

**THE BONUS ARMY:
A TURNING POINT IN VETERAN
RIGHTS**

Laura Stickells
Senior Individual Exhibit
National History Day

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Audio Recordings

“That Bonus Done Gone Through.” Recorded February 12, 1936, performed and written by Lil Johnson.

This song was written in 1936 celebrating the passage of the Adjusted Compensation Act of 1936, which allowed for the immediate payment of WWI bonuses. One of the main lyrics in the song is “the veterans ain’t got no more blues!” This song was helpful because it made me realize that the bonus had an impact beyond just the veterans if songs and records about the event were being sold to the general public.

Books

Bartlett, John Henry. **The Bonus March and the New Deal.** M.A. Donahue & Co., New York, 1937.

Bartlett owned land outside Washington D.C. that he let the bonus marchers use for a camp. His book talks about their difficult trip to Washington, how they spend eight weeks patiently waiting and camping in the open, and how the army forced them out. This book helped me understand that Hoover had a policy that the Federal Government was not responsible in any way for the marchers, he said they were the responsibility of the local Washington D.C. government and commissioners.

Hoover, Herbert. **The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, Volume 3: The Great Depression 1929-1941.** The MacMillan Company, New York, 1952.

Twenty years after the event Hoover is still very angry when he writes about the Bonus March. He states many of the marchers were Communists, hoodlums and ex-convicts. I was surprised that looking back after so many years, he still was not willing to consider the possibility that he could have managed the incident better. This source helped me understand that the fear of Communists began long before the end of WWII, a lot of people were worried about a Communist revolution during the Depression.

Hoover, Herbert. Public Papers of the President of the United States: Herbert Hoover, Volume 4: 1932-33. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1977.

This book had a lot of letters from Hoover about the Bonus Army. Hoover described himself as being “patiently indulgent” with the marchers who he said were abusing constitutional rights. Hoover sounded angry that the marchers were asking for help and said the welfare of the nation was more important than any particular group. These papers helped me understand how volatile the issue had become.

Meisel, Henry O. Bonus Expeditionary Forces, the True Facts 1932. The Press Republican, New London, Wisconsin. 1932

Meisel was a WWI vet who read about the bonus marchers in the newspapers and he drove his motorcycle down from Wisconsin to join and support them. As an eyewitness, he gave good camp descriptions and talked a lot about the veterans. They were all very patriotic and had to show their military discharge papers to join the camps. From his descriptions I could also tell how much public support the marchers had. I placed this book at the bottom of my exhibit because it contains many interesting primary source descriptions that I thought might be interesting for viewers to read.

Van Horn Mosley, George. One Soldier’s Journey, Vol. II Ca 1951. Unpublished memoir by Major General George Van Horn Mosley in 1950’s, pp 140-147. Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum Online Digital Archives.

This was a book written by General Mosley who delivered the statement to General MacArthur stating that he was not supposed to cross the bridge to Anacostia Flats. He later sent Colonel Wright to relay the message to MacArthur again to make sure he received the orders. Despite these instructions from the President, MacArthur continued with his plans and drove the veterans out of the camp. This was an important source because it is a primary source confirming that MacArthur had disobeyed the Presidents orders.

Waters, W.W. B.E.F., the Whole Story of the Bonus Army. AMS Press, Inc., New York, 1933.

Waters was the unemployed veteran from Portland who started the whole Bonus March and was its Commander. He tells his story of how 250 men from Portland turned into the BEF, and how they were driven out of Washington D.C. This book helped me understand how

important the newspapers were in spreading the story. Without the newspapers, the 250 marchers could never have turned into 20,000 marchers. The newspapers also helped the public feel sympathy and support for the marchers.

Correspondence

Letter from General Douglas MacArthur to Attorney General William Mitchell. August 6, 1932.

MacArthur wrote this letter about a week after his troops drove the Bonus Marchers out of Washington D.C., giving his version of events about what sort of help Glassford had asked for. He said that he had told Glassford that he should use tear gas “which is perfectly harmless but very effective,” however, this was a lie because after the event a baby died due to the exposure to tear gas. I found this letter confusing because MacArthur said he told Glassford he had no intention of evacuating the billets of women and children, but then he later did that very thing.

Letter to President Hoover from L.H. Reichelderfer, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. July 28, 1932.

