



MARCHING ON WASHINGTON

The Forging of an American Political Tradition

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SPECIFIC SOURCES

For the history specifically of marches on Washington, there are a wide variety of primary and secondary sources. The only other study to attempt a comprehensive approach is Norman Gilbert's "The Mass Protest Phenomenon: An Examination of Marches on Washington" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1971), based almost exclusively on secondary, published sources. In addition, some scholars have examined how protesters used specific locations in Washington. Eugene Roberts Jr. and Douglas B. Ward looked at the area near the White House in "The Press, Protestors, and Presidents," in *The White House: The First Two Hundred Years*, Frank Freidel and William Pencak, eds. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), 125-40. In an excellent article, Scott Sandage considers the history of using the Lincoln Memorial by protesters; see "A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory," *Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993), 135-67. Still lacking is a sustained look at protests near the Capitol.

While there is no single archival source for materials on all demonstrations in Washington, a few collections are useful for sources on specific demonstrations. Several collections at the National Archives deserve notice. To understand the reaction of the District of Columbia government to protests, there are valuable materials in Record Group 351, which contains papers and reports from the government of the District of Columbia, even though it is by no means complete. Also useful is Record Group 165: Military Intelligence Division, Correspondence 1917-1941, which contains reports on the Bonus marchers and the Negro March. In addition, the newsreel collection in the Motion Picture and Sound Division of the Archives has footage of several demonstrations in the capital, including the Bonus March and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Under such categories as "Parades," "Picketing," and specific names of protests, the vertical files at the Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Library of the District of Columbia, provide both specific and general background.

The first chapter, on Coxey's Army, drew on a range of published and unpublished sources. My path was guided by Carlos A. Schwantes's authoritative and exhaustively researched *Coxey's Army: An American Odyssey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), which emphasizes the story of the various groups that assembled throughout the country and the importance of local causes for the protest. Donald L. McMurry's earlier account, *Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894* (1929; Seattle: University of Washington, 1968), effectively puts the movement in the context of the economic depression. In addition, I read the accounts of the protest in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* as well as drawing on the extensive coverage in periodicals. The account by the historian of the demonstration is also essential; see Henry Vincent, *The Story of the Commonwealth: Complete and Graphic Narrative of the Origin and Growth of the Movement* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey, 1894; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969). Carl Browne's memoirs, *When Coxey's "Army" Marcht [sic] on Washington, 1894*, Wm. McDevitt, ed. (San Francisco, 1944), may not be completely reliable but it provides biographical and colorful details necessary for understanding his role in the protest. The response of Con-

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gress, the District government, and the Cleveland administration to the protest appears in newspapers and magazines, the *Congressional Record*, and in some scattered references in *The Papers of Grover Cleveland*, available on microfilm. To understand the political culture of this moment, I found useful Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). On the Populist movement, which influenced the leaders and supporters of the protest, see the succinct overview of the movement and its significance by Robert C. McMath Jr., *American Populism: A Social History, 1877-1898* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

The Woman's Suffrage Procession and Pageant, the focus of chapter 2, has both more organized and more plentiful sources than exist for the march by Coxey's Army. I was able to draw on Sidney Bland's article, "New Life in an Old Movement: Alice Paul and the Great Suffrage Parade of 1913 in Washington, D.C.," *Records of the Columbian Historical Society* 48 (1971-72), 657-78, and the chapter "Pageant and Politics," in Christine Lunardini's *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910-1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986). Nevertheless, most of my interpretation developed from probing the collections at the Library of Congress of the records of the National Woman's Party and the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Other information is found in the report on the parade by the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia: *Senate Report 53 Suffrage Parade*, 63rd Cong., 1st sess. (1913). In addition, some memoirs and oral histories discuss the parade; particularly useful are Inez Haynes Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1921); the interview with Alice Paul by Robert S. Gallagher, "I was arrested, of course," *American Heritage* 25 (February 1974), 16-24, 92-94; and the longer oral history in Alice Paul, *Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment*, interview by Amelia R. Fry (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1976). In addition to the books by Michael E. McGerr and Richard L. McCormick mentioned above, the political culture of this moment is well described by Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991). On the woman suffrage movement during this period, besides Christine Lunardini, see Linda G. Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991); Ellen DuBois, "Marching toward Power: Woman Suffrage Parades, 1910-1915," in *True Stories from the American Past*, ed. William Graebner (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 88-106, and her *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); Sara Hunter Graham, *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996); and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

The sources on the Bonus March, the focus of chapter 3, are extremely rich.

