

10-1-2009

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### Recommended Citation

Billington, Monroe Lee and Cal M. Clark. "New Mexico Clergymen's Perceptions of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal." *New Mexico Historical Review* 84, 4 (2009). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol84/iss4/3>

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# New Mexico Clergymen's Perceptions of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal

*Monroe Lee Billington and Cal M. Clark*

The Great Depression and Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal created great turbulence in New Mexico's economy, society, and politics. At first national and state leaders hoped that the perceived large role of subsistence agriculture in New Mexico's economy would shield the state from the worst ravages of the Depression. This premise, however, turned out to be false; in fact the rural economies had survived only because of a widespread migration of workers for seasonal employment elsewhere in the state and the Southwest, which collapsed with the onset of the Depression. Furthermore, New Deal programs in New Mexico created controversy and conflict in their attempts to alleviate massive poverty. Disputes over land ownership and control among Native Americans, Hispanic subsistence farmers, and Anglo commercial ranchers and farmers intensified; new taxes and fees for reclamation projects threatened widespread property loss; and the

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attempts to strengthen Hispanic village life faced a contradiction between preserving the traditional culture and promoting agricultural modernization and productivity. The political scene was equally murky because progressives led by Sen. Bronson Cutting moved through short-lived alliances and battles with both the Republican and Democratic parties. Cutting himself, although a Republican, opposed Pres. Herbert Hoover for not responding effectively to the Depression and then was critical of the New Deal for not doing enough, leading the Roosevelt administration to campaign vigorously against him in 1934.<sup>1</sup> Given this complex situation, the perspectives of New Mexicans on the New Deal would appear to have been problematic, to say the least. Thus, this paper explores how the New Deal looked “on the ground” by analyzing letters that clergymen in the state sent to President Roosevelt in response to an inquiry from the latter about social conditions in their communities.

What did the members of the New Mexico clergy think about FDR and the New Deal? This study, based upon the southwestern religious leaders’ letters to the president in 1935, addresses this question. By examining a small slice of public opinion, the article is intended to contribute to a fuller understanding of the overall reaction of the American people to their government and its multitudinous activities during the Great Depression.

When Roosevelt was inaugurated on 4 March 1933, the United States was in the deepest economic depression in its history, a crisis that brought its economic and political systems to the edge of breakdown and threatened social chaos. The American banking system, having steadily declined for several months, was on the verge of total collapse. As public confidence lessened, panic-stricken depositors stood in long lines to withdraw their banked money before the inevitable bankruptcy declaration. Mob psychology forced uneasy customers to demand their cash from formerly stable institutions, and the massive demands for their deposits created self-fulfilling prophecies of account shortages. By inauguration day, over five thousand banks all across the country had closed their doors. The frightening developments presaged the new president and Congress to order a “banking holiday.” The stock market was at low ebb. Industrial production was down to 56 percent of the 1923–1925 level. Out of a labor force of 52 million, 1 wage-earner in 4 did not have a job to support himself or his family. Another 5.5 million laborers were only partially employed. Conditions were hardly better in farming and ranching areas. Unable to sell corn for a profit, midwestern farmers burned the previous year’s crop to keep away winter’s

cold. Essentially no markets existed for southern income crops such as cotton, tobacco, and peanuts. The nation's eastern markets' demands for south-western cattle were virtually nonexistent.<sup>2</sup>

Under such devastating economic conditions, the president urged Congress to pass dozens of major bills and hundreds of lesser ones to attack the problems created by the Great Depression. Compared to the previous Hoover administration, the Democrats appropriated unusually large sums of money to counter depression woes. The nation's political leaders organized a vast bureaucracy to administer the multiplicity of agencies and programs that sprang up in response to economic need. A flurry of activity occurred as the leaders in Washington inaugurated and implemented a New Deal for "the forgotten man."<sup>3</sup>

### Soliciting Clergy Opinion about the New Deal

These momentous political events, in turn, stimulated questions concerning the impact of the New Deal. How effective were the New Deal measures? How did Americans respond to them? What else could government do to help? On 23 and 24 September 1935, the president mailed a form letter to members of the clergy in the United States:

Reverend and dear Sir:

Your high calling brings you into intimate daily contact not only with your own parishioners, but with people generally in your community. I am sure you see the problems of your people with wise and sympathetic understanding.

Because of the grave responsibilities of my office, I am turning to representative Clergymen for counsel and advice—feeling confident that no group can give more accurate or unbiased views.

I am particularly anxious that the new Social Security Legislation just enacted, for which we have worked so long, providing for old age pensions, aid for crippled children and unemployment insurance, shall be carried out in keeping with the high purposes with which this law was enacted. It is also vitally important that the Works Program shall be administered to provide employment at useful work, and that our unemployed as well as the nation as a whole may derive the greatest possible benefits.

I shall deem it a favor if you will write me about conditions in your community. Tell me where you feel our government can better serve our people.

We can solve our many problems, but no one man or single group can do it—we shall have to work together for the common end of better spiritual and material conditions for the American people.

May I have your counsel and your help? I am leaving on a short vacation but will be back in Washington in a few weeks, and I will deeply appreciate your writing to me.

