

"A Chicken in Every Pot" Political Ad, October 30, 1928

A Chicken for Every Pot

THE Republican Party isn't a "*Poor Man's Party*." Republican prosperity has erased that degrading phrase from our political vocabulary. The Republican Party is *equality's party—opportunity's party—democracy's party*, the party of *national development*, not *sectional interests—the impartial servant of every State and condition in the Union*.

Under higher tariff and lower taxation, America has stabilized output, employment and dividend rates.

Republican efficiency has filled the workingman's dinner pail—and his gasoline tank *besides*—made telephone, radio and sanitary plumbing *standard* household equipment. And placed the whole nation in the *silk stocking class*.

During eight years of Republican management, we have built more and better homes, erected more *skyscrapers*, passed more *benefactory laws*, and more laws to regulate and purify immigration, inaugurated more *conservation measures*, more measures to standardize and increase production, expand export markets, and reduce industrial and human junk piles, than in any previous quarter century.

Republican prosperity is written on *fuller wage envelopes*, written in factory chimney smoke, written on the walls of new construction, written in savings bank books, written in mercantile balances, and written in the peak value of stocks and bonds.

Republican prosperity has *reduced hours and increased earning capacity*, silenced *discontent*, put the proverbial "chicken in every pot." And a car in every backyard, to boot.

It has *raised living standards and lowered living costs*.

It has restored financial confidence and enthusiasm, changed *credit from a rich man's privilege to a common*

utility, generalized the use of time-saving devices and released women from the thrall of domestic drudgery.

It has provided every county in the country with its concrete road and knitted the highways of the nation into a *unified traffic system*.

Thanks to Republican administration, farmer, dairyman and merchant can make deliveries in *less time and at less expense*, can borrow *cheap* money to refund exorbitant mortgages, and stock their pastures, ranges and shelves.

Democratic management *impoverished and demoralized the railroads*, led packing plants and tire factories into *receivership*, squandered billions on *impractical programs*.

Democratic maladministration issued *further billions on mere "scraps of paper,"* then encouraged foreign debtors to believe that their loans would never be called, and bequeathed to the Republican Party the job of *mopping up the mess*.

Republican administration has *restored to the railroads solvency, efficiency and par securities*.

It has brought rubber trades through panic and chaos, *brought down the prices of crude rubber by smashing monopolistic rings*, put the tanner's books in the *black and secured from the European powers formal acknowledgment of their obligations*.

The Republican Party rests its case on a record of *stewardship and performance*.

Its Presidential and Congressional candidates stand for election on a platform of sound practice, Federal vigilance, high tariff, Constitutional integrity, the conservation of natural resources, *honest and constructive measures for agricultural relief*, sincere enforcement of the laws, and the right of *all citizens, regardless of faith or origin*, to share the benefits of opportunity and justice.

Wages, dividends, progress and prosperity say, "Vote for Hoover"

Paid for by a member of the Republican Business Men, Inc.
Those wishing to see similar advertisements in other New York papers may send cheques to the Republican Business Men, Inc., 4 West 40th Street

GENERAL COMMITTEE
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Inaugural Address of Herbert Hoover, March 4, 1929 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 8 of Document)

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The election has again confirmed the determination of *The Relation of Government to Business* the American people that regulation of private enterprise and not Government ownership or operation is the course rightly to be pursued in our relation to business. In recent years we have established a differentiation in the whole method of business regulation between the industries which produce and distribute commodities on the one hand, and public utilities on the other. In the former, our laws insist upon effective competition; in the latter, because we substantially confer a monopoly by limiting competition, we must regulate their services and rates. The rigid enforcement of the laws applicable to both groups is the very base of equal opportunity and freedom from domination for all our people, and it is just as essential for the stability and prosperity of business itself as for the protection of the public at large. Such regulation should be extended by the Federal Government within the limitations of the constitution and only when the individual States are without power to protect their citizens through their own authority. On the other hand, we

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should be fearless when the authority rests only in the Federal Government.

The larger purpose of our economic thought should be to establish more firmly stability and security of business and employment and thereby remove poverty still further from our borders. Our people have in recent years developed a new found capacity for co-operation among themselves to effect high purposes in public welfare. It is an advance *Co-operation by the Government* toward the highest conception of self-government. Self-government does not and should not imply the use of political agencies alone. Progress is born of co-operation in the community—not from governmental restraints. The Government should assist and encourage these movements of collective self help by itself co-operating with them. Business has by co-operation made great progress in the advancement of service, in stability, in regularity of employment and in the correction of its own abuses. Such progress, however, can continue only so long as business manifests its respect for law.

There is an equally important field of co-operation by the

Inaugural Address of Herbert Hoover, March 4, 1929 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 10 of Document)

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Federal Government with the multitude of agencies, state, municipal and private, in the systematic development of those processes which directly affect public health, recreation, education and the home. We have need further to perfect the means by which Government can be adapted to human service.

Although education is primarily a responsibility of the *Education* States and local communities, and rightly so, yet the nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development everywhere to the highest standards and to complete universality. Self-government can succeed only through an instructed electorate. Our objective is not simply to overcome illiteracy. The nation has marched far beyond that. The more complex the problems of the nation become, the greater is the need for more and more advanced instruction. Moreover, as our numbers increase and as our life expands with science and invention, we must discover more and more leaders for every walk of life. We cannot hope to succeed in directing this increasingly complex civilization unless we can draw all the talent of leadership from the whole people.

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faiths; the strengthening of the home; the advancement of peace.

There is no short road to the realization of these aspirations. Ours is a progressive people, but with a determination that progress must be based upon the foundation of experience. Ill-considered remedies for our faults bring only penalties after them. But if we hold the faith of the men in our mighty past who created these ideals, we shall leave them heightened and strengthened for our children.

This is not the time and place for extended discussion. The questions before our country are problems of progress *Conclusion* to higher standards; they are not the problems of degeneration. They demand thought and they serve to quicken the conscience and enlist our sense of responsibility for their settlement. And that responsibility rests upon you, my countrymen, as much as upon those of us who have been selected for office.

Ours is a land rich in resources; stimulating in its glorious beauty; filled with millions of happy homes; blessed with comfort and opportunity. In no nation are the institutions

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of progress more advanced. In no nation are the fruits of accomplishment more secure. In no nation is the government more worthy of respect. No country is more loved by its people. I have an abiding faith in their capacity, integrity and high purpose. I have no fears for the future of our country. It is bright with hope.

In the presence of my countrymen, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, knowing what the task means and the responsibility which it involves, I beg your tolerance, your aid and your co-operation. I ask the help of Almighty God in this service to my country to which you have called me.

Herbert Hoover

March 4 1929

Letter from Arthur Smith to President Herbert Hoover, August 17, 1930

DEArborn 9279

GREAT NORTHERN UTILITIES, INC.

Suite 428, 10 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO

8-17-30



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His Honor President Hoover
White House, Washington D.C.

Honorable President.

I noticed in this mornings paper your release of the road fund money in this locality where the drought has effected things the worst, to get work started at once to give employment to people that are out of work, which I feel is a big move at the present time.

I have a number of cities under franchise to build gas plants in this vicinity, and am getting a number more, it is my intention to build a hundred plants in this vicinity if I can, and am trying my utmost to get the work started at once, while there is such a crying demand for the use of gas and so many people waiting to get something to do, as there w uld be as many as 60 to 80 men employed in each town or city where these plants are to be installed, and this work would last till away in to the winter, and in fact the first whole year it would mean a busy town or city where the plants were being installed, as several hundred stoves, meters, services etc would have to be installed in each town or city after the plant was finished . and not only giving these towns and cities work for the people living in them, it would also be adding an industry that would invite people to live in them as well as to invite factories to locate in them,

I am in a market where it is almost impossible to get the financing, and am trying to get started by asking material men and builders to cooperate with me and build these plants and wait for their money 6 months giving the bankers time to get in to a market where the financing can be done, in this way I will be giving work to the unemployed at a time that it is mostly needed as well as getting the plants built at a time that the cost of material and labor is low, and doing a thing that means something to the country and cities from a construction standpoint that leaves a valuable assett in these cities and towns, these plants are automatic in operation and low in construction cost, the gas is made from Butane and Propane oil, and a rate can be made in the small towns that is as low as in the large ones.

If you have any suggestions to make in the financing of these plants in this market I would like to hear from you as your experience along this line is valuable, and it will mean a big thing to these unemployed people that you are trying to help.

Address- 651 Belmont Ave
Chicago Ills

Very Truly Yours

Arthur J Smith
Vice Pres, Eng & Mgr, Great Northern Utilities Inc.

Letter from Herbert Hoover to Herbert S. Crocker, May 21, 1932 (Pg. 1)

Herbert S. Crocker, President,
American Society of Civil Engineers,
New York, New York.

My dear Mr. Crocker:

I am in receipt of your kind letter of May 19th, and I have also the presentation of the sub-committee of the Society suggesting that the depression can be broken by a large issue of federal government bonds to finance a new program of huge expansion of "public works" construction, in addition to the already large programs now provided for in the current budgets. The same proposals have been made from other quarters and have been given serious consideration during the past few days.

The back of the depression cannot be broken by any single government undertaking. That can only be done with the cooperation of business, banking, industry, and agriculture in conjunction with the government. The aid the government may give includes: (a) The quick, honest balancing of the Federal budget through drastic reduction of less necessary expenses and the minimum increase in taxes; (b) The avoidance of issue of further Treasury securities as the very keystone of national and international confidence upon which all employment rests; (c) The continuation of the work of the Reconstruction Corporation which has overcome the financial strain on thousands of small banks, releasing credit to their communities, the strengthening of building and loan associations, the furnishing of credit to agriculture, the protection of trustee institutions and the support of financial stability of the railways; (d) The expansion of credit by the Federal Reserve Banks; (e) The organized translation of these credits into actualities for business and public bodies; (f) Unceasing effort at sound strengthening of the foundations of agriculture; (g) The continuation of such public works in aid to unemployment as does not place a strain on the taxpayer and do not necessitate government borrowing; (h) Continuation of national, community and individual efforts in relief of distress; (i) The introduction of the five day week in government which would save the discharge of 100,000 employees and would add 30,000 to the present list; (j) The passage of the Home Loan discount bank legislation which would protect home owners from foreclosure and would furnish millions of dollars of employment in home improvement without cost to the Treasury; (k) Financial aid by means of loans from the Reconstruction Corporation to such states as, due to the long strain, are unable to continue to finance distress relief; (l) The extension of the authority of the Reconstruction Corporation not only in a particular I called attention last December, - that is, loans on sound security to industry where they would sustain and expand employment, - but also in view of the further contraction of credit to increase its authority to expand the issue of its own securities up to \$3,000,000,000 for the purpose of organized aid to "income producing" works throughout the nation, both of public and private character.

Letter from Herbert Hoover to Herbert S. Crocker, May 21, 1932 (Pg. 2)

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1. The vice in that segment of the proposals made by your society and others for further expansion of "public works" is that they include public works of remote usefulness; they impose unbearable burdens upon the taxpayer; they unbalance the budget and demoralize government credit. A larger and far more effective relief to unemployment at this stage can be secured by increased aid to "income-producing works". I wish to emphasize this distinction between what for purposes of this discussion we may term "income-producing works" (also referred to as "self-liquidating works") on the one hand and non-productive "public works" on the other. By "income-producing works" I mean such projects of states, counties and other sub-divisions as waterworks, toll-bridges, toll tunnels, docks and any other such activities which charge for their service and whose earning capacity provides a return upon the investment. With the return of normal times, the bonds of such official bodies based upon such projects can be disposed of to the investing public and thus make the intervention of the Reconstruction Corporation purely an emergency activity. I include in this class aid to established industry where it would sustain and increase employment with the safeguard that loans for these purpose should be made on sound security and the proprietors of such industries should provide a portion of the capital. Non-productive "public works" in the sense of the term here used include: public buildings, highways, streets, river and harbor improvement, military and navy construction, etc., which bring no direct income and comparatively little relief to unemployment.

2. I can perhaps make this distinction clear by citing the example of the recent action of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the matter of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company on one hand, and the recent bill passed by the House of Representatives for increased road building on the other. The railroad company applied to the Reconstruction Corporation for a loan of \$55,000,000 to help finance a fund of over \$68,000,000 needed to electrify certain of its lines. By so doing it would employ directly and indirectly for one year more than 28,000 men distributed over twenty different states. An arrangement was concluded by which the Reconstruction Corporation undertook to stand behind the plan to the extent of \$27,000,000, the railway company finding the balance. This \$27,000,000 is to be loaned on sound securities and will be returned, capital and interest, to the corporation. The Reconstruction Corporation is acting as agent to make available otherwise timid capital for the Pennsylvania Railroad in providing employment. There is no charge upon the taxpayer. On the other hand the proposal of the House of Representatives is to spend \$132,000,000 for subsidies to the states for construction of highways. This would be a direct charge on the taxpayer. The total number of men to be directly employed is estimated at 55,000 and indirectly 20,000 more. In other words, by this action we would give employment to only 55,000 men at the expense by the government of \$132,000,000, which will never be recovered. In the one instance we recover the money advanced through the Reconstruction Corporation, we issued no government bonds, we have no charge on the taxpayer. In the other instance, we have not only a direct cost to the taxpayer but also a continuing maintenance charge, and furthermore, the highways in many sections have now been expanded beyond immediate public need.

3. These proposals of huge expansion of "public works" have a vital relation to balancing the federal budget and to the stabilizing of national credit. The financing of "income-producing works" by the Reconstruction Corporation is an investment operation, requires no congressional appropriation, does not unbalance the budget, is not a drain upon the Treasury, does not involve the direct issue of government bonds, does not involve added burdens upon the taxpayer either now or in the future. It is an emergency operation which will liquidate itself with the return of the investor to the money markets.

The proposal to build non-productive "public works" of the category I have described necessitates making increased appropriations by the Congress. These appropriations must be financed by immediate increased taxation or by the issuance of government bonds. Whatever the method employed, they are inescapably a burden upon the taxpayer. If such a course is adopted beyond the amounts already provided in the budget now before Congress for the next fiscal year, it will upset all possibility of balancing the budget; it will destroy confidence in government securities and make for the instability of the government which in result will deprive more people of employment than will be gained.

Letter from Herbert Hoover to Herbert S. Crocker, May 21, 1932 (Pg. 3)

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4. I have for many years advocated the speeding up of public works in times of depression as an aid to business and unemployment. That has been done upon a huge scale and is proceeding at as great a pace as fiscal stability will warrant. All branches of government, - Federal, state and municipal, - have greatly expanded their "public works" and have now reached a stage where they have anticipated the need for many such works for a long time to come. Therefore, the new projects which might be undertaken are of even more remote usefulness. From January, 1930, to July 1st, 1932, the Federal Government will have expended \$1,500,000,000 on "public works". The budget for the next fiscal year carries a further \$575,000,000 of such expenditures (compared with about \$250,000,000 normal) and includes all the items I have felt are justified by sound engineering and sound finance. Thus by the end of next year the Federal Government will have expended over \$2,000,000,000 on public works, which represents an increase over normal of perhaps \$1,200,000,000. Thus we have largely anticipated the future and have rendered further expansion beyond our present program of very remote usefulness and certainly not justified for some time to come, even were there no fiscal difficulties. They represent building of a community beyond its necessities. We cannot thus squander ourselves into prosperity.

5. A still further and overriding reason for not undertaking such programs of further expansions of Federal "public works" is evident if we examine the individual projects which might be undertaken from an engineering and economic point of view. The Federal "public works" now authorized by law cover works which it was intended to construct over a long term of years and embrace several projects which were not of immediate public usefulness. In any event, the total of such authorized projects still incomplete on the 1st of July will amount to perhaps \$1,300,000,000. If we deduct from this at once the budgeted program for the next fiscal year - \$575,000,000 - we leave roughly \$725,000,000 of such authorized works which would be open for action. If we examine these projects in detail, we find great deductions must be made from this sum. Construction of many projects physically require years for completion such as naval vessels, buildings, canalization of rivers, etc., and therefore as an engineering necessity this sum could only be expended over four or five years; a portion of the projects not already started will require legal and technical preparation and therefore could not be brought to the point of employment of labor during the next year; a portion of these authorized projects are outside continental United States and do not contribute to the solution of our problem; a portion are in localities where there is little unemployment; a portion are in the District of Columbia where we already have a large increase in program for the next fiscal year and where no additional work could be justified. A portion are of remote utility and are not justified, such as extension of agricultural acreage at the present time. Deducting all these cases from the actual list of authorized Federal public works, it will be found that there is less than \$100,000,000 (and this is doubtful) which could be expended during the next fiscal year beyond the program in the budget. That means the employment of say less than 40,000 men. Thus the whole of these grandiose contentions of possible expansion of Federal "public works" fall absolutely to the ground for these reasons if there were no other.

If it is contemplated that we legislate more authorizations of new and unconsidered projects by Congress we shall find ourselves confronted by a log-rolling process which will include dredging of mud creeks, building of unwarranted post-offices, unprofitable irrigation projects, duplicate highways and a score of other unjustifiable activities.

6. There is still another phase of this matter to which I would like to call attention. Employment in "public works" is largely transitory. It does not have a follow-up of continued employment as is the case with "income-producing works". But of even more importance than this, the program I have proposed gives people employment in all parts of the country in their normal jobs under normal conditions at the normal place of abode, tends to reestablish normal processes in business and industry and will do so on a much larger scale than the projects proposed in the so-called "public works" program.

Letter from Herbert Hoover to Herbert S. Crocker, May 21, 1932 (Pg. 4)

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7. To sum up. It is generally agreed that the balancing of the Federal budget and unimpaired national credit is indispensable to the restoration of confidence and to the very start of economic recovery. The Administration and Congress have pledged themselves to this end. A "public works" program such as is suggested by your committee and by others, through the issuance of Federal bonds creates at once an enormous further deficit.

What is needed is the return of confidence and a capital market through which credit will flow in the thousand rills with its result of employment and increased prices. That confidence will be only destroyed by action in these directions. These channels will continue clogged by fears if we continue attempts to issue large amounts of government bonds for purposes of non-productive works.

Such a program as these huge Federal loans for "public works" is a fearful price to pay in putting a few thousand men temporarily at work and dismissing many more thousands of others from their present employment. There is vivid proof of this since these proposals of public works financed by Government bonds were seriously advanced a few days ago. Since then United States Government bonds have shown marked weakness on the mere threat. And it is followed at once by a curtailment of the ability of states, municipalities and industry to issue bonds and thus a curtailment of activities which translate themselves into decreased employment.

It will serve no good purpose and will fool no one to try to cover appearances by resorting to a so-called "extraordinary Budget". That device is well known. It brought the governments of certain foreign countries to the brink of financial disaster. It means a breach of faith to holders of all Government securities, an unsound financial program and a severe blow to returning confidence and further contraction of economic activities in the country.

What you want and what I want is to restore normal employment. I am confident that if the program I have proposed to the Congress is expeditiously completed and we have the cooperation of the whole community, we will attain the objective for which we have been searching so long.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER.

“Bonus Army” Assembles on U.S. Capitol Steps, 1932



Harris & Ewing, “Group Bonus Army? in front of U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C.,” Washington D.C., 1932.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Crowds Outside of the New York Stock Exchange, 1929



“Crowd of people gather outside the New York Stock Exchange following the Crash of 1929,” 1929. [Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Dwellers in Circleville's "Hooverville" in central Ohio, 1938



Shahn, Ben, "Untitled photo, possibly related to: Dwellers in Circleville's 'Hooverville,' central Ohio," 1938. [Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Herbert Hoover's Response to the Press, October 4, 1930

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Official

October 24, 1930.

In reply to a press question the President
said:

"No Special Session is necessary to deal with
employment. The sense of voluntary organization and
community service in the American people has not van-
ished. The spirit of voluntary service has been strong
enough to cope with the problem for the past year and
it will, I am confident, continue in full measure of
the need.

"Colonel Woods is receiving most gratifying
evidence of this from the Governors, Mayors, Industrial
leaders and welfare organizations throughout the country".

Recovery: A Federal Writer's Project Interview with Mr. W.W. Tarpley, January 5, 1940 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 8 of Document)

Recovery

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"Not only my job was in the balance but my savings were gone, at least for the present.

"No one knows, unless they have experienced it, what it means to work in a place under such conditions. Of course, there were promises that the bank would soon open up and resume business and begin paying off. That gave the depositor something to hope for at least. The sad part was, this was the strongest bank in this town. In fact there had already been several failures, so this was almost the only bank open for business. It was a national bank too, so everybody thought their money was safe. We worked on awhile. To be frank, I didn't worry so much about my losses. I was so concerned about the other fellows. People were losing their homes and some their savings of a lifetime. The saddest part of it was to see widows who probably had been left a little insurance and had put it all in the bank. People have a feeling that all connected with a bank, from the directors, president, on down to the lowest employee, are responsible for a bank failure and that makes you feel bad.

"What do you think caused the depression?" he asked. "Well, almost everyone will tell you something different. Usually they will speak from a personal standpoint. Ask a farmer down in that section and they will say, 'the boll weevil'. The merchant will tell you, inflation in prices during the war and the slump following. The Florida boom eventually brought disaster in that state. I'll tell you more about that later. I haven't told you yet how the depression affected me personally. We worked on at the bank trying to get things in shape, with no hopes deep

Recovery: A Federal Writer's Project Interview with Mr. W.W. Tarpley, January 5, 1940 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 9 of Document)

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down in our hearts of ever opening up again. Of course, we couldn't tell people on the outside that. We tried to appear hopeful. One by one they began laying off employees and I knew, sooner or later, my time would come. I didn't worry very much right then because I was young and, with my experience and standing in the town, I just knew I would not have any trouble getting work. I soon found out, though, I was mistaken in that.

"Well, my turn came to be laid off. On my desk one morning I found a letter to that effect. Of course it read, 'With appreciation for my valuable service, deep regret, best wishes, etc.' But that didn't help my feelings much. My job was gone and my savings too. Except for the time I served during the war, that was the first day I was without a job since I was just a boy. I went on home to break the news to Louise. She was not surprised, for we had both been expecting it.

"I didn't lose any time worrying but got my hoe and went to the garden. Oh, that garden was a lifesaver to me in more ways than one. Some way, you can't worry and watch things grow all at the same time.

"I don't remember just how long I went without work, but it seemed a long time to me. Funds were getting mighty low but we said nothing about it. My idea of stepping right into another job was erroneous. In normal times I could have, but then there were no jobs to be had. Of course, I preferred work in my line but soon saw I would do well to get a job at anything.

"I was blessed with friends and, even though we were cutting down expenses in every way and could not live as we always had, my friends

Recovery: A Federal Writer's Project Interview with Mr. W.W. Tarpley, January 5, 1940 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 10 of Document)

Recovery

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were as staunch as ever. They tried to help me every way possible to get work.

"We were occupying four rooms then with a bath and a kitchen. We were lucky enough to rent two of those rooms out to a couple who wanted to do light housekeeping. The rent from those rooms, together with the rent from the apartment already rented, took care of the rent, lights, and water of the whole house.

"When I saw there were no jobs to be gotten in Dublin, I began looking in other towns where I thought there were prospects. Soon my money was getting so low I couldn't afford to take any more trips in search of employment, so I just had to be patient. That is hard to do and I got awfully blue too.

"I got a temporary job in the office at the ice plant. That didn't pay much but it helped a lot. We counted our nickels too. Fall came on and business fell off at the plant. I wasn't laid off, but I realized they didn't need me but were just letting me stay on out of sympathy and I couldn't stand that so I simply quit.

"Then I was taken on as night clerk at one of the hotels. If I hadn't had a family that would have worked out fine until I could do better. I got all my meals and a nice room and I was supposed to sleep during the day. It didn't pay much in money and kept me away from home practically all the time.

"It almost never fails, though, that hard times and sickness go hand in hand. There was a terrible flu epidemic and Louise had a severe case of that, followed by pneumonia. I put her in the hospital and for several

Recovery: A Federal Writer's Project Interview with Mr. W.W. Tarpley, January 5, 1940 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 11 of Document)

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days it looked as if she would be taken from me. My friends truly rallied to me in those days. Part of the time Gloria stayed with me at the hotel, and friends by the score offered to keep her for me. Louise recovered but expenses piled up, for she had to have good nursing and nourishment even after she was carried home.

"Just as I was getting in the dumps about a regular job, I was notified to report at once, to act as assistant receiver for a defunct bank in Florida. They were feeling the depression there even more than we were in Georgia, and banks were closing every day.

"To go back a little in my story. I had a good friend, in fact I went to school with her, who was secretary to one of our United States Senators from Georgia. Through her I was fortunate enough to gain his friendship and interest. I had my application and photograph on file with the banking department in Washington, and it was through his influence that this job opened up.

"That was a happy day for us. Our friends didn't know it, but I didn't even have enough money to take the trip but I borrowed it. The question was, how was the family to live until I got my first check? Of course I had to leave them there until I could get able to move them.

"'Don't you worry,' said Louise, 'there's always a way. Don't forget I still have my cabbage patch.' That was no joke either.

"It was miraculous the cabbage she did sell. When she couldn't sell them she would swap them for other things she needed. She even paid off her help with cabbage.

"That was a happy day for us all when I drove my old T-model out of

Recovery: A Federal Writer's Project Interview with Mr. W.W. Tarpley, January 5, 1940 (Contains Transcribed Excerpts, Pg. 12 of Document)

Recovery

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the yard headed for Florida. I left Louise and the baby on the porch waving at me.

" 'Now don't look so sad,' said she, 'we'll be down there with you before you have time to miss us.'

"From that day life has been a different thing to me. I have worked hard and had lots of responsibilities, but from a financial standpoint it has been on the up-grade. I don't mean at all that our troubles were over. We had to watch our expenses so close.

"I moved my little family, when I had been on my job just two months. She sold out everything we had except her machine and the baby bed. We rented a small house ready furnished. Luckily we went down before the tourist season opened up, so we got our rent cheap, and the people we rented from didn't raise our rent either when winter came on. By the way, we rented from Georgians.

"We soon became established in the civic and social life of the town and moved our church letters, so it didn't take us long to really feel at home.

"We owed some bills back home that had accumulated when I was out of work, and as soon as possible I began paying those up. It was a struggle but we paid them all up before we stopped. Another misfortune came to us. Our Ford was stolen from us, and not a penny of insurance. We did without a car for awhile for we didn't really need one then except for pleasure.

"That was right after the real estate boom and the whole state was in a panic. Banks were still closing until it was hard to get enough

Veterans March to Washington Broadside, December 5, 1932 (Pg. 1)

NEGRO **RANK and FILE** **WHITE**

VETERANS

MARCH TO WASHINGTON

TO ARRIVE AT OPENING OF CONGRESS

DECEMBER 5th, 1932

TO DEMAND

CASH PAYMENT of BONUS

MARCH TO BE LED BY RANK AND FILE VETERANS

Again the veterans are going to march to Washington, to demand immediate full cash payment of the Bonus! This time we will have fighting leadership that won't sell us out. Why are we going to march? Let's see.

A WINTER OF HUNGER FACES THE VETERANS

Cold, brutal winter is now on us. Over a million and a half unemployed veterans are hungry; hundreds of thousands of us have no shelter. And there will be more of us in that fix by the time winter comes.

Those of us who still have some work have suffered wage cuts, and the stagger plan, and face more wage cuts.

INTEREST CHARGES WIPE OUT BONUS BY 1945

In 1945 there will be no Bonus for the rank and file veteran. The balance is now being eaten up by the compound interest charged by the government to all who borrowed the fifty percent of the Adjusted Service Certificate. In 1945 there will be only about \$30 to \$60 for the great majority of the veterans entitled to the Bonus. **WE MUST FIGHT FOR THE BONUS NOW!**

THE ENEMIES OF THE BONUS ARE UNITED AGAINST US

The Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties are all united in the fight against the payment of the balance due the veterans on the Bonus. They get the full support of the boss press, and the liberal writers, too.

Waters, the Hoke Smiths, the Doak Carters and other former leaders of the B. E. F. are fighting the rank and file veterans who are putting up a fight for the immediate payment of the Bonus.

The newly elected commander Johnson has had recent correspondence with Hoover and will not fight for the Bonus. General Glassford and the Hoover government are again preparing to prevent the veterans from making direct demands on Congress.

These fakery are all lined up with the enemies of the Bonus to prevent the rank and file of the veterans from uniting their mass power to march to Washington and again demand the immediate payment of the Bonus and fight against cutting of the disability allowance.

RANK AND FILE VETERANS, MARCH TO WASHINGTON!

All Veterans March to Washington!

Veterans' organizations, elect Bonus Marchers. All rank and file veterans, including employed and unemployed veterans, should elect delegated Bonus Marchers. Veterans from shops, mills, mines, factories and farms should be elected. Bonus marchers should be elected from the veteran membership in labor, fraternal and social organizations.

ELECT CITY RANK AND FILE COMMITTEES

City rank and file committees representing the various groups and organizations of veterans should meet to carry out the program of Central Rank and File Committee elected by the Cleveland Conference of the Rank and File Veterans. (Sept. 23-26.)

HEROES IN 1917; THEY CALL US "CRIMINALS" NOW

In 1917 the government appealed to the masses: "Shall we be more tender with our dollars than with the lives of our sons?" (Second Liberty Bond poster, 1917.)

And now, in 1932: "The bonus marchers are criminals." (Statement of President Hoover.)

Neither then nor now did the Wall Street government care about the welfare of the soldier, "the lives of our sons."

Billions went to the billionaires who in 1917 made huge profits from the war, and today the billions go to the same crowd. The Congress that refused to give the starving veterans the bonus gave through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation four and a half billion dollars for the bankers, the railroads and other big corporations.

We got the bullets and the gas in 1917. Many of us were maimed and crippled for life. In 1932 we get the bullets and gas of the police, as we did in Washington, and of the troops, which Hoover called out against us.

Because we were demanding the Bonus so that we and our families could have something to eat, the President of the United States orders the army to gas and bayonet us, to burn our meagre belongings and to drive our wives and children out into the dark of the night.

Veterans Rank And File Committee, "Veterans march to Washington to arrive at opening of Congress, December 5th, 1932 to demand cash payment of bonus," New York, 1932. [Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Veterans March to Washington Broadside, December 5, 1932 (Pg. 2)

WALL STREET GOVERNMENT GIVES BILLIONS FOR WAR AND BANKERS

We are facing starvation. But the boss government does not care about us. However, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the banks, the railroads and the large industries get billions. The 15 million unemployed workers, the poor and mortgaged farmers, the small shopkeeper get nothing. Bankruptcy, foreclosures, public sales of farms and starvation face the great masses of the people. And at the same time billions are being spent by the government for another world war.

UNITY OF VETERANS WILL WIN OUR DEMANDS

The coming march of the veterans will unite all the veterans. Negro and white veterans must struggle together against all attempts to divide them. All veterans, unemployed and employed, skilled and unskilled workers, starving farmers, small bankrupt shopkeepers, professional men, homeless and friendless unmarried veterans, must unite for the coming march.

From cities, towns and villages they will come.

No matter what our political beliefs are, we must unite in this fight. Foreign-born and native veterans must be united. The wives, mothers and children of the vets must support the fight for the Bonus. The rank and file of veterans' organizations, despite their boss class commanders will join the fight. It is such unity that will give us the strength to fight our enemies.

WE NEVER FORGET HUSHKA AND CARLSON

While in Washington we will commemorate the murder of Hushka and Carlson who were murdered by the Glassford police and now lie buried in Arlington Cemetery.

A fitting tribute will be paid to the veterans who were murdered by the Glassford police.

BONUS MARCH OF RANK AND FILE GIVES RELIEF TO 214,000 VETERANS

The Bonus March proved that the mass pressure of the rank and file of the veterans is the only way to win results.

The Bonus March forced Congress to remove the two year restriction clause and to give immediate payment to over 214,000 veterans, of fifty percent of the adjusted service compensation due them. The Bonus March taught the rank and file how to organize their mass strength and exposed the enemies within our own ranks as well as those outside our ranks.

MASS SUPPORT FOR THE VETERANS

The fight of the veterans is part of the fight of all the people against hunger, wage cuts, unemployment and war. The support of the veterans who are not marching to Washington, the people as a whole, the veterans and other organizations is more necessary now than ever before. The organized opposition is stronger. Intimidation and threats will be used against us and those who support us. The full support of those who are not marching will be needed.

WINTER CLOTHES, BLANKETS, FOOD AND MONEY, NEEDED

The marchers will face cold weather. Blankets and heavy clothes will be needed for the trip. The delegates who will be elected and other veterans who will again march are carrying on the fight for all of us who cannot march to Washington. They must move forward with our support, financial as well as moral. Donate your extra blankets, heavy clothing, cooking utensils. Help collect food and money. Support the demonstrations of the veterans and the unemployed.

DEMANDS OF THE VETERANS:

BONUS

Congress to pass a bill for the immediate cash payment of the Bonus with the following provisions:

1. Congress authorize the immediate payment of the balance due on the adjusted service certificates, upon demand of those entitled to it.
2. All interest charges on certificates to cease.
3. All interest deducted from loans already made including the transportation loans advanced the Bonus Marchers to be added to the balance due.
4. Funds to be raised as follows:
 - a) Surtax on industries;
 - b) Inheritance tax;
 - c) All funds for immediate war preparations;
 - d) Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds.

DISABLED

Not a cent off the disability allowances.

Negro war veterans to be admitted in all hospitals.

Jim-crowding of Negro veterans to cease. This applies to all hospitals in the South in particular.

Veterans to have right to choose their own doctors and expense to be paid by the government.

UNEMPLOYED

House and feed all unemployed unmarried veterans as well as other unmarried unemployed without police surveillance at local government and federal government expense.

Unemployment and social insurance for all unemployed at the expense of the federal government and the employers.

—DETACH AND MAIL TO—

VETERANS CENTRAL RANK AND FILE COMMITTEE
P. O. BOX 38
NEW YORK CITY

Comrades:

Please send me more information about what to do to make the Bonus March a success.

NAME ADDRESS

CITY STATE

I condemn the Hoover administration for using the troops against the veterans.

I support immediate payment of the Bonus.

I will support the March to Washington.

Issued by Veterans Central Rank and File Committee, P. O. Box 38, New York, N. Y.

Veterans Rank And File Committee, "Veterans march to Washington to arrive at opening of Congress, December 5th, 1932 to demand cash payment of bonus," New York, 1932. [Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)