This is the letter that was sent to President Hoover requesting Federal troops in order to maintain law and order after a “riot” had occurred. The letter said the troops were necessary to obviate the seriousness of the situation and to suppress violence, which seemed to be a reasonable request.

Order to General MacArthur from Patrick J. Hurley, Secretary of War. July 28, 1932.

This letter was sent to General MacArthur after President Hoover agreed for Federal troops to be used to clear out the bonus marchers from the unoccupied buildings. The order also stated that MacArthur was to “use all humanity consistent with the due execution of this order” which was obviously not done.

Documents and Photographs

“Baltimore Sun Archives.” <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/great-depression/bal-bonus-march-pg,0,7834930.photogallery>

The Baltimore Sun Archives had an extensive collection of photographs from the Bonus March and I used many of these photographs on my exhibit.

“FBI Files on Bonus Marchers.” <http://www.h-net.org>.

These are records from when the FBI checked its fingerprint records to get the police records of anyone who had participated in the Bonus March or been arrested during the riot. The report makes broad statements but does not back them up. For example, it says “A considerable number of the marchers were not in service during the World War” but it bases this comment on looking at the records of just a few dozen men. This report helped me understand how inaccurate official reports can sometimes be.

“Library of Congress Photo Files - Bonus Army.” www.h-net.org/dclist/bonus1.html

These archives have dozens of wonderful pictures of the Bonus Army and I got many of my exhibit’s photos from here.

“National Archives - Bonus Army.” www.archives.gov/historical-docs

This is where I found the photograph that is the centerpiece of my exhibit, the burning shacks of Anacostia Flats.

“Servicemen’s Readjustment Act,” Seventy-eighth Congress of the United States of America, January 10, 1944.

I read this act because it was one of the biggest impacts of the Bonus March and it instigated a massive turning point in the United States. The act’s purpose was “to provide Federal Government aid for the readjustment in civilian life of returning World War II veterans.” This shows that the government learned from their experience with the B.E.F. that veteran needs had to be addressed rather than ignored.

“World War Adjusted Compensation Act,” Sixty-eighth Congress of the United States of America, May 19, 1924.

This is the original “Bonus Bill.” Even though its benefits were quite simple (\$1.25 a day for time overseas and \$1 a day for domestic service) it was pages long and mostly a lot of definitions. I thought it was interesting that if the veteran died before he could get his

payment in 1945, it immediately was paid and given to his dependents. That's why veterans called it the "Tombstone Bonus."

Interviews

Zack, Ann. Retired nurse. Interviewed by author, March 11, 2013

Mrs. Zack's husband finished college and went to medical school on the G.I. Bill after fighting in WWII. She said it allowed him to go to school wherever he wanted for no cost. This allowed him to become a successful doctor, which in effect produced a steady income for the family. They also bought their first house for \$14,000 with a G.I. loan, and she says they could not have bought a house without it. I listed this as a primary source because Mrs. Zack and her husband directly benefited from and used the original G.I. bill.

Newspapers and Periodicals

"Anacostia Camp No More." *The New York Times*, July 28, 1932.

This was another very sympathetic article towards the veterans about their attack by the Army. Even the headlines expressed concern, saying things like "Marchers Stream Away in Broken-Down Autos and Trudging Afoot," "Few Knew Whither They Were Going," and "Anacostia Camps Burned by Troops."

"Army and Navy: Boni." *Time Magazine*, November 21, 1927.

This article was written three years after the original Bonus Bill was passed and states that half a million out of the 5.5 million who served in the war had still not turned in their paperwork to request their bonuses and they only had five weeks left to do so. I found it interesting that veterans had not even applied for their bonuses, which helped me understand that during 1927 not everyone needed the money.

"Democrats: That's a Secret." *Time Magazine*, October 10, 1932.

The reporter says that Roosevelt is remaining silent about his position regarding the Bonus and that Hoover will lose around a million votes due to his reaction to the Bonus March

and his sour remarks regarding the B.E.F. This showed me that Hoover had practically no chance of winning the election after he evicted the vets.

“Editorial Commentary,” *New York World Telegram*, July 30, 1932.

This editorial had comments from dozens of congressmen and mayors who were appalled by the use of force against the Bonus Marchers and called it totally unwarranted. It showed me that the political response to the eviction was immediate and furious.

“Editorial - Hoover and the Bonus.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 28, 1932.

