Excerpts from the White House Diaries of Theodore Joslin

Wednesday, April 6, 1932

It often is said that the President lacks humor. Here is one instance to the contrary. Conferences were endless today. Each dealt with a different subject and each subject was controversial. The Republicans in the Senate were not giving the President the support he desired, while the Democrats were raising hell. With Pat Harrison doing his suave pinpricking stunt, the President called Senator Glenn in and gave him an armful of material for a counter-attack. Secretary Stimson, who leaves Friday for Geneva, refused in his bull headed manner to follow a lead the President gave him and this made the President disgusted. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation flatly refused to put out a statement the President wanted issued. And a half a dozen groups came in to try to induce the President to take action that he considered unwise. So it went throughout the day. Just before leaving the office this evening the President remarked: “I have a five ring circus on my hands and a lot of bad actors.”

Sunday, May 8, 1932

The President made up his mind today to make a radio speech, carrying his demand for economy and balancing the budget directly to the people. He spent much of the day working on the early draft… I gave the A.P. and U.P. some background, telling them that the ranking Republican and Democratic members of the Senate Appropriations Committee were busy lining up the members of their respective parties in a “battalion of united action” to stand up and fight for the revenue provision of the compromise tax bill. I also told them the purpose of the President’s conference last night was to secure full cooperation by the Republicans in the non-partisan action. Although all this was news, it was buried in the dispatches because of the conference, to which the press got wise, between the President and the Republican members of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Fred Hale, who has a brain of a goat, was responsible for the leak. In these troublesome times, such leaks are very exasperating, but cannot be helped. The press knows big news is pending and keep an extremely close watch on the White House.

We learned absolutely flatly today that Al Smith, Kaskob and Barney Baluch have united on Owen D. Young for the Democratic presidential nomination. Smith to put him in nomination when the appropriate moment comes. Their game is to keep this agreement secret. As it is for advantage to keep Roosevelt out as far in front as possible, I leaked the information to Roy Vernon who will use it as his own in the Chicago Daily News tomorrow.
Monday, May 9, 1932

The President is about as disgusted with the Republican members of the Senate Appropriations Committee today as he can be. He had to talk, argue and fight with most of them last night to whip them into line. "They are a dusty-trained, spooze witted lot," he said this morning. "You can't imagine what difficulty I had last night in making them appreciate the necessities of this situation."

"We are having a new economy bill drafted. I have gotten Senator Jones to agree to a subcommittee to work on the proposal. Jones is the worst of the lot. He is afraid to take action that must be taken. I told him: Jones, you don't know the conditions in your State. And I am telling you that for every voter in your State who objects to the closing of a navy yard there are 7000 who will damn you if the economies are not averted. The trouble with Jones is he is scared to death because he has two opponents for renomination."

The conservative Democrats are really working with the President as well if not better than the Republicans. Today for example, it was Senator Reavis of Arkansas, who, through agreement made the motion in the Senate sending the Cutoff resolution to rescind the unscientific 10 p.c. [5%] appropriations cut resolution back to the Appropriations committee so that a real committee of three Republicans and three Democrats can be selected to handle all the economy matters.

Saturday, October 8, 1932

The President put in a few words today the difficulty that confronts him and the Republican party in this election. He said: "We are opposed by 10,000,000 unemployed, 10,000 bonus marchers and 10 cent corn. Is it any wonder that the prospects are dark? Is there any cause for surprise that we must give every ounce of strength, every one of us, to win."

And that reminds me. Efforts are being made again to get our off horse [Senator Borah] back into harness. The President has sent two more emissaries out to Boise. He awaits their report impatiently. He observed: "If Borah is going to be any help in this campaign, he must get into the battle within the next three or four days." We know he thinks it would be a national catastrophe if Roosevelt should be elected. Yet, also, we know no more. Gosh, how much he could help if he only would swing into action.

Friday, November 18, 1932

The President directed me late today to call a special meeting of the Cabinet for 10 o'clock tomorrow, but not to call Stimson. Coming after an hour's conference with Stimson and Mills, it gave me a start, until the President told me the purpose of the meeting was to go over the budget.
Berryman, Clifford, “Untitled,” 23 December 1932. Courtesy of National Archives
February 21, 1933

The Honorable
Simeon D. Fess
United States Senate

My dear Mr. Senator:

I am sending you herewith a letter for your records which, of course, should not be communicated to anyone in the present time as it would only increase the conflagration. I have no particular desire for it to be produced at all unless the Democratic leaders at some future time should endeavor to mislead the American people as to the origins of the present situation. If the President-elect and the Democratic party pursue policies of stability and remedy it need not be used as I have no desire to put forward unnecessary criticism.

Yours faithfully,

Herbert Hoover
February 21, 1933.

Hon. Simeon D. Fess
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Senator:

I am glad to respond to your request that I put in writing for your records, the statement I made to you yesterday as to the economic situation at the moment, and the causes thereof.

Today we are on the verge of financial panic and chaos. Fear for the policies of the new administration has gripped the country. People do not await events, they act. Hoarding of currency, and of gold, has risen to a point never before known; banks are suspending not only in isolated instances, but in one case an entire state. Prices have fallen since last autumn below the levels which debtors and creditors can meet. Men over large areas are unable or are refusing to pay their debts. Hundreds of millions of orders placed before election have been cancelled. Unemployment is increasing. There are evidences of the flight of capital from the United States to foreign countries, men have abandoned all sense of new enterprise and are striving to put their affairs in defense against disaster.

Some days before election the whole economic machine began to hesitate from the upward movement of last summer and fall. For some time after election it continued to hesitate but hoped for the best. As time has gone on, however, every development has stirred the fear and apprehension of the people. They have begun to realize that the abandonment of a successful program of this administration which brought rapid recovery last summer and fall now means and they are alarmed at possible new deal policies indicated by the current events. It is this fear that now dominates the national situation. It is not lack of resources, currency or credit.

The incidents which have produced this fear are clear. There was a delay by the President-elect of over two months in willingness to cooperate with us to bring about order from confusion in our economic relations. There have been a multitude of speeches, bills, and statements of demo-
cratic members of Congress and others proposing inflation or tinkering with the currency. My proposals for reduction of expenditures have been ignored to the extent of over $200,000,000 by the Democratic House of Representatives. The differences between Democratic leaders and the President-elect over the basis of taxation with which to balance the budget caused them to reject the balancing of the budget. The publication by Democratic leaders of the House of the Reconstruction Corporation loans has caused runs on hundreds of banks, failures of many of them, and hoarding on a wide scale. There have been proposed in the Congress by Democratic leaders and publicly even by the President-elect, projects involving federal expenditure of tremendous dimensions which would obviously lie beyond the capacity of the federal government to borrow without tremendous depreciation in government securities. Such proposals as the bills to assume Federal responsibility for billions of mortgages, loans to municipalities for public works, the Tennessee Improvement and Muscle Shoals, are all of this order. The proposals of Speaker Garner that constitutional government should be abandoned because the Congress, in which there will be an overwhelming majority, is unable to face reduction of expenses, has started a chatter of dictatorship. The President-elect has done nothing publicly to disavow any of these proposals.

The Democratic House has defeated a measure to increase tariffs so as to prevent invasion of goods from depreciated currency countries, thus estopping increased unemployment from this source. There have been interminable delays and threatened defeat of the Glass Banking Bill, and the Bankruptcy bill.

How much this whole situation is the result of fear of the policies of the new administration is further indicated by a short review of the five distinct periods in recent economic history.

The first period began with the financial and monetary collapse of Europe in the last half of 1931 culminating in October, bringing contraction of credit and reduction of exports, falling prices of both commodities and securities, followed by great fear and apprehension in the people which was promptly represented by hoarding, bank failures, flight of capital, withdrawal of foreign gold balances with final interpretation in decreased employment, demoralization of agriculture and general stagnation.

The second period following the approval by Congress of our measures of reconstruction in early February 1932 was a period of sharp recovery over a period between 60 and 90 days; during this period public confidence was restored, prices of commodities and securities rose, currency began to return from
hoarding, gold shipments abroad were greatly lessened, bank failures practically ceased and the whole country moved upward.

The third period began in April and continued through July. This was a period of a sharp debacle which was brought about by the Democratic House by the same character of proposals we now see again, that is by the original failure of the revenue bill, the failure to reduce expenditures recommended by the Executive with consequent fear that the move would not be successful; the passage of a group of inflationary measures including the Patman Bill, the Goldsborough Bill, etc. The passage of a series of projects which would have required greater issues of government securities than the Treasury could support including the Garner Bills for gigantic public works and unlimited loans by the Reconstruction Corporation, etc. Public confidence was destroyed; hoarding, withdrawal of foreign gold, decrease in employment, falling prices and general economic demoralization took place.

The fourth period began about the adjournment of Congress when it was assured that these destructive measures were defeated and that constructive measures would be held. This period extended from July until October and was a period of even more definite march out of the depression. Employment was increasing at the rate of half a million men a month, bank failures ceased, hoarded currency was flowing back steadily and gold was returning from abroad, car loadings, commodity and security prices and all the other proofs of emergence from the depression were visible to everyone. Fear and despair had again been replaced by hope and confidence.

The fifth period began shortly before election when the outcome became evident, and has lasted until today. I have already recited its events.

The causes of this terrible retrogression and fear in this fifth period have an exact parallel in the third period of last spring. The fact that there was no disavowal of the actions of last spring by the Democratic candidates during the campaign lends added color and alarm that the same actions and proposals which are now repeated in this period positively represent the policies of the new administration - and the people are seeking to protect themselves individually but with national damage. The movement forward in recovery of our people is again defeated by precisely the same factors as last spring and again emanating from the Democratic leaders.

In the interest of every man, woman and child, the President-elect has, during the past week, been urged by the saner leaders of his own party such as Senator Glass and others, by myself,
and by Democratic bankers and economists whom he has called on for advice, to stop the conflagration before it becomes uncontrolable, by announcing firmly and at once that the budget will be balanced even if it means increased taxation; (b) new projects will be so restricted that government bond issues will not in any way endanger stability of government finances; (c) there will be no inflation or tampering with the currency; to which some have added that as the Democratic party coming in with an overwhelming majority in both houses, there can be no excuse for abandonment of Constitutional processes.

The President-elect is the only man who has the power to give assurances which will stabilize public mind as he alone can execute them. Those assurances should have been given before now but must be given at once if the situation is to be greatly helped. It would allay some fear and panic whereas delay will make the situation more acute.

The present administration is devoting its days and nights to put out the fires or to localize them. I have scrupulously refrained from criticism which is well merited, but have instead been giving repeated assurances to the country of our desire to cooperate and help the new administration.

What is needed, if the country is not to drift into great grief, is the immediate and emphatic restoration of confidence in the future. The resources of the country are incalculable, the available credit is ample but lenders will not lend, and men will not borrow unless they have confidence. Instead they are withdrawing their resources and their energies. The courage and enterprise of the people still exist and only await release from fears and apprehension.

The day will come when the Democratic party will endeavor to place the responsibility for the events of this Fifth period on the Republican Party. When that day comes I hope you will invite the attention of the American people to the actual truth.

Yours faithfully,

Herbert Hoover

Hoover, Herbert, “Herbert Hoover analyzes 5 periods in the development of the history of the Depression,” 21 February 1933. Courtesy of National Archives
Berryman, Clifford, “That Conquering Cooperative Spirit!” 7 March 1933. Courtesy of National Archives
“A Capitol Hill May Day Parade,” May 1, 1933

Berryman, Clifford, “A Capitol Hill May Day Parade,” 1 May 1933. Courtesy of National Archives
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945
Series 2: “You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR and the New Deal

File No. 1007-A

1936 October 31

New York City, NY –
Madison Square Garden - Address
On the eve of a national election, it is well for us to stop for a moment and analyze calmly and without prejudice the effect on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political parties.

The problem of the electorate is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of humanity -- it goes to humanity itself.

In 1932 the issue was the restoration of American democracy; and the American people were in a mood to win. They did win. (Applause) In 1936 the issue is the preservation of their victory. Again they are in a mood to win. (Applause) (Again they will win.)

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people." (Applause)
Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White
House stenographer from his shorthand
notes taken at the time the speech was
made. Underlining indicates words
extemporaneously added to the previously
prepared reading copy text. Words in
parentheses are words that were omitted
during the speech, though
they appear in the previously prepared
reading copy text.

Roosevelt, Franklin D., "President Franklin Roosevelt's Radio Address unveiling the second half of the
New Deal," 31 October 1936. Courtesy of National Archives
And we know tonight that the banners of that crusade still fly in the (van) forefront of a Nation that is still on the march.

It is needless to repeat the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvils of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical contortion can conceal or blur or smear that record. (*Right.*) (*Applause*) Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead (the American) our people. (*Applause*)

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear.

First, they sought escape from the personal terror which had stalked them for three years. They wanted the peace that comes from security in their homes -- safety for their savings -- permanence in their jobs -- a fair profit from their enterprise.

Next, they wanted peace in the community -- the peace that springs from the ability to meet the needs of community life -- schools, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, highways -- those things which are expected of solvent
local government. They sought escape from the disintegration and the bankruptcy (in) of local and state affairs.

They (also) sought also peace within the Nation -- protection of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the safety of their children from kidnappers.

And, finally, they sought peace with other Nations -- peace in a world of unrest. (Applause) The nation knows that I hate war, (applause) and I know that the Nation hates war. (Applause)

And so I submit to you a record of peace; and on that record a well-founded expectation for future peace -- peace for the individual, peace for the community, peace for the Nation, and peace with the world. (Applause)

Tonight I call the roll -- the roll of honor of those who stood with us in 1932 and still stand with us today. (Applause)

Written on (it) that roll of honor are the names of millions who never had a chance -- men at starvation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms.

Written on it are the names of those who despaired, young men and young women for whom opportunity had become a will-o’-the-wisp.
Written on it are the names of farmers whose acres yielded only bitterness, business men whose books were portents of disaster — home owners who were faced with eviction — frugal citizens whose savings were insecure.

Written there in large letters are the names of countless other Americans of all parties and all faiths — Americans who had eyes to see and hearts to understand — whose consciences were burdened because too many of their (fellows) fellow beings were burdened — who looked on these things four years ago and said, "This can be changed. We will change it." (Applause)

We still lead that army in 1938. They stood with us then because in 1932 they believed. They stand with us today. In 1936, because they know. And with them stand millions (applause) of new recruits who have come to know. (Applause)

Their hopes have become our record.

We have not come (this) thus far without a struggle and I assure you that we cannot go further without a struggle. (Applause)

For twelve years (this) our Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government.
(Applause) The Nation looked to that government but the government looked away. (Laughter, applause) Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the breadlines! (Applause) Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair! And, my friends, powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that government is best which is most indifferent to mankind.

For nearly four years now you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. (Applause) And I can assure you that we will keep our sleeves rolled up. (Applause)

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace -- business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering.

They had begun to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own affairs. We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob. (Applause)

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me -- and I welcome their hatred. (Applause)
I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master. (Applause)

And, my friends, the American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House -- and that is by the front door. (Applause) Since March 4, 1933 there has been only one passkey to the White House. I have carried that key in my pocket. (Applause) It is there tonight. So long as I am President, it will remain in my pocket. (Applause)

But, those who used to have passkeys are not happy. (Applause) Some of them are desolate. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America’s working people. (Boos) Only reckless men, heedless of consequences, would risk the disruption of the hope for a new peace between worker and employer by returning to the tactics of the labor spy. (Boos)

Here is an amazing paradox! The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of
class antagonism and the destruction of the American sys-
tem now undermine that system by this attempt to coerce
the votes of the wage earners of this country. It is the
1936 version of the old threat to close down the factory
or the office if a particular candidate does not win. It
is an old strategy of tyrants to delude their victims into
fighting their battles for them. (Applause)

Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is
the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of
the employer. But this propaganda is worse -- it is deceit.

They tell the worker that his wage will be re-
duced by a contribution to some vague form of old-age insur-
ance. But they carefully conceal from him the fact that for
every dollar of premium he pays for that insurance, the em-
ployer pays another dollar. That omission is deceit.

They carefully conceal from him the fact that un-
der the federal law, he receives another insurance policy
to help him if he loses his job, and that the premium of
that policy is paid 100% by the employer and not one cent
by the worker. (Applause) But they do not tell him that
the insurance policy that is bought for him is far more fa-
vorable to him than any policy that any private insurance
company could possibly afford to issue. And that omission
is deceit.
They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars -- three for one. And that omission is deceit. (Applause)

But they are guilty of more than deceit. When they imply that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be stolen by some future Congress -- diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they attack the integrity and honor of American Government itself. (Applause) Those who suggest that, are already aliens to the spirit of American democracy. Let them emigrate and try their lot under some foreign (government) flag in which they have more confidence. (Applause)

The fraudulent nature of this attempt is well shown by the record of votes on the passage of the Social Security Act. In addition to an overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. Where does this last-minute drive of the Republican leadership leave these Republican Representatives and Senators who helped to enact (this) the law? (Applause)
I am sure that the vast majority of law-abiding business men who are not parties to this propaganda fully appreciate the extent of the threat to honest business contained in this coercion.

I have expressed indignation at this form of campaigning and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers, workers and the general public share that indignation and will show it at the polls on Tuesday next. (Applause)

But, aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign not as bitter but only as hard-fought. There should be no bitterness or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America. (Applause)

No man can occupy the office of President without realizing that he is President of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of the whole Nation that I am confident that today, just as four years ago, the people want more than promises. (Applause)

And our vision for the future contains more than promises. (Applause)

This is our answer to those who, silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives. (Applause)
Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America (applause) -- to reduce hours that are over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, and to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, and to abolish dishonorable trade practices. (Applause) And for all these we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all these we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. (Applause) With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought
President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Campaign Address at Madison Square Garden, October 31, 1936 (Pg.13)

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control and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a (definite) reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of (farmer) farm cooperatives, for crop insurance and for a stable food supply for the Nation. For all these too we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed because we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole. (Applause)

Here and now I want to make myself clear about those who disparage their fellow citizens on the relief rolls. They say that those on relief are not merely jobless — (that) they say they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief — to purge the rolls by starvation. To use the language of the stockbroker, our needy unemployed would be cared for when, as, and if some fairy godmother should happen to come on the scene.

But you and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side. (Applause)
(Again) To go on -- what of our objectives?

Of course we will continue our efforts for young men and women so that they may obtain an education and an opportunity to put it to use. (Applause) Of course, we will continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- our insurance for the unemployed -- our security for the aged. Of course we will continue to protect the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against the costs that are added by monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and to keep it constant.

And for these things, too, and for (others) a multitude of things like them we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

All this -- all these objectives -- spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, spell also peace with other nations. (Applause)

Today there is war and rumor of war. We want none of it. (Applause) But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove the causes of unrest and antagonism at home which might make our people easier victims to those for whom foreign war is profitable. And, you know well that those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign. (Applause)

"Peace on earth, good-will toward men" -- democracy must cling to that message. For it is my very deep
conviction that democracy cannot live without that true religion which gives a nation a sense of justice and of moral purpose. Above our political forums, above our market places stand the altars of our faith -- altars on which burn the fires of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and all that is best in our Nation.

We have need of that devotion today. It is that which makes it possible for government to persuade those who are mentally prepared to fight each other to go on instead, to work for and to sacrifice for each other. And that is why we need to say with the Old Prophet -- "What doth the Lord require of thee -- but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." (Applause) That is why the recovery we seek, the recovery we are winning, is more than economic. In it are included justice and love and humility -- not for ourselves as individuals alone, but for our Nation. That is the road to peace. (Prolonged applause)
Depression-Era Breadlines, ca. 1932

“Depression: Breadlines: long line of people waiting to be fed: New York City: in the absence of substantial government relief programs during 1932, free food was distributed with private funds in some urban centers to large numbers of the unemployed,” ca. 1932. Courtesy of National Archives
Men Stringing Rural Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Transmission Lines, 1933

“REA; TVA; ‘Stringing rural TVA transmission line’,” 1933. Courtesy of National Archives
“The New Deal” Mural, ca. 1934

July 14, 1936

Dear Arthur:

Your decision to go into the drought area is the best news I have heard in a long time. The latest of Paul Carter’s work has not yet arrived, so I do not know exactly what he has. Anyway, he is moving on into Montana.

I suppose that from your travels through this region you are well acquainted with the type of material we wish. However, I would like to add the following brief shooting script. Be on the lookout for these pictures: (1) Livestock—animals needing water, pasture, and so forth. Contrast—the R.A.’s work in the area, if any, pictures of forage and feed being shipped in. (2) Needy families—people evaucating, migrants on the road. (3) Pictures of children. (4) Pictures of crops—stunted, burned up. (5) Farms closed down. (6) Crowd going to or coming from church.

A big “if any” is understood with all this wishful thinking. I believe, from news stories that you are coming into this area after the climax of desolation has been reached. Still according to the newspapers, the relief agencies should be active in the field and conditions under way to improvement. Paul told me that the cattle in that area wintered well and that there are no ribs sticking out or no tongues parched and protruding. That doesn’t surprise me, since it seems we always get an exaggerated idea of things back here.

Good luck, and we will all be looking forward to seeing your pictures.

Sincerely yours,

Ed Locke.
Impoverished Family of Nine during the Great Depression in New Mexico, August 1936

Lange, Dorothea, “Part of an impoverished family of nine on a New Mexico highway. Depression refugees from Iowa. Left Iowa in 1932 because of father’s ill health. Father an auto mechanic laborer, painter by trade, tubercular. Family has been on relief in Arizona but refused entry on relief roles in Iowa to which state they wish to return. Nine children including a sick four-month-old baby. No money at all. About to sell their belongings and trailer for money to buy food. “We don’t want to go where we’ll be a nuisance to anybody,” August 1936. Courtesy of Library of Congress
A Day In the Life of a New Dealer

From a Campaign Pamphlet—He wakes in the morning, tired from attendance at a New Deal meeting the night before. He yawns, lolls and stretches for two minutes. The New Deal has increased the public debt fourteen thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes...

Twenty minutes to bathe, shave and dress. The New Deal has hiked the public debt another one hundred and forty thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

He asks his wife to boil his eggs three minutes. She does. And the New Deal tacks onto the public debt twenty-one thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

Seats himself at the breakfast table and arranges newspaper. One minute. The New Deal has increased the public debt seven thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

Breakfast. ten minutes. The New Deal has boosted the public debt seventy thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

Sips his coffee and enjoys a smoke for a leisurely four minutes. The New Deal has upped the public debt Twenty-eight thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

Glances through paper and wastes eight minutes reading a statement by Spoil-mater Jim Farley to the effect that “we have one of the most economical administrations known in years.” He reads and the New Deal writes another entry in the ledger, increasing the public debt fifty-six thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

Kisses his wife good by, devoting five seconds to this leave-taking. The New Deal increases the public debt five hundred and eighty-three dollars and thirty-three cents—which must be paid taxes.

From the time he awakes until he gets down-town, two hours elapse. The New Deal has increased the public debt eight hundred and forty thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes...

Perturbed by the charge that Mr. Roosevelt has failed to keep his promises to reduce expenses, balance the budget, reduce taxes, stop debt increase etc., Newdealer
spends three hours at New Deal headquarters vainly seeking proof that one of those promises had been kept. The New Deal increases the public debt one million, two hundred and sixty thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

One hour for lunch. The New Deal tips the public debt four hundred and twenty thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

At lunch he hears it charged that President Roosevelt cares nothing for the Democratic party or its principles but is merely using them to further a program based on alien ideas and philosophies.

Stunned by this charge, Newdealer hurries to the library and spends five hours reading the addresses and messages delivered by Roosevelt since he took office. Discovers charge he heard at lunch is true. During his research the New Deal increased the public debt Two million, one hundred thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

On his way home Mr. Newdealer hears a radio announcement that as part of the New Deal strategy Rexford Guy Tugwell will be kept out of the limelight during the campaign, the New Deal thus promising the Democrat party another “breathing spell.”

Takes Newdealer six minutes to grasp the irony of this. The New Deal has increased the public debt Forty-two thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

At home Newdealer plays at New Deal golf (this game is also known as Boondoggling) for half an hour, by raking leaves back and forth across the lawn. The New Deal kills the public debt Two Hundred and Ten Thousand Dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

While he spends three-quarters of an hour at the dinner table, the intransigent New Deal raises the public debt three hundred and fifteen thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

He turns on the radio and for fifteen minutes listens to a “fireside chat” by the golden voice of radio. And the New Deal increased the public debt one hundred and five thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

For relaxation he takes the family to a neighborhood movie theatre. Two and a half hours recreation. The New Deal adds to the public debt one million and fifty thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

Home again he takes a bath preparatory to retiring. Twelve minutes. The New Deal increases the public debt eighty-four thousand dollars—which must be paid by taxes...

Retires at eleven o’clock, having been up “sixteen hours.” The New Deal has increased the public debt Six Million, Seven Hundred and Twenty Thousand Dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

He sleeps till seven in the morning. Eight hours, haunted by the realization that the New Deal has increased the public debt Three Million Three Hundred and Sixty Thousand Dollars—which must be paid by taxes.

And so another twenty-four hours of the New Deal clock have been turned and the public debt has been increased TEN MILLION, FIVE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVEN THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINE DOLLARS—which must be paid by taxes.

Another round in the New Deal vicious circle of reckless spending has been completed but a new round has already begun as Mr. Newdealer gets out of bed.

Realizing this, Newdealer, disgusted and disillusioned with the New Deal and its “More Abundant Life,” decides, “That’s Not What I Voted for—I’m Going to Take a Walk.”
People Waiting for Relief Checks in Calipatria, California, March 1937

Interview with Italian Munitions Worker Charles Fusco, 1938 ( Pg. 1 )

INTerview with Charles Fusco, 1938

I was born in the old country -- Italy -- 41 years ago and came over here when I was 3 months old. Things have certainly changed a lot in forty years.

