The Great Depression & The New Deal

PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
CREDITS

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IMAGE CREDITS

All objects are from the Virginia Museum of History & Culture collections, except the following: Poster, *Ready to Serve*, Works Progress Administration and Poster, *A Young Man’s Opportunity*, Works Progress Administration from the Library of Congress.
INTRODUCTION

This packet explores Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal legislation and its efforts to recover a nation after an economic collapse. Students will analyze manuscripts, political cartoons, images, and broadsides to understand further the impacts of the Great Depression and the solutions the New Deal provided.

READING AND ANALYZING

Background: Primary Source Material

This primary source packet is designed to help familiarize students with a variety of primary source material from the collections of the Virginia Museum of History & Culture. The sources included will expose students to a variety of collection material, including documents, artwork, broadsides, letters, and photographs. When analyzing the materials, keep in mind the origin of the source – is it an object or a written source? Was it meant to be public or private? Who is it to, and who is it from? Who used it? Does it contain opinion or facts, and can you tell the difference? Is it written or illustrated? These questions, the material in the corresponding source packet, the contextual information and images, and the guidelines below will provide an avenue for integrating museum collections into the classroom.

Background: The Great Depression & the New Deal

The Great Depression (1929-1939) sent the United States into an unprecedented economic collapse. Businesses failed, unemployment skyrocketed, and prices plummeted. The president at the time, Herbert Hoover, was considered by many to be a weak leader who failed to support the American people properly. When he was up for reelection, Hoover lost the presidency to Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who campaigned on restoring the American Dream.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president in 1932, three years after the Great Depression began. During his first 100 days (about three and a half months), Roosevelt and Congress passed the New Deal. The New Deal created various federal programs and congressional acts to dig the United States out of the Great Depression.

The Great Depression did not immediately devastate Virginia like other parts of the country. The state itself did not depend on one type of economy, and most products manufactured in Virginia were necessities such as food, clothing, and tobacco rather than luxury items. For many farmers, the Great Depression was just a continuation of hard times that began around 1920. Virginia farmers tended to fare better than farmers elsewhere, largely because of the prevalence of truck and dairy farming and the continued popularity of tobacco. Nonetheless, drought and the Great Depression in the late 1920s and early 1930s eventually hit Virginia farmers especially hard. By 1931, Virginia began to experience a higher rate of unemployment, federal budget cuts, and a drop in farm prices. It would take another world war to help them recover.

The effects of the Great Depression resulted in FDR establishing the “alphabet agencies.” These agencies are often categorized by the three “R’s”: relief, recovery, and reform. Relief programs gave help to poor people in need of money, recovery programs were intended to fix the economy and put people back to work, and, reform programs were meant to regulate the economy and prevent another financial crash.

The New Deal is responsible for programs such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Public Works Administration (PWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Projects Administration (WPA), and many, many more. The “alphabet agencies” supported Americans affected by unemployment, home and farm foreclosures, and economic inaction. Federal programs in the 1930s assisted the American people on their road to recovery and out of the Depression Era.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration employed more than 40,000 Virginians in construction projects across the state. FERA provided farmers with loans in rural areas, especially in Central and Southwest Virginia. The Public Works Administration funded new road construction, schools, and infrastructures. The PWA employed construction workers, resulting in better communities, as well. Similarly, the Civilian Conservation Corps recruited thousands of young men...
in environmentally focused projects. Another agency, the Works Project Administration, promoted these government projects and new legislation through art. Roosevelt and his administration also passed a series of Congressional acts. One of the most notable is the Social Security Act of 1935. The Social Security Act aimed to provide general welfare for the elderly, the unemployed, and dependents. It established that no American should experience instability and provided a safety net. Despite obvious progress, there were people who doubted Roosevelt and his New Deal propositions.

Virginia politician Harry Flood Byrd refused to spend Virginia money on the New Deal’s public works programs. Byrd’s Family and their Byrd Organization politically dominated and controlled Virginia for over forty years. During his long-standing time in politics, Byrd ran his administration like a business; he valued a small, centralized government and encouraged industrial development and tourism. President Roosevelt’s New Deal threatened Byrd’s traditional “Old Dominion” ideologies and fiscal “pay-as-you-go” approach.