Very sincerely yours,  
[signed] Franklin D. Roosevelt<sup>4</sup>

Did this letter show Roosevelt's genuine interest in the clergy's opinions, or did he have an ulterior motive? If the president was sincere, there should be indications that he used the clergy's responses in some specific way. No specific evidence has been found that the clergy's comments affected the making of public policy. He may have contacted the clergy to affirm the acceptability of his programs. Or he may have written the letter simply to compliment religious leaders by soliciting their opinions. Possibly the president had little or nothing to do with the decision to mail this letter, but a logical assumption is that someone on the White House staff did. In that case, the most likely person would have been Louis McHenry Howe, long-time friend and advisor to Roosevelt. About the same time, Howe organized the Good Neighbor League to enlist the support of members of the clergy, educators, social workers, intellectuals, women, and pacifists for the Roosevelt cause. He assigned the task of directing the League's activities to Stanley High, an important speech writer for the president. In that position, High developed and put into action a number of projects to aid the Democrats' cause during the campaign of 1936. High held a divinity degree and had once been editor of the *Christian Herald*. High probably conceived of the letter-to-the-clergy project and then Howe gave him permission to organize and execute it.<sup>5</sup> Regardless of who executed the project and their motivations for the request from the White House, the clergy's letters are a unique source for understanding public opinion in the 1930s.<sup>6</sup>

Roosevelt was a life-long member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was baptized at and grew up attending St. James Church in Hyde Park, New York. After his marriage, he and his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, saw that their children (Anna, James, Elliott, Franklin D. Jr., and John) attended

Sunday school and were trained as Episcopalians, although FDR was not a regular churchgoer during the early years of his marriage. After he became a public figure, when church attendance became symbolically important, he attended more often, but he did so reluctantly, with good reason. After being stricken by poliomyelitis, Roosevelt found church attendance to be an ordeal because of his physical handicap. Once he became president, he went to church only a few times a year, foregoing the physical struggle and public curiosity of his getting into and out of a church pew. Despite this periodic attendance, Roosevelt served for many years as senior warden of his small home church in Hyde Park, even while he was president. He was active in this position until the time of his death.<sup>7</sup>

In 1935 the number of clergymen in the United States was approximately 200,000. The White House staff mailed the president's letter to 121,700 of the nation's clergymen, apparently to every minister, priest, and rabbi whose addresses were available. Slightly more than 100,000 letters reached the addressees, and approximately 30,000 clergymen from every state in the Union responded to the president's query.<sup>8</sup> Letters poured in from representatives of all major denominations as well as many small religious groups in the country. The ministers felt obliged to give their honest, personal responses to the presidential inquiry. Their opinions manifested wide varieties of socioeconomic, political, ethnic, and regional interests.

The New Mexico Clergy file in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library contains fifty-four letters. Of this number, sixteen did not indicate the religion or denomination of the writer. Table 1 lists the religious affiliation and breakdown of the remaining thirty-eight clergymen, who represented seven denominations. Also, it lists the percentages of these denominations in relation to the thirty-eight respondents. Almost exactly one-third of the respondents were Roman Catholic priests, an indication of the strength of their church and its relationship to the large Hispanic population of this southwestern state.

**Table 1. Clergymen's Religious Affiliations**

Denomination	Number of clergy	% of total
Roman Catholic	12	32
Presbyterian	8	21
Methodist	6	16
Disciples of Christ	5	13
Baptist	4	11
Episcopalian	2	5
Congregational	1	3

Presbyterians comprised just over one-fifth of the total number of these known respondents, while Methodists, Disciples of Christ, and Baptists constituted 16 percent, 33 percent, and 11 percent, respectively. Ministers of Episcopal and Congregational churches combined for slightly less than 10 percent of the total.

The absence of letters from New Mexico rabbis, other mainline Protestants, and ministers serving a variety of Christian sects and fringe groups is noted. Some of the sixteen respondents who did not indicate their religious affiliations may have been leaders of such assemblies. Also, White House assistants possibly were unable to find names and addresses of the ministers of some of the smaller groups.

Several parallels existed between the distribution of clergymen in this sample and the total number of clergy in New Mexico, although a few significant divergences occurred as well. In 1936 243,936 persons were members of New Mexico's 1,030 religious congregations. Of these congregations, 837 were affiliated with one of the seven denominations represented by the responding clergymen.<sup>9</sup> Table 2 lists the number of congregations in each of the seven denominations, as well as their percentages of the total.

The fifty-four clergymen who responded to FDR's letter constituted 6 percent of the total number of clergymen residing in New Mexico at that time, a statistically significant portion of the total.

**Table 2. Congregations of Religious Groups**

Denomination	Number of congregations	% of total
Roman Catholic	503	60
Methodist	119	14
Baptist	84	10
Presbyterian	61	7
Episcopalian	48	6
Disciples of Christ	14	2
Congregational	8	1

**Table 3. Overall Attitude Toward FDR and the New Deal**

Responses	Number of clergy	% of total
Very unfavorable	2	4
Unfavorable	6	11
Neutral	8	15
Favorable	30	55
Very favorable	8	15

## Strong Overall Support for the New Deal

Each of the New Mexico letters has been coded as to its general tone toward Roosevelt and the New Deal: (1) very unfavorable, (2) unfavorable, (3) neutral, (4) favorable, and (5) very favorable. Table 3 shows that these clergymen were supportive of the New Deal by a margin of 70 percent to 15 percent with the remaining 15 percent neutral. This favorable percentage in New Mexico was somewhat higher than FDR's nationwide support in the presidential elections of 1932 and 1936 in which he received 57 percent and 61 percent, respectively, of the total votes cast.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the New Mexico clergy's 70 percent support was slightly more than the state as a whole in 1936, which gave FDR 63 percent of its total votes cast.<sup>11</sup>

A number of New Mexico clergymen were effusive in their support for the president. Douglas Matthews, the Dean of St. John's Episcopal Cathedral in Albuquerque, exclaimed: "Your magnificent and courageous fight for the common people deserve[s] the support of every right minded individual, and I think your program is more Christian than any which has been sponsored by those in high places during my lifetime."<sup>12</sup> A member of the Catholic Oblate Fathers wrote: "Everything is O.K. in Dawson, N.M. Congratulations for all what you have done and intend to do for the welfare of the country. You are the real man for the situation, and [I] hope you will continue the good work you have done so well, since you have been at the head of our country."<sup>13</sup> Minister Floyd Painton of Aztec, in the far northwestern corner of the state, did not list his denominational ties but wrote: "Permit me . . . to thank you for what you have done for the people, for the earnest spirit of helpfulness you have so nobly manifested in all your work, and to pledge you my support and my prayers for your further success in every way, and may the God of our Fathers, who established this great nation[,] bless and keep you."<sup>14</sup>

