

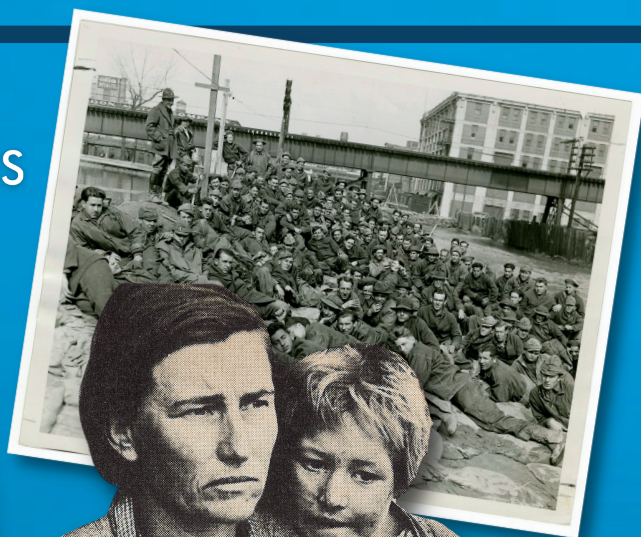
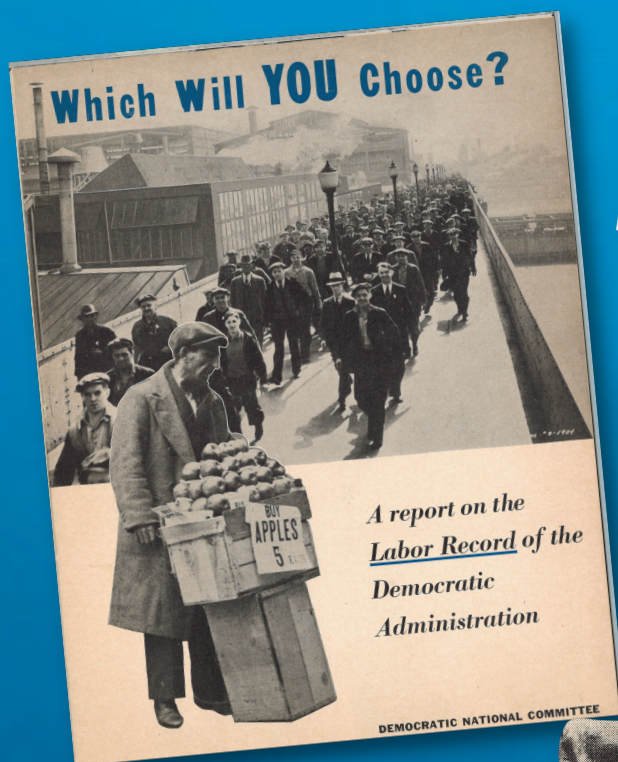


# COLLECTIONS IN THE CLASSROOM

TEACHERS GUIDE & RESOURCES

## The Great Depression & The New Deal

PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL  
AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS



## CREDITS

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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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

1. What do you wonder about...who? what? when? Where? Why? How?

## CONTEXT AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR EACH SOURCE

### **Broadside, 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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?



**Gas Pump**

VMHC Object Number:1996.178

### **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: Broadside 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 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> 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)**

Courtesy of Library of Congress (LOC Call Numbers: POS - WPA - ILL .C44, no. 3 & POS - WPA - ILL .B46, no. 1)

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**

VMHC Call Number: HD9130.7 C61

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**

VMHC Call Number: E806 W571

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 22<sup>nd</sup> 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?



# The Great Depression & The New Deal

Broadside, Announcement of Harry F. Byrd for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Virginia, 1925  
VMHC Call Number: Broadside 1925:5

## 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 dedicates 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 eleemosynary 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 equitably 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



# The Great Depression & The New Deal

Letter, Nancy Whitley Farmer, 1988

VMHC Call Number: Mss2 F2299 a 1

3508 Harris Ae.,  
Richmond, Va., 23223  
Oct. 27, 1988

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 ehlped 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, he 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 incicent 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 spon, 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 1939, in the latter part of the year, and my husband and I had come through the worst of the Great Depression whihc had struck us some pretty hard blows.. from snatching our firtst 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 everything 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 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 furnkture.. 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



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it have happened.. My Dad, Mr. J. S. Whitley, was sitting on his front porch one day in late summer, 1939 Or 40 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 Third, 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. Maude 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 letter 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 here 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 Henrico just the two of us.. The children have all done well.. much better in fact that we 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 Bapt Church, Midlothins, for more than 30 years.. Gerry and he Dr 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, 21 teaches languages.... Jim, retired from City here(Electronics).. so life all is ll is quite beautiful.. all the hardships were worth it all.. and I still look back with thanks and appreciation for your Dad mking that speech that night at the John Marshall hotel... Life is strange. It is indeed. With love.

Nancy Farmer (Mrs. A. T.)

*Nancy Farmer*



# The Great Depression & The New Deal

Broadside, "To People of Intelligence", 1936

VMHC Call Number: Broadside 1936:4

## JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATS OF VIRGINIA

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



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### 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 \$698,505. 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 calls itself 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

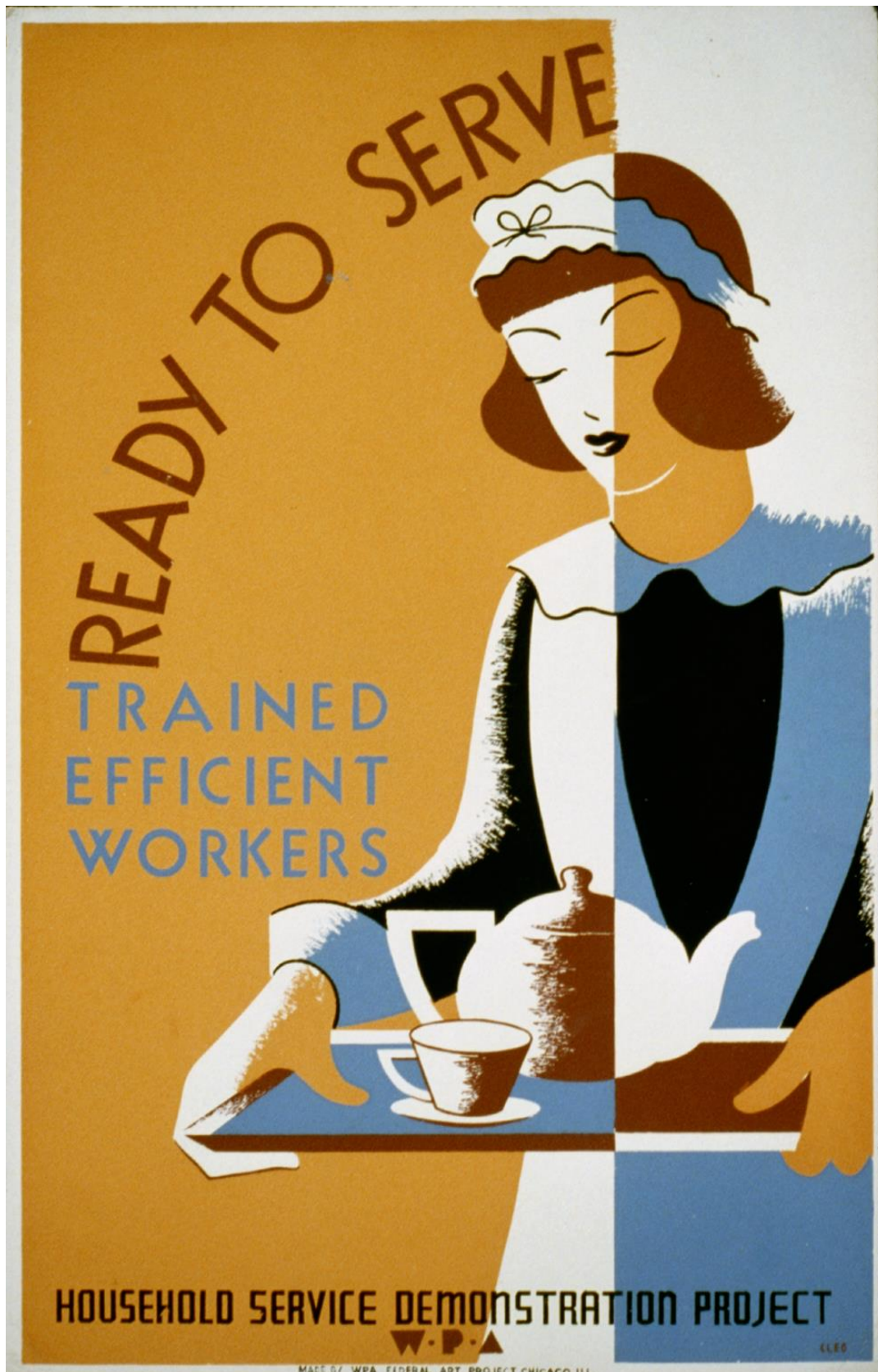




## The Great Depression & The New Deal

Poster, *Ready to Serve*, Works Progress Administration, 1939

Courtesy of Library of Congress (LOC Call Number: POS - WPA - ILL .C44, no. 3)



## 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

## The Tobacco Code, United States National Recovery Administration

VMHC Call Number: HD9130.7 C61

### THE TOBACCO CODE

To effectuate the policy of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, during the period of the emergency, by reducing and relieving unemployment, improving the standards of labor, and by increasing the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power, and in other respects, the following provisions are established as a Code for the Tobacco Industry:

1. **Definitions:** The term "tobacco industry" as used herein is defined to mean the manufacture of cigarettes, smoking tobacco, chewing tobacco, and snuff, including all operations in connection with the leaf tobacco used in such manufacture. The term "employees" as used herein shall include all persons employed in the conduct of such operations. The term "effective date" as used herein is defined to be August 1, 1933. The term "persons" shall include natural persons, partnerships, associations, and corporations.
2. On and after the effective date, employers in the tobacco industry shall not employ any minor under the age of sixteen years.
3. On and after the effective date, employers in the tobacco industry shall not operate on a schedule of hours of labor for their employees—except repair men, engineers, firemen, watchmen, shipping, supervisory staff, outside salesmen, and those employed in handling and pricing of green leaf tobacco during the leaf buying season—in excess of forty hours per week.
4. On and after the effective date, the minimum wage that shall be paid by employers in the tobacco industry to any of their account-

ing, clerical, office, service, or sales employees (except outside salesmen) shall be at the rate of \$15.00 a week in any city of over 500,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; \$14.50 a week in any city of between 250,000 and 500,000 population, or in immediate trade area of such city; \$14.00 a week in any city of between 2,500 and 250,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; and in towns of less than 2,500 population all wages of such employees shall be increased by not less than 20%, provided that this shall not require wages in excess of \$12.00 a week.

5. On and after the effective date, the minimum wage that shall be paid by employers in the tobacco industry to any of their employees—except learners during a six weeks' apprenticeship and except unskilled labor—shall be not less than the hourly rate in effect on July 15, 1929, and in no event less than thirty cents per hour. The minimum wage to be paid by employers in the tobacco industry to unskilled labor shall be 20% in excess of the rate paid for the same class of work on July 15, 1929. This paragraph establishes a guaranteed minimum rate of pay regardless of whether the employee is compensated on the basis of a time rate or on a piece-work performance.
6. On and after the effective date, no reduction shall be made in the present hourly or piece-work rate of any employee receiving more than thirty cents an hour. No employer shall pay any employee an hourly or a piece-work rate which will yield a less wage for a work week of forty hours than such an employee previously received for the same class of work for the longer week previously normally prevailing.
7. The maximum hours fixed in the foregoing paragraph 3 shall not apply to employees in a managerial or executive capacity, who now receive more than \$35.00 a week; nor to employees on emergency maintenance and repair works; nor to very special cases where restrictions of hours of highly skilled workers on continuous processes would unavoidably reduce production, but in any such two last named cases, at least time and one-third shall be paid for hours worked in excess of the maximum.

8. With a view to keeping the President informed as to the observance or non-observance of this Code, and as to whether the tobacco industry is taking appropriate steps to effectuate the declared policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act, each person engaged in the tobacco industry will furnish, duly certified, to the Administrator such reports as may be desired, and in such form and at such times as may be requested.

9. Where, before June 16, 1933, any person in the tobacco industry had contracted to purchase goods at a fixed price for delivery during the period of this Code, said person will make an appropriate adjustment of said fixed price to meet any increase in cost caused by the seller having signed the President's re-employment agreement or having become bound by any code of fair competition approved by the President.

10. This Code shall be in operation on and after the effective date as to the tobacco industry except as an exemption from or a stay of the application of its provisions may be granted by the Administrator to a person applying for the same or except as provided in an executive order. No distinction shall be made in such exemptions between persons who have and have not joined in applying for the approval of this Code.

11. Each person in the tobacco industry agrees not to use any subterfuge to frustrate the spirit and intent of this Code, which is, among other things, to increase employment by a universal covenant, to remove obstructions to commerce, and to shorten hours and to raise wages.

12. Employers in the tobacco industry shall comply with the requirements of the National Industrial Recovery Act as follows:

(a) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or

protection; (b) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (c) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

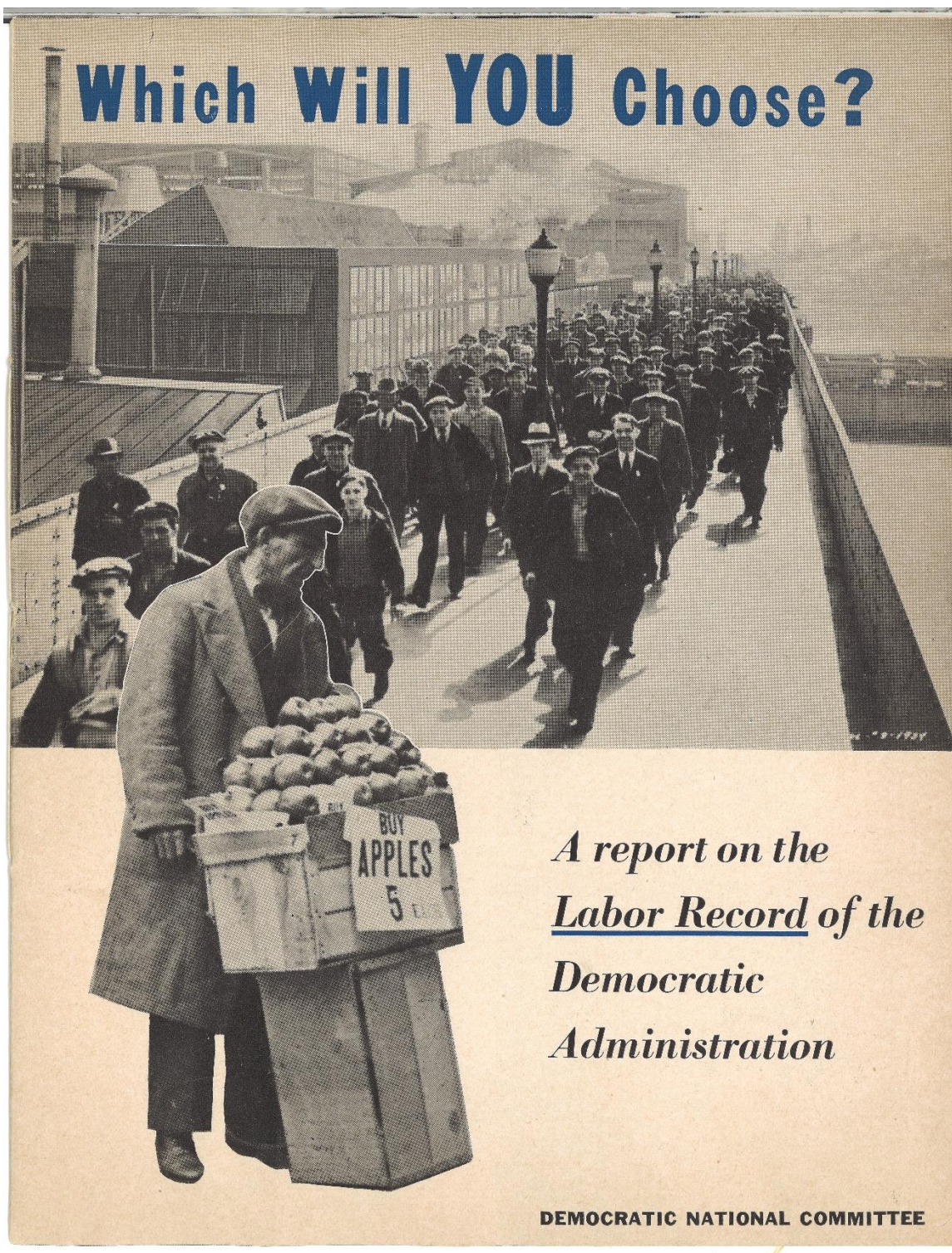
This Code and all the provisions thereof are expressly made subject to the right of the President, in accordance with the provision of Clause 10 (b) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, from time to time to cancel or modify any order, approval, license, rule, or regulation, issued under Title I of said Act, and specifically to the right of the President to cancel or modify his approval of this Code or any conditions imposed by him upon his approval thereof.



## 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







950301

## 12 YEARS OF TALK vs. 12 YEARS OF ACTION

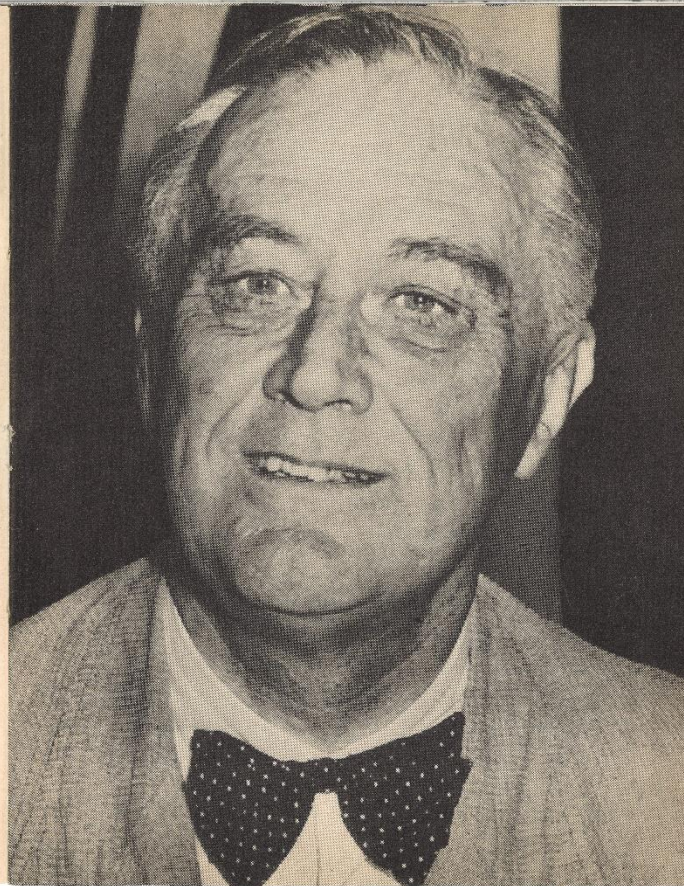
From now until Election Day, you will be bombarded with claims and accusations such as America has never known before.

But *talk* is cheap. Dirt cheap!

*Actions*—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!*

**T**HROUGHOUT 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.

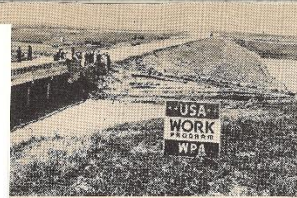
The conference recommended:

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!

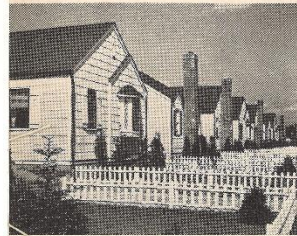
The need was desperate . . . the solution came swiftly!



WPA



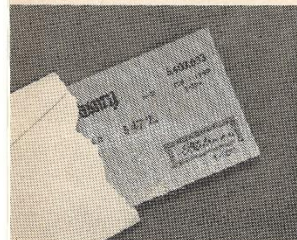
CCC



HOLC



NRA



Social Security



NYA

**THIS was America's road to recovery . . .**

## THE CCC

(Civilian Conservation Corps)

Established in April, 1933. It gave employment, training and education 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 in June, 1933. Employers agreed to Codes of Fair Competition which included these 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 minimum.
4. Guarantee of the right of collective bargaining.
5. Prohibition of child labor (16 years the minimum age.)
6. Orderly methods of meeting special labor situations.
7. Accurate reporting on labor conditions and other factors of employment.

## THE HOLC

(Home Owners Loan Corporation)

Since the summer of 1933, it has granted loans to 1,017,921 small home owners. More than a million Americans who faced the loss of their homes, during the early years of depression, still own their homes today, thanks to HOLC!



## and America stayed on the road

### THE WPA

(Works Projects Administration)

In 10 years, it invested \$13,000,000,000 in the future of America; providing useful jobs for the jobless, countless needed improvements for the cities and towns of America, and providing the purchasing power in the pockets of ordinary people which put the nation back on its feet.

No nation ever put money to better use!

When the demand for war production came, industry was once again operating in high gear. America delivered the goods! Had we been found wanting in this respect, \$13,000,000,000 would not begin to cover the loss . . . of our freedom!

### THE N.Y.A.

(National Youth Administration)

In the Spring of 1935, a national survey revealed 3,000,000 young men and women between 16 and 25 were on relief.

NYA, created in June, 1935, has provided 2,667,000 boys and girls with work and training, and enabled another 2,131,000 boys and girls to remain in 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-kick-back Act. It protects workers from employers who attempt to cut established wages by requiring employees to kick-back a part of their wages.

### WE JOIN THE I.L.O.

The Hoover Administration said, "Don't blame us. This is a world depression."

Yet it consistently disregarded the *International Labor Organization*, the one agency organized on a world scale to help adjust industrial and labor conditions.

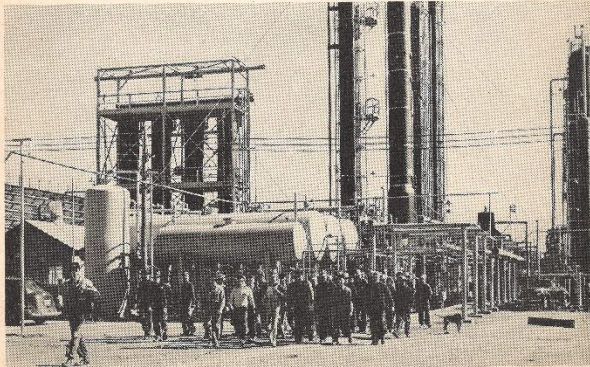
Since joining the I.L.O. American labor has played an increasingly important role in it. Its true value is certain to be seen when the United Nations begin shaping new international relationships after the present war.

### WAGNER ACT

When the Supreme Court held NRA unconstitutional, the Administration moved swiftly 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 interests of labor against the strongest attacks.

### WALSH-HEALEY ACT

This governs all Government contracts for materials and supplies. Orders may be placed only with firms which observe prevailing wage rates, and the 8-hour day or 40-hour week (with time-and-a-half for overtime), maintain standards of safety and health, and do not employ child labor or convict labor.



## 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 puts "a floor under wages, a ceiling over hours."

It does more than protect employees. It also protects decent employers from the competition of sweatshops and other labor-exploiting concerns.

It prohibits child labor.

### NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Each year, the Secretary of Labor invites the governors of the states to send representatives for the exchange of experiences and to plan improvements. Forty or more states have responded annually.

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

But in the states, as well, the influence of the Conference has been felt. It has urged every state to provide basic labor laws to safeguard the wages, working conditions and health of all workers.

### LABOR IN WARTIME COMMITTEE

On the outbreak of war, the Labor Department brought together representatives of labor, management and government to consider wartime labor standards. They recommended:

- One day of rest in every seven
- A meal period of at least 30 minutes
- Not more than an 8-hour day and 40-hour week for most operations
- A vacation period for every worker.

Most war industry plants observe these recommendations. Their soundness 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 hear "warning" of vast unemployment after the war. You will be told such unemployment is inevitable.

*It is not!*

There has never been a country with purchasing power even approaching that which now exists in America. Thanks to the wise planning and legislation of the present Administration, industries can be converted from war to peacetime production without prolonged difficulty—

- ... Workers temporarily released during reconversion will be protected by unemployment compensation.
- ... They will have the protection of minimum wage laws and the assistance of the U. S. Employment Service while seeking new work.
- ... The aged can retire with old age insurance benefits.
- ... Dependent young people are provided for.

... The Fair Labor Standards Act will give maximum distribution of work as hours are shortened to peacetime standards.

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

This Administration believes that in a land as rich as America, a people as resourceful as Americans can and should have full employment.

Progress made in the past 10 years proves this is a goal that can be reached.

There is another point of view, to be sure. There are those who believe that industry is entitled, in some divine way, to have hungry men always waiting at the gates, threatening the jobs of the men inside, while "management" keeps its jobs!

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

# EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL