

**CHAPTER**  
**15**  
**Section 3**

**GUIDED READING** *The New Deal Affects Many Groups*

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

<b>1. Women</b>	Gains women made under the New Deal:	Problems of women not solved by the New Deal:
Example(s) of appointees to important government positions:		

<b>2. African Americans</b>	Gains African Americans made under the New Deal:	Problems of African Americans not solved by the New Deal:
Example(s) of appointees to important government positions:		

<b>3. Labor unions</b>	Gains unions made under the New Deal:	Problems of unions not solved by the New Deal:
Example(s) of union(s) organized during the New Deal:		

<b>4. Other coalition groups</b>	Reasons they supported the Democratic party:
Other groups:	

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

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Many Groups***Multiple Choice**

Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. The country's first all-black trade union was organized by  
a. Mary McLeod Bethune.  
b. A. Philip Randolph.  
c. Frances Perkins.  
d. Robert C. Weaver.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Roosevelt did not do more to promote civil rights out of fear of upsetting  
a. Congress.  
b. westerners.  
c. labor unions.  
d. Southern Democrats.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Between 1933 and 1941, union membership in the United States grew from less than 3 million to about  
a. 5 million.  
b. 10 million.  
c. 12 million.  
d. 15 million.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. One of the main bargaining tactics of the labor movement in the 1930s was the  
a. sit-down strike.  
b. work slowdown.  
c. boycott.  
d. walk-out.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. The Memorial Day Massacre involved violent clashes between police and workers in the  
a. steel industry.  
b. oil industry.  
c. railroad industry.  
d. textile industry.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Frances Perkins became the first female  
a. federal judge.  
b. vice-president.  
c. cabinet member.  
d. presidential candidate.

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**PRIMARY SOURCE** **The Memorial Day Massacre**

*On Memorial Day in 1937, the Chicago police attacked a picket line of striking Republic Steel Company workers and their families. As you read this New York Times report about the incident, think about why this demonstration turned violent.*

CHICAGO, May 30—Four men were killed and eighty-four persons went to hospitals with gunshot wounds, cracked heads, broken limbs, or other injuries received in a battle late this afternoon between police and steel strikers at the gates of the Republic Steel Corporation plant in South Chicago.

The clash occurred when about one thousand strikers tried to approach the Republic company's plant, the only mill of the three large independent steel manufacturers in this area attempting to continue production. About 22,000 steelworkers are on strike in the Chicago district.

The union demonstrators were armed with clubs, slingshots, cranks and gearshift levers from cars, bricks, steel bolts, and other missiles. Police charged that some of the men also carried firearms.

The riot grew out of a meeting held by steel-mill workers in protest against the action of police, who turned them back Friday night when they attempted to approach the Republic plant.

The march was organized at this meeting, held outside CIO headquarters at One Hundred and Thirteenth Street and Green Bay Avenue, three blocks from the plant. The strikers said they were going to march through the main-gate entrance in an effort to force closing of the mill.

Heading the march were strikers from the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and Inland Steel Company plants in the Calumet district. They had been invited to the mass meeting and had volunteered to lead the march on the Republic, where about 1400 workers were said to be still on the job.

The union men chose a time when the police were changing shifts, hoping, the police said, to catch them disorganized. But Captain James L. Mooney, Captain Thomas Kilroy, and Lieutenant Healy, expecting trouble, kept all their 160 men on hand.

Carrying banners and chanting "CIO, CIO," the

strikers drew within a block and a half of the gate to find the police lined up awaiting them. Captain Kilroy stepped forward and asked the crowd to disperse.

"You can't get through here," he declared. "We must do our duty."

Jeers greeted his words. Then the demonstrators began hurling bricks, stones, and bolts.

The police replied with tear gas. The crowd fell back for a moment, choking, and then, the police say, began firing at the officers. The officers fired warning shots and, when, according to police, the strikers continued firing, they returned it.

Men began dropping on both sides. The strikers fell back before the police bullets and swinging police clubs.

Police wagons then raced onto the field and began picking up the injured. Some were taken to the Republic plant's emergency hospital, some to the South Chicago Hospital, and some to the Bridewell Hospital.