But Roosevelt had severe critics.<sup>15</sup> Protestant minister E. W. Fenton in Albuquerque responded to FDR's query with a long letter detailing his views of the "flaws" of many programs. He concluded: "It gives me no pleasure now to have to say that I think your plans have failed. True they have, in a way, fed the hungry and staved off disaster—perhaps even REVOLUTION. But no permanent benefit has resulted from them."<sup>16</sup> D. B. Titus, the pastor of the First Christian Church in Roswell, was generally unfavorable to the government's approach to solving the nation's problems, including federal intervention and widespread reliance on various relief



measures that in his mind harmed the morale of working-class citizens. He finished his long letter with this sentence: "For the future I . . . submit that something else [rather than federal aid] should be tried before we add complete poverty of spirit to our national ills."<sup>17</sup>

### A Mixed Review of Specific Issues

The fact that the New Mexico clergymen were, on balance, favorably inclined toward the New Deal is hardly astonishing. More significant is their relative interest in the various issues associated with the New Deal and FDR, and the substantial variations that occurred in the clergymen's degree of support for or opposition to these specific issues. Thus, each of the New Mexico letters has been broken down to assess specific issues and the priests' and ministers' responses on each topic has been coded (1) very unfavorable, (2) unfavorable, (3) favorable, or (4) very favorable.

Interestingly, only one of the sixteen issues (the New Deal's agricultural policies) evoked approximately an even division of opinion. Five of the issues (Social Security, public works programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC], munitions embargo, and banking laws) produced approving responses of 78 percent or more, while ten of them (relief programs, the National Recovery Administration [NRA], prohibition repeal, president's family, bureaucracy and corruption, taxes, budgets and debts, constitutionality, diplomatic recognition of Russia, and armaments expenditures) earned approval ratings of 33 percent or less. In other words, despite their overall support of the New Deal, the clergymen negatively perceived almost two-thirds of the sixteen issues. Their responses revealed that whereas New Mexico's clergymen generally approved the principle policy thrust of the New Deal, they leveled substantial criticisms at a majority of the particular facets of the Roosevelt program.

A better appreciation of the clergymen's responses can be gained by considering the issues in four specific groupings: government programs aimed at helping particular sectors of the American population, issues of morality, perceived governmental abuses, and foreign policy issues. Tables 4 through 7 summarize the New Mexico clergy's positions on these subjects. The tables list the number and percentage of clergymen commenting on an issue, as well as the percentage of the clergy's comments that could be considered favorable.

## Support for Government Activism in Several Areas

At the most general level, the New Deal aimed to restore the American socioeconomic system to normal operating order and to provide immediate aid to those suffering from the severe dislocations of the Great Depression. The New Mexico clerics who wrote to FDR commented on seven specific topics concerning governmental programs designed to implement these goals: Social Security, public works programs, relief programs, agricultural policies, the CCC, the NRA, and banking laws. The data in table 4 indicate that the clergymen had quite different perceptions of these issues—strongly approving four, strongly disapproving two, and dividing almost equally on one.

Social Security was by far the most salient of the sixteen issues; over one-half of the New Mexican clergy mentioned it and of those clergy 91 percent approved it. Clearly the clergy deemed its potential beneficiaries, specifically children, the aged, and the disabled, well worthy of solicitude. From a practical standpoint, these groups often represented the clergymen's own parishioners who were hardest hit by the Depression. Between 1936 and 1940, repeated surveys showed that over 90 percent of the citizenry supported Social Security, especially old-age pensions.<sup>18</sup>

L. Guy Ament, the pastor of the Disciples of Christ congregation in the small town of Roy, wrote: "Count the new Social Security Legislation a very splendid advance and timely. If this program can be carried out and properly safeguarded, it will be wonderful. The people talk [about] it and are pleased—the older people who are in the last lap of life's race. To properly care for the aged, crippled children and needy is truly Christian."<sup>19</sup> A Hispanic clergyman in Albuquerque, Juan G. Quintana, agreed: "I have been much interested [*sic*] in the Old Age Pension Plan, because it is of grave responsibilities to take

**Table 4. Clergy Perceptions of Governmental Help Policies**

Issue	Number of clergy citing	% of clergy citing	% of clergy in favor
Social Security	32	59	91
Public works programs	27	50	89
Relief programs	18	33	33
Agricultural policies	9	17	56
Civilian Conservation Corps	9	17	78
National Recovery Administration	1	2	0
Banking laws	1	2	100

care of men and women past 60. And to gave [*sic*] them a very careful consideration; and to me it seems to be the only plan suggested, that will provide aid for aged citizens that canot [*sic*] work for their lives.”<sup>20</sup>

Under the oversight of Presbyterian Sunday School Missions, the newly arrived young minister Ronald Brook who was stationed in Chama but who served “the largest mission field in New Mexico” wrote a long and poignant letter addressing several topics. He expressed the need for “some National force” to improve the public school system in Rio Arriba County. He reported on the “filth and disease and ignorance” of the mostly Hispanic population in the northern mountains of the state whose “living conditions have not changed for 400 years,” including “the pitiful condition of the homes round about.” He indicated that the works projects had helped these people, but that they did not need a dole to keep them from starving. This young missionary expressed his most emotional comments in response to the president’s request for feedback on Social Security:

The Social Security Legislation is needed badly here, and I feel it would be one of the best things tried yet. We have a sad case of an old man here right now, all alone, no money, too old to work. I must go from house to house to beg for him tomorrow. He has been a CPA and has done a good job of teaching in his day. . . . He deserves the help of the USA and there are many other faithful souls who have given their all for their country. They need our help. We should give it.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the overwhelming support for Social Security Legislation, positive reaction to it was not unanimous. Baptist minister Thomas D. New in Albuquerque believed that Dr. Frances Townsend’s proposal to issue large monthly government checks to all elderly people was superior to the recently enacted New Deal statute.<sup>22</sup> Fenton was critical of the Social Security Legislation because it did not go far enough; he wrote that the program was “good in name but a failure as enacted.” He concluded, “In your [Social Security] Bill you propose throwing a few crumbs to a beggar and call[ing] it ‘Security For Old Age.’”<sup>23</sup>

