*	Date	
Name		



GUIDED READING A New Deal Fights the Depression

A. As you read about President Roosevelt's New Deal, take notes to answer questions about each new federal program. The first one is done for you.

Federal Program	What was its immediate purpose?	What was its long-term goal?	
Business Assistance and Reform	Authorized the Treasury Department to inspect and close	To restore public confidence in banks	
1. Emergency Banking Relief Act (EBRA)	banks	Poull's	
2. Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1933			
3. Federal Securities Act			
4. National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)			
Farm Relief/Rural Development			
5. Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)			
6. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)			
Employment Projects			
7. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)			
8. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)			
9. Public Works Administration (PWA)			
10. Civil Works Administration (CWA)	3		
Housing			
11. Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)	n	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

B. On the back of this paper, explain who **Huey Long** was and why he is a significant historical figure.

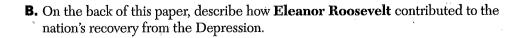
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Name	Date



GUIDED READING The Second New Deal Takes Hold

A. As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about the second phase of Roosevelt's New Deal policies.

Group	What problems did each group face during the Depression?	What laws were passed and agencies established to deal with these problems?
1. Farmers, migrant workers, and others living in rural areas		
2. Students and other young people		
3. Teachers, writers, artists, and other professionals		
4. All workers, including the unemployed		
5. Retired workers		
6. The disabled, the needy elderly, and dependent mothers and children		



Name		Date	
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GUIDED READING The New Deal Affects Many Groups

A.	As you	read,	write notes	about e	ach gro	up in F	Roosevelt's 1	New Deal	coalition	ı.
				. •						
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1. Women	Gains women made under the New Deal:	Problems of women not solved by the New Deal:
Example(s) of appointees to important government positions:		

2. African Americans	Gains African Americans made under the New Deal:	Problems of African Americans not solved by the New Deal:
Example(s) of appointees to important government positions:		

3. Labor unions Example(s) of union(s) organized during the New Deal:	Gains unions made under the New Deal:	Problems of unions not solved by the New Deal:

Other groups:	5

B. On the back of this paper, explain who **John Collier** was and how he helped one of the New Deal coalition groups.

		•
Name	Date	



guided reading Culture in the 1930s

As you read about how the Depression and New Deal influenced American culture, write notes in the appropriate boxes to answer the questions about each work.

Films and Radio Drama		,,
1. Gone with the Wind	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
2. Mr. Smith Goes to Washington	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
3. The War of the Worlds	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
4. Waiting for Lefty	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
Art and Literature		
5. Native Son	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
6. The Grapes of Wrath	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
7. Our Town	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
8. American Gothic	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?

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GUIDED READING The Impact of the New Deal

A. As you read about the impact of New Deal reforms, take notes about the lasting effects of those reforms on American society.

	New Deal Laws and Agencies	Lasting Effects of These Laws and Agencies on American Government and Life
1. Labor		
2. Agriculture and rural life		
3. Banking and finance		
4. Social welfare		
5. Environment		

B. On the back of this paper, explain the meaning of parity.

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BUILDING VOCABULARY The New Deal

- **A. Multiple Choice** Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.
 - 1. The Glass-Steagall Act established the (a) Securities and Exchange Commission (b) Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (c) Civilian Conservation Corps.
 - 2. The Civil Works Administration provided money to states to create jobs mainly in the construction of (a) schools and other community buildings (b) dams and roads (c) historic monuments.
 - 3. The Works Progress Administration was headed by (a) Eleanor Roosevelt (b) Huey Long (c) Harry Hopkins.
 - 4. Frances Perkins was the nation's first (a) female cabinet member (b) African-American cabinet member (c) African-American to perform at the Lincoln Memorial.
 - 5. The novel that depicts the arduous journey of Oklahoma farmers fleeing the Dust Bowl is (a) Native Son (b) The Disinherited (c) The Grapes of Wrath.
- **B. Matching** Match the description in the second column with the term or name in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

 1.	Civilian	Conservation
	Corps	

a. Roosevelt's program to fight the Depression

		_
2.	Richard	Wright

b. measure that strengthened labor unions

3.	deficit	S	pending

c. famous Depression-era movie

t		,		
	4.	New	Deal	

d. opponent of New Deal

e. brought power to an impoverished region

 a	Wagner	Act
 v.	wagner	ACC

f. author of Native Son

7	Tennessee	Valley	Authority
 • •	TOTHUSSOC	vancy	radionicy

g. put millions of young men to work

8	Huey	Long
---	------	------

h. government spending that exceeds intake

C. Writing Write a paragraph about how the New Deal affected the nation's minorities. Use the following names and terms.



Mary McLeod Bethune

John Collier

New Deal Coalition

Name .		Data	
name .		Date	•



SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE Analyzing Issues

In 1996, the issue of individual rights versus government protection became prominent as ever-expanding communications technology raised the question of how to protect children from undesirable material on the Internet. Read the description of some of the arguments, then fill in the chart to analyze this issue. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. R14.)

The Communications Decency Act As part of a widely supported effort to protect children from access to obscenity and other inappropriate materials on the Internet, Congress passed the Communications Decency Act of 1996, making it a crime to knowingly transmit certain kinds of materials to children over the Internet. President Clinton hailed the action as government helping parents protect their children. Certain parent organizations also applauded the law.

Some advocates of the act pointed out that American taxpayers had helped finance development of the Internet as the federal government worked to build the early stages of the web. It follows, then, these advocates said, that all Americans—no matter what their age, interests, or values may be—should be able to use the Internet without being offended by material they encounter.

A Violation of Free Speech Opponents of the act, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Library Association, proclaimed that it violated First Amendment rights of free speech. They agreed that children's access to certain materials on the Internet should be supervised, but they believed that parents and schools, not the government, should be responsible for that supervision. They recommended a number of software filters on the market that parents could buy to screen Internet content in their own home.

Opponents also pointed out that the Internet contains vast amounts of information, and only a small portion falls into the category of being obscene or otherwise inappropriate for children. Furthermore, they said, it is highly unlikely that children would actually stumble upon these sites as they "surfed the Net," and most such sites already begin with warnings to children.

In June 1996, a federal court in Philadelphia reviewed the Communications Decency Act and found it to be unconstitutional. The judges unanimously agreed that the Internet should be protected from government interference. Proponents of the act appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, where all sides of the issue would be examined again.

The issue:	
The response: Passage of Decency Act	f the Communications
PROPONENTS	OPPONENTS
Who they are:	Who they are:
Their arguments:	Their arguments:
,	

		B /
Name		Date



reteaching activity $A\ New\ Deal\ Fights$ the Depression

М	at	ch	in	a

Matching	
A. Complete each sentence with the	e appropriate term or name.
kitchen cabinet fireside chats Civilian Conservation Corps nationalization separation of powers	National Industrial Recovery Act Federal Securities Act "Brain Trust" executive privilege National Recovery Administration
1. The group of advisers whom Roo known as the	sevelt assembled to help him devise his New Deal policies were
2. Roosevelt tried to allay the count conversations known as	ry's fears about the Depression through a series of radio
3. The was a New D competition.	eal program that set prices of many products to ensure fair
4. Critics believed that Roosevelt's '	'court-packing" bill violated the notion of
5. New Deal critic Charles Coughli	n favored a guaranteed income and the of banks.
Evaluating	
B. Write <i>T</i> in the blank if the states blank and then write the correct	ment is true. If the statement is false, write F in the ed statement on the line below.
1. The three main goals o increased speculation.	of the New Deal were relief for the needy, economic recovery, and
2. The period of intense of measures was known a	economic activity in which Congress passed numerous New Deal s the Hundred Days.
3. One action taken by the Plains to help prevent	ne Civilian Conservation Corps was to replant trees on the Great another Dust Bowl.
4. The Twenty-second An	nendment, passed in 1933, repealed Prohibition.

5. New Deal critic Dr. Francis Townsend argued that the Roosevelt Administration wasn't doing enough to help the business community.

NIα	me		
Na	HIE		

Date		



RETEACHING ACTIVITY The Second New Deal Takes Hold

Finding Main Ideas

The following questions deal with the Second New Deal. Answer them in the space provided.

1. What was significant about the presidential election of 1936? 2. How did the Second New Deal attempt to help farmers? 3. What types of work did participants in the Works Progress Administration undertake? 4. What did the Fair Labor Standards Act accomplish? 5. What groups did the Social Security Act seek to help? 6. How did the Wagner Act aid organized labor?

Name	Date	



RETEACHING ACTIVITY The New Deal Affects Many Groups

Multiple Choice

CHO	ose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.
	_ 1. The country's first all-black trade union was organized by
	a. Mary McLeod Bethune.
•	b. A. Philip Randolph.
	c. Frances Perkins.
•	d. Robert C. Weaver.
	_ 2. Roosevelt did not do more to promote civil rights out of fear of upsetting
	a. Congress.
	b. westerners.
	c. labor unions.
	d. Southern Democrats.
	_ 3. Between 1933 and 1941, union membership in the United States grew from less than 3 million to about
	a. 5 million.
	b. 10 million.
	c. 12 million.
	d. 15 million.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	_ 4. One of the main bargaining tactics of the labor movement in the 1930s was the
,	a. sit-down strike.
	b. work slowdown.
	c. boycott.
	d. walk-out.
	_ 5. The Memorial Day Massacre involved violent clashes between police and workers in the a. steel industry.
	b. oil industry.
	c. railroad industry.
	d. textile industry.
	_ 6. Frances Perkins became the first female
	a. federal judge.
	b. vice-president.
	c. cabinet member.
	d. presidential candidate.



RETEACHING ACTIVITY Culture in the 1930s

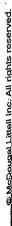
A. Match the description in the second column with the person or work in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.		
column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.	Matching	
	A. Match the description in the secon column. Write the appropriate let	nd column with the person or work in the first ter next to the word.
	1. Woodie Guthrie	a. depicted difficulties of Dust Bowl farmers
	2. Gone with the Wind	b. folksinger who captured daily hardships
5. Orson Welles e. famous Depression-era film 6. Grant Wood f. author of Native Son Finding Main Ideas B. The following questions deal wiith American culture during the Depression. Write your answers in the space provided. 1. How did the Federal Art Project help Depression-era artists? 2. Why did so many people regularly attend movies during the 1930s? 3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio	3. Richard Wright	c. created "The War of the Worlds" radio show
Finding Main Ideas B. The following questions deal wiith American culture during the Depression. Write your answers in the space provided. 1. How did the Federal Art Project help Depression-era artists? 2. Why did so many people regularly attend movies during the 1930s? 3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio	4. Grapes of Wrath	d. creator of famous painting American Gothic
Finding Main Ideas B. The following questions deal wiith American culture during the Depression. Write your answers in the space provided. 1. How did the Federal Art Project help Depression-era artists? 2. Why did so many people regularly attend movies during the 1930s? 3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio	5. Orson Welles	e. famous Depression-era film
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your answers in the space provided. 1. How did the Federal Art Project help Depression-era artists? 2. Why did so many people regularly attend movies during the 1930s? 3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio	Finding Main Ideas	
2. Why did so many people regularly attend movies during the 1930s? 3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio		
3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio	1. How did the Federal Art Project h	nelp Depression-era artists?
3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio		
3. How did the art and literature of the Depression differ from the movie and radio		
	2. Why did so many people regularly	attend movies during the 1930s?
·		he Depression differ from the movie and radio

	Da	ate	



RETEACHING ACTIVITY The Impact of the New Deal

Section 5	
Completion	
A. Complete each sentence with	the appropriate term or name.
banking industry social security deficit Glass-Steagall Act	stock market Federal Securities Act World War II surplus
1. The Security and Exchange Co	mmission today continues to regulate the
2. After reaching retirement age, 1	most Americans today receive payments
4. The Federal Deposit Insurance 5. What really ended the Great Debrought on by	e Corporation was created by the epression was the increased spending and work opportunities
Summarizing ·	
B. Complete the chart below by so of the New Deal.	ummarizing the main arguments posed by critics and supporters
	Impact of the New Deal
Supporters	Critics





GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION

Decade of the Democrats

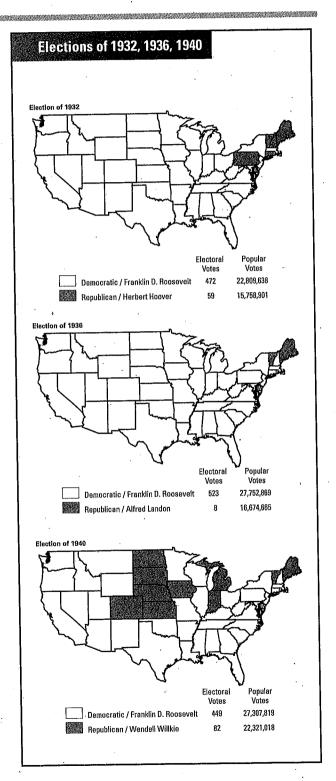
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the maps carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

The Democratic Party controlled the federal government for most of the 1930s. The Republicans' mostly voluntary programs to remedy the ravages of the Great Depression had failed, so in 1932 Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president. Only the Northeast, a Republican stronghold, did not endorse Roosevelt. Elsewhere, his support was overwhelming.

The Democrats had put together a new coalition of voters: urban immigrants, blue-collar workers of the industrialized North, African Americans, farmers of the Midwest and Great Plains and citizens in the "Solid South" joined to give the Democratic Party a national majority for the first time since the Civil War.

These people had voted for change, and they got what they wanted. To put the nation on the road to economic recovery, Roosevelt pushed through a collection of work programs, often called "alphabet soup" for initials such as WPA and CCC. The mid-1930s marked the high point of these New Deal programs. Millions of people were put back to work, and many economic-recovery projects were in full swing.

By the end of the 1930s, however, the situation had changed. The country, slowly climbing out of the depths of the Great Depression, had suffered another period of economic decline in 1937-1938, and unemployment was once again a major problem. Business leaders and Congress had become more vocal in their criticism of the New Deal, and many of its programs were ended. By the 1940 presidential election, eight states—all in the agricultural Midwest and Great Plains—had switched their support from Roosevelt to the Republican candidate, Wendell Willkie. Though Roosevelt's popularity remained strong elsewhere, particularly in the Democratic stronghold of the South, it would take the U.S. involvement in World War II to jolt the nation's economy into the full recovery that Roosevelt had been seeking.





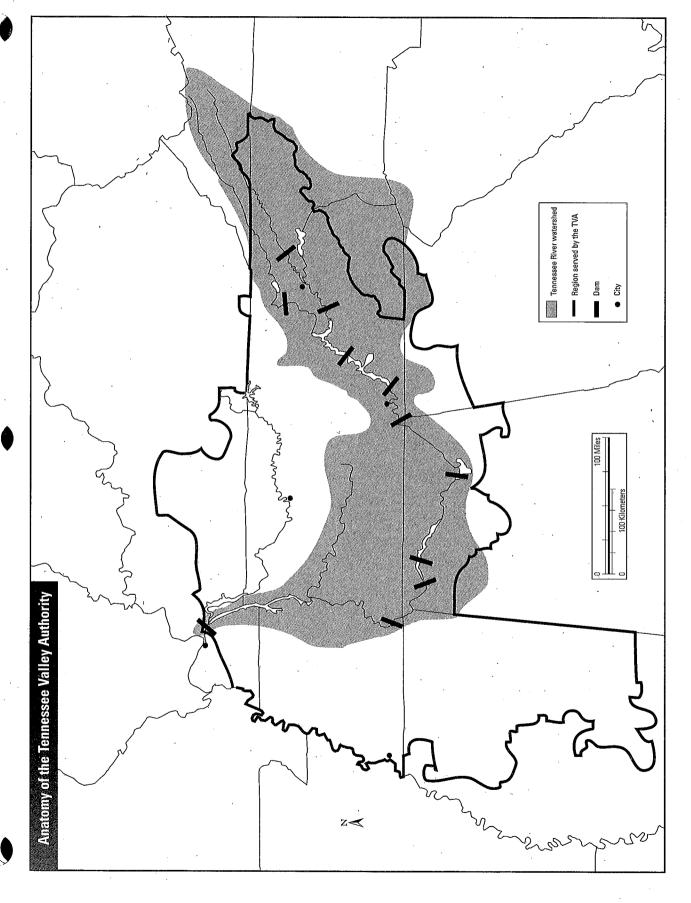
1. Which part of the country failed to support Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1932 presidential election?	
2. Which states remained Republican in all three elections? (You may consult the atlas, pp. A1–A21, for the names of U.S. states.)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
What regions of the United States remained solidly Democratic in all three elections?	
3. The 1936 election is a good example of the frequent disparity between popular and electoral totals. Roosevelt received more than 65 times as many electoral votes as Landon. But was the popular vote for Roosevelt about 90 times as great, 9 times as great, or 1.5 times as great as that for Landon?	
4. Compare Roosevelt's victory in 1940 with his victory in 1936. In what respect did he lose ground?	
5. In which election did the Democratic Party achieve its greatest popularity?	
6. What do you think was the main cause of Herbert Hoover's loss in 1932?	
7. What trend do you notice in the Democratic vote in the 1940 election?	

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OUTLINE MAP Anatomy of the Tennessee Valley Authority

Bodies of Water	Cities	Dams ,
Cumberland R.	Chattanooga	Chickamauga Dam
Kentucky Lake	Knoxville	Fort Loudoun Dam .
Mississippi R.	Memphis	Guntersville Dam
Ohio R.	Nashville	Kentucky Dam
Tennessee R.	Paducah	Nickajack Dam
_	o, use it to answer the following	
	timate both the east–west and	
the area served by the	TVA.	
	•	
2. Which states does the	TVA serve?	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
		<u>, </u>
·		
3. The Tennessee River	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River	begins at Knoxville. Which is	
3. The Tennessee River	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the souther	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the souther	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the souther	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the souther	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the souther	begins at Knoxville. Which is	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the southers 4. Which is the first dam	begins at Knoxville. Which is nmost?	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the souther	begins at Knoxville. Which is nmost?	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the southers 4. Which is the first dam	begins at Knoxville. Which is nmost?	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the southers 4. Which is the first dam 5. How many dams does	begins at Knoxville. Which is nmost? encountered after Chattanoons the Tennessee River have?	the first dam on the river? the
3. The Tennessee River last dam? the southers 4. Which is the first dam 5. How many dams does 6. Describe the journey	begins at Knoxville. Which is nmost? encountered after Chattanoon the Tennessee River have? that a molecule of water at the	the first dam on the river? the



PRIMARY SOURCE from Father Coughlin's Anti-New Deal Speech

Father Charles Coughlin often discussed politics on his weekly radio broadcast, the "Golden Hour of the Little Flower." In a speech aired on WABC on June 19, 1936, Coughlin endorsed William Lemke's third-party presidential candidacy and attacked President Roosevelt. As you read part of this speech, consider Coughlin's opposition to the New Deal.

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

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

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

Oh, just a little longer shall there be needless poverty! Just another year shall there be naked backs! Just another moment shall there be dark thoughts of revolution! Never again will the chains of economic poverty bite into the hearts of simple folks as they did in the past days of the Old Deal!

Such were our hopes in the springtime of 1933.

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

In 1936, when our disillusionment is complete, we pause to take inventory of our predicament. You citizens have shackled about your limbs a tax bill of \$35 billion, most of which . . . was created by a flourish of a fountain pen. Your erstwhile savior, whose golden promises ring upon the counter of performance with the cheapness of tin, bargained with the money changers that, with 70 billion laboring hours in the ditch, or in the factory, or behind the plow, you

and your children shall repay the debt which was created with a drop of ink in less than ten seconds.

Is that driving the money changers out of the temple?

Every crumb you eat, every stitch of clothing you wear, every menial purchase which you make is weighted down with an unseen tax as you work and slave for the debt merchants of America. But the \$55 billion of debt bonds, held mostly by the debt merchants and the well-circumstanced of this country, have been ably safeguarded from taxation by this peerless leader who sham-battles his way along the avenue of popularity with his smile for the poor and his blindness for their plight. Is that driving the money changers from the temple? . . .

It is not pleasant for me who coined the phrase "Roosevelt or ruin" —a phrase fashioned upon promises—to voice such passionate words. But I am constrained to admit that "Roosevelt or ruin" is the order of the day because the money changers have not been driven from the temple. . . .

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

from Charles E. Coughlin, Vital Speeches of the Day, July 1, 1936, 613–616.

Activity Options

- 1. With a small group of classmates, create a radio call-in show hosted by Father Coughlin. Role-play Coughlin, callers who support Roosevelt's New Deal, and callers who agree with Coughlin.
- 2. Analyze the objections to Roosevelt's New Deal that Coughlin expresses in this speech excerpt. Then discuss the validity of his arguments with a group of classmates.
- 3. Deliver this speech excerpt to the class. Try to use a tone of voice and a rate of speaking that will most effectively convey Coughlin's message.

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Date	
Date	



PRIMARY SOURCE The Memorial Day Massacre

On Memorial Day in 1937, the Chicago police attacked a picket line of striking Republic Steel Company workers and their families. As you read this New York Times report about the incident, think about why this demonstration turned violent.

CHICAGO, May 30—Four men were killed and eighty-four persons went to hospitals with gunshot wounds, cracked heads, broken limbs, or other injuries received in a battle late this afternoon between police and steel strikers at the gates of the Republic Steel Corporation plant in South Chicago.

The clash occurred when about one thousand strikers tried to approach the Republic company's plant, the only mill of the three large independent steel manufacturers in this area attempting to continue production. About 22,000 steelworkers are on strike in the Chicago district.

The union demonstrators were armed with clubs, slingshots, cranks and gearshift levers from cars, bricks, steel bolts, and other missiles. Police charged that some of the men also carried firearms.

The riot grew out of a meeting held by steelmill workers in protest against the action of police, who turned them back Friday night when they attempted to approach the Republic plant.

The march was organized at this meeting, held outside CIO headquarters at One Hundred and Thirteenth Street and Green Bay Avenue, three blocks from the plant. The strikers said they were going to march through the main-gate entrance in an effort to force closing of the mill.

Heading the march were strikers from the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and Inland Steel Company plants in the Calumet district. They had been invited to the mass meeting and had volunteered to lead the march on the Republic, where about 1400 workers were said to be still on the job.

The union men chose a time when the police were changing shifts, hoping, the police said, to catch them disorganized. But Captain James L. Mooney, Captain Thomas Kilroy, and Lieutenant Healy, expecting trouble, kept all their 160 men on hand.

Carrying banners and chanting "CIO, CIO," the

strikers drew within a block and a half of the gate to find the police lined up awaiting them. Captain Kilroy stepped forward and asked the crowd to disperse.

"You can't get through here," he declared. "We must do our duty."

Jeers greeted his words. Then the demonstrators began hurling bricks, stones, and bolts.

The police replied with tear gas. The crowd fell back for a moment, choking, and then, the police say, began firing at the officers. The officers fired warning shots and, when, according to police, the strikers continued firing, they returned it.

Men began dropping on both sides. The strikers fell back before the police bullets and swinging police clubs.

Police wagons then raced onto the field and began picking up the injured. Some were taken to the Republic plant's emergency hospital, some to the South Chicago Hospital, and some to the Bridewell Hospital.

Most of the policemen who were injured were struck by steel bolts hurled by the strikers or shot from their slings.

from the New York Times, May 31, 1937. Reprinted in Richard B. Morris and James Woodress, eds., Voices from America's Past, vol. 3, The Twentieth Century (New York: Dutton, 1962), 111–112.

Discussion Questions

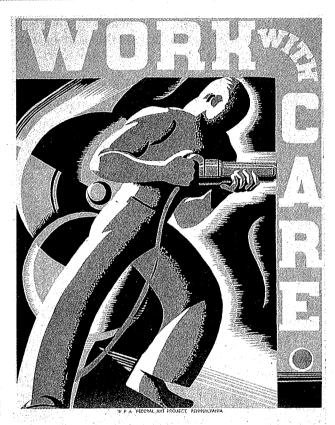
- 1. What was the Memorial Day Massacre?
- 2. According to this account, who was responsible for the bloody clash—the strikers or the police?
- 3. This *New York Times* account supports the official police version, but eyewitnesses and photographs proved that the police brutally attacked the strikers. Who benefited most from the newspaper version, and why?



PRIMARY SOURCE WPA Posters

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) created jobs for more than 8 million people and found work for unemployed writers, artists, actors, and musicians. Many artists, for example, were paid to create posters like these advertising the WPA. What positive values of American culture do these posters convey?





The Granger Collection, New York.

Research Options

- 1. Investigate whether any murals or buildings—post offices, schools, airports, libraries, hospitals, and so forth—in your community were created through the WPA. Then work with classmates to create a map showing the sites of these projects.
- 2. The WPA employed artists and writers such as Ben Shahn, Jackson Pollock, Saul Bellow, and Richard Wright. Choose one artist, writer, actor, or musician who worked for the WPA and write a brief description of the works he or she created in the 1930s.



PRIMARY SOURCE from Let Us Now Praise Famous Men

In 1936 journalist James Agee and photographer Walker Evans researched rural life in America. Their collaboration, which was published in book form in 1941, yielded a record of the lives of three Alabama tenant families: the Gudgers, the Ricketts, and the Woods. According to this excerpt, what hardships did poor tenant farmers face?

What is earned at the end of a given year is never to be depended on and, even late in a season, is never predictable. It can be enough to tide through the dead months of the winter, sometimes even better: it can be enough, spread very thin, to take through two months, and a sickness, or six weeks, or a month: it can be little enough to be completely meaningless: it can be nothing: it can be enough less than nothing to insure a tenant only of an equally hopeless lack of money at the end of his next year's work: and whatever one year may bring in the way of good luck, there is never any reason to hope that that luck will be repeated in the next year or the year after that.

The best that Woods has ever cleared was \$1300 during a war year. During the teens and twenties he fairly often cleared as much as \$300; he fairly often cleared \$50 and less; two or three times he ended the year in debt. During the depression years he has more often cleared \$50 and less; last year he cleared \$150, but serious illness during the winter ate it up rapidly.

The best that Gudger has ever cleared is \$125. That was in the plow-under year. He felt exceedingly hopeful and bought a mule: but when his landlord warned him of how he was coming out the next year, he sold it. Most years he has not made more than \$25 to \$30; and about one year in three he has ended in debt. Year before last he wound up \$80 in debt; last year, \$12; of Boles, his new landlord, the first thing he had to do was borrow \$15 to get through the winter until rations advances should begin.

Years ago the Ricketts were, relatively speaking, almost prosperous. Besides their cotton farming they had ten cows and sold the milk, and they lived near a good stream and had all the fish they wanted. Ricketts went \$400 into debt on a fine young pair of mules. One of the mules died before it had made its first crop; the other died the year after; against his fear, amounting to full horror, of sinking to the half-crop level where nothing is owned, Ricketts went into debt for other, inferior mules; his cows went one by one into debts and desperate exchanges and by

sickness; he got congestive chills; his wife got pellagra; a number of his children died; he got appendicitis and lay for days on end under the ice cap; his wife's pellagra got into her brain; for ten consecutive years now, though they have lived on so little rations money, and have turned nearly all their cottonseed money toward their debts, they have not cleared or had any hope of clearing a cent at the end of the year.

It is not often, then, at the end of the season, that a tenant clears enough money to tide him through the winter, or even an appreciable part of it. More generally he can count on it that, during most of the four months between settlement time in the fall and the beginning of work and resumption of rations advances in the early spring, he will have no money and can expect none, nor any help, from his landlord: and of having no money during the six midsummer weeks of laying by, he can be still more sure. Four to six months of each year, in other words, he is much more likely than not to have nothing whatever, and during these months he must take care for himself: he is no responsibility of the landlord's. All he can hope to do is find work. This is hard, because there are a good many chronically unemployed in the towns, and they are more convenient to most openings for work and can at all times be counted on if they are needed; also there is no increase, during these two dead farming seasons, of other kinds of work to do. And so, with no more jobs open than at any other time of year, and with plenty of men convenient to take them, the whole tenant population, hundreds and thousands in any locality, are desperately in need of work.

from James Agee and Walker Evans, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941), 118–120.

Discussion Questions

- 1. What hardships did these three families face?
- 2. Which one of these families fared the worst? Explain.
- 3. What portrait of tenant farming does this excerpt portray?



LITERATURE SELECTION from Hard Times by César Chávez

Hard Times is a collection of oral histories about life in the Depression-era United States. This account, told to collector Studs Terkel by César Chávez, gives details about the particular treatment of Mexican Americans which made hard times even harder. As you read, think about how Chávez's childhood experiences might have formed and shaped his adult life.

You know something's

not right and you don't

like it, but you don't

question it and you

don't let that get you

down. You sort of just

continue to move.

Oh, I remember having to move out of our house. My father had brought in a team of horses and wagon. We had always lived in that house, and we couldn't understand why we were moving out. When we got to the other house, it was a worse house, a poor house. That must have been around 1934. I was about six years old.

It's known as the North Gila Valley, about fifty miles north of Yuma. My dad was being turned out of his small plot of land. He had inherited this from his father, who had homesteaded it. I saw my two, three other uncles also moving out. And for the same reason. The bank had foreclosed on the loan.

If the local bank approved, the Government would guarantee the loan and small farmers like my father would continue in business. It so happened

the president of the bank was the guy who most wanted our land. We were surrounded by him: he owned all the land around us. Of course he wouldn't pass the loan.

One morning a giant tractor came in, like we had never seen before. My daddy used to do all his work with horses. So this huge tractor came in and began to knock down this corral, this

small corral where my father kept his horses. We didn't understand why. In the matter or a week, the whole face of the land was changed. Ditches were dug, and it was different. I didn't like it as much.

We all of us climbed into an old Chevy that my dad had. And then we were in California, and migratory workers. There were five kids—a small family by those standards. It must have been around '36: I was about eight. Well, it was a strange life. We had been poor, but we knew every night there was a bed *there*, and that *this* was our room. There was a kitchen. It was sort of a settled life, and we had chickens and hogs, eggs and all those things. But that all of sudden changed. When

you're small, you can't figure these things out. You know something's not right and you don't like it, but you don't question it and you don't let that get you down. You sort of just continue to move.

But this had quite an impact on my father. He had been used to owning the land and all of the sudden there was no more land. What I heard . . . what I made out of conversations between my mother and my father—things like, we'll work this season and then we'll get enough money and we'll go and buy a piece of land in Arizona. Things like that. Became like a habit. He never gave up hope that some day he would come back and get a little piece of land.

I can understand very, very well this feeling. These conversations were sort of melancholy. I

> guess my brothers and my sisters could also see this very sad look on my father's face.

> That piece of land he wanted . . . ?

No, never. It never happened. He stopped talking about that some years ago. The drive for land, it's a very powerful drive.

When we moved to California, we would work after school. Sometimes we wouldn't

go. "Following the crops," we missed much school. Trying to get enough money to stay alive the following winter, the whole family picking apricots, walnuts, prunes. We were pretty new, we had never been migratory workers. We were taken advantage of quite a bit by the labor contractor* and the crew pusher. In some pretty silly ways. (Laughs.)

Sometimes we can't help but laugh about it. We trusted everybody that came around. You're traveling in California with all your belongings in your car: it's obvious. Those days we didn't have a trailer. This is bait for the labor contractor. Anywhere we

* "That's a man who specializes in contracting human beings to do cheap labor."

stopped, there was a labor contractor offering all kinds of jobs and good wages, and we were always deceived by them and we always went. Trust them.

Coming into San Jose, not finding—being lied to, that there was work. We had no money at all, and had to live on the outskirts of town under a bridge and dry creek. That wasn't really unbearable. What was unbearable was so many families living just a quarter of a mile. And you know how kids are. They'd bring in those things that really hurt us quite a bit. Most of those kids were middle-class families.

We got hooked on a real scheme once. We were going by Fresno on our way to Delano. We stopped at some service station and this labor contractor saw the car. He offered a lot of money. We went. We worked the first week: the grapes were pretty bad and we couldn't make much. We all stayed off from school in order to make some money. Saturday we were to be paid and we didn't get paid. He came and said the winery hadn't paid him. We'd have money next week. He gave us \$10. My dad took the \$10 and went to the store and bought \$10 worth of groceries. So we worked another week and in the middle of the second week, my father was

asking him for his last week's pay, and he had the same excuse. This went on and we'd get \$5 or \$10 or \$7 a week for about four weeks. For the whole family.

So one morning my father made the resolution no more work. If he doesn't pay us, we won't work. We got in a car and went over to see him. The house was empty. He had left. The winery said they had paid him and they showed us where they had paid him.

had paid him. This man had taken it.

Labor strikes were everywhere. We were one of the strikingest families, I guess. My dad didn't like the conditions, and he began to agitate. Some families would follow, and we'd go elsewhere. Sometimes we'd come back. We couldn't find a job elsewhere, so we'd come back. Sort of beg for a job. Employers would know and they would make it very humiliating

Did these strikes ever win?

Never.

We were among these families who always honored somebody else's grievance. Somebody would have a personal grievance with the employer. He'd say I'm not gonna work for this man. Even though we were working, we'd honor it. We felt we had to. So we'd walk out, too. Because we were prepared to honor those things, we caused many of the things ourselves. There were other families like that.

Sometimes when you had to come back, the contractor knew this \dots ?

They knew it, and they rubbed it in quite well. Sort of shameful to come back. We were trapped. We'd have to do it for a few days to get enough money to get enough gas.

One of the experiences I had. We went through Indio, California. Along the highway there were signs in most of the small restaurants that said "White Trade Only." My dad read English, but he didn't really know the meaning. He went in to get some coffee—a pot that he had, to get some coffee for my mother. He asked us not to come in, but we followed him anyway. And this young waitress said, "We don't serve Mexicans here. Get out of here." I

If we were picking at a

piece rate and we knew

they were cheating on

the weight, we wouldn't

stand for it. So we'd

lose the job, and we'd

go elsewhere.

was there, and I saw it and heard it. She paid no more attention. I'm sure for the rest of her life she never thought of it again. But every time we thought of it, it hurt us. So we got back in the car and what a difficult time trying—in fact, we never got the coffee. These are sort of unimportant, but they're . . . you remember 'em very well.

One time there was a little diner across the tracks in Brawley. We used to shine shoes after school. Saturday was a good day. We used to shine shoes for three cents, two cents. Hamburgers were then, as I remember, seven cents. There was this little diner all the way across town. The moment we stepped across the tracks, the police stopped us. They would let us go there, to what we called "the American town," the Anglo town, with a shoe shine box. We went to this little place and we walked in.

There was this young waitress again. With either her boyfriend or someone close, because they were involved in conversation. And there was

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this familiar sign again, but we paid no attention to it. She looked up at us and she sort of—it wasn't what she said, it was just a gesture. A sort of gesture of total rejection. Her hand, you know, and the way she turned her face away from us. She said: "Wattaya want?" So we told her we'd like to buy two hamburgers. She sort of laughed, a sarcastic sort of laugh. And she said, "Oh, we don't sell to Mexicans. Why don't you go across to Mexican town, you can buy 'em over there." And then she turned around and continued her conversation.

She never knew how much she was hurting us. But it staved with us.

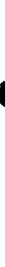
We'd go to school two days sometimes, a week, two weeks, three weeks at most. This is when we were migrating. We'd come back to our winter base, and if we were lucky, we'd get in a good solid all of January, February, March, April, May. So we had five months out of a possible nine months. We started counting how many schools we'd been to and we counted thirty-seven. Elementary schools. From first to eighth grade. Thirty-seven. We never got a transfer. Friday we didn't tell the teacher or anything. We'd just go home. And they accepted this.

I remember one teacher—I wondered why she was asking so many questions. (In those days anybody asked questions, you became suspicious. Either a cop or a social worker.) She was a young teacher, and she just wanted to know why we were behind. One day she drove into the camp. That was quite an event, because we never had a teacher come over. Never. So it was, you know, a very meaningful day for us.

This I remember. Some people put this out of their minds and forget it. I don't. I don't want to forget it. I don't want it to take the best of me, but I want to be there because this is what happened. This is the truth, you know. History.

Activity Options

- 1. With a classmate, role-play an interview between an oral historian and a person discussed by Chávez, such as one of his family members, a fellow worker, or someone who displayed the sort of prejudice that Chávez fought.
- 2. Draw a scene from Chávez's childhood. Create a caption for the scene that describes what Chávez learned or experienced.
- 3. Interview an older member of your family or community about their childhood. Focus the interview on issues of social justice, overcoming obstacles, and "life lessons" learned during the subject's youth.
- 4. Create a 1930s poster encouraging farm workers to protest mistreatment. What sort of protest will you encourage? Use persuasive language and include examples of the wrongdoings you attempt to challenge. You may wish to research the style of 1930s protest posters to make yours more realistic.





AMERICAN LIVES Huey Long

Louisiana's "Kingfish"

"Why weep or slumber, America?/Land of brave and true/With castles, clothing and food for all/All belongs to you./Ev'ry man a king, ev'ry man a king." -Huey Long, recitation at the end of a radio broadcast (1935)

uey Long (1893–1935) was a skilled politician The who used a populist message and political manipulation to win great power in Louisiana. As his popularity grew, he threatened Franklin Roosevelt's hold on the presidency—only to be cut down by a bullet.

Long was a debater in high school. He hoped to go to law school, but had to work. Juggling a job and high school, he earned his diploma. Then he completed a three-year course of law in just eight months. He was admitted to the Louisiana bar at 21. He quickly entered politics, winning election to the state railroad commission.

By 1928 Long was campaigning for governor. Louisiana suffered from underdevelopment. It had only 30 miles of paved roads, no bridges crossed major rivers, and many poor children could not attend school. Long promised to change that: "Give me the chance to dry the tears of those who still weep," he said. He won, and quickly made changes. In a few years, the state had 8,500 miles of roads and twelve new bridges. Children were put on school buses to get to school and given free textbooks once they got there. The free books went to parochial schools too. When that law was challenged in the U.S. Supreme Court, Long himself argued in favor of it and won.

Long achieved these goals while fighting a reluctant state legislature. Some objected to his goals, others to his tactics—which included using money and arm-twisting to convince legislators to vote his way. The legislature moved to impeach him, but key state senators refused to convict and Long was saved. He then won statewide election to the U.S. Senate, quieting his critics.

Long delayed moving to Washington to consolidate his power in the state. Opponents were harassed by government officials or by Long's police. He put judges favorable to him into the state courts. He controlled the state Civil Service Commission and used new laws to give himself power over every official—city, parish, or state—in Louisiana.

In Washington, many saw Long as a comic figure, Loud and brash, he was colorful. He called himself the "Kingfish" after a character on a popular radio show, and stories circulated about his disregard for social manners. About some things, though, Long was serious. For years he had campaigned in Louisiana to "make every man a king." He was ready to bring that message to the nation. At first he supported Franklin Roosevelt, but soon he came to believe that the New Deal did not go far enough.

He began a campaign to win the presidency. Long set up "Share Our Wealth" clubs across the country. He spoke far and wide of his plans to limit a person's income to no more than \$1.8 million and to guarantee every adult no less than \$2,000. He promised free education through college and pensions for the aged. He even wrote a book describing what he would do when president—My First Days in the White House (1935). Roosevelt and his aides worried that Long would run as a third-party candidate in 1936 and pull as many as six million votes—throwing the election into the House of Representatives.

In the fall of 1935, Long returned to Louisiana for a special session of the legislature. As he left the state capitol one evening, a man stepped from behind a pillar and shot him. The assassin—immediately shot dead by Long's bodyguards—was a doctor whose father-in-law, a judge, had been forced off the bench by Long. Two days later death claimed the "Kingfish," a man described by writer William Manchester in 1974 as "one of the very few men of whom it can be said that, had he lived, American history would have been dramatically different."

Questions

- 1. Evaluate Long as a reformer.
- 2. How did Long's plan to limit incomes violate the free enterprise system?
- 3. Why did Roosevelt worry about Long?

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AMERICAN LIVES Mary McLeod Bethune

Teacher to Blacks and Whites

"The true worth of a race must be measured by the character of its womanhood."—Mary McLeod Bethune, speech titled "A Century of Progress of Negro Women" (1933)

Mary McLeod Bethune was dedicated to helping African Americans—especially African-American women. As an educator, organizer, and presidential advisor, she worked to end segregation and extend opportunities.

Bethune was born in 1875. She attended school and received training to be a teacher. Her goal was to begin missionary work in Africa, but her church turned down her request. For the next few years, she taught in various southern schools. In 1904, she settled in Daytona Beach, Florida, and started her own school. At the time, there were few public schools for African Americans in the South. Private schools like Bethune's were vital to educating blacks.

Bethune started her school with, she later said, "five little girls, a dollar and a half, and faith in God." She taught academic subjects, religion, and practical skills such as cooking and sewing. Although her son was one of her first students, Bethune planned from the start to serve girls primarily. She believed that opportunities for black females were severely limited and that women played an important role in society.

Bethune had to devote much time to raising money for her school. She baked and sold pies. She won contributions from black and white members of the community. With her untiring work, the school grew. It began to offer high school as well as elementary school courses. By 1911, it gave students training in teaching and nursing. By 1923, the Episcopal Church agreed to sponsor the school and merged it with the Cookman Institute, a male school. The name was changed to Bethune-Cookman College in 1929. At that time, the school dropped its earlier grades and became a junior college. By 1948, it had become a full four-year college.

As the school grew more secure, Bethune branched into her second career as a national leader of African Americans. As president of the National Association of Colored Women, she strengthened the organization to include 10,000 members. Then she founded and led the National

Council of Negro Women (NCNW). She used the organization to combat segregation and lynching, to celebrate African-American achievement, and to open opportunities. As the United States entered World War II, Congress debated creating a women's army corps. Bethune won the right for African Americans to enter the corps.

Through her work in the NCNW, Bethune met and became close friends with Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Soon she launched into her third career as a government official and presidential adviser. The President appointed her to the National Youth Administration (NYA). Bethune worked to ensure that the programs created by the NYA for young people extended to African Americans. She won control of a special scholarship fund, making her the only African American in the government able to dispense money. Over time, she granted more than \$600,000 in scholarships to black students.

Bethune did not stop with her NYA work. She gathered all the African Americans in the government into the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, dubbed "the Black Cabinet." The group met every week at her house to discuss issues. She then used her influence and political skill to lobby government agencies or to persuade the White House to act.

She believed that she held a "sacred trust" to present "the dreams and the hopes and the problems" of African Americans to the White House. At the same time, she also represented the administration to the black community. After World War II, she returned to Florida and spent time traveling—speaking and inspiring others to take action. She died in Daytona Beach in 1955.

Questions

- 1. Why were schools like Bethune's important for African Americans in the South?
- 2. How does the quotation at the top of the page explain the education Bethune provided?
- 3. How was Bethune a teacher to both African Americans and whites?