Most of the policemen who were injured were struck by steel bolts hurled by the strikers or shot from their slings.

from the *New York Times*, May 31, 1937. Reprinted in Richard B. Morris and James Woodress, eds., *Voices from America's Past*, vol. 3, The Twentieth Century (New York: Dutton, 1962), 111–112.

## Discussion Questions

1. What was the Memorial Day Massacre?
2. According to this account, who was responsible for the bloody clash—the strikers or the police?
3. This *New York Times* account supports the official police version, but eyewitnesses and photographs proved that the police brutally attacked the strikers. Who benefited most from the newspaper version, and why?

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LITERATURE SELECTION *from Hard Times*  
by César Chávez

*Hard Times is a collection of oral histories about life in the Depression-era United States. This account, told to collector Studs Terkel by César Chávez, gives details about the particular treatment of Mexican Americans which made hard times even harder. As you read, think about how Chávez's childhood experiences might have formed and shaped his adult life.*

Oh, I remember having to move out of our house. My father had brought in a team of horses and wagon. We had always lived in that house, and we couldn't understand why we were moving out. When we got to the other house, it was a worse house, a poor house. That must have been around 1934. I was about six years old.

It's known as the North Gila Valley, about fifty miles north of Yuma. My dad was being turned out of his small plot of land. He had inherited this from his father, who had homesteaded it. I saw my two, three other uncles also moving out. And for the same reason. The bank had foreclosed on the loan.

If the local bank approved, the Government would guarantee the loan and small farmers like my father would continue in business. It so happened the president of the bank was the guy who most wanted our land. We were surrounded by him: he owned all the land around us. Of course he wouldn't pass the loan.

One morning a giant tractor came in, like we had never seen before. My daddy used to do all his work with horses. So this huge tractor came in and began to knock down this corral, this small corral where my father kept his horses. We didn't understand why. In the matter of a week, the whole face of the land was changed. Ditches were dug, and it was different. I didn't like it as much.

We all of us climbed into an old Chevy that my dad had. And then we were in California, and migratory workers. There were five kids—a small family by those standards. It must have been around '36. I was about eight. Well, it was a strange life. We had been poor, but we knew every night there was a bed *there*, and that *this* was our room. There was a kitchen. It was sort of a settled life, and we had chickens and hogs, eggs and all those things. But that all of sudden changed. When

you're small, you can't figure these things out. You know something's not right and you don't like it, but you don't question it and you don't let that get you down. You sort of just continue to move.

But this had quite an impact on my father. He had been used to owning the land and all of the sudden there was no more land. What I heard . . . what I made out of conversations between my mother and my father—things like, we'll work this season and then we'll get enough money and we'll go and buy a piece of land in Arizona. Things like that. Became like a habit. He never gave up hope that some day he would come back and get a little piece of land.

I can understand very, very well this feeling. These conversations were sort of melancholy. I

guess my brothers and my sisters could also see this very sad look on my father's face.

*That piece of land he wanted . . . ?*

No, never. It never happened. He stopped talking about that some years ago. The drive for land, it's a very powerful drive.

When we moved to California, we would work after school. Sometimes we wouldn't

go. "Following the crops," we missed much school. Trying to get enough money to stay alive the following winter, the whole family picking apricots, walnuts, prunes. We were pretty new, we had never been migratory workers. We were taken advantage of quite a bit by the labor contractor\* and the crew pusher. In some pretty silly ways. (Laughs.)

Sometimes we can't help but laugh about it. We trusted everybody that came around. You're traveling in California with all your belongings in your car: it's obvious. Those days we didn't have a trailer. This is bait for the labor contractor. Anywhere we

\* "That's a man who specializes in contracting human beings to do cheap labor."

***You know something's not right and you don't like it, but you don't question it and you don't let that get you down. You sort of just continue to move.***

stopped, there was a labor contractor offering all kinds of jobs and good wages, and we were always deceived by them and we always went. Trust them.

Coming into San Jose, not finding—being lied to, that there was work. We had no money at all, and had to live on the outskirts of town under a bridge and dry creek. That wasn't really unbearable. What was unbearable was so many families living just a quarter of a mile. And you know how kids are. They'd bring in those things that really hurt us quite a bit. Most of those kids were middle-class families.