Exactly one-half of the New Mexico clergymen made references to the New Deal’s public works programs and 89 percent of them expressed support.<sup>24</sup> Most of these favorable comments focused upon the provision of aid to and regained dignity for the participants, rather than the broader economic impact of the projects. Barnabas Meyer, a non-Hispanic northern

New Mexico Catholic priest who indicated that he served a parish of “Pueblo Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Mexicans,” responded, “As to the Works Program I am not aware of any more useful work for our needy.”<sup>25</sup> The Hispanic priest Leon L. Yardia in Anthony on the southern border of the state agreed: “The Works Program shall, if administered properly, afford much employment which is badly needed at this time.”<sup>26</sup> The Hispanic priest Porfirio Romero in Chacon did not specifically praise the public works programs, but he obviously gave his tacit approval when he suggested that the government help the farmers in his parish get their produce to market by rebuilding the eight miles of road between Chacon and Holman. He further recommended: “Because of the scarcity of water during seasons of drought, another beneficial work that could be carried out would be irrigation projects. There are good places where reservoirs could be built for storing water during the winter for summer use.”<sup>27</sup> To be sure, the works programs did not receive unanimous approval. An Albuquerque Disciples of Christ minister, Owen W. Reece, offered this observation: “While some of the ‘made-work projects’ have been useful, much of it has been just as the term signifies, ‘made-work’ and no real good has come other than it did furnish [*sic*] work for a few men.”<sup>28</sup>

The New Deal directed a great deal of attention to problems associated with agricultural regions.<sup>29</sup> Although New Mexico had vast expanses of rural areas, surprisingly less than one-fifth of the state’s clergy mentioned agricultural policies or problems in their letters to the president. Even more surprising was that FDR’s agricultural initiatives were not especially popular; they received only a 56 percent approval rating. A. Starkey, the minister in tiny San Jon, positively remarked: “Crop conditions are some[what] better this year than they have been for the last three or four years; I believe our country as a whole is beginning to revive. It will take some time for our people to pay their obligations and live at the same time, but with the program you have outlined and the sympathetic aid you are extending to the farmer and the people in general, we will soon be relieved of much of this burden.”<sup>30</sup> Minister W. E. Henson, who resided in the little village of House, pointed out, “The farm program has very greatly helped the large machinery farmers but in my judgment has penalized the farmer who has been trying to do the right thing for years by diversifying and employing men rather than [using] big machinery.”<sup>31</sup>

The CCC, a program to put unemployed young men to work conserving the nation’s natural resources, received the attention of a small portion

of the New Mexico clerics.<sup>32</sup> The CCC received an approval rating of 78 percent since it employed young men who otherwise could not find jobs, initiated massive and effective conservation programs (including a fair share in New Mexico), and was a well administered agency. Hunter Lewis, a missionary who worked out of St. James' Episcopal Church in Mesilla Park and whose duties carried him all over New Mexico for many years effused: "I wish to give my hearty approval of the CCC program. I have visited it on many occasions. It has done a world of good for our boys, and they are very grateful for it all."<sup>33</sup>

The NRA, designed to provide temporary government regulation of the nation's businesses in order to speed economic recovery, drew critical comments from one respondent.<sup>34</sup> The opposition of Albuquerque minister Fenton was based on his dislike of massive government spending "at fearful cost to the taxpayer."<sup>35</sup> The banking laws, intended to protect and improve the nation's banking operations for the benefit of the people, also attracted the attention of one respondent, but his comments were favorable.<sup>36</sup> John R. Carver, a retired Presbyterian minister residing in Clovis, informed the president that "your banking system is meeting with general approval here. Practically every person says that general conditions are better than in March, 1933."<sup>37</sup>

### Strong Rejection of Relief Programs

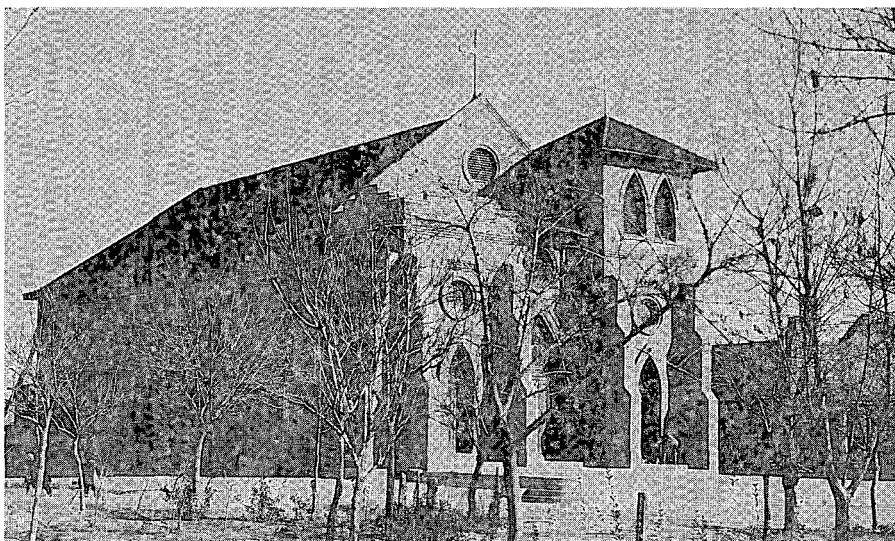
The majority views communicated by the New Mexico clergy on public relief programs were quite different from the majority views expressed on public works programs.<sup>38</sup> Relief programs were quite salient, since exactly one-third of the clergymen mentioned them, ranking the issue tied for third in overall importance with the repeal of Prohibition (see table 5). But relief was not at all popular, since two-thirds of the clergymen who commented on it did not approve. Evidently most of these clergymen were imbued with a strong work ethic. They believed that the dole would make people lose their initiative and that easy government money would encourage indolence and laziness. Headquartered in Taos, O. E. Thurmond, a district missionary preacher for the North Eastern Baptist Association of New Mexico, expressed these thoughts: "You are already aware of one of the most serious mistakes, I fear, and one that has left its mark. . . . It is the relief program to which I refer. Men have become shiftless and without ambition through it."<sup>39</sup> Minister Earl C. Welliver in Las Vegas, New Mexico, agreed with the preacher: "The worst effect of Relief was that it made lazy dependents of many theretofore self-supporting people."<sup>40</sup>