Even with the Commonwealth’s political resistance, Virginians took advantage of the New Deal nationwide agencies and acts. The Great Depression left many Americans hopeless. Roosevelt initiated recovery and the restoration of the American spirit. By the decade’s end, the New Deal stabilized wages and costs, controlled agricultural production, and cut the unemployment rate in half. Even though the New Deal technically only lasted ten years, its long-term impacts can still be seen today.

LIST OF SOURCES

Broadside, Announcement of Harry F. Byrd for Democratic Nomination for Governor of Virginia, 1925

Political Cartoon, The Music Master, by Fred O. Seibel, 1938

Letter, Nancy Whitley Farmer*

Broadside, To People of Intelligence... 1936

Photographic Print, CCC Boys after Preparing Dyke, 1936

Poster, Ready to Serve, Works Progress Administration**

Poster, A Young Man’s Opportunity, Works Progress Administration**

Text, The Tobacco Code, 1933

Text, Which will you choose? A report on the labor record of the Democratic Association, 1944

*All letters are transcribed as written. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation errors have been retained.

**Courtesy of Library of Congress
OVERALL DISCUSSION AND GUIDING QUESTIONS

OBSERVE

1. What do you notice first?
2. Find something small but interesting.
3. What do you notice that you didn't expect? What do you notice that you can't explain? What do you notice now that you didn't earlier?

REFLECT

1. Where do you think this came from?
2. Why do you think somebody made this? What do you think was happening when this was made?
3. Who do you think was the audience for this item?
4. What tool was used to create this?
5. Why do you think this item is important?
6. If someone made this today, what would be different?
7. What can you learn from examining this?

QUESTION

**Broadsides, Announcement of Harry F. Byrd for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Virginia**

VMHC Call Number: Broadsides 1925:5

Broadsides are printed items posted or distributed as advertisements or bulletins, like posters. Harry Flood Byrd and his family were politically prominent throughout the 20th century in the Commonwealth. He was a Virginia senator from 1915 until his election as governor in 1925. Byrd ran as a Democrat; he promised better access to education and healthcare, improved roads, and the development of “natural assets.” In 1927, Harry F. Byrd proposed his “pay-as-you-go” fiscal policy. Its purpose was to charge an extra gas tax throughout Virginia to fund new roads incrementally. Though only governor for one term, Byrd had a long political career. In 1933, Harry Byrd was elected to the United States Senate. Senator Byrd was a tough critic of Roosevelt’s New Deal legislation; he opposed relief programs and did not contribute any Virginia funds to the nationwide effort. His retirement in 1965 marked the end of the Byrd Political Machine.

1. What was the purpose of this text? Who was the intended audience?
2. How does Harry F. Byrd describe his running platform?
3. How is this similar or different than a political advertisement we would see today?
4. What examples does Byrd use to prove he is qualified to be governor?

**Political Cartoon, Fred O. Seibel, “The Music Master” 1938**

VMHC Object Number: 1992.120.24

Fred O. Seibel cartoon, "The Music Master," was published on September 4, 1938. President Roosevelt is shown as a music teacher with Republican and Democrat students playing from the same "New Deal Program" songbook. The Pulitzer Prize cartoonist depicts Roosevelt as a music conductor saying, “I have not the slightest objection to who plays what instrument as long as it’s the right music!” to a “Liberal Democrat” and a “Liberal Republican.” New Deal legislation proposed projects to dig all Americans out of the Great Depression, despite their political beliefs. As President, Roosevelt pressured both Republican and Democrat politicians to pass his agenda.

1. What people and objects are shown?
2. What message do you think the audience is supposed to get from this cartoon? What opinion is the artist expressing?
3. Do you think this political cartoon is effective? Why or why not?

**Letter, Nancy Whitley Farmer**

VMHC Call Number: Mss2 F2299 a 1

In 1988, several decades after the Great Depression, Nancy Farmer wrote a letter to a childhood neighbor, Mrs. Spencer Gilmore, briefly describing her family's hardships. Like many people in the 1930s, Farmer, her husband, and their four kids lost their home, struggled to find work, and could not always afford necessities. She explains how they rented out rooms in their "three-room old water flat" to boarders for three years. The extra income allowed Nancy Farmer and her family to afford a much larger house. Nancy still lives in the Richmond neighborhood she and Gilmore grew up in; she talks about people Gilmore would have known, including how an old neighbor's house turned her life around during the Depression.