I developed my own approach after reviewing the two essential histories of the protest, Roger Daniels, *The Bonus March: An Episode of the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1971), and Donald J. Lisio, *The President and Protest: Hoover, Conspiracy and the Bonus Riot* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974). (Lisio updated this book in *The President and Protest: Hoover, MacArthur, and the Bonus Riot* [New York: Fordham University Press, 1994]; however, I relied on the earlier volume.) Besides stories in newspapers and periodicals, I also relied on the account by march leader William Waters as told to William C. White, *B.E.F.: The Whole Story of the Bonus Army* (New York: John Day Company, 1933). In addition to the numerous reports included in both the records of the District of Columbia and the Military Intelligence Division at the National Archives, Record Group 94, Office of the Adjutant General, Central Files, 1926-1939 includes numerous files on the Bonus controversy. Clearly, dramatic changes took place in American life and politics during the early 1930s. My view of the moment surrounding the Bonus Army was shaped by Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982); Barry Karl, *The Uneasy State: The United States from 1915 to 1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Lawrence Levine, "American Culture and the Great Depression," in *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Robert McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929-1941* (New York: Times Books, 1993). Both Daniels and Lisio provide essential information on the treatment of veterans; also useful are Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), and William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).

The Negro March on Washington (chapter 4) is the least well known of the five demonstrations I studied. While brief accounts of the planning and cancellation of the march occur in histories of the civil rights movement, the proposed protest lacks the kind of in-depth review available for the other marches. Herbert Garfinkel provides an overview of the impetus for the march in *When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), but he is more interested in the later March on Washington Movement rather than the Negro March itself. More useful are the accounts in Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), and John H. Bracey Jr. and August Meier, "Allies or Adversaries? The NAACP, A. Philip Randolph and the 1941 March on Washington," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (Spring 1991), 1-17. The planning of the march and the response of the Roosevelt administration can be traced in the records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, as well as the papers of A. Philip Randolph, all available in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. The papers of Eugene Davidson and oral histories of some participants are available at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University. Also essential is the coverage given the march in various black newspapers; I reviewed the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Bal-*

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The sources on the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (chapter 5) are extensive. A comprehensive but somewhat incoherent overview is provided by Thomas Gentile, *March on Washington: August 28, 1963* (Washington, D.C.: New Day Publications, 1983). This account needs to be supplemented by the briefer but better researched versions in David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), and Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988). The papers of A. Philip Randolph contain some references to the 1963 march; much more useful are those of Bayard Rustin, also available at the Library of Congress. Extremely valuable for tracing the decision to hold the march are the FBI files on Martin Luther King Jr.; they are available in two microfilm collections edited by David Garrow, *The Martin Luther King, Jr., FBI File* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1984), and *The Martin Luther King, Jr., FBI File, Part II: The King-Levison File* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1987). There are also useful records in the Presidential Office Files as well as the papers of Burke Marshall and Charles Horsky at the John F. Kennedy Library. The Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress has film of the live coverage of the march by CBS as well as the shorter reports by ABC. To understand changes in American politics between 1945 and 1963, I found comprehensive Michael Barone's *Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan* (New York: Free Press, 1990). Also suggestive were a number of essays in the collection edited by Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989). The literature on the civil rights movement is voluminous; Garrow's and Branch's studies are based on the best research but can be usefully supplemented with Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), to see the dynamics outside of the purview of more well known organizers. Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), is useful for Kennedy's actions and inactions.

The studies of the anti-Vietnam War movement (chapter 6) inevitably contain some mention of the Spring Offensive, mostly as a symbol of the divisiveness of the movement by the early 1970s. The most comprehensive and balanced account is now Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1994). Of the three sponsoring organizations, the Vietnam Veterans against the War has received the most scholarly attention; see Richard Moser, *The New Winter Soldier: GI and Veteran Dissent during the Vietnam Era* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Richard Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans against the War* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997). Fred Haltstead's *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement against the Vietnam War* (New York: Monad Press, 1978) can serve as informal account of the faction that ended up as the National Peace Action Coalition. Because I wanted to look at the series of demonstrations more in terms of how they reflected the debates surrounding marches on Washington rather than the debates within the movement, I depended less on these accounts than on the archival sources. The Records of the Vietnam Veterans against the War are in the Social Action Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has released on microfilm the records of the National Peace Action Coalition. Those of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (DG-84) are at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Both the Wisconsin and Swarthmore libraries also have smaller collections that contained some useful information; these appear in the notes. For the response of authorities to this protest, there is much information available in the Nixon Presidential Materials at the National Archives. Two further collections at the District of Columbia Archives are particularly useful: the records of the Office of Emergency Preparedness and the Metropolitan Police Department's Mayday Reports. In addition, thanks to the help of Thaddeus McCory, I was able to look at records from the National Capital Division of the National Park Service, stored at the Washington National Records Center. On the broader context of the period, Wells's book on the anti-war movement provides essential details, as does Todd Gitlin's *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). James T. Patterson captures the mixture of hopes and disappointments bedeviling the country in 1971 in *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

For the study of marches on Washington since the 1970s (Epilogue), I relied on my own observations, the reading of newspapers and publications, and some scholarly studies. Barbara Epstein's *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) analyzes the return to local, community-based protests. My final observation is that the paucity of in-depth studies of individual protests during this period may indicate just how familiar a part of American politics such protests have become.

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