Henry D. Buchanan, the senior priest of the historic St. Genevieve Catholic Church in Las Cruces, wrote a long letter expressing his strong opposition to federal works projects and relief policies. He preferred to have agencies like the Red Cross deal with emergencies. He acknowledged that his opinions were “highly unpopular”; nevertheless, he held to his beliefs that government actions did not help but rather interfered with a “rebuilding of morale” of the people and that “there is nothing like hard work for this purpose.” He believed that government workers “took their wages of shame and [in doing so] sold just so much more independence of spirit.” He stated that “we can neither spend nor loaf our way back to prosperity.” He argued that “there has been a great deterioration of morale among the Spanish speaking element of Las Cruces, because so much has been given them without their working for it,” resulting in a loss of “self reliance and self respect.” He concluded that “a few riots would damage the country’s morale less than continued unearned relief.”<sup>41</sup> Perhaps this Catholic leader supported the established policies of his church, long known for its social services toward its members, but in the real world of the mid-thirties, the economic hardships of large numbers of Hispanic Catholics forced them to choose survival over philosophy.

One-third of the clergy commenting on relief were acutely aware that government handouts had prevented many Americans from starving. They favored temporary relief measures for moral and humanitarian reasons. And even while criticizing long-term relief, the Las Vegas minister Welliver admitted that “there is no question but that [short-term] Federal Relief saved from starvation or at least acute suffering many worthy people who could find no other means of support at the time.”<sup>42</sup>



ILL. 1. HENRY D. BUCHANAN, CA. 1960  
(*Photograph courtesy St. Genevieve Church, Las Cruces, New Mexico*)



ILL. 2. ST. GENEVIEVE CHURCH, LAS CRUCES, CA. 1930S

*(Photograph courtesy St. Genevieve Church, Las Cruces, New Mexico)*

### Moral Concerns about the Roosevelt Administration

Table 5 reveals that New Mexico clergymen, as their calling would suggest, were quite critical of President Roosevelt concerning several moral issues. Their comments on the repeal of Prohibition and the divorces of the president's children can be directly linked to their role as preachers and moral guardians for their communities. Many religious leaders and organizations within mainline Protestantism had opposed the drinking of alcoholic beverages, and over the years these collective denominations established committees and commissions to work towards Prohibition. When Prohibition ended, the occasion brought forth a great outburst of angry comments from the clergy. In New Mexico the subject of liquor was tied for

**Table 5. Clergy Perceptions of Moral Issues**

Issue	Number of clergy citing	% of clergy citing	% of clergy in favor
Repeal of Prohibition	18	33	11
President's family	2	4	0

third place as the clergymen's most relevant issue, exactly one-third of them referring to it. Eighty-nine percent of them were critical of FDR's support of repeal, and some clergy also blamed the return of legalized alcohol for America's social problems. For a few of them, the president was directly responsible for these undesirable developments.

Albuquerque Disciples of Christ pastor Reece sent a two-page single-spaced letter to the president, the first page devoted entirely to the subject of liquor. In part he wrote, "You promised us the saloon would never return, and that dry territory would be protected, [but] we have the saloon and worse than the saloon with its bar-maids selling booze to any high school boy or girl who asks for it. The old saloon was a prayer meeting as compared with the ones of today. Dry territory has not been protected in any sense, bootleggers still thrive."<sup>43</sup> Deming preacher Will K. Reeme sent this message filled with both emotion and misspellings:

Am persuaded you have endeavored to help the *Forgotten Man* in affairs temporal but oh! The Tragady of this Age! The dagger you thrust through heart and Vitals of the Church of Jesus Christ. I see on that blood strained blade the tendrils of Love, Hope, Faith, and all Christian Virtues tossed at the feet of the bloody Drunken Driver, Trafficker of Intoxicants, the Harlot, the Women of all types in Saitins vast hord of Reprobates in barrter for what?? May God have Mercy upon your poor Misguided Sin Sick Soul is My humble prayer.<sup>44</sup>

Pastor Ament expressed the sentiments of many New Mexicans when he wrote: "'Repeal' has proven [to be] a bad move. We have so much drinking and drunkenness. It is a bad move to license anything that carries with it such possible evils. 'Big money' controls."<sup>45</sup> Paul M. Joy, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Socorro, forcefully expressed his views: "Personally I feel that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment has brought about untold suffering and crime and degradation. It is responsible for the reckless driving on the highways with its appalling toll of lives. It is true that the Eighteenth Amendment did not meet the expectations of the good people, but the present system is much worse, and the public will demand a change."<sup>46</sup>

Like other clergy across the nation, New Mexico's religious leaders considered themselves the moral guardians of American society, and two of them expressed disapproval of the highly publicized divorces of FDR's children,





ILL. 3. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,  
SOCORRO, 2009  
(*Photograph courtesy Hannah Wolberg*)

Elliott in 1933 and Anna in 1934. In their views, Roosevelt's children were violating God's law and the president's family members were obligated to set an example for the general population.<sup>47</sup>

This moral ire carried over into intensive opposition against what the religious leaders perceived as governmental abuses and excesses. As the data in table 6 indicate, the New Mexico clergymen were virtually unanimous in their opposition on the four issues of bureaucracy and corruption, larger government budgets and debt, excessive taxation, and perceived violations of the Constitution.

Among the sixteen issues mentioned in the letters, concerns about bureaucracy and corruption

ranked fifth in importance for the New Mexicans. Slightly more than one-fourth of the clerics commented upon one or both of these topics. Perhaps their high level of concern about corruption emanated from their displeasure with state politics. After New Mexico statehood in 1912, the infamous Santa Fe Ring that emerged in the nineteenth century continued its long traditions in machine politics and questionable patronage practices.<sup>48</sup> Arthur Shaw, a minister in Vaughn, revealed his concern about these matters in the 1930s when he wrote, "In my judgment the urgent need is to get the various administrative agencies separated from local political machines."<sup>49</sup>

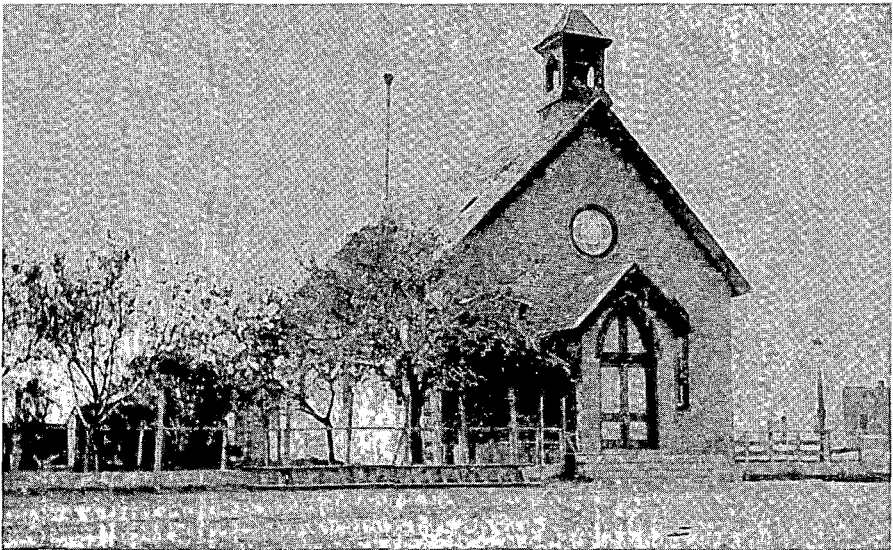
**Table 6. Clergy Perceptions of Government Abuse**

Issue	Number of clergy citing	% of clergy citing	% of clergy in favor
Bureaucracy and corruption	14	26	0
Taxes	6	11	17
Budgets and debts	4	7	0
Constitutionality	1	2	0

Hall Pierce, a respondent from the Pecos Valley, reported that based on “persistent tales one hears that it is necessary to ‘vote democratic’ in order to get relief work.” He continued, “I am positive that this necessity does not originate in Washington, but certain local politicians will need restraining on this score.”<sup>50</sup> Socorro pastor Joy was even more direct with his comments: “Frequently worthy men tell me that they are not given work because of their affiliation with some political party. If this be the truth, or even half the truth, it is an outrage to think that politics will stand in the way of providing for needy people.”<sup>51</sup>

Despite Roosevelt’s promise in his 1932 presidential campaign to balance the nation’s budget, the New Deal programs drained the national treasury and plunged the nation deeper into debt. Seven percent of the clerics commented on the government’s policy pertaining to budgets and debts. They were critical of the lingering unbalanced budgets and burdensome national debt.

Since massive deficits accrued because of government spending, the New Dealers proposed new taxes to help pay for a portion of the additional expenses.<sup>52</sup> Eighty-three percent of the New Mexico clerics who commented on the taxation politics were critical. B. B. Harrison, a “farmer preacher”



ILL. 4. FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, DEMING, 1927

*(Photograph courtesy First United Methodist Church, Deming, New Mexico, and preserved by Dale Cole and his late wife, Marlene)*

serving in a rural region near Texico on the eastern New Mexico border, reported that because of high taxes and expenses, area homeowners were “left without much to live on and no work.”<sup>53</sup> S. E. Allison, a Methodist minister in Deming, who was happy with the president’s taxation policies so long as they were directed toward the wealthy, wrote, “You are just as right as you can be in . . . making the big rich carry their part of the tax burden.” In contrast James A. Hedges, a Presbyterian in Hagerman, opined, “There is a danger of its going beyond what is wise and fair, penalizing honorable and honest business instead of encouraging [it].”<sup>54</sup> As for the constitutionality of the New Deal measures, John Sylvester, one of the state’s clergymen, recommended that the president be very careful to protect the Constitution as it was originally intended by the Founding Fathers.<sup>55</sup>

### The Low Salience of Foreign Affairs

As table 7 details, a few New Mexico clergymen showed interest in foreign affairs. Presbyterian minister Sylvester in Las Cruces and Catholic priest Fermin Gharechevea in Albuquerque unfavorably addressed the diplomatic recognition of communist Russia. Gharechevea wrote, “Let the ‘White House’ cease favoring the smart tyrannical Communist rulers of . . . Russia.”<sup>56</sup> Two letter writers favorably took note of Roosevelt’s munitions embargo in the Italian-Ethiopian war, possibly because it was imposed during the same week that most of the clergy received their letters from the president. From the western part of the state, Lordsburg minister T. A. Philips wrote, “I am with you in your position that the United States be kept free of foreign entanglements, and that we are to remain strictly neutral in the war between Ethiopia and Italy.”<sup>57</sup> James Johnson referred to and articulated unhappiness with the nation’s armaments expenditures.<sup>58</sup> The clergymen who highlighted Russia, the munitions embargo, and arms expenditures related those subjects to the general themes of neutrality and peace.<sup>59</sup>

**Table 7. Clergy Perceptions of Foreign Policy Issues**

Issue	Number of clergy citing	% of clergy citing	% of clergy in favor
Diplomatic recognition of Russia	2	4	0
Munitions embargo	2	4	100
Armaments expenditures	1	2	0

Underlying these foreign policy comments were anticommunist sentiments militating against diplomatic relations with the USSR and a pacifism undergirding support for the munitions embargo and opposition to increased defense spending and war. More importantly the small number of respondents in the area of foreign affairs highlighted the fact that immediate economic problems were more central to the men of God.

### A Nuanced Evaluation of the New Deal

In conclusion New Mexico clergymen displayed a firm consensus about the New Deal. They realized that the grave economic and social disruptions accompanying the Great Depression called for the American government to take radical remedial actions. Thus, they strongly supported several key presidential mandates, legislative acts, and government agencies and programs that attacked the Depression at the local level and helped the recovery of many destitute Americans. Perhaps not coincidentally given FDR's political acumen, the two programs about which the president specifically queried the clergy—Social Security and public works programs—were clearly perceived as falling into the category of “help for the needy and worthy.” These preachers and priests, however, were far from blind or unthinking New Deal loyalists. They deplored policies that they perceived as promoting personal immorality among their parishioners, such as the repeal of Prohibition, “easy money” from the dole, official immorality (e.g., corruption and warmongering), and mismanagement (e.g., financial irresponsibility and bureaucratic red tape). They supported the New Deal but not without significant reservations. New Mexico clergymen of the 1930s were pragmatic about the New Deal and the role of government in the daily lives of individual Americans.

### Notes

1. Suzanne Forrest, *The Preservation of the Village: New Mexico's Hispanics and the New Deal*, New Deal Land Grant Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); and Richard Lowitt, *Bronson M. Cutting: Progressive Politician* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992).
2. For comments on the background of conditions prior to the onset of the Great Depression, see Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005). For further information on the nation's economic conditions at the beginning of

- the New Deal era, see Roger Biles, *A New Deal for the American People* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991); Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–40* (1989; repr., New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989); Maurice L. Farrell, ed., *The Dow Jones Averages, 1885–1970* (New York: Dow Jones and Company, 1972); George McJimsey, *The Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, American Presidency Series (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000); Albert U. Romasco, *The Poverty of Abundance: Hoover, the Nation, the Depression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965); John A. Garraty, *The Great Depression: An Inquiry into the Causes, Course, and Consequences of the Worldwide Depression of the Nineteen-thirties, as Seen by Contemporaries and in the Light of History* (San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986); William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940*, The New American Nation Series (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Frank B. Freidel, *The New Deal in Historical Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Service Center for Teachers of History, 1959); and Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).
3. See James E. Sargent, *Roosevelt and the Hundred Days: Struggle for the Early New Deal*, Modern American History series (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981). The historical literature on the New Deal is voluminous. In addition to the volumes referenced above, an abbreviated recommended list will almost always include the following: Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989); Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America 1929–1941* (New York: New York Times Books, 1984); Michael A. Bernstein, *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Economic Change in America, 1929–1939*, Studies in Economic History and Policy Series (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Albert U. Romasco, *The Politics of Recovery, Roosevelt's New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); and Paul Keith Conkin, *The New Deal*, Crowell American History Series (New York: Crowell, 1967). Narrower in scope but specifically relevant is Forrest, *The Preservation of the Village*.
  4. A slightly edited version of this letter is printed in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt with a Special Introduction and Explanatory Notes by President Roosevelt*, comp. Samuel I. Rosenman, 13 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938–1950), 4:370. A short list of biographical studies of Roosevelt during the New Deal days includes the following: Jean Edward Smith, *FDR* (New York: Random House, 2007); Frank B. Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990); Patrick J. Maney, *The Roosevelt Presence: The Life and Legacy of FDR* (1992; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR: The New Deal Years, 1933–1937* (New York: Random House, 1986); James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956); Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985); and Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt: A Biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York: Doubleday, 1957).
  5. Frank B. Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Triumph* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956), 170, 176, 321; Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 3, *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 573–74, 597; Harold F. Gosnell, *Cham-*

- pion Campaigner: Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 159; and Alfred B. Rollins Jr., *Roosevelt and Howe* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 429, 447–48.
6. For an overview of twentieth-century religion in America, see David W. Lotz, Donald W. Shriver Jr., and John F. Wilson, eds., *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935–1985* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1989).
  7. For more information on Roosevelt's association with and membership in the Episcopal Church, as well as the impact of his religious values upon his political ideology, see Merlin Gustafson and Jerry Rosenberg, "The Faith of Franklin D. Roosevelt," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 19 (summer 1989): 559–66; Richard V. Pierard and Robert D. Linder, *Civil Religion and the Presidency* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Academic Books, 1988), 161–83; Robert S. Alley, *So Help Me God: Religion and the Presidencies, Wilson to Nixon* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1972), 58–59; and Thomas H. Greer, *What Roosevelt Thought: The Social and Political Ideas of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958), 3–11, 24.
  8. Organized by states, these letters are housed in eighty-one archival boxes in the Clergy Letters, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York.
  9. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936*, vol. 1, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1941), 252.
  10. See Richard M. Scammon, comp. and ed., *America at the Polls: A Handbook of American Presidential Election Statistics, 1920–1964* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), 7, 9.
  11. *Presidential Elections Since 1789*, 5th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1991), 128.
  12. Matthews to FDR, 27 September 1935, Albuquerque, New Mexico, President's Personal File 21–A, Clergy Letters, New Mexico, Box 20, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York [hereafter PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL].
  13. Father Joseph to FDR, 28 October 1935, Dawson, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
  14. Painton to FDR, 21 November 1935, Aztec, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
  15. For a study of nationwide opposition to FDR and the New Deal, see Donald R. McCoy, *Angry Voices: Left-of-Center Politics in the New Deal Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1958).
  16. Fenton to FDR, 28 September 1935, Albuquerque, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
  17. Titus to FDR, 26 September 1935, Roswell, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
  18. Rita James Simon, *Public Opinion in America: 1936–1970*, Markham Series in Process and Change in American Society (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), 25, 27. For an overview of Social Security in America, see Roy Lubove, *The Struggle for Social Security, 1900–1935*, Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America Series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); and W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Social Security: Visions and Revisions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

19. Ament to FDR, 30 September 1935, Roy, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
20. Quintana to FDR, 7 October 1935, Albuquerque, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
21. Brook to FDR, 1935, Chama, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
22. New to FDR, 2 October 1935, Albuquerque, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
23. E. W. Fenton to FDR.
24. For volumes devoted to New Deal public works programs, see Bonnie Fox Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934: The Business of Emergency Employment in the New Deal* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); and Donald S. Howard, *The WPA and Federal Relief Policy* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943).
25. Meyer to FDR, 18 October 1935, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
26. Ylardia to FDR, 30 September 1935, Anthony, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
27. Romero to FDR, 7 October 1935, Chacon, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
28. Reece to FDR, 3 October 1935, Albuquerque, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
29. For a study of the background of New Deal agricultural policy, see David E. Hamilton, *From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). The best account of New Deal agricultural policy is Theodore Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal*, Henry A. Wallace Series on Agricultural History and Rural Studies (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982). See also Van L. Perkins, *Crisis in Agriculture: The Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the New Deal, 1933*, University of California Publications in History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); and Paul E. Mertz, *New Deal Policy and Southern Rural Poverty* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).
30. Starkey to FDR, 9 October 1935, San Jon, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
31. Henson to FDR, 22 May 1936, House, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
32. For information on the CCC, see John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*, Duke Historical Publications (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967). For a study focusing on New Mexico, see Richard Melzer, *Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933-1942* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Yucca Tree Press, 2000). Recently published is Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
33. Lewis to FDR, 30 September 1935, Mesilla Park, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL. "Preacher" Lewis was perhaps the best known Protestant

minister in New Mexico in the first half of the twentieth century. He arrived in the territory in 1905 and served as a missionary until his death in 1948. People of all walks of life loved and respected him. He was known for knitting caps for small children while riding on the trains as he traveled to missionary outposts. Both children and parents were pleased if they became the recipient of one of these caps. For more information on this beloved minister, see Lee Priestley, *Journeys of Faith: The Story of Preacher and Edith Lewis* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Arroyo Press, 1992).

34. The beginnings of the NRA are detailed in Robert Himmelberg, *The Origins of the National Recovery Administration: Business, Government, and the Trade Association Issues, 1921–1933* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1976). The best study of the NRA is Ellis Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly: A Study in Economic Ambivalence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966). For a thorough discussion of the subject, see Bernard Bellush, *The Failure of the NRA, The Norton Essays in American History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975). For a work dealing with the administrator of the NRA, see John Kennedy Ohl, *Hugh S. Johnson and the New Deal* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985). Two valuable works are Michael M. Weinstein, *Recovery and Redistribution under the NIRA* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980); and Donald Robert Brand, *Corporatism and the Rule of Law: A Study of the National Recovery Administration* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988).
35. E. W. Fenton to FDR.
36. See Susan Estabrook Kennedy, *The Banking Crisis of 1933* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1973). Closely related subjects are explored in Michael E. Parrish, *Securities Regulation and the New Deal*, Yale Historical Publications (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970); Ralph F. De Bedts, *The New Deal's S.E.C.: The Formative Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); and James S. Olson, *Saving Capitalism: The Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the New Deal, 1933–1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).
37. Carver to FDR, 24 October 1935, Clovis, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
38. For an account of New Deal social welfare agencies, see Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief, 1929–1939*, American General Education Series (New York: Henry Holt, 1940). For works devoted to Harry Hopkins, the New Deal administrator most closely associated with public relief programs, see George McJimsey, *Harry Hopkins: Ally of the Poor and Defender of Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); and Searle F. Charles, *Minister of Relief: Harry Hopkins and the Depression* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1963).
39. Thurmond to FDR, 8 October 1935, Taos, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
40. Welliver to FDR, 24 February 1936, Las Vegas, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
41. Buchanan to FDR, 1 October 1935, Las Cruces, New Mexico, PPF 21–A, New Mexico, FDRPL.



42. Earl C. Welliver to FDR.
43. Owen W. Reece to FDR.
44. Reeme to FDR, 31 October 1935, Deming, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
45. L. Guy Ament to FDR.
46. Joy to FDR, 30 September 1935, Socorro, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
47. Charles Goodman to FDR, 1 November 1935, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL; and George Williams to FDR, 21 October 1935, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
48. See Victor Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973); Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957); and Lowitt, *Bronson M. Cutting*. For a recent study of social welfare in New Mexico that addresses the problems of bureaucracy and corruption from the late 1930s, see David W. Engstrom, Alvin O. Korte, and Katie McDonough, "Understaffed, Underfunded: The Emergence of Social Welfare in New Mexico, 1940s-1950s," *New Mexico Historical Review* 79 (fall 2004): 459-88.
49. Shaw to FDR, 7 October 1935, Vaughn, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
50. Pierce to FDR, 28 October 1935, Pecos Valley, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
51. Paul M. Joy to FDR.
52. For details see Mark Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform: The New Deal and Taxation, 1933-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
53. Harrison to FDR, 18 October 1935, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
54. Allison to FDR, 22 November 1935, Denning, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL; and Hedges to FDR, 15 October 1935, Hagerman, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
55. Sylvester to FDR, 6 October 1935, Las Cruces, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
56. *Ibid.*; and Gharecheva to FDR, 30 September 1935, Albuquerque, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
57. Phillips to FDR, 5 October 1935, Lordsburg, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
58. Johnson to FDR, 9 October 1935, New Mexico, PPF 21-A, New Mexico, FDRPL.
59. Relevant studies on Roosevelt's foreign policy include Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940* (New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Row, 1952); William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941* (New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Row, 1953); and Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).