We got hooked on a real scheme once. We were going by Fresno on our way to Delano. We stopped at some service station and this labor contractor saw the car. He offered a lot of money. We went. We worked the first week: the grapes were pretty bad and we couldn't make much. We all stayed off from school in order to make some money. Saturday we were to be paid and we didn't get paid. He came and said the winery hadn't paid him. We'd have money next week. He gave us \$10. My dad took the \$10 and went to the store and bought \$10 worth of groceries. So we worked another week and in the middle of the second week, my father was asking him for his last week's pay, and he had the same excuse.

This went on and we'd get \$5 or \$10 or \$7 a week for about four weeks. For the whole family.

So one morning my father made the resolution no more work. If he doesn't pay us, we won't work. We got in a car and went over to see him. The house was empty. He had left. The winery said they had paid him and they showed us where they had paid him. This man had taken it.

Labor strikes were everywhere. We were one of the strikingest families, I guess. My dad didn't like the conditions, and he began to agitate. Some families would follow, and we'd go elsewhere. Sometimes we'd come back. We couldn't find a job elsewhere, so we'd come back. Sort of beg for a job. Employers would know and they would make it very humiliating . . .

*Did these strikes ever win?*

Never.

We were among these families who always honored somebody else's grievance. Somebody would have a personal grievance with the employer. He'd say I'm not gonna work for this man. Even though we were working, we'd honor it. We felt we had to. So we'd walk out, too. Because we were prepared to honor those things, we caused many of the things ourselves. There were other families like that.

*Sometimes when you had to come back, the contractor knew this . . . ?*

They knew it, and they rubbed it in quite well. Sort of shameful to come back. We were trapped. We'd have to do it for a few days to get enough money to get enough gas.

One of the experiences I had. We went through Indio, California. Along the highway there were signs in most of the small restaurants that said "White Trade Only." My dad read English, but he didn't really know the meaning. He went in to get some coffee—a pot that he had, to get some coffee for my mother. He asked us not to come in, but we followed him anyway. And this young waitress said, "We don't serve Mexicans here. Get out of here." I

was there, and I saw it and heard it. She paid no more attention. I'm sure for the rest of her life she never thought of it again. But every time we thought of it, it hurt us. So we got back in the car and what a difficult time trying—in fact, we never got the coffee. These are sort of unimportant, but they're . . . you remember 'em very well.

One time there was a little diner across the tracks in Brawley. We used to shine shoes after school. Saturday was a good day. We used to shine shoes for three cents, two cents. Hamburgers were then, as I remember, seven cents. There was this little diner all the way across town. The moment we stepped across the tracks, the police stopped us. They would let us go there, to what we called "the American town," the Anglo town, with a shoe shine box. We went to this little place and we walked in.

There was this young waitress again. With either her boyfriend or someone close, because they were involved in conversation. And there was

***If we were picking at a piece rate and we knew they were cheating on the weight, we wouldn't stand for it. So we'd lose the job, and we'd go elsewhere.***

this familiar sign again, but we paid no attention to it. She looked up at us and she sort of—it wasn't what she said, it was just a gesture. A sort of gesture of total rejection. Her hand, you know, and the way she turned her face away from us. She said: "Wattaya want?" So we told her we'd like to buy two hamburgers. She sort of laughed, a sarcastic sort of laugh. And she said, "Oh, we don't sell to Mexicans. Why don't you go across to Mexican town, you can buy 'em over there." And then she turned around and continued her conversation.

She never knew how much she was hurting us. But it stayed with us.

We'd go to school two days sometimes, a week, two weeks, three weeks at most. This is when we were migrating. We'd come back to our winter base, and if we were lucky, we'd get in a good solid all of January, February, March, April, May. So we had five months out of a possible nine months. We started counting how many schools we'd been to and we counted thirty-seven. Elementary schools. From first to eighth grade. Thirty-seven. We never got a transfer. Friday we didn't tell the teacher or anything. We'd just go home. And they accepted this.

I remember one teacher—I wondered why she was asking so many questions. (In those days anybody asked questions, you became suspicious. Either a cop or a social worker.) She was a young teacher, and she just wanted to know why we were behind. One day she drove into the camp. That was quite an event, because we never had a teacher come over. Never. So it was, you know, a very meaningful day for us.

This I remember. Some people put this out of their minds and forget it. I don't. I don't want to forget it. I don't want it to take the best of me, but I want to be there because this is what happened. This is the truth, you know. History.

## Activity Options

1. With a classmate, role-play an interview between an oral historian and a person discussed by Chávez, such as one of his family members, a fellow worker, or someone who displayed the sort of prejudice that Chávez fought.
2. Draw a scene from Chávez's childhood. Create a caption for the scene that describes what Chávez learned or experienced.
3. Interview an older member of your family or community about their childhood. Focus the interview on issues of social justice, overcoming obstacles, and "life lessons" learned during the subject's youth.
4. Create a 1930s poster encouraging farm workers to protest mistreatment. What sort of protest will you encourage? Use persuasive language and include examples of the wrongdoings you attempt to challenge. You may wish to research the style of 1930s protest posters to make yours more realistic.

CHAPTER  
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AMERICAN LIVES

# Mary McLeod Bethune

## *Teacher to Blacks and Whites*

Section 3

*"The true worth of a race must be measured by the character of its womanhood."—Mary McLeod Bethune, speech titled "A Century of Progress of Negro Women" (1933)*

Mary McLeod Bethune was dedicated to helping African Americans—especially African-American women. As an educator, organizer, and presidential advisor, she worked to end segregation and extend opportunities.

Bethune was born in 1875. She attended school and received training to be a teacher. Her goal was to begin missionary work in Africa, but her church turned down her request. For the next few years, she taught in various southern schools. In 1904, she settled in Daytona Beach, Florida, and started her own school. At the time, there were few public schools for African Americans in the South. Private schools like Bethune's were vital to educating blacks.

Bethune started her school with, she later said, "five little girls, a dollar and a half, and faith in God." She taught academic subjects, religion, and practical skills such as cooking and sewing. Although her son was one of her first students, Bethune planned from the start to serve girls primarily. She believed that opportunities for black females were severely limited and that women played an important role in society.

Bethune had to devote much time to raising money for her school. She baked and sold pies. She won contributions from black and white members of the community. With her untiring work, the school grew. It began to offer high school as well as elementary school courses. By 1911, it gave students training in teaching and nursing. By 1923, the Episcopal Church agreed to sponsor the school and merged it with the Cookman Institute, a male school. The name was changed to Bethune-Cookman College in 1929. At that time, the school dropped its earlier grades and became a junior college. By 1948, it had become a full four-year college.

As the school grew more secure, Bethune branched into her second career as a national leader of African Americans. As president of the National Association of Colored Women, she strengthened the organization to include 10,000 members. Then she founded and led the National

Council of Negro Women (NCNW). She used the organization to combat segregation and lynching, to celebrate African-American achievement, and to open opportunities. As the United States entered World War II, Congress debated creating a women's army corps. Bethune won the right for African Americans to enter the corps.

Through her work in the NCNW, Bethune met and became close friends with Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Soon she launched into her third career as a government official and presidential adviser. The President appointed her to the National Youth Administration (NYA). Bethune worked to ensure that the programs created by the NYA for young people extended to African Americans. She won control of a special scholarship fund, making her the only African American in the government able to dispense money. Over time, she granted more than \$600,000 in scholarships to black students.

Bethune did not stop with her NYA work. She gathered all the African Americans in the government into the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, dubbed "the Black Cabinet." The group met every week at her house to discuss issues. She then used her influence and political skill to lobby government agencies or to persuade the White House to act.

She believed that she held a "sacred trust" to present "the dreams and the hopes and the problems" of African Americans to the White House. At the same time, she also represented the administration to the black community. After World War II, she returned to Florida and spent time traveling—speaking and inspiring others to take action. She died in Daytona Beach in 1955.

### Questions

1. Why were schools like Bethune's important for African Americans in the South?
2. How does the quotation at the top of the page explain the education Bethune provided?
3. How was Bethune a teacher to both African Americans and whites?