1. What do you think the purpose of this letter was?
2. What is an example the author includes that shows her family’s desperation?
3. Does the author change her tone in this letter? Why or why not?
4. How does Nancy Farmer end this letter? What does that tell us about her life?

Broadside, “To People of Intelligence”
VMHC Call Number: Broadsides 1936:4

The Jeffersonian Democrats of Virginia posted this broadside publicly opposing Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt for presidential reelection and endorsing Republican nominee Alfred Landon. Before his political career, Landon made millions from his oil company. He supported most New Deal programs but disliked government interference in businesses. Both Landon and Jeffersonian Democrats believed New Deal programs overstepped into local affairs.

Jeffersonian Democrats followed Thomas Jefferson’s political and economic ideologies. During his political career in the 18th and 19th century, Jefferson advocated for states’ rights and a small federal government. Centuries later, Jeffersonian Democrats argued that the New Deal increased the power of the federal government and violated states’ rights. Though Alfred Landon was running on a Republican platform, many Jeffersonian Democrats favored him. However, even with their support, Landon lost the election.

1. How does the wording of this broadside portray the New Deal and President Roosevelt?
2. Do the Jeffersonian Democrats of Virginia support or oppose the New Deal? What evidence in the texts suggests that?
3. Why do the authors think the word “democratic” is “mislabeling” when talking about the New Deal?

Photographic Print, “CCC” boys after preparing dyke,” March 1936
VMHC Call Number: 1996.34.1

The Civilian Conservation Corps trained, educated, and employed millions of young men across the United States. CCC workers spent six months in camps, earning one dollar a day doing conservation work. Camp Roosevelt, the first Civilian Conservation Corps camp, was established in Luray, Virginia at George Washington National Forest in 1933.

This New Deal program was responsible for opening six state parks and preserving the federal projects of the Shenandoah National Park, the Skyline Drive, and the Blue Ridge Parkway. Even though the CCC employed over 107,210 men in Virginia alone, it caused the displacement of over 500 Shenandoah Valley families. In the 1930s, the Federal government purchased or condemned privately owned land. The Civilian Conservation Corps restored natural landscapes in these parks at the expense of previous residents.

1. What is the physical setting of this image?
2. What do you think the men in this image were posing for? Why do you think that?
3. How do their poses and expressions reflect their moods? What does that tell you about this photo?
4. Where was this photo taken? Why do you think that?

Poster, Ready to Serve, Works Progress Administration (1939)
Poster, A Young Man’s Opportunity, Works Progress Administration (1941)

The Works Progress Administration was an arts-related New Deal program. It employed artists, held exhibitions, and organized community events. Before the WPA was formally organized, New York City’s mayor, Fiorello LaGuardia, employed New York artists to make posters promoting his favorite New Deal projects. The federal government’s “Federal Project Number One” absorbed the “Mayor’s Poster Project” and continued its efforts nationwide. WPA
posters designed posters mainly for federal art, music, writers, and theater Projects. Work opportunities, health and public safety, and National Park Services were commonly publicized, as well. The head of the WPA Poster Division, Richard Floethe, stated that the division’s goal was to “preserve the skill of the unemployed artist and return artists to private industry... with more knowledge in their profession and greater confidence in themselves.”

**Observe & compare the two posters:**

1. How does the WPA depict a man’s work differently than the women’s poster?
2. What kind of jobs were men most likely to have? What about women?
3. Have you seen a poster or advertisement like this before? How is it the same or different?
4. Why do you think this was or wasn’t effective for recruiting?
5. Why would the government want to fund art programs? Are the arts essential to rebuild the economy? Why or why not?

**The Tobacco Code, United States National Recovery Administration**

The National Recovery Administration (NRA) established the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (NIRA). Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act forced companies to write industry-wide “Codes of Fair Competition.” These codes initiated limited working hours, protected pay rates, enforced fixed prices, prohibited child labor, and granted the right of collective bargaining. The NIRA and its Codes of Fair Competition sought to regulate the economy and working conditions in the long-term.

These codes were implemented following the NIRA of 1933 on August 1, 1933, and applied to the tobacco industry. The term “tobacco industry” was defined as any manufactured product connected with the leaf of tobacco. Under the Tobacco Industry Codes, employees were granted a higher wage and a 40-hour work week. The NRA fixed prices on tobacco products and increased employment opportunities.