The LA Times Editor supported Hoover in his unwillingness to give cash payments for the Bonus and angry that Roosevelt was so vague in his responses. He said, “The position of Hoover is that of a leader; Roosevelt’s that of a politician.” This editorial helped me understand that a lot of the nation was still divided on the issue of immediate payment of the bonus, even though they were sympathetic to the vets.

Glassford, Pelham D. “Glassford Response,” *New York American*, November 4, 1932.

Glassford wrote an article explaining what happened during the eviction. He argued that patience and sympathy would have best managed the situation, and that force would anger the marchers and outrage the country. He also argued that the eviction was without justification and completely unnecessary. He said the government wanted some disorder to result so that they would have an excuse to force the marchers out. From reading this article, it was clear to me that Glassford had no idea that it was MacArthur’s idea to force the marchers out of their camps, not Hoover’s idea, and that MacArthur had in fact disobeyed Hoover’s commands to leave the camps alone.

Hemmingway, Ernest. “Who Murdered the Vets? A First-Hand Report on the Florida Hurricane.” *The New Masses*, September 17, 1935, p. 9.

This is an angry piece written by Hemmingway who participated in the recovery effort after the Florida Keys hurricane. He says that whoever sent the unsuccessful, bonus-marching human beings to the Keys in the middle of hurricane season and did not give a warning for the approaching storm is responsible for the deaths of the hundreds of veterans that were

killed in the storm. This article showed me that even years after the Bonus March the veterans were still being treated poorly by the government.

“Heroes: Battle of Washington.” Time Magazine, August 8, 1932.

This article covers the climatic eviction of the Bonus Army and the death of two of the marchers. Time seemed to be sympathetic towards the veterans, which was different from some of their previous articles. The author was also very critical of the President and openly doubted his claim that the disturbance was caused by communists. This helped me understand how the press’s opinions towards the marchers had changed from skepticism to sympathy.

“Heroes: B.E.F.” Time Magazine, June 20, 1932.

This is the very first Time article written after the Patman Bill passed in the House of Representatives but mentioned that the Senate did not appear to be in favor of the bill. The tone of the article was rather unflattering towards the veteran, for example when it says, “[The veterans] seemed to have revived the old ganging spirit of Army days as an escape from reality. They convinced themselves that they were there to right some vague wrong - a wrong somehow bound up in the fact that the Government had opened its Treasury to banks, railroads and the like but closed it to needy individuals.” This helped me understand that even though the public felt pity for them and their situation they did not support their cause.

“Heroes: B.E.F.’s End.” Time Magazine, August 15, 1932.

Just a few weeks after the vets were driven out of the capital, the press was refuting President Hoover’s statements that the marchers were mostly communist. Hoover said that less than half of the marchers served under the American flag, but the Veterans’ Administrator Hines said that 94 percent had service records and that two-thirds served overseas. Secretary of War Hurley claimed that Communist agitators had organized an attack of several thousand men on police, but every single Red suspect held in connection with the police riot was released due to lack of evidence of participation. This article helped me realize that the press and the public were angry about the way Hoover treated the vets.

“Heroes: Break Up?” Time Magazine, July 18, 1932.

This article focuses on Police Superintendent Glassford and states that he has done a spectacular job with the veterans and “gave Washington and the country a remarkable demonstration of mob management without benefit of tear gas, riot club or machine gun.” This is ironic because in just a few weeks Hoover will drive out the vets using force. The article also mentions Hoover’s first attempt to remove the veterans from the capital by providing them with railroad tickets home, which will be deducted out of their pay.

“Heroes: To Hell With Civil Law!” Time Magazine, July 11, 1932.

The journalist focuses on the strange behavior of Walter Waters in this article and states for the third time in two months he has resigned his command, but has now appointed himself as dictator of the B.E.F. and anyone who does not follow out his orders will be kicked out of the camp. It also quotes General Glassford who called the veteran’s “my boys.” This article was useful in describing the attitudes and behaviors of some of the main people I discuss on my exhibit.

“Heroes: Bonuseers into Camp.” Time Magazine, May 22, 1933.

This article contrasts Hoover’s reaction to the B.E.F. to President Roosevelt’s a year later, who offered the marchers jobs with the CCC. The article also states that Hoover’s severe handling of the B.E.F. helped him lose the election.

“Letter to the Editor from Will Rogers,” New York Times, July 30, 1932.

Will Rogers was a famous celebrity and social commenter in this era who wrote a letter to the editor of the New York Times saying that although he did not agree with what the marchers were saying he strongly disapproved of how they were treated. I included a quote from the letter on my exhibit because he said what many people felt about the situation.

“National Affairs: The Green Bill.” Time Magazine, November 26, 1923.

This article helped me understand the different options of payment that WWII veterans could receive for their time serving overseas. Most veterans would pick the payment option

of \$1 a day for home service and \$1.25 for overseas service to be paid in 1945. Over a 44-year period almost 4 billion dollars would be spent on the bonuses.

“Nationwide Editorial Commentary,” *New York Times*, July 30, 1932.

This collection of the viewpoints of newspapers across the country almost all said President Hoover was justified in his use of force against the marchers. Most of the newspapers blamed radicals and communists for the disorder and said they misled the veterans. This helped me understand that people initially believed the President when he said the mob was led by Communists.

“News Stories,” *The B.E.F. News*, August 6, 1932. Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum Digital Archives.

This was the only copy I could find of the B.E.F. News, the newspaper written by members of the Bonus Army to be used as a way to distribute information and for the marchers to sell and make a little money. This issue was written after the marchers were driven out of Washington and had a lot of articles that showed me how distraught many of the marchers were by what had happened. They had never expected force to be used against them.

Tyson, Helen Glenn, Assistant Deputy Secretary of the State Department of Welfare. “Observations.” *The Nation*, September 23, 1932.

Tyson was Pennsylvania’s Secretary of Welfare and was sent to investigate the problem of caring for the men after they had been driven out of Washington. Tyson recognized that the vast majority of the men were true war veterans and I used one of her quotes on my exhibit.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Audio Sources

Kast, Sheilah. “Soldier Against Soldier: The Story of the Bonus Army.” National Public Radio, Feb. 13, 2005.

This was a summary of the event that occurred back in 1932, and also discussed the Florida Keys hurricane and how that influenced the passage of the bonus in 1936. It helped me

understand that what happened with the Bonus Army made politicians pay attention to the WWII veterans and ultimately support the G.I. Bill so history would not repeat itself.

Richman, Joe and Samara Freemark, Producers. "The Bonus Army: How a Protest Led to the G.I. Bill." NPR Radio Diaries, Nov. 11, 2011.

This story helped me understand better how tightly the Bonus Army is linked to the G.I.

Bill, even though they are separated by several years. It also says the Occupy Wall Street and the Bonus March are similar in that they stayed rather than just protesting and leaving.

"March of the Bonus Army." NPR Radio Diaries.

I listed this as a secondary source due to the narration, but it is mostly a collection of interviews with people who marched in the Bonus Army, and radio clips from the time. The interviews were fascinating and I learned how the "camp" was built from materials from a dump. Many of the marchers who stayed at Anacostia lived better than they did at home because the people of Washington D.C. would come and visit the marchers and would donate food and other necessities.

Books

Bennett, Michael J. When Dreams Came True: The GI Bill and the Making of Modern America. Brassey's Inc, Washington, D.C., 1996.

This source helped me understand the G.I. Bill and its profound impact on America, as it was the driving factor that created the large middle class in America and also spurred home construction and the development of suburban communities. President Roosevelt created the G.I. Bill in response to the Bonus March because he did not want the returning WWII veterans to create that sort of chaos again.

Daniels, Roger. The Bonus March, an Episode of the Great Depression. Greenwood Publishing Corporation, Westport, Connecticut, 1971.

The part of the book that was most useful was the explanation of Police Commissioner Glassford's views on communism. He thought it was "curious" that the Constitution protected the rights of Communists who wanted to overthrow the present social structure, and how it gave them the very free speech they were using to try to overthrow it. However,

words don't break bones so he considered free speech to be a safety valve and it also seemed to have little effect on the other marchers.

Dickson, Paul and Thomas B. Allen. The Bonus Army, an American Epic. Walker and Company, New York, 2004.

This book was my best secondary source because it described the Bonus March very thoroughly as well as provided a deep background on veteran policy dating back to ancient times. I was surprised to learn that until recently, veterans have never been popular because they often created problems in society and for the government when they returned from war. Many of the quotes on my board came from this book.

Greenberg, David. Calvin Coolidge. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2006.

Coolidge was president before Hoover during the prosperous 1920s and they both shared similar views on the bonus. Veterans groups were asking for payment of a bonus bill, and even though there was enough money the government would not oblige because they felt that the welfare of one particular class should not come before the welfare of the nation as a whole. Specifically, Coolidge believed that tax cuts would benefit the entire nation rather than giving the bonus, which would only help the veterans. This helped me understand how Hoover was continuing Coolidge's policy, it was nothing new.

James, D. Clayton. The Years of MacArthur, Volume 1, 1880-1941. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1970.

This book was helpful because it increased my understanding of MacArthur's role in the Bonus March and what he thought of the marchers. During the Great Depression and after the Bolshevik Revolution there was a Red Scare primarily within the government because leaders feared that communists would take the country's weakened state as an opportunity to create a revolution. MacArthur believed the Bonus March was a Red conspiracy and went out of his way to find information supporting his belief but the facts never added up.

Lisio, Donald J. The President and Protest: Hoover, Conspiracy, and the Bonus Riot. University of Missouri Press, 1974.

This was an interesting source because it gave a balanced view of President Hoover's role in the Bonus March and did not portray him as an angry man or simply out of touch. I also

learned that the real villain that drove out the marchers was General MacArthur because he ignored the President's orders and crossed the bridge into Anacostia flats driving the marchers out of the capital. After the incident, MacArthur convinced Hoover that his actions were justified because the protestors were all communists so Hoover never publicly denounced MacArthur for disobeying orders and consequently Hoover received the public's entire wrath.

Schmidt, Hans. Maverick Marine, General Smedley D. Butler and the Contradictions of American Military History. University Press of Kentucky, 1987.

I read the section of this book where General Smedley went to Washington D.C. as a guest of the Bonus Army. He gave an inflammatory speech to the marchers telling them to stick it out and that they had every right to be there, but also told them to obey all the laws.

Zezima, Michael. 50 American Revolutions You're Not Supposed to Know: Reclaiming American Patriotism. The Disinformation Company, Ltd. New York, 2005.

The author is interested in the history of dissent in our country, and I read the chapter on the Bonus Army. The author mentions how even though the army was segregated in Europe during WWI, the Bonus Army was not and this became one of the first demonstrations of peaceful integration in the United States.

Internet Articles

"The Bonus Army March." American Treasures of the Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm203.html.

The Library of Congress has a digital website with newspaper articles and photographs of the Bonus Army campsite and newspapers. I used many of these photographs on my exhibit.

"The Bonus March (May-July, 1932). The American Experience - MacArthur. www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/MacArthur/peopleevents/pandeAMEX89.html.

This article helped me understand the march in the context of the Depression, and that there had been other hunger marches on Washington before the Bonus March, but they were

much smaller. I was shocked to learn that General MacArthur ignored President Hoover's orders not to follow the marchers across the bridge into their main camp.

Briggs, Bill. "Hiring Out Heroes Job Fair Part of Week-Long, National Hiring Push." March 27, 2013. NBCNews.com.

Post-9/11 veterans have an unemployment rate that's a full point higher than the national rate, and 34,000 troops will soon be returning from Afghanistan. Career counselors say veterans present themselves as team players and are often reluctant to stress their individual accomplishments, which they need to do during job interviews. This article helped me understand how the problem of returning veterans that was highlighted during the Bonus March is far from over.

Briggs, Bill. "Hundreds of Thousands of Veterans Spurn Free Benefits." January 23, 2013. NBCNews.com.

Today's veterans face problems with the VA and obstacles to receiving their benefits. Nearly half of today's veterans do not get free health care because they do not trust the VA, it takes too long to have disability-compensation claims addressed, and because they don't like how VA doctors solve the medical issues. This article helped me understand the problems that today's veterans face receiving their benefits.

Cox, Brent. "What Does the Bonus Army Tell Us About Occupy Wall Street?" October 25, 2011. The Awl, www.theawl.com/2011/10.

The author compares the Bonus Army with the Occupy Wall Street movement in this article and states that the two movements are very different in that the Bonus March was protesting for a very specific issue and the Occupy group is not. The only similarity between the two is that they didn't just protest and leave. Instead they stayed in the capital for an extended period of time.

"Hoover and the Depression: The Bonus Army." www.authentichistory.com/1930-1939

This article explained how the draft led to the bonus because over half of American soldiers who fought in WWI were drafted so they did not volunteer for what they would face. By the end of the war, men who were in combat earned only 10% of what people working at home

in defense industries made. To adjust for this, Congress passed a bonus to be paid out in 1945. I used pictures from this site on my exhibit.

Lowe, Georgia. “When Hoover Tear-Gassed My Dad.” April 23, 2012.

www.zocalopublicsquare.org

Ms. Lowe’s parents were with the Los Angeles group who marched with the Bonus Army the summer of 1932. I had read very little about this group from anywhere else. There were a lot of unemployed actors, cameramen and writers in the group and the Los Angeles Mayor sent them on their way saying, “Good luck! Do us proud!” Lowe’s parents never forgave Hoover for the attack and cried when FDR died. This helped me understand how angry the marchers were, and how skillful FDR was in handling them since his policies weren’t that much different from Hoover’s, but he was politically astute enough to know when not to use his veto vote.

**Maceda, Jim. “Ten Years After Iraq Invasion, US Troops Ask: ‘Was it Worth it?’”
March 18, 2013. NBCNews.com**

This was a really sad story about today’s veterans and how they’re suffering from posttraumatic stress syndrome and other psychological problems. I used this material in my exhibit.

“The Post-9/11 GI-Bill.” United States Department of Veterans Affairs.

www.gibill.va.gov/benefits/post_911_gibill/

This information helped me understand what parts of the 1944 G.I. Bill are still used today. I used information from this website to identify the G.I. Bill benefits that veterans receive today, and included that on my exhibit.

Rappel, David. “The G.I. Bill of Rights - Reward and Investment.”

www.nps.gov/nama.

I used this source to help me gather information on how many veterans used the G.I. Bill for home loans and education benefits after 1944. Between 1944 and 1952, 2.4 million veterans used home loans and 7.8 million used education benefits. Many veterans didn’t use the bill to go to college but instead used it for training in a specific field that would give them good stable jobs.

Rubin, Richard. "How This 107-Year-Old Man Survived World War I." Slate Magazine, May 23, 2013. www.slate.com/articles

This article was an excerpt from a book Rubin is just now publishing called The Last of the Doughboys: The Forgotten Generation and Their Forgotten World War. The book is being published by Houghton Mifflin and is being released the middle of June. The author interviewed all the WWI survivors he could find and this article told one of their stories. It helped me understand how even though war was so different then (the author drove a mule cart to move ammunition), the fear and terror were the same. The mustard gas was especially awful. It also helped me understand how he as a soldier felt supported by the nation as he left to go overseas.

Scranton, Philip. "Burning Out the Bonus Army." Bloomberg, July 30, 2012. www.bloomberg.com/news/print/2012-07-30

This article provided a concise overview of the Bonus March but still provided some interesting details that I was not aware of. For instance, I was surprised to learn about John Pace, a Communist in the camp, because communism was not allowed in the BEF. I was also surprised to learn that Washington Police Superintendent Pelham Glassford, who was a supporter of the marchers, was almost fired by President Hoover for helping them secure supplies.

"VFW - About Us." www.vfw.org

I visited the VFW website to learn about the organization's history and what it is doing today. The group was founded after the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection, and in 2008 they passed the G.I. Bill for the 21st Century, which provides benefits to soldiers serving in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Interviews

Buchanan, Doug. Attorney. Interviewed by author via telephone, April 14, 2013.

Doug Buchanan is a veteran who fought in the Vietnam War and went to graduate school using the G.I. Bill. The college he attended had extra temporary housing for some of the veterans because the college did not have enough housing for all of the veterans using the G.I. Bill. He said he thought the government was supportive of veterans and he valued the ability to go to graduate school, and thought that the G.I. Bill created a whole class of

professionals well after WWII. However, as a Vietnam veteran he did not feel that the public treated him fairly even though the government did.

Hooker, Bradley. ROTC Student at UCLA. Interviewed by author via email, April 14, 2013.

Bradley Hooker is a sophomore in college at UCLA and in the ROTC program. He says the program pays for his full tuition and knows he would not be able to pay for college otherwise. He is also guaranteed a job as a naval officer after graduation and once he serves in the military he can use the G.I. Bill to pay for graduate school. He knows he can get a job after the navy through his Officer Instructor, all with starting salaries of around \$200,000 a year. This interview was important to me because it helped me understand different ways the government assists our veterans and our future servicemen.

Lowe, Georgia. Author. Interviewed by author via telephone, April 14, 2013.

Georgia Lowe is the author of a novel, The Bonus March. Her father was in WWI and both of her parents participated in the Bonus March of 1932. She thinks the Bonus March is significant because it created the G.I. Bill and it was the first large public demonstration in the capital. This helped set the stage for other marches, such as Occupy Wall Street.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Dickson, Paul and Thomas B. Allen. "Marching on History." Smithsonian, February 2003, Volume 33, Number 11, pp. 84-94.

This article gave a good yet detailed summary of the Bonus March and also helped me understand the significance of the Bonus March regarding the Civil Rights movement. The Bonus March was the first time blacks and whites were living in peaceful coexistence and many of the black bonus marchers became leaders of the civil rights movement. It also explained how General MacArthur's behavior during the Bonus March was later mirrored during the Korean War.

Gott, Kendall. "Confrontation at Anacostia Flats: The Bonus Army of 1932." The Land Warfare Papers, No. 63W, April 2007.

This was a very good overview of the bonus march. The author works for the U.S. Army and wrote about the Bonus Army because he thinks it is important for today's leaders to see

how not to act in face of riots and demonstrations, as it is possible they might deal with similar situations abroad.

Kingseed, Wyatt. "The 'Bonus Army' War in Washington." American History, June 2004.

Once the Patman bill didn't get enough votes to pass in the Senate and Congress adjourned in mid-July, the Hoover Administration thought the marchers would go home, and then they could get to work on an economic recovery plan and campaigning for reelection. They frustrated the Administration when most of them would not leave, and the Administration accused them of being communists and not veterans. This article was useful to me because it said a study conducted by the Veterans Administration found that 94 percent of the marchers had Army or Navy records even though President Hoover and MacArthur said less than half had ever served for the military.

Ortiz, Stephen. "Rethinking the Bonus March: Federal Bonus Policy, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Origins of a Protest Movement." Journal of Policy History, 2006, Volume 18, Number 3, pp. 275-303.

In 1927, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) was almost obsolete, but in 1929 when the VFW demanded full and immediate cash payment of veteran's bonuses and the American Legion did not, its popularity began to swell. The VFW then became the catalyst for the Bonus March protest movement. I found it interesting how these two organizations' opinions' were so different.

Ortiz, Stephen. "The 'New Deal' for Veterans: The Economy Act, The Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Origins of New Deal Dissent." The Journal of Military History, April 2006, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 415-438.

This interesting article explains how the veterans protested Roosevelt's early New Deal actions such as his support of the Economy Act, which cut veteran benefits and pensions. Veterans united as a political force and pushed Roosevelt towards the "wide-sweeping legislation of the 'second' New Deal." This is important because it showed me that Roosevelt did not always have a strong relationship with veterans and that his beliefs regarding the bonus were not much different than Hoover's.

Smith, Richard Norton and Timothy Walch, "The Ordeal of Herbert Hoover," *Prologue*, Publication of the National Archives and Record Administration, Summer 2004, Vol. 36, No. 2

A great quote in this article said, "Hoover's failure to dramatize himself was his greatest strength as a humanitarian and his greatest flaw as a politician." He may have been a terrible politician, but he was not a bad man. I was fascinated to read about his relationship with President Truman after WWII. Truman wanted his advice and help with feeding Europe and avoiding mass starvation. Hoover was very good at that, and he and Truman developed a deep relationship, despite political differences. Truman even put Hoover's name on Boulder Dam. At Truman's request, Hoover made recommendations on how to reorganize the executive branch of government, and Truman implemented most of his recommendations.

Movies and Documentaries

The March of the Bonus Army. Robert Uth, Director. Production of New Voyage Communications, Washington, D.C. 2006.

This was an enjoyable documentary that included live footage and recordings of the camp and the eviction. It had a good section on the right of citizens to assemble and petition the government and introduced me to the main players in the event including Walter Waters, President Hoover, and General MacArthur. It also pointed out that the March was a turning point in desegregation as it was one of the first instances of racial integration, even though the press made no mention of it at the time.

Papers

Conrad, Peter R., "The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944: The History, People, and Effect on Minorities (2005), Honors Theses Paper 329.

The most interesting thing in this paper was the information that Wisconsin was critical to the development of the G.I. Bill. When WWI veterans were returning home Wisconsin created a new law called the "Soldiers Educational Bonus" which let veterans attend the University of Wisconsin full time. This was important because it set a precedent of educational benefits and helped set the stage for the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill.