a variety of ways to do this. For example, many of the cartoons (Sources A-D, H) use comparison or analogy. This technique allows a cartoonist to use his audience's common cultural knowledge to tell a longer story in a single frame. Thus, a cartoonist can suggest that the fate of private power companies is similar to the biblical story of Jonah and expect that his audience will fill in the rest of the story in which Jonah was swallowed by a whale. Another cartoonist references the story of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, released by Walt Disney in 1937, to characterize the TVA. Sports analogies are also common, especially in describing the Court-packing Crisis in 1937; in Source H, a cartoonist depicts FDR as an angry ballplayer “trying to change the umpiring” after many of his plays were called “out.” Cartoonists also used caricature to convey their message; at times, caricature extended no further than drawing FDR with a prominent chin and spectacles. Some cartoons, however, used caricature to express a negative opinion about the President and his wife. Students may note that the examples of politically-motivated caricature here came from the National Republican Council and Elizabeth Dilling, a virulent anti-communist. Dilling's book cover puts a picture of FDR next to communist thinkers such as Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. In this case, students may decide that the portrayal of FDR moves far enough beyond caricature to be an *ad hominem* attack: a critique of personal character rather

than political beliefs (source G is actually the cover of Dilling's book rather than a cartoon).

In the final step of analysis, students identify the specific critique of the New Deal offered in each cartoon. Many of FDR's programs had precedents in Progressive-era reforms (as well as various Hoover-administration programs), and historians have noted that the New Deal's pragmatic approach to the nation's problems. However, the attacks on the administration's agenda crystallized around four main objections:

- personal attacks on FDR and/or Eleanor Roosevelt;
- criticisms of various New Deal programs;
- the harm brought upon American individualism, capitalism, government, or spirit by the New Deal; and
- opposition to FDR's desire to expand the power of the executive branch at the expense of Congress and the Supreme Court.

The cartoons that attacked FDR were those that questioned his personal character and integrity. However, most critics stuck to more legitimate objections to the administration, as demonstrated by the specific objections to the TVA (sources B, C) or the fears about the executive branch's expanded power (source A, H, I). Other cartoons worried about the harm inflicted on American values. Some mention this in passing, as when Source D depicts the "ultimate consumer" carrying endangered "traditional American principles," the businessman carrying "tested economic laws," and the taxpayer carrying the federal economy as they flee from a steamroller labeled "farm relief bill" and driven by FDR. Other sources, such as the slogan written by the Liberty League, were more obvious in their critique of the New Deal.

For teachers who would like to include additional cartoons to the lesson—for example, there were also cartoonists who favored the New Deal—there is a collection of cartoons from the 1930s that was created by a teacher in Niskayuna, NY in cooperation with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library (Basil O'Conner Collection): <http://www.nisk.k12.ny.us/fdr/>. The New Deal Network (<http://newdeal.feri.org/>) also features a special section that reviews political cartoons from the court packing crisis. Some teacher guides also recommend giving students a short editorial to compare the differences in how cartoonists and writers convey their ideas. The New Deal Network has several editorials about the Court Packing plan (both pro and con) located at <http://newdeal.feri.org/court/articles.htm>. Finally, for teachers interested in showing a short film with a conservative critique of the New Deal, there's a short film with coverage of the San Francisco general strike in 1934 that emphasizes the importance of restoring "law and order" and "protecting the rights of property" in the face of labor strife. The public-domain film is located at the Internet Archive, www.archive.org/details/prelinger.

The Case Against the New Deal: How was the New Deal criticized from the Right?

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

Although there were enough supporters of the New Deal to get Franklin Roosevelt re-elected three times, not everyone agreed that FDR had the best solution to the Depression. Many of FDR's critics came from the Republican Party and business sector. They had some allies in the nation's newspapers, where many political cartoonists joined those who criticized the president.

Many of FDR's critics had supported FDR early in his presidency, but they concluded that the president had expanded the role of the federal government too much. They argued that the New Deal would have negative and lasting effects on the economy, government, and social values—it would ruin American capitalism, change beliefs about individual responsibility and the rights of private prop-

erty, and it would make the executive branch more powerful than other parts of the government.

In this lesson, you will examine cartoons and editorials that criticized FDR and the New Deal and will think about the techniques that cartoonists used to make their arguments. You should have your textbook and notes on your desk so that you can use them for reference.

CRITICISMS OF THE NEW DEAL

On the next several pages, you will examine eight cartoons that criticize FDR and/or the New Deal. Follow Steps 1 to 3 as you examine each cartoon: each step requires you to think about a different aspect of the cartoon; the questions next to each cartoon will help guide you through the steps. Write your responses to each step in the corresponding column in the graphic organizer on the next page. The first cartoon has been completed for you.

Step 1. Identify the key figures or words in each source. The cartoonist often labels each figure.

Step 2. Identify the visual or verbal effect(s) the author/cartoonist uses to persuade his/her audience. There will usually be more than one.

- **Comparison or analogy.** In this technique, the author/cartoonist compares a current event to another situation in history or culture.
- **Caricature.** In this technique, the author/cartoonist exaggerates (makes something bigger, larger, or worse than it really is) a public figure's physical traits to emphasize a point.
- **Ad hominem.** In this technique, the author/cartoonist questions a public figure's personal character rather than the his/her political beliefs.

Step 3. Identify the specific criticism of FDR and/or the New Deal that the author/cartoonist is making in the source. Some of these critics had supported FDR early in his presidency, but they concluded that the president had expanded the role of the federal government too much. These critics argued that the New Deal would have negative and lasting effects on the American economy, government, and social values: that is, it would ruin American capitalism, change beliefs about individual responsibility and the rights of private property, and it would make the executive branch more powerful than other parts of the federal government.

1. **Personal attacks** on Franklin D. Roosevelt: these sources criticize the president's personal qualities.
2. Criticism of **New Deal programs**: these sources argue that New Deal programs make the federal government too big or powerful.
3. Harm to **American values**: these sources argue that New Deal programs will ruin American values, especially ideas about individual responsibility, capitalism, and/or private property. These arguments frequently compared the New Deal to communism or socialism.
4. Criticism of **executive branch's power**: these sources argue that New Deal programs give the president (Franklin Roosevelt) too much *political* power at the expense of the judiciary (Supreme Court) branch and legislative (Congress) branch.

Criticisms of the New Deal

Remember to check the list on the previous page for help with each column.

SOURCE	STEP 1: Identify the key figures in the cartoon.	STEP 2: What visual or verbal technique does the cartoonist/author use to persuade his audience? Explain your response.	STEP 3: What critique of the New Deal is the cartoonist/author making? Explain your response.
A: “Let’s Harmonize!”	<i>Supreme Court (left) Congress (right) FDR (center), choking Congress and saying “Let’s Harmonize” to S.C.</i>	<i>Exaggeration. FDR is choking Congress. The cartoonist suggests that he is about to choke the Court, too, while pretending to “harmonize.”</i>	<i>Executive branch’s power: the cartoonist is referring to FDR’s “court packing” plan, which critics worried would give the executive branch too much power.</i>
B: “Jonah!”			
C: “Snow White House”			
D: “Don’t Crush Them”			
E: Liberty League poem			

Continues on next page

Criticisms of the New Deal, continued

SOURCE	STEP 1: Identify the key figures in the cartoon.	STEP 2: What visual or verbal technique does the cartoonist/author use to persuade his audience? Explain your response.	STEP 3: What critique of the New Deal is the cartoonist/author making? Explain your response.
F: Nat'l Republican Council FDR at the cliff			
G: Roosevelt Red Record			
H: "Trying to Change the Umpiring"			
I: Nat'l Republican Council FDR & the Constitution			

SOURCE A: “Let’s Harmonize,” published in the *Washington Post* (January 1937)

1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon. Be sure to pay attention to details.

- Supreme Court (left)— turned away from FDR and Congress
- Congress (right)
- FDR (center), choking Congress and saying “Let’s harmonize” to the Supreme Court.



2. What controversy is this cartoon referencing?

- FDR’s “Court-packing plan,” 1937

3. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about Roosevelt? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the “source A” row of your graphic organizer.

- *Executive branch’s power: The cartoonist is referring to FDR’s “court packing” plan, which critics worried would give the executive branch too much power.*

SOURCE B: "'Jonah', 1938!" published in the Mansfield, Ohio News Journal (March 9, 1938)

1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon and explain the caption. Be sure to pay attention to both visual and verbal details.

2. What is the TVA? Consult your book or your notes.

3. What groups might oppose the TVA? How are they represented in the cartoon?



4. The cartoon refers to a famous story in the Bible in which a man named Jonah is swallowed by a whale. Keeping this in mind, what is happening (or about to happen) in the cartoon?

5. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about the TVA? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the "source B" row of your graphic organizer.

SOURCE C: “At the Snow White House,” published in the *Pittsburgh Post* (March 22, 1938)

1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon and explain the caption. Be sure to pay attention to both visual and verbal details.

2. What comparison is the cartoonist making? Who is “Snow White”? Who (or what) is “Dopey”?



3. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about the TVA? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the “source C” row of your graphic organizer.

SOURCE D: “More New Deal Co-operation,” published in the *Providence Journal* (March 24, 1933)

1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon and explain the caption. Be sure to pay attention to both visual and verbal details.

2. What visual or verbal techniques appear in the cartoon? How does the cartoonist express his message?



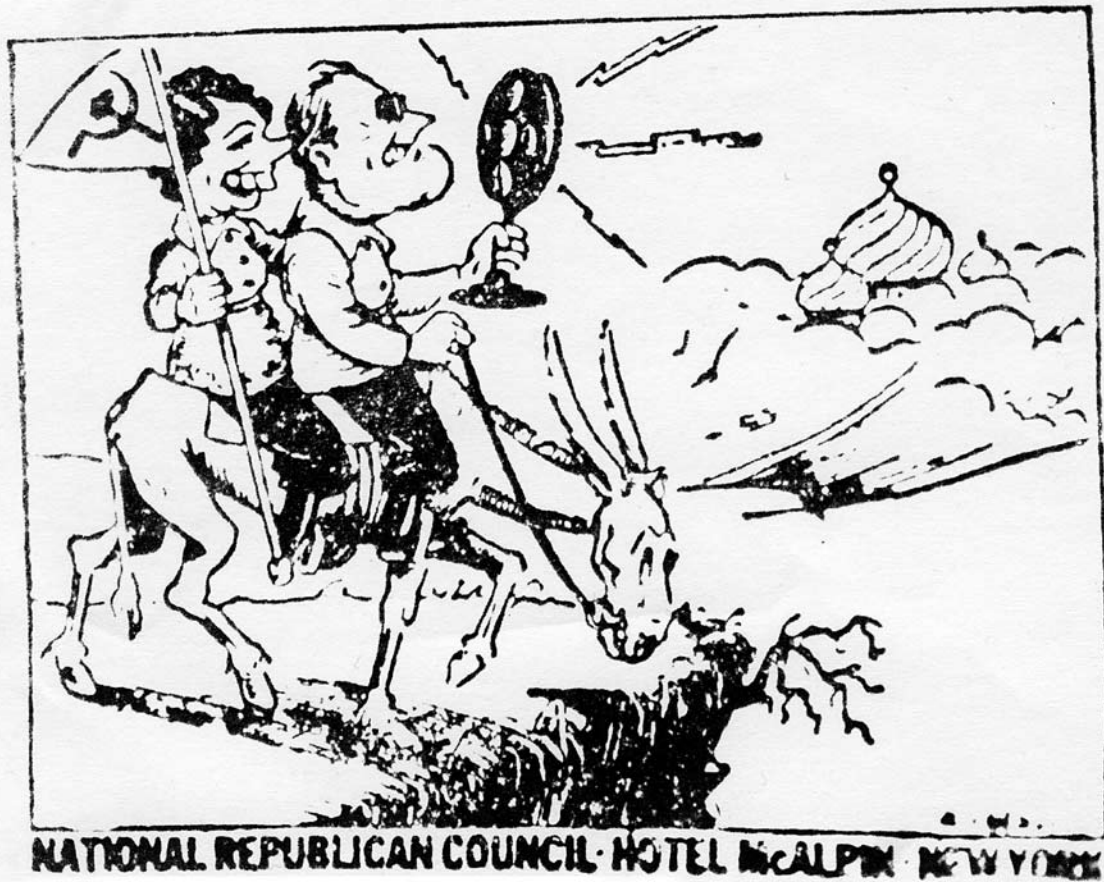
3. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about FDR's agricultural policies? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the “source D” row of your graphic organizer.

SOURCE E: Liberty League (a conservative business lobby) slogan from the election of 1936:

The Red New Deal with a Soviet seal
Endorsed by a Moscow hand
The strange result of an alien cult
In a liberty loving land.

1. Write down four words used in this poem to describe the New Deal.
2. What does this poem compare the New Deal to? Why might some Americans agree with this comparison?
3. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about the New Deal? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the “source E” row of your graphic organizer.

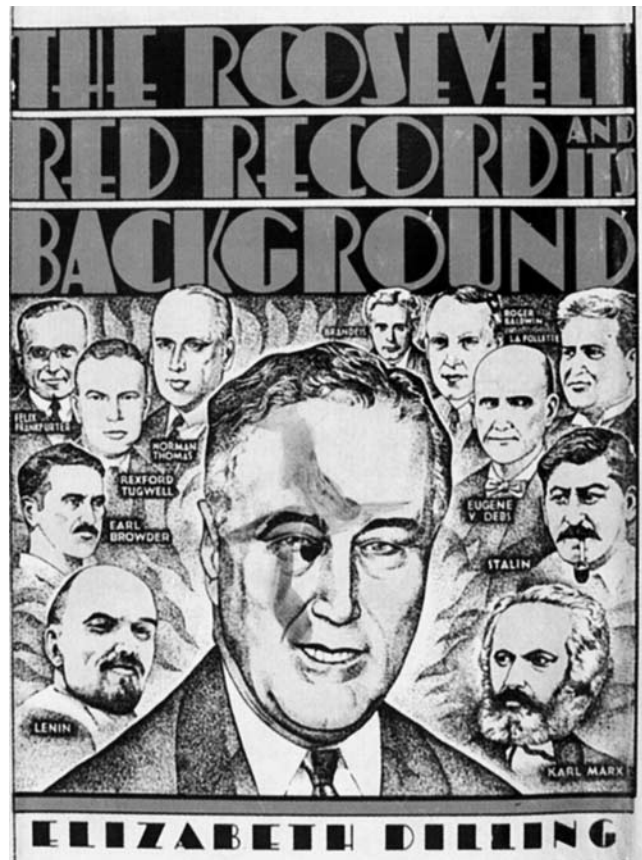
SOURCE F: Cartoon from the National Republican Council:



1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon and explain the caption. Be sure to pay attention to both visual and verbal details.
2. Who is the figure aside Roosevelt on the donkey? Why is she carrying a flag with the hammer and sickle, which was a symbol of the Soviet Union?
3. What visual or verbal techniques appear in the cartoon? How does the cartoonist express his message?
4. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about the TVA? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the “source F” row of your graphic organizer.

SOURCE G: Dust jacket of *The Roosevelt Red Record and its Background* (1936), by Elizabeth Dilling.

1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon and explain the caption. Be sure to pay attention to both visual and verbal details.
2. Who are the figures surrounding Roosevelt in this pamphlet? What country do many of them come from (you may not recognize all of the names)?



3. What do you notice about Roosevelt's facial expression? What suggestion does this make about Roosevelt as a person?
4. Looking at the list of New Deal critiques, which column(s) does this image belong in? Write your answer below, then add "source G" to the appropriate column(s) in your graphic organizer.

SOURCE H: "Trying to Change the Umpiring" published in the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch (February 10, 1937)

1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon and explain the caption. Be sure to pay attention to both visual and verbal details.

2. What visual or verbal techniques appear in the cartoon? How does the cartoonist express his message?



3. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about FDR's administration? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the "source H" row of your graphic organizer.

SOURCE I: Cartoon from the *National Republican Council*



1. Describe the action that is occurring in this cartoon. Be sure to pay attention to visual details.
2. What visual techniques appear in the cartoon? How does the cartoonist express his message?
3. What is the origin of this source, and what does this tell you about its message?
4. Look at the list of New Deal critiques. What is the cartoon saying about FDR's administration? Write your answer below, then write down the appropriate critique(s) in the "source I" row of your graphic organizer.

Discussion Questions

1. In general, do you think the political cartoons and source quotations attacked Roosevelt's New Deal policies, or did you think they focused their criticism on Roosevelt as a person?
2. Which political cartoon did you find to be the most persuasive? What argument or techniques did the cartoonist use that was so effective?
3. Could the conservative attacks on the New Deal have had motives besides those directly stated (for example, opposition to government expansion, threats to capitalism)?
4. Many of the cartoons focused on the dangers of a president who was too powerful. Is there any danger in having a strong leader if his intentions are to help the country? Can you think of any other examples?
5. A major criticism of the New Deal from conservatives was that as the role of government grew, people would have less freedom and fewer individual rights. Do you think Americans lost any freedoms or rights because of the New Deal? Did Americans gain any rights?

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Book design by Susan Reese

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“These units in US History demonstrate to students that history matters to the past, present, and future. They expose students to the tools of the historians’ trade, helping them develop their own sense of what happened and why. Through these units, young historians have a chance to explore the connections among the many regions, groups, and ideas that have shaped the history of the United States. The units are carefully calibrated with the California State Content Standards for US eleventh grade history in order to make these dynamic, engaging lessons meaningful to the real needs and interests of teachers and students in California schools.”

—Vicki L. Ruiz, Professor of History and Chicano-Latino Studies, The University of California, Irvine

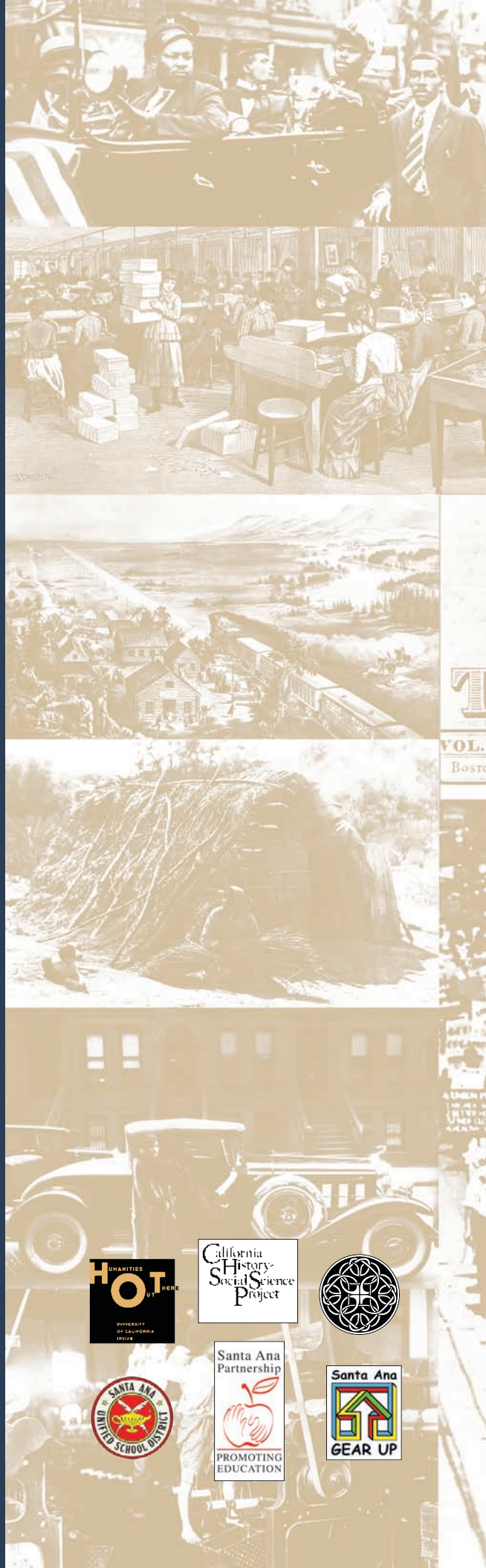
CONTENT STANDARDS COVERED

Skills

1. Chronological and Spatial thinking
2. Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View
3. Historical Interpretation

Content standards

- 11.6. Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.



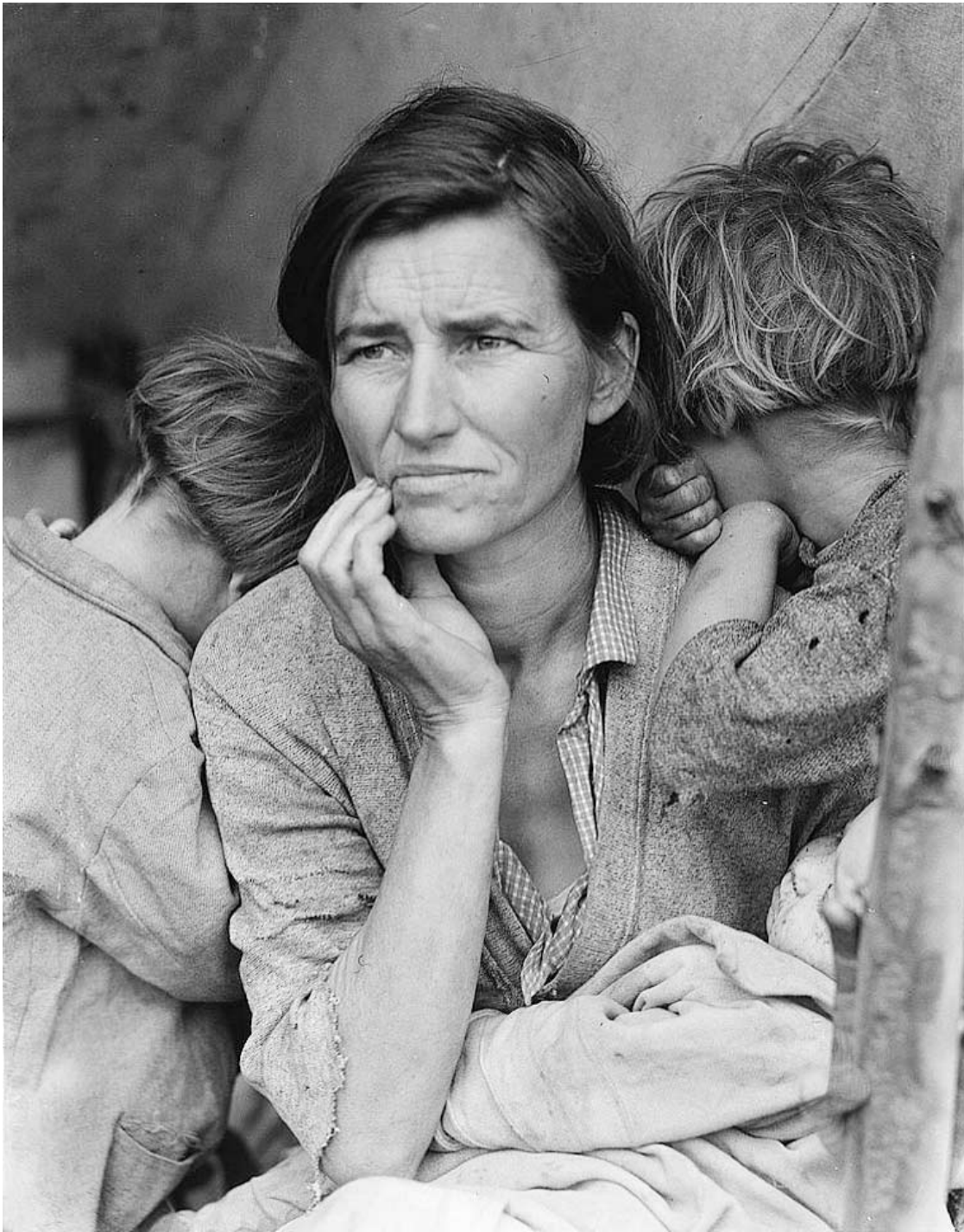
Creating Economic Citizenship:
The Depression and the New Deal—Part I





Page 11 Image: Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover on the way to U.S. Capitol for Roosevelt's inauguration, March 4, 1933

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USA7-18241 DLC]



Page 16 Image: A famous photograph by Dorothea Lange of peapickers in California in Feb. 1936. The woman in the picture was a 32-year-old mother of seven. Lange later recalled that the woman had just sold the tires off her car to buy food.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF34-9058-C].



Page 17, Figure 1: Margaret Bourke-White, 1937. At the time of the Louisville Flood, Louisville, Kentucky 1937.

Source: Getty Images



Page 18, Figure 2: Russell Lee, January 1938. Unemployed workers in front of a shack with Christmas tree, East 12th Street, New York City.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF33-011402-M4 DLC]



Page 18, Figure 3: Breadline at McCauley Water Street Mission under Brooklyn Bridge, New York (between 1930-1934?).

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [cph 3b37875]



Page 21, Figure 4: Dorothea Lange, Migrants, family of Mexicans, on road with tire trouble. Looking for work in the peas. California (1936)

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF34-002464-E DLC]



Page 21, Figure 5: Walker Evans, Sharecropper Bud Fields and his family at home. Hale County, Alabama (1935 or 1936)

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-DIG-ppmsc-00234 DLC]



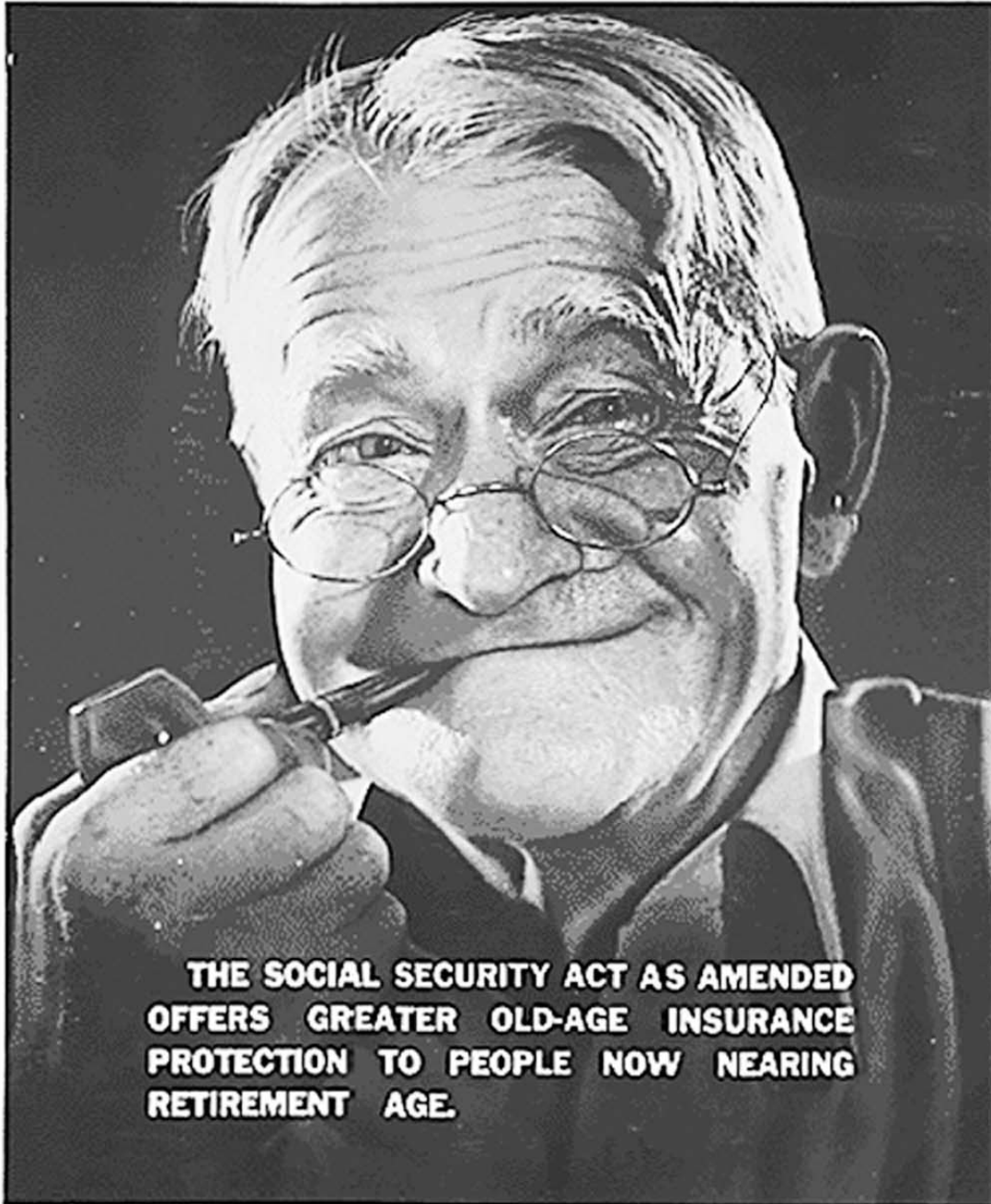
Page 32 Image: *Children at city dump (July 1938)* Arthur Rothstein
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF33-002831-M2 DLC]



Page 39 Image: Floyd Burroughs and Tenge children, Hale County, Alabama.

Credit: Walker Evans (summer 1936)
Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division,
FSA-OWI Collection, [LC-USF3301-031306-M5 DLC]

MORE SECURITY FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY



**THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AS AMENDED
OFFERS GREATER OLD-AGE INSURANCE
PROTECTION TO PEOPLE NOW NEARING
RETIREMENT AGE.**

FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR CALL AT THE NEAREST FIELD OFFICE OF THE
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

Page 41 Image: Social Security poster, 1930s

Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Digital Archives <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/>



Page 44 Image: Negro Man Entering Movie Theatre by "Colored" Entrance. Belzoni, Mississippi (October 1939).

Marion Post Wolcott
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division,
FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF33-03067-M3 (8-3)]



Page 47 Image: The Unemployed Union: marchers south on Broadway in Camden, NJ

Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Digital Archives <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu>



Page 52 Image: Graphic of NRA Blue Eagle, ca. 1933

Records of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), 1927-1937; Records Group 9 (NWDNS-9-X); National Archives



Page 52 Image: CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) boys at work, Prince George's County, Maryland, August 1935.

Photo: Carl Mydans

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF33- 000067-M3 DLC]



Page 53 Image: Training, Work Projects Administration (WPA) vocational school, July 1942.

Photo: Howard Liberman

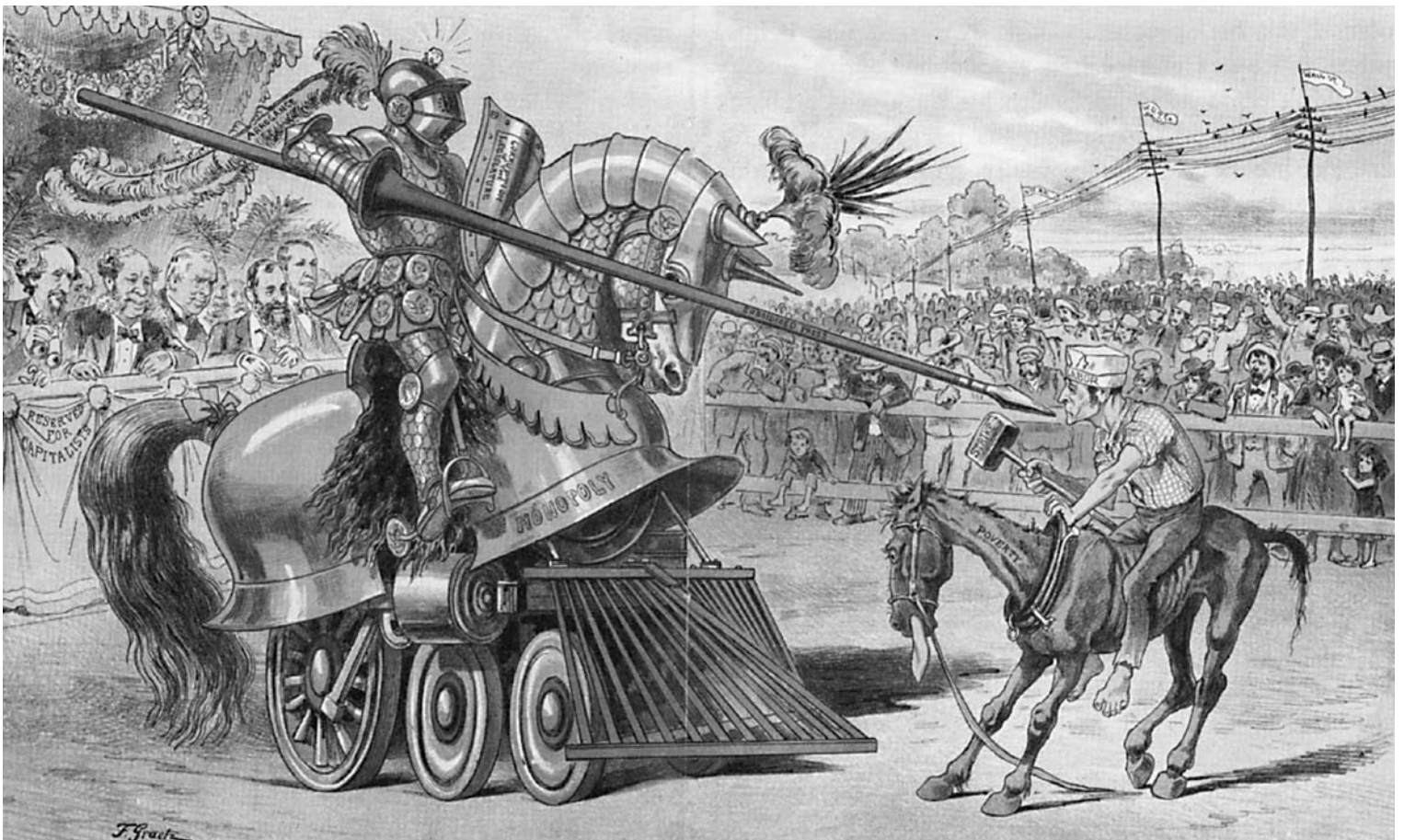
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USE6-D-006317 DLC]



Page 53 Image: In sewing class, a WPA (Work Projects Administration) project, at the FSA (Farm Security Administration) labor camp. Caldwell, Idaho, 1944.

Photo: Russell Lee

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USF34-039445-D DLC]



Page 60 Image: A pro-labor cartoon from 1883 shows labor and poverty (right) yielding the strike as its weapon. In contrast, the cartoon depicts big business riding atop the horse (labeled "monopoly"), supported by politicians and media. This cartoon provides a contrast to the images on the next pages.

Source: MB Schnapper, *American Labor*, p. 225



Page 61 Image: Female employees of Woolworth's hold a sign indicating they are striking for a 40-hour work week (1937).

New York World-Telegram and The Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection (Library of Congress) [LC-USZ62-124545]



Page 65 Image: Steel Workers Organizing Committee drive in the Midwest (1936). In March 1937, US Steel recognized SWOC as bargaining agent, raised wages 10 percent, and established an eight-hour workday.

Source: M.B. Schnapper, *American Labor*, p. 517



Page 66 Image: Strikers guarding window entrance to Fisher body plant number three. Flint, Michigan.

Dick Sheldon, photographer. (1937).

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [LC-USZ62-131616].



Page 71 Image: Senator Huey Long of Louisiana

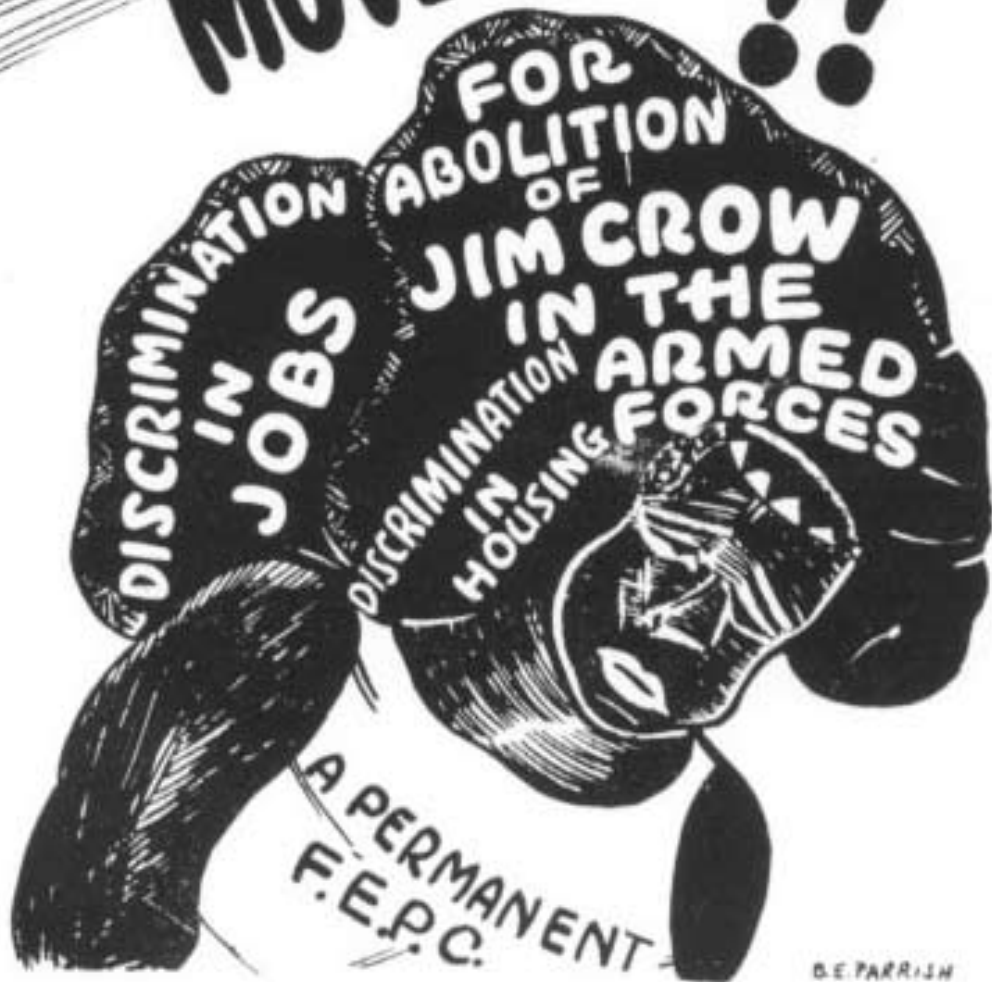
Source: Marchand Collection, UC Davis



Page 73 Image: Author Upton Sinclair, in white suit with black arm band, picketing Rockefeller Building

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division; LC-B2-3061-2 (b&w glass neg.)

**STRAIGHTEN UP—
AND COME RIGHT TO THE
MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON
MOVEMENT !!**



Page 75 Image: Flyer for the March on Washington Committee (1941).

Source for flyer: A. Phillip Randolph Exhibit at the George Meany Memorial Archives <http://www.georgemeany.org/archives>

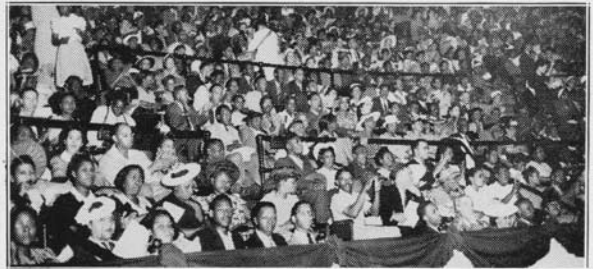
WHY SHOULD WE MARCH?

What Are Our Immediate Goals?

1. To mobilize five million Negroes into one militant mass for pressure.
2. To assemble in Chicago the last week in May, 1943, for the celebration of

"WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO" WEEK

And to ponder the question of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation, and a Mass March On Washington.



15,000 Negroes Assembled at St. Louis, Missouri
20,000 Negroes Assembled at Chicago, Illinois
23,500 Negroes Assembled at New York City
Millions of Negro Americans all Over This Great
Land Claim the Right to be Free!

FREE FROM WANT!
FREE FROM FEAR!
FREE FROM JIM CROW!

*"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War
for Democracy!" — A. Philip Randolph*

Page 75 Image: *Why Should We March?* March on Washington Flier (front), 1941

Courtesy of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Washington, D.C.

Library of Congress Manuscript Division Image online: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aohtml/exhibit/aopart8.html#0808>

What Is The March On Washington Movement?

It is an all Negro Mass Organization to win the full benefits of democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro but not anti-white nor anti-American.

What Has The Movement Done?

1. Won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States of America barring discrimination in war industries, government agencies and defense training because of race, creed, or national origin, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.
2. Won the appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce this order.
3. Won thousands of jobs for Negroes in defense industries.
4. Brought together millions of Negroes in key cities all over the United States of America to protest against injustice and to demand redress of their grievances.

What Is Its Purpose?

1. To develop a disciplined and unified program of action for the masses of Negro people directed toward abolishing all social, economic and political discrimination.
- ●●●● ●●●●
2. To develop a strategy for non-violent struggle against jim crow and for the full integration of Negroes into every phase of American life.
 3. To develop leadership from the mass of Negro people to struggle in their own behalf.

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our purpose and who wants freedom so much that he is willing to struggle for his own liberation.

Where Can You Join?

There is a Branch of our Movement in your city. If there is not, you and your friends may start one by writing to the national office.

How Much Does It Cost?

The yearly membership fee is ten cents per person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National office.

Who Are Its Officers?

- A. Philip Randolph, National Director
- B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
- E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary

I enclose my membership fee in the Cause For Freedom—ten cents (10c).

Name

Address

City State

Mail to: E. Pauline Myers, March On Washington Movement, Hotel Theresa Building, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Page 76 Image: *Why Should We March?* March on Washington Flier (back), 1941

Courtesy of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Washington, D.C.

Library of Congress Manuscript Division Image online: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aohtml/exhibit/aopart8.html#0808>



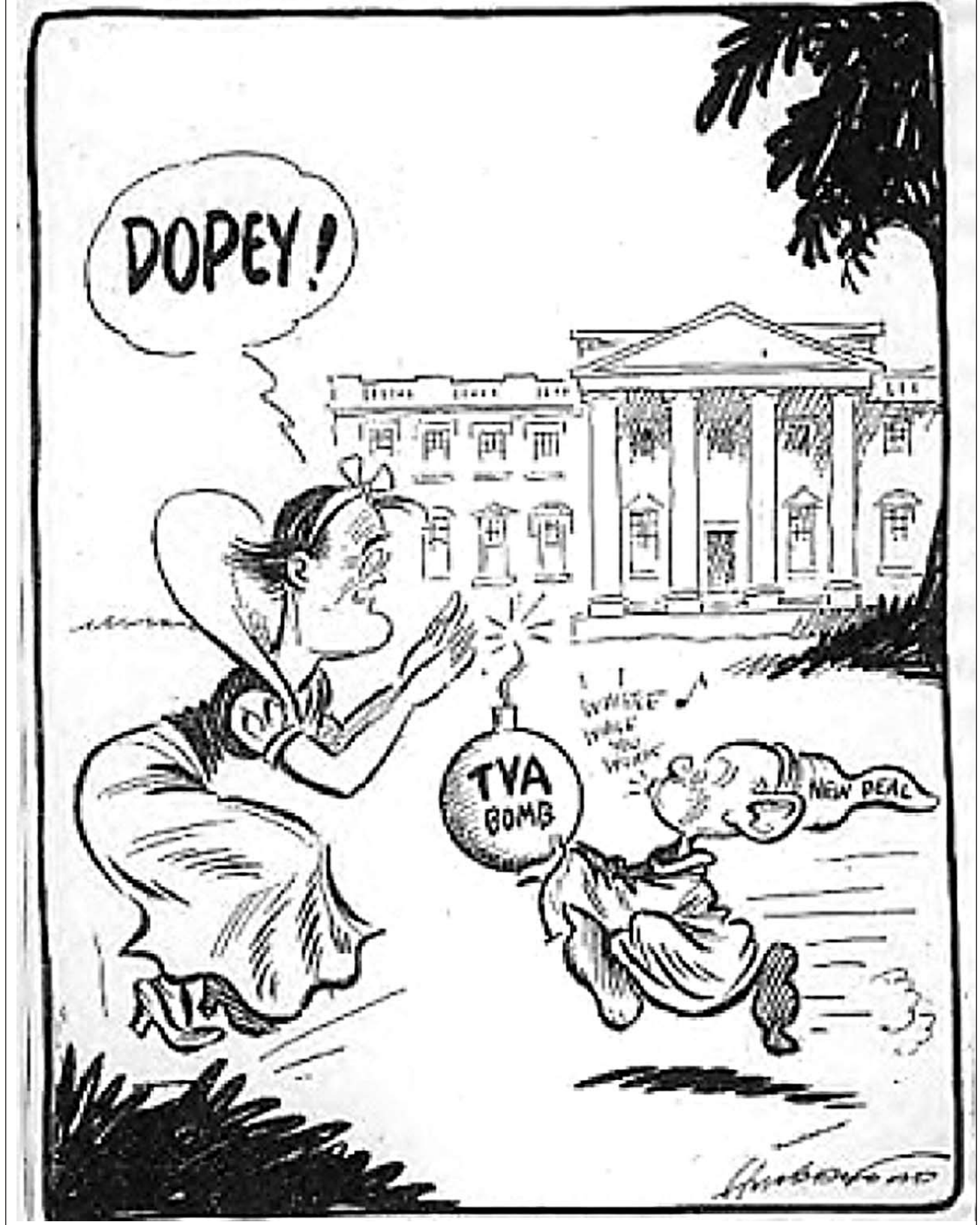
Let's Harmonize!

Page 84 Image, Source A: "Let's Harmonize," published in the *Washington Post* (January 1937)



Page 85 Image, Source B: "'Jonah', 1938!" published in the Mansfield, Ohio *News Journal* (March 9, 1938)

At the Snow White House—By Hungerford



Page 86 Image, Source C: "At the Snow White House," published in the *Pittsburgh Post* (March 22, 1938)

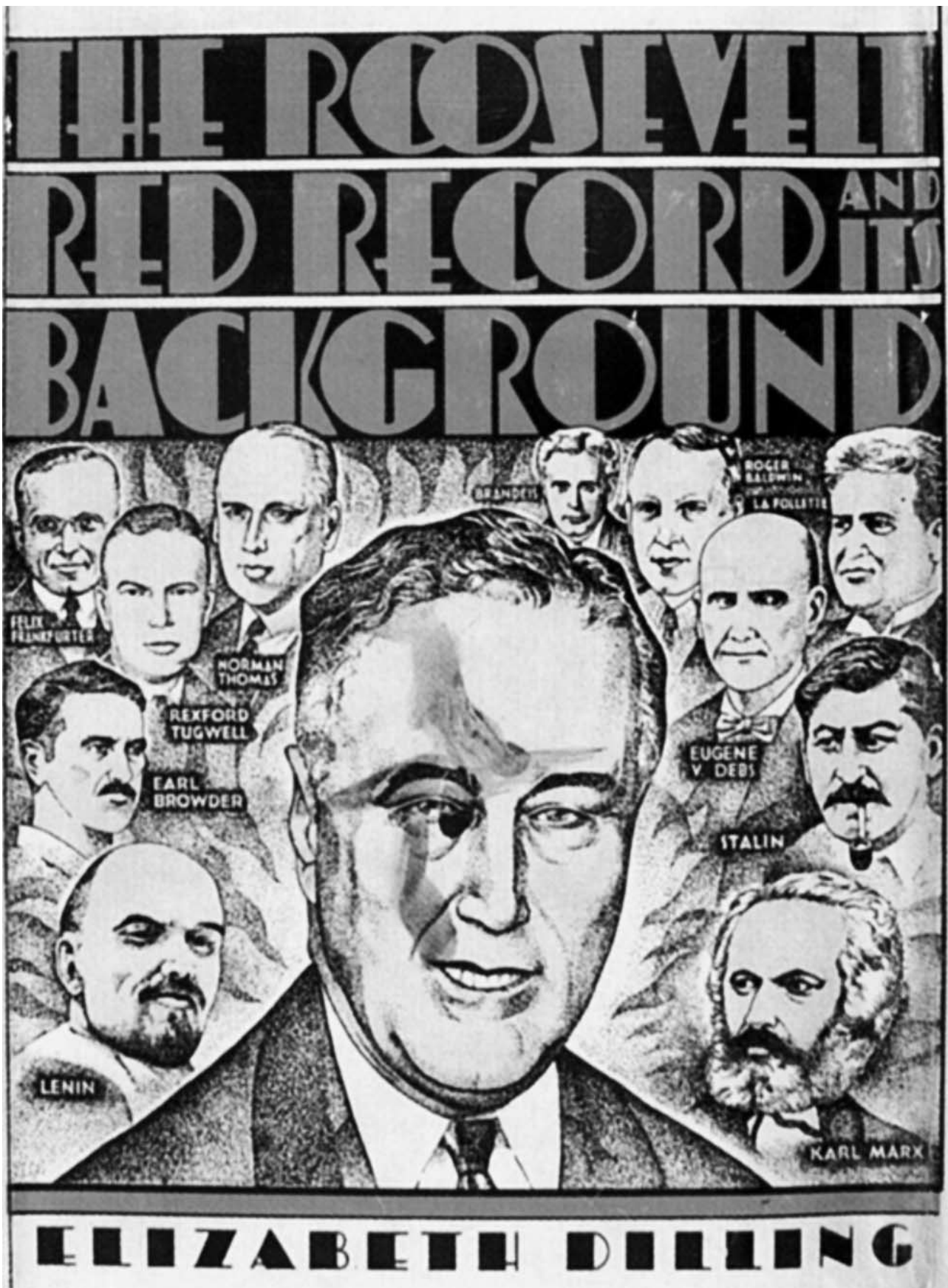
DON'T CRUSH THEM!



Page 87 Image, Source D: "More New Deal Co-operation," published in the *Providence Journal* (March 24, 1933)



Page 89 Image, Source F: Cartoon from the National Republican Council:



Page 90 Image, Source G: Dust jacket of *The Roosevelt Red Record and its Background* (1936), by Elizabeth Dilling.

TRYING TO CHANGE THE UMPIRING



Page 91 Image, Source H: "Trying to Change the Umpiring" published in the *Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch* (February 10, 1937)



NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COUNCIL HOTEL McALPIN NEW YORK

Page 92 Image, Source 1: Cartoon from the *National Republican Council*