1. What is the purpose of this text? What are “codes” supposed to provide?
2. What does this tell us about practices towards workers before these codes were created?
3. How would these codes have improved (or worsened) the tobacco industry and its employees’ lives?

“Which will you choose? A report on the labor record of the Democratic Association” Democratic National Committee, 1944

Franklin Delano Roosevelt began his third presidential term in January 1941. When this pamphlet was created (1944), Roosevelt was entering his twelfth year in office and preparing to run for a fourth term (*Note: Roosevelt was the only president to serve more than two terms before the 22nd Amendment which limited the president to only two elected terms.*). This pamphlet highlights the twelve years of action under the Democrat president. FDR’s Administration initiated America’s long road to economic recovery after the Great Depression. Programs like the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), and the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), are just a few to name mentioned in the pamphlet, which represents his Administration’s contributions. The authors compared FDR’s administration to the stagnant three Republican presidents that preceded him, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

1. Who made this source and why?
2. What has the Democratic Administration accomplished?
3. The creators compare Roosevelt’s presidential terms and his predecessors’ terms. What are the main differences they point out?
4. Have you seen a political advertisement like this? What is the same or different?
ANNOUNCEMENT OF HARRY F. BYRD FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION

FOR GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

My record in the State Senate for the past ten years, which is generally known and is available to the public, makes it at this time unnecessary to set forth in detail the policies which I have supported or opposed.

Under the budget law the duty is imposed upon the Governor of Virginia to recommend to the General Assembly the appropriations for each biennium. This work my training as a business man and my knowledge of State affairs especially equips me. I believe, to perform. I pledge a balanced budget by which the expenditures will not exceed the income, and every possible economy consistent with the necessary expansion and progress of the State in the disbursement of the millions required for its activities.

I will as the campaign develops state my position on other public questions, and particularly as to equality of taxation.

I desire to say further at this time:

1. I am not committed directly or indirectly to any appointment to office, either federal or state. During the campaign I will make no pledges of any kind except publicly and to the public.

2. If I become the executive head of this Commonwealth, my constant concern will be to execute all its laws by a vigorous and equal enforcement.

3. There is no room for sectionalism in Virginia. Every part of our Commonwealth is entitled to equal treatment. The election of any man to the high office of Governor devotes him to the service of the whole State with impartial consideration for every part of it.

4. I have been since early youth engaged in business and in my public life I have endeavored always to apply the lessons of my business experience to public affairs. This experience teaches me that progress is necessary to life and health both in business and in government; but that progress must be sought along sane and practical lines, and expenditures even for desirable objects should bear a reasonable relation to our resources and our ability to pay. No citizen of Virginia desires more than I a wholesome progress in every branch of our varied activities.

With all other patriotic Virginians, I have desired good roads and have labored for them. I consider the gasoline tax for road purposes the fairest tax ever devised, as it places the burden directly and proportionately upon those who use and injure our roads. It has the unusual merit of being collected at its source at small cost, it is collected in full, and is paid in part by foreign tourists. The construction and maintenance of the State highway system and the county highway systems of farm-to-market roads are vital to the prosperity and advancement of Virginia. One provides main arteries of travel and links together the several sections of the State, and the other enables the economical transportation to the markets or shipping points of the farmers' produce.

As one of the patrons of the law establishing the State highway system, its early completion, soundly financed, will be my ardent desire. The reorganization highway law, of which I had the honor to be the Senate patron, places a direct responsibility upon the Governor for the efficient conduct of the State Highway Department in the construction and maintenance of State roads. If elected, this responsibility I will earnestly endeavor to discharge. I feel that I will be aided in this important work by the practical experience gained through ten years’ service as President of the Valley Turnpike Company.

5. I realize the enormous importance of universal and adequate education. Every child in this Commonwealth, however circumstanced, should have free and full opportunity for learning those things which will fit him or her for useful citizenship.

Adequate and appropriate care for the unfortunates in our elementary institutions is the sacred duty upon common humanity.

Public health work in this State is now well established, and should be extended and encouraged. If elected, it will be my anxious concern to do everything humanly possible to advance the interest of these departments of public welfare.

