

CHAPTER
23

Section 1

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	<i>Authorized the Treasury Department to inspect and close banks</i>	<i>To restore public confidence in banks</i>
1. Emergency Banking Relief Act (EBRA)		
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)		
Housing		
11. Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)		

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



GUIDED READING *The Second New Deal Takes Hold*

Section 2

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		

B. On the back of this paper, describe how **Eleanor Roosevelt** contributed to the nation's recovery from the Depression.



Section 3

GUIDED READING

The New Deal Affects Many Groups

A. As you read, write notes about each group in Roosevelt’s New Deal coalition.

1. Women	Gains women made under the New Deal:	Problems of women not solved by the New Deal:
Names 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:
Names of appointees to important government positions:		

3. Labor unions	Gains unions made under the New Deal:	Problems of unions not solved by the New Deal:
Names of unions organized during the New Deal:		

4. Other coalition groups	Reasons they supported the Democratic party:
Other groups:	

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


GUIDED READING *Society and Culture*
Section 4

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. <i>Gone with the Wind</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
2. <i>Duck Soup</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
3. <i>Mr. Smith Goes to Washington</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
4. <i>The War of the Worlds</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
Art and Literature		
5. <i>Waiting for Lefty</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
6. <i>Native Son</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
7. <i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
8. <i>U.S.A.</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
9. <i>Our Town</i>	What was it? Who created or appeared in it?	What was its theme?
10. "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*

Section 5

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		

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B. On the back of this paper, explain the meaning of **deficit spending** and **parity**.

CHAPTER
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Section 1

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. 1046.)

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—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 “surf 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 the Communications Decency Act

PROponents

Who they are:

Their arguments:

OPponents

Who they are:

Their arguments:

CHAPTER
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Section 5

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION

Decade of the Democrats

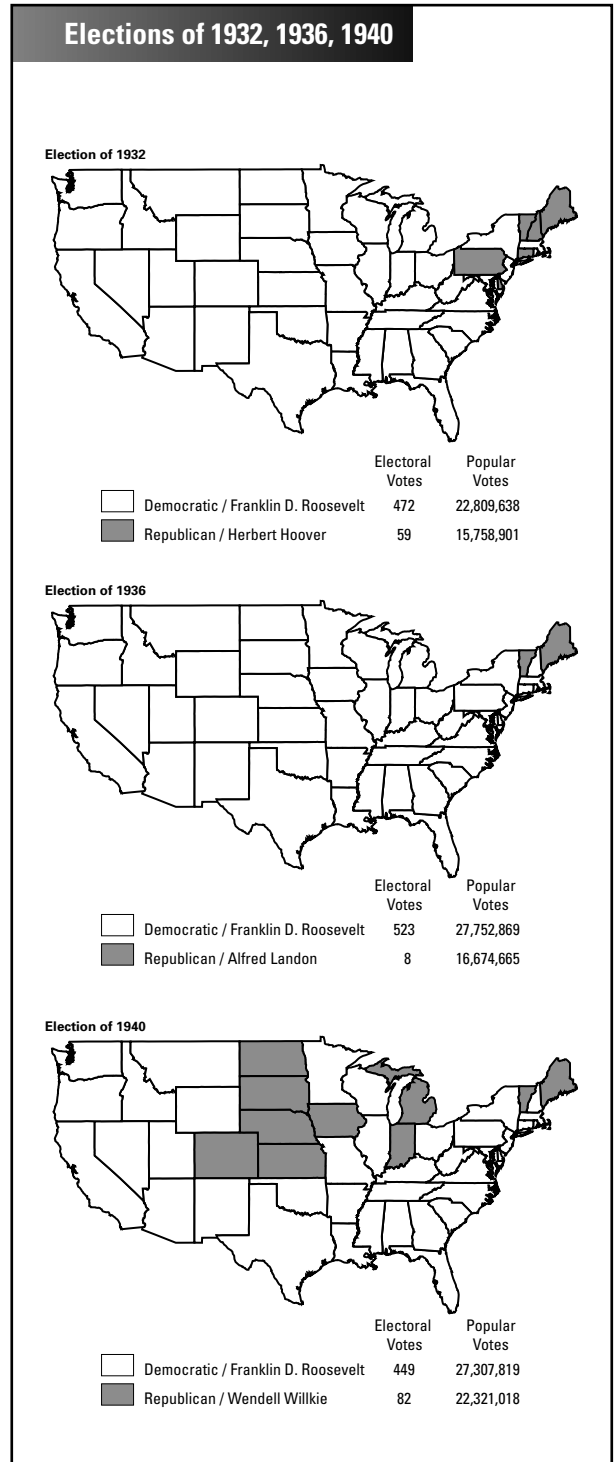
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

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.



Interpreting Text and Visuals

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. 1062–1063, 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? _____



Section 5

OUTLINE MAP *Anatomy of the Tennessee Valley Authority*

- A.** Review the map of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) on textbook pages 694–695. Then, on the accompanying map, locate the same 11 states found on the textbook map and add the following bodies of water, cities, and dams.

Bodies of Water

Cumberland R.
 Kentucky Lake
 Mississippi R.
 Ohio R.
 Tennessee R.

Cities

Chattanooga
 Knoxville
 Memphis
 Nashville
 Paducah

Dams

Chickamauga Dam
 Fort Loudoun Dam
 Guntersville Dam
 Kentucky Dam
 Nickajack Dam

- B.** After completing the map, use it to answer the following questions.

1. Use the scale bar to estimate both the east–west and north–south distances of the area served by the TVA. _____

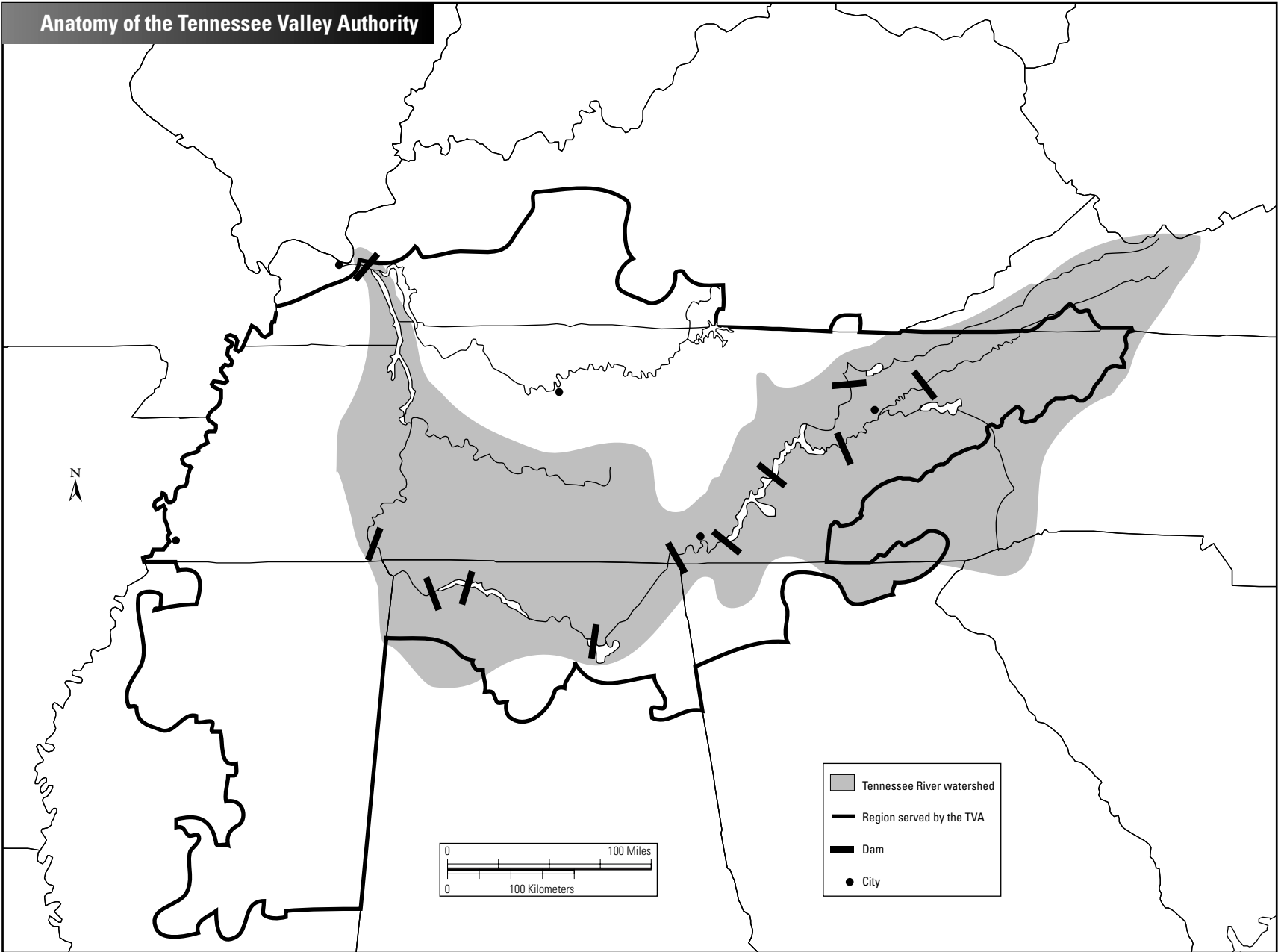
2. Which states does the TVA serve? _____

3. The Tennessee River begins at Knoxville. Which is the first dam on the river? the last dam? the southernmost? _____

4. Which is the first dam encountered after Chattanooga? _____

5. How many dams does the Tennessee River have? _____

6. Describe the journey that a molecule of water at the Tennessee River’s source takes to reach Memphis. _____





Section 1

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 food-stuffs, 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.



Section 3

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 steel-mill 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?

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Section 4

PRIMARY SOURCES **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.



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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.


 CHAPTER
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Section 4

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 tenant families face?
2. Which one of these families fared worse? Explain.
3. What portrait of tenant farming does this excerpt portray?

CHAPTER
23

Section 3

LITERATURE SELECTION *from Waiting for Lefty*
by Clifford Odets

Waiting for Lefty, Odets's first play, was produced in 1935 and reflects the turmoil of labor strikes in the 1930s. As you read this excerpt, think about the characters' different attitudes toward a taxi drivers' strike. Please note that the characters at times use offensive language.

As the curtain goes up we see a bare stage. On it are sitting six or seven men in a semi-circle. Lolling against the proscenium down left is a young man chewing a toothpick: a gunman. A fat man of porcine appearance is talking directly to the audience. In other words he is the head of a union and the men ranged behind him are a committee of workers. They are now seated in interesting different attitudes and present a wide diversity of type, as we shall soon see. The fat man is hot and heavy under the collar, near the end of a long talk, but not too hot: he is well fed and confident. His name is Harry Fatt.

FATT: You're so wrong I ain't laughing. Any guy with eyes to read knows it. Look at the textile strike—out like lions and in like lambs. Take the San Francisco tie-up—starvation and broken heads. The steel boys wanted to walk out too, but they changed their minds. It's the trend of the times, that's what it is. All we workers got a good man behind us now. He's top man of the country—looking out for our interests—the man in the White House is the one I'm referring to. That's why the times ain't ripe for a strike. He's working day and night—

VOICE (*from the audience*): For who? (*The Gunman stirs himself.*)

FATT: For you! The records prove it. If this was the Hoover régime, would I say don't go out, boys? Not on your tintage! But things is different now. You read the papers as well as me. You know it. And that's why I'm against the strike. Because we gotta stand behind the man who's standin' behind us! The whole country—

ANOTHER VOICE: Is on the blink! (*The Gunman looks grave.*)

FATT: Stand up and show yourself, you damn red! Be a man, let's see that you look like! (*Waits in vain.*) Yellow from the word go! Red and yellow makes a dirty color, boys. I got my eyes on four of five of them in the union here. What the

hell'll they do for you? Pull you out and run away when trouble starts. Give those birds a chance and they'll . . . tear Christ off his bleeding cross. They'll wreck your homes and throw your babies in the river. You think that's bunk? Read the papers! Now listen, we can't stay here all night. I gave you the facts in the case. You boys got hot suppers to go to and—

ANOTHER VOICE: Says you!

GUNMAN: Sit down, Punk!

ANOTHER VOICE: Where's Lefty? (*Now this question is taken up by the others in unison. Fatt pounds with gavel.*)

FATT: That's what I wanna know. Where's your pal, Lefty? You elected him chairman—where the hell did he disappear?

VOICE: We want Lefty! Lefty! Lefty!

FATT (*pounding*): What the hell is this—a circus? You got the committee here. This bunch of cowboys you elected. (*Pointing to man on extreme right end.*)

MAN: Benjamin.

FATT: Yeah, Doc Benjamin. (*Pointing to other men in circle in seated order*): Benjamin, Miller, Stein, Mitchell, Phillips, Keller. It ain't my fault Lefty took a run-out powder. If you guys—

A GOOD VOICE: What's the committee say?

OTHERS: The committee! Let's hear from the committee! (*Fatt tries to quiet the crowd, but one of the seated men suddenly comes to the front. The Gunman moves over to center stage, but Fatt says:*)

FATT: Sure, let him talk. Let's hear what the red boys gotta say! (*Various shouts are coming from the audience. Fatt insolently goes back to his seat in the middle of the circle. He sits on his raised platform and relights his cigar. The Gunman goes back to his post. Joe, the new speaker, raises his hand for quiet. Gets it quickly. He is sore.*)

JOE: You boys know me. I ain't a red boy one bit! Here I'm carryin' a shrapnel that big I picked

up in the war. And maybe I don't know it when it rains! Don't tell me red! You know what we are? The black and blue boys! We been kicked around so long we're black and blue from head to toes. But I guess anyone who says straight out he don't like it, he's a red boy to the leaders of the union. What's this about goin' home to hot suppers? I'm asking to your faces how many's got hot suppers to go home to? Anyone who's sure of his next meal, raise your hand! A certain gent sitting behind me can raise them both. But not in front here! And that's why we're talking strike—to get a living wage!

VOICE: Where's Lefty?

JOE: I honest to God don't know, but he didn't take no run-out powder. Maybe a traffic jam got him, but he'll be here. But don't let this red stuff scare you. Unless fighting for a living scares you. We gotta make up our minds. My wife made up my mind last week, if you want the truth. It's plain as the nose on Sol Feinberg's face we need a strike. There's us comin' home every night—eight, ten hours on the cab. "God," the wife says, "eighty cents ain't money—don't buy beans almost. You're working for the company," she says to me, "Joe! you ain't workin' for me or the family no more!" She says to me, "If you don't start . . ."

AGATE: *Ladies and Gentlemen*, and don't let anyone tell you we ain't got some ladies in this sea of upturned faces! Only they're wearin' pants. Well, maybe I don't know a thing; maybe I fell outa the cradle when I was a kid and ain't been right since—you can't tell!

VOICE: Sit down, cockeye!

AGATE: Who's paying you for those remarks, Buddy?—Moscow Gold? Maybe I got a *glass eye*, but it come from working in a factory at the age of eleven. They hooked it out because they didn't have a shield on the works. But I wear it like a medal 'cause it tells the world where I belong—deep down in the working class! We had delegates in the union there—all kinds of secretaries and treasurers . . . walkin' delegates, but not with blisters on their feet! Oh no! On their fat little ass from sitting on cushions and raking in mazuma. (*Secretary and Gunman remonstrate in words and actions here.*) Sit down, boys. I'm just saying that about unions in general. I know it ain't true here! Why no, our

officers is all aces. Why, I seen our own secretary Fatt walk outa his way not to step on a cockroach. No boys, don't think—

FATT (*breaking in*): You're out of order!

AGATE (*to audience*): Am I outa order?

ALL: No, no. Speak. Go on, etc.

AGATE: Yes, our officers is all aces. But I'm a member here—and no experience in Philly either! Today I couldn't wear my union button. The damnest thing happened. When I take the old coat off the wall, I see she's smoking. I'm a sonovagun if the old union button isn't on fire. Yep, the old celluloid was makin' the most God-awful stink: the landlady come up and give me hell! You know what happened? That old union button just blushed itself to death! Ashamed! Can you beat it?

FATT: Sit down, Keller! Nobody's interested!

AGATE: Yes they are!

GUNMAN: Sit down like he tells you!

AGATE (*continuing to audience*): And when I finish—(*His speech is broken by Fatt and Gunman who physically handle him. He breaks away and gets to other side of stage. The two are about to make for him when some of the committee men come forward and get in between the struggling parties. Agate's shirt has been torn.*)

AGATE (*to audience*): What's the answer, boys? The answer is, if we're reds because we wanna strike, then we take over their salute too! Know how they do it? (*Makes Communist salute.*) What is it? An uppercut! The good old uppercut to the chin! Hell, some of us boys ain't even got a shirt to our backs. What's the boss class tryin' to do—make a nudist colony outa us? (*The audience laughs and suddenly Agate comes to the middle of the stage so that the other cabmen back him up in a strong clump.*)

AGATE: Don't laugh! Nothing's funny! This is your life and mine! It's skull and bones every incha the road! Christ, we're dyin' by inches! For what? For the debutant-ees to have their sweet comin' out parties in the Ritz! Poppa's got a daughter she's gotta get her picture in the papers. Christ, they make 'em with our blood. Joe said it. Slow death or fight. It's war! (*Throughout this whole speech Agate is backed up by the other six workers, so that from their activity it is plain that the whole group of them are saying these things. Several of them may take alternate lines out of this long last speech.*)

You Edna, God love your mouth! Sid and Florrie, the other boys, old Doc Barnes—fight with us for the right! It's war! Working class, unite and fight! Tear down the slaughter house of our old lives! Let freedom really ring. These slick slobbs stand here telling us about bogeymen. That's a new one for the kids—the reds is bogeymen! But the man who got me food in 1932, he called me Comrade! The one who picked me up where I bled—he called me Comrade too! What are we waiting for. . . . Don't wait for Lefty! He might never come. Every minute— (*This is broken into by a man who has dashed up the center aisle from the back of the house. He runs up on stage, says*):

MAN: Boys, they just found Lefty!

OTHERS: What? What? What?

SOME: Shhh. . . . Shhh. . . .

MAN: They found Lefty. . . .

AGATE: Where?

MAN: Behind the car barns with a bullet in his head!

AGATE (*crying*): Hear it, boys, hear it? Hell, listen to me! Coast to coast! HELLO AMERICA! HELLO. WE'RE STORMBIRDS OF THE WORKING-CLASS. WORKERS OF THE WORLD. . . .OUR BONES AND BLOOD! And when we die they'll know what we did to make a new world! Christ, cut us up to little pieces. We'll die for what is right! put fruit trees where our ashes are!

(*To audience*): Well, what's the answer?

ALL: STRIKE!

AGATE: LOUDER!

ALL: STRIKE!

AGATE: and OTHERS on Stage: AGAIN!

ALL: STRIKE, STRIKE, STRIKE!!!

Activity Options

1. With a group of classmates, perform this excerpt from *Waiting for Lefty*. Then discuss why you think the taxi drivers decided to strike.
2. Make a chart listing the pros and cons of strikes based on your reading of this play excerpt.
3. *Waiting for Lefty* deals with unions and labor strikes. Interview a person who belongs to a union—a family member, neighbor, or teacher—about his or her attitudes and experiences.
4. With a partner, role-play a Republic Steel Company striker who witnessed the Memorial Day Massacre (page 64) and a taxi driver in this excerpt such as Joe or Agate. Hold a conversation about unions and strikes in general and about your experiences in particular.



Section 1

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)

Huey Long (1893–1935) was a skilled politician 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 contradict the free enterprise system?
3. Why did Roosevelt worry about Long?



Section 3

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 advisor. 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 disburse 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 to whites?

CHAPTER
23
Project

LIVING HISTORY *Writing a New Deal Diary*

CHOOSING A NEW DEAL AGENCY Review the chart titled “New Deal Agencies” on page 675 of this chapter, and select an employment project that you find interesting. Then skim the chapter to find out more about that job program. For example, as a high school student you may decide to explore the National Youth Administration (NYA), which was highly successful in providing jobs for young Americans. If you have creative talents, you might investigate the job opportunities available under the Federal Art Project, a branch of the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

RESEARCHING THE AGENCY Use at least two other sources besides the textbook to gather information about the agency for which you imagine yourself working. Look for books containing firsthand accounts—diaries, letters, oral histories, personal recollections—about people’s jobs under New Deal agencies

ORGANIZING INFORMATION After you have researched a New Deal agency, gather information about one particular job. Use a form similar to this one to help organize your information:

Books to Check Out

- *The New Deal* (1993) by Gail B. Stewart
- *The Great Depression* (1993) by T. H. Watkins
- *Growing Up in the Great Depression* (1994) by Richard Wormser

Name of the agency: _____

Project: _____

First-person quotation: _____

First-person quotation: _____

Job description: _____

Training provided: _____

Tools provided: _____

Pay scale: _____

DRAFTING DIARY ENTRIES To make your diary seem authentic, write from a personal viewpoint and include a fictional date from the 1930s for each entry. Plan on writing about 6 to 12 entries. Use the following kinds of details to bring the Depression era to life:

- Vivid descriptions about people, the work, and your employment experiences
- Details that evoke the historical period
- Accurate references to a New Deal agency

Writing Tips: Imitate Models
Study the following examples of job experiences described in A Personal Voice from this chapter:

- Helen Farmer’s account of working for the NYA (p. 674)
- Robert Gwathmey’s comments about the WPA (p. 686)



LIVING HISTORY *Standards for a New Deal Diary*

RESEARCH	Exceptional	Acceptable	Poor
1. Combines research from at least two sources in addition to the textbook			
2. Shows evidence of research based on actual firsthand accounts			
IDEAS AND CONTENT			
3. Focuses on a specific job for a New Deal agency			
4. Uses vivid description			
5. Uses details that help bring the era alive			
6. Provides a personal viewpoint about being gainfully employed			
7. Provides details about the work experience			
STRUCTURE AND FORM			
8. Contains 6 to 12 diary entries			
9. Includes a date for each entry			

Comments _____

Overall Rating _____