I started to work when I was 13 years old with a shoemaker for 50 cents a week and left him for a job in a saloon for a dollar a week. When I started to go in the shops on machines in Greist Manufacturing Company. Let me tell you I had to learn. I had to leave school in the fourth grade. I guess you know how the older people was them days. If you was 12 or 13 years old you was able to work. But I learn to be a machinist working on die-heads, and assembling different parts of machines, reading blueprints too. Then I went to work making guns before they was over the other side. Then they started the war and I started to work on the Russian machine gun. This was in Marlin-Rockwell. Then America went in and we started to make the Brownie (Browning) machine gun. Oh Boy! when I used to go down stairs where they tested the gun I used to see before my eyes all those men dying and believe me I was glad I was not over there. Yeah. I was in the No 1 and 2 class. The government told me that they wouldn't take me because I knew too much about guns to go. When they started to make these guns there was a man from Waltham Watch Co. from Massachusetts and he came down with new machines for experiment and he asked the boss if he had a handy man around machines, and the boss picked me. They put us in a special room with these new machinery and we started to make the guns. Then everything was set then the whole factory started in to make them. Everything had to be to the thousandth of an inch, not like now everything is production and cheap. I got 65 cents an hour and there was others that was making 50 to 60 dollars a
a week. Boys 17 and 18 years old. Which makes me remember that I used to kick to the supt. for more money and tell him I was going to get through and that lousy Englishman used to tell me that if you quit, Charlie, we're going to send you across. Finally I got mad one day just before the war stopped, I think 4 months, and I quit but got another job right away with George Griswold Machine Shop making guns for the government for 53 cents an hour. A lot of people thought I was crazy working for less money -- well maybe I was, but wait till you hear this -- After the war everybody got laid off but I stayed working for over a year making lolly pops dies and funny things about the lolly pops was that when the war was on the lolly pop was small. The kids did not notice it because the old men made money, but after that the people did not have any money so the candy people had to make the pops bigger, so I made the dies bigger. Well, after a year doing that I left and went back to Marlin's. What a change! Everything they wanted in a rush, production work. The pays were cut and if a man made 320 a week he was lucky. To make things worse they had a bunch of young fools working who couldn't come anywhere near the old timers when it came to doing good work. The old men were a little slow but they put out good work. These young guys and the girls all they think about is stepping out nights and having a good time. When work got slow I left and got myself a job assembling locks. I am a jack of all trades when it comes to machine work. After a while I left and went to Winchester to work on guns. I did other work in Winchester like making parts for washing machines.
electric refrigerators, and when work got slow I left for
Marlins again and worked until all the orders were filled and got
through. I used always leave them in good terms so that in case I
wanted a job back I could always get one. I can get a job today even
if we got a depression. I don't mean that I wasn't on relief when things
got tough because there was a time when everything was shut down and
I had to get on relief for a job. It isn't so long ago I was working
on WPA. Believe me it was a big help. But it wasn't the kind of a
job I should have had because this town is Republican and I am a
Republican and I was a good worker for the party -- making voters and
helping a lot of people out -- getting their taxes rebated (abated).
Getting jobs for them. When it came my turn that I needed help the
politicians told me that I had to go on relief -- well, when I did I
was handed a shovel and pick. I wouldn't do anything for the party
anymore. You know today isn't like twenty-five years ago; them days nobody
thought of politics and nobody gave a damn either. You take today
the papers and radio are full of politics, one knocking the other
and telling the people a lots of baloney -- what they going to do if they
get elected -- then they forget everything. Maybe we would do
the same thing we were in their shoes. This time I voted republican
because my father is a strong republican and I been one myself for
21 years. But I don't think they'll do any better. Roosevelt is a damn
good man -- you take all these young fellows and you can't talk to them
like in the old days to swing them over. Today all these kids are
satisfied on WPA and the NYA. My son works there and gets 44 cents
an hour. I only have one son and believe me I am glad, I can't buy
him the things he needs. Where would I get off if I had a large family.
That's something I don't believe in. One or two is plenty for any
family.
The large families of years ago knew how to take care of themselves -- they didn't live so ritz and they were satisfied with the little they got. Today the young generation are bosses -- if things aren't just right they put up a big squawk. The old generation stuck together more. I suppose you think I talk like a man who had a large family when I got only one. But I am taking my family for example and others who are friends of mine. Also you couldn't beat the old days for good times -- you know I used to play the trap drum. I learned by myself and to get better I took lessons. I used to make a few extra dollars, playing for dances and in the movies. But it goes to show you when you think everything is running fine up comes some fool and invents a machine and it knocks every musician playing in movies houses out of work. The vitaphones put me out of making extra money nights. The vitaphones are good but the people enjoyed themselves first the same with silent pictures and the music. Today when the young people go to dances they are not satisfied with cheap music. They want Rudy Vallee or some other big shot band. Although it's a lotta fun watching the new swing music dances and music I still think the old fashion dances were better. You know there was something to it like the waltz. Today if all you see is a couple shake all over and no wonder when they go in to work in the morning there in a fog. When I was a young fellow, not that I am very old now, I used to have a lot fun going around singing and to friends but you don't see that nowadays. I guess everybody just don't care anymore. Of course the depression is the fault. When the pocket book is sick the whale body is sick also. You know
they call this a depression. Well I think it is a sickness that won't go way. Ten years is a long time to suffer it seems to me that if the government wanted to stop it they could. Not that Roosevelt isn't a good man because whoever get in the things will be the same old story. The money men control everything and the unions, most of them are crooked. Of course I believe in unions but most of them don't do anything for you when you go out on strike. And besides I think there are too many unions. I think one big one is the best. That way we are stronger and then the people with the money can't refuse. For myself I like short hours and good pay -- not because it's me, but I know my work and why shouldn't I demand more money. I used to quite good jobs. You know what I mean, jobs that pay $25 a week and that's supposed to be good pay nowadays because the boss would refuse me a raise. I'll tell you something. When I first went to work for O. F. Mossberg on East St., they make these cheap guns, I was getting 37½ cents an hour and I know my business on machines and I was doing good work but the boss made one mistake, he told me I was doing very good so that was my chance to ask him for a raise and he said -- "well I let you know." I waited a few days and asked him again and I got it from 37½ to 43 cents an hour. I waited a couple months more and asked for another raise and the boss took gas, but when he saw that I was packing and meant business he gave it to me. I was the only one in the shop getting 45 cents an hour -- knocking out about $20 a week. It isn't that I am independent but a man should be paid for what he's worth and I believe that is the reason why the poor people never get anywhere. They're afraid to give themselves a push.
You know this is the second time I am working for Mossberg and now I am getting 50 cents an hour more than anybody else in the shop. Of course there are a lotta Polacks and grease balls working there -- and have been there for years still working for 35 cents an hour. Not me -- all I want out of life is a chance and I'll take care of rest. When I was on relief I pushed myself around and got a job. Of course, this is my way of doing things and maybe I am a little lucky. Not everybody can get places -- there's a friend of mine who sent his son to Brown College in Providence, R.I., and everything looked bright and rosy for him -- but look at him today, he is walking the streets and wishing to God that he had learned a trade.

It wasn't that way in the old days -- I mean about twenty-five years ago. Education was on top of everything. If a person didn't have an education those days he was classed as a laborer or a shop worker but let me tell you when I started working some of the older fellows knew a thing or two and could teach the college boys many things that are not in the books. I believe in education and I always wish that I had one -- but today the man who knows a trade, especially a machinist trade is the baby that can get along. There are no depression for him and further more how many of these college students after they graduate get on the top? Let me tell you that when I was on the WPA I met some of these college men working in the ditches and damn glad to do it. Well this brings us right back to where we
started. It's just like a circle. Somebody is got the key and
we're all trying to get out. Suppose we get out, then what? We get
right in again. Because the capitalist almost controls everything.
To-day if a person is getting along fine - along comes something like
the depression or some screwy laws and down in the ditch you go.
You know I don't want you to think I don't like the way this country
is running things - because I do. Believe me I would rather live
here on the pay I'm getting than to live in Italy or any other
country for ten times the amount. At least I'm safe here and if I
yell out loud and call anyone a name I don't have to duck bullets
or get out of the country fast. A friend of mine who went to Italy
on a visit told me that Mussolini done a good job in Italy but he
said that he noticed that all the people there were tongue-tied and
afraid to say anything for fear that they might say something
wrong. Well, I say that if it's like that, then Mussolini didn't do
a good job because what good is to build a country and not have the
people free.

This fellow Hitler is the same way. Only in Germany the
biggest trouble is the Jew. I don't know much about things over the
other side so I can't say much except this that this country ought to
mind our own business and let the rest of them go straight to hell.
There's too much to be done here without fooling around with Europe.

The other day I was downtown and I was looking at the styles
especially at the hats the women wear. Boy what a kick I get and
the laughs. Some of them look just like monkeys with those small
hats. What a change from the old days. I used to buy my wife a
§12.00 hat and it was so big that she used it for an umbrella —
today everything is shrinking, even the dresses. I remember when
I was young all the boys used to stand on the corner where a trolley
car stopped and when a girl got on the trolley our eyes almost
popped out of our heads when we saw a girl’s ankle in silk stockings.
How times have changed. Everything has changed for that matter and
when we pass out of the picture there’ll be more changes. You know
I don’t think all these things would change if it wasn’t for these
new inventions like the radio and a lot of other things. It seems
the people just woke up. What I mean is that everything is brought
before the people today. The radio, the newspapers and there are
more magazines than before and even in the churches they preach
about everything and I think it’s a good idea. Of course the
churches always preach one thing that is important and is money.
I used to go to church every Sunday at the nine o’clock mass —
the early masses are the shortest — well I don’t go any more
because every Sunday it was the same old story about money. It
seemed that the priest didn’t like the idea of the pennies being
thrown into the basket — he wanted silver. Well religion is
alright and I’m for it 100 per cent but when people haven’t got it —
how are they going to give? And let me tell you something else,
these priests and ministers are getting along better now than in the
old days. I remember when they used to walk to places — today
they ride in big cars. Well why don’t they walk and give the
expense of running these cars to the poor. I bet you think that
I don’t believe in supporting the church — well I do but let those
of the church help too. My son goes to church every Sunday and I’m glad.
chance except those who are misers and are never satisfied if
they make 100 dollars a week. This other law the Social Security I
believe is the best. The only fault I find is that a man has to
reach the age of 65 before he can collect. Well, how many do?
They tell you nowadays that a person lives longer - well they
used to before this depression but hell, today you worry your god
darn head off on how to meet both ends and that makes your life
much shorter. You see what I mean that this government wants
to do something good for the people and does but damn it, they
put strings to it. Tell me how many reach the age of 65?
Very few. Why the hell don't they give a person a break and
say at 55 years old you should retire from work and enjoy life
instead of waiting until he is almost dead they give him a
few dollars a month. I think the whole shooting match is wrong.
And unless we get the crooks and chislers out of Washington
we'll remain the same. Nowadays isn't like years ago. A family
could save and there was better opportunities. There wasn't the
luxury like today - not that I don't like them - any who doesn't
like a radio or electric ice box and all the other things they
have today? But you can't save anything and if there was those
things when I was young the old folks wouldn't have saved either.
I like to come home and listen to some nice music and enjoy myself.
Of course some of these songs are as screwy as a bed bug but its
good to hear them just the same. There's a lotta things I think
are screwy. But it's alright with me. Take the women of
today besides wearing those funny pots on their heads they
look funnier with a cigarette between their lips. If they only knew
how stupid they look smoking maybe they wouldn't smoke. No, I
don't smoke, maybe it's because I never got the habit. I tried
once before but I can't see no enjoyment in it. Drink is
alright if you don't make a pig out of yourself. I like to
drink everything - wine, beer, or whiskey, but what a change
since they took the stuff away you don't know what you're
drinking and even if it has the government label. Besides the
stuff isn't aged enough like in the old days. The beer today
is rushed right out of the brewery and into your stomach. That
was a big mistake the government made with prohibition. They
had the opportunity when you fellows were in France and they gave
you the business. Between us two I don't think prohibition would
have come if this country had stayed out of war. And there is
something else I think the old time saloon were better respected
places than the taverns of today. All you see nowadays is young
punks getting a few shots in them and they want to show up the
town. Well, the war done that and I suppose if there was another
one there would be more changes. We go around in a circle.

Do you know what they ought to have in this country -
a lottery. There's more money going to the other side that they
could use for the poor people here. In Italy today it is legal
to gamble and it helps to reduce taxes. Almost all the other
countries have gambling and I am willing to bet that there’s more gambling in this country than any other. I used to gamble heavily myself and I still do although I’ve cut down and only play about 50 cents a week. I never won anything but I got the habit and I still play. Some people are very lucky they just buy one ticket or play one number and win and it’s always those who have plenty.

Well, the kind of food I like is plain although some of our dishes are very rich. I like American food but not to eat every day. You know there are more American people eating Italian food nowadays than any body else. Years ago when I started in the shop everybody used to make fun of our food. Today these same people invite themselves in—especially when it comes to spaghetti. I like every now and then. But in other homes I noticed they have 2 or 3 and sometimes 4 times a week. But I think its too much and yet most of the Italians are healthy, especially those that were born over the other side. They didn’t eat soft sweet dessert and coffee but good old wine. But I am satisfied with the food I get and I guess I look well as my wife is a good house wife and besides my family is small so that gives us more time to enjoy ourselves. You know we’re always going some place. With me I like the shows. But I like good pictures with a wild west picture now and then thrown in. What a difference from the old pictures and the ones of today. It’s better now than before. At least its more clearer and the talkies are better even though it threw me out of a job.
I think Father Coughlin is very good. And at least since he's come on the radio the people are getting more educated on politics. I don't listen to him all the time but when I do I learn something. Some people don't like him but he's got the right stuff. I don't know what good it does because when it comes to voting they vote wrong anyway. It's like everything else you can't satisfy everybody. With me well I am happy I have a good home and I am getting along good so why should I kick. Some people have less than me and they get along.

You asked me what I think of these unions. Well I said before that unions are alright if they drive the crooks out and besides I believe in one big union - whether it's the C.I.O. or what they call it. I remember it was during the war it was the I.W.W. and they were a lot of bums. But the government took care of them. The draft came and all of them were forced to register and if any one got tough the government stuck a gun in his hand and sent him to France. You know there's always a lot of men who never work even in good times.
Mr. Henry Gill, “Pres.” (according to company letterheads) general manager, secretary, factotum, of the Northfield Knife Company is in his garage this afternoon, deeply absorbed in an eight column, four sheet newspaper from which he looks up as I enter. After exchange of the amenities, Mr. Gill refers again to his paper, holding it out for inspection. “What do you think of this?” he says. Under the masthead “The American Guardian” is proclaimed the circulation, 45,250 (new subscriptions last week 418) and the legend “Our Country—Not the richest and most powerful on earth; but the leader in all that’s good true and beautiful on earth.”

“Ever ‘ear of it?” asks Mr. Gill. “Chap brought it up from the fire ‘ouse this afternoon. They got a bundle of ‘em through the mail there, addressed to the Northfield Volunteer Fire department. Been comin’ for the past couple weeks from out west—’ere, you can see ’ere—Oklahoma City.

“Nearer’s I can make out, it’s some new plan for the revision of the capitalist system. They’ve got it figured out that its lack of buying power that’s responsible for the depression, and they’re goin’ to give every family ‘ead an income of at least twenty eight dollars a week while ‘e’s out of work and a minimum of fifty when ‘e goes back to work, no matter what ‘e does. They’re also goin’ to repeal taxes. Don’t ask me ‘ow they’re goin’ to get the money. When I read that far I got diggy.

“You can see ‘ere where they’re collectin’ money from gullible people. Subscriptions to the paper run from a dollar to five. They got a bill before Congress they claim, and now what they’re tryin’ to do is elect their own representatives all over the country. They make it sound very plausible.

“Look ‘ere” (reading from the paper) “The American Foundation for Abundance—(that’s what they call the plan—the AFA) would not break up monopolies. It proposes that the public take them over and put them under scientific management for the common good. It does not believe that it is the part of wisdom to turn back from any industrial gains among the people. The only intelligent solution of the
monopoly problem is the public ownership and public operation of the monopoly.
Let us go forward not backward.

"Sounds almost like Communism, don't it. Only it goes a bit farther than
Communism. They believe in the New Deal but they don't think it goes far enough.
Listen to this (reading) We are supporters of the New Deal as just a tiny step on
the road toward a New Day. However, we recognize that if the majority of our people
continue to be content with just tiny steps like the New Deal that it will be
centuries before the people come into their own.

"You can 'ave the paper if you want. There's plenty of them down at the Fire
'ouse. Most of the lads didn't even read 'em. One of two of them—Ed Willette
thought it was fine stuff. He was arguin' with Bob Haxley about it. Bob says if
anyone paid him twenty eight dollars a week while he was leavin' he'd never go to
work. Said he never made that much in the shop when he was workin' and he got along
fine. Ed said it wasn't natural for a man to want to do nothin' and he'd get sick
of it after a couple of months and want to go back to work. "Well," Haxley says,
'It might not be natural for you, but it's natural for me. You give me twenty
eight dollars a week for the rest of my life, and see 'ow much work I'll do.' So
there they were.

"Wouldn't it make you sick? What the 'ell are things comin' to I ask you?
We've got to go back, that's what we've got to do. Either go back or broaden oppor-
tunity some way. Go back to the old standards of livin', or open some new roads for
industry. There ain't no more frontiers. Used to be when I was a young chap if
dull periods came a man could go west. There was always opportunity out in the un-
settled country. There ain't no more of that. The country's settled from one end
to another, and conditions are no better out west than they are 'ere.

"So what are people goin' to do? Maybe there'll be some new industry come
along to stimulate things. Like the automobile industry did in its day. Some say
television will 'elp.

"And if there ain't goin' to be nothin' like that we'll 'ave to lower livin' standards to where they used to be, that's all. People used to be contented with simple things. It don't seem possible today, I know, but there were people in my day who used to actually enjoy workin'. I do myself, to this day, I like to get out 'ere in the knife shop and tinker around. That's mostly what I keep it for, as I told you before.

"It may be on account of the machines. A man don't make anything himself these days. He's just part of the machine, so 'ow can 'e take pride in 'is work? But even after your work in the shop was done there was work for you 'ense. Cut wood, chop wood, milk cows—that kind of thing. Look at all these stone walls around the 'ills 'ere. 'Ow do you think they get 'ere? They didn't grow. They was put there by the 'and of man, and slow, back breakin' work it was.

"Look at the timbers in my little shop out 'ere. Hewn out with an axe, every one. And better than sawed ones at that, because the axe strokes had the effect of makin' the lumber weather proof. All those big beams made with an axe. Think of the work, and the time it took. Well, there wasn't any rush, there was plenty of time.

"The only thing I'm afraid of is that people never will consent to livin' under lower standards. They've been educated to expect too much. Take away their cars, and their radios and their vacuum cleaners and there'll be the devil to pay. There'll be an up'caval of some kind, that's what I'm afraid of. And maybe we'll end up like they did in Europe.

"Well all we can do is wait and see what 'appens, I suppose. 'Ow are you comin' along with the 'istory? 'Ave you seen all the local 'istorians? Mr. 'Umiston? Mrs. Goodwin? Mrs. Huxted? You might go up to see old Mr. Curtis. I don't know 'ow
Two Teenage Girls Participating in the National Youth Administration in Iowa, 1940

Courtesy of State Historical Society of Iowa, “NYA: Farmington Iowa,” 1940
“American guide week, Nov. 10-16 Take pride in your country : State by state the WPA Writers’ Projects describe America to Americans / / processed by Penna. Art Program, WPA,” 1941. Courtesy of Library of Congress
April 30, 1932

Hon. H. O. Bernbrock,
Waterloo, Iowa.

Dear Mr. Bernbrock:

A week ago, at the Iowa reservation, I had a very intimate conference with Young Bear and some of the older men, who convinced me that some of the older and less fortunate of their people actually are in hunger; that while they are furnished free seeds for their gardens, none are furnished for fields nor for food; that in the case of at least one widow woman, with no support whatsoever, the actually daily necessities have brought hazard to her very life.

I shall go down there if I can during the week beginning May 2, and actually visit such of the members as these men name, and after sift ing out the worse from the better, I would like awfully well to have you meet me, and go also to see what I have found. This chiefly because you are a substantial business man and fellow citizen of the state, whose word is good, and whose prejudices are less subject to criticism than mine.

One thing, for instance, that I do not yet see is that, since their lands are taxed for state and county purposes — I do not see why a poor Indian, the same as a poor white person, might not be admitted to county funds for temporary relief. This and similar questions I shall understand when I see you, after having visited the county attorney, county auditor and board of supervisors.

What I hope to do is to frame a set of facts, but keep away from opinion, and it is to support my selection of facts that I shall wish for your opinion of them.
What should be done with any facts is yet a question. Whether they should be submitted to popular attention through the newspapers, if it is as bad as I fear, or formally to the federal or state government, or merely pigeonholed and forgotten is a matter that your mind, I hope, may help me in deciding.

Now, what day, excepting Friday, after the 4th, could you come to Tama and meet me at the Central hotel, and what hour?

Sincerely yours,
AN ACT

To conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter no land of any Indian reservation, created or set apart by treaty or agreement with the Indians, Act of Congress, Executive order, purchase, or otherwise, shall be allotted in severalty to any Indian.

Sec. 2. The existing periods of trust upon any Indian lands and any restrictions on alienation therein are hereby extended and continued until otherwise directed by Congress.

Sec. 3. The Secretary of the Interior, if he shall find it to be in the public interest, is hereby authorized to restore to tribal ownership the remaining surplus lands of any Indian reservation herefore opened, or authorized to be opened, to sale, or any other form of disposal by Presidential proclamation, or by any of the public-land laws of the United States: Provided, however, That valid rights or claims of any persons to any lands so withdrawn existing on the date of the withdrawal shall not be affected by this Act: Provided further, That this section shall not apply to lands within any reclamation project herefore authorized in any Indian reservation: Provided further, That the order of the Department of the Interior signed, dated, and approved by Honorable Ray Lyman Wilbur, as Secretary of the Interior, on October 26, 1932, temporarily withdrawing lands of the Papago Indian Reservation in Arizona from all forms of mineral entry or claim under the public land mining laws, is hereby revoked and rescinded, and the lands of the said Papago Indian Reservation are hereby restored to exploration and location, under the existing mining laws of the United States, in accordance with the express terms and provisions declared and set forth in the Executive orders establishing said Papago Indian Reservation: Provided further, That damages shall be paid to the Papago Tribe for loss of any improvements on any land located for mining in such a sum as may be determined by the Secretary of the Interior but not to exceed the cost of said improvements: Provided further, That a yearly rental not to exceed five cents per acre shall be paid to the Papago Tribe for loss of the use or occupancy of any land withdrawn by the requirements of mining operations, and payments derived from damages or rentals shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Papago Tribe: Provided further, That in the event any person or persons, partnership, corporation, or association, desiring a mineral patent, according to the mining laws of the United States, he or they shall first deposit in the Treasury of the United States the sum of $1.00 per acre in lieu of annual rental, as hereinafter provided, to compensate for the loss or occupancy of the lands withdrawn by the requirements of mining operations: Provided further,
That person shall also pay into the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Papago Tribe damages for the loss of improvements not heretofore paid in such a sum as may be determined by the Secretary of the Interior, but not to exceed the cost thereof; the payment of $1.00 per acre for surface use to be refunded to person in the event that patent is not acquired.

Nothing herein contained shall restrict the granting or use of permits for easements or rights-of-way; or ingress or egress over the lands for all proper and lawful purposes; and nothing contained herein, except as expressly provided, shall be construed as authority for the Secretary of the Interior, or any other person, to issue or promulgate a rule or regulation in conflict with the Executive order of February 1, 1917, creating the Papago Indian Reservation in Arizona or the Act of February 24, 1931 (46 Stat. 1276).

SEC. 4. Except as herein provided, no sale, devise, gift, exchange or other transfer of restricted Indian lands or of shares in the assets of any Indian tribe or corporation organized hereunder, shall be made or approved: Provided, however, That such lands or interests may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, be sold, devised, or otherwise transferred to the Indian tribe in which the lands or shares are located or from which the shares were derived or to a successor corporation, and in all instances such lands or interests shall descend or be devised, in accordance with the then existing laws of the State, or Federal laws where applicable, in which said lands are located or in which the subject matter of the corporation is located, to any member of such tribe or of such corporation or any heirs of such member: Provided further, That the Secretary of the Interior may authorize voluntary exchanges of lands of equal value and the voluntary exchange of shares of equal value whenever such exchange, in his judgment, is expedient and beneficial or compatible with the proper consolidation of Indian lands and for the benefit of cooperative organizations.

SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to acquire through purchase, relinquishment, gift, exchange, or assignment, any interest in lands, water rights or surface rights to lands, within or without existing reservations, including trust or otherwise restricted allotments, whether the allottee be living or deceased, for the purpose of providing land for Indians.

For the acquisition of such lands, interests, water rights, and surface rights, and for expenses incident to such acquisition, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed $2,000,000 in any one fiscal year: Provided, That no part of such funds shall be used to acquire additional land outside of the exterior boundaries of Navajo Indian Reservation for the Navajo Indians in Arizona and New Mexico, in the event that the proposed Navajo boundary extension measures now pending in Congress and embodied in the bills (S. 2199 and H.R. 8827) to define the exterior boundaries of the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona, and for other purposes, and the bills (S. 5331 and H.R. 8091) to define the exterior boundaries of the Navajo Indian Reservation in New Mexico and for other purposes, or similar legislation, become law.

The unexpended balances of any appropriations made pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

Title to any lands or rights acquired pursuant to this Act shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the Indian tribe or individual Indian for which the land is acquired, and such lands or rights shall be exempt from State and local taxation.
Indian Reorganization Act, 1934 (Pg.3)

Sec. 6. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to make rules and regulations for the operation and management of Indian forestry units on the principle of sustained-yield management, to restrict the number of livestock grazed on Indian range units to the estimated carrying capacity of such ranges, and to promulgate such other rules and regulations as may be necessary to protect the range from deterioration, to prevent soil erosion, to assure full utilization of the range, and like purposes.

Sec. 7. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to proclaim new Indian reservations on lands acquired pursuant to any authority conferred by this Act, or to add such lands to existing reservations; Provided, That lands added to existing reservations shall be designated for the exclusive use of Indians entitled by enrollment or by tribal membership to residence at such reservations.

Sec. 8. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to relate to Indian holdings of allotments or homesteads upon the public domain outside of the geographic boundaries of any Indian reservation now existing or established hereafter.

Sec. 9. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary, but not to exceed $250,000 in any fiscal year, to be expended at the order of the Secretary of the Interior, in defraying the expenses of organizing Indian chartered corporations or other organizations created under this Act.

Sec. 10. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $10,000,000 to be established as a revolving fund from which the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, may make loans to Indian chartered corporations for the purpose of promoting the economic development of such tribes and of their members, and may defray the expenses of administering such loans. Repayment of amounts loaned under this authorization shall be credited to the revolving fund and shall be available for the purposes for which the fund is established. A report shall be made annually to Congress of transactions under this authorization.

Sec. 11. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed $250,000 annually, together with any unexpended balances of previous appropriations made pursuant to this section, for loans to Indians for the payment of tuition and other expenses in recognized vocational and trade schools; Provided, That not more than $50,000 of such sum shall be available for loans to Indian students in high schools and colleges. Such loans shall be reimbursable under rules established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Sec. 12. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to establish standards of health, age, character, experience, knowledge, and ability for Indians who may be appointed, without regard to civil-service laws, to the various positions maintained, now or hereafter, by the Indian Office, in the administration of functions or services affecting any Indian tribe. Such qualified Indians shall thereafter have the preference to appointment to vacancies in any such positions.

Sec. 13. The provisions of this Act shall not apply to any of the Territories, colonies, or insular possessions of the United States except that sections 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16 shall apply to the Territory of Alaska; Provided, That Sections 2, 4, 7, 16, 17, and 18 of this Act shall not apply to the following-named Indian tribes, the members of
such Indian tribes, together with members of other tribes affiliated with such named tribes located in the State of Oklahoma, as follows: Cheyenne, Arapaho, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, Caddo, Delaware, Wichitas, Osage, Kaw, Ooe, Tonkawa, Pawnee, Potes, Shawnee, Ottawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte, Iowa, Sac and Fox, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole.

Section 4 of this Act shall not apply to the Indians of the Klamath Reservation in Oregon.

Sec. 14. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to continue the allotment of lands to Indian tribes as provided for in this Act.

Sec. 15. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as impairing any claim or suit of any Indian tribe against the United States. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that no Indian tribe or tribes, residing on the same reservation, shall have the right to organize for its common welfare, and may adopt an appropriate constitution and bylaws, which shall become effective when ratified by a majority vote of the adult members of the tribe, or of the adult Indians residing on such reservation, as the case may be.

Sec. 16. Indian tribes residing on the same reservation may organize for common welfare.

Sec. 17. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 provides for the advisement of the Secretary of the Interior in the same manner as the original constitution and bylaws.

Sec. 18. Amendments to the constitution and bylaws may be ratified and approved by the Secretary in the same manner as the original constitution and bylaws.

Sec. 19. The Secretary to advise the tribe of all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the tribe prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.
Sect. 17. The Secretary of the Interior may, upon petition by at least one-third of the adult Indians, issue a charter of incorporation to such tribe: Provided, That such charter shall not become operative until ratified at a special election by a majority vote of the adult Indians living on the reservation. Such charter may convey to the incorporated tribe the power to purchase, take by gift, or bequeath, or otherwise, own, hold, manage, operate, and dispose of property of every description, real and personal, including the power to purchase restricted Indian lands and to issue in exchange therefor interests in corporate property, and such further powers as may be incidental to the conduct of corporate business, not inconsistent with law, but no authority shall be granted to sell, mortgage, or lease for a period exceeding ten years any of the land included in the limits of the reservation. Any charter so issued shall not be revoked or surrendered except by Act of Congress.

Sect. 18. This Act shall not apply to any reservation wherein a majority of the adult Indians, voting at a special election duly called by the Secretary of the Interior, shall vote against its application. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, within one year after the passage and approval of this Act, to call such election, which election shall be held by secret ballot upon thirty days' notice.

Sect. 19. The term "Indian" as used in this Act shall include all persons of Indian descent who are members of any recognized Indian tribe now under Federal jurisdiction, and all persons who are descendants of such members who were, on June 1, 1934, residing within the present boundaries of any Indian reservation, and shall further include all other persons of one-half or more Indian blood. For the purposes of this Act, Eskimos and other aboriginal peoples of Alaska shall be considered Indians. The term "tribe" wherever used in this Act shall be construed to refer to any Indian tribe, organized band, pueblo, or the Indians residing on one reservation. The words "adult Indians" wherever used in this Act shall be construed to refer to Indians who have attained the age of twenty-one years.

Approved, June 18, 1934.

[CHAPTER 577.

AN ACT

Granting the consent of Congress to the State Board of Public Works of the State of Vermont to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across Lake Champlain at or near West Swanton, Vermont.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the State Board of Public Works of the State of Vermont to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across Lake Champlain, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, between a point at or near East Alburg, Vermont, and a point at or near West Swanton, Vermont, in accordance with the provisions of an Act entitled "An Act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 29, 1908, and subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this Act.

Sect. 2. If tolls are charged for the use of such bridge, the rates to be adopted to provide cost of operation and sinking fund, shall be such as to provide:

(a) The reasonable cost of maintenance, repair, and operation of the said bridge and its approaches, and
(b) The amortization within a reasonable time, and not exceeding twenty-five years from the
PERSONAL HISTORY
OF DR. M. SANTOS

Taken verbatim
and Translated
Literally

F. Valdez.

I was born in Sagua la Grande, Cuba, in 1888. I came to Key West eight months after my birth. Of Key West I remember very little. I remember that my father had a bakery, and I saw many horses. I remember having been in a private school which was more to keep me from annoying in the house.

I had two years and was very fond of a lady that was named Mrs. Francesca. She had a baby boy, and I was so jealous that one day I grabbed him by the neck, and if he had not been taken away from me, I believe I would have strangled him.

I was in Key West until around '94. The greatest impression I had was when I came to Tampa, and saw an electric street car. The impression that it gave me was that how could a street car move without horses. I would stand up on the seat and would ask my mother where were the horses, and she would tell me that they were behind the street car. The first thing I did when I stopped down was to go running to see where the horses were.

The first school I went to here was the Free School on 8th Avenue, between 13th and 14th. The mother superior (superiros) was called Mrs. Greer, All us boys loved her very much. I did not complete this school.

I remember that the Federal Government took military possession of the Centro Espanol when war was declared between the United States and Spain. We used to hollow through the streets, "Hurrah for McKinley." I also remem-

(1) I presume he means the principal.

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Interview with Dr. M. Santos, a Cuban Immigrant, between 1936 and 1939 (Pg.2)

Santos, M. “[Dr. M. Santos],” pp. 5-6, between 1936 and 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
I went to live at 74 street, number 202, where the Madame was an English woman, a very refined lady and of pure sentiments. Her name was Redicoo. She fondled me as if I was a son of hers. One day I was going out, she saw me with a roll of bills, and did not want to let me go out. When I first went to live here I could not sleep because of the noise of the elevators. The noise was so great that it was impossible for me to sleep, until I began to get accustomed.

The most difficult problem for us was the hour of eating. I did not know the name of the dishes, and I had to ask for the three. They would give me the list, and I would read and read it, but I did not know what it was. The only thing I understood was ham and eggs, and we ate ham and eggs for a few days. Afterwards I would point out a dish on the list to the waiter. The waiter would tell me the name, and if I liked it, I would write it on a paper.

On Sundays we would go to Coney Island and my attention was very much attracted to see so many people at the beach.

As I had never left the family, I felt homesick, so I returned to Tampa. I continued working here as cigar-maker. Years later I returned to New York, and remained there various years. I returned to Tampa around the year 1911. Then I went to Chicago where I lived various years, always working as cigar-maker.

From Chicago I returned to Tampa where I remained one month, and then continued to Havana. I stayed in Havana some five or six months. I was a policeman some three months, and resigned because the police were given very bad treatment, and then I went to New York. I stayed in New York two or
three months.

From New York I returned to Havana, as I had been called for a bottling factory of Palatino. I worked as interpreter with the engineer who had the construction work of the bottling factory of Palatino. I worked for about two months in that company, and then returned to Tampa. I went to work at my trade at the factory of Garcia Brothers.

While at this factory I entered the school of the Tampa Business College, and was there some few months. I did not graduate as I had to return to Cuba because my father sent for me to put up a business of machineries to fix shoes, which was not carried out because I did not wish to compromise my father in something on which he could lose the little money which remained for his old age.

In Havana I had a friend of my infancy whose name was Dr. Ubaldo Ubeda, Optometrist. He advised me to study that profession. He insisted as much with a gift of persuasiveness which was inborn in him. He domiuated my manner of being, which is very indifferent, and I determined to write to the American Optical College of Philadelphia, and I was enrolled.

I commenced my studies which at first I thought were a failure because I believed that I could not understand that science. I must say that Dr. Ubeda; the Doctor and Professor of the University of Havana, Dr. Luciano Martinez; Dr. Magarita de Armas, Professor of the University of Havana; and also her husband, Dr. Justino Basel, helped me at the commencement of my studies with their vast knowledge. I graduated from said college with excellent marks in all the assignments except one.

In my profession I believe I have had a success as I estimate that in my work of optics, at least in 98% I have not had complaints.
The business of optics nowadays is like a corpse with life, as the competition, so great and destructive that the "chain stores" make, selling cheap glasses, and in many cases harmful and injurious to the sight, is the principal cause why this profession is so extremely fallen. At the houses of the "chain stores" the glasses that they sell are usually spherical, and it is proven by the last statistics that more than 50% of the people suffer from astigmatism, and, therefore, these individuals need special cylindrical crystals, which the "chain stores" do not sell.

As to the New Deal, I believe that it has been a failure as it has protected the trusts more than the American people. Today, the poor are poorer, and the trusts are richer. Another reason: this is a country that is controlled by the trusts. When one stands on the street, and closes his eyes for a moment, and then opens them and looks: everything, absolutely all that one sees is made by the trusts. The automobile that passes by, the street cars, the trucks, everything that one wears: shoes, clothes, etc. When one enters a restaurant, he sees the plates, the tables, the spoons, all is made by the trusts. 95% of what one eats is controlled by the trusts. The trusts for more than 200 years have been controlling all the industries, and killing the small business men. We have reached a state in which the trusts dominate all, as they are the owners of the money, or nearly all the money that there is in the United States.

The war can already be seen between one trust and others; the strongest will dominate the weaker trusts, and the capital will be refused to a few men who will control everything.

In my particular opinion, all is not lost. A few men are necessary, who
would have sufficient energy and intelligence to make social laws: as for example, all machines which displace ten men, should give the salary to those ten men. For example: one machine can, manipulated by the number of individuals which it displaces, taking turns by hour. The Capitalist will have the right to a certain equitable percentage, and there cannot be a Capitalist who can have as capital more than one million dollars. All that passes this amount the Federal government will confiscate it for the betterment of the community.

The utility companies should be the property of the communities. All poor men who pass 50 years should be pensioned of the government, with a modest pension, but at the same time sufficient for the necessities of each one.

The system of voting in this country should be reformed, as the system that exists nowadays is very antiquated as it is frustrated in nearly all the country. One of the principal things that should be done is the "ear-net" (identification card) with the picture and finger prints to avoid fraud.

This country gives more salary to the government employees, as a general rule, than all the countries in the world. And from the President down, the salaries should be cut.

It is my firm opinion that if the President does not change his imperialistic and anti-democratic system with the people, not many years will pass in which the blood will run here as in France when the revolution; and in Russia not many years ago. For the same reason that the machine cannot be detained because it is the progress, neither can the right of justice be detained which is demanded by all who produce.

History shows us that every step towards justice and liberty has been
bathed in blood. The American people are a people well disciplined and docile, but the American people if some day they should determine to shed their blood against this imperialistic and anti-democratic system, all that passed in France, and in Russia, will be a drop of water compared with what will happen here.

We must take into consideration that the American people have more progress and civilization than the rest of the world; who know their rights; who are accustomed to eat and dress, and that today they do not eat nor dress. The American people know that in the United States there is a surplus of food; there is a surplus of clothing; and there is a surplus of everything, while he...[text cut off]...milk.

Days before the NRA, lard was at .07¢ per pound, today May 1935, lard is at 21¢, and thus successively all the articles, an enormity; but nevertheless, the workers earn less today than before the NRA—those who work—and those who do not work, have multiplied to such an extent that if I should say that 25,000,000 workers are without work at the present moment, I would not be mistaken.

Not long ago Clarence Darrow, the most famous lawyer in the United States of world fame, made declarations where he advised that if the government wanted a success, it should lean towards socialism. I know that this will not be done, as human egotism is inborn in the human being, and as I have said before, all liberty, and all democracy has been baptized with blood. I do not think of living when that will be carried out, but I have the absolute certainty that that has to come in one way or another.

I do not believe that Roosevelt will solve this crisis, for if he had wanted to, as he promised to the American people, he would have solved it,
as the Legislature and the Senate have given Roosevelt more power than any other president of the United States.

For more than 40 years I have lived in this locality. I remember from my first infancy how this locality was gradually founded. Although small I remember Martin Herrera, the founder of West Tampa.

We lived almost happy, as earning was plentiful, and living was very cheap, and I remember that my father had the bakery in which he made good business.

"Estábamos anoche en el guarnido de pesco." My father made some capital with his bakery, and I remember that at 5:30 in the morning, one of the bakers would knock at the side of the house, and he would get up to deliver the bread from house to house. He did this work for thirty years, and I have the certainty that in the thirty years he did not fail once to go to work, rain, lightning or thunder. I have always been a admirer of the virtue and honesty of my father.

The industry grew in this locality to such an extent that the Havana tobacco, made by hand in Tampa, had the largest credit than any other tobacco industry has had in the United States. Then the Jews came and reformed the manner of making cigars, and make them by mould. That system began to multiply itself to such an extent that more cigars were made by mould than by hand. They sold as made by hand, and the consumer was deceived.

Later the "very scientific" machineries have come for making cigars which have displaced in this locality more than 15,000 operations. The government has not taken any measures to protect the worker; who remains

(2) An expression used in Ybor City to signify prosperous, well-being or equal to the idiomatic expression of "swimming in abundance."
with the arms crossed and gives the manufacturers all the opportunities to assassinate or kill of hunger their workers.

There is much talk about the liberty of the United States. The word "liberty" is very much heard in the land of Uncle Sam, but this word has its limits. I am a great admirer of the doctrines of Jefferson, but from Jefferson to F. D. Roosevelt things have changed very much. That is to say, from Jefferson to McKinley, this was the greatest country because of its democracy, its ideology of the right of man; but McKinley was the first Apostle of the Yankee imperialism. From McKinley to F. D. Roosevelt—all the presidents, absolutely all, without making exception of anyone, have been imperialists more or less. It is necessary to read the politics of the United States with Latin America. The government of the United States, in combination with Wall Street, have taken away and placed presidents in Latin America. The last step in the American imperialism was that Roosevelt placed as president Carlos Manuel de Céspedes in Cuba; and like Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, were placed all the presidents that Cuba has had.

The people of Cuba rebelled against that imperialistic politics, and removed Céspedes in a few hours, and placed Professor Grau San Martín as president. This act greatly displeased the "democrat" F. D. Roosevelt, and he answered with 32 warships of the democratic American marine, to surround the island and take it by force. Thanks to Mexico and certain other Republics which kept the Americans from entering in Cuba.

The order was given that the troops were not to disembark in Cuba when they were already at the Morro. In one of the ships was Hall, secretary of State, to take charge of the government. On receiving the telegram of not disembarking, "hizo el papel" (1) (literal, he made the paper) of going on a
pleasure trip to Panama or other place. That is the cause why I do not beli-

The mutual aid societies formed entertainments here, and many times "se

(formaba bulla" (literally, noise was made) because the Americans felt a

certain racial hatred toward us. These Americans entered the picnics and

would get drunk. When they were drunk "se metian," (literally, they put them-
selves in) the women in order to pick a quarrel (busera bulla).

One time in one of these picnics, there were three Americans. I rem-

ember that one of them was called Otto, a bully. This Otto grabbed a girl,

and seized her breasts. Her sweetheart, who was called Mario Garcia, came

after me, and told me what the American and the two others had done to his

sweetheart. Then I went to ask an explanation of him. Otto answered in a

contemptuous way, and at the same time closed his hands to threaten me.

1. Idiomatic expression equivalent to "He played the part."

2. Idiomatic expression used in Ybor City equivalent to "trouble was cre-

ated."

3. Idiomatic expression used in Ybor City equivalent to "pick a quarrel," "to tease." This word "metian" is a very loose idiomatic expres-

sion. In Ybor City it is used in various forms, such as "fusana esta

metido con cielana"—a certain person is in love with a certain wo-

man. This idiom is now used in place of the former idiom of "cargar

al cubo" (literally—carry the bucket) to make love. This expression

has now almost completely disappeared.

We also have "el se metio con una mujer"—He teased a lady "especia-

lly if it is in reference to an old lady; if however, it is in reference to a
girl it means that he is trying to make love to the girl. We

also see in Ybor City, especially among the boys when they are fight-
ing, and one should ask the reason, one or the other will say: "El se

metio consigo"—He picked a quarrel with me.

In the present case it means "they troubled the woman.

This idiomatic word is also used in Ybor City in place of the Cuban word "pierear" (to flirt, to flatter. Sometimes made use of inde-

Santos, M. “[Dr. M. Santos],” pp. 5-6, between 1936 and 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
Rapid as a tiger I threw the first simombase (1) with all my soul. He fell behind a door which was half open. The other two threw themselves on me, and I answered the attack with all the anger and indignation, with all the power of 19 years (more or less), and of two consecutive years of gymnasium.

When this combat was being unfolded, there was at the pavilion more than five hundred persons. The correr correr (2) (run run) was terrible. I continued fighting with these two bulls in stature, weight and age. Then a policeman came of more than six feet in height, leaping over the chairs to get to me. He lifted me in weight (me levanto en peso) by the shoulders, and placed me behind a row of chairs, where for the moment I remained entrapped from my enemies.

I was baptized in the Catholic Church of Segna la Grande, Province of Santa Clara. My family never forced me to go to church, but in Tampa, my teacher was an ardent Catholic, and forced me to go frequently to church.

I llegó a embarrarme tanto with her stories that I came to be lay brother (monjita) at the church. Today when I remember this, I laugh because of the

(1) An idiom used in Ybor City of Cuban origin, equivalent to “terrific deluge.” I presume it is derived from “bomba,” a bomb. This word is also used in a different sense meaning a terrific explosion, as when they say: “ciste el simombase?” (Did you hear the terrific explosion?)

(2) This is another one of the idiomatic expressions used in Ybor City. It is used as a noun expressing rush, or running for cover.

(3) An expression which means suspended in the air.

(4) A colloquialism of Cuban origin. Its equivalent in English would be: “She enthused me so much.”

Santos, M. “[Dr. M. Santos],” pp. 5-6, between 1936 and 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
lies, so big, that they told me of the Christian doctrines and others. I have arrived at the firm conviction that religion, as Charles Marx said, is "the opium of the people."

The writers I admire most in the United States are, first of all, Sherwood Eddy, and Arthur Brisbane. I have read different great authors, but I had never read a book with so great an honesty as the one Sherwood Eddy wrote, and which is entitled "Russell Today."

I do not believe there is any God, and neither do I believe in any superstition. Whosoever believes in God is a true blunderer (or mistaken) "equivoco.(1) Who has seen this being?"

(6) What he really means is alter boy or acolyte. This word "monigate" is very often used in Thor City without its true meaning, and very often used in a desirable way as "tu eres un monigate." You are a monkey, or you are a wise, according to the inflexion used.

(1) Mr. Santos had originally used the word "berraco" and then asked to have it changed to "equivoco." The word "berraco" is a disrupted form of "bellaco" meaning deceitful. In Thor City the word "berraco" is very often used, and conveys a desirable meaning. Its equivalent in English would be "fool."

I am single. Many of my friends ask me why I have not married, and I answer them the truth, that with the women I would have married, she was not worthy of me because she was a woman of a "suady conduct,"(2) and would have been a very great grief to my parents. In order to get rid of her, I had to leave for Havana, so as to forget her, for in Tampa whenever she would look at me with those great black eyes, it made me go back with her.

I must state in making these declarations that I was one of so many fools that believing in the so much "cockled" (casarade) New Deal, and that I went to deposit my vote for the one who is today President of the United States,
Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has “despojado” (deceived) my most pure illusions with respect to the solution of this great crisis which affects “en los mas profundos” (in the most profound) the people of the United States.

(2) Prostitute
(3) A corrupted form of the noun ‘decepian’, (deception, deceptive, disillusion). It is very commonly used in New City, although it is an incorrect verb. It can be termed as a colloquialism.
(4) An expression conveying the meaning of ‘very deeply’.

I wish to state also that I will not vote again for any candidate for President of the United States, who belongs to the Democratic or Republican party, as I believe that anyone of these presidents has not an ideology really democratic and just, for those of us who work, and produce, and are respectful of the law.
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE SAC AND FOX TRIBE OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN IOWA

APPROVED DECEMBER 29, 1937
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE SAC AND FOX TRIBE OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN IOWA

PREAMBLE

We, the Mesquakie Indians, enrolled members of the Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa, hereinafter referred to as the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, now living on the Sac and Fox Settlement located near Tama, Tama County, Iowa, in order that we may perpetuate our ancient tribal affairs, transact tribal business, and promote our own and our posterity's social, economic, educational, and general welfare, with the guidance of Providence, do hereby organize ourselves into one body and adopt this Constitution as the basis of our community self-government.

ARTICLE I—TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

Section 1. This Constitution shall apply to the territory embraced in the present holdings of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, known as the Sac and Fox Settlement, jurisdiction of which was accepted by the United States by the Act of June 10, 1866 (29 Stat. 331), and to such other land as may be added thereto by or for the Tribe.

ARTICLE II—MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. The membership of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa shall consist of the following persons:

(a) All persons whose names appear on the official census roll of January 1, 1837, of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa except those designated in the said roll as not enrolled members of the Tribe, provided that within one year the Tribal Council may correct this roll subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) All children born since the completion of said roll whose father is a member of the Tribe and whose parents were residing on the reservation at the time of the birth of said children.

(c) All children born since the completion of said roll whose father is a member of the Tribe but whose parents were not residing on the reservation at the time of the birth of said children may be admitted to membership by a majority vote of the Tribal Council.

Sec. 2. Persons who are descendants of members of this Tribe but not entitled to membership under section 1 may be adopted into the Sac and Fox Tribe by a majority vote of the Tribal Council, providing that such persons have resided on the reservation for a period of five years.

(a) The application for membership into the Tribe shall be made by self, parents, or guardians to the Membership Committee of the Tribal Council, and thereupon the said committee shall investigate for the Tribal Council to determine the desirability of adoption.
(b) Persons adopted under this section shall not be entitled to hold office under this Constitution or participate in the payments resulting from the treaties of the Tribe with the United States, but may enjoy other privileges of tribal members.

Sec. 3. Any member of the Tribe who resides away from the reservation for a period of ten years and who has not within that time signified to the Tribal Council his desire to continue his membership shall lose his membership in the Tribe but may later be adopted into the Tribe under the same membership status as previously enjoyed, by a majority vote of the Tribal Council after residing on the reservation for one year.

Sec. 4. Any person or persons who are intermarried with members of this Tribe shall not be granted membership or adoption into the Tribe under this Constitution.

ARTICLE III—NAME AND OBJECT OF GOVERNING BODY

SECTION 1. The name of the governing body of this organization shall be the Sac and Fox Tribal Council.

Sec. 2. The object of this Sac and Fox Tribal Council is to have authority to represent the Tribe in all matters pertaining to the business of the Tribe.

ARTICLE IV—COMPOSITION AND QUALIFICATIONS OF GOVERNING BODY

SECTION 1. The Tribal Council shall consist of seven members elected at large from those members of the Tribe living within the boundaries of the Sac and Fox Settlement who are entitled to vote and hold office.

Sec. 2. All members of the Tribal Council must be recognized as persons of honor, law abiding, and of good character. The voting members of the Tribe shall be the sole judge of these qualifications.

Sec. 3. All members of the Tribal Council must be at least twenty-five years of age, and must be descendants of parents both of whom are enrolled members of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa.

Sec. 4. No person shall be disqualified on account of sex from holding any office created by this Constitution.

ARTICLE V—ELECTION OF THE GOVERNING BODY

SECTION 1. The first election under this Constitution shall be held within thirty days after the approval of this Constitution by the Secretary of the Interior. At this election seven members of the Tribal Council shall be elected; the three receiving the smallest number of votes shall serve until midnight of the first Monday in November, 1939, and the four receiving the greatest number of votes shall serve until midnight of the first Monday in November, 1941. Thereafter, all members of the Tribal Council shall be elected for a term of four years.

Sec. 2. The general election of the Tribal Council by the Tribe shall be held on the third Tuesday of October of each odd-numbered year, beginning 1939, and the necessary number of candidates receiving the greatest number of votes shall be considered elected.
Sec. 3. The primary election by all voters of the Tribe shall be held at the usual voting place of the Tribe on the second Tuesday in October in each odd-numbered year.

Sec. 4. All elections shall be conducted by secret ballot.

Sec. 5. Special elections authorized by this Constitution may be held at the time designated by the Tribal Council which is authorized to order such elections.

ARTICLE VI—TERM OF OFFICE

SECTION 1. Except as otherwise provided in section 1, Article V, the term of office of Tribal Council members, chosen at each general election, shall be four years, commencing on Tuesday, next after the first Monday in November, following each general election and will expire at midnight of the first Monday in November.

ARTICLE VII—NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCIL MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Nominations for members of the Tribal Council shall be made at a general meeting of the Tribe to be held on the first Tuesday in October. Each voter present shall be entitled to write down the names of his candidates for all positions to be filled. The candidates named shall be eliminated according to those who receive the least number of votes, as many ballotings as are necessary, until there remain not more than three times as many candidates as there are positions to be filled. The names of these remaining candidates shall be posted in public places on the reservation, and a primary election shall be held at which time the eligible voters of the Tribe shall vote on the remaining candidates selected at the first general meeting. The two-thirds receiving the greatest number of votes shall be considered candidates for the general election.

Sec. 2. If the attendance is less than thirty per cent of the eligible voters of the Tribe at the general meeting for nominations, a special general meeting shall be called not later than Friday of the same week and eligible voters of any number who attend shall be authorized by this Constitution to make the required number of nominations.

Sec. 3. The present Tribal Council, with the assistance of the Constitution Committee, shall call and supervise the election of the first Tribal Council under this Constitution. Thereafter, the elected Tribal Council shall conduct and supervise tribal elections and make and post necessary regulations for its procedure.

Sec. 4. Any tie votes resulting from any election shall be decided by eligible voters by special election as provided in Article V, section 5, of this Constitution.

ARTICLE VIII—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Tribe shall consist of a Chief of the Council, an Assistant Chief of the Council, a Secretary of the Council, and a Treasurer of the Council, all of whom shall be elected by a majority vote of the Tribal Council from its own members, except that the Secretary may be elected by the Council from outside its membership if none of the members of the Council has sufficient training for that position, in which case the Secretary shall have no vote.
SEC. 2. Any member of the Tribal Council who wilfully fails to attend four consecutive meetings of the Tribal Council may be removed from office by a majority vote of the Tribal Council only after such accused member has been given an opportunity to appear before the Tribal Council in his own defense.

ARTICLE IX—VACANCIES

SECTION 1. Should a vacancy occur in the Tribal Council from any cause before the expiration of the term for which the member was elected, such a vacancy shall be filled for the remainder of the term by a special election called by the Tribal Council, unless the vacancy occurs within thirty days of a general election, and the person elected shall commence to serve as soon as he has qualified.

ARTICLE X—POWERS OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

SECTION 1. Enumerated Powers.—The Tribal Council shall exercise the following rights and powers, subject to any limitations imposed by the constitution or statutes of the United States and to all express limitations upon such rights and powers contained in this Constitution and By-laws.

(a) To negotiate with the Federal, State and local Governments on behalf of the Tribe and to advise and consult with the representatives of the Interior Department on all activities of the Department that may affect the Sac and Fox Reservation.

(b) To employ counsel for the protection and advancement of the rights of the Tribe and its members, the choice of counsel and fixing of fees to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

(c) To approve or veto any sale, disposition, lease, or encumbrance of tribal lands, interest in lands or other tribal assets which may be authorized or executed by the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or any other qualified official or agency of government.

(d) To advise the Secretary of the Interior with regard to all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the Tribe prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and to Congress.

(e) To protect and preserve the property and natural resources of the Tribe.

(f) To encourage the agriculture and trade of the community, and to foster the arts, crafts, tradition and culture of the Sac and Fox tribe.

(g) To lease tribal land in accordance with law and to make assignments of tribal land to members of the Tribe in accordance with Article XI of this Constitution.

(h) To impose license fees on nonmembers of the Tribe or associations of nonmembers coming upon the reservation to do business or to reside, subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.

(i) To levy and collect funds for the payment of state taxes.

(j) To receive, appropriate and expend for public purposes funds coming within the control of the Tribal Council, but no salaries shall be paid to Council members or other tribal officers without the approval of the Tribe.
(k) To regulate the use and disposition of property of members or associations of members of the Tribe in so far as necessary to protect the peace, safety, and general welfare of the Tribe. Any such regulation which directly affects nonmembers of the Tribe shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.

(l) To charter associations of members of the Tribe which may request such charters.

(m) To settle disputes among members of the Tribe which are not submitted to any State or Federal Court and which are brought before the Tribal Council by any member of the Tribe, after notice and an opportunity to be heard has been given to all parties concerned, and to impose fines to enforce its decisions which may be executed by attachment.

(n) To take action to preserve order among members of the Tribe which action shall be supplementary to and not in conflict with the activities of the federal and state authorities.

(o) To provide for the appointment of guardians for minors and mental incompetents by ordinance or resolution subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.

(p) To regulate the procedure of the Tribal Council, tribal officers and tribal meetings.

(q) To appoint tribal committees and agencies and to delegate to them the execution of any of the foregoing powers, reserving the right to review any action taken.

Sec. 2. Any resolution or ordinance, which, by the terms of this constitution, is subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be presented to the Superintendent of the reservation, who shall, within ten days thereafter, approve or disapprove the same. If the Superintendent shall approve any ordinance or resolution, it shall thereupon become effective, but the Superintendent shall transmit a copy of the same bearing his endorsement, to the Secretary of the Interior, who may, within ninety days from the date of enactment, rescind the said ordinance or resolution for any cause, by notifying the Tribal Council of such decision.

If the Superintendent shall refuse to approve any resolution or ordinance submitted to him, within ten days of its enactment, he shall advise the Tribal Council of his reasons therefor. If these reasons appear to the Tribal Council insufficient, it may, by a majority vote, refer the ordinance or resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, who may, within ninety days from the date of its enactment, approve the same in writing, whereupon the said ordinance shall become effective.

Sec. 3. Future Powers.—The Tribal Council may exercise such further powers as may in the future be delegated to the Tribe by the Secretary of the Interior, or by any duly authorized official or agency of the State or Federal Government or by members of the Tribe.

Sec. 4. Reserved Powers.—Any rights and powers heretofore vested in the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, but not expressly referred to in this Constitution, shall not be abridged by this article, but may be exercised by the people of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, through the adoption of appropriate by-laws and constitutional amendments.
ARTICLE XI—LAND ASSIGNMENTS

SECTION 1. It is hereby recognized that all the land within the Sac and Fox Reservation is tribal land, having been bought by the Tribe with its common funds, and is now held in trust for the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 2. The present assignments of tribal agricultural land now recognized by the Tribe are hereby confirmed, subject to the following conditions:

(a) Any disputes as to extent or possession of assignments of agricultural land shall be settled by the Tribal Council.

(b) If the present assignee fails to use the land for a period of two years, or leases, rents, or grants the use of the land in any way, or fails to make proper use of the land, the Tribal Council may cancel the assignment or so much thereof as is not used or is improperly used, after giving notice to the assignee and an opportunity to present his defense.

(c) When the present assignee dies, the Tribal Council shall reassign the land, subject to the same conditions, to an heir or person designated by the assignee in writing, provided that such heir or devisee needs the land for his own use and is able and willing to use it.

(d) No person not a member of the Tribe may hold or inherit an assignment of tribal land. Any male member of the Tribe, who marries some other person than a member of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa may hold, inherit, and use an assignment of the tribal land; but any female member of the Tribe, who marries some other person than a member of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, shall not hold, inherit, nor use any assignment of tribal land, however the children of such female members, when adopted into the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, may hold, inherit, and use an assignment of the tribal land.

(e) Improvements made upon assigned land by the assignee shall belong to him and if the land containing such improvements is reassigned by the Tribal Council during the life of the assignee to any person, or after the death of the assignee to a person who is not a relative nor heir nor devisee of the assignee, the assignee or his heirs may sell or remove such improvements under the supervision of the Tribal Council.

Sec. 3. The present homesteads of members of the Tribe not situated on assignments of agricultural land are hereby confirmed, subject to the following conditions:

(a) Any disputes as to extent or possession of the homesteads shall be settled by the Tribal Council.

(b) If a homestead is vacated by the occupants, the Tribal Council may reallocate it to a member of the Tribe, or if any of the garden or timber land recognized as part of a homestead is not used for a period of two years or is improperly used, the Tribal Council may reallocate the part not used or unused.

(c) Homesteads may be transferred among, inherited by, and willed to members of the Tribe under the supervision of the Tribal Council.

(d) Improvements made upon a homestead by the assignee shall belong to him and if the land containing such improvements is reassigned by the Tribal Council during the life of the assignee to any
person, or after the death of the assignee to a person who is not a
relative nor heir nor devisee of the assignee, the assignee, or his heirs
may sell or remove such improvements under the supervision of the
Tribal Council.

SEC. 4. The Tribal Council may make new agricultural or homesite
assignments on any unassigned tribal land subject to the conditions
set forth in sections 2 and 3 and to such other conditions as the Tribal
Council and assignee may agree upon.

SEC. 5. The Tribal Council shall manage all unassigned tribal
land for the benefit of the Tribe.

SEC. 6. No person or association may use assigned or unassigned
tribal land for agricultural or business purposes unless he or it has
an assignment confirmed or granted under this Constitution, or a
lease, permit or license from the Tribal Council.

SEC. 7. The Tribal Council may make all necessary regulations and
forms to carry out the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XII—REFERENDUM AND RECALL

SECTION 1. Upon a petition signed by not less than thirty per cent
of the eligible voters of the Tribe, enumerated at the last general
election, the Tribal Council shall call a special election to ratify or
reject any action by the Tribal Council or to recall any member of
the Tribal Council.

BY-LAWS OF THE SAC AND FOX TRIBE OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN
IOWA

ARTICLE I—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The Chief of the Council shall conduct all meetings of
the Tribal Council and of the Tribe and perform the usual duties of a
Chairman. In his absence the Assistant Chief shall act in his stead.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep permanent records of all meetings
of the Tribal Council and of the Tribe, copies of which shall be pro-
vided the Superintendent of the reservation and the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs. He shall also keep records of all transactions of
the Tribal Council and handle the correspondence and notices of the
Tribe. In his absence, his post shall be filled pro tem.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer of the Tribal Council shall receive, receipt
for, deposit, and account for all funds handled through the Tribal
Council. No money shall be disbursed without the consent of the
Tribal Council and without the signature of the Chief and the Treas-
urer. The books of the Treasurer shall be open to inspection by
members of the Tribe and by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at
all reasonable hours. An audit of accounts shall be made once a year
and at such other times as the Tribal Council or Commissioner may
require.

When sufficient funds have accumulated in the tribal treasury in the
opinion of the Tribal Council or of the Commissioner of Indian
Affairs to warrant it, the Treasurer shall give a bond satisfactory to
the Tribal Council and the said Commissioner.
SEC. 4. The Tribal Council shall select and qualify an official interpreter, from the Tribe who shall perform the usual duties of an interpreter.

SEC. 5. Each member of the Tribal Council except the Chief shall constitute a special committee on the following matters of interest to the Tribe: (a) agriculture, (b) employment, (c) local, State and Federal projects, (d) education, (e) homes and health, (f) membership and taxation.

Service on these committees shall be assigned by the Tribal Council which may redesignate the committees and reassign the duties thereof and assign such other duties as may require committee attention.

SEC. 6. Each member of the Tribal Council shall be required to take an oath of office on the day he enters his office, pledging faithful performance of his duty and support of this Constitution. The oath shall be administered by the Superintendent of the reservation or by the Chief of the Tribal Council in office.

SEC. 7. The Tribal Council is hereby required to make complete reports of its business transactions at least once a year to the members of the Tribe, one copy of the report to be filed with the agency office and the original copy of the report to be kept by the Secretary of the Tribal Council.

ARTICLE II—MEETINGS OF TRIBAL COUNCIL

SECTION 1. The Tribal Council shall meet any time before the fifteenth of each month, and at such other times as the Tribal Council may designate or the Chief appoint.

SEC. 2. Five members of the Tribal Council shall constitute a quorum at any meeting.

SEC. 3. The order of business shall be as follows:
   Call to order.
   Roll call.
   Ascertaining of quorum.
   Reports.
   Unfinished business.
   New business.

ARTICLE III—MEETINGS OF THE TRIBE

SECTION 1. In addition to meetings in connection with tribal elections, the Tribal Council shall have the authority to call the Tribe for general meetings. Upon a petition signed by at least 30 per cent of the eligible voters of the Tribe it shall be the duty of the Tribal Council to call a meeting of the Tribe.

SEC. 2. Thirty per cent of the total number of the eligible voters, enumerated at the last general election of the Tribe shall constitute a tribal quorum.

SEC. 3. Written notice of all meetings shall be posted in public places at least five days in advance.

ARTICLE IV—QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING

SECTION 1. Every member of the Tribe who is twenty-one years of age or over and who has been residing on the reservation for at least
six months preceding any election, shall be entitled to vote in all tribal elections except that in any election on an amendment to this Constitution and By-laws all adult members of the Tribe shall be entitled to vote.

Sec. 2. Qualified members who are temporarily living away from the reservation may vote by absentee ballot upon request to the Tribal Council fifteen days prior to any election; provided, that no ballot received after the polls have closed shall be counted; provided, further, that said ballot must be cast before a Notary Public, or other qualified official authorized to administer oaths.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and By-laws may be amended by a majority vote of the adult members of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa voting at an election called for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, provided that at least thirty per cent of those entitled to vote shall vote in such election; but no amendment shall become effective until it shall have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to call an election on any proposed amendment, upon receipt of a written resolution of the Tribal Council and signed by at least five members of the Tribal Council.

ARTICLE VI—ADOPTION

This Constitution and By-laws, when ratified by a majority of the adult members of the Sac and Fox Tribe in Iowa, voting at a special election called for the purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, provided that at least thirty per cent of those entitled to vote shall vote in such election, shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, and if approved, shall be effective from the date of approval.

CERTIFICATION OF ADOPTION

Pursuant to an order, approved October 15, 1937 by the Acting Secretary of the Interior, the attached Constitution and By-laws was submitted for ratification to the members of the Sac and Fox Tribe of Mississippi in Iowa, and was on November 13, 1937 duly ratified by a vote of 80 for, and 75 against, in an election in which over 85 per cent of those entitled to vote cast their ballots, in accordance with section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935, (49 Stat. 378).

YOUNG BEAR,
Chief, Sac and Fox Tribal Council.

IRA D. NELSON,
Superintendent, Sac and Fox Sanatorium.

I, Oscar L. Chapman, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority granted me by the Act of June 26, 1938 (46 Stat. 1967), do hereby approve the attached Constitution and By-laws of the Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa.

All rules and regulations heretofore promulgated by the Interior Department or by the Office of Indian Affairs, so far as they may be
incompatible with any of the provisions of the said constitution and
by-laws, are hereby declared inapplicable to the Sac and Fox Tribe
of the Mississippi in Iowa.
All officers and employees of the Interior Department are ordered
to abide by the provisions of the said constitution and by-laws.
Approval recommended December 13, 1937.

WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN, Jr.,
Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

OSCAR L. CHAPMAN,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.
[Seal]

WASHINGTON, D.C., December 20, 1937.
Emanuel Verschleiser’s Letter to President Franklin Roosevelt, 1938

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foundation, can withstand all kinds of storms and bad weather. The roof leaks, it blows thru the cracks, one can fix it. I will tell you what to eat. I will give you no medicines. They are good for rich people who don't know how to spend their money. Don't be stingy with water. Drink as much as you can. Eat Black bread and vegetables. And if you can afford, leave New York and live in the country. So I listened to him and I can't complain. I am, thank God, over seventy. So now you know all about me. How you writers like to know everything. You like to know what's going on in one's soul. Not that I have anything to hide. So you promise me that you will print the letter? I am taking your word for it.

THE LETTER

"To Our Illustrious President:

Our Holy Books say: A poor man is like a dead man. You came and resurrected the poor man from the dead. You came and said: 'Wake up, forgotten man. I will give you new life. I will give you a new deal.' Like the prophet, Nathan, who said to King David: You have so many sheep and yet you want to take the last sheep of the poor man; so you said to the rich, to the Wall St. bankers: Leave the poor man his last sheep. Let him also live. All the rich men hate you for that. They know that you brought new hope to the poor plain man. They know that never again will the old times come back. May I and respectfully that your name, our illustrious President, will live forever."
Durham had closed his store right after I left him, due to other interests. I did right well for two years. In 1924, I lost everything I had in the store, by fire. There was no insurance. Rates were so high out here in the country without any fire protection that I had never taken out any. I had gone in debt right deep to get the store started, and it took several years to get over the loss. I have never completely recovered from it.

"I have always been able to keep from mortgaging my home. As long as I can do this, I feel like I can feed and clothe my family. There has been plenty of times when we thought we just couldn't keep from it. Just this past fall, my third son, Ben, entered Clemson. He knew I couldn't help him out much, so he had been working for the past two summers, saving his money so he could enter. He just couldn't seem to get enough to get by the first year. Finally, he got some help from the National Youth Administration. But the expense of the freshman year is so large he had to borrow some extra money to carry him on through. He certainly has his mind set on finishing college. He is taking agriculture, and he wants to teach when he finishes. I wish I were able to send all my children on through college, but it is impossible. I have been able to let them finish high school and I am very thankful for that.

"I had a bad crop this year. I planted my entire cotton allotment, and in August, it looked like I was going to have a bale to the acre. It rained a good deal and the boll weevil ruined me. It's gotten to the place where it looks like it's impossible to kill the weevil. I sprayed my cotton as often as possible, but it still didn't do any good. I would have been better off if I hadn't planted a row. I averaged 235 pounds of seed..."
cotton to the acre, when I should have gotten a bale of ginned cotton. Oh, well! I reckon everything is for the best. I hear the government has more cotton on hand than they know what to do with. If everybody had made a big crop this year, the price would go down, and cotton is sure cheap enough as it is. I made more cash money on what I didn't plant than I got out of what I did plant.

"Oh, yes sir! I certainly am in favor of government control. I'll tell you, we would be in a bad fix by now if we didn't have a control of some sort. The trouble is, people won't give it a trial. They just sit down and start kicking, just to have something to kick about. It makes it hard on people who are trying to abide by the rules. It's just like the relief in Sylweswood. It's a fine thing for them that actually need it. What ruins it is that so many people who don't need it abuse it. For a time last summer, you couldn't get a Negro to work on the farm. They would get two or three days work on the W.P.A., and this was all they needed. It isn't just the niggers either. There are lots of white people around here who have farms but won't work them. With all the land around Sylweswood that's lying idle, there could be plenty for all, but they won't work them as long as they can get work on the W.P.A. They won't even raise a garden at home.

"Yes, we have plenty of churches around here. My entire family are members of Sylweswood Baptist Church, the church we have attended all our lives. My wife's parents and my parents are buried there. All my family are regular church members. There are several churches in the community. Old Asbury Methodist Church has been here as long as I can remember. People don't seem to go to church nowadays like they used to. When I was a boy, it
seemed that everybody went to church on Sunday. Everything seems to have changed since then.

"My life has been one of hard work. I have always been able to get enough to keep my family reasonably comfortable. If I can keep my health, I know I can provide for them in the fashion we have always lived. I want them to get all the education possible. They are all good, honest, and hardworking. And as long as they stay that way, I won't think our hardships have been in vain."

Boney, Ernest B., “[The Experiences of a Farm Owner],” pp. 8-10, 1938. Courtesy of Library of Congress
American Indian Tribes, Reservations and Settlements in the United States, 1939

Interview with Vivian Morris from Harlem, New York, June 29, 1939 (Pg.1)

Forms to be Filled out for Each Interview

FORM A

Circumstances of Interview

STATE New York
NAME OF WORKER Vivian Morris
ADDRESS 225 W. 130th Street
DATE June 29, 1939
SUBJECT Harlem.

1. Date and time of interview

2. Place of interview

3. Name and address of informant

4. Name and address of person, if any, who put you in touch with informant.

5. Name and address of person, if any, accompanying you

6. Description of room, house, surroundings, etc.

(Use as many additional sheets as necessary, for each of the forms, each bearing the proper heading and the number to which the material refers.)

Morris, Vivian, “[Harlem],” 29 June 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
DARE TO BE A DEVIL

Standing by a purpose true,
       Hold the Gospel banner high!
  Steeding God's command,
     On to victory grand,
 Honor them the faithful few,
  Satan and his host defy,
  All hail to Daniel's Band!
   And shout for Daniel's Band.

Mary mighty men are lost,
Dare to be a Daniel,
  During not to stand,
  Dare to stand alone,
  Who for God had been a host,
  Dare to have a purpose firm,
  By joining Daniel's Band.

Dare to make it known.

Mary Giants great and tall,
Stalking thru the land,
  Headlong to the earth would fall
If met by Daniel's Band.

Morris, Vivian, “[Harlem],” 29 June 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
Interview with Vivian Morris from Harlem, New York, June 29, 1939 (Pg.3)

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Yeah, man, we ain' been doin' so well in this here coat n' dress job. An' I kin say fun my own person'l experience us called people ain' been doin' so well in other kinds a wak. I kin see y' knows that already, an' I kin not tell y' so much 'bout that. Y' know how we does fer ourselves in any kinda business. Well, if y' wants to know my experience I'll tell ya.

I been wukkin' in this coat establishment fer onto twelve years. A friend of mine give the job t' me when he quit it. He said he can't stan' it no more, he gotta leave. I cum up fun Charleston with my wife an' kid so I took it. I been put into the shippin' department doin' all kinda wuk. An', man, I learnt evry thing there wuz t' learn. They takes me out an' shores me inta th' facto'ry. I learnt that too. Learnt how t' run the machines n' take a dishin' out th' wuk proper. I wuz all aroun' help to th' foreman. Knows his wuk, to. In ac' I does his wuk fer a coupla hours evry mornin'.

I gets $10 a week now. Been wukkin' here fer 12 years an' gets a dollar raise –-only one goddamn dollar. I knows the job. I knows it inside an' out. I practically runs the place. The foreman's outs the place gabbin' wit' th' boss fer hours an' says t' me – "Man, y' take care of the wuk. I depend on ya. I knows y' kid do it!" An' so he leaves an' I gotta go trampin' up n' look fun th' shippin' room to th' facto'ry, fixin' machines an' shippin' an' dishin' out wuk fer about 25 folk. They ain' never give me a chance t' wuk on 'em machines. Why? 'Cos they keeps me fer th' laborin' and a the wuk. An' why? 'Cos I know as well as you boss a my tella. I ain' nevah got a half a chance t' make some decent dough. Yeh, I remember when I gets th' job th' boss wants t' give me 12 bucks an' I says this ain' fair; I got a wife an' kid. Now 'm I gonna get along on 12 bucks. I argues with him an' then he comes across with 15 bucks.

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Morris, Vivian, “[Harlem],” 29 June 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
I know I'm worth more. I know every job on my finger tips an' I even show others how t' do the job but I ain' never got no chance an' I don' expect none fun this joint. — The foreman comes in about 10 every day when he's supposed t' be here at 8:30. An' me? I knows the wuk's gotta get out so I comes in at 8 instead a 6:30 like I'm supposed to t' get the wuk done. He gets $75 a week t' be foreman an' I gets 16 an' I does some a his wuk. First he asks me t' help him out wit' his wuk an' I wants t' be agreeable an' does it. That's a long time ago. Now he never asks me but expects me t' do it, an' I gotta or else.——

I think they don' want me t' do operatin' wuk on the machine. I'd better join the union an' get more pay. They don' like that, no man. The don' like payin' if they don' have to if they kin get away wit' it. I'll tell y' sumthin'. Once I needed a couple bucks an' asks th' boss t' lend me 2. He lend it t' me very nice. Next week I comes t' pay him back an' he says for me t' keep it 'cos I deserves it. I says no I don' want it. I ain' askin' for a hand out. If he thinks I deserve it why don' he give me it every week at th' proper time on Saturday. He didn' like it much. I tol' him just like that. Of course I didn't get it.

Yeh, man; I'm on my vacation for a week. This's been the first one since I been here. Maybe I oughta thank him, huh? But I don' think I feels like the kin' him for somethin'. I shoulda got every year.

They ain' fair — an' that ain' the half a it. There was a strike an' the boss tried t' use me durin' the strike. No go—a man!

I ain' gettin' mixed up again the union. I ain' gonna do no strikebreakin' stuff. They's strikin' for what they wants that's why they join the union.

I gotta get back t' wuk Monday. Bukkin' fun 8 t' 6 an' 7 an' 8 when it gets busy. The boss says t' me t' be in early Monday because
ther's lotsa wuk an' it's gettin' busy an' the foreman is gohna be on a vacation.

No, man; you knows this ain' fair t' us but whate y' gonna do, huh? Somethin's gotta be done--I knows that. This here's discrimination t' us cullud people. We gotta do ev'ry thin' an' get paid least. We knows th' job as well as any an 'em but they don' give us a chance t' do th' same wuk. The situation ain' good. Somethin's t' be done.

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and oversee the work done in the home. Husband hired someone to do the heavy work in the home for me.

"The annual conference, of which husband was a member, was in session and he left home just three weeks before Christmas to be present at the conference roll call. He was stricken ill soon after reaching the conference, and died before he was able to be brought home, and as he was brought back to me a corpse.

"Since his death I was compelled to work. It was very difficult for me to readjust myself because he'd always looked after everything. He even purchased my clothes and shoes. It was so hard at first but I came to realization that I had to go it for myself. The responsibility was mine and I took hold.

"When we first came to Atlanta husband had a home built, and at his death he hadn't finished paying for it. I had to take hold and try to pay for it for I didn't have any children or anyone to help me; the job was mine. I had the notes readjusted and they cut down to $36.00 a month, this was as low as I could get them because the house cost a lot; and when he lived he was able to keep up the high notes. His salary was good and being a general officer of the church, he was paid regularly. With notes on the house of $36.00 plus my living expense and the general upkeep of the house, I found it next to impossible to live. Of course husband left me a little money, very little however, at his death and this was soon exhausted. I then tried to get work to maintain myself. I made every attempt to get work in private industry and being unsuccessful, I was compelled to get work on WPA. I was reluctant at first to go to WPA, for heretofore it had seemingly been the consensus of many that only the shiftless, lazy, and lower types resorted to relief agencies. The need of work was so great that this barrier was soon eradicated.

Martin, Eugenia, “[I Managed to Carry On],” pp. 5-6, November 1939. Courtesy of Library of Congress
humilities that go with the process of securing this work and it was disappointing at times but I was growing more and more in need and this caused me to keep on trying. I finally succeeded in being certified and then was later assigned to work.

"I was assigned to a project known as the Survey for White Collar and Skilled Negroes. This was a most interesting work. We first went out and found all the white collar and skilled workers among the Negroes here in Atlanta. This was done through a house to house canvass. These workers were interviewed as to their father’s occupation, their schooling and their occupation. We found those who had followed their father’s occupation and those who had deviated. We checked on how many who had migrated from rural to urban localities, occupations trained for, and whether they were engaged in those occupations or whether, because of employment conditions, they were forced to work at occupations not trained for. I enjoyed it so much. After we got all of the information together, it was then compiled in tables and put in book form.

"I worked hard every day and went to school at night, where I took a two-year commercial course. I completed the course as prescribed by the Board of Education, City of Atlanta.

"After that project ended I was sent to the sewing project, and here too I found the work interesting. I had a knowledge of sewing and because of this experience I was put over a group of women as 'floor woman', and like the former project I enjoyed it much. After this work I was transferred to the Housekeepers Aid Project. This was a most unusual experience for me. I had worked in the church, coming in contact with the poor and needy, the sick and suffering but it was nothing compared with that which..."
“Our New Army of National Defense,” March 26, 1941

Henle, Fritz, “National Youth Administration work center (NYA), Brooklyn, New York. Two men, white and Negro, who are receiving training in machine shop practice, shown setting up shaper work to cut forty-five degree angles at base for surface gauge,” ca. August 1942. Courtesy of Library of Congress