6. The difficult task of simplifying the operation of executive government and improving our tax system should be taken up with courage and energy; unnecessary offices and commissions should be abolished and the State government so organized that all economies consistent with adequate service can be enforced. The burden of taxes should fall as equally as possible upon all sections and individuals.

7. The development of all the natural assets of the State along sound and just lines should be encouraged, especially our great ports and harbors located in Hampton Roads. The great, though dormant, water power of our rivers and streams should be charted and conserved for those industries which have need of cheap power and the expansion of which would add to the prosperity of the State.

H. F. BYRD
The Great Depression & The New Deal
Political Cartoon, Fred O. Seibel, “The Music Master” 1938
VMHC Object Number: 1992.120.24

I HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST OBJECTION TO WHO PLAYS WHAT INSTRUMENT AS LONG AS IT'S THE RIGHT MUSIC!
Mrs. J. Spencer Gilmore,  
404 Beechwood Dr.,  
Richmond, Va., 23229  

Dear Mrs. Gilmore,  

Just a line since seeing the nice write-up in last evening's  
News Leader regarding your part in the redecorating of the Woman's Club  
Auditorium. While I know little about the Club or its environs the piece  
brought back memories in an odd sort of way. I'll explain.  

Once I had a dream and your father, Mr. J. Ambler Johnston, in a  
strange sort of way chipped that dream come true. No, I never knew your father,  
not really, except that once for some reason, and I can't remember just now what,  
his came into the front hall of our home when we lived at 320 S. Third St.  

Now of course this was a long time ago. But to get back to the  
dream, and who of us doesn't have a dream at one time or another... especially  
when we are young and the world seems our oyster? So I had a dream... but I  
had little idea how or in what manner the dream would be fulfilled if ever...  
and it likely never would have been had it not been for your father... I've thought  
about it many times over the years... how that one little word or incite can  
cahnge a person's life... for good or for bad... In my case it was for good... and  
I shall always thank your father for this... and also your mother... Lucy.  

You see we - our family - not having been born with a silver spoon,  
so to speak, had been plunged into a position - circumstances where we had to  
struggle to survive... and struggle we did. We had our youth and the will to  
work and even at times penniless, held our heads high for decency and respect-  
ability were to be maintained at all costs. The year was 1938, in the latter  
part of the year, and my husband and I had come through the worst of the Great  
Depression when... had struck us some pretty hard blows... from snatching our first  
little home from us... to necessitating our pulling up stakes and wandering  
off into the unknown in search for some kind of stability or if not, then we'd  
settle for food and shelter for our four growing young ones. We had tried every-  
thing from standing in line for a $10 a week job, which, when was secured,  
handed us another slap in the face when we learned that one had to work three  
weeks before getting the first pay as they held back a week and paid every two.  

We had survived all this but things became even worse... almost  
to the point of intolerance... when one day I had the bright idea of taking in  
boarders... Boarders? When we had six in our family and lived in a three-room  
cold water flat on West Main Street... Boarders! That was out of the question!  

But we still believed that we were there was a will there was a way  
and we would find it. After three years of keeping boarders then and moving  
into a larger house and then a double house ending up with 16 rooms and that  
much furniture... which could have seemed an accomplishment... except that the  
2 houses were to be torn down and a Chain Grocery would be built, which was done  
in time... But there we were with no where to go or to put our 16 rooms of  
furniture and with no money to rent anything that would come near to suiting  
our circumstances... and then the miracle happened... the miracle in which your  
father was a prime mover... And it was indeed a miracle for in no other way could
Passed June 2, 1959

It happened. My Dad, Mr. J. S. Whitley, was sitting on his front porch one day in late summer, 1939. Or I'm not quite clear on this. He and his fourth wife had just recently moved into their lovely large four-story home at 316 S. Thir. which had been old Dr. (I can't think of his name right now) his home for many years during the "good years" of Old South Third St. and which at this time had seen the property values slide downward to a depressing degree, all of which enabled my dad to buy the lovely old home which he loved till the day he died, and which his heirs sold to the Paper People after his death in 1957.

So, as I say, along about this time as he sat on his front porch high above the street, up those long and handsome steps, stone or granite, or whatever, this very dignified lady who happened to be Mrs. Mauve Hudson who had been for years in the past, Art teacher in the Richmond Public schools, and had taught me in the Highland Park School years before. She invited my dad to attend a meeting at the old John Marshall Hotel in the interest of trying to bring about some sort of renovation of the old Street, and after a bit of persuasion, he consented to go, though reluctantly.

During this meeting your father spoke briefly stating that he was sorry that the lovely old Street had come to such a sad plight, etc. and then these words: "I regret that my wife still owns a piece of property down there...." but my dad heard only this and when he returned home he called your mother, Lucy, and asked if she would be interested in selling, not knowing at the time that the house she owned was directly across from his 316 at 315 S Thir. It was suggested that he send her a contract for acceptance or rejection and the latter went off on the morning mail and was accepted. the price? Well, you likely know, and need not be reminded.

This turned out to be the answer to our prayer, the fulfillment of our dream, for there was a house with so many rooms that our 16 rooms of furniture could be aptly placed and this was done. My dad put the first money down and turned it over to me, in my name, and that monthly note came first in our family. If we didn't eat, that monthly note had to be met. $25.00 plus interest at about 3% or so.

So now, this is the story. I thought you would like to know that it was your father who in a real sense gave us the opportunity we needed at that crisis moment in our lives... Today... while it may seem boastful it is anything but that when I say we live very comfortably off the interest of that borrowed $ 100 for that is the amount that Dad put down. This was the seed money that gave us the chance to go forward...I rented out the 2nd and 3rd floors and then when 320 came up for sale when the Cookes moved away we managed to buy that and then we bought 206 further up the Street and then as the years came and went we were able to buy other properties, several, including one lovely home in Florida.

We now live very meagerly but comfortably in a small house in Honolulu just the two of us. The children have all done well, much better in fact that we thought they would. They all have good mates and fine families, and most of them are involved in some kind of church work. Tom is pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Midlothian, for more than 30 years. Gerry and her husband live in Penn on lovely small farm and beautiful home. Virginia works with the Gen Assembly when in session. Mary who wasn't born then is pianist for her husband in his progressive church in Fairfax, Va., their son, Al teaches languages. Jim, retired from City (Electronics), so life is all is all is quite beautiful. all the hardships were worth it all, and I still look back with thanks and appreciation for your Dad's wise and Godly guidance that night at the John Marshall hotel. Life is strange, it is indeed.

With love,

Nancy Farmer (Mrs. A. T.)

[Signature]

Nancy Farmer
JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS OF VIRGINIA

"Were we directed from Washington when to sow, and when to reap, we should soon want bread."—Thomas Jefferson.

TO PEOPLE OF INTELLIGENCE

The JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS are endeavoring to conduct a campaign on an intellectual plane. They have no hope to convert anybody who is moved by prejudice rather than reason. They are addressing themselves to the intelligent people.

The JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS address themselves to people who understand facts and figures; to people who know that America cannot row itself into prosperity. There are those who can understand that the huge burden, which New Deal figures have placed upon American people constitute a lien upon the laboring man's wages, the farmer's farm, and the business man's business. The large debt of the United States was on June 30th, 1936, $33,778,543,000; Virginia's share of this debt amounts to $608,350. It is easy to break this down, and see what the share of each county or municipality in the State is.

The JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS address themselves to people of sufficient intelligence to know what this debt means to the present and to posterity; to people who can see that America has had no value received for the immense sums which the New Deal has squandered. They are not addressing themselves to people from whom these facts may be hidden by making faces and calling names.

The JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS expect its recruits from those people who can see that American recovery has been hindered rather than helped by the New Deal contrivances, the wreckage of which lies along the road of the last three and one-half years. That American recovery had to climb over this wreckage, which has so retarded it, that America lags in the rear of the Nations of the world in the matter of recovery.

The JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS OF VIRGINIA make their appeal to people with intelligence enough to know that the words Democratic and Republican are practically synonymous, and that by themselves they do not mean anything which distinguishes one from the other. To the JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS, with pride in the traditions and history of his party, the words "Democratic Party" mean a body of political doctrine which has endured in America for a hundred years and which has provided safe, frugal, prudent, yet always progressive administration of America's affairs. What now calls itself the National Democratic Party, but what is more generally known as the New Deal Party is, to the true JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT, a denial and complete repudiation of nearly everything which they have grown to look upon as true Democratic doctrine. The party trade-marks do not deceive them.

The word "Democratic" as applied to the New Deal is a plain mislabeling.

To them Alfred Landon, the Republican nominee, a plain, patriotic, sane, and solid American citizen much more nearly represents the Democratic ideal than does Mr. Roosevelt with his bunch of economic experiments. Landon's record does not inspire them with any fear that he will promise one thing and do another; that he will undertake to seize more power than the Constitution grants to the Executive; that he will persuade Congress to pass unconstitutional statutes and assault the Supreme Court for declaring them unconstitutional. They feel certain that he will not trade off American political institutions for radical substitutes. They believe that between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Alfred M. Landon, despite the fact that Roosevelt is wearing the Democratic trade-mark, that Alfred M. Landon is the better Democrat of the two, and so they are giving him their support. We hope that what is left of democracy in America may be rescued from the wrecking crew which now rules the New Deal.

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS OF VIRGINIA.
The Great Depression & The New Deal
Photographic Print, “CCC” boys after preparing dyke,” March 1936
VMHC Object Number: 1996.34.1
The Great Depression & The New Deal
Poster, A Young Man's Opportunity, Works Progress Administration, 1941
Courtesy of Library of Congress (LOC Call Number: POS - WPA - ILL .B46, no. 1)
The Great Depression & The New Deal

"Which will you choose? A report on the labor record of the Democratic Association", Democratic National Committee, 1944
VMHC Call Number: E806 W571
12 YEARS OF TALK vs. 12 YEARS OF ACTION

From now until Election Day, you will be bombarded with claims and accusations such as America has never known before.

But talk is cheap. Diet cheap!

Action—not words—are the things which really count!

Here are two records of talk and action.

1. The record of 12 years of Republican Administration.
2. The record of 12 years of Democratic Administration.

The Republicans TALKED

... of a chicken in every pot
... of a car in every garage
... and then ... of patience!

THROUGHOUT three Republican administrations—Harding, Coolidge and Hoover—not a single action was taken by the Federal Government to safeguard American workers against the possibility of depression.

And you know the result.

When the stock market crashed in '29—when the country entered the worst crisis in its history—the Hoover Administration was powerless to ward off the blow.

It had refused to recognize that the prosperity of the '20s was a bubble, ready to burst at any moment.

It had shut its eyes to the fact that in the very best year of the '20s, millions of men and women workers were out of jobs. So the Hoover Administration, faced with the terrible tragedy of widespread unemployment, talked fast—and did nothing!

They talked of a car in every garage... while millions walked their soles through, looking for jobs!

They talked of a chicken in every pot... while capable, skilled workers and business men sold apples on street corners!

They talked of patience... while the children of unemployed workers stayed home from school for the lack of clothes!

Compare this talk, talk, talk with the quick, decisive action of the Democratic Administration.
The Democratic Administration ACTED

Within a few weeks after President Roosevelt took office, a conference of the leaders of organized labor and others was called to consider a program of action.

The conference recommended:
1. Unemployment relief by the Federal Government.
2. Drastic limitation of hours of work.
3. Minimum wages at a decent level.
4. Immediate abolition of child labor.
5. Regional or industrial boards to consider matters in dispute between employers and employees.
6. Government purchases only from concerns whose labor policies included fair hours and fair wages.
7. Educational centers for people out of work.

Every one of these proposals later became established national policy.

Most of them were in effect within a year.
The need was desperate... the solution came swiftly!

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THE CCC
(The Civilian Conservation Corps)
Established in April, 1933. It gave employment, training, and recreation to almost 3,000,000 young men when there were no jobs for them to find.

THE NRA
(National Industrial Recovery Act)
It became law on June 16, 1933. Employers agreed to codes of fair competition which included their labor provisions:
1. Limitation of hours of work so that available work might be shared among a greater number.
2. Minimum wages to provide "living wages" for all, and to increase the national purchasing power.
3. Possible wage rates above the minimums.
5. Prohibition of child labor (16 years the minimum age).
6. Obedience of courts of fair labor relations and other labor questions.
7. Accident insurance by employers, and other factors of employment.

THE HOLC
(Home Owners Loan Corporation)
Since the summer of 1933, it has granted loans to 1,372,000 small home owners. More than a million Americans who feared the loss of their homes during the early years of depression, still own their homes today, thanks to HOLC.

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And America stayed on the road

THE WPA
(WPA - Works Progress Administration)
In 10 years, it invested $13,000,000,000 in the public works, providing useful jobs for the people, recreative needed income, and producing the purchasing power in the hands of millions of people which put the nation back on its feet.

We invited our fat money to better use.
When the demand for our production maybe, industry was once again operating at high gear, America achieved the goal that we have found waiting in this report. 632,000,000,000 would not begin to cover the loss... or our freedom!

THE NYA
(National Youth Administration)
In the Spring of 1933, a national survey revealed 2,000,000 young men and women between 18 and 21 were on relief.

NYA created in June, 1933, has provided 2,400,000 boys and girls with work and training, and enabled another 2,500,000 boys and girls to return to school.

SOCIAL SECURITY
In August, 1935, following a report by the President's Committee on Economic Security, Congress passed the first Social Security Act in the Nation's history.
It was Labor’s road to recovery, too...

COPELAND ACT
More popularly known as the Anti-Kickback Act, it protects workers from employers who attempt to cut established wages by requiring employers to kickback a part of their wages.

WE JOIN THE ILO.
The Roosevelt Administration said, "Don't blame us. This is a world depression." Yet it conscientiously represented the International Labor Organization, the one agency organized on a world scale to help adjust industrial and labor conditions.

Since joining the ILO American labor has played an increasingly important role in it. By 1933, American labor had joined the International Labor Organization.

WAGNER ACT
When the Supreme Court held NRA was unconstitutional, the Administration turned futilely to protect labor’s newly won gains. Every working man and woman knows today that the National Labor Relations Act (also called the Wagner Act) has safeguarded the rights and improved labor against the strongest attacks.

WALSH-MOALEY ACT
This process all Government contracts for materials and supplies. Dollars may be placed only with firms which observe prevailing wage rates, and the damage due to illeagal labor is made.

and Labor stayed on the road!

WAGE AND HOUR LAW
For every worker engaged in interstate commerce or the production of goods for interstate commerce, this law sets a floor under wages, a ceiling on hours.

It does more than protect employees. It also protects decent employers from the temptation of strikes and other labor-exploiting economic measures.

In protection child labor.

NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE
Each year, the Secretary of Labor invites the governors of the states to send a maximum of five persons to sign improvements. Forty or more sessions have been held already.

The Public Contracts Act and the Wage and Hour Laws were the results of these Conferences.

But in the states, as well, the influence of the Conference has been felt. It has enabled every state to provide better laws to accomplish the wages, working conditions and health of all workers.

LABOR IN WARTIME COMMITTEE
On the outbreak of war, the Labor Department went through representatives of labor, management and government in running wartime labor standards. They recommended:

One day of rest in every week A normal workday of at least 40 hours Not more than 60 hours in a week 8 hours for most operations 6 days a week for every worker.

Most war industry plants observe these recommendations. Their compassion is proved by the magnificent production record of America's war industries.

Now, in '44... do YOU want the Nation to get OFF the road to recovery?

You must make the choice. You will bear "sacrifice" of vast unemployment after the war. You will be asked to wait until the war is over.

It is not!

These has never been a country with purchasing power so great as the one that now exists in America. Thanks to the wise policies of the President and Administration, industries have been expanded from way to provide production, without prolonged delay.

... Workers temporarily released during manufacture will be promptly re-employed.

... They will have the protection of minimum wages laws and the existence of the W.P.A. Employment Service while seeking new work.

... The old can retire with all age insurance benefits.

... Dependent young people are provided for.

... The Fair Labor Standards Act will give maximum distribution of work to unions as are currently in production standards.

... Large public and private housing projects and new highway systems are now being planned, ensuring continuous employment in useful and needed work.

This Administration believes that in a land as rich as America, a people is essential to American war and should have full employmennt.

Program made in the past 50 years proves this is a goal that we can reach.

There is another point of view, as is ever. These are those who believe that industry is entitled to some degree of what it wants, no matter where it is at the time, regardless of the needs of the men involved, while "management" knows no pain.

This is no part of the Roosevelt program. This Administration believes in, and will not cease its efforts to achieve...

EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL